

Life and Death: A Study of the Wills and Testaments of Men and Women in London and Bury St. Edmunds in the late Fourteenth and early Fifteenth Centuries.

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Declaration of Original Authorship

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where the work of others has been drawn upon, it has been properly and appropriately acknowledged according to academic conventions.

Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the lives of men and women living in London and Bury St. Edmunds in the late fourteenth - early fifteenth centuries. Sources studied include the administrative and legal records of the City of London and of the Abbot and Convent of St. Edmund's abbey; legislation and court records of royal government and the wills and testaments of Londoners and Bury St. Edmunds' inhabitants. Considerable research on a wide range of topics on London, but far less work on Bury St. Edmunds, has already been undertaken; however, this thesis is the first systematic comparative study of these two towns.

The introduction discusses the historiography and purpose of the thesis; the methodology used, and the shortcomings of using medieval wills and the probate process. Chapter One discusses the testamentary jurisdiction in both towns; who was involved in the will making process, and the role that clerics played as both executors and scribes and how the church courts operated. Chapter Two focuses on testators' preparations for the afterlife, their choices concerning burial location, funeral arrangements and the provisions made for prayers for their souls. Chapter Three examines in detail their pious and charitable bequests and investigates what 'good works' testators chose to support apart from 'forgotten tithes'.

The family and household relationships, including servants and apprentices, are examined in Chapter Four, exploring the differences in bequests made depending on the testators' marital status, together with evidence for close friendships and social networks. Chapter Five discusses the ownership and types of books referred to in wills and the inter-relationship between the donors and the recipients. Testators' literacy and the provision for education are also investigated.

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I am grateful to the staff at the Guildhall Library, the Corporation of London Record Office, Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds branch, The British Library and the National Archives for their unfailing kindness and help.

Finally, of course, I must acknowledge the wholehearted support of Lesley my wife, who at times I know has felt that she was a medieval widow herself. This work is dedicated to her.

Abbreviations

Add.	Additional
App.	Appendix
Barron, <i>LLMA</i>	C. M. Barron, <i>London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People, 1200–1500</i> (Oxford, 2004)
Barron, <i>Widows</i>	C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton, eds., <i>Medieval London Widows, 1300–1500</i> (London, 1994)
Barron and Stratford, <i>Church and Learning</i>	C. M. Barron and J. Stratford, eds., <i>The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society: Studies on Honour of Professor R. B. Dobson</i> , Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 11 (Donington, 2002)
Beauroy, 'Family Patterns'	J. Beauroy, 'Family Patterns and Relations of Bishop's Lynn Will-makers in the Fourteenth Century', in L. Bonfield, R. M. Smith and K. Wrightson, eds., <i>The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure: Essays Presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday</i> (Oxford, 1986), pp. 23-42.
Beaven, <i>Aldermen</i>	A. B. Beaven, <i>The Aldermen of The City of London</i> , 2 vols (London, 1908-13)
Christianson, <i>Directory</i>	C. P. Christianson, <i>A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans 1300 – 1500</i> (New York, 1990)
CPMR	<i>Calendar of Select Pleas and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London, 1324 – 1482</i> , 6 vols., eds. A. H. Thomas (i–iv) and P. E. Jones (v–vi), (Cambridge, 1926–61)
CWCH	R. R. Sharpe, ed., <i>Calendar of the Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, AD 1258 1688</i> , 2 vols (London, 1890)
Dinn, 'Popular Religion'	R.B. Dinn, 'Popular Religion in Late Bury St. Edmunds' (unpublished Ph D thesis, University of Manchester, 1990)
Emden, <i>BRUC</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge</i> (Cambridge, 1963)
Emden, <i>BRUO</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500</i> , 3 vols (Oxford, 1957– 9)
Fleming, <i>Family</i>	P. W. Fleming, <i>Family and Household in Medieval England</i> (London, 2001)
GL	Guildhall Library
Gottfried <i>Bury</i>	R. S. Gottfried, <i>Bury St. Edmunds and the Urban Crisis</i> (Princeton, 1982)
<i>JEcch</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
Jefferson, <i>Wardens</i>	L. Jefferson, ed., <i>The Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books of the Goldsmiths' Mistery of London, 1334–1446</i> (Oxford, 2003)
LB[A]	R. R. Sharpe, ed., <i>Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London, A – L</i> , 11 vols (London, 1899–1912)
Lindenbaum, 'London texts'	S. Lindenbaum, 'London texts and literate practice' in D. Wallace, ed., <i>The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature</i> (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 284-309
Lobel, <i>Bury St Edmunds</i>	M. D. Lobel, <i>The Borough of Bury St Edmunds: A Study in Government and Development of a Monastic Town</i> (Oxford, 1935)
Merry, 'Urban Identities'	M. Merry, 'The Construction and Representation of Urban Identities: Public and Private Lives in Late Medieval Bury St. Edmunds' (unpublished Ph D thesis, University of Kent, 2000)

Introduction

- Wordsworth and Littlehales OSB
PCC
Religious Houses
Riley, *Memorials*
Schofield, 'Parish Churches'
Schofield, *St. Paul's*
Sloane, *Black Death*
SROB
Steer, *Scriveners'*
Stow, *Survey*
Thomson, 'Piety and Charity'
Thrupp, *Merchant Class*
Wunderli, *Church Courts*
- C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, eds., *The Old Service Books of the English Church* (London, 1904)
Prerogative Court of Canterbury
C. M. Barron and M. P. Davies, eds., *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London, 2007)
H.T. Riley, ed., *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIII, XIV and XV Centuries* (London, 1868)
J. Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the city of London: A Review', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 45 (1994), pp. 24-146.
J. Schofield, *St. Paul's Cathedral before Wren* (London, 2011).
B. Sloane, *The Black Death in London* (Gloucester, 2011)
Suffolk Records Office Bury St. Edmunds branch
F. W. Steer, ed., *The Scriveners' Common Paper, 1357-1628* (London Record Society, 4, 1968)
John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed., C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1908)
J. A. F. Thomson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *JEccH*, 29 (1993), pp. 24-39.
S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London* (Michigan, 1962)
R. M. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge Mass., 1981)

Introduction

Life and death: a study of the wills and testaments of men and women in London and Bury St. Edmunds in the late fourteenth-early fifteenth centuries.

Historiography

The past forty years or so have seen a number of studies on the development of pious priorities in society in both urban and rural areas in later medieval England. The analysis of social attitudes of sectors of the medieval population, in particular their provision for pious and charitable works, has proved to be a fruitful area for detailed study. Most of these studies, however, have tended to look at specific social groups in English society particularly the nobility and aristocracy, the country gentry and the mercantile elites of towns.¹ Far less work has been undertaken on the study of the piety of the lower levels of medieval society, those who made up the bulk of the population in both urban and rural areas in the Middle-Ages, although in recent years local studies, particularly but not exclusively centred on East Anglia, have helped to focus on those lower down the social scale.² Robert Gottfried looked at the records for Bury St Edmunds during the 1980s, but his published findings, although containing much useful information, need to

¹ For aspects of aristocratic piety see J. T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift giving and the Aristocracy 1307-1458* (London, 1972). The gentry class has a number of studies including M. G. A. Vale, *Piety, Charity and Literature amongst the Yorkshire Gentry, 1370-1480* (Borthwick Papers No.50, 1976). Other local studies can be found in the bibliography. The merchant elite of London have been studied by S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*, (Chicago, 1948). A detailed study of London Mayors in the early fifteenth century is to be found in R. Wood, 'The London Mayors in the Reign of Henry V', (unpublished MA dissertation, University of York, 1981) especially chapter 3, pp. 50-70.

² J. Beauroy, 'Family patterns and relationships of Bishops Lynn will-makers in the fourteenth century' in L. Bonfield, R. M. Smith and K. Wrightson, eds., *The World we have gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure. Essays presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 23-42; R. Dinn, 'Popular Religion in Late Medieval Bury St Edmunds' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 1990); and idem, 'Baptism, Spiritual Kinship and Popular Religion in late medieval Bury St. Edmunds', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library, Manchester*, 72 (1990), pp. 93-106 and "'Monuments answerable to men's worth": burial patterns, social status and gender in late medieval Bury St. Edmunds' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 46 (1995), pp. 237-55; R. Wood, 'Poor widows c.1393-1415' in C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton, eds., *Medieval London Widows 1300-1500* (London, 1994), pp. 55-69; V. Bainbridge, *Gilds in the Medieval Countryside: Social and Religious Change in Cambridgeshire, c.1350-1558* (Woodbridge, 1996); D. J. F. Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389-1547* (Woodbridge, 2000); M. Merry 'The Construction and Representation of urban identities: Public and Private Lives in Late Medieval Bury St Edmunds' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Kent at Canterbury, 2000); K. Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia c.1470-1550* (Woodbridge, 2001); J. Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547* (Woodbridge, 2001), especially chapters 2-6.

be used with discretion and are not altogether reliable.³ Until now, no comparative study has been undertaken of the piety of men and women of London and Bury St. Edmunds during the Middle-Ages; this study seeks to rectify this omission.

Apart from their wills, we know virtually nothing at all about the majority of these people. For the most part without doubt, they led ordinary lives, carried on trade, married and had families and for the most part kept out of trouble from both the civic and church authorities but these ordinary lives are not necessarily documented. That we are able to find out anything of these people is due to the chance survival of considerable numbers of testamentary records particularly from the late fourteenth century onwards.

Methodology.

This study uses the surviving testamentary records for London and Bury St. Edmunds between 1380 and 1415 to ask a number of questions about the pious preoccupations and practices of the lives of the ordinary men and women living in these two towns and thus seeks to provide a nuanced interpretation of their lives, beliefs and religious practices at this period when popular heresy was first beginning to challenge the received wisdom of the Church. The study is based on a corpus of 1,384 surviving London wills and testaments enrolled in the Archdeacon of London's register of copy wills between the years 1393 to 1415. With the exception of ten wills which are written in English, the wills and testaments are written in Latin. A further 358 Latin wills and testaments recorded in the probate registers of the Sacrist's court of the abbey of Bury St Edmunds over the same years has been used for comparative purposes.

The years chosen were dictated by the survival of a single medieval probate register for the Archdeaconry of London. Although the register's index covers the years from 1368 to 1421, the first surviving copy will in the register is dated 3 November 1393, and the last

³ R. S. Gottfried, *Bury St Edmunds and the Urban Crisis: 1290-1539* (Princeton, 1982).

will is dated 10 September 1415.⁴ The same time period has therefore been chosen for Bury St Edmunds, although in marked contrast there is an almost unbroken run of wills surviving for Bury St. Edmunds from c.1350 to 1539.⁵

In addition to the Archdeacon's court, Londoners also had available the Commissary Court of London and the court of Husting in which to enrol their wills. In theory, if a testator had property in more than one archdeaconry, the will should have been enrolled in the Commissary court, whilst more wealthier testators, particularly the aldermanic and mercantile elite with property in more than one diocese, were theoretically required to have their wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury or, if testators were citizens with London property, in the court of Husting. However, in practise registration was not as neat as this. The wills enrolled in these other courts have also been studied but for comparative purposes only.⁶ In contrast, everyone holding property within the Liberty of St. Edmund's was obliged to register their will in the Sacrist's court, even if they held property elsewhere.⁷

Medieval wills: the problems of evidence.

In virtually every case these wills, or more correctly *last testaments* as they were concerned with the disposal of moveable goods, are usually the only surviving written evidence regarding these people, who and where they lived, what their trades and occupations were and occasionally from whence they came. The persuasive arguments put forward, particularly by Clive Burgess, that undue reliance on these documents may give a distorted view of the bequests made at the point of death, and that many bequests to family and close kin would already have been established prior

⁴ City of London, Guildhall Library MS 9051/1 (now in the London Metropolitan Archives) and Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds MS IC/500/2/1 Register Osbern, 1350-1442.

⁵ The other registers are SROB MSS; IC/500/2/2, Register Hawlee, 1442-1482; IC/500/2/3, Register Pye, 1491-1509; IC/500/2/4, Register Mason, 1510-1514 and IC/500/2/5, Register Hoode, 1510-1530.

⁶ The Husting's Court wills have been calendared and printed, with an introduction by R. R. Sharpe ed., *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, 1258-1688*, 2 vols (London, 1889-90)

⁷ Dinn 'Popular Religion', p. 46 and Merry 'Urban Identities', p. 15.

to the testators' death, have been borne in mind in this study.⁸ In the case of the more substantial inhabitants of medieval towns as well as the upper levels of society, there is often additional material available in the surviving civic and central administration records for these individuals; but this present study is based on the lower levels of society, the artisans and craftsmen, of London and Bury St Edmunds, and therefore we have to rely on their testaments for most of the information we have about them.

That most testators were very close to death when they made their wills no doubt concentrated their minds. It might be argued that their wills did not necessarily reflect their behaviour prior to this event. However, as Norman Tanner has written

'...no doubt the wills of medieval Christians reflect a more religious outlook than many possessed earlier in their lives. On the other hand a person is, in many ways, most authentic when facing death: in some ways a will sums up a person's attitude to life'.⁹

The Custom and Process of Will-Making and the Motivations of Testators

The earliest authority that we have regarding the disposal of testators' goods and chattels is the ecclesiastical lawyer Henry Swinburne.¹⁰ Writing at the end of the sixteenth century he stated that in many parts of the country the custom was that after the payment of all debts and funeral expenses, one third of a man's personal goods must pass to his wife if she survived him, one third was to go to any surviving children and the final third could be disposed of as he wished.

The church courts were responsible for administering the probate of the will. These courts were required to ascertain the wishes of the testator and to ensure that the executors carried them out. The church courts therefore had to oversee the inventories of the goods of the deceased and to ensure that the goods were properly valued and

⁸ C. Burgess, 'Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered' in M. Hicks, ed., *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England* (Gloucester, 1990), pp.14-33.

⁹ N. J. Tanner, *The Church in Medieval Norwich, 1370-1532*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts 66 (Toronto, 1984), p. 116.

¹⁰ S. Doyle, 'Swinburn, Henry (c. 1551-1624)', <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26836>, accessed 19 March 2012. Henry Swinburne, *A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills*, (London, 1591). A. J. Camp, *Wills and their Whereabouts*, 4th edn. (London, 1974), p. xi, states that this process had been the common law in England until at least the early thirteenth century.

distributed according to the provision of the will. For this service, the court received a fee which was based roughly on the total value of the inventory or 'movables'.¹¹

The evidence for the universal belief in the efficacy of intercessory prayers by the living for the dead is found in the majority of wills for both London and Bury St Edmunds testators. The concept of Purgatory, as an intermediate staging post between Heaven and Hell was only precisely formulated in the twelfth century.¹² By passing through Purgatory, the souls of the dead might cleanse themselves of the guilt attached to the sins committed during their lifetime by submitting to a graduated scale of divine punishments. The greater the provision made for prayers and masses the quicker the soul passed from Purgatory to Heaven. Late medieval religion has been well described as 'a cult of living friends in the service of dead ones'.¹³

Funeral arrangements for the more substantial inhabitants were specified often in great detail; it was important to be seen to 'die well'.¹⁴ This often involved elaborate rituals reflecting in death the status of the deceased in life. The poor were involved as part of this ritual clad in black gowns and carrying torches at the funeral procession. It was believed that prayers from the poor would have a greater benefit for the soul of the deceased in its journey in the afterlife. For the less wealthy and the poor, it was important to have a Christian burial. Varying sums of money were given to the testators' churches mostly, but not exclusively, to the high altar for forgotten tithes and oblations.

¹¹ See, for example, R. M. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation*, (Speculum Anniversary Monographs 7, The Medieval Academy of America, 1981), p.113.

¹² C. Harper-Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400-1530*, (London, 1996), pp. 67-68, 71. See also J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984). C. Burgess has written an excellent account of the practical consequences of the doctrine in "'A Fond Thing Vainly Imagined": an Essay on Purgatory and Pious Motive in later Medieval England', in S. Wright, ed., *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1700* (London, 1984), pp. 56-84.

¹³ J. Bossy, 'The Mass as Social Institution, 1200-1700', *Past and Present*, 100 (1977), pp. 29-61 at p.42.

¹⁴ There is a whole literature on this topic under the generic title of *Ars Moriendi*. See for example P. Binski, *Medieval Death* (London, 1996).

Some of these individuals made provision either for short-term or long-term prayers through the use of chantries. Chantries were the means whereby testators could ensure that prayers and masses would be said on their behalf by a chantry priest, or priests, in return for an annual income from the estate of the deceased. Chantries took many forms throughout the whole of the medieval period, ranging from perpetual chantries established by the extremely wealthy who had sufficient lands and/or property to provide sufficient annual rental to maintain the chantry and the chaplain's salary too. For those less well off, and this study is based on the lower levels of society, fixed term chantries or membership of a fraternity either trade or parish, ensured that prayers would be said for the benefit of all deceased members at least once a year, but often much more frequently.¹⁵ All these intercessory prayers and masses would help the souls of the departed on their journey through purgatory to paradise.

People in the middle ages did not make any clear-cut differentiation between what was termed pious works and charitable works. Good works were considered to be particularly effective for the speed of the soul's journey through purgatory to paradise. Images abounded in the medieval period to remind the laity of the seven corporal works of mercy. They could be found in the stained glass and wall paintings of the parish churches and in books.¹⁶ These were admonishing the sinner; feeding the hungry; sheltering the homeless; clothing the naked; visiting the sick; visiting the prisoners and burying the dead. In return for monetary donations, the recipients were required to pray for the soul of the benefactor, family members and all the faithful departed. The

¹⁵ For perpetual chantries in England, still the most useful book is K. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (London, 1965). There have been a number of studies using the evidence of testamentary documents and surviving gild registers, etc. which are useful for comparative purposes including V. Bainbridge, *Guilds in the Medieval Countryside* (Woodbridge, 1996); M. Rubin, *Charity & Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 237-88; D. F. J. Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power, Religious Gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire, 1389-1547* (Woodbridge, 2000); C. M. Barron 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London' in C. M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill, eds., *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society* (London, 1985) pp.13-37.

¹⁶ A fine set of medieval stained glass windows depicting the seven corporal works of mercy can be found in All Saints North Street York.

greater the number of benefactions the more people would be involved in prayers for the deceased.¹⁷

Testators might also make provision for civic works. These might also be termed charitable works, although it is not possible to say whether medieval people drew such a sharp distinction between pious and charitable works. These often took the form of sums of money set aside for repairs to the roads and occasionally bridges, provision of water supplies, for the purchase of coal and wood for the poor parishioners and alms for inmates of hospitals and prisons.

Likewise, the parish clergy were remembered. Often they were given money or gifts of clothes or plate, for use in divine services, with the appropriate request for prayers for the donor's soul. Donations were also given to their parish church for building works, repairs to the fabric, the construction of steeples and/or towers and the provision of bells, glazing of windows and for items of church plate for use in divine services. Again, in return for these gifts, prayers would be offered for the soul of the donor. Items of clothing and jewellery were sometimes left to the church for use in services and the adornment of statues and images within the church.

The orders of mendicant friars were popular recipients of bequests and these donations are examined in detail. In the thirteenth century, the friars became very popular with the laity and were seen to be exemplars of the Christian way of life, as they were without worldly possessions and relied on charity and gifts for their survival.¹⁸ The fact that the orders of friars lived and worked amongst the populace was a further benefit

¹⁷ See J. A. F. Thomson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 29 (1993), pp. 178-95, at p.180.

¹⁸ See particularly C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars. The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London, 1994) and Jens Rohrkasten, 'Londoners and London Mendicants in the Late Middle Ages' *JEcCH*, 47 (1996), pp. 446-77 and 'Mendicants in the Metropolis: The Londoners and the Development of the London Friaries' in M. Prestwich, R. H. Britnell and R. Frame, eds., *Thirteenth Century England*, 6 (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 61-75 and idem, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London, 1221-1539* (Münster, 2004).

to these orders. Some of our testators desired burial within the friars' churches and churchyards. The friars were also popular for the sermons that they preached, often attracting large numbers.

The enclosed orders of monks and nuns also received donations but these were not on the same scale as the friars. However, they are remembered in the wills in London and Bury St Edmunds, and these will be examined. Likewise, there are occasional references to hermits and anchorites, laypersons who had renounced all worldly possessions to live a life of prayer and meditation. They were reliant on others to provide food and drink in order to sustain life in return for prayers for the deceased. Finally, hospitals were seen as another form of charity, which could be of benefit to testators in death.¹⁹

Nearly all the London wills in this study were drawn up and probate granted within a relatively short time interval of between a few days to one to three months.²⁰ There was no consistency in recording probate for Bury St. Edmunds for the period of this study. Systematic recording of probate was only commenced in the later fifteenth century. Before we study specific aspects of the contents of these wills and testaments, it is necessary to examine the testamentary processes that were available to Londoners and the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds.

There are several wills which state that the testators had written them themselves, again not surprisingly these are the wills of members of the clergy. Further, there were a considerable number of lay professional writers particularly, but not exclusively, in London at this time, some of whose wills are in the Archdeacon's probate register. Whilst not stating that they had produced their own wills it is very likely that they had in fact done so. There is therefore evidence of literacy at the end of the fourteenth and

¹⁹ See C. Rawcliffe 'The Hospitals of later medieval London', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), pp. 1-21.

²⁰ See Chapter One, figure 1.9.

beginning of the fifteenth centuries among some levels of London society, and this topic will be developed further in chapter five. The evidence of literacy amongst Bury St Edmund's testators is less certain, but it is quite likely that there were individuals who had similar abilities as the London literati. Education then, as now, was seen as a way of moving up the social scale and there are some London references in this study to the provision of sums of money for the education of children. Boys were the usual beneficiaries of schooling - girls often being put into apprenticeships to learn a craft skill. The conclusion will draw together the results of the findings of the five chapters; in particular, the changes that took place in religious practice over the forty-year period will be examined. The popularity of different saints will be contrasted with the dedications of the parish churches. Was there any evidence for the impact of heretical/Wycliffite ideas which had caused such concern at this time, particularly with the activities of Sir John Oldcastle culminating with his rebellion in 1414 in London and his eventual capture and subsequent execution.²¹

²¹ See J. A. F. Thomson, Oldcastle, John, Baron Cobham (d. 1417) Oxford Dictionary of National Biography OUP 2004, online edn May 2008 [[http:// www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20674](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20674), accessed 3 Nov 2011].

Chapter One. Testamentary jurisdiction in London and Bury St Edmunds.

'In the name of god Amen. ye xij of janen' ye yere of owr lord a ml iijcccc and vi. I Jonet Bylney being in good memory ordeyne my wyl in this maner Ferst I bequethe my sowle to god and to owre lady and to alle ye holy halghmen of hevene and my body to be buryed in ye parysch of stanynglane Also I beqwethe to Jonet my suster my best cote my cloke of reed hood tweyne of my best kerchevs and a faser Also I beqwethe to Mergrete ye kepte me my tauney cote a coverlyt a payer schetys a tauney kyrtell a cawdrum and for hyre travale iiis. iiijd. Also I beqwethe to olde Margery jn stanynglane my blak cote a kercher of yred Also I beqwethe to Alison Stanys my blewe kertell and I wele yat John Trenchem and John Scot be myn executors and ye resydwe of good I wele that thei have yt and ordeyne for me as thentytgh best for to do yt with.¹

Jonet Bylney was nearing the end of her life when she had her will drawn up. It was written in English, and was dated 12 January 1406/7. We do not know who wrote the actual document setting out her instructions about the disposition of her soul and her burial place as well as the personal bequests to her sister, nurse, friends and the appointment of her executors. It may have been her parish chaplain, or one of the many scribes who lived and worked in London. On the 1 February 1406/7 her executors brought the will to the court of the Archdeacon of London, sitting in the parish church of St. Nicholas Shambles. It was scrutinised and approved by the official who then granted the probate to Jonet's executors, John Trenchem and John Scot.

This simple document offers us an insight into the life of an ordinary Londoner at the start of the fifteenth century. It also poses a number of questions that this chapter will examine, such as who was involved in the will making process and what role did the secular clergy, scribes and the church courts play. In the case of Jonet Bylney, what steps had to be taken for her will to be recorded and approved by the church court that had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over her and her executors? How long did it usually take for probate to be granted and, finally, how well did the executors carry out their tasks? This process was played out in countless numbers over the whole country during

¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1406 fols.14^v-15^r, English original.

the course of the middle ages. That copies of so many medieval testaments remain is due in part to the chance survival of the ecclesiastical registers from a considerable number of English dioceses starting from the mid to late fourteenth century, many of which are now in record offices up and down the country.

The English medieval church was intimately involved in the daily life of men and women, both religious and lay, throughout the whole of the medieval period. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Church had become a highly organised institution. The ecclesiastical division into provinces, dioceses and parishes was common to Europe, as was the further sub-division of the diocese into archdeaconries and rural deaneries. There were two provinces in England; the southern province was centred at Canterbury, where the archbishop had his seat in the cathedral. The Northern Province was under the overall control of the archbishop of York and his seat was in the minster. Although there were two archbishops, Canterbury was the senior archbishopric and thus the English church was under his overall authority.²

Each bishop was responsible for the moral and spiritual wellbeing of all members of his diocese both religious and lay. In order that each diocese could function efficiently a number of ecclesiastical courts were established; the bishop's Consistory Court being the highest, followed by his Commissary Court and then his Archdeacon's Courts.

In addition to the legal cases that these courts heard, such as defamation, immorality, adultery, prostitution and other misdemeanours, the church courts were also responsible for administering the probate of the will. The term *will* is used throughout this study. Strictly speaking, there were three distinct expressions in use during the middle

² For a general introduction to the history of the English church, see M. Deanesly, *A History of the Medieval Church 590-1500* (London, 9th edition with corrections, 1972), especially chapter XV. The English dioceses by the fourteenth century comprised Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Salisbury, Exeter, Bath and Wells, London, Norwich, Ely, Lincoln, Worcester, Hereford, Coventry and Lichfield, York, Carlisle and Durham. The Welsh bishoprics were St. David's, St. Asaph, Bangor and Llandaff.

ages *testamentum*, *ultima voluntas* and *codicil*. The *testamentum* was concerned with bequests of movable goods and chattels; the *ultima voluntas* or 'last will' was concerned with the disposition of the real estate of the deceased. The *codicil* contained instructions or bequests that the testator added either to the *testamentum* or the *ultima voluntas*. In practice, there was not always a clear-cut distinction between real estate and movable goods and chattels.³ The ecclesiastical courts were required to ascertain what the wishes of the testator were, through examining the will, and to ensure that the executors carried out its instructions. The ecclesiastical courts were also required to oversee the inventories of the goods of the deceased, and to ensure that the goods were properly valued and distributed according to the provision of the will. For this service the court received a fee which was related to the total value of the inventory or 'movables'.⁴ William Lyndwood (c. 1375-1446), Archbishop Henry Chichele's official principal of the Court -of-Arches in London, gave the rates against testators' estates in the 1430s as: 30s. to £5 - 12d.; £5 to £20 - 3s.; £20 to £60 - 5s.; £40 to £100 - 10s.; £100 to £150 - 20s. Clerks who copied the wills into the court probate registers were to have 6d. per entry.⁵

The Ecclesiastical Courts of the Diocese of London and of Bury St Edmunds

The medieval diocese of London comprised the city of London and the counties of Middlesex and Essex.⁶ The bishop of London had a number of courts within his diocese which met in various locations both in the city of London and other places throughout his diocese. The bishop's Consistory Court sat weekly and sometimes bi-weekly depending on the volume of business to be processed, in the Long Chapel, situated in

³ See also E. F. Jacob, ed., *Register of Henry Chichele Archbishop of Canterbury*, Canterbury and York Society, 4 vols (Oxford, 1937-1947), 2, pp. xi - xxv and xxxiv- xxxv.

⁴ See, for example, R. M. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation*, (Speculum Anniversary Monographs 7, The Medieval Academy of America, 1981), pp. 114 - 115.

⁵ See J.V. Bullard and H. Chalmer -Bell, eds., *Lyndwood's Provinciale: the text and canons therein contained, reprinted from the translation made in 1534* (London, 1929), Book III, chapter VII, *Adeo quorundam et infra*. pp. 68-69. For Lyndwood, see R. M. Helmholz 'Lyndwood, William (c. 1375–1446)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* Oxford University Press, 2004: online edn, May 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17264>, accessed 25 July 2011.]

⁶ See Figure 1.1.

the north aisle of the nave of St. Paul's Cathedral.⁷ The jurisdiction of the bishop's official, who presided over the court, covered the whole of the London diocese, including the city of London.⁸ The Consistory Court also dealt with testamentary matters and the surviving 245 pre-Reformation wills have been published.⁹ Within the city itself there were over one hundred parishes, and testamentary jurisdiction for the majority of the parishes was divided roughly equally between the bishop's Commissary Court and the Archdeacon of London's court.¹⁰ The Commissary Court, because of the heavy volume of business, sat on several days of the week, usually in St. Paul's, whilst the court of the Archdeacon of London seems to have sat at the parish church of St. Nicholas Shambles.¹¹

The court in which the will was proved, or letters of administration granted, depended on the value of goods and/or property left by the deceased, and their location. If the deceased held goods and property in one archdeaconry, the will was proved in the Archdeacon's Court. However, if goods and property was held in more than one archdeaconry within the diocese, then the will was meant to be proved in either the bishop's Commissary Court, or if the estate was more extensive then the will was to be proved in the Consistory Court. For those Londoners who held property, goods or debts

⁷ Information from Dr. John Schofield, 15 July 2010. See also J. Schofield, *St. Pauls' Cathedral before Wren* (London, 2011), pp. 109 and 149.

⁸ Wunderli, *Church Courts*, pp. 8-10.

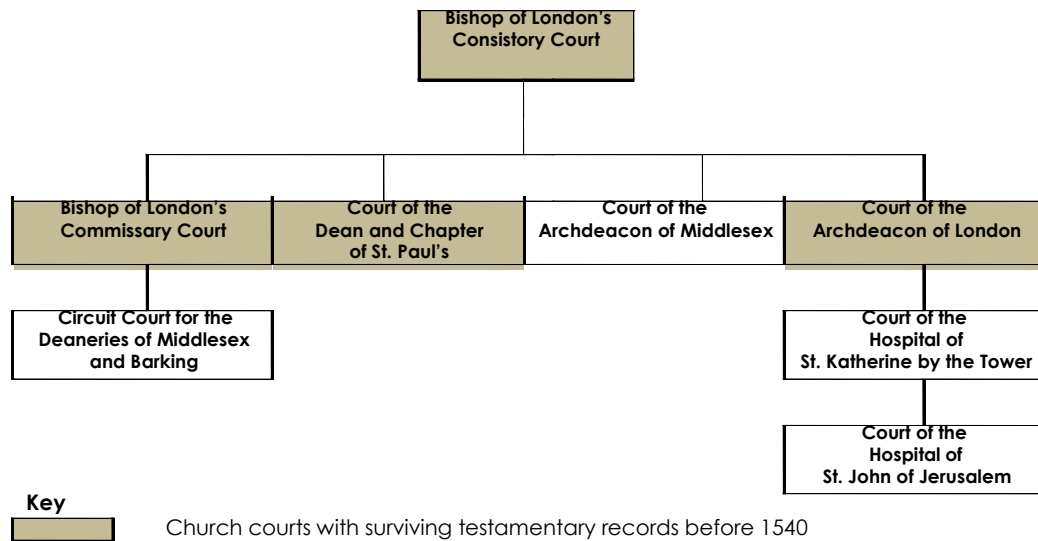
⁹ I. Darlington, ed., *London Consistory Court Wills 1492-1547* (London Record Society, 3, 1967)

¹⁰ See for example A. J. Camp, *Wills and their whereabouts*, (London, 1974), pp. 85 - 87. See Appendix 2 for the theoretical distribution of London parishes by jurisdiction. Camp had based the jurisdiction of the various London ecclesiastical courts on a nineteenth-century document, which probably did not represent the ecclesiastical division during the middle ages.

¹¹ Wunderli, *Church Courts*, pp. 10-19. There is an incidental reference in the surviving fifteenth century churchwarden's accounts of St. Nicholas Shambles dated 10th November 1466 which suggests that the Archdeacon's court may have sat in the church; 'to Master Robert of the Archdeacon's court for his labour and boat hire to Westminster to speak with Sir Thomas Eyre our parson -10d'. St. Bartholomew's Hospital, MS SNC 1, fol. 84r. I owe this reference to Mr. Christian Steer. . Statutes formulated by bishop Roger Niger c. 1229x1241 for the Archdeaconry of London, subsequently revised 1241 x c.1270 included St. Nicholas Shambles in the four city churches where quarterly meetings concerning the administration of the archdeaconry and the relations with the parish clergy. The other churches were St. Martin Vintry, St. Peter Cornhill and St. Lawrence Jewry; see F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, eds., *Councils and Synods: with other documents relating to the English Church. II, AD 1205-1313* (Oxford, 1964) pp. 325-37 especially p. 330 and n. 2. Further corroboration comes from the Commissary Courts 'Acta quoad correctionem delinquentium' registers vol. 11, uly 1511-1516, fol. 301r where it is noted that the Archdeacon's court of London sat at the parish[church] of St. Nicholas Macella; Wunderli, *Church Courts*, p. 15, n. 14.

worth more than £10 in more than one diocese, the will was probated in the archbishop of Canterbury's Prerogative Court. In addition to the three main courts described above, there were at least five other ecclesiastical church courts within the diocese of London; of these only the peculiar court of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's has surviving pre-Reformation testamentary records.

Figure 1.1: London's Ecclesiastical Courts ¹²



Of the other four church courts, no medieval probate records survive. Figure 1.1 above represents the organisation of the ecclesiastical courts of the Diocese of London.¹³

In addition to the ecclesiastical courts, London citizens also had a secular court, the court of Husting, where they could register their wills relating to their real estate, and sometimes their testaments too and have them proved, provided that they were free of the city.¹⁴ In his introduction to his *Calendar of Husting Wills* R. R. Sharpe stated that 'It was not unusual, as well within the City as without, for a testator to make two separate and distinct wills, one disposing of his real estate and the other of his personal goods

¹² Figure 1.1 is based on Wunderli, *Church Courts*, p. 9.

¹³ The information is taken from Guildhall Library manuscript Section leaflet *Guide to Probate Records (Wills and Administrations)* at Guildhall Library.

¹⁴ R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, A.D. 1258-1688*, 2 vols (London, 1889).

and chattels'.¹⁵ Two examples illustrate this last point. William de Thorneye, pepperer, made two wills on 20 June 1349. His *ultima voluntas* will records that he left all his property to his son John; a tenement in St. Mary Aldermary, and a shop that he had acquired from his half brother John Chaucer in the parish of St. Antholin. Thorneye's *testament* dealt with the disposition of his movable goods.¹⁶ The two wills of Peter de Blithe, potter, were also recorded in the Husting Court. His *testament* and his *ultima voluntas* will were both made on the 20 November 1353 but not enrolled until 11 June 1356. He devised his tenement in St. Peter, Cornhill to his son John in tail; then, if John died with no heirs to his daughter Alice in tail; finally to be sold for pious and charitable works.¹⁷ However, the bulk of the wills copied into the Husting Rolls are concerned with the testators' real estate rather than their personal estate. There is only one Archdeaconry will which is also recorded in the Husting Rolls. Henry Payn, fuster (a joiner or maker of the woodwork for saddles) of St. Alban Wood Street drafted his will on 26 August 1410, which was proved in the Archdeacon's court on 17 March 1410/11. He had another identical copy drafted the same day which was subsequently enrolled in the Husting court on 12 March 1411/12.¹⁸ Payne had been a master of the Fusters Company in 1377-8 and again in 1393-4.¹⁹

The Archdeacon of London and his probate records.

i. The Archdeacons.

The Archdeacon of London was third in order of precedence after the bishop of London and the Dean of St. Pauls. The position of Archdeacon would thus be an attractive proposition to careerist clerics, men who had made their careers primarily in

¹⁵ *CWCH*, i, p. xxv. He cites several cases when both *ultima voluntas* wills and testaments being enrolled in the Court of Husting.

¹⁶ Enrolled on 25 July 1349; *CWCH*, i, pp. 603 and 649-51 respectively. Thorneye was elected sheriff in 1339-40, and alderman of Coleman Street Ward in 1342; *LBF*, pp.38 and 71

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 674 and 690.

¹⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1411, fols. 3^v-4^r and *CWCH*, ii, pp. 389-90; HR 138 (57).

¹⁹ *LBH*, pp. 76, 389 and *LBI*, p. 55. At the disputed re-election of Nicholas Brembre on 13 October 1384, when considerable numbers of tailors and other tradesmen protested at the Guildhall against his re-election, Payn stood surety for two of the tailors charged with incitement; Peter Fykelden, was bailed by John Sewale, mercer, Robert Paunton, girdler, William Shirewode, saddler and Henry Payne, fuster in the sum of £100. Thomas Mynton was bailed by Robert Asshcoumbre, broiderer, Henry Payn, fuster, Nicholas Whitlock, lorimer and Robert de Holdernes, cutler in the sum of £1000; *CPMR, 1381-1412*, pp. 64 and 66. See also *LBH*, p. 251.

either royal or ecclesiastical service. The three men who held this office between 1380 and 1415, the period covered by the only surviving medieval Archdeacon's probate register, were typical careerists. All were successful university trained lawyers and all were in royal and ecclesiastical service where their legal training was used to full advantage and all were rewarded with this post. Thomas Baketon DCL was a graduate of Cambridge University and Reginald Kentwood BCL (Archdeacon 1397-1400) and Thomas Stowe DCL (Archdeacon 1400-1422) were graduates of Oxford University. Neither Bacton nor Stowe advanced any further whilst Kentwood went on to become Dean of St. Paul's after serving twenty-two years as Archdeacon.²⁰

ii. The Probate Register.

The medieval Archdeacon's register is approximately 13¼" x 9¼" in size and covers the years 1381 to 1421.²¹ Each folio is of vellum and of varying quality. Originally, the register was in a single volume with the folios stitched together on the left hand side and, in all probability, was bound with leather covered wooden boards and closed with a metal clasp in a manner similar to the contemporary Commissary Court Wills Register Courtney, covering the years 1374 to 1401.²² In recent years the register has been repaired and conserved, and is now separated into two parts with modern bindings and block titles on the spine. The register recorded the wills and testaments of 4,208 men and women and the granting of probate within the Archdeacon's jurisdiction between 1368 and 1421. The index was compiled shortly after 1421 and for the most part is the work of a single scribe and is now bound into the front of the register. The index is on a yearly basis beginning usually, but not always, at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the 25 March, which was the start of the new calendar year. It lists the names of the testators in that year and the folio numbers

²⁰ A. B. Emden, ed., *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 31-32; idem, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-9), vol. iii, pp. 1794-5 and *BRUO*, vol. ii, pp. 1039-40. J Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*, *V St Paul's London* compiled by J. Horne (London, 1963), p. 8.

²¹ GL MS 9051/1.

²² GL MS 9171/1.

where the wills were entered. Subsequently a modern pagination system has been added. Table 1.1 below provides full details of the index entries by probate year, number of wills entered and the folios used, together with the modern pagination.

In his *Calendar of the Archdeacon's wills* Marc Fitch used the modern pagination system rather than the original medieval system.²³ All references cited in this thesis are to the original entries in the register, and are cited by probate year and foliation, rather than the Fitch foliation. A detailed table of the surviving copy wills and testaments beginning with the will of John Loys alias Tyler (1393, fol. 12; Fitch reference fol. 1) has been prepared showing the original medieval probate year and folio numbers in the index, and the Fitch foliations for these entries: see Appendix 1. *Archdeacon of London Register of Copy Wills: Concordance Data*.

²³ M. Fitch, ed., *Index to Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry Court of London (1363)-1700, now preserved in the Guildhall Library*, vol 1 (London, 1969)

Table 1.1. Index to Archdeacon of London's probate Register, GL MS 9051/1

Probate year	Number of wills	Folio numbers	Modern Pagination	Probate year	Number of wills	Folio numbers	Modern Pagination
1368	210	1-48	1-3	1395	172	1-36	24-25
1369	58	1-13	3	1396	40	1-13	26-27
1370	43	1-14	3-4	1397	52	1-18 ²⁴	27
1371	46	1-12	4-5	1398	33	1-8	27-28
1372	69	1-15	5	1399	61	1-23	28
1373	49	1-12	5-6	1400	44	1-14	28-29
1374	83	1-19	6-7	1401	8	1-5 ²⁵	29
1375	162	1-50	7-9	1402	41	1-15	29
1376	31	1-9	10	1403	53	1-16	29-30
1377	62	1-16	10-11	1404	74	1-18	30
1378	47	1-14	11	1405	69	1-19	31
1379	60	1-18	11-12	1406	75/6	1-16	31-32
1380	57	1-16	12-13	1407	165+2	1-31	32-33
1381	58	1-14	13-14	1408	58	1-13	33-34
1382	103	1-23	14-15	1409	66	1-26	34
1383	58	1-16	15	1410	61	1-16	34-35
1384	66	1-15	15-16	1411	82	1-17	35-36
1385	83	1-19	16-17	1412	98	1-23	36-37
1386	69	1-15	17	1413	149	1-28 +1-19 twice	37-38
1387	62	2-16 ²⁶	18	1414	46	1-17	39
1388	71	1-15	18-19	1415	72	1-20	39-40
1389	65	1-15	19-20	1416	78	1-32	40-41
1390	93	1-24	20-21	1417	84	1-20	41-42
1391	53	1-13 ²⁷	21	1418	44	1-6, 10-14 ²⁸	42 & 43
1392	53	1-11	22	1419	31	1-7	43
1393	81	1-20	22-23	1420	74	1-14	43-44
1394	54	1-12	23-24	1421	10	1-2	44

The index begins with the heading 'testaments and probate proved before the official of the archdeacon for the year 1368' (pages 1-3). The following year the heading reads, 'testaments and probates proved before the official of the archdeacon 1369, and it is dated V Kalends April (28 March) in the above year', (page 3). From 1370 until 1380, (pages 3-13) the clerk abbreviated the headings to read 'testaments for the year...'. The heading for 1381 (pages 13-14) reads 'testaments and probates proved before master Thomas de Cranele, the official of Thomas Bacton, Archdeacon of London, from the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary 1381'.²⁹ From 1382 until 1395 (pages 14-25) the headings reverted to 'testaments for the year...'. There is a marginal heading for 1386 (page 17) which reads 'probates a[nno] d^{mo}

²⁴ Folio 18 has been entered with probate year 1398, 6 no. wills.

²⁵ Heading for 1401 inserted between folios 12 and 13.

²⁶ Folio 1 missing from index and marginal entry records p'btes a d^m lxxxvj.

²⁷ Modern pencil entry 1391/2

²⁸ Folios 1-6 on a small strip of parchment attached to previous parchment. Space had been left in probate year 1418 entries but starts at folio 10, folios 7-9 not entered and it is presumed that the original folios had been lost or mislaid.

²⁹ Possibly the Thomas Cranele (Cranley) in *BRUO*, pp. 510-11.

[domino] lxxxvj'. In 1395 (pages 24-25) the heading changed to 'testaments for the Hillary term 1395'. This was a year of high mortality with 172 wills recorded on thirty-six folios. The heading was entered between the list of testators on folio 25 and the continuation of the testators on folio 26.³⁰ A further change occurred in 1396 (pages 26-27) with the heading 'testaments for the Easter term during the time of magister Thomas Stowe, Archdeacon of London by Robert Northlode, the archdeacon's commissary' between the list of testators on folio 13 and the list of testators on folio 14.³¹ Easter term headings continued until 1402 (pages 27-29) when the headings reverted to the earlier heading of 1369. This heading continued to be used until the index of the register ends in 1421 (pages 29-44).

Whilst we have these two names of the Archdeacon's officials who presided in his court, it has not been possible to find any detailed information on either of these two men. They do not appear in Emden's biographical registers of Cambridge or Oxford Universities but they may well have attended either university. They would certainly have been lawyers in order to obtain their appointment to the Archdeacon's court, where they oversaw the courts business on behalf of the Archdeacon.

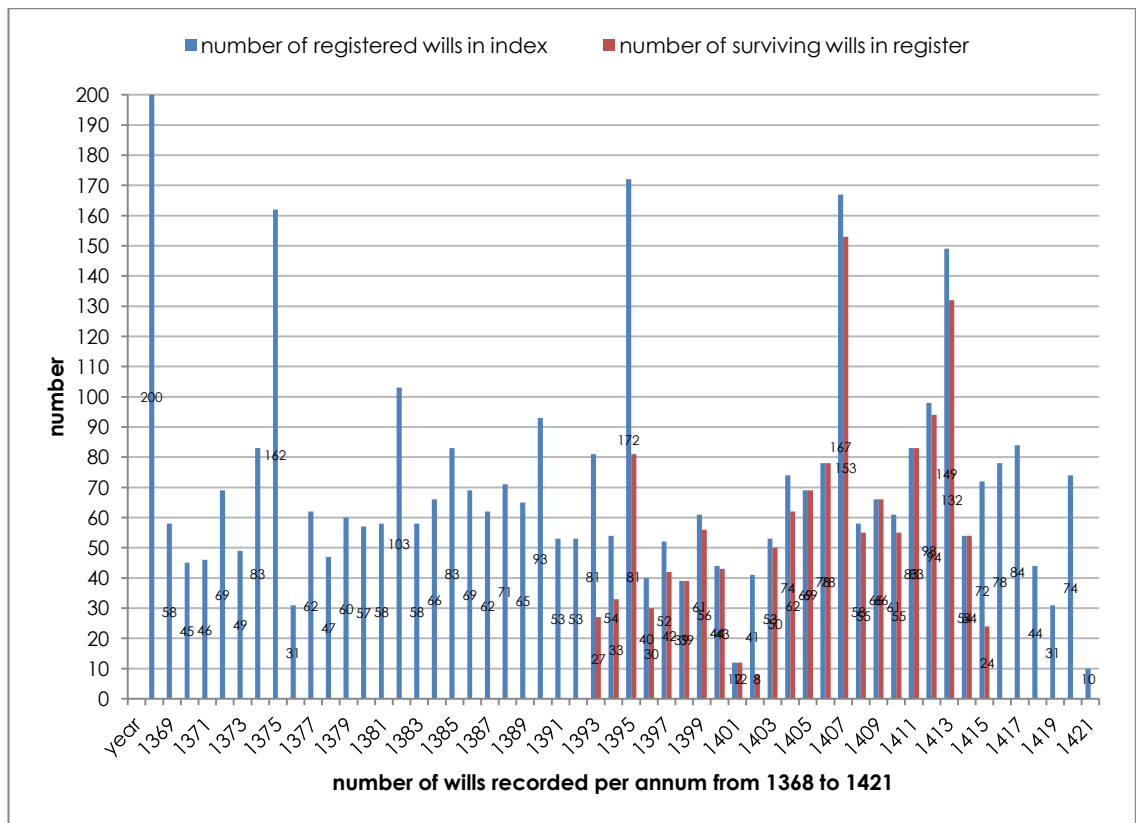
The completed index was in all probability, compiled from the annual running indices that the court scribes kept on each sitting of the court when entering each will and the date of granting probate. These would have been individual sheets forming the index and were subsequently bound into quires at the end of each calendar year. Occasionally individual sheets went missing. The index for 1386, commences at folio 2, suggesting that the first folio of the index of copy wills was missing at the time the scribe compiled the index. The same situation occurs again in 1406, the first folio of the index of copy wills was missing. There is a modern pencil insert in the same year for folio 6,

³⁰ Hillary term almost always began on the Octave (20 January) and closed at various dates: the morrow, the Octave or the Quindene of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary. See C. R. Cheney, ed., *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (London, 1970), pp. 67-68.

³¹ Robert Northlode, or variant spellings does not appear in either *BRUC* or *BRUO*.

when the will of Emma Kelk has been added, the clerk having perhaps omitted to record her entry originally. In 1413, the clerks originally appear to have mislaid some of the folios. Eighty-five wills are recorded on folios 1 to 18, followed by duplicate folios 1 to 14 recording a further fifty-five wills. In 1418 space is left in the index for folios 7 to 9, with folios 1 to 6 entered on a separate piece of parchment which has been stitched to the index itself, presumably, when the clerk realised that they had not been recorded originally. The last year of the register, 1421, has only the first two folios entered in the index; the remainder of the year is missing. By comparing the number of wills from the index with the number of surviving wills in the register, we can ascertain the number of wills that have been lost. From a total of 4,208 wills and testaments entered in the index to the register, just 1,384 (33%) copy wills and testaments from the total of 4,208 wills and testaments originally entered in the register have survived. The information is shown in Figure 1.2 below.

Figure 1.2: Comparison between the wills recorded in the index and the surviving wills in the Archdeacon of London's probate register between 1368 and 1421.



It is possible to use the dating of the probate clauses in the register to calculate the number of times that the court sat each month. Two years will suffice; 1399 may be taken as a typical year when fifty-four wills were granted probate and 1407, which was an exceptionally busy year when 153 wills were granted probate. We can also see in which months the court sat most frequently. The information is shown graphically in figures 1.3 and 1.4 below.

From Figure 1.3 we find that the norm for the year was four sittings per month; May, November, January and March 1399/1400. A sharp rise occurred in April with six sittings then reducing slightly to four sittings in May. In March, June and July the court sat on two occasions only. From September onward, the next five months was a period of greater mortality when court monthly sittings never fell below four, with six sittings for September, October and December.

Figure 1.3: The number of days that the Archdeacon's court sat each month for 1399, based on the recorded probate dates

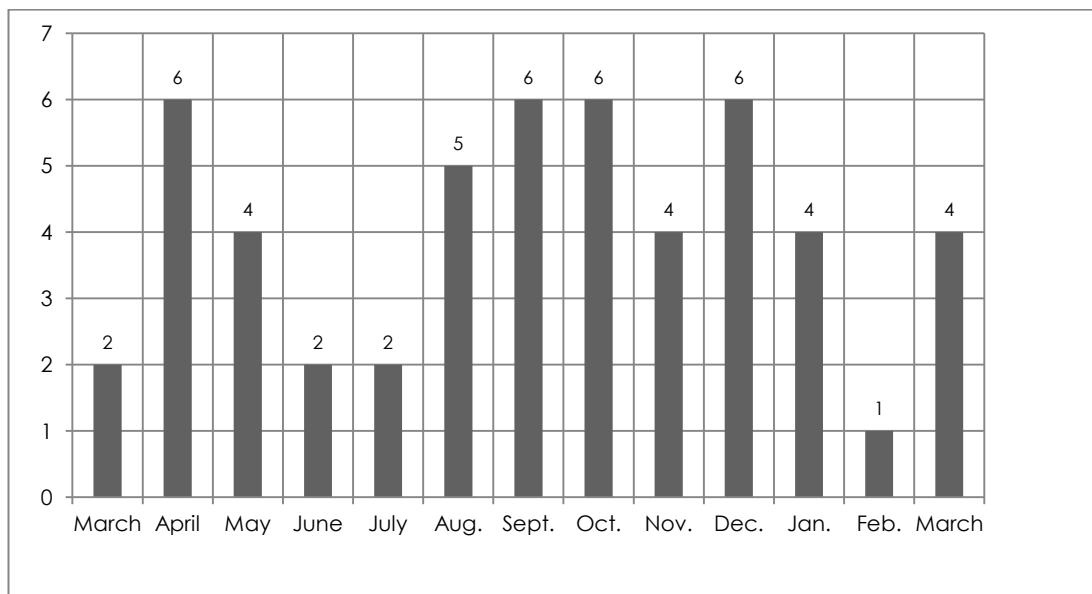
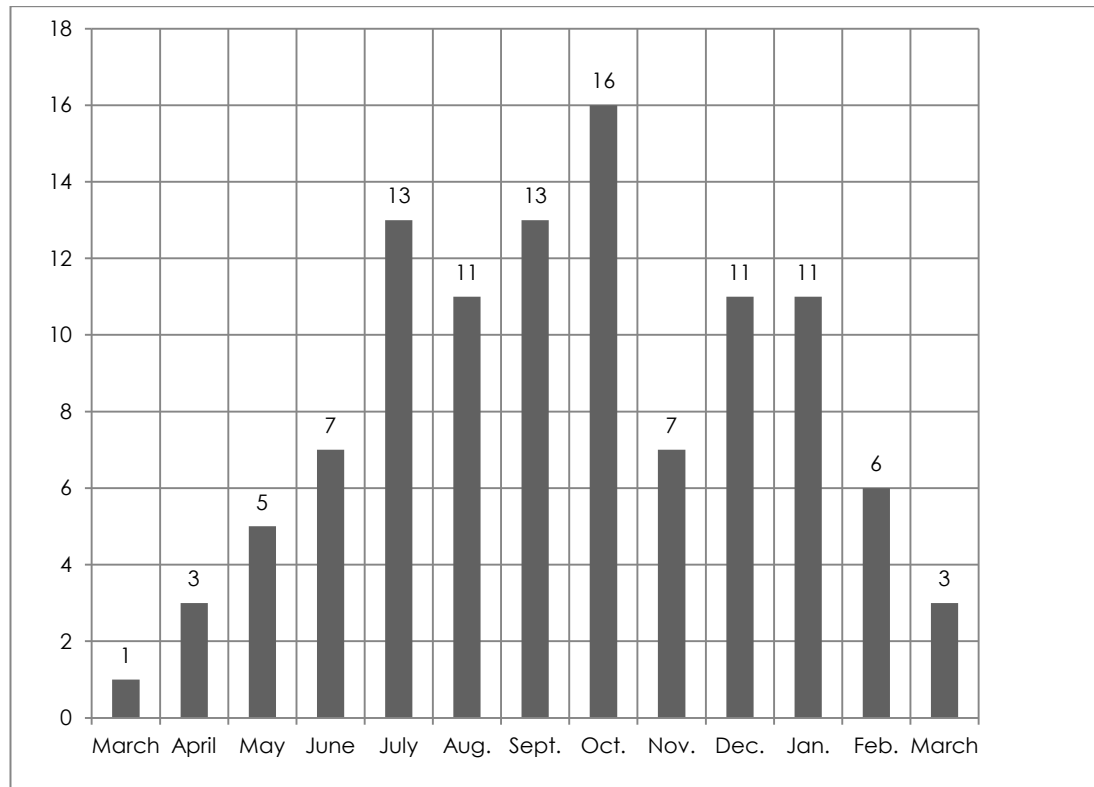


Figure 1.4: The number of days that the Archdeacon's court sat each month for 1407 based on the recorded probate dates.



In contrast with 1399, the mortality rates for 1407 are considerably higher, as Figure 1.4 indicates. One hundred and fifty-three probates were granted between the start of the year on the 25 March 1407 and 24 March 1407/8 when the year ended. The first three months of the year started slowly, with one, three and five court sittings respectively. This was followed by a jump to seven sittings in June. The following four months to October saw the greatest level of sittings; thirteen in July, eleven in August, thirteen in September and peaking with sixteen sittings in October before returning to near normal numbers of sittings.

Further, if we use the probate dates for 1399 and 1407, we are able to see the pattern of days of the week each month when the Archdeacon's court sat. Figure 1.5, for the year 1399-1400, shows that the court sat on all seven days of the week, with Wednesday recording the highest number of sittings, ten, followed by Monday, Tuesday, Friday and Saturday with seven sittings, Thursday with six meetings and Sunday

with four. The dates that the court sat for April 1399 and March 1400 may well have been increased by a further day; two of the wills in both these two months have no probate date recorded in the register. In all, the Archdeacon's court sat on forty-eight days during the year, with the possibility of a further two; roughly once a week.³²

Figure 1.5: Days of the week that the Archdeacon's court sat in each month for the year 1399-1400.

Calendar Year for 1399 from 25 March 1399 to 24 March 1399/1400								
Month	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Not recorded
March	30					28		
April		7	8	9,16	3			1
May	11			7, 28		30	10	
June				25	19			
July				2	10			
August	23	4		13			23	
September			30	17	4	12, 26	6	
October	5	6, 20	7	8			11	
November		10	11			14, 28		
December		2, 15	23		4	26		
January			27	21		2	3	
February							28	
March			16		18		20	1
Totals	4	7	7	10	6	7	7	2

When we analyse the figures for 1407-8 the pattern changes as shown in Figure 1.6. Monday is now the busiest day of the week with a total of twenty-two days, followed by Tuesday with eighteen days and Wednesday with seventeen court sittings. On Thursday and Saturday the court met on fifteen times each, whereas the court sat ten times on Sunday. Friday was the quietest day of the week with only nine sittings recorded for the year. In total the court sat for 105 days, but possibly 107 days as a further two days were not recorded for the months of September and October, so double the number of days that the court sat in 1399; roughly once every three days.³³

³² Two wills were registered on 28 March and two on 26 December; the remaining dates had one will registered, including the two undated probates, making a total of fifty-four wills for the year.

³³ Two wills were registered on 6 June and 2 July, and three wills were registered on 3 and 11 July. Two wills were registered on 17, 20, 27 and 29 August and three on 19 August. Three wills were registered on 3, 12 and 20 September and two wills were registered on 2, 13, 24, 25 and 30 September. Two wills were registered on 2, 11, 17, 19 and 31 October and three wills were registered on 1, 3, 9, 12 and 18 October. Two wills were registered on 2, 7 and 30 December and two on 16 January 1407/8 and two on 15 February 1407/8.

Figure 1.6: Days of the week that the Archdeacon's court sat in each month for 1407-1408

Calendar Year for 1407 from 25 March 1407 to 24 March 1407/8								
Month	Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Not recorded
March			29					
April		4	5,19					
May		16, 23,30	3	11				
June		6,27	7,14, 21		2		4	
July	3,10	4,11,25		6, 20,27	10, 21	1	2, 23	
August		29	2,16,	17,	4,11,18	19	6,20,27	
September	25	5,12,19	13, 20	14, 21	1	30	3, 24	1
October	2, 9,23	3,17,31	4,11,18	12,19	13, 20	28	1, 29	1
November	6	28	29	2, 16, 30	3,			
December	18, 25		13,	7, 21	22, 29	2, 23,30	3	
January		16,23,30	17,31	11,25	5,26		14,28	
February	28	13,20		15	16		11	
March						2,16	17	
Totals	10	22	18	17	15	9	15	2

The year 1407 was clearly a year of high mortality. From the late fourteenth century and into the early fifteenth century England was subject to a number of outbreaks of plague, the most severe being the Black Death of 1348-50.³⁴ It has been suggested that during that outbreak as much as 40% of the population died, although in some places it was nearer to 50%.³⁵ Barbara Megson's essay on London citizens' mortality during the Black Death is based on the study of the tax assessment and payment lists of 1346 for some 370 well-to-do people with goods and chattels to the value of £10. This list covered all of the twenty-four wards of London. She then compared the mortality rates from amongst this same social group using the enrolled wills in the Husting Court between the years 1346–1350 to determine levels of mortality between these years. Her analysis shows that the number of wills enrolled for 1346, 1347 and 1348 were sixteen, twenty-seven and twenty-three respectively. In 1349, no fewer than 352 wills were enrolled with April having the highest number with eighty-two wills registered. There were only fifty-one wills enrolled in the following year. She concluded that at least 25% of this well-to-do population died in 1348-49, and possibly up to 33%, a significant

³⁴ For the Black Death and subsequent outbreaks of plague during the fifteenth century; see for example, J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy 1348-1530* (London, 1977), M. Ormrod and P. Lindley, eds., *The Black Death in England* (Donnington, 2003), R. Horrox, ed., *The Black Death* (Manchester, 1994) and B. Sloane, *The Black Death in London* (Gloucester, 2011).

³⁵ J. L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy 1150–1500* (London, 1980), pp. 58–62, where the details of various manors from across a wide area of England record varying mortality rates of 66% on the manors of Bishops' Waltham, Hants, Downton, Wilts, Witney and Cuxham in Oxfordshire. On three Cambridgeshire, two Essex and two Cornish manors the death rate was between 60% - 50%.

indicator for London as a whole.³⁶ Latest research on the effects of the Black Death in London indicates that a mortality rate of 55% or even 60% or more of the population perished.³⁷

There were six further major outbreaks of plague after the Black Death, five occurring during the period covered in the Archdeacon's register. The first of which occurred in 1361–2 (*pestis secunda*), followed in 1368–9 (*pestis tertia*), and further outbreaks in 1375, 1400, 1407 and 1413.³⁸ Contemporary chronicles record the nature of the second outbreak in 1361–2, which disproportionately killed men and the young.³⁹ In addition to these plague outbreaks there were national epidemics of other diseases: between 1389–93 famine and dysentery were rife and in the 1420s there were serious outbreaks of pulmonary disease. It is also likely that there were other diseases such as typhus, diphtheria, measles, tuberculosis and dysentery, all of which were part of the normal hazards in the Middle Ages, but about which very little is known.⁴⁰ London was particularly hard hit by these various plague outbreaks.

Examination of the probate registers of both the London Commissary and the Archdeacon's courts provides additional evidence to support some of the chroniclers' statements. In particular, by using the index of the testaments recorded in the Archdeacon's register it is possible to show trends in mortality in London over a period of sixty-three years between 1368 and 1421. Information from the Commissary Court registers, Register Courtenay (1374–1400) and Register Broun (1401–1417) can be used to supplement the statistics derived from the Archdeacons' register. The analysis is

³⁶ B. E. Megson, 'Mortality among London Citizens in the Black Death', *Medieval Prosopography*, 19 (1998), pp. 125–33.

³⁷ Sloane, *Black Death*, pp. 103–10, at p. 110.

³⁸ Sloane, *Black Death*, Chapter Four, Pestilence in later Fourteenth-Century London, pp. 122–52 for the effects of the outbreaks of 1361 and 1368–9.

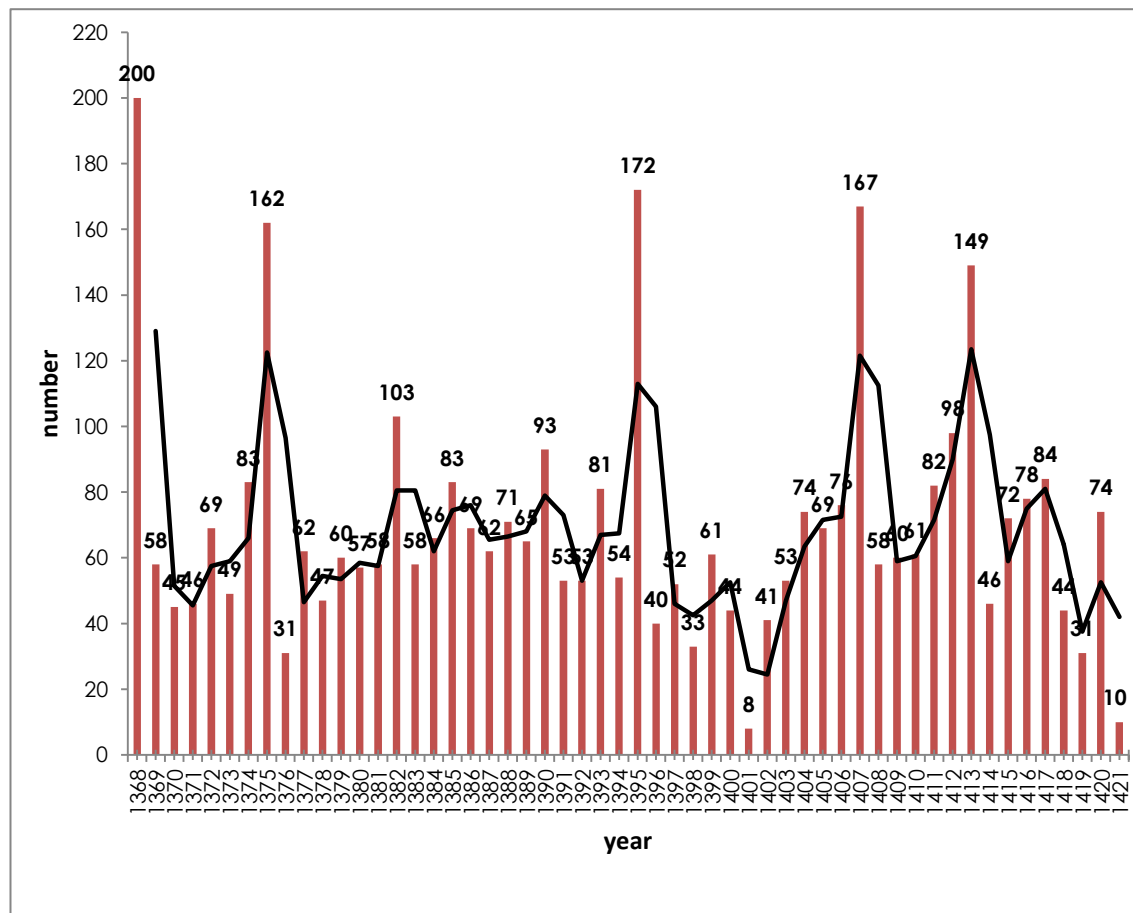
³⁹ Sloane, *Black Death*, pp. 123–4 and p. 125, figure 13.

⁴⁰ J. L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy* (London, 1980), p. 63; J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348–1530* (London, 1977), pp. 17–19 and pp. 57–58, and idem 'Mortality on the Fifteenth Century: Some New Evidence', *Economic History Review* 2nd. series, 31 (1986), pp. 19–38 and M. Bailey, 'Demographic decline in late Medieval England: some thoughts on recent research' *Economic History Review*, 49 (1996), pp. 1–19.

restricted to a thirty-three year period 1374 to 1407, since the index in Register Broun ceases in 1407.⁴¹

This use of testamentary records to detect patterns of mortality in the period of this study needs to be qualified; these surviving documents represent only a small percentage of inhabitants living in London who left wills. For many Londoners the value of their estate was either too small to be able to leave bequests, or they simply did not have anything to leave at all, apart from their souls and their bodies to be buried. The wills of the more prosperous merchants, often members of the aldermanic elite, were invariably recorded in either, or both, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Prerogative Court or the London Husting Court. Nevertheless, some indication of mortality may be discerned from the Archdeacon's court material. Figure 1.7 shows the full details.

Figure 1.7: Number of testaments registered between 1368 to 1421 recorded in the Index of the Archdeacon of London's Probate Register, G.L. MS. 9051/1

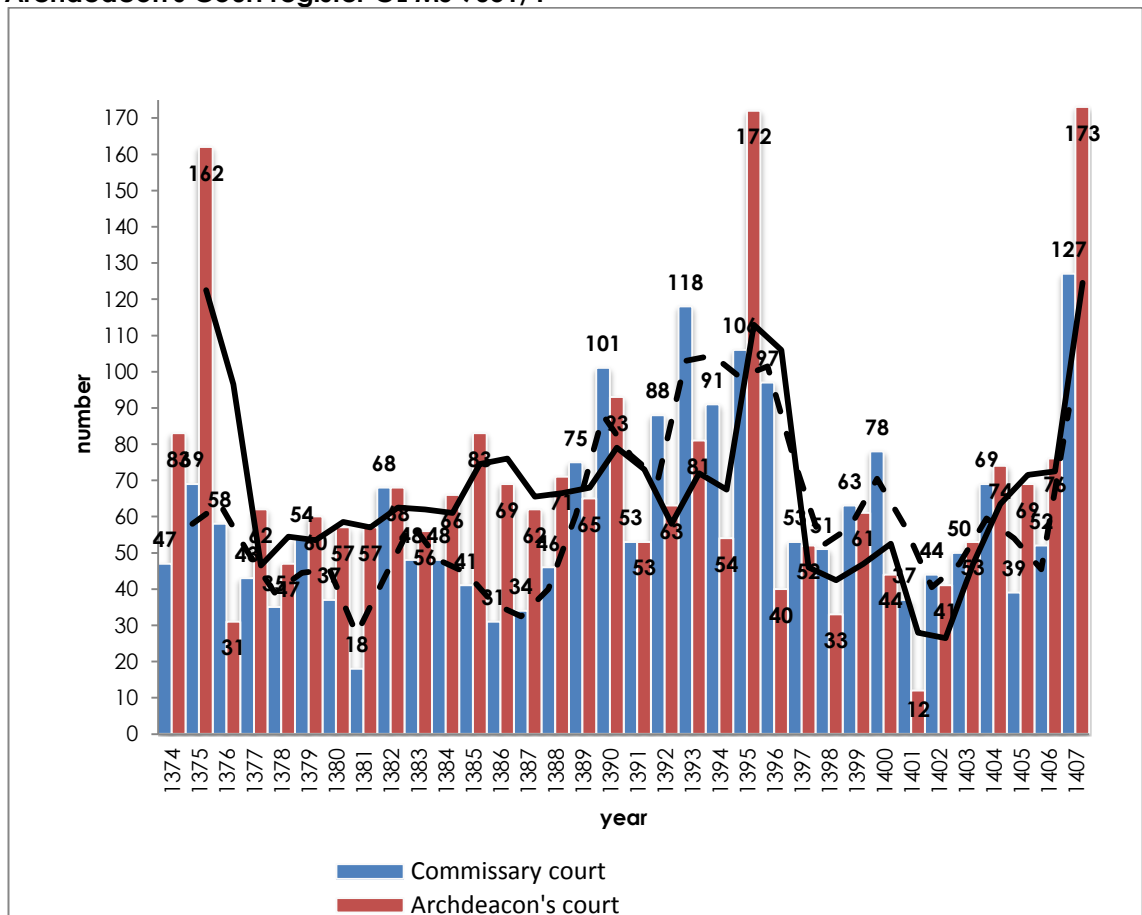


⁴¹ Registers Courtney and Broun are GL MSS 9171/1 and 2.

Chapter One

The solid line on the above chart indicates average mortality rates throughout the period. Further corroboration is provided when we use the indexes of probates for both the London church courts for the same period; figure 1.8 shows figures for both courts between 1373 and 1407.⁴² As may be seen the patterns are remarkably similar in both courts, with the years 1375, 1390, 1393, 1395 and 1407 having the highest incidence of recorded deaths.

Figure 1.8: Indicative mortality rates between 1374 to 1407 taken from the indexes in the Commissary Court Registers Courtney and Broun GL MSS 9171/1 and 9171/2, and the Archdeacon's Court register GL MS 9051/1



What is immediately apparent is that there were far more wills proved in the Archdeacon's court than in the Commissary court over this thirty-three year period. In addition to the testamentary records, the Commissary court registers include entries regarding the administration of the diocese. For example, the appointment of William Broun as the bishop's commissary general in the city of London and the archdeaconries

⁴² The index to the Archdeacon's court register begins in 1368 and ceases in 1421. The indexes to the Commissary court registers commence in 1374, Register Courtney, but cease in 1407, Register Broun.

of Middlesex and Barking is recorded, whilst in 1408 the commission appointing William Sondeye as the bishop's official is also recorded.⁴³ The addition of these various administrative records within the probate register suggests that the court dealt with business other than probate and so many more Londoners chose to have their wills proved in the Archdeacon's court than in the Commissary court, perhaps because they had speedier jurisdiction in the Archdeacon's court than in the Commissary court. There is very little extraneous material in the Archdeacon's register. One such entry occurs in 1413 and concerns a chantry at Wimborne Minster, Dorset that had been founded in 1354; one is a copy of the letters patent issued by Edward III, granting a certain messuage and rents in mortmain in Wimborne Minster and the second entry concerns an incomplete copy of letters patent to Thomas de Brembre, dean of Wimborne Minster.⁴⁴ Why these two documents are bound into the Archdeacon's register is not known. The second example occurs in 1414, on folio 17, but is much mutilated. Half of the folio is missing, being deliberately cut off. It is a record of fees to be charged for probating wills, and accords exactly with the fee structure that William Lyndewode set out in his *Provinciale*. Possibly this was meant to be entered in the Archdeacon's act book, but somehow was mislaid; whatever the reason the court scribe used the verso side to record the will of William Cachemayde dated 10 March 1414/15 and proved two days later.⁴⁵

The Sacrist's court and probate records of St. Edmunds Abbey, Bury St. Edmunds

i. The Sacrist's Court.

Turning to the courts of Bury St. Edmunds, it should be noted that there were only two parishes - St. James's and St. Mary's whereas in London there were over 100. In addition, although Bury St Edmunds was in the diocese of Norwich, the bishop had no

⁴³ GL MS 9171/1, fol. 446^v and 9171/2, fol. 111^r. In all between 1400 and 1417 there are eight such records in these first two volumes of the Commissary court registers. Neither William Broun nor William Sondeye appear either in Emden, *BRUC* or *BRUO*.

⁴⁴ Folios 20^r-20^v; however these two letters do not appear in the index. Brembre was a clerk in service with Edward III from at least the mid 1340s, serving as clerk to the hanaper; see W. Page, ed., *A History of the County of Dorset*, vol. 2 (London, 1908), pp. 107-113.

⁴⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1414, fol. 17^v.

jurisdiction over the testamentary process of the inhabitants. The abbot was a great tenant-in-chief and, since Edward the Confessor's reign, had exercised the powers of royal government. The abbot's secular power covered both the town itself and the endowed eight and a half hundreds of land in East Anglia known as the "Liberty of St. Edmund".⁴⁶ Thus, for the inhabitants of the town, the abbot controlled their lives, and he exercised his authority through his sacrist. By virtue of these devolved powers, the sacrist was in effect the lord of the borough. In addition to his secular role, the sacrist also had a spiritual role. He was appointed to the post of archdeacon of the abbey's exempt jurisdiction of the *banleuca* of St. Edmund, although the abbot was the sole spiritual head.⁴⁷ Whereas a hierarchy of ecclesiastical courts existed in the probate of wills as has been noted above, the exemptions accrued by the abbey meant that wills of all testators with any holdings in Bury St. Edmunds were proved, or at least registered, in the sacrist's probate court even if they held property beyond the liberty of the monastery.⁴⁸

ii. The probate registers

The registers of wills and testaments and probates granted in the Sacrist's court survive in an almost unbroken sequence from c.1350 until the dissolution of the abbey in 1539. Two registers are missing; that for the years 1482–1493 and for 1531–9. The first two volumes covering the years 1354–1442 and 1442–1482 were calendared by Vincent

⁴⁶ M. D. Lobel, *The Borough of Bury St. Edmund's: A Study in the Government and Development of a Monastic Town* (Oxford, 1935). Although written some seventy years ago, this work still remains the best introduction to the history of Bury St. Edmunds. Whilst containing much useful information, R. S. Gottfried's *Bury St. Edmunds and the Urban Crisis: 1290 – 1539* (Princeton, 1982) is not reliable. See also H. W. C. Davis, 'The Commune of Bury St Edmund' and 'The Liberties of Bury St Edmunds', *English Historical Review*, 24 (London, 1909), pp. 313-317; 417-431. Prior to the 1986 local government reforms West Suffolk County Council was the successor to the Liberty of St. Edmund of the Middle Ages. See also M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: an Economic and Social History 1200-1500* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 3-6. Bailey's Map 2 on p. 4 shows the full extent of the abbot's secular jurisdiction in Suffolk.

⁴⁷ Lobel, *Bury St. Edmunds*, pp. 41-47.

⁴⁸ See also R. B. Dinn, 'Popular Religion in late medieval Bury St. Edmunds' (unpublished PhD thesis University of Manchester, 1990), pp. 45–46, and M. L. Merry, 'The Construction and Representation of Urban Identities: Public and Private Lives in Late Medieval Bury St. Edmunds' (unpublished PhD thesis University of Kent, 2000), pp. 5–6.

Redstone in 1907.⁴⁹ Register Osbern which covers the period of this study, is the earliest of the surviving probate registers and commences in 1354 and continues until 1442. It is 12" x 8" x 2¼" thick. The folios are parchment throughout and they are bound between two thick boards covered with skin and bound together with a modern clasp. An index of the wills and testaments is recorded as a '*Tabula Testamentorum*', written on six sides of parchment, has been bound in at some time. There is some variation in the form of registering these testaments particularly for the earlier years of the register. Up to folio 35 recto each entry is headed '*copia testamentorum*', followed by the name of the testator. Further, a considerable number of the earlier entries as far as folio 5 verso also recorded the dates when probate was granted in the sacrist's court. After folio 5 this practice seems to have ceased; perhaps the clerks were instructed to omit the details in order to save space on the parchment.

iii. The Abbey's Sacrists 1354 to 1442.

Register Osborn, records the names of eight men, all senior abbey monks, who served as sacrist of the abbey between 1354 and 1442. The first sacrist was Nicholas de Wrotham, and the entry recording his name on folio one is as follows: '*Testamenta tempore fratris Nicholai de Wortham, Sacriste Sancti Edmundi, Anno regni Edwardi tercij xxviii*'. He was succeeded in 1357, by Simon Langham, where his entry, on folio six, is recorded thus: '*Tempore Domini Symonis Langham, Sacriste, 13 February 1357*'. Langham served until 1362,⁵⁰ when John of Lavenham is recorded as succeeding him. Lavenham was the longest serving sacrist; he held office for twenty-one years until 10 July 1383. His rule begins on folio 19 and is entered between the wills of Peter de Wetyngge, chaplain and Robert Capper as '*Tempore Johannis de Lavenham,*

⁴⁹ V. B. Redstone, ed., 'Calendar of Pre-Reformation Wills, Testaments, Probates and Administrations Registered at the Probate Office, Bury St. Edmunds', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, vol. 12 (Ipswich, 1907), pp. 1-246. These two volumes are now in the Suffolk Record Office, Bury St. Edmunds branch, and are catalogued as MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, and MS IC/500/2/2, Register Hawlee.

⁵⁰ A compotus of Langham's from Lady Day to Michaelmas, 1357 is printed in Lobel, *Bury St. Edmunds*, pp.197-8; Appendix II, The Sacrists' Receipts and The Sacrists' Expenditure on Wages, Fees and Robes.

Sacriste'.⁵¹ Thomas Rudham followed Lavenham in 1383; his name is entered on folio 48 as '*Tempore Thome Rudham, Sacrisei 7 Ric. II.*' Rudham was only in office for seven years; Robert Iklyngham, his successor, remained in office for a period of seventeen years until 1407. Iklyngham's name appears for the first time on folio 59 as '*Tempore Roberti Iklyngham, Sacriste 14 Ric. II.*'⁵² Another long serving sacrist followed Iklyngham; he was William Barwe who served for nineteen years. His name is first entered on folio 119 as '*Tempore Willielmi Barwe, Sacriste*'.⁵³ John Cranewys became sacrist in July 1426 and served until May 1441, a total of fifteen years. His term is noted on folio 178 as '*Tempore Johannis Cranewys, Sacriste, anno regni H. sexti quinto*'.⁵⁴ The last sacrist's name to appear in this volume is that of Thomas Derham whose name is recorded thus on folio 252 '*Tempore Thome Derham, monachis, [sic] et sacriste monasterii*'.

As noted above, Register Osbern differs from the Archdeacon of London's probate register in that until 1436 there was no consistency in recording probates after folio 5. Between 1390 and 1415, there are just five wills with probate clauses added. The first is the will of Ralph Haukyn, and is dated 26 August 1398 and proved on 9 November 1398. The second is the will of Thomas Rose, potter, made on 18 October 1390 and proved on 25 November 1390. The widow Johanna Claver's undated will was proved on 8 February 1393/4 and is followed immediately by the will of the widow Margery Skeet dated 4 October 1393 and subsequently probated on 9 February 1393/4.⁵⁵ Roger Gylor, butcher made his will on 29 September 1407. The register entry records that 'probate of the above [will], was subjected to investigation by the sacrist, 'brother John Cranwys', and execution was granted to his executors by him on 12 October 1407.⁵⁶ Thus, for the majority of the Bury wills in the period of this study, we cannot gauge the interval between the drafting of the will, its presentation in the sacrist's court and the

⁵¹ Lobel, *Bury St. Edmunds.*, pp. 192 and 197; *Compotus fratris Johannis de Lavenham*, 1369-70.

⁵² *Ibid*, pp. 197-8; *Compotus fratris Roberti de Iklyngham*, 1401-2.

⁵³ *Ibid*, *Compotus fratris Willielmi Barwe*, 14-18.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, *Compotus fratris Johannis Cranewys*, 1429-30.

⁵⁵ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern fols .48^v, 59^r and 73^r.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, fols. 119^v-119^v.

granting of probate, although these are likely to have been similar to the intervals noted in the Archdeacon's register.

London and Bury St. Edmunds wills and testaments

Whilst the bulk of the wills registered in the London Archdeacon's probate register are testaments, some 1143 in all, there are a further eighty-five wills that are concerned with the disposal of real estate, either as a separate *ultima voluntas* will or as a combined *testament* and *ultima voluntas* will. Of these eighty-five testators, forty-seven, 55%, were citizens of London, so that they had the option of using the Husting Court for the disposal of their real estate. That they chose not to do so is interesting; perhaps they believed that it would be more convenient for their executors if they kept the administration of both their personal estate and real estate in the one court. Either way, the ecclesiastical court would appear to have been happy to accommodate them in this way. Thus it would seem that the legal requirements for the disposal of property in the secular courts and the disposal of goods and chattels via the ecclesiastical courts were not strictly followed in London.

An example of the disposal of real estate by London testators recorded in the Archdeacon's court illustrates this point. John Canynges, a stockfishmonger, of St. Botolph, Aldgate devised his property in his will dated 10 August 1407. He left all his rights in lands and tenements with appurtenances to his wife Alice for life; on her death they were to pass to his eldest son William and his lawful heirs, with the exception of a corner shop with three pairs of rooms above, which was to go to William Basart and his wife Katherine, Canynges' son in law and daughter, and the lawful heirs of Katherine's body.⁵⁷ In all, just over 5% of the wills registered in the Archdeacon's court involved property. Five testators devising property refer to another will enrolled in the Husting

⁵⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1400 fol. 7^r.

court; in most cases, copies of these wills have not survived in the records of the Husting court except, as noted above, for Henry Payne, a fuster of St. Alban Wood Street.⁵⁸

In addition to the example for the disposal of real estate already cited, there are several *testamentums* which also refer to another *ultima voluntas* will, presumably registered elsewhere. For example John Ockeley, citizen and candle maker of St. Mary Colechurch, refers to his *ultima voluntas* will in his *testament* dated 5 March 1397. Similarly, Robert Lyncoln, citizen and bowyer of St. Bride Fleet Street, in his will dated 25 April 1404 refers to an inventory of his goods that was in the custody of William Latham for Lyncoln's son John. Latham was also required to keep an annual list of expenses for the upbringing of John until he reached 21, against the value of the goods. The inventory was enrolled in the Guildhall. Presumably, this would have been recorded by the City Chamberlain and entered in the City Letter Books as clearly John was a city orphan and William Latham was his guardian; however, in neither case has a second will been preserved, or any entry recorded in the City Letter Books, which indicates that not all London wills have survived.⁵⁹

A London citizen in disposing of both his real and movable estate however, had to follow City custom whereby one third was to be left to his widow; another third was assigned to his children. However, if he had no children then his widow was to get one half of the estate. If on the other hand he had surviving children but no wife, his children were entitled to half of his estate; if they were under age, they would be put into the custody of either close relatives, or placed under the jurisdiction of the mayor and aldermen until they became of age. The residue in each case was at the free

⁵⁸ See above, p. 25. The other testators were Thomas Knapette, GL MS 9051/1, 1397, fol. 16r, William Salesbury, chaplain; 1398, fols. 21r-21v, John Wynchombe, scrivener; 1398, fols. 21v-22r, William Hardyng, king's messenger; 1398, fols. 21r-21v. The coincidence of the four wills registered in 1398 is to be noted, although why this occurs is unclear; it was not a year of high mortality, only thirty-three wills were registered in that year.

⁵⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1397, fols. 1r-1v and 1404, fols. 2r-2v. Latham was also one of Lyncoln's executors.

disposal of the testator and was usually devoted for pious uses for the benefit of the testator's soul.⁶⁰

In marked contrast, the wills of the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds record property transactions in 189 (50%) of the total of 372 wills registered in the Sacrist's court for the same period as that covered by the London register.⁶¹ However, the sacrist's court was a secular as well as an ecclesiastical court, which might explain the high percentage of wills dealing with real estate.⁶²

Will-makers of London and Bury St Edmunds

The categories of will makers for London and Bury St. Edmunds are set out in table 1.2 below. Most of the wills examined in this study are those of small craftsmen and artisans. They formed the bulk of the population in both London and Bury St Edmunds. In addition, considerable numbers of wills of women are to be found, mostly, but not exclusively, the wills of widows.

Table 1.2: London and Bury St. Edmunds Testators 1380–1415.⁶³

London				Bury St. Edmunds			
Category	Number	Totals	%	Category	Number	Totals	%
Clergy	115	115	8	Clergy	24	24	7
Laymen				Laymen			
Married	729}			Married	213}		
Widower	72}	1028 ⁶⁴	74	Widower	17}	268	75
Not given	227}			Not given	38}		
Lay women				Lay women			
Married	8}			Married	0}		
Widow	167}	241 ⁶⁵	18	Widow	46}	66	18
Not given	66}			Not given	20}		
Totals		1384	100	Totals		358	100

⁶⁰ CWCH, ii, p. xxxiii, n. 2. In addition there are sections on the granting of probate of wills at pp. xlii-xliii, of the mode of probate and enrolment at pp. xliii-xliv and a section on nuncupative wills at pp. xlv-xlv. See also C. M. Barron, 'The Widow's World in Later Medieval London' in C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton, eds., *Medieval London Widows*. (London, 1994), pp. iii-xxxiv at pp. xiv-xxi. On mothers and orphans in London see C. M. Barron and C. A. Martin, 'Mothers and Orphans in fourteenth-century London' in C. Leyser and L. Smith, eds., *Motherhood, Religion and Society in Medieval Europe, 400-1400: Essays presented to Henrietta Leyser* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 281-96.

⁶¹ SROB MS. IC/500/32/1, Register Osbern.

⁶² For details regarding the working of the sacrist's court, see Lobel, *Bury St. Edmunds*, pp. 31-59 and pp. 95-117.

⁶³ Sources: GL MS. 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern.

⁶⁴ Includes twenty-nine clerks, fifty-two alien men; seventeen married men, two widowers and thirty-three not given.

⁶⁵ Includes two alien women; one widow and one not given.

Examination of the table reveals a considerable number of wills from members of the secular clergy, 115 were enrolled in the Archdeacon's Register and twenty-four in the Sacrists' register. The majority of these wills are from the chaplains, eighty-two in London and twenty-two in Bury St. Edmunds, who were to be found serving in the parish churches. The number of chaplains' wills in the Archdeacon's register bears ample witness to the considerable opportunities that were available to these men to serve mainly as chantry chaplains in the one hundred or so parish churches within the city, and to make a living of sorts.

Amongst the twenty-four clergy wills from Bury St. Edmunds, two are rectors/vicars: master William Rougham, rector of Sproughton, a village some three miles west of Ipswich, and Robert Wirlyngworth, vicar of Coney Weston, a small village to the north east of Bury St Edmunds near the Norfolk border.⁶⁶ As both these men came from outside of Bury St. Edmunds, they would normally have had their wills registered with the archdeacon of Sudbury's court, which also sat in Bury St. Edmunds, although where it sat is not recorded.⁶⁷ As they both died within the *banluca* of Bury St. Edmunds their wills were registered in the sacrist's court.⁶⁸ There are twenty-two wills of chaplains, one of whom, John Kyrkeby was a former rector of Brinkley, a small village just over the border in Cambridgeshire situated some fifteen miles to the south-west of Bury St. Edmunds.⁶⁹

In Bury St. Edmunds, with just two parish churches, the openings available for chaplains were less numerous than they were in London. Nevertheless, the two churches were

⁶⁶ SROB MS IC500/2/1 Register Osbern, fols. 76^v–77^r and fols. 83^v–84^r. Rougham was a foundation fellow of Gonville Hall, Cambridge. He was admitted in 1349 and obtained MA and MB degrees by 1366 and an MD by 1390. He held the rectories of Caple St Mary and Sproughton, Suffolk in plurality between 1361-2 relinquishing Caple St. Mary rectory by February 1361/2. He remained rector of Sproughton until January 1396/7; Emden, *BRUC*, p. 491. Wirlyngworth does not appear in either Emden, *BRUC* or *idem*, *BRUO*.

⁶⁷ There are no surviving Archdeacon's probate registers prior to 1439; for information on the Archdeacon of Sudbury and his court, see P. Northeast, ed., *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474: part 1*, Suffolk Record Society, vol. xlv, (Woodbridge, 2001).

⁶⁸ See above pp. 38-39.

⁶⁹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1 Register Osbern, fol.106^r. His will is dated 8 April 1404 and was written in the Salutation hospital by the north gate of Bury.

served by two permanent chaplains, in addition to the parish chaplain, responsible for the daily services. Second in the parish hierarchy was probably the Mary Mass chaplain who performed the St. Mary mass at St. Mary's altar, the latter being a distinctive feature of Bury St. Edmunds religious life. The second permanent stipendiary chaplain was the 'morrowmass' chaplain, who was responsible for performing the first mass of the day, Matins, early in the morning.⁷⁰ There were other opportunities to serve as chantry chaplains as well. Some idea of the opportunities that were available to chaplains can be gained from a list of chaplains of the monastery dating from the reign of Edward I. Apart from the names of the three chaplains of St. Mary's church and St. James' church, secular chaplains were employed in the abbey church itself; one each at the chapels of St. Robert, St. Margaret, St. John of the Mount (*ad Montem*), the Round Chapel, St. Denis, St. John at the Well (*ad fontem*), St. Katherine, St. Faith, the Great Rood, St. John at the Gate, St. Michael, the chapel of the Brazen Cross (*ad crucem aream*). Outside the abbey's precincts, chaplains served in the hospital of St. Saviour and the *Domus Dei*; in all twenty-one chaplains were supported by the abbey.⁷¹

There are also twenty-nine wills of clerks living in London during the period of this study. Twelve were married men, one was a widower, eleven were unmarried and the marital status of the remaining five men is not given. Clerks up until the late fourteenth century were men in minor orders, who assisted the parish clergy in the liturgical, pastoral and parochial duties, and received fees or payment in kind for their services.⁷² By the end of the fourteenth century parish clerks were more likely to have been laymen rather than clerics. In addition to their work in assisting the parish clergy, as literate laymen they undertook additional duties which often included the drafting of wills, and they

⁷⁰ See also Dinn, 'Popular Religion', pp. 142-4.

⁷¹ *VCH Suffolk* vol. ii, p. 69. Dinn, 'Popular Religion', table 4.5, pp. 145-6 lists fourteen chapels in the abbey church and eighteen altars and images. If each of these altars and chapels were served by secular chantry chaplains, rather than the monks themselves, then the total number of chaplains, excluding those in St. James' and St. Mary's rises to thirty-two.

⁷² This paragraph is based on the introduction by N. W. and V. A. James, eds., *The Bede Roll of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas*, London Record Society, 39 in 2 parts (2004), pp. xiv-xviii.

can be found acting as witnesses, executors or supervisors of the wills of their parishioners. The parish clerks had their own fraternity dedicated to St. Nicholas, and their bede roll, which survives, records the names of 7000 deceased members who were to be prayed for. Thirty-seven Londoners named clerks either as executors or supervisors, such as Thomas Knapette of St. John Zachary, who appointed his wife Clarissa and John Bedford, clerk, as his executors; or Alice Bennyngton of St. Michael Basshishaw, one of the eight married women making a will in this period, who named her husband William and Richard Whyteley, clerk, as executors. In turn, William appointed Whyteley one of his three executors four years later.⁷³ The carpenter Thomas Cornes of St. Benet Fink appointed Dennis de Lopham, clerk, as the supervisor of his will in 1398 and Agnes Odyham of St. Antholin, widow of the grocer Richard Odyham, appointed Richard Osbern, a 'civil service' clerk, to supervise her will.⁷⁴ Three of the clerks named in these London wills as executors or witnesses, John Aston, chief clerk of St. Christopher, William Laverok of St. Michael Queenhithe and William Malpas of St. Benet Fink appear in the list of deceased members of the parish clerks guild.⁷⁵

In contrast to the London clerks' wills, there is only one will of a clerk from Bury St. Edmunds; he was John Bodekysham, whose marital status was not recorded in his will dated 2 February 1394.⁷⁶ However, when we examine the wills of Bury's inhabitants we find that 160 (45%) of these testators remembered the clerks serving in the town's two churches during this period. From these bequests, we find that the two parish churches each had three clerks serving there, one of which was the parish clerk, who usually

⁷³ GL MS 9051/1, 1396, fol. 6^r; 1403, fol. 8^v and 1407, fol. 26^v. In 1398 Whiteley was also an executor of two other testators: Emote Talworth, fol. 2^r and Richard Bayon fol. 2^v.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, 1409, fols. 14^r–14^v. Richard Odyham was chamberlain of London in 1380–91 and Richard Osborn was the clerk to the Chamber/Controller from 1400–1437; Barron, *LLMA* pp. 361 and 363. In the same year, Whyteley was named supervisor of the will of Walter Berkeswelle of St. Michael Basshishaw: fol. 14^v.

⁷⁵ All three are recorded as deceased clerks before 30 May 1454: N. W. and V. A. James, eds., *The Bede Roll of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas*, London Record Society, 39 in 2 parts (2004), pp. 33–34.

⁷⁶ SROB MS. IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 74^r

received a larger donation than his other two companions.⁷⁷ Again, as with their counterparts in London, parish clerks acted as executors and we have the names of five men who did so. In St. Mary's parish, Thomas Golding, clerk was one of two executors of the will of William Melton drawn up on 10 July 1401. We have the names of four clerks from the neighbouring parish of St. James: John Toft who was an executor in five wills and Robert Redman, Stephen Bacon and John West each of whom were appointed once only.⁷⁸

The sacristan was the other church official serving in Bury's two parish churches. He was the official who was responsible for the safe keeping of the church vestments and vessels and the contents of the church, which were kept securely within the church. The sacrist or sexton was probably the predecessor of the churchwarden.⁷⁹ There is only one will of a sacristan during the period of this study, that of Richard Beketon. He was a married man, who owned a tenement in Northgate Street, and he described himself as the former sacristan of St. James' church.⁸⁰ In all forty-five testators (13%) made bequests to their parish sacristans. In contrast, there are no references in the Archdeacon's wills to sacristans, suggesting that the London parish churches do not appear to have had this official; his duties were being undertaken by the church wardens instead.

Not surprisingly, the largest group of testators in London and Bury St. Edmunds were men. They were the small craftsmen and artisans who made up the bulk of both towns' populations. In London they account for 1028 wills (74%) of the total number of wills, including fifty-two wills drawn up by aliens, and in Bury St. Edmunds they amount to 268

⁷⁷ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 53^r–53^v. In his undated will, Ralph de Sutton ironmonger, left 6d. to the parish clerk of St. Mary's and 4d. each to the other two clerks. Stephen Harlyng left 6d. to the parish clerk of St. James and 3d. to the other two clerks in his will dated 28 July 1389, fol. 57^r. In all some 262 men and women (74%) of all the wills for this study, made bequests to members of the secular clergy. Some 137 (39%) left doles to their Mary Mass chaplains and forty-five (13%) of testators included the sacristan, usually a layman, in their bequests too.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 94^r, 96^v, 107^r, 108^v, 110^v–111^r, for Toft; fols. 86^r–86^v for Robert Redman and Stephen Bacon and fols. 91^v–92^r for John West.

⁷⁹ Dinn, 'Popular Religion', p. 144.

⁸⁰ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 112^v; his will is dated 29 December 1404.

(75%) of the total number of wills for this period. Further analysis of table 1.2 above shows that there is a significant difference in the numbers of married men's wills. The Bury figure of 79% of laymen's wills is eight percent higher than their London counterparts at 71% of laymen's wills. The percentage of widowers' wills are virtually identical, whilst those of unspecified marital status show a difference of seven percent between London with 22% and Bury St. Edmunds with 15%.

A number of wills of aliens, and non-denizens, who were living in London and Bury St. Edmunds prior to their deaths' are enrolled in both registers. Aliens formed their own communities within the city of London and were in the main merchants from Germany, the Low Countries and Italy.⁸¹ In all, there are fifty-two male and two female alien/non-denizen wills (4%) of the total recorded wills in the Archdeacon of London's register and four (2%) wills from non-resident testators who died in Bury in the sacrist's register for Bury St. Edmunds. There are no alien wills from Bury St. Edmunds. The alien wills registered in the Archdeacon's court usually follow the common form used by English denizens throughout the medieval period. In some instances, however, there were some differences. For example, the Cologne merchant Frowing Stepyng had his will recorded in his house by John Cloune, a clerk from the Coventry and Lichfield diocese, who was the public apostolic and imperial notary. As most English wills were not authenticated by a public notary this is different from most of these London wills.⁸² Stepyng left various bequests to his fellow countrymen and kinsmen and appointed Everard Stepyng, a son or a brother, as his executor.⁸³ Another alien merchant was Zontin (surname not recorded) from Lucca. In his will dated 16 July 1395, he refers to previous wills made in

⁸¹ See J. L. Bolton, ed., *The Alien Communities of London in the Fifteenth Century: The Subsidy Rolls of 1440 and 1483-4* (Stamford, 1998) and S. Jenks, 'Hansische Vermächtnisse in London: ca. 1363-1483', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. 104 (Cologne, 1986), pp. 35-111. For a study of Italian merchants in London during the late fourteenth to mid fifteenth centuries see H. Bradley, 'Italian merchants in London, 1350-1450' (unpublished PhD thesis University of London, 1992). See also J. Colson, 'Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London', *The London Journal*, 35 (2010), pp. 111-43 and H. Bradley, *The View of Hosts of Alien Merchants 1440-1444*, London Record Society, 46 (2012).

⁸² On the role of notaries see A. Causton, 'The Will of John de Causton, a London Mercer, died 1353', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 61 (2010), pp. 175-90 at p. 181.

⁸³ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fol.12v: S. Jenks, 'Hansische Vermächtnisse in London: ca. 1363-1483', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, vol. 104 (Cologne, 1986), pp. 62-64.

Bruges in November 1394 which were now superseded by this new will. The will was witnessed by Venetian merchants and his executors were fellow merchants from Lucca.⁸⁴

There are far fewer women's wills recorded in the two registers: 241 London women's wills in total, including two alien women's wills, and they represent 18% of all the wills in the Archdeacon's register. There are sixty-six women's wills (18%) from Bury St. Edmunds a remarkably similar percentage. The majority in both city and town are the wills of widows; 166 (13%) for London and forty-six (14%) for Bury St. Edmunds. There are eight married women's wills among the London wills but none from Bury St. Edmunds.

Under both medieval canon law and English common law, widows and unmarried women were allowed to make valid wills. They were also allowed to sue in their own right before the ecclesiastical courts in other areas of litigation and they did so.⁸⁵ Some widows would continue their late husbands' business activities, although widowhood also enabled them to trade in their own right as *femmes soles*.⁸⁶

The situation concerning married women was more complex. Under the common law, a woman's personal property normally passed under the control of her husband immediately on her marriage.⁸⁷ Thus, married women had no rights over its disposal. The common law however did allow married women to dispose of any property that they had by inheritance, or legacy, although to do this she required licence from her husband. Of the eight married women's wills from London in our period only Agnes Benyngton of St. Michael Bassishaw, made her will 'with the consent of her husband

⁸⁴ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fol.13^r.

⁸⁵ On widows suing for dower' in London see B. Hanawalt, 'The widow's Mite: Provisions for Medieval London Widows' in L. Mirrer, ed., *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe* (Ann Arbor, 1992), pp. 21–45, especially pp. 26–36, and R. M. Helmholz, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, volume 1: Canon Law and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction from 597 to the 1640s* (Oxford, 2004) p. 403.

⁸⁶ See C. M. Barron, 'The 'Golden Age' of Women in Medieval London' in *Medieval Women in Southern England*, Reading Medieval Studies vol. XV (1989), pp. 35–58.

⁸⁷ What follows is based on R. H. Helmholz, 'Married Women's Wills in Later Medieval England', in S. S. Walker, ed., *Wife and Widow in Medieval England*, (Ann Arbor, 1993), pp. 165–82 and references cited therein.

William' on 24 January 1395/6. Agnes appointed four executors including her husband, two of whom were women.⁸⁸ However, Johanna Seles, who made her will on 6 December 1396 in which she left personal goods to various beneficiaries as well as property in Chalfont St. Peter to her son John Seles, from her former marriage, makes no reference to obtaining her husband's consent, although she appointed her new husband John Whitechurch, citizen and goldsmith, as her sole executor.⁸⁹ There are no married women's wills from Bury St. Edmunds for our period. Indeed, there are no married women's wills recorded for the whole of Register Osbern, which covers the years 1350-1442.⁹⁰ There must have been married women in Bury who were survived by their husbands; however, it would seem that the common law restriction on married women making wills was strictly observed in Bury St. Edmunds.

The will-making process involved a number of people apart from the testator. It is not clear who actually drew up the document in the first place. This is not to say that the majority of the testators were illiterate. At the very least most small businessmen and women would have been able to cast accounts and to sign their names - otherwise they would not have been able to survive in business and make a living.⁹¹ Most of the wills studied indicate that there was a considerable degree of 'common form' in the way that the will was drawn up and presented. In all probability, although this cannot be proved conclusively, the parish clerks, scriveners, chaplains and, occasionally, parish rectors would have been on hand to advise testators on the layout of the will and help to draft the document on behalf of the testator. There are 393 (29%) wills made by Londoners in which members of the secular clergy acted either as executors, or as

⁸⁸ GL MS. 9051/1, 1403, fol. 8^v. Although canon law forbade women from acting as executors, there are a number of wills from London and Bury St. Edmunds that have female executors.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 1396, fol. 14^r. See also the will Agnes Bastwick; 1407, fols. 1^v-2^r. In the case of Johanna Seles, see above, Agnes Benyngton and Agnes Bastwick, all three women were married to second husbands.

⁹⁰ V. B. Redstone, ed., 'Calendar of Pre-Reformation Wills, Testaments, Probates, Administrations registered at the Probate Office Bury St. Edmunds', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology* vol. 13, (1907), pp.1-246.

⁹¹ On the educational opportunities in London during the Middle Ages see C. M. Barron, 'The Expansion of education in Fifteenth-Century London' in J. Blair and B. Golding, eds., *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 219-54.

witnesses. Sixty of these wills appointed their parish rector as an executor and a further forty-two wills had rectors acting as a witness to the will. For example in 1403, Thomas Milton, citizen and fuller, of St. Mildred, Bread Street appointed his rector, John Coucher and Thomas Sheryngham, chaplain to be his co-executors, with his wife Katherine as principal executor, whilst in 1409 the girdler Robert Watleshurst of St. Mary Aldermanbury had his will witnessed by his rector John Alston.⁹²

Whilst eighty-four inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds appointed chaplains to act as executors to their wills, none had clergy witnessing them. Agnes Draper, a widow from the parish of St. James, chose William Hardman, chaplain, to be one of her three executors in her will dated 7 March 1391/2.; the other two were Richard de Rougham and Giles atte Pyrye. John Fuller of St. Mary's appointed John Redgrave, chaplain, as his sole executor in his will dated 12 October 1400 ⁹³ it is likely that these members of the clergy helped in the drafting of the will.

Other Londoners chose scribes either as executors or as witnesses, suggesting that these men may have drafted the wills for the testators. These men, variously described as scribes, clerks or, on occasion, *notaries public* in the wills, were members of the Mystery of Writers of Court Letter, which received City recognition in 1373 as a Mystery separate from the Mystery of Writers of Text Letter.⁹⁴ Writers of the Court Letter were the authorised scribes and writers active in the city who both wrote and witnessed deeds, wills and other legal instruments, as opposed to the limners and text writers who worked in the book trade producing and illustrating manuscripts.⁹⁵ In all we have the names of

⁹² GL MS. 9051/1, 1403, fol. 1^v and 1409, fol. 4^r.

⁹³ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osborn, fol. 68^v and fol. 97^r. Hardman, or Hardyman, was appointed as an executor on five occasions in all.

⁹⁴ For the development of the separate mysteries of writers of court letter and text writers see C. Paul Christianson, *A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans 1300–1500* (New York, 1990), pp. 22-3, and F. W. Steer, ed., *Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357–1628*, London Record Society vol. 4 (1968), pp. viii-ix; LBG, pp. 174, 312 and H. T. Riley, ed., *Memorials of London and London Life, in the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth centuries* (London, 1868) pp. 372-3.

⁹⁵ LBG, p. 88 and Riley, *Memorials*, p. 295. Prior to this separation into these two distinct groupings, writers of court and text letter were mentioned together with limners and barbers as being exempt from serving on Inquisitions in the Sheriffs' Court dated 20 May 1357.

thirty-four men who were either scribes, twenty-three, text writers, five, notaries public, five, lorimers, three and a book binder who appear in these London wills as executors, witnesses or beneficiaries.⁹⁶ Full details of these men are to be found in Chapter Five, Table 5.1.

Amongst scribes who were appointed as executors, we find William Wanstell, Richard Watekyns, Nicholas Kyngeston (twice), Simon Hermer and John Carsewell, a text-writer.⁹⁷ Some scribes who were witnesses to wills include John Cozier, former notary public of London diocese and Robert Norton, scrivener, but noted as clerk.⁹⁸ Cozier and Norton again appear together as witnesses but this time they were both described as '*scriptors*'. John Spark, described as '*scriptor*,' was the witness to the will of Henry atte Feld, citizen and goldbeater on 21 September 1406.⁹⁹ Cozier and Norton again witnessed that the will of Allardus Thonold of Mons in Hainault, who was living in the parish of St. Christopher; the will was vouched for and certified as being correct by them. This time Cozier is described as 'notary public' in the neighbouring parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, and Norton as a clerk.¹⁰⁰ Finally, William Kyngesmill, described as citizen and scribe, drafted the will of William Doncastre of St. Benet, Gracechurch, capper, in 1402.¹⁰¹ Apart from Cozier, Norton and Kyngeston who witnessed more than

⁹⁶ Geoffrey de Bigdon, bookbinder, appears in the will of Robert Perepoyne, chaplain, as one of his two executors. He was left a russet cloak and cap plus 3s. 4d. for his labour; GL MS 9051/1, 1403, fol. 10^v.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 1406, fols. 7^v-8^r; 1407, fol. 10^v and 1415, fol. 8^v; 1413, fols. 15^r-15^v and fol. 12^r. Wanstell, Watekyns and Kyngeston all appear in the Scribes' Common Paper as being members of the craft of writers of the court letter between 1392 and 1404; Steer, *Scribes*', pp. 20-21.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 1404 fol. 12^r and fol. 12^v. Cozier was one of the two masters of the craft of the writers of the court letter; the other was Martin Seaman, who also witnessed a will in 1406, ibid, 1406, fol. 14^r. They came before the mayor and aldermen on 17 May 1392, where their election was confirmed; they served for the year 1392-93; Steer, *Scribes*', p. 4. Cozier heads the list of subscribers to the oath of the craft of writers of the court letter entered in the Scribes' Common Paper pp. 53-64. Norton does not appear to have been a member of the Scribes Company, and he does not appear in any of the civic records.

⁹⁹ GL MS. 9051/1, 1406 fol. 16^r. Steer, *Scribes*', p. 20.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 1407 fol. 6^v. The fact that scribes could also be described as clerks reflects the interchangeability of the use of the term scrivener and clerk at this time.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 1402, fol. 14^v. Kingsmill was a scrivener and schoolmaster in London and subsequently at Oxford between 1402-20. See Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*, (1948) p 159 and H. G. Richardson, 'Business Training in Medieval Oxford', *American Historical Review*, 46, (1941), pp. 259-80. Kingsmill's formulary book produced for teaching business skills in both London and Oxford survives; British Library Additional. MS 17716.

one will during this period, all the other scribes appear only once. In all the wills of eight scribes are recorded in the Archdeacon's probate register.¹⁰²

Members of the immediate family would also have been involved in the will making process. Wives, husbands, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters and, more infrequently, fathers and mothers are often named as beneficiaries; and it is reasonable to assume that they would have discussed with the testator how the estate was to be devised; with eldest siblings benefitting before their juniors. In return for the bequests that were to come to them on the death of the testator, wives and/or siblings would be named as executors.¹⁰³

Of the utmost importance to the testator was the choice of executors. They had to be known and trusted men and women who could be relied upon to carry out the terms of the wills. Quite often they were either business colleagues or members of their trade associations or their parish neighbours. As the majority of the male testators were married, the choice of executor was made much easier since almost all of them appointed their spouse, to act either solely or as the principal executrix. In London, 610, (86%) from a total of 729 married men appointed their wives as executors. In Bury St. Edmunds, however, only 111 (52%) from a total of 213 married men appointed their wives, which is a marked contrast to their London contemporaries.¹⁰⁴ For female testators, the majority of whom were widows, the choice was more difficult; whilst children were often named as executors, others used the parish clergy or friends and neighbours.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² See Chapter Five, Table 5.1 for details.

¹⁰³ This topic is discussed more fully in Chapter Four- Family and Household Relationships.

¹⁰⁴ On the subject of wives appointed as executors of their husbands' wills, see Barron, *Widows*, 'Introduction: The Widow's World in Later Medieval London', pp. xxix–xxx; B. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives; Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 120–122; and eadem, 'The Widow's Mite: Provisions for Medieval London Widows' in L. Mirrer, ed., *Upon My Husband's Death: Widows in the Literature & Histories of Medieval Europe* (Ann Arbor, 1992), pp. 21–45 at p. 26.

¹⁰⁵ Twenty-three London widows appointed their children as executors; seventeen appointed sons, four appointed daughters and one appointed a son and a daughter. Seven Bury St. Edmunds widows appointed their sons as executors; none chose their daughters.

It is likely that all wills were witnessed, but in most cases the names of these witnesses were not recorded in either the London or Bury St. Edmunds registers. In the case of the London wills 298 (22%) record the names of witnesses, but only six wills (2%) from Bury St Edmunds inhabitants record them. One possible explanation for the low incidence of witnesses of Bury wills was that the clerks in the Sacrist's court failed to note these names down. Some testators chose members of their own craft to witness their wills: William Peter, citizen and carpenter, who died 1397, had two witnesses one of whom was a fellow carpenter, Stephen Wodesham. The lorimer John Symond, who died 1405, had his will witnessed by two fellow lorimers, Henry Hole and Ralph Aleyn.¹⁰⁶ In the parish of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, the baker Thomas Whetlay's will was witnessed by two members of his craft, John Weston and William Cogeshale, citizens and bakers of London.¹⁰⁷

Before the church courts granted the probate to the executors a number of steps had to be taken.¹⁰⁸ The will was a legal document, which set out the instructions of the testator regarding his/her personal estate and the appointment of executors and witnesses to the document. In order that the church court could be satisfied that the document was genuine, the executors would be required to confirm to the court official that the will was the true intention of the testator and that they were the executors named in it. The will could either have been written and sealed by the testator or, if the testator was too ill to write or seal, given verbally; this was known as a nuncupative will.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, the executors would have to confirm to the court that the seal was that of the testator. Many of these wills in both London and Bury St.

¹⁰⁶ GL MS 9051/1, 1397 fol. 15^v and 1405, fols. 7^r-7^v.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 1407, fol. 24^r. The cordwainer Robert Chalmesdene had three witnesses; two were fellow cordwainers, John Burnell and John Newent. The grocer William Waddesworth also had three witnesses, two being his fellow grocers William Olive and John Keddington: 1395, fols. 20^r-20^v and 1398, fols. 8^r-9^r.

¹⁰⁸ What follows is based on the information contained in E. F. Jacob, ed., *The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414-1443*, 4 vols (Oxford, 1938-47), 2, pp. xxi-xxv, and Wunderli, *Church Courts*, pp. 115-118.

¹⁰⁹ For example, the will of Richard Frankes of St. Mildred Poultry was granted probate on 22 September 1396; GL MS 9051/1, 1396, fols. 5^r-5^v. He had no possessions worth speaking of, and made four monetary bequests to his church, parish chaplain, clerk and sub-clerk totalling 26d.

Edmunds record that the testators possessed seals, which were placed on the original document thus signifying that they emanated from the individual concerned. This was equally true of men and women. Given that the records that have been studied are registered copy wills in the ecclesiastical courts records we have no information about the appearance of the seals. The court clerk copying the will into the register merely noted whether the will was sealed or not. In London, 1059 (77%) out of a total of 1384 registered wills were recorded as being sealed; in Bury St. Edmunds 274 (76%) out of a total of 358 recorded wills were noted in the register as being sealed.

Next, the executors were required to provide the court with an inventory of the goods and chattels of the deceased, in order to see whether the estate was sufficient to meet the bequests requested by the testator. Whether this was in fact carried out is not clear. Unfortunately, there are no surviving inventories connected with the wills studied here; thus there is no way of judging if the estate was sufficient or not, or what the church court exacted in fees from each individual estate. If the executors were satisfied that the provisions of the will were able to be met from the estate, probate would then be issued and recorded in the register following the copy of the testament. This again, follows a common form used by the Archdeacon's court, always in Latin, such as 'Probate of this testament was granted by the president of the archdeacon's court' and was followed by the date when granted. There followed a further sentence which stated that the administration of the goods of the deceased was granted to the executors named in the testament above, or a variation of the above; this often depended on the scribe who was entering the record and how thorough, or otherwise, he was. There are no examples in this study where the executors refused to act.

As noted previously, only five (1%) of the Bury wills have probate clauses recorded. The probate clauses varied considerably and did not follow any standard common form. For example, Margaret Skeet's will, dated 4 October 1393, states that 'probate was

granted in the court of brother Robert de Ikingham, then sacrist on 9 February 1394' whereas Johanna Claver's undated will merely states that 'probate was granted on 8 January 1394'.¹¹⁰ Ralph Haukyn's probate clause is a minor variant of Margaret Skeet's clause; it states that 'This testament was granted probate in the court of brother Thomas de Rudham sacrist of St. Edmund on v Ides November (9 November) 1384'.¹¹¹

The executors then had the task of carrying out the wishes of the deceased in as reasonable space of time as possible. For most of the wills in this study the amount of disposable goods and the bequests for masses, prayers, church and clergy bequests was fairly small; therefore the execution of the will would have been relatively straightforward. This is not to say that there were not problems involving executors and their failure to carry out their duties or maladministration of the will. There are a number of cases in which executors are presented in both the commissary and the consistory courts of London, as well as in the secular court of Husting, for failing to carry out the terms of the will. In the Husting of Common Pleas the standard action for the recovery of bequests, often concerning property, from executors failing to carry out the terms of a will, was brought by the writ *ex gravi querela*: there are 132 recorded cases between the years 1300 and 1349 and 185 cases between 1350 and 1399.¹¹² In addition, there are a number of cases involving presentation of executors of wills that came before the mayor's court and are found in the Plea and Memoranda Rolls. There are fifteen such cases involving executors between 1366-1380 but only one case between 1381-1412.¹¹³ A further two cases arise in the surviving Sheriff's Court rolls for 1320.¹¹⁴ What is uncertain however, is whether the cases heard in the Husting Court of Common Pleas were only

¹¹⁰ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 73r for both these wills.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 48v.

¹¹² I owe the information on the cases in the Husting Court of Common Pleas to Dr. Penny Tucker, by written communication.

¹¹³ One possible explanation in the marked decline of such cases between 1366 and 1412 is that the population of London was far greater pre-Black Death and its aftermath resulting in more wills being made, particularly in the Husting and Commissary Courts: see Sloane, *Black Death*, pp. 153-4 and A. H. Thomas, ed., *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the City of London* vols 1-4; ed., P. E. Jones, vols 5-6 (London, 1929-1961) vol 2, 1381-1412 (London, 1929) and vol 3, 1413-1437 (London, 1932) for full details.

¹¹⁴ See P. Tucker, *Law Courts and Lawyers in the City of London, 1300-1550* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 64 and n.59.

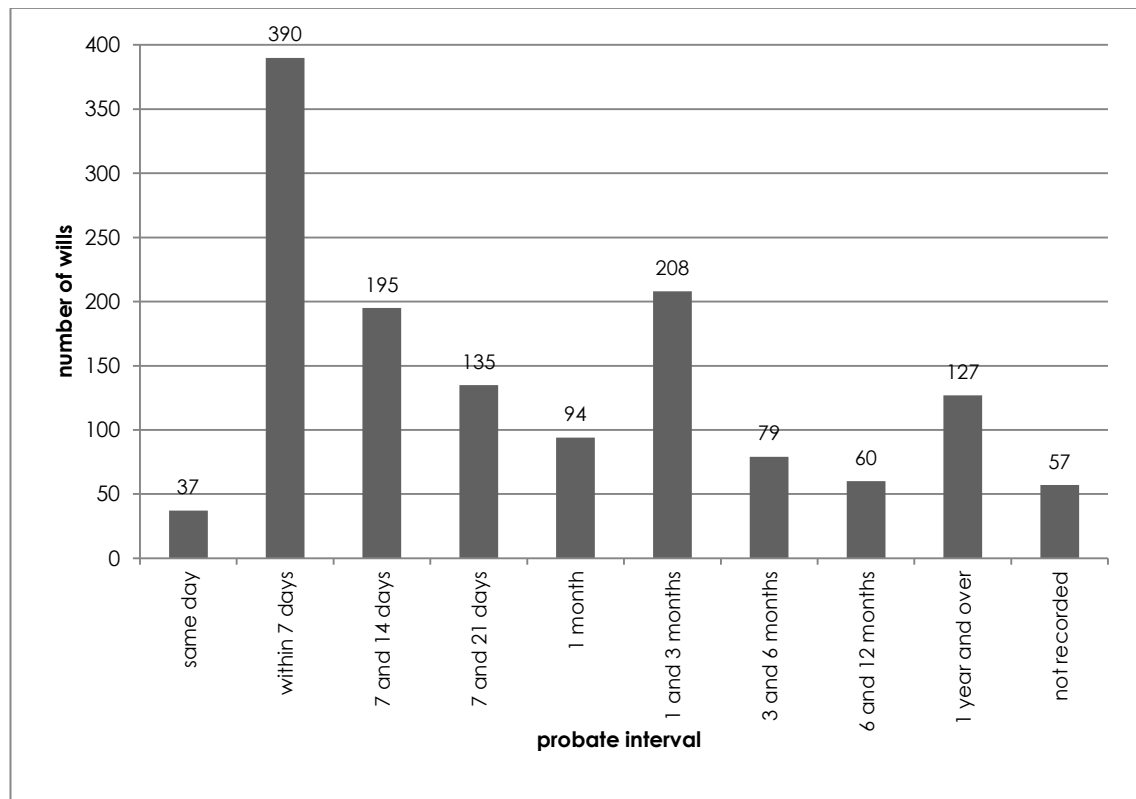
concerned with those wills that had initially been proved and enrolled in the Husting court itself, or whether they were wills that had been enrolled in the three ecclesiastical courts, the Commissary the Consistory and the Archdeaconry, and were subsequently 'actioned' in the secular court in the hope of a speedier judgement from the mayor and aldermen. In his study of the Commissary Court Act Books, Richard Wunderli recorded the following probate cases between 1472 and 1514 as follows.¹¹⁵

Year	No. of cases	No. of cases settled out of court	% of total cases actioned
1472	9	7	78
1484	12	6	50
1493	26	7	30
1502	13	5	38
1513	13	8	62
1514	5	2	40

It is possible, using the information in the London Archdeacon's Register, to calculate the length of time between the writing of the will and the granting of probate. Figure 1.9 demonstrates this information.

¹¹⁵ Wunderli, *Church Courts*, p.117.

Figure 1.9. Intervals between drafting will and granting probate between 1393 and 1414¹¹⁶



As can be seen, the majority of the Archdeacon's court wills, 390, were probated within seven days. A further 195 were granted probate between seven and fourteen days with a further 135 within twenty-one days and ninety-four within one month. Another sixty wills were proved in between six months and one year. Although there are 127 wills between 1393 and 1414 where probate was granted between one and sixteen years from the date of drafting of the will, it is not possible to determine if these wills were in dispute or not.¹¹⁷ Some of these 127 wills were drawn up in plague years, especially in 1393-1394, 1395, 1405-1407, 1412 and 1413 perhaps as a precaution against dying intestate. In the event, all of these testators survived the outbreaks. Another possibility was that the individuals concerned devised their estates well before they became too infirm to do so.

¹¹⁶ Source: GL MS 9051/1.

¹¹⁷ John Wykyngham made his will on 13 January 1393/4, a year of high mortality in London, but it was not proved until 16 April 1410: GL MS 9051/1, 1410, fol.2r.

Conclusions

This chapter has examined the processes by which men and women recorded their wishes in the disposal of their goods and property by means of their last wills and testaments as recorded in the church courts of the Archdeacon of London and the Sacrist of St. Edmunds Abbey in Bury St. Edmunds. We have discussed the various ecclesiastical probate courts in London and the sacrist's court at Bury St. Edmunds and their personnel, particularly those men who were Archdeacons of London and the Archdeacon's officials and the Sacrists of Bury St. Edmunds, and have noted the differences in the recording and granting of probate in both towns. In the case of the London wills, this has enabled us to determine relative mortality rates throughout the period, which it has not been possible to do for the Bury wills. The problem stems from the inconsistencies in the Sacrist's register in recording the dates of probate during the period of this study as well as the considerable number of wills which did not record the date of their drafting.

Members of the secular clergy were employed in the will-making process, acting both as witnesses to, and executors of, wills. The parish clerks, often laymen and the professional writers, or scribes, who plied their trade in the capital and whose training meant that they were well versed in the procedure for drafting and enrolling of these testamentary documents in the church courts, were also employed.

The vast majority of all the wills in this study were made by married men; the small craftsmen and artisans who made up the bulk of the population in both towns and most of these married men appointed their wives as their executors. The surviving women's wills are largely drawn up by widows, and we have seen that for them, family members and the clergy figure largely among those chosen as their executors. There are a number of clerical wills too from both towns, mainly chaplains. However, in the London Archdeacon's wills there also are a number of parish rectors wills. From these

simple legal documents dealing with the disposal of their estates, both fixed and moveable, it has been possible to see the lengths to which individual testators' went to ensure that their wishes would be carried out post mortem.

We will now turn our attention to the content of these wills. There is a considerable amount of information that we can use to show testators' particular concerns regarding the disposition of their souls and their choice of burial places. We can follow the pattern of bequests to the church and to the clergy, as well as pious and charitable bequests to those members of society less fortunate than themselves. It is their personal bequests that provide us with the detailed information concerning family kinships, size of families and households, servants and apprentices, trading associations and membership of parish guilds which enables us to construct a picture of life in London and Bury St. Edmunds in these years.

Chapter Two. Preparation for the after-life.

'In the name of god amen. Twenty-fifth day of May 1406. I John Olyver, citizen and draper of London, in whole mind and good and sound memory, make and ordain my testament in the following way. First, I leave my soul to God Almighty my creator and saviour and I desire to be buried in the chapel of All Hallows in the church of St. Christopher, where I am a parishioner. And I will that 13 torches are to be carried by 13 poor men dressed in russet cloth and that they are to stand around my body at my funeral. They are each to have a pair of shoes after I am interred. I will that two torches are to remain in St. Christopher's to burn at the elevation of the host, before the image of Christ; 4 torches are to go the church of West Hanningfield [Essex] and 3 torches to the church at East Greenwich; the remainder are to be distributed by my executors where greatest need.'¹

'In the name of God Amen. I Margaret Cook, widow, of Bury St. Edmunds, in whole mind and good and sound memory, make and ordain my testament on the twentieth day of June 1411 in the following way. First I commend my soul to God Almighty, the blessed Mary and All the Saints in Heaven and I desire a Christian burial in the parish churchyard of St. James.'²

These extracts are taken from the wills of the London draper John Olyver, who was living in the parish of St. Christopher le Stocks and Margaret Cook, widow of St. James's parish Bury St. Edmunds. For the vast majority of testators, like Olyver and Cook, who lived in London or Bury St. Edmunds, the provisions that they made for their souls at the time of death, together with their choice of burial place were of prime importance. The outstanding debts were to be paid by the testators' executors before all other bequests. It is these three topics that will be discussed in this chapter.

The fact that most testators were very close to death when they made their wills would, no doubt, have concentrated their minds. It might be argued however, that their wills did not necessarily reflect their behaviour earlier in life. As has been observed elsewhere, 'We will never know how far these post mortem documents were a reconstruction by the testators of his or her image to redress the balance of their lifetime actions. Whatever the reasons, they presented a unique opportunity for individuals to settle a number of personal matters within the formal and legally binding document,

¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1406, fols. 7^v- 8^r; translated from the original Latin.

² SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 140^v-141^r; translated from the original Latin.

however minimal the contents.'³ But, as Norman Tanner has written '...no doubt the wills of medieval Christians reflect a more religious outlook than many possessed earlier in their lives. On the other hand a person is, in many ways, most authentic when facing death: in some ways a will sums up a person's attitude to life.'⁴ In their study of medieval York wills, Pat Cullam and Jeremy Goldberg observed: 'The will was in fact a statement of faith, a faith that in lifetime demanded good works. Will makers were concerned with rather more than merely the disposal of their worldly goods or provision for their funerals.'⁵ This statement could equally be applied to the men and women whose wills are enrolled in the archdeacon of London's court register and the Bury St. Edmunds Sacrist's court register.

Medieval testators had three principal concerns when they came to have their wills drawn up as death approached. First, they recorded the details for the disposition of their soul. Second, and perhaps in many ways even more important than the provision for their soul, was their choice of burial place. For many their parish church or churchyard was chosen, whilst others chose the friars' churches or churchyards in both London and Bury St. Edmunds. For all these testators, who were on the brink of death and the afterlife, it would have been comforting for them to know that they would be surrounded by their family, friends and neighbours, and that they would be prayed for. For the living, the dead were a constant reminder, if any were needed, of the transience of life, and that the same fate awaited them, sooner or later. Once these two major concerns had been addressed testators then left instructions to their executors to pay all outstanding debts first before all other bequests. Most of the wills in this study make provision at the very least, for these concerns.

³ J. Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 71.

⁴ N. J. Tanner, *The Church in Medieval Norwich, 1370-1532*, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts 66 (Toronto, 1984), p. 116.

⁵ P. H. Cullum and P.J. P. Goldberg, 'Charitable provision in late Medieval York: 'To the praise of God and the use of the poor'', *Northern History*, 29 (1993), pp. 24-39, at p. 25.

Only when these three concerns had been addressed would testators have been free, if their estate was sufficient, to make arrangements for their funerals, further bequests for prayers and masses for their soul, either short term or long term, and for donations to be made to their church and to the clergy. All testators needed to be reassured that they had made a full and frank account before they died, both to God and to the church, in order that they might be saved from the pains of hell and to enjoy the delights of eternal paradise. The teachings of the church would help and guide them in these weighty matters on which their future depended, and we shall see what steps they took in order to achieve their desired goal.

It is fairly certain that the majority of medieval testators would have dictated their wishes regarding the disposition of their estates verbally in the presence of at least two witnesses, who could be either clerks, family members or laymen; executors were either present or named, and probably a scribe hired, for a fee, to record the document, usually, but not exclusively, in Latin. In order that the testament could be presented to the church courts for enrolment and the granting of probate, the document had to have the testator's seal attached to authenticate the document and the witnesses, often the executors', testimony confirming the authenticity of the document, needed to match before the court enrolled the testament and granted probate. This process is confirmed by the examples from the Husting wills. On 24 August 1391, William Wooton, citizen and merchant dictated his instructions regarding the disposal of his property, in the presence of John Bamburgh, clerk and John Lenne, 'scriptor', who recorded them in Latin. Similarly on 10th May 1361, the mercer Thomas Cornerth, dictated his instructions in the presence of William Condych, parson of St. Mildred Bread Street and Thomas Cotes, 'scriptor' who wrote the document in Latin.⁶

By at least the mid-fourteenth century, will-writers had developed a fairly standard sequence in shaping the testament. This format appears to have been in universal use

⁶ London Metropolitan Archives MS CLA/023/HR 126(26) and 108(75)

throughout the country; certainly the wills enrolled in the London church courts and in the Sacrist's court at Bury St. Edmunds bear eloquent testament to this format. Almost all the wills studied begin with the clause, 'In the name of God, Amen' as in the examples quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The opening clause was then followed by the date of making the will, the testator's name and, where applicable, the craft or occupation of the individual concerned and, in the case of London testators, whether they were citizens and their parish where they lived. Not all wills recorded testators' parishes so that their parish has to be inferred from their burial choice and/or donations to the church's high altar for forgotten tithes. Female testators would, usually, give their marital status such as 'the relict of' or 'late the wife of ...', or simply 'widow'. Following this information, most testators stated that they were in sound mind and memory when they made their will. To state otherwise would have rendered their wills invalid.

Whilst the mental state of the men and women was recorded, their physical condition is much more difficult to ascertain. Very occasionally, however, some testators indicate their state of health or that death itself was close at hand. For example, the mariner William de la land de Guernsey of St. Katherine Coleman stated that 'death is certain but the hour of death uncertain'. His undated will was probated on 27 November 1394.⁷ John Massmyle, senior, from St. Mildred Bread Street stated that he was 'of sound and true mind but sick in body' when he drew up his will on 6 October 1401 but the will was not proved until the 8 May 1403; did he suffer for another eighteen months before dying?⁸ Simon Eyr of St. Peter Westcheap made his will on 6 April 1404, claiming that he was 'in sound mind but not knowing when my death will come'; it came within the month since his will was proved on 7 May. Amongst the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds Margaret Badewell claimed that she was 'sick in extreme but sound in mind'

⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fol. 4^v.

⁸ *Ibid*, 1400, fols.1^r -1^v.

in her will dated 2 September 1394.⁹ Two of the Bury St. Edmunds testators' wills were made in the town's hospitals. On the 27 April 1398 William Brook, whose marital status is not given, recorded that his will was 'written near death and in the presence of sir Richard and sir Reginald, chaplains in the hospital of the Maison Dieu, together with John and Robert Baxter, Robert Brook and others'. The chaplain John Kyrkeby was also near to death when he wrote his will, on 8 April 1404, in the Salutation hospital of the town, by the north gate.¹⁰ None of the London wills in the Archdeacon's probate register state that they were made in any of the London hospitals.

In the disposition of testators souls, the vast majority of the recorded wills from London and Bury St. Edmunds follow a simple wording, usually 'I give my soul to God Almighty, the Blessed Virgin and All Saints', or slight variations such as 'God Almighty my Creator and/or Saviour' or 'Blessed Virgin Mary his mother' or 'All the Saints in Heaven', or just God, as in John Olyver's will quoted in the introduction to this chapter. In total 1,358, (99%) of London testators' wills have this common form of religious preamble outlined above. However seventeen testators included what might be termed 'personal saints' who were to intercede for them on their journey through Purgatory to Paradise. Seven men and three women included St. Michael Archangel in their dedications, the most popular 'personal' saint, but only two testators, William Roger and William Burwell, chaplain, lived in a London parish dedicated to St. Michael; in their case, it was the parish of St. Michael Queenhithe.¹¹

St. Michael was a powerful figure within the celestial panoply of saints; he is sometimes depicted as slaying the dragon, or more frequently, weighing the souls, either as part of a Doom painting or separately. Therefore, for these ten men and women he was of

⁹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern fol. 91^v.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 92^v and f.106^r.

¹¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1413, fol. 9^v [fol. 27^v] and 1414, fol. 10^r. Burwell appointed his rector William Wryght as supervisor of his will.

immense importance to them in interceding on their behalf with God.¹² St. Margaret was invoked by two testators. John de Sprotburgh, the rector of St. Margaret Fish Street Hill included 'St. Margaret virgin' in his will dated 8 May 1400, whilst Margaret Croft called upon 'the precious blood of Christ' along with St. Margaret, her namesake.¹³ Table 2.1 shows the additional saints included in the testators' dedications.

Table 2 1: List of additional saints included in London testators' dedications for their souls.¹⁴

Name of saint	No.	Parish church dedication	No.
St. Michael Archangel	10	St. Michael Queenhithe	2
St. Margaret	2	St. Margaret Fish Street Hill [Bridge St.]	1
St. Katherine	1		
St. James the Apostle	1		
St. Martin	1	St. Martin Ludgate	1
St. Swithin	1	St. Swithin London Stone	1
SS. Peter and Paul	1		
St. Mary Magdalen	1	St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street	1
Total number of wills	18	Total number of churches	6

Only one Bury will makes any reference to a 'personal' saint. John Bodekysham, clerk, included the town's patron saint St. Edmund, in his will dated 2 February 1393/4.¹⁵

After the disposition of their souls, the choice of where testators wished to be buried was, if anything, even more important; for some, it was the thought of being reunited with their late spouses that provided comfort and hope; for others it was a specific location within the church, or churchyard, either before an altar or an image of a particular saint to whom they were attached. Others were simply content to be buried either in their parish church or churchyard. A number of testators wished to be buried in one of the friars' churches in London, Bury St. Edmunds and Thetford, and some chose St. Paul's churchyard or in the abbey churchyard of St. Edmund in Bury. The following table gives full details.

¹² See the entry for St. Michael Archangel in D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1982) pp. 277-8.

¹³ GL MS 9051/1, 1400, fols.1^v-2^r and 1407, fol. 23^v. D. H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 260-1.

¹⁴ Source: GL MS 9051/1.

¹⁵ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 74^r.

Table 2.2: London and Bury St. Edmunds Testators' Burial Choice¹⁶

Location	London		Bury St. Edmunds	
	No.	%	No.	%
In parish church or churchyard	1085	78	86	24
Church burial			131	37
Christian burial			69	19
St. Paul's churchyard	139	10		
St. Edmund's Abbey churchyard			34	9
Friars churches/churchyard	55	4	7	2
Wherever God chooses	91	7	1	
In the earth /ground	8	0.6		
Not recorded	6	0.4	35	9
Total	1384	100	358	100

The table reveals a number of differences between the testators in these two towns. Whilst the majority of the London testators, 1085 (78%) chose to be buried within their parish church or churchyard, only eighty-six (24%) of the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds made this choice. However, no fewer than 131 (37%) Bury testators wished to have a church burial or Christian burial without specifying where this was to be. When we examine the parish in which they lived all were residents of the town, thus it would be a reasonable assumption that they would have been buried in one or other of the two parish churches or churchyards in the town. Perhaps the omission of the parish church was yet another difference in the copying of the original will into the probate register by the clerks between these two towns that was noted in the previous chapter.

The other major difference is that sixty-nine (19%) of Bury's inhabitants specified that they were to have a 'Christian' burial; there are no such directions in any of the London wills, although perhaps the equivalent in London was 'wherever God chooses' or 'in the earth'; that is two different ways of being unspecific, which ninety-nine (7.6%) testators stated. As all burials during this period would have been Christian involving the family members and the parochial clergy in the burial ritual, with the coffin draped with a pall, together with torches and candles to surround the bier, often specified by testators themselves plus the funeral rites and subsequent interment, this stipulation seems curious. Religious non-conformity was at least two hundred years away from our

¹⁶ Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern.

period. Again, the difference cannot be ascribed just to the vagaries of the Sacrist's clerks entries in the probate register as noted previously In Chapter One.

The bonds of marriage and family that had been so important in life, particularly amongst the London testators, many of whom had been first or perhaps second generation inhabitants of the city, were often reinforced in the choice of interment with former wives and husbands, sons, daughters, parents or members of the extended family. Testators would have been comforted during their last days on earth knowing that their wishes would be fulfilled by their executors.

In the London sample, seventy-three out of 729 married men (10%) chose to be buried with their former wives, rather than their current wife; thirty-one (42%) of whom were appointed an executor. whilst twenty-six widowers out of seventy-two (36%) wished to be interred with their late wives. For example, the executors of the tailor Peter Fykilden were instructed that he was to be buried in the tomb of his late wife Alice in his parish church of St. Michael Wood Street, whilst Thomas Eaton, glazier of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, wanted to be interred next to his late wife Katherine in his parish churchyard.¹⁷

Seventy-two London widows (43%) from a total of 167 widows' wills, were to be buried with their late husbands. The baker's widow Margery Noket directed that she was to be buried 'beneath the stone of her late husband Thomas' tomb in the chancel of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, 'before the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary there', whilst the twice widowed Mazerer Aghton of St. Magnus the Martyr wished to be buried in the parish churchyard where her husbands, Roger Brabson and Gilbert Agh were buried.¹⁸ Two married women, Alice Coleman and Emma Kelke, wished to be buried with former husbands. Alice wished to be buried in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth with her first

¹⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fol. 3^v and 1393, fols. 19^r-19^v.

¹⁸ *ibid*, 1403, fols. 7^v-8^r and 1405, fols. 3^v-5^r.

husband Henry and their dead son, whilst Emma wanted to be buried with her late husband Bartholomew Neve, draper in St. Mary Abchurch.¹⁹

There are two wills that suggest particular affection for their deceased spouses. The widow Fen Swan, in her will dated 4 August 1407, desired to be buried in the churchyard of All Hallows the Great, 'next to my friend '*amicus*' Henry Creye my late husband', whilst Adam Yerdele of All Hallows Barking wished to be buried 'next to my friend, '*amica*' Juliana, my late wife' in his parish church.²⁰

A further twenty-one (1.5%) of London testators wished to be buried with their deceased children. Eighteen were married men, one was a widower and two were married women. For example, John Wakefeld, senior, wanted to be buried in his parish church of St. Katherine Cree next to his children; he was survived by an adult son John and by his second wife Elizabeth.²¹ In 1396 John de Croydon, girdler, wished to be buried next to his son Thomas in the churchyard of St. Stephen Coleman Street, whilst Alice Benyngton, who was survived by her second husband William, wished to be reunited with her daughter Katherine in her parish church of St. Michael Bassishaw.²² A further five testators chose to be buried with members of their extended family; three with an uncle and two with a cousin. Table 2.3 below has full details.

In sharp contrast, there are just two wills from Bury St Edmunds that requested burial with family members. On 29 December 1385, Margaret the daughter of Sir Nigel de Kenton, wished to be reunited with her parents in the village church of Ixworth, some five miles to the north-west of Bury St. Edmunds; she was to be buried between her father and mother. The widow Alice Charman, whose will was drawn up on 27 December 1402,

¹⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1403, fol. 7^r and 1406, fol. 6^r.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 1407, fol. 11^r and fol. 12^r.

²¹ *Ibid*, 1409, fol. 9^r.

²² *Ibid*, 1396, fols. 4^r-4^v and 1403, fol. 8^v.

was to be reunited with her late husband Richard in her parish church of St. Mary's in Bury St. Edmunds.²³

Table 2.3: Londoners Burial with Family Members.²⁴

Gender Relationship	Male						Female			
	Married	%	Widower	%	Not given	%	Married	%	widow	%
Husband							1	12	72	43
Wife	68	9	26	36						
Son	3		1				1	12		
Daughter	3						1	12		
Children	12									
Mother	6				2	1				
Father	8	1	1	1	3	1				
Parents	3				2	1				
Uncle	1		1	1						
Cousin					2	1				
Totals	104		28		9		3		72	

Turning to specific locations within the church, the chancel was usually the province of the parish clergy and the patrons of the churches. In both London and Bury St. Edmunds the parish clergy, particularly chose the chancel as their location of choice and in some cases the laity also requested a chancel burial. For some London parish churches the parishioners were also responsible for the upkeep of the chancel as well as the nave.²⁵ From the London sample, twenty-five clerical testators requested burial in the chancel of their churches, of which nineteen were the parish rectors. Among these city rectors, William Cachemayde of St. Mary Woolnoth requested burial in his chancel by the altar before the statue of St. Mary, whilst William Caton of St. John Zachary, wished to be buried in the chancel of his church under the stone of Henry Spondon a former rector.²⁶

A further thirty-one lay testators in London also requested burial in the chancel of their parish churches. Fourteen were married men, two were widowers, ten were widows and five were of unknown marital status; three men and two women. Examples from the London laity's wills include that of the mariner William de la land de Guernsey, who wished to be buried in the chancel of St. Katherine Coleman, 'next to where my

²³ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern fol. 51^v and fol. 102^v. For Richard Charman, see Chapter Five, pp. 225-6.

²⁴ Source: GL MS 9051/1.

²⁵ See Chapter Three p. 106, n. 25 for more information regarding this situation in London.

²⁶ GL MS 9051/1, 1414, fol. 7^v and 1413, fols. 13^r-13^v.

children lie', and that of the vintner Stephen John, who requested burial in the chancel of his parish church of St. Mary Woolnoth.²⁷ Sibyl Sandwich, the widow of the tawyer Bartholomew Sandwich, wanted to be buried with her deceased husband in the chancel of St. Mary Woolnoth; at the time of her death she was living in the parish of St. Lawrence Jewry some distance away from her former home. Perhaps the most interesting widow who requested a chancel burial was Margaret Berne; she refers to herself as 'widow and anchorite of All Hallows London Wall'.²⁸ These lay men and women belonged to the more prosperous crafts in London. Perhaps they reasoned that, if they and their fellow parishioners were to be responsible for the maintenance of the chancel as well as the nave, and they could afford the higher burial fee involved, they had the right to specify burial in the chancel like the rector. Among the crafts followed by these lay-men there was a vintner, a goldsmith, a haberdasher, a merchant, a skinner, a mariner, a brewer, a saddler, a smith and a baker. The widows' deceased husbands' crafts included another baker, a tawyer and a moneyer.²⁹

There are six testators from the corpus of Bury St. Edmunds testators who requested burial in the chancel. William de Rougham, the former rector of Sproughton church near Ipswich, is the only clerical testator.³⁰ Three were widows; Johanna Rokewode wanted to be buried in the chancel of St. Nichols, Staningfield, a village four miles to the south of Bury St. Edmunds, Alice Wooleman wished for burial in the chancel of her parish church of St. James in the town as did Matilda atte Lee. Matilda's husband, William, also wished to be buried in the chancel of St. Mary's if the Franciscan Friary at

²⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, f. 4^v and 1393, fol. 19^r.

²⁸ *ibid*, 1400, fols. 12^r-12^v and 1402, fol. 9^v. On anchorites in London see C. M. Barron and M. P. Davies, eds., *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London, 2007), pp. 235-8.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 1393, fol. 19^r: Stephen John, vintner; 1410, fol. 15^v: Edward Alderman, goldsmith; 1410, fol. 3^r: John Deny, haberdasher; 1397, fols. 2^r-2^v: William Wooton, merchant; 1400, fols. 10^v-11^r; Robert Oxenford, skinner; 1413, fol. 8^v: Robert Hunt, brewer; 1413, fol. 5^v: Hugh Bevington, saddler; 1406, fols. 12^v-13^r; Robert Parys, smith and 1414, fols. 7^r-7^v: John Stachesden, baker. The widows who gave their late husbands' crafts were Margery Noket, 1403, fols. 7^v-8^r whose husband Thomas had been a baker and Lucy Sandwich, 1407, fol. 1^r, whose late husband Walter Mayne had been a moneyer (*monecarii*). William Wooton of St. Lawrence Pountney directed that his body was to be buried under the marble stone that he had constructed for his interment before the [high] altar cross.

³⁰ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 76^v-77^r.

Babwell, outside the town, could not accommodate his corpse.³¹ Geoffrey de Glemesforde, of St. James' parish, wanted to have a Christian burial in the chancel of his parish church.³²

The existence of the many altars, images, statues and lights to be found in medieval parish churches is well attested to in these wills. In London a total of thirty-nine (3%) of all testators chose to be buried before specific altars. The baker, Robert de Ludlowe, of St. Andrew Hubbard, wanted to be buried in the south part of the church 'between the two columns before the altar of St. James', whilst the draper's widow Elizabeth Noble wished to be buried before the altar of St. Nicholas in St. Mary Woolnoth, where her first husband Richard Pole was buried.³³ Two chaplains, Thomas Bene of St. Peter Cornhill and John Wynde of St. Mary Aldermanbury, requested burial before specific altars. Thomas was a chantry chaplain, possibly for a guild dedicated to St. Nicholas in the church, as he stated that he was to be buried 'in my place before the altar of St. Nicholas'. John Wynde was to be buried before All Saints altar in his church.³⁴

Only ten London testators, including two clerics, requested burial before the images of saints; five were dedicated to the Virgin, four to St. Christopher and one to St. James the Apostle. The goldsmith Richard Henry of St. Martin Outwich wished to be buried before the image of the Virgin, situated on the west side of the church, where he had a licence from the rector and parishioners; if he was interred there his executors were instructed to give 5s. to the church. John de Birton, the rector of Mary Somerset was to be buried before the image of the Virgin in his church. The English will of the joiner Richard Mymmes of St. James Garlickhithe states that he was to be 'beryett in the church of seynt James of Garlikehithe before the image of seynt cristofere if god

³¹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 60^v-61^r; fol. 114^v; fol. 116^v. William atte Lee's will is dated 4 March 1401/2, fol. 102^r; Matilda's will is dated 12 July 1406.

³² *Ibid*, fols. 95^r-95^v.

³³ GL MS 9051/1, 1400, fols.13^r-13^v and 1409, fols. 4^v-5^r. Elizabeth's second husband was John Noble, citizen and draper; perhaps her first husband Richard was also a draper.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 1407, fol. 8^r and 1407, fol. 12^v. There are no other references to a guild of St. Nicholas in St. Peter Cornhill.

vouchesaff'.³⁵ The will of John Hayward a pastry cook of St. Katherine Cree has the only reference to a burial before a window depicting a saint; he asked to be buried in St. Katherine Cree beneath the window portraying St. Michael the archangel.³⁶ There are no testators in Bury St. Edmunds who requested burial within their parish churches or before altars, statues or images.

Forty-two London testators (3%) were to be buried under memorial stones, either made to order prior to their deaths, or to be constructed by their executors. In this way they hoped to ensure that their fellow parishioners would remember them constantly and pray for their souls. The problem with these directives is that we do not have any surviving evidence within the city churches to indicate their existence. None of the original inventories survive. These would have accompanied the original wills and given details of the wealth of an individual's estate, we do not know if there were sufficient funds with which to construct these memorials. Forty of the forty-two wills were from the laity; twenty by men and twenty by women, all widows. Not surprisingly the majority of these individuals were drawn from the more prosperous trades within the city: goldsmiths, vintners, drapers, tailors and grocers. From among the lesser crafts there were six bakers, two cutlers and two chandlers.

The merchant William Wooton was to be buried beneath the marble stone constructed for his grave in the chancel of St. Lawrence Pountney, before the high altar. Robert Godspede, a butcher of St. Nicholas Shambles, charged his executors to provide a memorial stone with his name carved on it, over his burial place in St. Nicholas Shambles, 'before the image of St. James the apostle within the porch'. Thomas Wynchombe, clerk, wished to be buried under the black marble stone of his cousin Richard Wynchombe who was buried in the chancel of St. Thomas of Acre and the

³⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fols. 4^r-4^v and fols. 21^r-21^v and 1405, fols. 13^v-14^r.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 1413, fols. 8^v-9^r.

mercier's widow Elizabeth Burlee was to be buried with her late husband Robert under his memorial stone in St. Pancras, Soper Lane.³⁷

There are two distinctive testators' wills, both from the parish of St. Peter Cornhill: Richard Standon, who was also known as Richard Manhale, citizen and chandler, and Peter Masoun, citizen and tailor.³⁸ Richard had followed his paternal grandfather in both his craft, as a chandler, and as a common councilman for Cornhill ward.³⁹ These two men first appear together, with others, in obtaining a licence from the king to found a fraternity 'in honour of God and St. Peter', in the parish church of St. Peter Cornhill on 26 April 1403.⁴⁰ Standon's will is dated 20 February 1410/11 and was proved on 12 March 1410/11. He directed his executors that he was to be buried under the memorial stone that he had ordered in St. Peter Cornhill. Two years later Peter Masoun made his will on 6 December 1412, stating he wished to be buried in the same tomb as his late wife Johanna in St. Peter Cornhill. He then added a codicil to the will which contains more information regarding his exact burial location; he was to be buried in the north aisle of St. Peter Cornhill 'where the tomb of Richard Manhale is'. He went on to instruct his executors that if the rector and parishioners agreed to this request within one year of his death, they were to receive £3. Thus, the two friends were to lie next to each other in their church where they had played a significant role in their lifetimes.⁴¹ The will of William Bret, brewer, of St. Peter Cornhill requested burial in the church 'on the south side 'where I used to stand', presumably so that he would be remembered by his fellow parishioners.⁴² Similarly, the wealthy skinner's widow Matilda Penne requested burial 'in

³⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fols. 2^r-2^v; 1400, fols. 6^r-6^v; 1413, fol. 12^v and 1403, fols. 9^r-9^v.

³⁸ Standon was probably the grandson of Robert Manhale, chandler, of St. Peter Cornhill, where he was buried. His grandfather had been admitted to the freedom of the city on 19 April 1325: *LBG*, p. 20. Later in his life he was elected a common councilman for Cornhill ward from at least 1355/6 until 1358/9; *LBG* p. 60 and pp. 110-1. His will is dated 20 March 1360/1: *CWCH*, ii, pp. 46-47.

³⁹ *LBH*, pp.43, 124, 238, 280, 334 and 419; *CPMR 1381-1412*, pp. 80, 82, 86 and 123.

⁴⁰ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report of the Deputy Keeper vol 6*, Appendix ix (London, 1877) pp. 407-18. Statutes and ordinances of the guild of St. Peter, in St. Peter, Cornhill. Both left bequests to the fraternity in their wills; Standon is here referred to as a tallow chandler.

⁴¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1410, fols.15^v-16^r and 1412, fols.16^r-16^v. None of the above examples of memorial stones appear in John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed., C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908).

⁴²GL MS 9051/1, 1406, fols. 14^r-14^v.

a coffin within the church (St. Peter Wood Street) in front of the Cross where I am accustomed to stand'.⁴³

The many parish churchyards in London and the two parish churchyards in Bury St. Edmunds were also the choice for a large number of testators in both towns. Examination of the Archdeacon's wills reveal that 506 (37%) lay men and women wished to be buried in their parish churchyards. Amongst the secular clergy twenty-two chaplains and one rector, William Palmere of St. Alphage (20%) wanted burial in churchyards with which they had been associated during their lifetime.⁴⁴ From the Bury St. Edmunds wills forty-seven (13%) of lay men and women and five (20%) of chaplains wished to be buried in parish churchyards, either within the town or in the surrounding villages.

Sometimes testators gave more detailed information concerning the location within the churchyard where they wished to be buried. Fourteen testators in London and four testators in Bury St. Edmunds specified particular locations. Amongst the archdeaconry wills, William Hardyng, a king's messenger, was to be buried before the south porch in his parish churchyard of St. Sepulchre, Newgate.⁴⁵ John Presby wanted to be buried in the north doorway of his parish church of St. Michael Bassishaw. John Craven, the parish clerk of St. Mary Aldermanbury also wished to be buried in the doorway into his church.⁴⁶ Margaret Boston wished to be buried in the footpath running through her parish churchyard of St. Michael Bassishaw and Arnold Huet, originally from the Low Countries, was to be interred 'in the ground where men walk' in his parish churchyard of St. Clement Eastcheap.⁴⁷ Was Huet in particular expressing 'lollard' sentiments, or

⁴³ GL MS 9051/1, 1393, fols.16^v-17^r. See E. Veale, 'Matilda Penne, Skinner (d. 1392-3)', in Barron, *Widows*, pp. 47-54 at p. 51.

⁴⁴ For Palmere see Chapter Five below.

⁴⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fols. 21^r-21^v. For a study of the King's messengers sees Mary C. Hill, *King's Messengers, 1199-1377: A Contribution to the History of The Royal Household* (London, 1961).

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 1409, fol.3^r and 1413, fol. 4^v. Craven was a lay clerk.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 1408, fol. 8^v: dated 11 August 1408 and 1407, fol.9^v: dated 3 May 1407. Huet's executors were all from the Low Countries; Denis de Delft, Christian Roccer and Peter Mann of Swarten.

were he and Margaret simply expressing their humility? Their wills are otherwise completely conventional. Amongst the Bury St. Edmunds testators' wills, John Spalding of St. Mary's parish wished to be buried in his parish churchyard in the porch before the statue of the Virgin and John Bakere, a parishioner of St. James's, wished to be buried before the church porch.⁴⁸

What was the significance of a testator specifying exactly where he wished to be buried within the churchyards? Was it an act of humility or was it an act of non-conformity? The most likely reason for choosing these particular locations was that these individuals hoped that they would ensure remembrance by their fellow parishioners and be in receipt of prayers for their departed souls, at least in the immediate period after their death and burial.

Although, as we have seen, the majority of London and Bury testators wished to be buried in their church or churchyards, a considerable number wished to be buried elsewhere. There are 130 archdeaconry wills (10%) that specified burial in St. Paul's cathedral's precincts. The cathedral physically dominated the medieval city of London and it also played an important part in the life of the inhabitants, as well as being the seat of the bishop of London. The Benedictine abbey dedicated to St. Edmund in Bury St. Edmunds likewise dominated the town in more ways than just with its physical presence. As was discussed in Chapter One, the abbot was both the religious head of one of the wealthiest of all medieval Benedictine monasteries and the feudal overlord of the town and the extended area known as 'The Liberty of St. Edmund'. The Abbey's relationship with the town was often acrimonious, which occasionally spilt over into violence against monastic property and the monks themselves.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ SROB MS IC/500/2/1 Register Osbern, fols. 90^r-90^v and fol. 138^v.

⁴⁹ See Lobel, *Bury St. Edmunds*, Chapter 3.

In London St. Paul's cathedral provided Londoners with the choice of burial in three specific locations; the great churchyard, which occupied the north-east part of the cathedral precinct, the Pardon Churchyard, which was situated in the angle between the nave and the west face of the north transept of the cathedral, and the charnel house, situated within the great churchyard on the north eastern boundary wall of the precinct.⁵⁰ The great churchyard was where citizens of London could choose to be buried, and was in use from the thirteenth century. From about 1300 when the entire space from the north transept westwards was developed for the construction of the bishop's palace and the Pardon Churchyard, later provided with the hall and buildings for minor canons, the area was restricted to the eastern side of the cathedral, and occupying part of the site of the folkmoot.⁵¹ The area occupied by the Pardon Churchyard had been used for lay burials from at least the eighth century until the tenth and again probably from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It may have been the 'little cemetery' mentioned in 1276. The name Pardon Churchyard was increasingly used as the location of choice by the victims of the Black Death of 1348-9 and the subsequent outbreaks of plague in the fourteenth century.⁵² It continued to be used after the construction of the cloister was built for prestigious burials.⁵³ The charnel house with a chapel over dedicated to the Virgin, subsequently rebuilt shortly before 1276, is first mentioned in the twelfth century.⁵⁴ Interment in the charnel house was requested by two testators, the grocer William Malton, who did not record his parish and Lawrence Caunton of St. Michael Queenhithe.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ For the development of St. Paul's precinct see J. Schofield, *St. Paul's Cathedral before Wren* (London, 2011), pp. 168-83.

⁵¹ What follows is based on Schofield, *St. Paul's*, pp. 166-7 and 173-4, and C. M. Barron and M-H. Rousseau, 'Cathedral, City and State, 1300-1540' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint, eds., *St. Paul's, The Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004* (London, 2004), pp. 33-44, at p. 35.

⁵² Sloane, *Black Death*, p. 154.

⁵³ Schofield, *St. Paul's*, p. 169.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 174.

⁵⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1393, f.15^v and f.18^r. St Michael Queenhithe had a churchyard, so although we do not have Caunton's trade, his burial choice must have been for prestigious reasons. There is reference to a charnel house in the churchyard of St. Benet Gracechurch from the will of the widower John Pountfreyt, saddler, who wished to be buried with his late wife there; we do not have her name; *Ibid*, 1398, fols. 9^v-10^r.

Another reason for choosing to be buried in the churchyard of the cathedral was that a number of the city churches did not have burial grounds. This resulted in a considerable number of the city's inhabitants being buried within the cathedral precincts. A total of eighty-eight laymen, twenty-eight women and eleven clerical testators requested burial in the great churchyard, sixteen requesting burial before the great cross 'Paul's Cross' in the churchyard.⁵⁶

Altogether twenty men and four women in the Archdeaconry wills requested burial in the Pardon Churchyard. Among those was Nicholas Hotot, from the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles, woolmonger, and a common councilman for Walbrook Ward like his father Nicholas had been. He requested burial in the churchyard called *pardonchurchawe* 'at the discretion and good advice of my executors'. His parish church of St. Nicholas Shambles had a churchyard attached to it, but perhaps for reasons of prestige. Hotot wanted to be buried amongst the more substantial inhabitants of the city as his status as a common councilman would allow him to specify.⁵⁷ The goldsmith John Somervyle of St. Matthew, Friday Street, a church without a churchyard, gave instructions that he was 'to be buried in St. Paul's churchyard called '*pardonchurchawe*' under the large stone where his late wife Katherine was buried'.⁵⁸ In his will dated 5 September 1407 Thomas Murifeld, goldsmith, of St. Peter Westcheap, another church without a churchyard, was to be buried in '*pardonchurchawe*' next to his father Adam, also a goldsmith.⁵⁹ All these twenty-four testators would have paid a higher fee for interment there rather than in the great churchyard. Examination of the crafts of these individuals, where they are given, reveal three goldsmiths, two tailors, a draper, a woolmonger, an apothecary, a cutler, a

⁵⁶GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fols. 8^r-9^r; William Waddesworth, grocer of St. Stephen Walbrook, a church without a churchyard was to be buried in the great churchyard before the cross where his first wife Agnes was buried. Schofield, *St. Paul's*, p. 160, figure 4.108.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 1404, fols. 11^r-11^v. See also Chapter Four below.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 1406, fol. 3^v. St. James Garlickhithe was one of at least twenty-five city churches, within the walls, that did not possess a churchyard. This information has been calculated from the map of the City of London c.1520 in M. D. Lobel, ed., *The British Atlas of Historic Towns*, vol. iii, *The City of London from Prehistoric Times to c. 1520* (Oxford, 1999).

⁵⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1407, f.15^r.

brewer, a joiner, a plumber and an armourer. Only one of the widow's wills records the occupation of her late husband; he was another tailor. As can be seen the majority of these individuals were members of the more prosperous trades, and would thus have been able to meet the higher burial fees required.

In the same way, thirty-four (9%) of Bury testators requested burial in the abbey churchyard or charnel house. For example, Robert Caxton a cordwainer of St. James's parish, wished to be buried in the churchyard of St. Edmund king and martyr in his will written on 16 September 1392, and in 1394 the twice widowed Margery Skeet also from St. James's parish, was to be buried there with her two husbands Henry and William.⁶⁰ There is only one testator, William Skeet, the husband of Margery, who chose to be interred in the charnel house, situated on the north side of the abbey churchyard.⁶¹

The impact that the mendicant friars orders had in England from the early thirteenth-century, bringing with them their rules of poverty and evangelical preaching, led many people living in the towns to feel attracted towards their way of life. The friars were essentially an urban movement, living within towns where they could beg for alms, but also having a reservoir of souls to be saved. All five orders of friars, the Dominicans, or Black Friars, the Franciscans, or Grey Friars, the Carmelites or White Friars, the Austin Friars and the Crossed or Crutched Friars were present in London. The Londoners would encounter the brothers on a daily basis walking the city's streets begging for alms. The friars were also active in preaching, and, as they were very effective orators, they were very popular with the populace in an age of increasing lay literacy. Each order had its own precinct; four were within the city walls whilst the Carmelite precinct was located

⁶⁰ SROB MS IC/500/2/1 Register Osbern, fols. 63^v and 73^r.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, fol. 61^v.

outside the walls to the west of the city. Their large churches dominated the city's skyline.⁶²

A total of fifty-seven (4%) of London testators chose to be buried in the houses of the friars: twenty-seven in the Austin Friars house; sixteen in the Grey Friars house; eight chose the Dominicans' house and six in the Carmelite Friars house. There were no requests for burial in the Crutched Friars house during this period.⁶³ Of the twenty-four individuals who chose burial in the Austin friars' house only nine were Londoners. Some had particular reasons for choosing the Austin Friars. John Donyngton, a tailor, who died in 1408, wanted his son Richard who was an Austin Friar to officiate at his burial.⁶⁴ The Austin Friars house was particularly popular with the alien merchant community, who lived and traded within the city; in all fifteen aliens chose burial in the Austin Friars. Two, John Grisonus and Gerius Petrus Bacarell, were Venetian merchants and Zontin was a merchant of Lucca; the remainder were from Germany and the Low Countries.⁶⁵ Johannes Smarht and Constantine de Colter were goldsmiths and Tideman Hughson was a mariner and a parishioner of All Hallows the less. The remainder were merchants such as John de Lupre, who died in 1407 and specified burial in St. Katherine's chapel there.⁶⁶ The primary reason for the alien community choosing the Austin friars was undoubtedly the diversity of the friars there. Many of the friars came from mainland

⁶² See J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London 1221-1539* (Munster, 2004) and *Religious Houses*, pp. 116-21 (Black Friars), pp. 122-27 (Grey Friars), pp. 128-32 (White Friars), pp. 133-36 (Austin Friars) and pp. 139-42 (Crossed or Crutched Friars).

⁶³ For a recent study of burials in the Crutched Friars precinct see C. Steer, "'better in remembrance": Medieval commemoration at the Crutched Friars, London', *Church Monuments*, 25 (2010), pp. 36-57.

⁶⁴ GL MS 9051/1, 1408, fol. 2r.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 1395, fols. 13r-13v; Grisonus; 1395, fol. 13r; Zontin and 1413, fols. 12v-13r; Bacarell. A study on the Italian community in London has been made by Helen Bradley: 'The Italian Community in London, c.1350-c.1450' (unpublished University of London PhD thesis, 1992). Stuart Jenks has studied the wills registered in the Commissary and Archdeacon's courts in London of the Hanse merchants and traders from the Low Countries living and working in London; in 'Hansische Vermächtnisse in London ca.1368-1483', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 104 (1986), pp.3-111. See also *Religious Houses*, pp. 18-19. In 1957 Sylvia Thrupp published a study on the alien population in England; 'A Survey of the Alien Population of England in 1440', *Speculum*, 32 (1957), pp. 262-73. See also J. Colson, 'Alien Communities and Alien Fraternities in Later Medieval London', *The London Journal*, 35 (2010), pp. 113-43.

⁶⁶GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fols. 13r-3v; 1413, fols.12v-13r; 1395, fol.10r; 1407, fol. 23r; 1409, fol. 1v [f.9v]; 1413, fol.16v and 1407, fol. 26r.

Europe, either for a short period of time or for longer stays. In this way, they provided foreign merchants and craftsmen with the chance to hear confession and enjoy conversation in their own native tongue.

If the Austin Friars church and churchyard was the choice of alien merchants for burial, then the Franciscans' church was particularly favoured by native Londoners. All sixteen testators who chose to be buried there were denizens. Three of them chose a specific location within the church and a further two were precise in their burial location within the churchyard. It is from these references that we can get some idea of the geography of the church interior and the churchyard. Richard Coventre, a skinner from the parish of St. Ewen, next to the Grey Friars convent, which did not have its own churchyard, chose to be buried in the Grey Friars church before the image of St. Christopher. David Bardevyle of St. Olave Silver Street, another parish without a churchyard, was to be buried before the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on the south side of the church, whilst the salter William Asshe of St. Sepulchre without Newgate chose to be buried within the church 'on the east part beyond the bar'.⁶⁷ The four times married Agnes Creke, whose last husband was the physician Geoffrey Creke, also stipulated that she was to be buried in the church. She left 20s. to the convent to be divided equally amongst them to pray for her soul and the souls of her late husbands' Elys Weston, William Bromtholme, John Heure and Geoffrey Creke.⁶⁸ Finally, Richard

⁶⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1405, f.18^v; 1411, fol. 5^r and 1406, fols. 5^v-6^r. C. L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915) and idem, ed., *Additional material for the History of the Grey Friars, London* (London, 1922), p. 85; Kingsford's note to Coventre's will states that 'the image of St. Christopher is mentioned in the will of James Gyfford in 1473. It was very probably in the fifth bay of the North Aisle of the Nave, where there was a window of S. Christopher'.

⁶⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1414, fol. 1^r: C. L. Kingsford, ed., *Additional material for the History of the Grey Friars, London* (London, 1922), p. 88 has a note on Alice Creke and her former husbands. For her last husband Geoffrey Creke, physician see C. H. Talbot and E. A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England A Biographical Register* (London, 1965), p. 52. Elias or Elys de Westone, her first husband, was a butcher; he was one of four butchers elected as masters of the mystery of butchers at the shambles of St. Nicholas who appeared before the mayor and aldermen on the 24 February 1374/5 to swear to rule the said mystery. *LBH*, p. 6. Weston served further terms as a master of the butchers of the Shambles and was a common councilman for Farringdon Ward from at least July 1384, until August 1388; *LBH*, pp. 239, 270 and 332. The names of all sixteen testators who wished to be buried in the Grey Friars convent appear in Kingsford's supplementary list, but no references have been found to their memorial stones in the church.

Barton, from the nearby parish of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, who died in 1405, chose to be buried in the churchyard before the statue of St. Francis.⁶⁹

Of the eight testators who chose to be buried in the Dominican friary, all were Londoners. For example, the baker Richard Page wished to be buried in their church; however, if they were unable to take his body, then he was to be buried in his parish church, which he did not specify. John Massemyle, senior, of St. Mildred, Bread Street, hedged his bets by requesting burial either in the Dominican church or in their churchyard, whilst the skinner Robert Bridport hoped for burial in their church 'if he dies in London or as God is pleased to do if he dies elsewhere'; in fact he died just one month later.⁷⁰ These three testators seemed to have been somewhat tentative in their choice of the Dominicans precinct for their burial preference, however there were no such misgivings on the part of the remaining five testators. The stainer John Hay, of St. Martin Ludgate, Thomas Martyn of St. Lawrence Jewry, the widow Juliana Bernes of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, John Litelmore, pie baker of St. Mary Woolchurch and John Clerk of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, all stated that they were to be buried in the Dominicans church.⁷¹

Six testators chose the Carmelite Friars' church in Fleet Street for their final resting place; two of these testators were aliens. Again we are able to get a glimpse of the interior of the church and the monuments there from two of these wills. The White Friars house lay in the parish of St. Dunstan in the West; the baker's widow Agnes Tykell, a parishioner of St. Dunstan in the West who died in 1393, wanted to be buried before the altar of the Holy Trinity, whilst John Mapyllton, marbeler (a maker of brasses) also of St. Dunstan in the West wished to be buried before the image of St. Christopher in the wall by the burial of William Abyngdon.⁷² The first alien testator was the goldsmith Gobellus van

⁶⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1405, fol. 18^v.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 1400, fol.5^r; 1403, fols. 2^v-3^r and 1404, fols. 7^r-7^v.

⁷¹ Ibid, 1398, fols. 3^r-3^v; 1398, fol. 3^v; 1400, fol. 4^v; 1407, fol. 7^v and 1409, fol.2^r [fol.14^r].

⁷² Ibid, 1397, fols. 17^r-17^v and 1407, fols. 10^r-10^v.

Coleyn, (Cologne), a parishioner of All Hallows the Less, who died in 1413. Gobellus first appears in the Wardens' Accounts of the Goldsmiths' Company in the year 1407-8 and again two years later when he was one of four alien goldsmiths who swore to uphold all the ordinances and regulations of the Goldsmiths' Company, whereupon they were permitted to work in suitable places by the wardens.⁷³ The second was the widow Katherine van Aachen, who also died in 1413. Katherine had been a widow for eight years and wished to be buried next to the stone of her late husband Herman.⁷⁴

None of the testators in the Archdeacon's register requested burial in the Crutched Friars' Convent; however, during the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries burial in the convent became a more popular choice amongst certain sections of London's inhabitants.⁷⁵

Seven Bury St. Edmunds testators also requested burial in the mendicant orders churchyards. The religious houses of the Franciscan and Dominican orders were situated respectively at Babwell, outside the town of Bury St. Edmunds and at Thetford, in the adjoining county of Norfolk, some fifteen miles north-west of Bury St. Edmunds.

Initially, the Dominicans and the Franciscans tried to establish themselves in the town itself, but were rebuffed by the abbey authorities. The Dominicans quickly gave up the struggle in 1238/9, but the Franciscans continued their fight with the abbey and their officials. After a period of some twenty-five years, which saw sporadic skirmishes, peace was finally brokered between the two warring parties and in 1262, when the

⁷³ GL MS 9051/1, 1413, fols. 12^v-12^v. L. Jefferson, ed., *The Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books of the Goldsmiths' Mistery of London, 1334-1446* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 328 and 334.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 1413, fols. 16^r-16^v: Herman's will is also in the Archdeacon's probate register; 1395, fol. 18^v. He wished to be buried in the parish church of St. Edmund the King and Martyr, to which church he left 12d. to the high altar and 20s. for church works. It would appear that Katherine his widow, but not executrix, had other ideas, and buried her husband in the White Friars church instead. The other two testators desiring burial in the White Friars church were William Skeen, junior and John Maynard citizen and painter, of All Hallows the Less; *Ibid*, 1409, fol. 2^r [fol.14^r] and 1407, fol.11^v respectively. Neither Herman nor Katherine van Arken's wills appear in S. Jenks, 'Hansische Vermächtnisse in London ca.1368-1483', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 104 (1986).

⁷⁵ See C. Steer n.63 above.

abbey granted the Franciscans the site at Babwell, located just outside the north gate of the town and so outside the abbey's jurisdiction. They finally left the town in November 1263, and they remained at Babwell until the order was dissolved in 1538.⁷⁶

The Franciscans at Babwell attracted a number of Bury inhabitants; six chose the friars' church or churchyard as their final resting place. Three parishioners of St. James, William Schirwode, Robert Lucas and Edmund Toly and two St. Mary's parishioners, William atte Lee of Shimpling and Elizabeth Geddyng desired burial in the friars' church, whilst John Kykeby, chaplain and former rector of Brinkely, chose to be buried in the friars' churchyard.⁷⁷ The Dominican house in Thetford was the burial choice of Edward Lakyngheth, who was probably, as his surname suggests originally from Lakenheath, just a few miles from Thetford. His will is dated 20 August 1402.⁷⁸

Only ten Londoners chose to be buried in other religious houses within the city. For example, John Belloge was the gate keeper of the London Charterhouse when he made his will on 12 March 1403/4; he asked to be buried in the Charterhouse precinct.⁷⁹ John Corbet, esquire of Essex, wished to be buried in St. Mary's chapel in the Priory of Stratford at Bow, the house of Benedictine Nuns founded there in the mid twelfth-century.⁸⁰ Six testators wished to be buried in the hospital of St. Bartholomew, West Smithfield. In all probability, they were already inmates of the hospital when they came to draw up their wills. Rose Opton requested burial in the hospital's cemetery whilst the widow Margery Wynderfore requested burial in the hospital's church.⁸¹ Four men, John Pegeon, capper, Roger Cryngelford, William Burgulon and Walter Multon also asked for

⁷⁶ VCH *Suffolk*, ii, pp.174-5.

⁷⁷ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern fol. 48^r: dated 7 September 1383; fol. 69^r: dated 3 October 1393; fol. 87^v: dated 15 October 1397; fol. 102^r: dated 4 March 1401/2; fol. 141^v: dated 4 January 1413/14 and fol. 106^r: dated 8 April 1404.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 103^v.

⁷⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fols. 17^r-17^v. *Religious Houses*, pp. 247-60.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 1398, fol. 5^r: *Religious Houses*, pp. 242-6.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1398, fol. 4^v and 1403, fol. 3^r. Rose's will was proved two days after it was written and Margery's within three days which suggests that they were inmates of the hospital at the time of their deaths. *Religious Houses*, pp. 149-54.

burial within the hospital. John asked to be buried before the altar of St. Katherine in the church, Roger was to be buried in St. Mary's Chapel, next to his late wife Helen, Walter and William wished to be buried in the hospital; William specifying 'if they will have me and at the discretion of my wife Colette'.⁸²

Richard Masssger of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, directed that he was to be buried in the church of the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, next to the body of his late wife Alice; he died within ten days of drafting his will.⁸³ Agnes Kowrse of St. Alban Wood Street, another parish without a churchyard, wished to be buried in the nearby hospital of St. Mary within Cripplegate, otherwise known as Elsing Spital.⁸⁴

Two Bury testators chose to be buried in the hospital of St. Nicholas, which was located a short distance outside the town's east gate. In 1391 William Bosard a widower, directed that he should be buried in the hospital's cemetery and in 1401, John Paxton, one of the hospital's chaplains, requested burial in the hospital's chapel. Without the probate dates to these wills we are unable to judge whether they were inmates of the hospital at the time their wills were written although in Paxton's case it is safe to assume that he would have been.⁸⁵

Sixty-three (5%) of London testators and two from Bury St. Edmunds left their choice of burial 'wherever God pleased'. Some like the stockfishmonger John Galon of St. Margaret Bridge Street were contemplating journeys outside the capital when they

⁸² GL MS 9051/1, 1408, fols. 9^r-9^v, 1411, fol. 8^v and fols. 17^r-17^v. Roger's will was dated 20 June 1410 and proved sixteen months later on 29 October 1411, whilst William's was probated thirty-seven days after his will was written on 31 July 1408. Walter's will was probated within two months. The evidence for Roger being an inmate at the time of drafting his will is less certain, whilst William and Walter may well have been inmates when their wills were written.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 1404, fol. 6^r, dated 7 July 1404. *Religious Houses*, pp. 294-303.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 1412, fol. 8^r: dated 14 May 1412. *Religious Houses*, pp. 165-8. On burial within Elsing Spital see A. Bowtell, 'The London Hospital of Elsyng Spital 1331-1540' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2010). pp. 199-206. John Perche of St. Botolph Aldgate requested burial in the abbey churchyard of St. Mary Graces and Robert Bechefont wished to be buried in the hospital of St. Mary, possibly St. Mary without Bishopsgate; their wills are 1413, fol. 1^v and 1398, fol. 7^v.

⁸⁵ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 70^r: dated 6 May 1391 and fol. 100^r: dated 24 December 1401.

drew up their wills. John, who died in 1400, wished to be buried in his parish churchyard of St. Margaret Fish Street Hill 'if I die in London otherwise wherever God pleases': his will was proved in London three days later.⁸⁶ Roger de Bursted the rector of St. Nicholas Olave, as he drew up his will on 31 May 1403, was considering undertaking a pilgrimage to Rome. He stated that he was to be buried wherever god pleases 'if I die on my way to Rome'; we can only surmise that he made it to Rome as his will was proved in London two years later.⁸⁷

Perhaps the will of Robert Schete seems to encapsulate the hopes and fears of all the men and women living in London and Bury St. Edmunds as they approached death. He was the parish clerk of St. Martin Orgar when he made his will on 15 August 1395; he dedicated his soul to God Almighty, the Blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints and wished to be buried in his parish churchyard 'so that my soul can escape to heaven'; it is to be hoped that he achieved his desire.⁸⁸

Before testators could make any further bequests they had to address the matter of outstanding debts, both those that they might owe to others, including to the church by way of forgotten tithes, and those which were owed to them. It was essential that all debts were paid lest they might have to make an account to God himself before they could obtain their ultimate goal of reaching Paradise.⁸⁹

Examination of the wills in this study from London and Bury St. Edmunds shows the degree of concern amongst these men and women to settle their accounts. From the London sample, 950 (69%) of all wills record the request of their executors to see to the payment of outstanding debts. This is a very high percentage. From the Bury St. Edmunds sample we find that eighty-three (23%) of all wills contain similar instructions

⁸⁶ GL MS 9051/1, 1400, fols. 4^v-5^r: dated 6 September 1400.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 1405, fols. 1^v-2^r: probate date not recorded but between the 6 and 13 April 1405. Provision for post mortem pilgrimages are discussed in Chapter Three below.

⁸⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fol. 17^r.

⁸⁹ The payment of forgotten tithes and oblations is discussed in Chapter Three.

about the settlement of all outstanding debts; surprisingly far lower than their counterparts from London. This disparity is hard to explain, unless there were far fewer men and women living in Bury St. Edmunds with outstanding debts at the time of drawing up their wills than those living in London. All craftsmen and women would have had to rely on credit in their trading activities, both in the purchase of raw materials and the extension of credit to purchasers of their products. It seems implausible that the traders in Bury St. Edmunds did not use credit in their daily lives in order to make a living.

After making provision for their soul, the burial location, and for the settlement of their debts, a number of testators turned their attention to the arrangements for their funeral. For some of the more affluent members of the community at least, it was important to be seen to 'die well'.⁹⁰ Some of these funeral arrangements involved elaborate rituals, possibly reflecting in death the 'perceived' status of the deceased in life. The poor were involved as part of this ritual - often clad in black or russet gowns, with or without hoods, and carrying torches at the funeral procession. In the London sample 209 (15%) of testators specified funeral arrangements. This figure can be broken down into 161 (14%) of male testators and forty-eight (20%) of female testators, all of whom bar one, were widows. In sharp contrast, there were only four testators, all male, in Bury St. Edmunds who specified such arrangements. Table 2. 4 has full details.

Table 2. 4. Funeral arrangements in London and Bury St. Edmunds.⁹¹

London					Bury St. Edmunds			
Gender	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%
Specific costs for funeral	90	8	20	8	1	0		
Provision of torches	42	4	18	7	3	1		
Mourners in gowns	10	1	5	2				
Alms for the poor	11	1	5	2				
Funerals without pomp	6	0.5	2	1				
No specific arrangements	931	82	181	75	270	90	60	91
Residue: i/c funerals paid	41	3.5	10	5	26	9	6	9
Totals	1131	100	241	100	298	100	66	100

⁹⁰ For literature on this topic under the generic title of *Ars Moriendi* see for example P. Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation* (London, 1996), especially Chapters 1 and 4.

⁹¹ Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1 Register Osbern.

From the table we find that in London ninety (8%) of men and twenty (8%) of women left specific sums for their funerals. For example, John Bussh, chandler of St. Nicholas Shambles, set aside £20 for his funeral expenses, which included the distribution of alms to the poor on his burial day, in return for their prayers. Similarly, Andrew Smith, pie baker of St. Michael Cornhill left £10 to cover the cost of his funeral and alms to the poor.⁹² The goldsmith John Goodman, alias Fraunceys, of St. John Zachary provided £30 for his funeral expenses.⁹³ Christine Reynwell of St. Botolph Billingsgate, the widow of the alderman William Reynwell, ironmonger, left 10 marks for her funeral costs whilst Massia Neuport the widow of the fishmonger William Neuport of St. Nicholas Olave and Margaret Dutton another widow of St. Olave Silver Street both left £10 for their funeral services.⁹⁴

Another forty-two London testators specified that torches, and /or candles, were to burn at their funeral service; after the service thirty-five instructed their executors that the torches and candles should be distributed, either to certain altars in the church where they were buried, or to other churches in London in remembrance of their souls. For example Rose Frer, the widow of John Frer wiredrawer, of St. Martin Pomary had two torches burning at her funeral mass; afterwards she stated that they were to remain in St. Martin's church and to be used 'at the elevation of the host for as long as they will last'. Juliana the widow of Thomas Blakelastre, requested torches at her funeral in St. Botolph Billingsgate; afterwards one was to remain at the high altar of St. Botolph's and one for the high altar of St. Margaret Fish Street Hill where she was a parishioner at the time of her death 'for as long as they shall last'.⁹⁵ Amongst male testators was the skinner Robert Bridport of St. Martin Outwich, a parish without a churchyard. He wished to be buried in the Dominican Friary church, and gave 6s. 8d. to the convent for his

⁹² GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fols.6^r-6^v and 1400, fols. 9^r-10^r.

⁹³ Ibid, 1405, fols.14^v-118^r. See Chapter Five for further information on Goodman alias Fraunceys.

⁹⁴ Ibid,1408, fols. 4^r-5^r;1405, fol. 8^r and 1409, fols. 9^v-10^r. Christine Reynwell's extensive benefactions are discussed further in Chapter Five below.

⁹⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fol. 12^r and 1409, fol. 16^r. Juliana, who reverted to her maiden name of Wyntryngham, was to be buried with her late husband Thomas in St. Botolph Billingsgate.

burial fee. His executors were to provide six torches at a cost of 6s., which were to burn about his body at his funeral; afterwards the torches were to be distributed as follows: one to remain in the friary church, one to All Hallows Gracechurch, one to St. Martin Outwich, one to St. Mary Axe and one to St. Ethelburga without Bishopsgate. He stipulated that they were to burn at 'the elevation of the host' in these churches for as long as they lasted. The sixth torch was to burn before the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary in St. Michael Cornhill. He thus ensured that he would be remembered in each of these city churches after his death. The chandler Thomas Reygate of St. Botolph Bishopsgate wished for six wax torches each weighing 2lbs. to burn about his coffin at his funeral; subsequently two were to remain in St. Botolph's church and two were to go to Wandsworth church in Surrey. The final two torches were to go to the parish church of Stoke in Kent, perhaps where he was born, and they were to burn 'at the elevation of the host' there.⁹⁶

Only fifteen London testators gave detailed instructions regarding their funerals; ten, men and five women. Two vintners John Wakele of St. Botolph Billingsgate and John Bisshope of St. Martin Vinty, had funeral palls draped over their coffins, as shown in the accompanying illustration. After their funerals had finished, John Wakele's pall was to be given to the churchwardens for use in subsequent funerals whilst John Bisshope stated that his funeral pall was for the use of pauper funerals in his church. The will of the draper John Olyver of St. Christopher le Stocks is of interest. His coffin was to be surrounded by thirteen poor men dressed in russet gowns and carrying torches. These thirteen poor men symbolised Christ and his twelve disciples. After his interment each man was to receive a pair of shoes. Of the thirteen torches used at his funeral he willed that two were to remain in St. Christopher's for use in the mass at the high altar 'at the elevation of the host before the image of Christ', four were to go to the parish church of West Hanningfield, Essex, his natal home, three to the church at Greenwich and the remainder were to be distributed by his executors, where they thought the greatest

⁹⁶ GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fols. 7^r-7^v and fols. 15^v-16^r.



This early fifteenth-century illustration is from a Book of Hours, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge MS 57, fol. 127^r reproduced in E. Duffy, *Marking the hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven, 2006), p. 61

need was.⁹⁷ John Stapylton, originally from Nottingham, but a parishioner of St. Alphage, provided for four poor men to be his pall bearers at his funeral service. They were to convey his body after his funeral in St. Alphage's to St. Paul's churchyard; for this service they were to have 4d. each for their labours.⁹⁸

Among the female testators whose wills provide details of their funerals is that of Isabel Michel the widow of the vintner Henry Michel from St. James Garlickhithe. She specified that she was to have a russet cloth measuring eight by two yards for her funeral pall to be used at both her exequies and burial; after the burial the cloth was to be distributed by her executors amongst the parish poor, a much more practical use. Another widow, Lucy Sandwych of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, provided 5s. to purchase six torches and two round wax candles each weighing 10lbs. for her exequies. Her executors were instructed to provide six yards of russet cloth at a cost of 2s. per yard and four yards of linen at a cost of 8d. per yard for her funeral pall. Like Lucy Sandwich, the material was to be distributed amongst the parish poor. Altogether, she allocated 10 marks for her funeral expenses and interment.⁹⁹ Johanna Panton, the widow of Thomas Panton goldsmith of St. Matthew Friday Street, also made detailed arrangements for her funeral. Her executors were to provide two wax candles each weighing 10lbs. and four wax torches which were to burn about her coffin at her funeral; the two candles were to be placed at her head and her feet. She requested that her coffin was to be accompanied by three poor virgins, 'where greatest need' and dressed in russet cloaks. They were also enjoined that they were to be present at her exequies. The two candles and four torches were to remain in her church and were

⁹⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1406, fols. 7^v-8^r.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 1404, fol. 12^v.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 1407, fols. 17^r-17^v and fol. 1^r.

used for divine services, particularly at mass at the 'elevation of the host'. She stipulated that her funeral expenses were not to exceed 7 marks [£4. 13s. 4d.].¹⁰⁰

All these more elaborate funeral provisions occur in the wills of members of the wealthier crafts operating in London during the period of this study or their widows: grocers, vintners, fishmongers, goldsmiths, drapers and tailors. They would have had the means to pay for the funeral services with the attendant poor dressed in gowns and hoods carrying torches accompanying their bodies. Eight London testators however, six men and two women stated that their funerals were to be without pomp. Among them were three bakers, a pastry cook, a spurrier and a brewer's widow. The bakers were Elias Bocking, John Wynton and Walter Palmer. Wynton, who did not record his parish instructed his executors that his expenses were to be modest and the burial service was 'to be simple and without pomp and in keeping with his poor state and goods'. Walter Palmer of St. Margaret Fish Street Hill stated that his exequies were to be without pomp whilst Elias Bocking of St. Swithin left £20 for his funeral and 'all necessaries'; his executors were instructed that his funeral was 'to be without pomp or vainglorious'. Perhaps he felt that this substantial sum for his funeral could be construed by his fellow parishioners as excessive. However, this money perhaps was to be distributed amongst the poor.¹⁰¹

In marked contrast only four Bury St. Edmunds wills have any reference to funerals. Richard atte Lane of Herringswell, is the only testator to specify his funeral costs: he left 20s. for his funeral service. The other three testators, Richard Porter and William Habbes of St. James's parish, left 12d. and 6d. respectively for sufficient torches to burn at their

¹⁰⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1408, fols. 1^v-2^r. Johanna's husband Thomas was a prominent member of the Goldsmiths' Company serving as Warden five times; 1371-72, 1378-79, 1383-84, 1388-89 and 1393-94. He was an apprentice of Andrew Essex and out of his time in 1349. See Jefferson, *Wardens'*, pp. 32, 34, 144, 180, 206, 226 and 238.

¹⁰¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1410 fols. 6^r-7^r; 1412, fol. 22^r and fols. 2^r-2^v. The executors of the spurrier Roger Payn of St. Martin Ludgate were to 'pay my funeral expenses honestly and without pomp, promptly', whilst Robert Bernes of St. Sepulchre without Newgate and John Hayward, pastry cook of St. Katherine Cree both stated that their funerals were to be without pomp; GL MS 9051/1, 1405, fols. 1^r-1^v; 1412, fols. 3^r-3^v and 1413, fols. 8^v-9^r. The two widows, Isabel Daventre of St. Magnus the Martyr and Alice Coket, alias Clerk of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe expressed similar sentiments in their wills; 1407, fol. 6^v and 1411, fols. 5^v-6^r.

funerals, whilst William Drury of St. Mary's parish, requested that his executors were to provide 10lbs. of wax for candles at his funeral.¹⁰² Not one of the Bury testators' wills mention that their funerals were to be without pomp or that poor men and women dressed in gowns of black or russet were to accompany their coffins; perhaps this form of public display was not deemed suitable among the inhabitants.

However, the vast majority of all the wills in both London and Bury St. Edmunds make no reference to the conduct of their funerals. From the London sample of 1,384 wills, 931 (81%) of men and 181 (75%) of women make no mention of funerals at all. However, forty-four men (4%) and ten women (4%) included funeral costs in their residual bequests without specifying the amount. The Bury St. Edmunds sample of 358 wills reveals that 270 (92%) of men and sixty (91%) of women make no mention of their funerals, although twenty-six men (9%) and six women (9%) provided for funeral costs in the same general fashion as their London contemporaries.

For some testators however, membership of the many parish guilds in both towns allowed those who may not have had sufficient finances to pay for their funerals as they would have wished to have a fitting burial ceremony. Evidence from the 1389 gild returns for both towns show that the guilds' funeral rituals were often accompanied with torches and candles, when all the membership would have been present at both the exequies and the burial service on the following day. The deceased members would also be comforted in the knowledge that at least once a year their names would be read out at the guilds' festival in their parish churches and prayers offered for their souls. There are 107 (10%) of male testators wills and fifteen (6%) of female testators wills who mention membership of guilds from the London sample and sixteen (5%) male testators and four,

¹⁰² SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol.50r: dated 22 November 1385; f.65r:11 November 1392; fols. 65v-66r: dated 5 July 1392 and fols. 74r-74v: dated 25 July 1394.

(6%) female testators from the Bury St. Edmunds sample. Thus, they may not have felt the need to make detailed arrangements for their funerals in their wills.¹⁰³

Conclusions.

The chapter has revealed substantial differences between London testators and their counterparts in Bury St. Edmunds, as well as differences between men and women testators. The major difference between the towns is the innate conservatism of the Bury St. Edmunds testators in contrast to the London testators who showed far more awareness regarding the liturgy within their churches. The candles and torches that were used at the funeral service were often given to the parish church or churches for use in the daily services, particularly in the celebration of the mass. There are no references to this practice in any of the Bury wills.

In the dedication of their souls, particular saints were included in the wills of seventeen Londoners who wished them to intercede on their behalf, against the one testator from Bury St. Edmunds. These particular saints, with whom these testators identified, were believed to bring especial benefit to them in their journey through Purgatory to Paradise. But it is notable that so few testators did include a specific saint.

The majority of individuals from both towns chose either their parish church or churchyard for their burials. Among the London wills specific locations were selected by both men and women, such as the chancel of their churches. Whilst most individuals who chose this location were members of the secular clergy, there were a number of lay men and women too. There are no examples in Bury St. Edmunds of requests for burial in the chancel. While some Londoners chose specific altars where they wished to be interred, no one in Bury St. Edmunds did so. Among the more wealthy laymen from London some provided money to pay for memorials within their

¹⁰³ Fraternity membership and the benefits accruing for the individuals concerned are further developed in Chapter Three.

churches as a reminder to their fellow parishioners to pray for them; again there are no such bequests among the Bury testators.

Many Londoners wished to be reunited with their loved ones when it came to burial choice. Whilst a considerable number of widows did so, there were a number of married men who wished to be reunited with a former wife; ninety-four (8%) of men did so. Seventy-three (30%) of women, including one married women, chose burial with their late husbands. The number of women wishing to be reunited their deceased spouses is four times higher than men wishing interment with former wives. Just two testators' wills from Bury St. Edmunds refer to family members with whom they wished to be buried; this is in marked contrast with the London wills.

The choice of St. Paul's cathedral churchyard and the Abbey churchyard in Bury St. Edmunds again attracted a considerable number of burial bequests, from both men and women. As we have seen, the contrast between the more affluent Londoners and those of lesser means was reflected in their requests for burial within the Pardon Churchyard, where the costs were higher than in the main churchyard; thus the Pardon Churchyard became the location of preference for those individuals with the means to pay for interment there. There is no such distinction in status among the Bury testators who chose burial within the abbey's churchyard. For other testators in both towns the many friars churches and churchyards were popular burial choices, attesting to the success of the mendicant orders at this time.

There were wide differences in wealth between the individuals within London. Whilst the vast majority of Londoners make no reference to funeral rituals, a small number of men from the more wealthy trades or their widows do so, specifying the use of poor men and women as pall bearers dressed in either black or russet gowns and carrying torches. After interment, they would have been given those garments to keep. This

would be seen as an act of piety suggestive of one of the seven acts of mercy, namely 'clothing the naked'.¹⁰⁴ However, it would also serve as a reminder, if any were needed, of their status in life as well as in death. There are no such wills specifying elaborate funeral rituals from Bury St. Edmunds.

But, by contrast, a considerable number of Londoners requested that their funeral services should be without pomp. Whilst no doubt many in Bury St. Edmunds would have been aware of the needs of the poorer members of their society and of the virtues of the absence of pomp, none of their wills specifically mention the poor or the absence of pomp.

¹⁰⁴ This subject is covered more fully in the next chapter.

Chapter Three. Through Purgatory to Paradise: Pious and Charitable Bequests.

1. Extract from the will of John Grene, citizen and mercer of London, dated 31 August 1413.¹

'Item. I bequeath £40 to the poor for prayers for my soul, and the souls of my parents, the souls of William and Alice Lynchelade and all my benefactors. Item, I bequeath £40 for 100 sheets, 100 linen vestments, or sheets, and smocks for the poor of London and elsewhere, where greatest need. Item, I bequeath £33. 6s. 8d. for the poor prisoners in Ludgate, Newgate, The Marshalsea and King's Bench prisons. Item, I bequeath £33. 6s. 8d. for food and drink to all the above poor prisoners there. Item, I bequeath £33 6s. 8d. for the poor and sick of London. Item, I bequeath £33 6s. 8d. to be distributed to 100 poor girls, virgins and of good condition, called silk women for their marriage'.

2. Extract from the will of Adam Waterward, of Bury St. Edmunds, dated 3 September 1410.²

'Item. I give to the parish chaplain of St. James's 3s. 4d and a further 3s. 4d. to the Mary mass chaplain there, in return for prayers for my soul. Item I bequeath 20d. to each chaplain within the town of Bury, in return for prayers. Item. I bequeath to the abbot of St. Edmund 20s. and 20s. to the sacrist there. Item. I give 6s. 8d. to the gild of Corpus Christi and 6s. 8d. to the gild of St. Anne and 6s. 8d. to the gild of St. Botolph. Item. I bequeath 20s. to each convent of Preaching Friars in Suffolk and Norfolk, in return for prayers for my soul, parents, benefactors, all that I am bound to pray for and all the faithful departed. Item. I bequeath 6d. to each prisoner in the Abbot's gaol on my burial day and on the seventh day, in return for prayers all as before. Item. I bequeath 10s. to the parishioners of Thetford. Item. I bequeath £24 for the repair of the roads in and around the town of Bury where greatest need. Item. I bequeath 12d. to each pauper in Bury St. Edmunds and a further £10 to the poor there in my burial day. Item. My executors are to provide from my estate, a piece of black cloth valued at 7d. and 6d. in money to thirty deserving poor of Bury in return for prayers as before. Item. I bequeath to fifty paupers in Bury 1 pair of sheets to each pauper in return for prayers for my soul as before.'

These two extracts are taken from the wills of the wealthy London mercer John Grene and his equally wealthy contemporary Adam Waterward of Bury St. Edmunds. They illustrate the substantial and varied bequests that are to be found in the wills of

¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1413, fols.1r-1v, translated from the Latin original. Grene might have been the John Grene whose name appears in the customs accounts for 1405-6; see A. F. Sutton, *The Mercery of London, 1130-1578* (Aldershot, 2005), p. 145, n. 78.

² SROB MS. IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 128v, translated from the Latin original.

testators in both London and Bury St. Edmunds. Bequests were made to the sick and poor and those in hospital. Those incarcerated in prison were not forgotten either. The parish churches and clergy received many bequests, as did the various orders of the friars and the enclosed orders of monks and nuns. Donations were also given for the repair of roads and bridges. Some also left money for the creation of marriage portions for poor girls. The gift-giving of men and women to those less fortunate than themselves are listed among the seven Corporal Acts of Mercy that medieval lay men and women were constantly being reminded of through the teachings of the church. The first six works of Mercy are to be found in Matthew 26. 31–36, where Christ is foretelling the last judgement and the fate that is awaiting mankind.³

31. When the Son of man shall come in all his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory:

32. And before him shall be gathered all the nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats:

33. And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left,

34. Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand. Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of this world:

35. For I was hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in:

36. Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison and ye came unto me.

The seventh act of Mercy, burial of the dead, was added to the six in Matthew's Gospel as early as the third century A.D. and comes from the book of Tobit, Chapter One, verses 16–19:

16. In the days of Shalmaneser I performed many acts of charity to my brethren.

17. I would give bread to the hungry and my clothing to the naked; and if I saw any one of my people dead and thrown out behind the wall of Nineveh, *I would bury him.*

18. And if Sennacherib the king [son of Enemessar], his successor put to death any who came fleeing from Judea, *I buried them secretly.* For in his anger he put many to death. When the bodies were sought by the king, they were not found.

19. Then one of the men from Nineveh went and informed the king about me, that I was burying them; so I hid myself. When

³Taken from The King James authorised version of the *Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments* (London, 1958).

I learned that I was being searched for, to be put to death, I left home in fear.⁴

It is not possible to know if bequests like Grene's and Waterward's were ever fulfilled, unless there is supporting evidence from other sources. Nor do we know if these donations reflected the individual's attitude to charitable giving during his or her lifetime. As Cullum and Goldberg observed regarding the use of wills for expressions of faith and pious provisions in York, 'Charitable provision may therefore be understated since death bed charity was considered to be of little value'.⁵

J.A.F. Thomson in 1965 published a paper about piety and charity in late medieval London, using the surviving London wills in the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.⁶ His sample of 622 London wills was compiled from the two registers for the first half of the fifteenth century, Marche and Luffenham, 1401-49, containing 320 London testators; two registers from the immediate pre-Reformation period, Bodefelde and Jankyn, 1523-5 and 1529-1530, with 190 London testators, and finally, register Logge 1479-86, with 112 wills from the capital, was used for the intervening period. His article examined charitable gift giving by members of the mercantile elite of London, and he noted that:-

'To provide a complete analysis of the benefactions of Londoners in the late Middle Ages would be too large a task to accomplish within the limits of this paper, so the conclusions presented are based only on testamentary material, which, it must be remembered, *is evidence only of the intentions of the benefactors and not the fulfilment of their wishes.* The absence of executors' accounts, which are not preserved for any Pre-Reformation London wills, *makes it impossible to say how far the wishes of the testators were carried out.*'⁷

⁴ The Book of Tobit, revised standard version accessed on line on 21 May 2010, my italics.

⁵ P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Charitable provision in late medieval York: 'To the praise of God and the use of the poor'', *Northern History*, 29 (1993), pp. 24-39, at p. 25.

⁶ J. A. F. Thomson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 16 (1965), pp. 178-95.

⁷ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p. 179; my italics. However, there are some surviving pre-Reformation executors' accounts; see for example, C. M. Woolgar, ed., *Testamentary Records of the English and Welsh Episcopate, 1200-1413: wills, executors' accounts and inventories and the probate process* Canterbury & York society, 102 (Woodbridge, 2011). I owe this and other references to executors' accounts to Dr. Stephanie Hovland.

The two phrases in this paragraph in italics are the crux of any study of medieval piety, since the benefactions contained in the wills are only the intentions of the testators and we have no idea whether these wishes were fulfilled. This chapter explores the charitable bequests made by the inhabitants of London and Bury St. Edmunds for a period earlier than Thomson's study. It will compare his findings with the evidence contained in the Archdeaconry wills and the Sacrists' wills.

In his study of Hull wills for the later fifteenth century, Peter Heath observed that in the priorities for the Hull testators 'the poor must have stood very near the top of the list'.⁸ However, Miri Rubin has written that 'the general trend of charity was both to the flamboyant excesses of funerary and chantry bequests and to the limited and closely watched parish distributions and almshouses of the late fifteenth century'.⁹ Yet John Grene's and Adam Waterward's wills are examples of a number of testators from London and Bury St. Edmunds during the fifteenth century who were genuinely concerned for those inhabitants less fortunate than themselves. They are not examples of the 'flamboyant excesses' which, according to Rubin, developed during the fifteenth century; there is nothing in either of their wills which could be interpreted as such.

Evidence for the universal belief in the efficacy of intercessory prayers by the living for the dead is to be found in the majority of wills from both London and Bury St Edmunds. The concept of Purgatory, as an intermediate staging post between Heaven and Hell was only precisely formulated in the twelfth century.¹⁰ By passing through Purgatory first, the souls of the dead might cleanse themselves of the guilt

⁸ P. Heath, 'Urban Piety in the Later Middle Ages: the Evidence of Hull Wills', in R. B. Dobson, ed., *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), p. 224.

⁹ M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1987), p. 97.

¹⁰ C. Harper-Bill, *The Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400-1530*, (London, 1996), pp. 67-68 and p. 71. See also J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984), pp. 1-14. C. Burgess has written an excellent account of the practical consequences of the doctrine in "'A Fond Thing Vainly Imagined": an Essay of Purgatory and Pious Motive in Medieval England', in S. Wright, ed., *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion, 1350-1700* (London, 1984), pp. 56-84.

attached to the sins committed during their lifetime. By submitting to a graduated scale of divine punishments, time spent there would be finite. Before the concept of Purgatory was developed, the teaching of the Christian church was that the soul remained in hell for all eternity. Purgatory, often considered to be an oppressive doctrine, born out of the neuroses and uncertainties of the late medieval period, was, in fact, developed by theologians during a time of buoyancy and confidence; Dante in his *Divine Comedy* presents it as 'a place of hope, an initiation into joy, a gradual emergence into light'.¹¹ However much they might suffer, the souls in Purgatory were destined for salvation and their sufferings might be shortened by the prayers of the living, especially when offered in masses. Late medieval religion has been well described as 'a cult of living friends in the service of dead ones'.¹² Therefore, the more bequests that testators could make for prayers and masses, especially from the deserving poor, the more quickly their souls passed from Purgatory to Heaven.

Medieval men and women made no clear cut differentiation between what was termed 'pious works' and 'charitable works', because no such separation in the mind of the donor existed. Such undertakings depended upon the executors, of whose actions there is little record. Good works were considered to be particularly effective in speeding the soul's journey through purgatory to paradise. Images depicting the seven corporal works of mercy abounded in the medieval period to remind the laity of their obligations to those less fortunate than themselves.¹³ They could be found in the stained glass and wall paintings that adorned the parish churches and cathedrals, as well as in books. Recipients of pious donations were required to pray for the soul of the benefactor, family members and 'for all the faithful departed'. The greater the number of benefactions that testators could fund

¹¹ J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984), p. 346.

¹² J. Bossy, 'The Mass as Social Institution, 1200-1700', *Past and Present*, 100 (1977), pp. 29-61, especially at p. 42.

¹³ A particularly fine set of medieval glass depicting the seven works of mercy are in All Saints North Street, York.

the more people would be involved in these intercessory prayers. Prayers by the deserving poor were deemed to be especially beneficial for the souls of the deceased. Before discussing the various forms of pious and charitable works in more detail, we will examine what provisions testators made for their parish churches and the incumbents in respect of tithes and oblations.

Having resolved matters concerning their souls and the choice of burial place and ensuring that all debts would be paid by their executors, medieval testators were then able to address the matter of settling their debts to the church through the payment of forgotten tithes and oblations. Tithes by definition were literally one tenth of an individual's annual wealth. J. A .F. Thomson wrote that: -

'There were three kinds of tithes, as customarily defined in the Middle Ages, reflected an economy based on the land. The first two – *praedial*, which were payable on crops, and mixed, payable on goods nourished by the land – could not in their original sense be taken from a townsman. It was only personal tithes, due on the profit of trade, and on salaries and wages, which seemed to envisage a more developed economy than the merely agricultural.'¹⁴

However, personal tithes on the profits of trade were by their very nature hard to assess, and it is likely that failure to pay this form of dues led to the inclusion in the majority of medieval wills in this study of an amount which testators stated were 'for tithes and oblations forgotten and withheld, and in exoneration of my soul'. However, for Londoners, the church courts had commuted *praedial* tithes, Oblations, for a monetary payment based on the value of buildings, or rents, to be offered in instalments at festivals throughout the year, and was assessed at ¼d. for a yearly rent value of 10s. It was this form of payment that was the cause of contention from at least the twelfth century and lasted through the Reformation and beyond.¹⁵ The fact that these payments for tithes and oblations were made

¹⁴ J. A .F. Thomson, 'Tithe Disputes in Later Medieval London', *English Historical Review*, 78 (1963), pp.1–17, at p. 2.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 1. For the continuing problems over tithes in London in the Reformation period see S. Brigden, 'Tithe Controversy in Reformation London', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32 (1981), pp. 44–77.

specifically to the high altar rather than to the church itself, meant that it was likely that the incumbent was expected to receive these donations.

From the London sample, 405 (36%) men and seventy-one (29%) women included donations for tithes and oblations. From the Bury St. Edmunds wills we find that 197 (66%) men and forty-eight (73%) women included bequests for unpaid tithes and oblations in their wills. The difference between the two towns is interesting. The percentage of men in London leaving these bequests is seven percent higher than the women who did so, whilst in Bury St. Edmunds the differences between the two sexes are reversed. No less than three quarters of female testators left these bequests compared with two thirds of the men. Twice as many men and women from Bury St. Edmunds made bequests for forgotten tithes and oblations compared to their London counterparts; figure 3.1 below has the details.

Figure 3.1 London And Bury St. Edmunds Testators Leaving Bequests For Tithes And Oblations.¹⁶

London			Bury St. Edmunds	
Sex	Number	%	Number	%
Males donating	405	36	197	66
Males not donating	727	64	101	34
Total of all male testators	1132	100	298	100
Females donating	71	29	48	73
Females not donating	170	71	18	27
Total of all female testators	241	100	66	100

Was the higher incidence of bequests for unpaid tithes and oblations amongst the population in Bury St. Edmunds due to the presence of the abbey, which controlled the lives of all the inhabitants of the town, rich and poor alike? As well as holding the advowson of the two parish churches, the abbey was also the rector of the churches. These posts were exercised through the office of the sacrist, the obedientary appointed by the abbot to be the rector of both churches, and as rector he had cure of souls for the parishioners, but this duty was undertaken by vicars appointed to act on his behalf; they received an annual salary. In London the laity was not under such rigid control, and were active in the running of their parish

¹⁶ Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern

churches which, this fact may be reflected in the lower numbers of these bequests for forgotten tithes.

Table 3 1: Payments to the High Altar for Forgotten Tithes and Oblations.¹⁷

London					Bury St. Edmunds			
Donations made to high altar	Male	%	Female	%	Male	%	Female	%
1d. -12d.	104	26	17	24	21	11	8	17
12d.-24d.	57	14	6	8	32	16	7	15
24d. – 80d.	194	48	30	42	81	41	21	43
10s. – 20s.	35	8	14	20	45	23	10	21
20s. – 50s.	11	3	4	6	13	6.5	2	4
50s. – 100s.	3	1	0		5	2.5	0	
Totals	404	100	71	100	197	100	48	100

This table shows that London contributions varied from 1d. left by John Swane of All Hallows the Less in 1412 to £10 given by John Palyng a goldsmith, of St. Nicholas Acon, in 1396.¹⁸ Amongst the female testators, the smallest amount was 4d. given by the widow Matilda atte Wych of St. Magnus the Martyr and the highest was 40s. which four widows gave; Eleanor Wyght of St. Mary Colechurch, Mazerer Aghton of St. Magnus the Martyr, Matilda Edrope of St. Martin Vintry and Christine Walcot of St. Nicholas Acon.¹⁹ Amongst the Bury St. Edmunds male testators wills, the smallest donation was 6d. from William Habbes, of St. James parish in 1392 and the highest was £5 given in 1410 by Adam Waterward, also from St. James parish.²⁰ The smallest contribution by a female testator was 12d. given by eight women and the highest was 40s. left by two testators Leticia Aleyn, of unknown marital status and the twice widowed Margery Skeet; both were parishioners of St. James.²¹ The average size of bequests for forgotten tithes, using the data in the above table, shows that for men was 5s. 7d. and for women was 1s. in London and the corresponding figures for Bury

¹⁷ Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern.

¹⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1412, fol. 18^v and 1396, fols. 14^r–15^r.

¹⁹ Ibid, 1394, fol. 4^r; 1405, fols. 3^v–5^r; 1410, fol. 6^r and 1412, fols. 1^r–2^r.

²⁰ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 65^v–66^r and fols. 127^v–128^v.

²¹ The eight women were Marion Grykke, Isobel Mildenhale, whose late husband Nicholas was a thatcher, and Elizabeth Geddyng of St. Mary's parish and Isobel, the servant of John Bole, Johnanna Stanton, Margaret Lucas, Margaret Ketyl and Amicia Danny of St. James's parish; their wills are to found in Ibid, fols. 168^v–9^r; 135^r; 141^v; 69^v; 105^r; 106^v; 125^r and 125^v. Leticia Aleyn and Margery Skeet's wills are recorded on fols. 65^v and 73^r.

St. Edmunds are 2s. 9d. for men and 8d. for women. In London, the average donations by men and women were twice those for Bury St. Edmunds.

The many parish churches within London and the two parish churches in Bury further benefited from post mortem bequests for the fabric. From the Archdeacon's sample of wills 288 (25%) men and fifty-one (21%) women made such bequests. In Bury St. Edmunds, nineteen (6%) men and three (4.5%) women left similar bequests. The percentage differences between the sexes in both towns are very similar with slightly more men than women making these bequests. The Bury St. Edmunds figures are surprisingly low compared with the London figures and are difficult to explain. One possible reason for this apparent lack of generosity on the part of the inhabitants could be bound up with the abbey and its relations with the town. As noted above, the abbey held the advowson of the two parish churches; indeed the abbey had founded the two churches to serve the inhabitants in the first place. The abbey was amongst the most wealthy monastic communities in the country and thus, perhaps, the populace felt less inclined to support the two churches than would have been the case. No doubt the majority of the townsfolk believed that the abbey could afford to maintain the fabric of the two parish churches. Perhaps parishioners in Bury did not feel particular loyalty to their parish church in the way Londoners did, where there was greater competition between parish churches.

These donations were in addition to their annual tithes payments, and were variously described as 'for church works', or for 'the nave fabric' or 'to the body of the church'. The parishioners of every church in the country had, over time, been made responsible for the repair of their church: these duties were enforceable by the church authorities. The normal procedure, which had developed from as early as the first three decades of the thirteenth century, was for the parishioners to be

responsible for the Nave, and the Chancel to be the responsibility of the rector.²² However, in London the situation, at least in some of the churches, differed in that parishioners were also responsible for repairs to the Chancel.²³ All parishioners were made responsible for the upkeep of the churchyard too, and the equipment for worship. They had to ensure that the church had a full complement of vestments, and service books to enable the parish clergy to officiate at divine services.²⁴

By the fourteenth century in the province of Canterbury, in provisions later formalised by Lyndwood in his *Provinciale*, parishioners were required to provide the following service books for the mass and the office: antiphoner, also termed antiphonal; gradual; legendary; ordinal; psalter; manual; missal; troper.²⁵ The antiphoner was to include everything for the singing of the office which began and ended the psalms, sung at the canonical hours, invitatories, hymns, responses and little chapters. The gradual was a book containing all the music that the choir would sing during the celebration of the mass, whilst the legendary, usually found in two volumes –the *legendum sanctorum* and *legendum temporalis* contained the lessons that were read at matins. It was the first book that the parish clergy would consult for the order of service for any given day of the calendar year. It also served as a perpetual guide and directory to the various movable feasts which revolved around the ever changing date of Easter. The psalter consisted of the one hundred and fifty psalms arranged in the order in which they occurred in the course of the weekly office, whilst the manual was a portable book used by the clergy which contained the order of administering the sacraments and sacramentals, and generally contained the offices of baptism, matrimony, the churching of women, the order for visiting the

²² C. Drew, *Early Parochial Organisation in England: the origins of the office of Churchwarden*, St. Anthony's Hall Publications, 7 (York, 1954), p. 8, n. 10.

²³ E. Ashby, 'Some Aspects of parish life in the City of London from 1429 to 1529' (unpublished MA Thesis, University of London, 1951), pp.159–60, n. 1 and 2.

²⁴ Drew, op. cit. pp. 8–9 and n. 10–21.

²⁵ W. Lyndwood, *Provinciale (seu Constitutiones Angliæ)* (Oxford, 1679), p. 251, Titulus 27, Chapter II, 'Ut parochiani'. Lyndwood ascribes the regulation of the duties of the parishioners to their respective churches to a canon of Archbishop Robert Winchelsea (1294–1313).

sick, extreme unction and for burying the dead. The missal was a book containing special items for different days in connection with the mass with specific prayers, and where necessary hymns to be sung. Finally, the troper contained pieces from various authors and set to music, which was to be sung at certain points in the order of the mass.

Parishioners were also expected to ensure that there was a complete set of vestments for High Mass, including three maniples, two stoles, a chasuble, a dalmatic and a tunic.²⁶ Other vestments required were a cope for use in the choir, three towels, three surplices, for the priest, deacon and sub-deacon, and one rochet, a garment similar to a surplice but without sleeves. The church also had to have a bier for the dead where the corpse would lie covered with a funeral pall, two processional crosses, one to serve for the dead, a censer for burning incense, a veil for covering the crucifix on the first Monday in Lent, a lantern, a bell, a pyx, a silver box suspended above the high altar for reserving the Sacrament, a pax, a small plate usually of metal or painted wood, cruets containing wine and water for the mass and banners for Rogation day ceremonies. Other fittings might include a candlestick for paschal light, a font with a lock, and various statues including the principal statue in the Chancel. Parishioners were also responsible for closing the churchyard, repairing the church fabric and fittings as necessary and repairing books and vestments whenever needed. The repair of the Chancel was usually the responsibility of the rector unless, as noted above, it had been added to the parishioners' duties.²⁷

It was the responsibility of the Archdeacon, or his official, to conduct an annual visitation of the churches under his control. This was in addition to the triennial

²⁶ For detailed information on individual items see the glossary in C. Burgess, ed., *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints Bristol*, Bristol Record Society, 46 part 1 (Stroud, 1995).

²⁷ W. Lyndwood, *Provinciale (seu Constitutiones Angliæ)* (Oxford, 1679), Book 3, Tit. 27, ch. II, *Ut Parochiani*.

visitation of the bishop or his official. The Archdeacon was to enquire into the state of the fabric of the church and the condition and numbers of the service books, together with the various items of equipment for the acts of worship. If any items were found to be defective or missing, the parishioners were required to rectify the matter as soon as possible and certainly before the next visitation.²⁸

Two examples from both London and Bury St. Edmunds illustrate the various sums left by parishioners to their churches. All four illustrate the many unspecified or general gifts for church works that many testators made, as opposed to specific gifts for belfries, glazing or bells that are discussed below. In 1393, Roger Hunt a chaplain, left 40s. to the fabric of St. James Garlickhithe, and 20s. to the fabric of St. Magnus, London Bridge and 20s. likewise to St. Katherine Coleman; perhaps he had served as a chaplain in all three of these city churches during his career.²⁹ In 1407, the grocer Marcus Ganlee, of St. Antholin, left 40s to the nave fabric.³⁰ In Bury St. Edmunds, the widow Matilda Lucas of St. James's left 40d. for repairs to the fabric of St. James in her will dated 13 December 1394 and the fishmonger John Bernham, of St. Mary's gave 20s. for the fabric of St. Mary's church.³¹

As Clive Burgess has observed 'Good works, including charity to the poor, support of the clergy, or contributions towards church building benefited the soul through intrinsic merit; but in giving, the donor obliged beneficiaries—paupers, clergy or fellow parishioners—to pray for their benefactors, and the intercession of the faithful was essential both to the speed and ease of the process of purgation'. Further he

²⁸ W. Lyndwood, *Provinciale (seu Constitutiones Angliæ)* (Oxford, 1679), pp. 50 and 53: Book 1 Tit.10, chap.1 Ut Archidianoni and chap. 3, Sint ecclesiarum rectores et infra.

²⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1393, fols. 13^v–14^r. Hunte is recorded in the Clerical Poll Tax of 1379 in the City of London on the Clergy as one of five chaplains assessed at St. James Garlickhithe at 2s. and again in the Subsidy of 1380 in the City of London; A. K. McHardy, ed., *The Church in London, 1375-1392*, London Record Society, 13 (1977), p. 8 item 47, and p. 19, item 131.

³⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1407, fol. 29^r.

³¹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 72^v and fols. 86^v–87^r. Benham's will dated 22 September 1397. Although Matilda Lucas was a parishioner of St. James's, she requested burial in the Abbey's churchyard.

continues, 'The craving for intercession which the doctrine of Purgatory generated had an undeniable potency in persuading the wealthy to part with very substantial sums in charity to the poor, *in building and rebuilding churches*, in furnishing and beautifying churches, and in providing often sumptuous vestments and equipment'.³²

Likewise, Norman Tanner observed that:-

'In the countryside the parish would have been the religious institution with which most people came into contact most immediately.....
Its continuing vitality is shown by the remarkable programme of rebuilding parish churches all over the country between the fourteenth and the early sixteenth century. During this period, most parish churches were extensively rebuilt on a large and grander scale, usually in what is called the Late English gothic or Perpendicular style. Indeed most of what we actually see today of our medieval parish churches dates from this period. *The rebuilding was of course an act of piety in itself, but it also attested to the importance of all that went on inside the church.*'³³

The surviving Archdeacon's wills reveal that the last decade of the fourteenth century and the first two decades of the fifteenth saw a number of London parish churches undergoing major building works based on the evidence of these wills. Between 1395 and 1414, fourteen city churches were engaged in either the rebuilding or the construction of towers. In the thirty-one Archdeacon's wills that contain donations for specific church works, there are several which provide further evidence of parishioners contributing to the internal spaces. Two wills contain donations for new ceilings for the chancel, and another two for payments towards the provision of a new rood loft. A further four wills made donations towards glazing works, and another three testators left funds for the provision of vestments, a chalice, a missal and other liturgical items for the use of the parish clergy at the high altars in divine service. These wills, which are discussed below, show how well parishioners

³² C. Burgess and A. Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450-1550' *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), pp. 1-46, at p. 8; my italics.

³³ N. Tanner, *The Ages of Faith: Popular Religion in Late Medieval England* (London, 2009), pp. 135-52 at p. 139, my italics. Whilst Tanner talks about the countryside as a whole, the same argument also holds true for the churches in towns.

had understood the detailed instructions to parishioners concerning their duties to their church formulated by Archbishop Winchelsey.³⁴

Bequests for major building works are also found in the Bury St. Edmunds wills. However, there is a marked difference from the London donations. The two parish churches of St. James and St. Mary's received considerable numbers of bequests, but for two completely different projects. Between 1398 and 1404, thirty-three testators left varying amounts of money to St. James for repairs to the chancel. The smallest amount was 6d. given by William Habbes in 1392, the highest was 40s. left by the chaplain John de Cavenham in 1394.³⁵ Why the laity were contributing to the works to the chancel is unclear, given that the abbey, as the founder and patron of the church should have been responsible for the chancel. Nevertheless, for whatever reason, the townsfolk did contribute to its maintenance. At the same time, St. Mary's church was also undergoing major building works. In addition to carrying out repairs to the chancel and a new ceiling, the parishioners also contributed towards the construction of the bell-tower. Between 1393 and 1410, eight testators gave donations to these projects. Full details are provided in Appendix 4.

Wills have been used to chart the chronology of church building in London by a number of historians and archaeologists in the past, in particular E. G. Ashby in 1950 and John Schofield in 1994. Ashby's University of London MA dissertation on various aspects of parochial life, including church building programmes, in London was based on the detailed study of the civic records, surviving Pre-Reformation churchwardens' accounts as well as wills enrolled in the bishop of London's Commissary Court, the Husting court Wills and wills registered in the Prerogative

³⁴ See n. 25 above.

³⁵ SROB MS IC/500/2/1 Register Osborn, fols. 65v-66r and 71v-72r. The dates relate to the date of the testament and not probate dates which were not recorded during this period.

Court of Canturbury.³⁶ Ashby's Appendix 1 (C) charts the chronology of church building works for a period of 100 years from 1429-1529. In 1994 John Schofield published an essay on the development of Saxon and medieval parish churches in the City of London.³⁷ His survey was far more wide ranging than Ashby's; it covered the period from Saxon times to about 1550, and was based on the use of antiquarian observations, archaeological excavations from c. 1818, the various volumes of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments and Sharpe's Calendars of the Husting Wills. However, by using Ashby's Appendix 1C, Schofield's descriptions of the various parish churches within the city for which evidence of building works survive and the evidence from the Archdeacon's wills for the period 1397-1414 we can begin to build up a picture of an ongoing programme of church building works in the city of London from Saxon times to 1530.

Church building/repairs was a long and continuous process throughout the Middle Ages, and so there are likely to be bequests for such work throughout the fifteenth century. At times there were some particular campaigns within the London parishes such as the building of a new aisle or a church tower, and these are often reflected in the Archdeacon's wills. Occasionally these London testators use the word 'new' in their bequests, and on other occasions several testators make a bequest for a particular project within a short period of time. The surviving wills in the Archdeacon's register from 1393-1414 are mostly from the small craftsmen and artisans, and their widows, so that any donations towards church building work that these individuals made are likely to be much smaller in value than those wills with church building bequests that are found in the Husting, Commissary Court and PCC wills. Appendix 5 provides full details.³⁸

³⁶ E. G. Ashby, 'some Aspects of parish life in the City of London from 1429-1529' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of London, 1950).

³⁷ J. Schofield, 'Saxon and Medieval Parish Churches in the City of London: A Review', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 45, (1994), pp. 24-146.

³⁸ E. G. Ashby, 'Some aspects of parish life in the City of London from 1429 to 1529' (unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1950), Appendix 1C, pp. 408-14.

Concerning the development of church towers in the city Scofield stated that:-

'This paper has suggested that many church towers in London were of Kentish type, which outside London dates from 1370 to 1500. The London towers are nearly all undated, but there are several, if not many, standing by 1420.
.....

Church towers were primarily belfries, and if this line of thought is correct, they would in many cases have stood almost separate from the body of the church for structural reasons, only later being incorporated into the main building when aisles were added to the nave.'³⁹

The first will to include a substantial donation towards the cost of church building works occurs in 1395. The cooper Thomas Chapman of St. Olave Jewry left £10 for the bell tower of his parish church.⁴⁰ Schofield and Ashby recorded that there were two further substantial donors; Thomas Morsted, surgeon to Henry IV, V and VI and sheriff of London in 1436, referred to the chapel 'that he had recently built on the north side' in his will of 1450, and John Fetipace, draper in 1464 left £40 for the repair and maintenance of the church. Schofield suggests a building programme between 1435 and 1465 including the north tower porch. However the evidence from Thomas Chapman's will suggests that the building programme that included the bell tower and chapel, was underway in 1395 and that the works took seventy years to complete.⁴¹

In 1398 six parish churches, St. Michael Bassishaw, St. Andrew Holborn, St. Benet Gracechurch, St. Magnus the Martyr, St. Nicholas Shambles and St. Sepulchre without Newgate received donations for the construction of their bell towers. In addition St. Magnus the Martyr received 100lbs. of copper for casting nine bells for the belfry.⁴² Schofield records that St. Magnus had a rebuilt exterior and tower by the late fifteenth century, the last phase being financed by the mercer John Burton

³⁹ Schofield, 'Parish Churches', pp. 76-78.

⁴⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fols. 11^v-12^r.

⁴¹ Schofield, 'Parish Churches', p. 125 and Ashby, no. 70, p. 414. Morsted's will is PCC 12 Rous (PROB 11/1/115).

⁴² GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fol. 2^v; fol. 6^v; fol. 13^r; fol. 15^r; fol. 20^r and fol. 17^r.

who died in 1460 and Agnes his wife.⁴³ St. Andrew Holborn appears to have been rebuilt during the rectorship of Gilbert Worthington, 1439-47, when money was left for the bell tower and the north-west end of the church in 1447 by John Rowell, brewer, again indicating a building period of forty-nine years.⁴⁴ St. Benet Gracechurch had a similar construction period. As late as 1510 William Jurden 'pasteler' left a message for the maintenance of the church works and the ornaments.⁴⁵ To the two bequests to St. Magnus the Martyr made by the baker's widow Margery Vale and the stockfishmonger Robert Lacok in 1398 can be added the £10 given by Thomas Ewen in 1501 for building works, suggesting that further works were in progress at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁴⁶ Schofield records that the church of St. Nicholas Shambles also underwent major building works during the fifteenth century that included a north and possibly a south aisle too between about 1375-1450; the church had a tower by no later than 1550 which was located at the west end of the nave and south porch.⁴⁷ Finally, the tower of St. Sepulchre without Newgate's is of fifteenth century construction measuring 16'-3" square. A chapel dedicated to St. Stephen is also of fifteenth century date. In 1463 a chapel with a porch on the south side of the chancel was paid for by Sir John Popham.⁴⁸

In 1400 St. Margaret Fish Street Hill received £20 from its rector, Robert de Sprotburgh for the bell tower and nave works, which often went hand in hand for structural reasons to provide structural support for the belfry tower. St. Margaret's received a further donation in 1413 towards the bell tower.⁴⁹ In 1405, the baker Roger Colnay gave 20s. towards re-roofing the chancel of St. Antholin.⁵⁰ In 1519, John Breton left £5 for work on the steeple of St. Antholin, a further example of the considerable

⁴³ Schofield, 'Parish Churches', p. 121; Burton's will in GL MS 9171/5, fols. 303^r-307^r.

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 92 and Ashby, no. 10, p. 408. Rowell's will is CWCH, ii, p. 540.

⁴⁵ Ashby, no. 20, p. 409.

⁴⁶ Ashby, no. 34, p. 410; Owen's will is registered in PCC 21 Moone (PROB/11/12/349).

⁴⁷ Schofield, 'Parish Churches', pp. 123-4.

⁴⁸ Ibid, pp. 128-9. J. Stowe, *A Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), ii, pp. 33 and 362.

⁴⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1400, fols. 1^r-3^r and 1413, fols. 2^r-2^v.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 1405, fols. 7^r-7^v.

timescale of building works to a typical city parish church.⁵¹ St. Andrew Undershaft received a donation of 3s. 4d. from the leather-dresser William Dene in 1407 for the bell tower 'now under construction'. Schofield states that the fifteenth century tower survives in the first three stages. The nave and aisles date from the major rebuilding that took place between 1520-1532 and was funded by several prominent London merchants. The merchant tailor Sir William Fitz-William, master of the Company in 1499 and sheriff of London in 1506, rebuilt all of the church excepting the north side of the nave and north aisle; the later was paid for by Stephen Gennings, mayor in 1508-9.⁵² In 1524 Thomas Osborne, the parish priest, left £6. 13s. 4d. toward unspecified building works.⁵³

Further bell tower construction occurred in 1412, when Christine Walcote a widow left 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) toward the building costs of the 'new' bell tower of St. Nicholas Acon. In 1432 the then rector John Puryur left 10 marks (£6. 13s. 4d.) for 'leding' the church. The church was again repaired and given battlements by John Bridges, mayor in 1520, whilst a chapel dedicated to St. George was funded by George Luftkyn, Henry VII's tailor.⁵⁴ In 1413 a further four city churches are recorded as having works to their bell towers: St. John Walbrook, St. Ethelburga, St. Michael Cornhill and St. Mary Abchurch. The sums provided varied considerably. The skinner Walter Romseye left 60s. toward the cost of the 'new works' of St. John Walbrook.⁵⁵ Simon Andrew gave 20d. for St. Ethelburga's tower. In 1444, John Humber assigned some of the sale of his lands and tenements for the maintenance of the church fabric.⁵⁶ Alice atte More, widow, left 100s. to St. Michael Cornhill and John Creek, citizen and tailor left £10 for the bell tower of St. Mary Abchurch, providing the

⁵¹ Ashby, no. 6, p. 409; John Breton's will is registered in PCC 28, Maynwaring (PROB 11/20/403).

⁵² GL MS 9051/1, 1407, fol. 14^r. Schofield, pp. 92-93; Stowe, *Survey*, i, p. 143.

⁵³ Ashby, no. 23, p. 409; Osborne's will is P. C. C. 27 Porch (PROB 11/22/414).

⁵⁴ GL MS 9051/1, 1412, fols. 1^r-2^r; Ashby, no. 70, p. 414 and Schofield, p. 123; Stowe, *Survey*, i, p. 204 and ii, p. 396, n. ix. Puryur's will is GL MS 9171/5, fol. 155^r.

⁵⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1413, fol. 4^r. Schofield, 'Parish Churches', p. 76 states that the church was enlarged by 1412.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 1413, fol. 13^r; Ashby, no. 49, p. 410.

churchwardens ensured that the works were completed within two years of Creek's death.⁵⁷ One other church outside the city of London St. Leonard Shoreditch was also undertaking works to the belfry. In 1413 three testators, Nicholas Whyghtmore, William Herte and Richard Clerk gave 20d, 8d. and 20d. respectively to the belfry fabric, indicating a concerted building programme on the parish church.⁵⁸

Some city churches received bequests towards the cost of glazing; either for a specific number of windows, or more often for glazing works generally. St. Peter Cornhill received two donations for glazing windows. In 1398, the girdler John Hammond left 20d. for glazing a single window in the nave and in 1411 John Skeet, brewer left 40s. for glazing the windows in the chancel. In 1405, the lorimer John Symond left 50s. for glazing the chancel.⁵⁹ Another church outside the city was St. Dunstan, Stepney. In 1413, John Wade, citizen and baker of London left 4 marks (£2 13s. 4d.) for glazing works in his church.⁶⁰

Two testators left money towards work in the chancel of their churches. In 1400, the rector of St. Alphage, William Palmere, left 40s. for the chancel ceiling, and in 1408 the vintner William Bandon gave 6s. 8d. for 'the painting above the high altar' (possibly a wall painting) in St. Mary Woolchurch.⁶¹ Rood lofts were also remembered by two testators. In 1407 the widow Agnes atte Hale left 100s. for the construction of a new rood loft and in 1408 the marbeler John Mapyllton left 20s. for the rood loft in St. Dunstan in the West.⁶²

⁵⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1413, fols. 9^v-10^r and 10^v-11^v. Schofield, *Parish Churches*, fig. 5, p. 33 shows an illustration of the completed tower of St. Michael Cornhill, which is probably a late sixteenth century copy included in the churchwardens' accounts of a lost drawing of 1421. However, as we have seen work on the tower was already underway in 1413, putting its construction at 1413 rather than 1421. This church received a further donation of 10s. for the bell tower fabric the following year from the widow Margery Smert; *Ibid*, 1414, fols. 8^v-10^r.

⁵⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1413, fols. 14^v, 15^v-16^r and 11^r. St. Leonard's was in the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Middlesex, but the Archdeacon of London held the patronage, thus these three wills were enrolled in the Archdeacon's probate register.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 1398, fol. 8^r and 1411, fol. 2^v.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 1413 fols. 14^r-14^v.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 1408, fol. 5^r.

⁶² *ibid*, 1400, fols. 5^v-6^r; 1407, fols. 29^v-30^r and 1408, fol. 5^r.

Three other London churches were undergoing major works during this period. In 1410, the draper Ellias Bokking gave 40s. for unspecified works to the church of St. Thomas Acon, the tailor Peter Masoun left 40s. toward the cost of leadwork to the south aisle roof and a further 40s. for the old church works, not specified in 1412. Finally, St. John Walbrook was in the process of being enlarged; in 1413 a gift of 60s. was donated by the skinner Walter Romsey for this work.⁶³

It is evident from these examples that Londoners cared sufficiently about their parish churches and gave donations, some quite substantial, to fund major building works particularly bell towers. Twelve churches were having towers built, and one was having bells cast for the tower during the period covered by the archdeaconry wills, providing corroborative evidence to Schofield's statement quoted above.⁶⁴ Londoners also funded the provision of vestments, books and other ornaments for the use of the parish clergy in the performance of their duties.

Apart from donations to their parish churches, men and women in London also left bequests to St. Paul's cathedral, whilst Bury's inhabitants remembered the Abbey's church in their wills. In London, seventy-three men and six women gave money to St. Paul's cathedral. Thirty-five of these men and two of the women specified that their donations were for the 'old works' and another four men specified that their donations were for the 'new works', with the remaining thirty four men and four women giving donations to the cathedral in general. The 'old works' included the nave and tower and the 'new works' comprised the eastern extension of the choir above a new crypt, dedicated to St. Faith, was begun in 1259 but not completed until the 1320's.⁶⁵ The fact that all these major building works were taking place during this time and the substantial sums involved meant that donations were still

⁶³ GL MS 9051/1, 1410, fols. 6^r-6^v; 1412, fols. 16^r-16^v and 1413, fol. 4^r [fol. 22^r]. Schofield, 'Parish Churches', pp. 126-7 states that St. Peter Cornhill roof was repaired extensively during the reign of Edward IV and that St. John Walbrook was enlarged by 1412; p. 76.

⁶⁴ Schofield, 'Parish Churches', p. 77.

⁶⁵ Schofield, *St. Paul's*, pp. 110-21, at p.110.

being made by Londoners long after they had been completed. The sums given varied from 6d. for the 'old works' left by Lawrence Kyng, a tawyer of St. Nicholas Olave, in 1395 to 40s. from the draper Elias Bokkyng of St. Swithin's, in 1406. Of these seventy-three men who left donations, fourteen requested burial in the great churchyard and three in the 'Pardon Churchyard'.⁶⁶

Amongst Bury's inhabitants, just five men made donations to the abbey, either to images or lights in the abbey church. For example, Ralph de Belchamp fishmonger of St. James's, left 20s. to the lamp of St. Edmund in 1388 whilst John Bakere, also from St. James's, left 9s. to the statue of the Virgin before the cross in 1398.⁶⁷ William Say, chaplain, is the only testator to make a specific bequest to the abbey fabric; he left 6s. 8d. to the cloister fabric of the abbey in his will dated 3 February 1397/8.⁶⁸ It would seem, therefore, that the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds were far less generous when it came to giving money to the abbey's fabric than Londoners were to their cathedral. The fact that the abbey was richly endowed and among the wealthiest in the land, suggests that the inhabitants were less inclined to contribute to its upkeep. For many the abbey was seen as a symbol of oppression, and a reactionary force that controlled all aspects of town life.⁶⁹ The majority of the building works to the abbey took place between 1439 and 1506, outside the period of this study.⁷⁰ Bury's exempt ecclesiastical status meant that the mother church of the Norwich diocese which encompassed Suffolk and Norfolk, received no donations at all from the men and women of Bury. St. Paul's on the other hand was a source of pride for most Londoners and a symbol of the city's status, dominating

⁶⁶ Nicholas de Walton, tailor, John Frankleyn, draper and John Somervile, goldsmith were the three individuals concerned; GL MS 9051/1, 1402, fol. 12^v; 1404, fols. 17^v-18^r and 1410, fol. 12^r.

⁶⁷ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 55^r-55^v and fols. 90^r-90^v.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 89^v. Perhaps Say's professional life was as one of the secular clergy appointed by the abbey to serve in St. James's church in the town: he wished to be buried in the churchyard and gave 6s. 8d. to the high altar, for forgotten tithes and oblations.

⁶⁹ Lobel, *Bury St. Edmunds*, pp. 118-170.

⁷⁰ Dinn, 'Popular Religion', pp. 438-9 and notes cited.

the skyline for centuries. It was also intimately bound up with the business of the city and its people.

The various orders of friars were often included in the list of benefactions from London and Bury testators. The friars were extremely popular with the laity; they took vows of chastity and poverty like members of the enclosed orders, but also developed their preaching skills, and the friars' orders were regularly chosen by men and women because they were seen as amongst the deserving poor. In return for donations, their prayers and masses were deemed to be especially efficacious in speeding the soul's journey through Purgatory. In London, between 1393 and 1414, 242 testators (17.5%) of the archdeaconry wills contain gifts to one or more orders of friars. In comparison, Thomson has a figure of 322 (40%) of the London testators in PCC registers Marche and Luffenham, with gifts to one or more of the orders of friars for the period 1401–49. These figures are considerably higher than the bequests recorded in the archdeaconry wills. Given that the majority of these testators had disposable incomes well below those of London's mercantile elite, the figure of 17.5% still represents a significant number of testators donating to the various mendicant orders.⁷¹ The comparative popularity of the friars declined over the course of the fifteenth century before increasing again towards the time of the Reformation. Thomson's findings reveal that all twenty-eight London wills in PCC register Jankyn (1529–30) recorded gifts to the friars.⁷²

Analysis of the Archdeacon's wills shows women were rather more likely than men to leave bequests to friars during this period. Fifty-one men (4.5%) and ten women (4%) made donations to all five orders of friars and a further thirty-six men (3%) and twenty-three women (9.5%) remembered the four main orders; the crutched friars,

⁷¹ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', pp. 178–95, at p. 189. See also J. Röhrkasten, 'Londoners and London Mendicants in the Late Middle Ages', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 47 (1996), pp. 446–77, Table 1 p. 451.

⁷² *Idem*, p. 189.

which was the smallest of the mendicant houses, received the fewest donations. The reasons for this are unclear, but may in part have been due to the fact that the Crutched Friars were not without endowments, unlike the other mendicant orders.⁷³ Table 3.2 provides details of number of individual bequests given to the five orders of friars in London.

Table 3.2 Number of Individual Bequests to the London Friars Houses.⁷⁴

Austin Friars		Dominicans		Greyfriars		Carmelites		Crutched friars	
Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
113	31	99	29	114	30	106	30	57	13

The inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds were even more generous to the friars. A total of 122 wills (34%) for this period contain bequests to the various orders of friars; ninety-four (31.5%) were from men, and twenty-eight (42.5%) were from women. The Grey Friars convent at Babwell was the only mendicant order immediately available for the town's inhabitants, but there were other mendicant houses within a reasonable distance from the town. In all, the convent at Babwell received ninety-nine bequests between 1388 and 1415, seventy-six (25.5%) from men and twenty-three (35%) from women. Although the Abbot had been able to prevent other mendicant orders from being established within Bury, then other towns within a thirty mile radius of Bury St. Edmunds however had no such restrictions and a number of mendicant orders were established within their boundaries. These houses too were remembered by Bury's inhabitants in their wills. A further two testators made donations to the Grey Friars convent in Cambridge.⁷⁵

⁷³ J. Röhrkasten, 'Londoners and London Mendicants in the Late Middle Ages', *JEcch*, 47 (1996), pp. 454-4. See also C. Steer, 'better in remembrance: medieval commemoration at the Crutched Friars, London', *Church Monuments*, 25 (2010), pp. 36-57.

⁷⁴ Source: GL MS 9051/1

⁷⁵ William Soham, spicer, left 20s. in 1396 and Eva Wode left 6s. 8d. in 1410; SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 79^v and 130^r. Soham also left 20s. each to the houses of the Cambridge Austin Friars, Dominican Friars and Carmelites.

Table 3.3: Bequests to Mendicant Friars Houses by Bury St. Edmunds testators.⁷⁶

Town	Austin Friars		Dominicans		Greyfriars		Carmelites	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Bury St. Edmunds					76	23		
Cambridge	1		1		1	1	3	2
Clare	26	12						
Ipswich								1
Norwich	1		1	1	1		1	
Thetford	6		5	2				

Table 3.3 shows that after the Greyfriars house at Babwell, near Bury St. Edmunds, the Austin Friars house at Clare, ten miles east of Bury St. Edmunds was the next most popular choice amongst Bury testators with twenty-six men and twelve women giving donations ranging from 40d. given by William Say of St. James's parish, to 20s. given by Ralph de Sutton, John Yoxford and Johanna Rokewode.⁷⁷ Four men and a woman left donations to all four orders, whilst a further ten men and two women gave to three orders of friars. There were no bequests to the Crutched Friars; the nearest house was in London.

There is only a slight correlation between those who gave to the various orders and those who chose burial within the friaries. Whilst the Greyfriars convent at Babewell received a total of ninety-nine bequests from Bury's inhabitants, just two men requested burial in their churchyard. In London from a total of 113 men and thirty-one women who gave to the Austin Friars, eleven men and six women requested burial in their churchyard. Ninety-nine men and twenty-nine women gave to the Dominican convent; but only five men and a woman requested burial there. The figures for the Greyfriars are smaller still: 114 men and thirty women gave donations but only eight men and two women chose to be buried in their convent, whilst the Carmelite order received donations from 106 men and thirty women, yet just one man and a woman requested burial. Although the Crutched Friars order received donations from fifty-seven men and thirteen women, not one wanted to be buried in their churchyard.

⁷⁶ Source: SROB MS IC/500/2/1 Register Osbern.

⁷⁷ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 89v; 53r-53v; 63r and 60v-61r.

As in London, the friars were more popular amongst Bury's female population than among their male counterparts. That the majority of the women were widows would indicate that they were more inclined to include the friars as recipients of their bequests than the men, possibly lending some support to Chaucer's depiction of the friar in the prologue to his *Canterbury Tales*.⁷⁸

The enclosed orders of monks and nuns also received bequests, although not on the same scale as the donations to the friars. As Thomson observed in connection with London, 'The favour shown to the friars rather than the monks may be explained by the fact that their houses were in the city or close to it, and their activities brought them into contact with the citizens, while even when the houses of the possessioners were in the city or close to it, the monks were more withdrawn from the laity'.⁷⁹ This statement is corroborated by the fact that the wills of only fifty-six men and twenty-three women in the Archdeacon's register contain bequests to the enclosed orders. In contrast, the wills of sixty-eight men and fourteen women in Bury St. Edmunds recorded such bequests. Perhaps surprisingly given the persistent antagonism between the town and the monks, the Abbey received the bulk of the donations, with fifty-six men and seven women leaving various sums. These fifty-six men and seven women left legacies either to named monks or, more often to all the monks in the abbey. On occasions, family links with the abbey are mentioned; two men had sons who were monks at the abbey, and one had a brother.⁸⁰ All bequests were made, either explicitly or implicitly, on the condition that prayers would be said for the benefactor's soul. Table 3.4 has full details.

⁷⁸ G. Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, ed., N. Coghill, (London, 1978), pp. 27-27.

⁷⁹ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p. 190.

⁸⁰ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 57^r, 62^r and 69^r.

Table 3.4. Bequests to the Abbot, Obedientaries and Monks of St. Edmund's Abbey, 1393-1415.⁸¹

Status of the recipient	No. of bequests: Men	No. of bequests: Women
Abbot	5	1
Prior	2	1
Sacrist	29	2
Named monks	9	2
Family members	4	
Monks generally	7	1
Total	56	7

As the table shows, the abbot, prior and sacrist, the town's overlord, were the most popular recipients, followed by named individuals and family members. Of the five men and one woman who left money to the abbot, all bar one were from the highest level of the town's inhabitants; Stephen Stubbard left the abbot 40s., whilst Adam Waterward and Johanna Devine gave 20s. and John Tollere gave 6s. 8d. Only John Heygham gave the abbot 40d., considerably less than the other testators.⁸² Whilst the Sacrist received the most number of bequests, twelve of these donations were for forgotten tithes and oblations which, as the rector of Bury's two parish churches, the sacrist was entitled to. The amounts varied from the 5 marks (£5 6s. 8d.) given by John Tollere, £2 0s. 0d. given by John Revel, £1 16s. 4d. left by William Mardene to 1s. 0d. given by John Botyr.⁸³ As with the bequests to the Abbot, the majority of the testators making donations to the Sacrist were drawn from members of the town's elite. As Dinn observed, 'As we have seen earlier, although at times politically opposed to the Abbey, Bury's secular elite maintained close links with the monks, recognising the latter's importance in the mechanism of intercession, whilst many of the secular elite were drawn from the same social group and even the same families as the monks'.⁸⁴

Finally, seven men included money for the provision of a 'pittance' (a special allowance of food and drink above the usual monastic ration) to the whole abbey in addition to their bequests to the abbot, obedientaries and monks in the abbey. The

⁸¹ Source: SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern.

⁸² SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 80^v-81^r; 127^v-8^r; 92^v; 85^v and 57^v.

⁸³ Ibid, fols. 85^v; 137^v-138^r; 109^r and 131^r.

⁸⁴ Dinn, 'Popular Religion', pp. 441-2.

sums varied between 40s. left by Nicholas Fareham of St. James's parish to 30d. by Richard Lyster of St. Mary's parish; however the usual donation was either 20s. or 30s a substantial sum. These bequests, again, were made by the town's elite.⁸⁵

Eleven miles to the north west of Bury is Thetford, which had two religious houses; the priory of the Holy Sepulchre of Austin Canons, and the priory of St. George of Benedictine nuns.⁸⁶ Both priories attracted bequests from Bury's inhabitants. Eighteen men and seven women gave bequests to the Austin Canons priory; some had also given donations to the monks of the abbey. The amounts pledged ranged from the 12d. for each canon in the priory given by Katherine de Framesden in 1396 to the 40s. for the convent and 2s. to each brother in the house given by John Revel in 1411.⁸⁷ Another four testators, three men and one woman, gave to the Benedictine nuns. Alice Hilbyrworth left 20s. for the nuns in 1385 and, in 1392, John Yoxford, chaplain left the nuns 10s.⁸⁸ Again, more women than men gave donations to members of the enclosed orders than men.

Londoners too made bequests to the various religious houses both within the city and in the suburbs. Fifty-five men (5%) and twenty-three women (9.5%) gave to the various religious orders' houses. Again, the percentages show that twice as many women as men gave to the enclosed orders. Further analysis reveals that fifty men and women (3.5%) gave to the monks and twenty-eight (2%) gave to the nuns. Whilst these figures are lower in overall percentages than Thomson's study of the more prosperous testators for the period 1401-1530, the proportions are comparable;

⁸⁵ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 64^r and 124^r. John Bernham left 30s, and Robert Stabler, chaplain, Stephen Stubbard, all parishioners of St. Mary's and Richard Cordwainer of St. James's each gave 20s. and Richard Marche, chaplain of St. James's left 13s. 4d.; *Ibid*, fols. 86^v-87^r; 66^v-67^r; 80^v-81^r; 131^v and 130^r.

⁸⁶ Details of these two foundations are in *VCH Suffolk*, ii, pp. 109-11 and 85-86.

⁸⁷ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 45^v and 133^r-133^v.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, fol. 50^v and fol. 63^r.

for the whole period Thomson has figures of 15.1% of testators giving to the monks and 10.7% giving to the nuns.⁸⁹

It could be argued that Londoners were spoilt for choice when it came to giving alms to the enclosed orders in return for prayers. The great Benedictine abbey at Westminster and the two houses of Benedictine nuns at St. Helen's Bishopsgate and the priory at Stratford at Bow received bequests. Also remembered were the houses of Austin Canons at Holy Trinity (Christchurch) Aldgate, St. Bartholomew, Smithfield and the three Augustinian Canonesses priories of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Haliwell and Kilburn.⁹⁰ For example, Elizabeth Burlee left 40s. to both the Benedictine nuns at Stratford at Bow and the Augustinian canonesses of St. Mary, Clerkenwell. She also gave 26s. 8d. to the priory of Haliwell, and the substantial sum of £20 to the Grey Friars in Aylesbury. This last bequest was to be distributed amongst the community by brother John Twykford, senior, in return for prayers for her soul.⁹¹ The London Charterhouse had been founded at Smithfield on the site of the plague graveyard of 1348 by Sir Walter Manny, a Flemish knight who had prospered in the service of Edward III, and Michael Northborough, bishop of London, in 1371. The site was important to Londoners because, apart from the immediate concern of burying the bodies of the plague victims as quickly as possible as they were a health risk, there was also the spiritual problem: those who had not been able to make their final confession before dying were in mortal danger. Manny and Northborough's foundation rectified this problem, although it was not until twenty years later that the original small chapel erected where priests might say prayers for the hastily buried was developed into the Charterhouse complex.⁹² Seven men and three women (1%) gave bequests to the Charterhouse between 1393 and 1415. The earliest is 1397

⁸⁹ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p.189.

⁹⁰ Although Kilburn was a small house of Augustinian canonesses, it is usually assumed to have been a Benedictine house due to its dependence on the Benedictine Abbey of Westminster. See *Religious Houses*, pp. 274-8 at p. 274, n. 3.

⁹¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1403, fols. 9r-9v.

⁹² For the history of the Charterhouse see *Religious Houses*, pp. 247-60, and Sloane, *Black Death*, pp.41-2, 46-7, 52-3, 107-8.

when John Goldryng, a senior member of the Tallowchandlers Company, of St. Margaret Moses left 13s. 4d.⁹³ The last was in 1413 when Walter Romseye, skinner of St. Stephen Walbrook, gave 20s. to the monks there to pray for his soul.⁹⁴ Thomson records that eighteen (40%) out of forty-seven London wills between 1401 and 1449 gave to the London Charterhouse.⁹⁵ The artisan class in London therefore were already making provision to the Charterhouse during the same period, albeit at a considerably lower level than the mercantile group, again reflecting a much lower disposable income available for such benefactions.

Londoners also gave to other religious houses outside London. A number of houses situated in counties in close proximity to London were remembered, possibly indicating the testator's origins. For example in 1406 Raymond Standelf, goldsmith of St. Bride's Fleet Street, wanted the prioress and convent of Benedictine nuns at Ankerwick, Buckinghamshire to perform special paryers for his soul, benefactors and all the faithful departed on the Monday after the feast of St. John the Baptist. This bequest is to be explained by the fact that he had a daughter Isabel who was a nun there. He gave another 20s. to the prioress annually with the proviso that Isabel was to receive 6s. 8d. a year from the 20s.annual legacy for the duration of her life.⁹⁶ A total of four men and two women left sums either to their sons or daughters. Margaret Sudbury, the widow of the skinner Henry Sudbury, left her son William, a monk at Westminster 5 marks, a silver gilt decorated bowl and six silver spoons and the baker Robert de Ludlowe had a son John another Westminster monk who was

⁹³ GL MS 9051/1, 1397, fols. 14^v-15^v. Goldryng served as a Common Councilman between 1376 until at least 1384, as well as serving on juries enquiring into properties in various Wards of the City as well as a scrutinizer of wines in Walbrook Ward in 1383 and 1384. He was discharged by the Mayor and Aldermen on 1 March 1393/4 from serving on juries owing to his increasing age; *LBH*, pp. 43, 239-40, 375 and 428. *CPMR 1381-1412*, pp. 70, 80 and 88.

⁹⁴ GL MS 9051/1, 1413, fol.14^r.

⁹⁵ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', pp. 189-90.

⁹⁶ GL MS 9051/1, 1406, fols. 4^r-5^r. For details of the Priory see *VCH, Buckingham*, 1, pp. 355-7. Standelf was apprenticed to Thomas Tetteswyche in 1369/70, was out of his time in 1373/4 and served as a Warden of the Company three times in 1388-9, 1394-5, and 1404-5; Jefferson, *Wardens'*, pp. 120, 162, 226, 242 and 310.

left 100s. by his father.⁹⁷ In 1413, the mercer Edmund Alderford left 26s. 8d. to each of the two Benedictine nunneries of Sopwell Priory and St. Mary de Pre, Hertfordshire near to St. Albans.⁹⁸ Finally, in 1413 John Lyon of Lewes, Sussex, who died in London, left 6s. 8d. to the Benedictine abbey of Malling in Kent.⁹⁹

Whilst the enclosed orders continued to receive bequests throughout this period, they were far fewer than bequests to the mendicant orders. Both Westminster and Bury Abbeys particularly, were among the wealthiest in the country. As a result, both Londoners and the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds felt less inclined to give bequests comparable to those they gave to the mendicant orders.

Additionally, many testators also set aside sums for the provision of prayers, masses, obits and chantries in order to speed their souls through Purgatory. Most common were the many small bequests to the clergy and clerks of their parish churches, in return for their prayers. In all 695 men (61%) and 166 women (69%) in the Archdeacon's wills and 230 men (79%) and sixty women (91%) in the Bury wills included such gifts. The higher proportion of such bequests by both men and women in Bury suggests a closer affinity with their parish clergy than that among Londoners.

The provision of masses was yet another expression of pious belief amongst the men and women in these two towns. From the London sample 145 men (13%) and forty-two women (17%) requested masses to be said for their souls' and those of their

⁹⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fols. 6^r-6^v; 1400, fols. 13^r-13^v.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 1413, fol. 5^r. For details of the priories concerned see *VCH Hertfordshire*, 4, pp. 422-26 and 428-32. Alderford had either a family or a trading connection with St. Albans. He left substantial bequests to Alice, the widow of a certain William Exhale as well as bequests to Exhale's sisters Johanna, Elianora Sybil and Beatrix. Perhaps Exhale was either a business partner or the brother of Alderford's wife, also named Beatrix.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 1413, fols. 4^v-5^r. He also left 12d. to the high altar of St. Martin Orgar, suggesting that he might have lived in the parish, as well as further bequests to his parish church in Lewes and another bequest to the church in Chichester. For details of Malling Abbey see *VCH Kent*, 2, pp. 146-8.

deceased spouses, children, parents, benefactors and 'all faithful departed'. The Bury wills record seventy-three men (25%) and thirty-three women (50%) making similar provisions. The Bury figures are double those for London. The costs for these masses varied depending on the number of masses to be said. For example, the draper John Frankleyn of St. Stephen Coleman Street set aside £4 3s. 4d. for 1000 masses for his soul at 1d. per mass. The cost of a trental mass of St. Gregory, thirty masses for the dead, varied between 2s. 6d., given by the glazier Thomas Eaton of St. Sepulchre without Newgate to 13s. 4d., left by the brewer John Barthorp of St. Mary Woolchurch.¹⁰⁰ Similar sums for masses were set aside in the wills of widows; Agnes Martyne of St. Augustine by St. Paul's left 2s. 6d. to Robert de Tyndale, chaplain, for a trental mass and Johanna Berkyng gave 10s. for a trental mass to be said for her soul, her late husband Nicholas and all faithful departed.¹⁰¹ Among the Bury testators the rate for a trental mass was 10s. The carpenter John Godyng of St. Mary's gave 10s. for a trental mass of St. Gregory, whilst William Suthfolke, occupation not given of St. James's left 40s. for four trental masses for his soul. The widow Matilda Fraunceys wished to have two trental masses to be said for her soul; she left 2 marks, 26s. 8d., for this service.¹⁰²

Intercessory prayers for the deceased's soul on a daily, or weekly, basis by a chaplain, whose salary was paid for by the individual concerned, was seen as another means of speeding the soul's journey through Purgatory. Establishing chantries was one way that testators could benefit. Perpetual chantries were the ideal means but such chantries were beyond the means of most men and women below aristocratic rank as the costs were substantial and involved endowments of lands or rents to fund the chantry chaplain's salary.¹⁰³ Fixed term chantries and anniversary masses, said on the anniversary of the person's death, were the other

¹⁰⁰ GL MS 9051/1,1404, fols. 17^v-18^r; 1393, fols. 19^r-19^v and 1412, fols. 23^r-23^v.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 1396,, fol. 4^r and 1413, fol. 4^v.

¹⁰² SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 117^v; 137^v and 64^v.

¹⁰³ K. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965) remains the best study on perpetual chantries.

forms of chantries available for testators, providing that their estate was able to purchase one or the other. Between 1393 and 1414, 153 men (13%) and forty-three women (18%) in London endowed short-term chantries. In Bury St. Edmunds, thirty-four men (14%) and six women (9%) made similar bequests. Their lifespan ranged from one year, the majority, up to the thirty-one years that the Londoner John Goldyng requested in 1397. The longest recorded term in Bury St. Edmunds was twenty years in the will of Richard Burstall of St. Mary's.¹⁰⁴ The cost of providing such fixed term chantries varied according to the occupation of the individuals concerned. For example, Stephen Randolf of St. Katherine Cree provided 13s. 4d. for his 1 year fixed term chantry consisting of a weekly mass. Compare his sum with that of the goldsmith Nicholas Foxcote of St. Matthew Friday Street again for 1 year; he left 10 marks, £6 13s. 4d, suggesting that this sum paid for a chantry priest to say a daily mass.¹⁰⁵ Among London widows, Katherine Bredon of St. Mary Staining left 36 marks to pay for four 'honest and deserving' chaplains to pray for her soul, parents and all faithful departed for one year. The stipulation that chaplains should be honest and deserving appears in the majority of these forms of bequest among the archdeaconry wills.¹⁰⁶ Bury's testators were also generous in their bequests. For example, John Tollere of St. James's requested two 'deserving and honest' chaplains to celebrate for his soul, Alice his late wife, his benefactors and all faithful departed in St. James's for two years. For this they were to receive £5 each, at the rate of £2 10s. 0d. per year.¹⁰⁷ The London figures can be compared with Thomson's findings; he records that eighty-three London merchant testators (50.3%) between 1401-23 endowed 143 chantries, thirteen of them in perpetuity.¹⁰⁸ Again, it shows that it was not only the wealthy Londoners who endowed chantries during this period. That 14% of tradesmen and artisans and their widows did so is a respectable

¹⁰⁴GL MS 9051/1, 1397, fols. 14^v-15^v. SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 130^r-130^v.

¹⁰⁵GL MS 9051/1, 1393, fol. 19^v and 1393, fols. 18^v-19^r.

¹⁰⁶Ibid, 1405, fol. 20^v.

¹⁰⁷SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 85^v.

¹⁰⁸Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p. 191.

figure, which must have represented a considerable proportion of their disposable goods.

For those men and women in both towns who had not the means to fund fixed term or perpetual chantries, membership of the many religious and trade guilds in their towns provided another means of ensuring that intercessory prayers for their souls were said at least once a year, on the festival of the guild's saint, by all the assembled guild members. Membership of guilds was seen as beneficial to the laity for a number of reasons, not least because membership of religious guilds was normally, open to both men and women irrespective of their marital or social status. That religious guilds played an important part in the lives of a number of men and women in London and Bury St. Edmunds at this time is revealed by the number of guilds referred to in their wills.

We also have some indication of the organisation of these guilds through the survival of some of the returns made into Chancery in 1388/9. It is still unclear what prompted the issuing of writs on 1st November 1388 to all sheriffs 'that all and singular the Masters and keepers of all gilds and brotherhoods within the said city and suburbs of the same certify to us and our council in our chancery distinctly and openly before the Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary next to come....'.¹⁰⁹ The king and Parliament had been meeting at Cambridge; amongst the topics raised and debated was an attempt on the part of the Commons to have the guilds suppressed, their property and monies confiscated in order to offset the burden of royal taxation. It should also be remembered that the third and disastrous lay poll tax of 1381 had ended in popular uprising against its imposition, and the continuing unrest after the rebellion had been suppressed, hence the fear of these seemingly 'secret'

¹⁰⁹ Part of the transcription and translation of the writ issued to the sheriffs of London is in GL MS 142, fols. 8-10. The sheriffs at the time of the writ were Adam Karill and Thomas Austyn. Their reply to the king and chancery has also survived and is found on fol.12 .

societies.¹¹⁰ It is likely that many guilds did not attempt to make returns, or that the returns sent in by some guilds have subsequently been lost, destroyed or misplaced. Whatever the king's motives, many of these religious guilds continued throughout the fifteenth century.

What is immediately clear from the London material is there was greater variety and a larger number of guilds within the city churches than is apparent from the forty-three surviving gild returns of 1388/9. Appendix 8 has full details. In all eighty-four guilds are mentioned in wills in the Archdeacon's register between 1390 and 1420 which include only sixteen of the guilds that made returns to Chancery in February 1389. Twenty-seven of the guilds whose returns survive do not appear in the wills enrolled between 1390 and 1420, so there were at least 111 in existence between 1390 and 1420.¹¹¹ There are 107 men (9%) and fifteen women (6%) who left bequests to guilds in the Archdeaconry wills and sixteen men (5%) and four women (6%) in Bury St. Edmunds who left bequests to guilds: Appendices 6 and 7 have full details. All were members of religious guilds apart from two men who were members of the London guild of All Saints of Brewers, based at All Hallows London Wall. Of the eighteen surviving 1388 guild returns for Bury St. Edmunds, eight are mentioned in the Sacrist's wills: Appendix 10 has full details. There is reference to a guild of All Saints in the will of John Rery mercer, but in which church is not specified.¹¹²

The returns also contain the names of some of the current wardens/masters at the time of submitting these returns to Chancery, although only eighteen from the forty-three London returns recorded their names: Appendix 9 has full details. All the Bury

¹¹⁰ See A. J. Tuck, 'The Cambridge Parliament of 1388', *Economic History Review*, 84 (1969), pp. 225-43.

¹¹¹ A further fifty-one guilds are revealed from a study of the London Hustings Wills between 1378-1544: *CWCH*, ii, pp. 827-8, for references. A trawl through the London Commissary Court registers would no doubt reveal a further number. Caroline Barron has suggested that there were probably over two hundred guilds in London by the fifteenth century; C. M. Barron, 'The parish Fraternities of Medieval London' in C. M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill, eds., *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. Du Boulay* (Woodbridge, 1985), pp.13-37.

¹¹² SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 94^v.

returns include the names of the guild aldermen then serving: Appendix 10 has full details. The wills of fourteen of the named London masters/wardens survive; three in the Archdeacon's wills, ten in the Commissary wills and one in the Husting wills. Of the fourteen named wardens only one former warden, John Walworth, vintner of St. Mary's guild in St. Bride Fleet Street remembered his guild of St. Mary; he left it 6s. 8d.¹¹³ In Bury St. Edmunds, the wills of three men listed as alderman in the 1388 returns survive; not one of them left a donation to his guild.¹¹⁴ It seems curious that only one man from all those who were listed as guild masters/aldermen on the 1388 returns for London and Bury St. Edmunds with a surviving will remembered his guild. Certainly, the Bury men who were all in the upper strata of the town had more disposable wealth than their London counterparts. Thus, they might well have remembered their guilds in their wills. One possible explanation is that they were aldermen of their respective guilds earlier in their working lives, striving to become established in the town and accumulate sufficient personal wealth. Perhaps they felt that their membership of the town's guilds was not as important to them in later life as it had once been, and that they chose to make donations to other deserving causes in the belief that these would provide them with greater spiritual benefits.

The basis for all pious and charitable bequests that the laity were enjoined to perform during their own lifetimes, as well as in the provision of post-mortem bequests, was founded on the seven works of mercy described at the beginning of this chapter. That these injunctions from the church were listened to and acted upon by the laity is obvious from the many charitable bequests in the wills from both London and Bury St. Edmunds. From the London sample of wills 208 men (18.5%) and forty-seven women (19.5%) contain specific bequests for charitable works. The Bury St. Edmunds sample shows that thirty-two men (10.75%) and four women (6%) also included specific bequests for charitable works. We should also note the instructions

¹¹³ GL MS 9171/fols. 338r-339r.

¹¹⁴ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 94r, William Spicer; 162r, Richard Iremonger and 144r, John Bone.

testators gave to their executors concerning the disposal of their residual estate. In all a further 120 men (10.6%) and fifty-one women (21%) in the London wills and ninety-three men (31%) and thirty-seven women (56%) of the Bury wills state that the residue of the estate after bequests and debts paid, was to be spent on pious and charitable works for the benefit of the testator's soul. In each instance women were seen to be giving in greater numbers than the men, probably because of the greater freedom to dispose of their goods at death.

The injunctions to feed the hungry and give drink to the thirsty were met by donations for the provision of food and drink. Twenty-two London testators, eighteen men and four women did so. There are just two Bury wills, both from men that provided sums for food and drink. Among London testators, William Kykeby of St. Sepulchre without Newgate left 6s. 8d. to provide bread and drink for the poor on his burial day. Nicholas Hotot, woolmonger of St. Nicholas Shambles was more imaginative. He asked his executors to give 4d. a week from his estate, to provide food and drink to seven paupers for one year after his death. Was his choice of the number seven to recall the seven acts of mercy? The brewer John Bartrop of St. Mary Woolnoth, provided five carcasses of beef, which were to be cooked and distributed amongst the poor on his burial day in return for their prayers. In 1413 the draper's widow Alice Bromwych of St. Michael Cornhill, directed that 3s. 4d. was to be distributed every Friday for a year amongst the poor of her parish, presumably for food and drink.¹¹⁵ The two Bury wills were drawn up William Dury of St. Mary's parish and John Ketyl of St. James's parish. Dury made provision for twenty loaves to be distributed by his executors to twenty poor inhabitants of the town at the time of his death. Ketyl left a quarter of a loaf to each pauper present at his funeral.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ GL MS 9051/1: 1400, fol.1^v; 1404, fols.11^r-11^v; 1411, fols. 23^r-23^v and 1413, fols.6^v-7^r.

¹¹⁶ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 74^r-74^v and fol. 84^v.

Other testators, in both towns simply left money for the poor in general. From the London sample 194 men (17%) and forty-nine women (20%) gave doles to the poor and from the Bury sample, just twenty-seven men (10%) and three women (4.5%) did so too, far less than their London counterparts. These payments were to be made at the funerals of the deceased, not indiscriminately but rather to the deserving poor. Professor Jordan criticised this practice of giving doles to the poor and needy 'as encouraging mendicancy and exacerbating the problem of poverty rather than solving it'.¹¹⁷ However, the evidence from the wills from both towns in this study shows that testators did differentiate between the deserving poor and undeserving vagabonds in making provision for poor relief. In 1398, the brewer Roger Peyntor of St. Michael Queenhithe left 6s. 8d. to be distributed among the deserving poor of his parish. Also in 1398, Robert Codenham, winedrawer of All Hallows Barking, gave 5s. to the deserving poor of his parish.¹¹⁸

Clothing the naked was another charitable act that was met by either the provision of cloth for making clothes, or money to purchase clothes and shoes. The wills of eleven men and seven women in London and four men and one woman, in the Bury wills contain such bequests. The London vintner John Bisshope directed his executors to provide black and russet cloth for twelve paupers at his funeral. After he was buried, each pauper was to receive 2.5 yards of each type of cloth, together with 2 yards of blanket, 2 yards of linen, one pair of shoes, a pair of hose and 1d. All of these items were to be paid for from the sale of his own clothing. William Lynedrapeer, whose name probably reflects his craft, left sixty ells of linen cloth to be distributed to sixty paupers, sixty pairs of shoes and 6d. each; in return for these gifts the recipients were to pray for his soul. Examples from Bury St. Edmunds also

¹¹⁷ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', pp. 182–3, where he cites four examples of London merchants' wills where they stipulate that doles are for the deserving poor who had either fallen on hard times through no fault of their own, or through sickness or misfortune. W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480–1660* (London, 1959), pp. 146–7 and Idem, *The Charities of London, 1480–1660* (London, 1960), p. 87.

¹¹⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fols. 2^v and 15^r-15^v.

demonstrate the concern of the town's inhabitants for the less fortunate. Richard Ilger of St. Mary's provided 12 pairs of shoes for twelve deserving poor on his burial day and Adam Waterward, a former alderman, also gave a pair of shoes to fifty paupers.¹¹⁹ Ralph Chapman, cordwainer, instructed his son William to distribute 100 pairs of shoes after his death. The twice-widowed Margery Skeet of St. James directed that all her linen stuff in her shop at the time of her death was to go to the town's indigent poor.¹²⁰

The majority of the wills that record bequests to the poor do not give any specific details of particular individuals who are to receive their largesse. In just one case, from Bury St. Edmunds, are we given a name of an individual pauper. In 1411 John Parmenter of Westhorpe gave a cloak to John Cook, pauper and 12d. to other paupers in the town. This would suggest that Cook was known to Parmenter, and that he may well have provided other doles or clothing to him during his lifetime as an act of personal charity; by naming Cook, he thus ensured that his executors would provide for him following his death.¹²¹

There are references to bequests for the relief of the sick and infirm which complied with the injunctions to receive the stranger and visit the sick, albeit at one remove, through the laity's support of the various hospitals that had been established in London and Bury St. Edmunds. Unlike modern hospitals, where the primary function is the treatment and care of the sick, medieval hospitals were not established simply for the care of the sick and infirm, although this particular aspect of hospital life became more significant throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Medieval hospitals also had a number of what might be termed purely social functions, which even the smallest establishments undertook, such as providing

¹¹⁹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols.51^r-51^v and 127^v-128^v.

¹²⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1413, fols. 6^v-7^r; 1395, fol. 8^r. SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol.52^v and fol. 73^r.

¹²¹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol.134^v.

hospitality for the many travellers that passed through both towns. This was in line with the monastic tradition that had been established during the post-conquest period of providing hospitality, albeit on a much grander scale than that provided in the medieval hospitals. The need for the provision of short-term board and lodging was far greater in London than elsewhere within the kingdom, because so many foreigners, both aliens from overseas and others from within the country at large, came to the city for trade, or to seek employment there.

Medieval hospitals were first and foremost religious foundations, where the daily round of prayers by the inmates were seen as beneficial for the founders and benefactors in the speeding of their souls through Purgatory. Hospitals in many ways could be seen, and indeed were perceived by the wealthy laymen, as another form of perpetual chantry, which made them a very attractive proposition to those who were able to provide sufficient funds for their establishment. There were no new hospitals founded in London after 1350 except for The Savoy, founded by Henry VII 1505-17.¹²²

Hospitals also undertook the tasks of feeding and clothing the indigent poor, the aged and infirm, and caring for the sick. People of no fixed abode were offered temporary accommodation, whilst the incurably sick and the aged, who were unable to care for themselves, were received as permanent members. Here they would live together under a strict regime taking part in the daily liturgy with its particular emphasis on prayers for the founders and benefactors, very close to the monastic regime of *opus Dei*.¹²³

The majority of the London hospitals were of lay foundation. In her study of the medieval hospitals of England, Rotha M. Clay drew attention to the involvement of

¹²² Barron, *LLMA*, p. 289.

¹²³ What follows is based on *Religious Houses*, pp. 13-15; C. Rawcliffe, 'The hospitals of Later Medieval London', *Medical History*, 28 (London, 1984), pp.1-21.

municipal and civic authorities throughout England in the endowment and management of hospitals run for the benefit of the local community. 'It was', she wrote, 'undoubtedly the townsfolk who were the principal founders in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and foremost among them were the 'old merchant princes' such as Richard Whittington in the 1420s, and William Elsing, in the 1330s, whose munificence led to the foundation of particularly impressive institutions in the capital'.¹²⁴ Sometimes, these hospitals were served either by secular priests or by members of the Augustinian order of canons, but often they were simply charitable hospices providing shelter for the sick and destitute and, in particular, for lepers. A new kind of foundation appeared in London in the fifteenth century which provided shelter and comfort for the elderly, almshouses. The first was founded by the grocer John Churchman in 1413 for seven men of the tailors' company.¹²⁵

With the growth of hospitals came problems, often financial, but sometimes the result of maladministration on the part of the masters, who seemed to have been poorly supervised, either by the civic authorities or by the religious orders to which the hospital belonged. In principle, the care of the sick and infirm had to be done without charge, and many of the surviving hospital statutes refer specifically to the sacred obligation of providing free succour to the needy. In practice, attitudes were often modified by pressing economic circumstances. Those who could afford to pay made some contribution towards their upkeep and nursing care either by paying cash or by reaching some alternative arrangement with the hospital's authorities. For example, from the cartulary of St. Bartholomew's hospital we learn that elderly people who could no longer maintain themselves made over their property, in reversion, to the hospital in return for a promise of aid from the brethren,

¹²⁴ Rotha M Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England* (London, 1909), p. 81. A recent study of Elsing Spital has been made by A. Bowtell, 'The Hospital of Elsyngspital, 1331–1540' (unpublished University of London PhD thesis, 2010).

¹²⁵ Barron, *LLMA*, pp. 298-300. M. P. Davies, 'The Tailors of London: Corporate Charity in the Late Medieval Town', in R. Archer, ed., *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stoud, 1995), pp. 169-90, esp. pp. 181-6.

who undertook to care for them in their own homes for as long as possible before receiving them into the infirmary itself. In other words, the hospital was offering *corrodies* to those with the means to purchase them.¹²⁶

Lepers were singled out for particular treatment, because of the anxiety of the authorities to contain the spread of this contagious disease rather than to arrest its course or to alleviate its symptoms in individuals. In discussing the approaches adopted by civic authorities, Carole Rawcliffe has written:-

'Predictably, however, medieval approaches to exclusion varied considerably, not only with the passage of time, but also according to the occupation, status and, of course, the personal repute of the individual concerned. Yet not all lepers were shunned, feared or required to depart for solitary places'.¹²⁷

Two leper houses were established by the laity in London during the twelfth century; St. Giles in the fields was founded by Matilda, the wife of Henry I, (1100–1108), and St. James Westminster, founded by 1189, for leprous women.¹²⁸ These two houses subsequently became the communal responsibility of the civic authorities for dealing with leprosy in the city. In 1276 the mayor and aldermen banned all lepers from entering the city and it may be that this was at the time when the city's own leper houses were established: the Lock in Southwark and the small leper house at Kingsland near Hackney.¹²⁹

Four of the religious houses in London, again of twelfth century foundation, seem to have had, or were to develop a particular concern to care for the sick: they were St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas in Southwark, St. Mary Bishopsgate, all houses of Austin Canons. The fourth was St. Mary of Bethlehem (Bedlam) which was the hospital of the order of St. Mary of Bethlehem. This hospital subsequently developed a speciality

¹²⁶ N. J. M. Kerling, ed., *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, (London, 1975), p. 9.

¹²⁷ C. Rawcliffe, 'The hospitals of Later Medieval London', *Medical History*, 28 (London, 1984), p. 253.

¹²⁸ On London's leper hospitals see M. B. Honeybourne, 'The leper hospitals of the London area', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 21 (1967), pp. 4-54.; *Religious Houses*, pp. 315-9 and 177-81.

¹²⁹ *Religious Houses*, pp. 175-6 and 320-1

for the care of the mentally sick and insane during the fourteenth century.¹³⁰ Finally, in 1331 the mercer William Elsing founded the hospital of St. Mary within Cripplegate, known as Elsingspital. His original intention was that it should house 100 persons of both sexes, but it appears to have started with thirty-two inmates. This too became a house of Augustinian canons.¹³¹

The number of bequests made to hospitals in London reinforces the belief that they were yet another object of charitable giving. However, it might have been a form of insurance on the testators' part that, should they become sick and infirm, and they might benefit from these hospitals. In London twenty-nine men (2%) and fourteen women (6%) left varying amounts to the city's hospitals. The principal recipients of Londoners' largesse were St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas', St. Mary Bishopsgate, St. Mary Elsingspital and St. Mary Bethlehem. For example, John Bussh a chandler of St. Nicholas Shambles gave 13s. 4d. each to the inmates of the hospitals of St. Mary without Bishopsgate, St. Mary Bethlehem, St. Bartholomew Smithfield and St. Thomas's Southwark; in return for their prayers. The mercer's widow, Elizabeth Burlee of St. Pancras, left 20s. to St. Mary without Bishopsgate, and a further bequest of 20s. to three un-named sisters in the hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower. The prior was to have £40 to be distributed amongst the hospital's inmates.¹³² The leper hospitals of St. Giles, The Lock in Southwark and the Kingsland hospital in Hackney also received many bequests. Included in the total numbers of testators giving to hospitals, eighteen men (1%) and two women (1%) made bequests to these four leper hospitals. The chandler Thomas Reygate of St. Botolph Billingsgate gave donations to the leper hospitals of St. Giles, Holborn and the Lock in Southwark; each hospital was to receive 3s. 4d. In addition, each poor inmate in St. Giles, St. Mary without Bishopsgate, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's and St. Mary Elsingspital was to

¹³⁰ Barron, *LLMA*, pp. 290-1.

¹³¹ *Religious Houses*, pp.165-8.

¹³² GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fols. 9^r - 9^v; 1403, fols. 9^r - 9^v and 1404, fols. 15^v-16^r.

receive 2d.¹³³. Thomson states that bequests to hospitals appear to have declined in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Between 1401-49 23.4% of these wills contained gifts to hospitals, this declined to 17.8% between 1479-86 and 18.1% between 1523-5. There was a sharp drop between 1529-30 to just 9.4%, which he suggests was due to the religious uncertainty of the period. However, his figures are even so, far higher than those in the Archdeacon's wills.¹³⁴

In marked contrast to the lay founders of the London hospitals the six hospitals in Bury St. Edmunds were all founded by the abbey itself. Five were founded by abbots and the sixth by a prior. Initially the hospitals formed part of the provision made by the monastic community for the welfare of their own sick and aged members. However, in due course they were made available for the inhabitants of the town.¹³⁵ All six hospitals were located outside the town's gates, supporting the view that they were used as isolation units, possibly as leper hospitals. The earliest foundation was St. Peter's, located outside the Risby Gate on the west side of the town, and this was Bury's leper hospital. Founded by Abbot Anselm, (1121-48) for sick, invalid and leprous priests, or else for other aged and sick persons, St. Peter's was still caring for lepers in the sixteenth century. St. Stephen's hospital was situated beyond the East Gate and bridge into the town, but very little is known about it. Also outside the East Gate situated on the north side of Eastgate Street was the hospital of St. Nicholas, again of early foundation. The exact details of when it was founded are unknown, but it was certainly in existence by 1224. Without the South Gate stood the hospital of St. Petronilla, but again very little is known about this establishment. The hospital of St. Saviour, which dates from around 1184, was founded by Abbot Samson, (1182-1211) and, because it was famous for curing the sick, was the most generously endowed of all the Bury hospitals. It was located outside the North Gate. St. John

¹³³ GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fols. 15^v-16^r.

¹³⁴ Thomson, *Piety and Charity*, p187.

¹³⁵ Still the best survey of the hospitals of Bury St. Edmunds is by J. Rowe, 'The Medieval Hospitals of Bury St. Edmunds' *Medical History*, 2 (1958), pp. 253-63.

the Evangelist's Hospital, variously known as *Domus Dei*, *Maison Dieu*, *Mayson Deuze* or *God's House*, was located in Southgate Street. It was founded by Prior Richard de Bosco between 1248 and 1252, to provide shelter and care for seven genuinely destitute men. The two resident wardens, who were to be selected and supervised by the abbey's almoner, were given discretionary powers to admit other deserving cases, and to care for those who fell sick during their stay in the hospital until they were fit enough to be sent on their way. Within twenty years of its foundation, the then abbot Samson of Luton, ordered its removal to a larger site beyond the South Gate, and gave permission for building a chapel and cemetery. Supervision of the hospital was then transferred from the almoner to the prior of St. Edmunds to whom the master was to submit accounts for the hospital's administration.¹³⁶

In spite of the existence of six hospitals, there is only one bequest to a hospital in Bury during the period of this study. In his will dated 11 September 1396 Stephen King, chaplain, of St. Mary's parish, gave 40s. to St. Nicholas' hospital. However, there is no evidence to suggest that he had any connection with St. Nicholas' hospital during his lifetime unless he had served as a chaplain there at some time during his career.¹³⁷ It seems curious that there were not more donations to the town's hospitals during this period.¹³⁸ It seems likely that the reason for the absence of donations relates to the abbey's total dominance of the town. The administration of the town's hospitals, moreover, remained in the hands of the abbey's officials throughout the whole of the medieval period, ensuring that the laity had no direct involvement with them.

¹³⁶ For details of the six hospitals see C. Harper-Bill, ed., *Charters of the Medieval Hospitals of Bury St. Edmunds*, Suffolk Record Society: Suffolk Charters, XIV, (Woodbridge, 1994).

¹³⁷ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 81^r.

¹³⁸ Gottfried, *Bury*, p. 183, table 5.1 recorded seventy-eight donations for the period 1440 to 1530. However, Dinn, 'Popular Religion', p. 157' shows that in fact just twelve testators from a total of 1304 for the periods 1380-1399 and 1439-1530 gave donations to the town's hospitals. This is yet another example of Gottfried misinterpreting the data from the testamentary evidence.

One further hospital attracted a number of donations in this period, which was not in England, but in Rome. The hospital of the Holy Trinity and St. Thomas the Martyr was a centre of English activity in Rome during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.¹³⁹ Its origins are obscure; there are no surviving details regarding its founders or their aims in establishing a hospital in Rome in the first place. In 1362, John Shepherd sold to the English group or guild (*universitas Anglorum*) a house which was to be the basis of the hospice. It seems that the foundation was conceived as a hospice for poor people and pilgrims. These objectives were stated in the earliest deeds, which, as Margaret Harvey has argued suggests both help for those already in Rome and a hospice for pilgrims, those were the groups served by the hospital. It had other functions too: it lent money when needed and looked after the property of older members and served as a *poste restante*.¹⁴⁰ It seems that the original founders, English merchants and artisans, wished to have a centre for charity and prayer for their souls, including in some cases their care in old age, and would also serve as a centre for pilgrims in Rome.¹⁴¹

Seven London wills, five from men and two from women, and one from Bury St. Edmunds included bequests to the Hospital of St. Thomas in Rome. For example in 1404 the girdler John Beauchamp of St. Martin Pomeroy, left 20d. to the hospital. The will of the baker William Braybrook of St. Margaret Bridge Street is the most interesting example. He left 40s. to the hospital to pay for beds and other necessities for the infirm Englishmen there. The widow Matilda Payn of St. Alban Wood Street gave 6s. 8d. 'to the sisters caring for the infirm in the hospital'. Ralph Chapman, a cordwainer

¹³⁹ What follows is based on M. Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362–1420* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 55–76.

¹⁴⁰ M. Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362–1420* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 55.

¹⁴¹ Some of these merchants were mercers, hence the connection with Becket whose father was a mercer. M. Harvey, *The English in Rome 1362–1420* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 56 writes: 'The early York mercers' guild was known as the guild of Our Lady and its hospital was of the Holy Trinity. Some of the early members in Rome came from York and they may have been trying to establish another organisation like theirs in England, which dates to at least 1356. Becket himself was patron of St. Thomas of Acre, where the London mercers' met from at least 1390 and perhaps much earlier.' Further, she continues 'If, as I suspect, the London connection soon became very important to the Roman guild, this may explain the added dedication, specifically its addition in the 1370s'.

of St. James's is the sole example from Bury St. Edmunds; he gave 10s. to the hospital.¹⁴² All these examples show the care taken for the welfare of Englishmen abroad by those who remained at home during this period, possibly as the result of a money-raising campaign by the hospital in Rome.

Post-mortem bequests for pilgrimages occur in a number of wills also. In the London wills three men set aside sums for this task; two to go to Rome and one to the important Norfolk shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham.¹⁴³ In contrast with London, six wills from Bury include bequests for pilgrimages, five from men and one woman. Four were to go Rome, one to Santiago de Compostela and one to Jerusalem. Margery Skeet widow of St. James' parish left £10 'for an honest man to go on pilgrimage to Rome within forty days of my death to pray for my soul and the souls of my late husbands Henry and William. Perhaps the most optimistic testator was Thomas Rose of Bury, who left 20s. for 'a deserving and honest chaplain' to go to Rome to pray for his soul in 1404; as the going rate seemed to be £10, one wonders if his executors found a chaplain willing to undertake the long journey for such a pittance.¹⁴⁴ Perhaps some of these pilgrims made use of St. Thomas' hospital in Rome before returning from their pilgrimages.

Bequests to prisoners held in the various prisons in London and Bury St. Edmunds satisfied the sixth of Christ's injunctions. As Professor Jordan observed, 'The poor who were imprisoned for debt were common beneficiaries from the gifts of the more fortunate.' He suggests this 'might have sprung from fear that the prosperity of the

¹⁴² GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fol. 18^v; 1414, fols. 3^v-4^r and fols. 8^r-8^v. SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 52^v. Dinn, 'Popular Religion', pp.494-7 suggests that the Bury testators belonged to the higher social group, which might account for the difference between the town and London. However, St. Edmund's shrine in the abbey was a constant reminder of its importance to the inhabitants.

¹⁴³ John Claydich pewterer of St. Michael Cornhill, left £10 for one good and honest man to go on pilgrimage to Rome immediately after his death under the supervision of his executors, and Peter Masoun, tailor of St. Peter Cornhill also left £10 for an honest chaplain to be appointed by sir John Whitby the rector, to go on a pilgrimage to Rome: GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fols. 6^v-7^v and 1412, fols. 16^v-17^r.

¹⁴⁴ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 73^r and fols. 108^v-9^r.

giver or his family might not be lasting'.¹⁴⁵ London had five main prisons. Those at Newgate and Ludgate housed London prisoners, whilst the Fleet, a royal prison, housed all types of prisoners.¹⁴⁶ The Marshalsea and King's Bench were situated on the south side of the river Thames in Southwark on the east side of Borough High Street.¹⁴⁷ The wills of fifty (3.6%) London testators, forty men (3.5%) and ten women (4%) record bequests to the city's prisoners in the form either of small sums, or food and clothing. For example, the baker Robert de Ludlowe, of St. Andrew Eastcheap, left four quarters of wheat which his executors were to distribute amongst the prisoners in Newgate, King's Bench and the Fleet prisons, whilst in 1413 the draper's widow Alice Bromwych of St. Michael Cornhill, left £20 for cloth to be distributed amongst the poor prisoners in Newgate, Ludgate, the Fleet and the Marshalsea, as she eloquently stated, 'for as long as the cloth shall last, in return for prayers'.¹⁴⁸ The figure of 3.6% of all wills with prisoners' bequests is substantially lower than Thomson's figure of 25.5% of London wills that included such bequests between 1401-1530. This again stems from the smaller disposable incomes available to be spent on charitable works by the craftsmen and artisan testators who enrolled their wills in the Archdeacon's court. Nevertheless, the fact that less prosperous Londoners remembered those in prison indicates a willingness to help those less fortunate than themselves; prisoners were not necessarily seen as criminals but as victims of circumstance, the majority of whom were incarcerated for debt rather than for criminal misdemeanours.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ W. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660* (London, 1959), p. 57.

¹⁴⁶ For a history of Newgate prison see M. Basset, 'Newgate Prison in the Middle Ages', *Speculum*, 18, (1943), pp. 233-46. Because of the appalling conditions in Newgate, the city's oldest prison, Ludgate prison came into being in 1348, to house London citizens who were convicted of crimes other than felony and maiming, but it was to be used mainly for freeman debtors; see Barron, *LLMA* pp.165-7.

¹⁴⁷ See M. Carlin, *Medieval Southwark*, pp. 103-6 and I. Darlington, ed., *Survey of London, 25: St. George's Fields*, (London, 1955), pp. 9-21.

¹⁴⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1400 fols.13r-13v; 1413, fols. 1v-2r.

¹⁴⁹ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p. 185.

There was one prison in Bury St. Edmunds which was referred to in the monastic documents as the abbot's gaol. The prison not only served the town but the whole of the Liberty of St. Edmund; it was one of the abbot's privileges that there should be no other gaol for the inhabitants of the liberty and the steward took an oath that he would not imprison people elsewhere. Although described as the abbot's gaol, it was referred to in royal deeds as the king's goal; thus it was both the king's gaol and the abbot's gaol.¹⁵⁰ The day-to-day administration of the gaol fell to the sacrist, who had to ensure that the building was kept in good repair, and that the wages of the gaoler and his boy were paid.¹⁵¹ Six Bury testators left money to prisoners, five men (2%) and one woman (1.5%). Johanna Rokewode left 10s. to the prisoners in the abbot's gaol in her will dated 8 December 1391, whilst in 1406, the widower John Caxton of St. James's left the considerable sum of £60 to Bury prisoners.¹⁵² Caxton was a member of the town's elite leaving 100s. to the high altar for tithes and oblations. His bequest is by far the largest recorded, and vastly exceeds any donations in the London wills.

There are no bequests for burying the dead, the seventh good work, in any wills from either London or Bury. Neither does Thomson record any; this may be explained by the fact that by the fifteenth century pauper burials would have been met from parish funds.¹⁵³

Thomson claimed that, 'Of the charities which aimed to give a start in life to the deserving poor, the creation of marriage portions was by far the most common'. His

¹⁵⁰ M. D. Lobel, "The Gaol at Bury St. Edmunds", *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 31 (Ipswich, 1933), pp. 203–4 citing an inventory, unreferenced, of prison furniture in the fifteenth century containing forty-six pairs of fetters, one 'ffere' called *staundforde*, seven collars with chains and staples, four pairs of manacles, six pairs of stocks, thirteen locks with keys, which gives us an idea of the numbers that could be housed there.

¹⁵¹ Lobel, *Bury St. Edmunds*, pp. 40–41.

¹⁵² SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 60^v–61^r and 115^v–116^r.

¹⁵³ C. Burgess, ed., *The Churchwardens Accounts for St. Andrew Hubbard, c1450-c1570*, London Record Society 34 (1997), p. 44 1483-5. 'Item, paid for paving the ground by the font for the man that died at Casson's -5d. and p.60, 1491-2.. 'Item, paid for covering the Spaniard's grave – 8d.

research found that approximately 10% of his testators left monetary bequests for marriage portions.¹⁵⁴ Between 1393 and 1414 just four London testators, all men, made provision for poor children's marriages, mainly, but not exclusively, for poor girls. In 1395 the cooper Thomas Chapman of St. Olave Jewry, left £20 for the maintenance and subsequent marriage of four children, no sex given, who were to be 'most deserving and of good and honest condition', each was to have 100s. John Parker of St. Clement Eastcheap gave money for the marriage of seven poor girls; each was to have 13s. 4d., whilst the draper John Olyver of St. Christopher, bequeathed £10 for the marriage of poor children of honest disposition in his parish of St. Christopher. He also gave a similar sum for those in the parish of St. Michael Cornhill. Finally, the draper's widow Alice Bromwych, of St. Michael Cornhill, left £20 for the marriage of poor children of good and honest condition.¹⁵⁵ No such charitable provision is to be found in any of the Bury wills in this study.

Although not especially common, some London and Bury wills contain bequests for the repairs of roads and bridges, both within their towns and environs and sometimes in other parts of the country. This form of provision might have been associated with the injunction to 'receive the stranger', who is often depicted in medieval art as a traveller. But most probably the association was with St. Christopher who was the patron saint of travellers.¹⁵⁶ Fifteen men and seven women from London and three men from Bury St. Edmunds, included such bequests. In 1400 the butcher Robert Godespede of St. Nicholas Shambles, left 20s. for the repair of the roads between London and Highgate. Robert Bygod, chaplain to the alderman William de Cressewyk, in 1402 left 6s. 8d. to the parish of St. Katherine Cree, for works to the King's roads.¹⁵⁷ In addition to the various bequests for the poor of his parish and for

¹⁵⁴ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p. 186.

¹⁵⁵ GL MS. 9051/1, 1395, fols. 11^v-12^r; 1398, fols. 11^r-11^v; 1406, fols. 7^v-8^r and 1413, fols. 6^v-7^r. Alice's sum of £20 also included an unspecified amount for the repair of roads.

¹⁵⁶ D. H. Farmer, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 78-9.

¹⁵⁷ GL MS. 9051/1, 1400, fols. 6^r-6^v; 1402, fol. 13^r. For brief biographical details of William de Cressewyk, see Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 335.

the sick and destitute lying in various hospitals. John Goodman, alias Fraunceys, goldsmith of St. John Zachary directed that his executors were to allocate 20 marks (£13. 6s. 8d.) for the maintenance of the roads within the city and up to a four mile radius 'where greatest need'.¹⁵⁸ Women too left money for the repair of roads. Alice Stowe, widow of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, left 6s. 8d. for repairs to the King's roads, whilst Alice Haverill of St. Botolph Aldgate, left 100s. for the repair of roads around London, 'where the need was greatest'.¹⁵⁹ Amongst the mercantile group, Thomson recorded that forty-eight testators from a total of 320 (15%) in the first two Canterbury Court registers Marche and Luffenham, covering the years 1401-49, made bequests for road repairs.¹⁶⁰ The fact that twenty-two men and women (1.6%) from the artisan group made donations for the repair of roads illustrates that this form of charity was not confined to the upper echelons of London society. Adam Waterward and John Osberne are the two testators from Bury St. Edmunds who provided funding for road repairs; both were members of the town's elite, former aldermen and parishioners of St. James's. Adam left substantial amounts; £24 for Bury's roads and another £6 for the roads in Bungay, some fourteen miles to the north-east of Bury, and John left 20s. for the repair of the King's roads in Breckland, the area to the west of the town.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1405, fols. 14^v-16^v. Goodman, or Fraunceys, was warden of the Goldsmiths' Company in 1370-71; see Jefferson *Wardens'* p. 139. He served as alderman of Farringdon Ward from 1383-1405, and was mayor from 1400-1401; Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 342. His executors, apart from his wife Elizabeth, were all goldsmiths: John Standelf, Thomas Popelton and Raymond Chaumbre; Standelf served as warden on a number of occasions; 1394-95, 1400-01, 1404-06, 1410-11, 1415-16 and 1419-20. He served as alderman for Farringdon Ward between 1419-20; Jefferson, *Wardens'*, p. 611 and *LBH*, p. 227. Popelton was a warden in 1407-08; Jefferson, *Wardens'*, p. 603. Chaumbre, Frauncey's former apprentice was warden in 1412-13; Jefferson, *Wardens'* p. 562. Frauncey's executors were to be supervised by Dru Barentyn, warden 1380-81, 1385-86, 1390, 1403 and 1403-04. He was alderman 1392 and 1394-1415 for Farringdon within, *LBH*, p. 409. For his election and mayor of London in 1398-9 and 1408-09, *LBH*, p. 445 and *LBI*, p. 70. Fraunceys made another will which was enrolled in the Husting Court, see *CWCH*, 2 p. 364.

¹⁵⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1400, fols. 6^r-6^v and 1413, fols. 3^r-3^v.

¹⁶⁰ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', pp. 185-6.

¹⁶¹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 127^v-128^v and 133^r-133^v. Waterward served seven times as alderman and Osberne twice: Gottfried, *Bury*, p. 270.

Chapter Three.

Assistance with communications was not restricted to roads; bridges too were included. Five men and one woman in the London sample and one man from Bury St. Edmunds donated money for bridges. The chaplain Roger Hunt of St. James's Garlickhithe, gave 20s. for works to London Bridge; he is the only testator in this study to have given to London Bridge.¹⁶² Thomson recorded that 'numerous bequests to the mayor and commonalty as wardens of the bridge are contained in the wills admitted to probate in the Hustings court, although one should note that the gifts were sometimes made to the use of the bridge itself and at other times for the maintenance of a chantry in the chapel there'.¹⁶³ John Mapyllton, a marbler of St. Dunstan in the West, left 6s. 8d. for the maintenance on Swaverton Bridge in Derbyshire suggesting that he had originally come from Swaverton, or still had family connections there. Edmund Wynter, saddler of St. Peter Westcheap, left 10s. for the repairs and improvements that were being undertaken to Rochester Bridge, in Kent.¹⁶⁴ William Marty of Chevington is the only Bury testator to leave a sum of money for bridge repairs; he left 2s. for the repair of Bushley (? Bushey, Herts.) Bridge in his will dated 13 February 1406/7.¹⁶⁵

The need for a better method of obtaining fresh water in London was recognised by the city's authorities in the early thirteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Until then, most water for both washing and drinking was taken from the Thames. For those who could afford to pay, water carriers would collect water in leather pouches, *bouges*, from either Dowgate or at Castle Baynard, and then distributed it throughout the city. The initial piped water system ran from Tyburn, where spring water was piped, the city having

¹⁶² GL MS 9051/1, 1393, fols. 13^v-14^r.

¹⁶³ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p. 188 and n. 2.

¹⁶⁴ GL MS 9051/1, 1393, fols. 13^v-14^r; 1407, fols. 10^r-10^v and 1414, fols. 3^v-4^r. For Rochester Bridge, see N. P. Brooks, 'Rochester Bridge, AD 43 – 1381' and R. H. Britnell, 'Rochester Bridge, 1381–1530', in N. Yates and J. M. Gibson, eds., *Traffic and Politics: The Construction and Administration of Rochester Bridge, AD 43–1993* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp.1–40 and 41–106.

¹⁶⁵ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osborn, fol. 123^r.

¹⁶⁶ What follows is based on Barron, *LLMA*, pp. 255–61 and D. Lewis, "'For the Poor to Drink and the Rich to Dress their Meat': The First London Water Conduit", *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 55 (2004), pp. 39–68.

purchased the access rights in 1237, and work began on laying the pipework in 1245. The water was brought south to Charing Cross, then along the Strand and up Fleet Street terminating at Cheepside, where an elaborate conduit head was constructed. The flow of water through the distribution pipework relied solely on gravity which was no small task. The pipes were of cast lead in small lengths, which relied on soldered joints to provide continuity. Needless to say the joints required constant repair to prevent leakages which would also reduce water pressure at the conduit heads. Throughout the remainder of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the system was gradually extended. By the fifteenth century the system represented a significant distribution network that stretched from Fleet Street to Gracechurch Street.

Londoners began to make bequests in their wills for the upkeep of the water supply; it now qualified as a pious work, like roads and bridges. Needless to say the costs involved in improvements and maintenance were immense, and whilst the majority of the money was raised by the civic authorities through special taxes, members of the aldermanic class also contributed substantial amounts.¹⁶⁷ Only one will in this sample has a bequest towards the cost of building a new water conduit in Cheepside. John Goodman, alias Fraunceys, left 20s. for a new conduit in Westcheap, near to Old Change. He stipulated that the work was to be commenced within three years of his death; should this work fail to materialise, the said 20s. was to be diverted to other, un-named, charitable works.¹⁶⁸

Such were the common forms of charitable gifts that men and women in London and Bury St. Edmunds made during this period with either implicit or explicit prayers being said for the donors' souls.

¹⁶⁷ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p. 188.

¹⁶⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1405, fols. 14^v-16^v; see above p. 146, n. 159.

Conclusions

The doctrine of Purgatory and its relief through intercessory prayers was the driving force behind much of the charitable provision in medieval society, particularly the seven acts of mercy, which greatly influenced testators' choices in allocating donations. The choices made by the testators in London and Bury St. Edmunds reflected in part the preferences of individuals, but was also governed by their ability to fund such bequests from their estates. Testators with a greater proportion of disposable wealth were able to spread their gifts more widely in the hope of greater numbers praying for the health of their souls. The 'settling of account' with the church, for unpaid tithes and oblations was important to testators; dying without making restitution to the church could have presented problems in the next life. The differences between London and Bury St. Edmunds are striking. Only 36% of men and 29% of women in London made these donations whereas 66% of men and 73% of women in Bury did so. Were Bury's testators reluctant to make such provisions during their lives because of the influence of the abbey over their lives, but nevertheless settled up at the end of their lives? Perhaps the continuing disputes between the church and laity in London over the payment of tithes discouraged Londoners from making such bequests in their wills.

Parish churches also benefited from testators' largesse in both towns. Fourteen London city churches during the period covered in this study, were constructing bell towers, and thirty-one Londoners (2%) contributed towards the costs. In Bury thirty-three testators (9%) made similar donations; four times more than in London. Again the reasons for this are unclear. Londoners also identified with their cathedral which dominated the skyline and was a source of pride. Seventy-nine wills (6%) contain donations, whereas the abbey church in Bury St. Edmunds, received far fewer donations with just five (2%). Whilst the inhabitants of the town identified with St.

Edmund's shrine, they were far less inclined to contribute to the fabric of the abbey, for reasons already rehearsed in this chapter.

Whilst bequests to the mendicant orders figure prominently in both series of wills; 17% in London and 34% in Bury St. Edmunds. Bury's figure is twice that of Londoners and is yet another measure of the popularity of the friars amongst Bury's population. But perhaps the reason that the friars prospered in Bury was that there were fewer alternatives than there were in London. In all the bequests to mendicants the percentages of female donors, the majority of whom were widows, always exceeded those of men.

Specific donations for the poor, prisoners, lepers and hospital inmates were again prominent in all of these wills with 18% of men and 19% of women in London and 11% of men and 6% of women in Bury including bequests of this kind. Whilst the London figures are virtually identical, Bury's show that twice as many men as women included these types of bequests. Why this should be so is unclear given that more women generally gave donations for pious and charitable works than men.

Intercessory prayers through the provision for masses and fixed term chantries were yet another concern for testators. In London 13% of men and 17.5% of women provided donations for the performance of these prayers whilst Bury's figures are twice as high with 24.5% of men and 50% of women doing so; again more women than men made these provisions. For those who were unable to fund such chantries, membership of the many religious guilds at least provided at least an annual remembrance at the patronal saint's day services by all the guild's members in their respective churches. Post mortem bequests for pilgrimages also appeared occasionally in these wills, three in the archdeaconry wills and six in the Bury wills; however there are no references to pilgrimage to Bury. As Cullum and Goldberg

observed 'Many York testators, as testators elsewhere, left monies for masses and the poor; the one represents spiritual charity, the other moral charity'.¹⁶⁹ This statement has been amply demonstrated in this chapter.

¹⁶⁹ P. H. Cullam and P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Charitable provision in late medieval York: 'To the praise of God and the use of the poor'', *Northern History*, 29 (1993), p. 38.

Chapter Four. Family and Household relationships.

1. Extract from the will of Eleanor Wright, widow, of St. Mary Colechurch, London 18 December 1395, translated from the Latin original.¹

Item. I give to my sister Alice 20s. in money, one brooch, four kerchiefs, my best russet tunic edged with fur, a russet cloak edged with fur, one cap, one cloak, and one pair of sheets. Item. I bequeath to Alice Howe, my daughter a pair of beads of white amber and a gold brooch, one cushion, one linen quilt and my best violet cloak. Item. I bequeath to my son Symon and Johanna his wife all my silver vases and all my utensils. Item. I bequeath to the said Johanna one cloak of violet edged with fur. Item. I bequeath to the children of Agnes, daughter of my late husband, one coverlet with a taster, one pair of linen sheets, one violet cloak edged with fur and 10s. in money.

2. Extract from the undated will of Walter de Batisford of Bury St. Edmunds, translated from the Latin original.²

Item. I bequeath my principal properties in Northgate Street to my wife Basilee for her life. On her death my executors are to sell them and the money received to be spent on masses for the benefit of my soul and his benefactors. Item. I also bequeath to my wife my other property in Northgate Street for her life, together with two parcels of land of 3 acres and 2 acres next to St. Saviour's hospital. On the death of my wife I will that they are to go to my daughter Agnes for her life and on her death to her first born son Walter, heirs and assigns. If Walter should die before Agnes, then I will that the property and lands are to be sold by my executors and the money spent on masses for my soul and all those souls that I am bound to pray for.

We can learn a great deal about kin groups from the study of the bequests testators made to their family, friends and relations from their disposable goods, as the two extracts from the wills cited above reveal. The purpose of this chapter is to look in greater detail at the relationships that existed between the deceased, their immediate families and their extended families, together with the role of apprentices and servants within the household. Were there differences in the number and type of bequests according to the sex of the will-makers themselves? Can we determine the minimum sizes of families of married testators who mention children, given that some children would have already left the natal home, either to become

¹. GL MS 9051/1, fol. 9r.

². SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 45v–46r.

apprentices or had married and had a family of their own? Was there a difference in the number and type of bequests according to the sex of the heirs and legatees? Were the bequests made by those testators whose marital status was not recorded but were possibly single men or single women any different from those of known marital status? How different were the inheritance shares of the sons and of the daughters of the will-makers? To what extent did the bequests of movable and immovable property go to the surviving spouse and the children who constituted the nuclear family? Which individuals beyond the circle of the nuclear family were the recipients of the remaining bequests?

Jacques Beauroy sampled 125 wills of Bishop's Lynn burgesses, 104 by men and twenty-one by women in his study into aspects of family patterns of sections of medieval English society through the study of the wills enrolled in the borough court rolls.³ His survey covered the period from the end of the thirteenth century to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Most of the testators studied belonged to the upper layer of Lynn's society. Almost all had burgess status, although their occupations or professions were not recorded. Nevertheless, their wills reveal that they owned extensive property in the town including wharves, messuages, tenements and shops, which they bequeathed to close family members, thus these individuals formed part of Lynn's merchantile elite, which dominated the town's government. Beauroy's study is different to this study but will be used to enable comparisons to be made between London and Bury where possible.

Will-makers, Heirs and Legatees

There are 1,269 non clerical will-makers in the Archdeacon's probate register and 334 in the Sacrist's register. The majority in both towns were men; 1028 from London

³ J. Beauroy, 'Family Patterns and Relations of Bishop's Lynn Will-makers in the Fourteenth Century' in L. Bonfield, R. M. Smith and K. Wrighton, eds., *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure; Essays presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 23–42. For a wider view of family and households in medieval England see Peter Fleming *Family and Household in Medieval England* (Basingstoke, 2001), especially Chapter Two: Family Life, pp. 53–79.

and 268 for Bury St. Edmunds. Of the male testators, 711 from London and 213 from Bury St. Edmunds were clearly married and made bequests to their surviving wives. A significant number also appointed their wives as executors; 610 (86%) from London but only 111 (52%) from Bury St. Edmunds. Bury's figure is considerably lower than the London figure, and is somewhat surprising given that many of these men left to their wives a life interest in their property holdings in the town.⁴ A further 299 male testators from London and fifty-five from Bury St. Edmunds appear not to have had surviving wives. Some were widowers; seventy-two in London and seventeen in Bury. The remaining 227 men in London and thirty-eight from Bury St. Edmunds did not record their marital status and may never have married. There are 241 women testators in the surviving wills in the Archdeacon's register between 1397 to 1415; eight were married women, 167 were widows, and sixty-six of unknown marital status. In the Bury St. Edmunds wills sixty-six are by women; forty-six were widows and the remaining twenty were of unknown marital status. There are no married women's wills in Bury St. Edmunds during this period. Table 4.1 below shows the composition of the marital status of these testators.

Table 4.1. Marital status of lay testators in London and Bury St. Edmunds: sources GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern.

London				Bury St. Edmunds			
Sex of testator	Male		Female		Male	Female	
Marital status	(no)	(%)	(no)	(%)	(no)	(no.)	(%)
With living spouse	729	71	8	3	213	79	0
Widowers	72	7			17	6	
Widows			167	69			46
Marital status unknown	227	22	66	28	38	15	20
Total	1028	100	241	100	268	100	66

The ability of married women to make wills has already been discussed.⁵ Given these constraints, why did married women make wills? It seems likely that many had

⁴ However, this lower figure could be explained by the fact that the Bury wills registered were both testaments and wills concerned with real estate. The Archdeacon's wills were for the most part, testaments with very little concerning real estate; London citizens had the Husting Court in which to register their land and property transactions. See C. M. Barron, 'The Widow's World in Later Medieval London' in C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton, eds., *Medieval London Widows, 1300-1500* (London, 1994), pp. xiii-xxxiv at p. xvi and B. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law and Economy in Late Medieval London* (Oxford, 2007), p.28.

⁵ See Chapter One, pp. 50-51, and n. 87.

been married before, and had either inherited property from their late husband as part of their entitlement to dower, that is a share of her husband's real estate at his death, or else they had property and goods in their own right.⁶ Of the eight married women's wills, only Alice Benyngton of St. Michael Bassishaw stated that she had drawn up her will with the licence and consent of her husband William. She appears to be the only married woman who had not been married before.⁷ The remaining seven married women had been married previously. For example Agnes Twykford, of St. Clement, Eastcheap, described herself as the heiress of her parents John and Katherine Goldstone. She had inherited lands, rents and property in the town of Northampton and elsewhere in the county from her parents which, in turn, she left to her husband Thomas, his heirs and assigns, in perpetuity.⁸ Emma Kelk also owned property at the time of her death, presumably as part of her entitlement to dower from her previous husband Bartholomew Neve, citizen and draper. When he died she had remarried another draper John Kelk, who survived her; he was to enjoy all the rights in her property and rents for the term of his life; she does not say what was to happen to the property after John's death.⁹

On the death of their husbands London widows, as widows elsewhere, were entitled to dower.¹⁰ This dower consisted of two parts. The first part was the 'free bench' or share of the house in which she and her husband had been living in when he died. London custom allowed the widow to occupy the house until she either re-married or until her own death. This was more generous to the widow than the common law of England, which allowed the widow to occupy the 'principal mansion' for only

⁶ Caroline M. Barron, 'The "Golden Age" of Women in Medieval London', in *Women in Southern England* Reading Medieval Studies, 15 (1989), pp. 35–58 at pp. 41–43.

⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1403, fol. 8^v.

⁸ *ibid*, 1393, fol. 16^r.

⁹ *Ibid*, 1406, fol. 6^r. Her will is dated 23 May 1406. She asked to be buried in the tomb of her late husband Bartholomew Neve in St. Mary Abchurch. For Neve see *LBH* pp. 174, 400, 445–6. The other married women who drew up wills are Johanna Seles, Alice Okle, Isobel Coleman, Alice Bastewyk and Isobel atte Melle. GL MS 9051/1, 1396, fol. 14^r; 1396, fols. 15^v–16^r; 1403, fol. 7^r; 1407, fols. 1^v–2^r and 1410, fol. 12^r.

¹⁰ What follows is based on Barron, *Widows*, p. xvii.

forty days. The second part of the dower was the widow's right to enjoy a life share of a third (or a half if there were no children) of her husband's lands and tenements which had belonged to her husband at the time of their marriage. This right was not affected should the widow choose to remarry. In addition to their right to dower, London widows were also entitled to a share of their husband's goods and chattels by the custom known as *legitim*. Under this custom the London widow was entitled to a half, or a third, of her husband's movable goods, depending on whether there were any surviving children. This meant that these widows could accumulate considerable wealth through *legitim* as these goods were hers absolutely to dispose of as she liked rather than the dower income, which on her death, reverted to her late husband's heirs.

For example Isabel Turk, also known as Isobel Rokell, was the widow of the fishmonger John Turk. She died in possession of the two tenements, with cellars and chambers above, in Hayes Wharf Lane in the parish of All Hallows the Great that she and her late husband had held from the widow Margery de Wynchombe and her late husband John, a mason. Margery and John had entered into a release and quitclaim to John Turk and Isabel of these two properties. From a memorandum dated 4 October 1384, it seems that this document had been handed into the Guildhall c. 1377, but had not been enrolled in the Husting Court. As both grantors were dead, the original quitclaim could not now be enrolled.¹¹ Isabel had two daughters; she instructed her executors that the properties were to be held firstly by her eldest daughter Eleanor for the term of her life; on Eleanor's death, they passed to Isabel's younger daughter Johanna in perpetuity.¹²

In Bury St. Edmunds there is a similar pattern of property holding by widows for life only. Marian Grykke the widow of John Grykke, was a parishioner of St. Mary's. In

¹¹ CPMR 1381-1412, pp. -82.

¹² GL MS 9051/1 1412, fol. 7^v. Her will is dated 13 July 1412.

her will she left her life interest in the property in 'le Mistow' in the town to her two sons Richard and Thomas.¹³ Margaret Grene the widow of Edward Grene was living in St. James's parish at the time of her death in 1401. She devised the life interest in her property, in Eastgate Street, to her daughter Margaret and son-in-law John Adam, junior and the lawful heirs and assignees of their union. However, if there were no heirs from the marriage, Margaret's will stated that her executors were to sell the property. The money received was to be divided equally; one part was to go to her executor Henry Kyrton and the other part was to be used for masses and other charitable works for the benefit of her soul and the soul of her late husband Edward.¹⁴

Children are recorded in many of the wills, either as the recipients of money, clothing, utensils, bedding, and jewellery or as the heirs to property, land or rents from their parents. The majority of the wills that mention children record their names, but this is not always the case. Table 4.2 provides full details for London, Bury St. Edmunds and Bishop's Lynn.

Table 4.2. Lay testators mentioning and not mentioning children.¹⁵

London testators	Men		Women		Bury St. Edmunds				Bishop's Lynn			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Mentioned	217	27	70	40	92	40	27	59	63	60.5	13	62
Not mentioned	584	73	105	60	138	60	18	41	41	39.5	8	38
Totals	801	100	175	100	230	100	46	100	104	100	21	100

That more women than men in all three towns remembered their children should come as no surprise; the majority of the women concerned were widows. As such

¹³ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 68^v–69^r. Her late husband's will is also registered on fols. 50^v–51^r, and is dated 29 September 1385. Table 4.6 below has full details of the types of property held by London and Bury St. Edmund's testators. In Bishop's Lynn, Beauroy, 'Family Patterns', p. 33 Table 2.7, found that of the twenty one women will makers property bequests generally went first to surviving spouses, five cases, then to sons, and then daughters.

¹⁴ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 100^r–00^v. Margaret appointed Kyrton and her son in law John Adam, jnr. to be her executors.

¹⁵ Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1 and for Lynn Beauroy, 'Family Patterns', table 2.2, p. 27. The figures are based on the wills of married men, widowers and widows and exclude the unspecified marital status wills. Where bastard or 'natural' children are mentioned, these are included in the figures for London; only one bastard child is mentioned in the Bury wills.

they had greater freedom than their husbands in how they devised their estate. Nearing the end of their lives, these widows wanted to ensure that their various possessions would be fairly distributed amongst their children first before other family members and friends. The evidence from this table suggests that the settlement pattern of families in Bury St. Edmunds and Bishop's Lynn was much more stable than was the case in London. The smaller number of children mentioned in the London wills might be attributed to either a lower fertility rate in London, due in part to women marrying later, having been apprentices or servants, or to the higher death rate in the capital compared to rural Bury St. Edmunds. Barbara Hanawalt, in her examination of surviving medieval coroners' rolls, found that infant mortality in the home amongst boys, fifteen deaths (78.9%) was much lower than that for girls, thirty-seven deaths (94.9%).¹⁶ Sylvia Thrupp found that the mortality rates of merchant class sons who were underage at their father's death and thus became city orphans, but subsequently died before reaching maturity, varied from 42% for the period 1378-1407 and 24% for the period 1408-1437.¹⁷ In her study of the London Court of Orphans, Barbara Megson found that out of the 301 children of freemen, 159 boys and 142 girls, sixty-seven died before reaching the age of 21 and sixty-two more disappeared from the records, suggesting a survival rate of 1.5 children per family.¹⁸ Thus the problem of high mortality rates amongst children and young adults remained for the majority of the Middle Ages.

Three London wills mention posthumous bequests to unborn children. Thomas May a sheather of St. Mary Woolchurch, left 20s. 'to the infant in the womb of my wife, if it shall live'. In 1398 the butcher John Ropley of St. Nicholas Shambles, left 100s. to his son Thomas and another 100s. 'for the infant in the womb of my wife Juliana'. The

¹⁶ B. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound; Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1986), Tables 4 and 5 p. 272.

¹⁷ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, pp. 200-203, tables 14 and 15

¹⁸ B. Megson, 'Life Expectations of the Widows and Orphans of Freemen in London 1375-1399' *Local Population Studies*, 57 (1996), pp. 18-29, at pp. 25-29 and table 5, p. 27.

thelast will is that of Richard Twyford a cutler of St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street.¹⁹ Twyford's will was drawn up on 31 October 1406 and is interesting for a number of reasons, apart from the posthumous bequest. First the will is an example of the tripartite division of his estate, the *legitim*, in accordance with the city's custom for the disposal of a citizen's estate.²⁰ Secondly, it details the arrangements regarding city 'orphans'; that is the underage children of a dead citizen father.²¹ Richard left instructions to his executors that his estate was to be divided into three parts. The first part was for pious and charitable works; the second part was for his wife Alice for her maintenance and the third part was for his three children. However, he further stated that 'if my wife Alice is with child and it survives', then it too is to have an equal portion with my other children'. Twyford had been a successful businessman and had served three times as a warden of the Cuttlers' Company, in 1389, 1393 and 1394.²² His three children, William, John and Elana, were all minors at the time of his death in 1406. On 15 January 1416/17, the guardianship of his son John was committed by the then mayor and chamberlain, to William Graunger, cutler. The ten year gap between Twyford's will and this entry indicates that Alice his wife had the custody of the children in the intervening period but had recently died, hence the registration of the guardianship of John.²³ There is no mention of William, who either had reached maturity or had died after Richard's death. Subsequently, Graunger appeared before William Cambridge then mayor and the aldermen on 5 November 1420. He informed them that John had died and handed John's money

¹⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fol. 21^v; 1398, fol. 22^r and 1406, fols. 10^v–11^r.

²⁰ See above pp. 155–6.

²¹ On the position of 'orphans' of citizens of London see Caroline M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages; Government and People, 1200–1500* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 268–73 and notes cited. Of the sixteen citizen male testators in the Archdeacon's register who stipulated that the care of their underage children was to be in accordance with the regulations concerning city orphans only three, including Twyford appear later in the City Letter Books; they were Thomas Reygate, the chandler's son William and the mercer William Coventre's daughter Alice: GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fols. 15^v–16^r and 1407, fols. 2^r–2^v; *LBI*, pp. 49, 76 and 77.

²² *LBH*, pp. 346, 397 and 403.

²³ In their study of mothers and orphans in fourteenth century London, Barron and Martin have fifteen examples where the mother was appointed the sole guardian of the children. Of the five husbands' wills that survive, three committed the guardianship of the children to their wives. C. M. Barron and C. A. Martin, 'Mothers and Orphans in Fourteenth-century London' in C. Leyser and L. Smith, eds., *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400–1400: Essays presented to Henrietta Leyser* (Farnham, 2011), pp. 281–96, at pp. 285–7.

to the chamberlain John Bederendene; he was then declared quit of his obligation. Ten days later Elena, Richard Twyford's daughter, the widow of Thomas Briggeham, shearman, appeared in the mayor's court and requested the money due to her under the will of her late father, 'as all the other children of the said Richard had died under age; her prayer was granted'.²⁴ Twyford's will, together with the additional information gleaned from the City Letter Books, shows the care that he had taken in providing for his widow and their children. It also throws light on the high mortality rate of children during this time. Only one of the three children alive at the time of their father's death survived for a further fourteen years at least. Presumably his wife Alice was not pregnant when her husband died, or the baby did not survive infancy. Elana the sole surviving child was herself a young widow.

Families and Households in Medieval London and Bury St. Edmunds

There is a difference between family size, based on couples with surviving children and household size, defined by the number of people living together under the same roof. Household size is not determined simply by the number of surviving children since some may, as remarked earlier, have left their parents' home to seek employment or to marry. With remarriage on the death of a spouse there would also be step-children, and in some households citizens' orphans would also be brought up in the household until they reached maturity. Others such as apprentices and servants would also be living there.²⁵

Medieval towns provided greater employment opportunities for the young adolescent, whether through apprenticeship or in service. Servants in medieval usage denoted anyone employed to provide labour for a family and given lodging

²⁴ *LBI*, p. 246. The index of the Archdeacon's Register, GL MS 9051//1 records the testament of William de Twyford, cutler during the year 1375, fol. 32v; was this Richard Twyford's father and William's grandfather?

²⁵For definitions of the household see for example, L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1977), p. 29; C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of The Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 81.

there. However, it should be remembered that not all servants 'lived in'.²⁶ In towns servants joined with apprentices and children among the young dependents of the head of household. The majority of these adolescents were male, especially those who were apprentices. The difference between the two groups was that apprentices entered into a legally binding contract for a fixed term of years, usually seven according to London custom. In return for a negotiated fee, paid for by the parents of the apprentice, the master was responsible for his training and he would also provide clothing, board and lodging. On the completion of the contracted term the apprentice was free to leave his master's employ and henceforth work independently in the craft in which he or she had been trained.²⁷ Servants however would be employed usually by the year and did not necessarily enter into a legally binding contract. Relationships between apprentices and servants and masters could, and did break down, but for many the relationships forged during their training was to last throughout their lifetime.

Determining the average size of medieval families is always problematic. In later medieval England and Northern Europe families tended to be nuclear, comprising parents and children: they were neither multi-generational nor extended as, for example, was the case in Italy.²⁸ Whilst some wills do mention children there are others that do not, but this does not imply that the testator was childless; on the contrary, there may well have been children who had already been provided for. Fleming writes that 'Recent work suggests that mean family size was between three and five members, with a slightly higher number before the Black Death than after,

²⁶ B. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford, 1993), p. 181 cites examples rental contracts; 16d. a week for a single woman for room and board, or lodging in an inn in 1345 could be had for 1½d. a week.

²⁷ For a comprehensive study of apprenticeship in London see S. R. Hovland 'Apprenticeship in Later Medieval London (c.1300–c.1530)' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2006). See also B. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford, 1993), chapters eight and nine.

²⁸ Fleming, *Family*, pp. 64-66.

particularly amongst wealthier families'.²⁹ Further, although families may have been nuclear, high mortality meant that they were neither unchanging nor simple in composition, and might subsequently include step-parents and step children, half brothers and sisters, forming what Philippa Maddern has termed 'blended households'.³⁰ Using the information set out in table 4.2 above, is it possible to attempt to form some idea of minimum family sizes in London and Bury St. Edmunds for the period of this study?

Obviously some children may already have left the natal home, either to become apprentices, or servants or to be married and set up home themselves. In a number of cases, both in London and Bury St. Edmunds, children are mentioned without any details regarding their number or their sex. For example, Thomas Doncastre a coppersmith of St. John Zachary left the residue of his goods and chattels, after bequests, to his widow Mary and his brother Robert who were his executors. They were to dispose of these goods and the monies received were to be used for the maintenance of Mary and her children, and his step-children. John Beldewell, a cordwainer of St. James' parish Bury St. Edmunds left his lands and tenements together with the remainder of his goods and chattels after certain bequests and funeral expenses, to his widow Margaret for her maintenance and that of their children.³¹

²⁹ Fleming, *Family*, p. 66 and n. 47 for references cited.

³⁰ P. Maddern, 'Between Households: Children in Blended and Transitional Households in Late-Medieval England' *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 31 (2010), pp. 65-86, Tables 1 and 2 pp. 69-70. See also P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300-1520* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 342-3, 356 and 359; idem, 'Migration, Youth and Gender in Later Medieval England' in P. J. P. Goldberg and Felicity Riddy, eds., *Youth in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 85-99.

³¹ GL MS 9051.1, 1398, fol. 4^v and SROB IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 70^r dated 10 June 1393. In all a further forty-eight married men, two widowers and a widow in London mention unnamed children and twenty four married men and a widow in Bury St. Edmunds have references to children but their sex is not stated; these testators have been omitted from the statistics contained in table 4.3.

The number of sons and daughters however, can be extrapolated from the data. Table 4.3 gives details of the sex of children mentioned in the wills of married men, widowers, married women and widows in London and Bury St. Edmunds.

Table 4.3. The sex of children of testators who mentioned children in table 4.2.

London							
Testators	N.	N. only mention sons		N. only mention daughters		N. mention sons and daughters	
Men	217	108	50%	88	40%	21	10%
Women	72	29	40%	28	39%	15	21%
Bury St. Edmunds							
Men	92	45	49%	33	36%	14	15%
Women	27	11	41%	10	37%	6	22%

N = number of testators

The analysis shows that 50% of men remembered sons in both towns, whereas only 40% of London men and 36% of men in Bury remembered daughters. Where men remembered sons and daughters, there is a five percent difference in favour of Bury. Women remembered sons or daughters or both sons and daughters equally in both towns. However, the difference between men and women who remembered both sons and daughters is marked with women remembering sons and daughters 11% greater in London and 7% in Bury. The breakdown figures for Bishop's Lynn are not known; Beauroy gives the total numbers of sons and daughters remembered by men and women but not those who remembered both sons and daughters. The difference between the number of sons to daughters mentioned by men is unlikely to be attributed to more boys being born than girls, although this is a possibility. The most likely explanation for this imbalance in favour of sons over daughters stems from sons inheriting from their fathers before their daughters. Fathers would wish their sons to have a sufficient inheritance to enable them to pursue an apprenticeship, or take over the family business, and in due course marry and have a family. Daughters on the other hand were expected to help their mothers initially in the house where they would learn how to look after a household, as well as undertaking work in the family business or leave home and obtain a position as a servant in another household, either within the family kin group or within the locality, or as an apprentice in London. Beauroy suggests that the over-representation of sons in Bishop's Lynn could indicate

an unequal inheritance practice in favour of sons to daughters, or that daughters had received previous gifts from their fathers.³² The evidence for both London and Bury St. Edmunds is less clear cut, and would indicate that for the majority sons and daughters were treated equally when it came to bequests from their parents. Kate Staples' study, using the Husting wills between 1300-1500, shows that sons and daughters were treated equally when it came to both fixed and movable goods.³³ Beauroy's sample concerned those of the mercantile elite of Bishop's Lynn, whereas the London and Bury samples are in the main drawn from the artisans and craftsmen of the towns, with just a sprinkling of the more affluent inhabitants' wills being registered.

The difference between men and women remembering children also needs to be considered. Whilst a considerable number of children were either adolescent or adults some, as in the case of Richard Twyford, were still minors. Among widowers mentioning children there are two examples in London where their children were clearly still minors. The widower John Calthorpe, a wealthy shearman of Holy Trinity the Less, had a son John and a daughter Lucy. They were left twenty-four marks each by their father and John was put into the custody of John Gillyng, vintner and Lucy was put into the custody of William Clophall, brewer.³⁴ Whilst most children within the nuclear family would probably have been cared for by their mothers, children did leave home at a relatively early age. For boys this was often to become an apprentice whilst for girls, although some were apprenticed, far more were likely

³² Beauroy 'Family Patterns', p. 28.

³³ K. K. Staples, *Daughters of London, Inheriting Opportunity in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 98-100 and 140-1.

³⁴ GL MS 9051/1, 1398 fols. 3^v-4^r. Calthorpe was a jury member in a case of debt for 1250 marks on 11 March 1383/4; *CPMR 1381-1412*, p. 73. John Gillyng was one of Calthorpe's executors who were each left £20 for their labours. Possibly this large sum was for the maintenance of his two children. The other widower was William Dorchestre, grocer of St. Antholin who left the custody of his two children Thomas and Johana to his executors, Thomas Knolles, jnr. grocer and John Snell chaplain in his will dated 27 November 1410; *Ibid*, 1410, fol. 15^r. Knolles was the son of the alderman Thomas Knolles, grocer: Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, pp. 351-2.

to be servants, unless there was the opportunity to remain at home and help in the running of the household or in the family business.³⁵

Many factors influenced family size, not least the age at first marriage. There were a number of factors that influenced the age of first marriages, not least the economic opportunities available, assuming that couples tend only to get married when they are reasonably sure that they would be able to support children. The later men and women got married, the less time there was to have children, and so led to smaller family sizes.³⁶ Most people in the Middle Ages tended to get married in their early to mid-twenties, typically twenty-six for males and twenty-three for females broadly similar to contemporary western society.³⁷ Life expectancy was also determined by a range of factors, such as the relative wealth of individuals and the prevalence of plague throughout our period. Infant mortality noted previously also played an important part in determining family size.

Using the data from tables 4.2 and 4.3 above it is possible to construct minimum family sizes for both London and Bury St. Edmunds. Table 4.4 gives the details.

Table 4.4. Minimum Family size in London and Bury St. Edmunds where children are mentioned in testators' wills.³⁸

London			Bury St. Edmunds		
Total number of married men and women, widowers and widows wills: 801			Total number of married men, widowers and widows wills: 175		
Total number of wills mentioning children: 289			Total number of wills mentioning children: 120		
Number of children	No. of families	%	Number of children	No. of families	%
0	512	64	0	55	31
1	179	22	1	75	43
2	72	9	2	33	19
3	20	2.5	3	7	4
4	12	1.5	4	4	2.5
5	5	0.75	5	0	
6	1	0.25	6	0	
7	0		7	1	0.5
Total	801	100	Total	175	100

³⁵ On female apprentices see S. R. Hovland, 'Girls as Apprentices in Later Medieval London', in M. P. Davies and A. Prescott, eds., *London and the Kingdom: Essays in honour of Caroline M Barron* Harlaxton Medieval Studies 16 (Donington, 2008), pp. 179–94.

³⁶ Fleming, *Family*, p. 19.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 19–23 and notes cited.

³⁸ Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern. There are no comparable figures for family sizes in Beauroy's study of Bishop's Lynn.

What is immediately apparent from the table is the greater number of families in Bury St. Edmunds with surviving children, (69%) compared with London families, (36%) which may indicate either a lower fertility rate through women marrying later, or a higher mortality rate in London than in Bury St. Edmunds.³⁹ Whilst London was more densely populated than Bury, but not necessarily overpopulated, any contagious diseases or infections would quickly spread through the neighbourhood, with children, the sick and aged particularly vulnerable. Contagion would be less of a danger in Bury St. Edmunds, which was a more rural and far less crowded town. That said, the populations of London and Bury St. Edmund's was still recovering from the various outbreaks of plague that had visited England from the mid-fourteenth century and into the fifteenth century.⁴⁰

Excluding the 64% of testators wills in London and the 31% from Bury St. Edmunds that did not mention children, for the majority of wills mentioning children, the nuclear family size in both towns was three, two adults and a child: 22% in London and 43% in Bury St. Edmunds, with a further 9% in London and 19% in Bury numbering four members. In each case the figures for Bury St. Edmunds are double those for London, again indicating a higher survival rate in Bury compared with London.

The London and Bury St. Edmunds wills provides some information about naming patterns in the two towns. Most children would probably have been named after a relative, a saint or a godparent. The London wills in particular, show that boys were often named after their father. In some cases, two sons had the same forename,

³⁹ See P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300-1520* (Oxford, 1992), Chapter Five.

⁴⁰ For indicative mortality rates in London between 1374-1407 based on the indexes from the commissary Court Registers Courtney and Broun and the Archdeacon's Register see Chapter One, Figure 1.8, p. 00. See Also M. Bailey, 'Demographic decline in late medieval England: some thoughts on recent research' *Economic History Review* (1997), pp. 1-19.

such as John Fuller of Havering's two sons who were both named John after their father.⁴¹

Table 4.5. The most popular children's names in London and Bury St. Edmunds⁴².

London				Bury St. Edmunds			
Sons	Number	Daughters	Number	Sons	Number	Daughters	Number
John	91	Johanna	47	John	49	Agnes	16
William	41	Alice	30	William	15	Alice	8
Thomas	33	Agnes	19	Thomas	15	Katherine	8
Robert	18	Margaret	17	Robert	10	Margaret	8
Richard	18	Katherine	14	Richard	8	Johanna	3
Henry	10	Matilda	12	Edmund	3	Rose	3
Philip	6	Juliana	8	Ralph	3	Cecile	2
Simon	6	Isabel	8	Walter	3	Isabel	2
Nicholas	5	Margery	6	Roger	2	Matilda	2
Roger	5	Elizabeth	6	Stephen	2	Elizabeth	1
Peter	4	Cecile	6	Henry	1	Margery	1
Ralph	4	Helen	5	Edward	1		
Edward	3	Christine	3	James	1		
Dru	2	Emote	3	Nicholas	1		
James	2	Eleanor	2	Andrew	1		
Stephen	2	Rose	2	Giles	1		

Edmund, Walter, Andrew and Giles do not appear among the names given to boys in London, whereas Simon, Peter and Dru appear only in London. Other differences amongst boys' names are the greater popularity of the name Henry in London. The differences amongst girls' names are even more marked. In London, whereas Johanna heads the list followed by Alice, Agnes, Margaret, Katherine and Matilda, in Bury St. Edmunds Agnes is the most popular name followed by Alice, Katherine and Margaret with Johanna relegated to fifth position. Helen, Christine, Emote (Emma) and Eleanor all appear in London but do not occur in Bury St. Edmunds. Perhaps Agnes' popularity in Bury St. Edmunds might be attributed to the resemblance of the word *agnus-lamb* to Agnes, her principal iconographic emblem is the lamb. Traditionally, on her feast day, 21 January, lambs were blessed. Bury was the centre of the East Anglian wool trade, which may provide a possible explanation.⁴³ An analysis of the guild patrons in East Anglia includes John, Andrew, Thomas the apostle, Edmund, James and Giles, all names given to boys in Bury.⁴⁴

⁴¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1405, fol. 9^v.

⁴² Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern.

⁴³ D. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 5-6. M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk; An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 214-5.

⁴⁴ K. Farnhill, *Guilds and The Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia c. 1470-1550* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 34-41, especially figure 3, p. 38.

Amongst the English ordination lists in England between 1350-1540 Virginia Davis found that John, William, Thomas were the most popular names followed by Robert and Richard; the names in Table 4.5 are the same, with only Robert and Richard transposed.⁴⁵ It should be noted that unlike the practice in continental Europe, of naming children after members of the Holy Family, was not followed in England. As David Postles suggested *John* may have been chosen above other names because John, as Jesus' cousin, was the nearest available name to Jesus himself. Also, baptism in itself was an act that brought to mind the image of John the Baptist.⁴⁶

There are 107 (10%) laymen and seventeen (7%) lay women property owners in London and 151 (56%) laymen and fourteen (21%) lay women in Bury St. Edmunds. The difference between the two towns might suggest that far more men and women in Bury St. Edmunds owned property compared with their London counterparts. However, there was a fundamental difference in regard to land holding in London and Bury St. Edmunds. As a monastic town the majority of property and land in Bury St. Edmunds was held by one of the obedientiaries of St. Edmund's, either the Sacrist or the Cellarer, and was directly rented from them by the inhabitants.⁴⁷ As was discussed in Chapter One Londoners who were citizens, freemen, and their wives, or widows of freemen, had a choice of where to register their wills which dealt with property. The Husting Court was used by most citizens at this date to enrol their wills dealing with their property. As Bury's inhabitants only had the Sacrist's court in which to enrol both their wills of personality and property, the

⁴⁵ V. Davis, 'The popularity of Late medieval Personal names as reflected in the English Ordination Lists, 1350-1540' in D. Postles and J. T. Rosenthal, eds., *Studies on the Personal Names in Later Medieval England and Wales* (Kalamazoo, 2006), pp. 103-114 at p. 105.

⁴⁶ D. A. Postles, 'The Baptismal Name in Thirteenth-Century England' *Medieval Prosopography*, 13 (1992), pp. 1-52 at pp. 11-12.

⁴⁷ Lobel, *Bury St. Edmunds*, p. 17. A small amount of property belonged to the manor of Maydewater as part of the honour of Clare. See also M. Merry, 'The Construction and Representation of Urban Identities: Public and Private Lives in Late Medieval Bury St. Edmunds' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Kent, 2000), pp. 153-5. The burghal community having obtained their tenements from the abbey for a fixed money rent had the right to buy and sell and devise their property in a similar manner to their London counterparts; *Ibid*, p. 10.

Sacrist's register contains substantially more wills concerned with property, whereas in the London Archdeacon's register, the majority of wills are those of personality.⁴⁸

Table 4.6 Number and types of property and legatees in London, Bury St. Edmunds and Bishop's Lynn.⁴⁹

London: male testators	Legatees							
Types of Properties	spouse	sons	Daughters	Kin	Executors	Total	%	
Messuage	3	1			1	5	4	
Tenement	56	4	1	4	4	69	66	
Shop[s]	5	1		2	2	10	10	
Land[s]				2		2	2	
Property or rents ⁵⁰	11	2	1		5	19	18	
Totals	75	8	2	8	12	105	100	
Female testators								
Types of Properties	spouse	sons	Daughters	Kin	Executors	Total	%	
Messuage		2				2	11	
Tenement		2	2		2	6	33	
Shop[s]		1	1		2	4	23	
Land[s]								
Property or rents	2				4	6	33	
Totals	2	5	3		8	18	100	
Bury St. Edmunds: male testators								
Types of Properties	spouse	sons	Daughters	Kin	Executors	Total	%	
Messuage	9	1			2	12	8	
Tenement	66	2	1	1	7	77	51	
Shop[s]	4				1	5	3	
Land[s]	3	1		1	3	8	5	
Property or rents	42	1	1	1	5	50	33	
Totals	124	5	2	3	18	152	100	
female testators								
Types of Properties	spouse	sons	Daughters	Kin	Executors	Total	%	
Messuage			1			1	7	
Tenement		1	2		3	6	44	
Shop[s]					1	1	7	
Land[s]					3	3	21	
Property or rents		1	1		1	3	21	
Totals		2	4		8	14	100	
Bishop's Lynn								
Types of Properties	spouse	sons	Daughters	Kin	Ser	Ex	Total	%
Capital messuage	5	2	1			3	11	2
Messuage	31	14	1		1	30	96	20
Tenement	48	50	17	10		76	201	41
Quay	8	6	3	2		10	29	6
Shop[s]	35	38	22	4		22	121	24
Land[s]	2	1	2	2	1	3	11	2
Property or rents	4	5	4	1	1	8	23	5
Totals	133	116	50	19	3	153	492	100

⁴⁸ Fuller details of the wills and testaments recorded in the various courts in London are discussed in Chapter One.

⁴⁹ Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern and Beauroy, 'Family Patterns', Table 2.10, p. 35. For consistency with the London and Bury St. Edmunds percentages, I have rounded up his percentages to whole numbers. He has not broken down his figures into male and female testators, unlike those for London and Bury St. Edmunds.

⁵⁰ Property is used in many of the London and Bury St. Edmunds wills without defining what type of buildings they refer to; the phrase 'all my property in' is most often used, particularly amongst the male testators of Bury St. Edmunds.

It should come as no surprise that members of the nuclear family, spouses, sons and daughters, were the main beneficiaries; bequests of messuages and tenements to family members represented 70% of men's wills and 44% of women's wills in London and 59% of men's wills and 51% of women's wills in Bury St. Edmunds of all the bequests of immovable property, whilst in Bishop's Lynn capital messuages, messuages, tenements and quays represented 69% of all such bequests by men and women. In all three towns, surviving spouses were remembered first followed by sons and then daughters. However, these statistics conceal the fact that for men in London and Bury St. Edmunds the properties left to their spouses were for life only, with surviving sons or daughters taking them over on the death of their mother.⁵¹ For example William Wotton, merchant of St. Lawrence Pountney left all his property in Thames Street and Wolsey Lane in the parishes of All Hallows the Less and St. Lawrence Pountney to his wife Margaret for life; on her death they were to pass to his son Nicholas in perpetuity.⁵² From Bury St. Edmund's Matthew Clogmaker's will is representative; he left his property and a shop in Glove Row to his wife Lucy for life which on her death were to pass to his two sons John and Richard. However if both sons were dead his executors were to sell the properties and the money was to be spent on pious and charitable works.⁵³

A small minority of the London wills provide fuller details of the location of property within the city. This information may provide details about property acquisition and sometimes the exact location of the properties concerned, enabling historical geographers to reconstruct the settlement patterns and street layouts in medieval London. For example, in 1394, the girdler John de Croydon owned two properties

⁵¹ Where property was left to the surviving spouse for life then to surviving sons or daughters only spouses are shown in Table 4.6. Where sons or daughters are shown in the table as receiving property there was no surviving spouse.

⁵² GL MS 9051/1, 1397, fols. 2^r-2^v. Wotton served as the alderman for Dowgate ward from 1387-92; A. B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of The City of London*, 2 vols (London, 1908-13), I, p. 400 where he is recorded as a woolmonger. He also enrolled his will, dated 24 August 1391 in the Husting Court; Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 375 and *CHW*, ii, pp. 361-2.

⁵³ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 55^v. His will is undated in the register.

which his widow Christine held for her lifetime only. Both of his properties were situated in the parish of St. Sepulchre without Newgate, but the exact location for only one is given. This tenement was located 'between the tenement of sir Roger Horewode, chaplain on the north side and the tenement belonging to the church of St. Dionis Backchurch in Lime Street to the south, and extending longitudinally to the King's highway on the east up to the tenement belonging to the hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate, that the mercer Thomas Cornerthe held on the west side'.⁵⁴ On Christine's death the properties were to pass to their daughter Matilda and her husband Roger Kendale and their lawful heirs in perpetuity. However, if they died without heirs the properties were to pass to John de Covyngton, broiderer the son of John de Covyngton, citizen and brewer.⁵⁵

The details regarding the location of real estate in the Bury St. Edmunds wills are not so precisely recorded. For example, Ralph Hankyn, occupation unknown, possessed a tenement in Colehalstrete situated between the tenements of Thomas Yoxford and Walter Spicer, plus two gardens with curtileges adjacent in the suburbs in Westgate, located between the lands of Ralph Rougham and John Landleche. These properties and lands were left to his wife Marian for her lifetime only. As the couple had no living children, on Marian's death Ralph's executors were directed to sell the properties and the money received was to be spent on masses and other charitable works for his soul and that of his wife Marian.⁵⁶

A number of testators had shops which were also left to close family members, and this emphasises the relative importance of the retail trade in all three towns. In London they account for 10% of the property bequests from men and 23% from

⁵⁴ For Cornerthe's will see *CHW* ii, pp. 212-3. His widow Helen's will is *CHW* ii, p. 222.

⁵⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1396 fols. 4r-4v. This level of detail regarding individual properties is more usually found in the Husting Wills and Deeds, but nevertheless, there are a number of wills with this level of detail in the Archdeacon's register.

⁵⁶ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 48v. His will is dated 26 August 1384 and was probated on 9 November 1384. His is one of the few wills that recorded the date of probate during the period of this study. For details of probate jurisdiction see Chapter One.

women, whilst for Bury the percentages are far less with just 3% from men and 7% from women. The difference among London and Bury women suggests that London women played a more prominent economic role than their counterparts in Bury. In both towns women passed on these shops, which they had inherited from their spouses to their children. The figure for Bishop's Lynn is much higher at 24%, although as noted above, we do not have the breakdown between the sexes.

Turning now to the disposition of movable goods, again the immediate family members received the bulk of these bequests. Beyond the immediate family, there were men and women belonging to the close kin group of relatives; fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, nephews and nieces, cousins and grandchildren. That testators chose to remember these family members in their wills emphasises the importance that the extended family played in their daily lives and the bequests that these testators made simply reinforced these family bonds. This is particularly so in the London wills, where their kin members may not have been living in close proximity to the testators concerned, but nevertheless testators wished to be remembered by the recipients of their bequests. For example John Welles a waterman of St. Michael Queenhithe remembered his grand-daughter, two nephews, a cousin, his sister and his mother in his will dated 30 November 1396; they received either small sums of money or kitchen goods.⁵⁷ Thomas Martyn's will is particularly interesting in the care that he took in ensuring members of his extended family were remembered. After setting aside 40s. for his funeral and burial fees he gave his mother Isobel 4 marks, his brother John was left 40s. whilst his other brother William was to have a white belt decorated with silver of Paris work. His sister Agnes was to have 40s. Agnes Brought his cousin had 13s. 4d. His cousin Cecile Setteryngton was given 5 marks, together with a wooden box and a tester of red worstead, and her brother Richard Setteryngton, mercer his cousin was given 10

⁵⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1396, fol. 16^v.

marks plus a covered bed, and a tester surrounded with red worsted curtains, a pair of blankets, two pairs of sheets two mattresses and a canvas [wall hanging?].⁵⁸

Christine Reynwell's will illustrates the lengths to which some testators went in disposing their goods and chattels. Christine who had previously been married to Robert Rydere was the widow of the alderman and ironmonger William Reynwell.⁵⁹ She was his second wife. Altogether Christine named fifty-nine people in her will, twenty-eight men and thirty-one women among whom she divided her money, clothes and household goods. Some of these men and women receiving small cash bequests, were presumably either friends, fellow parishioners or local tradesmen, of whom no other record has so far been traced. In all she distributed £89 10s. 1d. in personal bequests. Christine also left various bequests to members of her natal family: her married daughter Christine Chacombe received 10 marks.⁶⁰ Christine Reynwell's sister Sabine Felstede was left £20 plus bedding and household goods, possibly for her dowry. Two other brothers, or half-brothers, Richard and Roger Felstede received 20 marks and 10 marks respectively, and Richard was also given bedding. Her Reynwell relations were not forgotten either. She left 20s to William's brother John, her brother-in-law, and 6s. 8d. to his son Richard, her nephew. ⁶¹ Her stepsons Thomas and William each received 40s.⁶² Her step-nephew John, the son of William's other brother Thomas was to have 6s. 8d., whilst her adult step-son John received various items including cushions and benches from her hall and his two

⁵⁸GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fol. 3v.

⁵⁹ *LBG*, pp. 80, 252 and 270. Christine's will is GL MS 9051/1, 1408, fols. 4r–5r.

⁶⁰ She was the daughter from Christine's first marriage. Her daughter Christine's husband was Thomas Chacombe, grocer, and they had three sons, John, Thomas and William; *LBI*, p. 81. They also had a daughter Christine, who in addition to being the grand-daughter of Christine Reynwell, was also her god-daughter; see below, p.178.

⁶¹ John was also an ironmonger and was sheriff 1412–13, but never became an alderman like his brother; *CPMR1381–1412*, pp. 313, 315.

⁶² They were minors at the time as on 30 October 1409 John Reynwell, son of William Reynwell and John Weston, William's two executors gave an account to the city chamberlain regarding the patrimony of John, William, Thomas and Christina, William's other children and also the legacies bequeathed by William Reynwell, to his step-grandsons John, Thomas and William, the sons of Thomas Chacombe and Christine his wife; *LBI*, p. 81.

apprentices were each to have 3s. 4d.⁶³ Christine also made several substantial bequests to members of the Coroner family; John Coroner, described as her brother, received 40s., whilst his two daughters, her nieces, Johanna and Margaret received £10 and 10 marks respectively. Her other brother Richard also had two daughters, Christine and Isabel, her nieces; they received 10 marks and 5 marks respectively. Perhaps Christine had been born Christine Coroner. However, the exact relationship between John and Richard is unclear.⁶⁴ She emerges as a generous woman, conventionally pious, who remembered many people including family members, friends, tradesmen and their wives with whom she had dealt over the years.

None of the Bury wills provides as much detail as the London wills. However, John Haule, junior, a mercer, remembered his immediate family. His wife Katherine had his tenement in perpetuity plus all his household goods and utensils. His un-named sister had 20s. whilst his un-named nephews and nieces were to have 6s. 8d. each. John's brother Thomas had 40s. ⁶⁵ The evidence for Bury St. Edmunds suggests that family members were living nearer to the town so that more regular contact would have been possible. Full details are to be found in Table 4.7.

⁶³ John was a fishmonger who followed in his father's footsteps becoming an alderman from 1416-45; Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, pp. 363-4.

⁶⁴ A John Coroner fishmonger, is recorded in the city Letter Books in 1375/6 as standing surety for Richard Russel a seventeen year old who was granted his goods and chattels from the chamberlain; Coroner posted a bond of £100 to ensure that Richard did not sell his property or commit waste until he was twenty-one; *LBH*, p. 15.

⁶⁵ Haule was one of four mercers, whose wills are enrolled in Register Osbern. They were the entrepreneurs engaged in the marketing of textiles within the local community. See Merry, 'Urban Identities', table 4.2a, p. 138 and Dinn, 'Popular Religion', table 3.1, p. 111. For a discussion on the textile industry in Suffolk see M. Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 269-76. Haule's will is SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 135v. The other mercers' wills are those of Geoffrey de Hylbyrworye, John Rery and John Schalderford; *Ibid*, fols. 47^v, 94^v and 98^r.

Table 4.7. Bequests of movable goods in London and Bury St. Edmunds.⁶⁶**A. To immediate family members.**

London			Bury St. Edmunds		
Total number of wills mentioning immediate family bequests: 976			Total number of all wills mentioning immediate family bequests: 276		
Laymen: married or widower	No	%	Laymen: married or widower	No	%
No. of bequests to spouse	688	69		94	55
No. of bequests to sons	229	23		53	31
No. of bequests to daughters.	82	8		23	14
Total numbers of bequests	999	100		170	100
Lay women: married or widows			Lay women: widows		
No	%		No	%	
No. of bequests to spouse	4	8			
No. of bequests to sons	33	63		17	50%
No. of bequests to daughters.	15	29		17	50%
Total numbers of bequests	52	100		34	100

B. To members of the close kin group.

London					
Total number of wills mentioning bequests to close kin: 199					
Male testators	No	%	Female testators	No	%
No. of bequests to brothers	130	32		14	15
No. of bequests to sisters	81	20		26	27
No. of bequests to father	21	5		9	10
No. of bequests to mother	54	13		9	10
No. of bequests to nephew	21	5		4	4
No. of bequests to niece	17	4		4	4
No. of bequests to cousins	73	18		21	22
No. of bequests to grandchildren	13	3		8	8
Total numbers of bequests	410	100		95	100
Bury St. Edmunds					
Total number of wills mentioning bequests to close kin: 41					
Male testators	No	%	Female testators	No	%
No. of bequests to brothers	8	15		2	12.5
No. of bequests to sisters	12	23		2	12.5
No. of bequests to father	1	2		1	6
No. of bequests to mother	4	8		1	6
No. of bequests to nephew	12	23		2	12.5
No. of bequests to niece	4	8		1	6
No. of bequests to cousins	5	10		3	19.5
No. of bequests to grandchildren	6	11		4	25
Total numbers of bequests	52	100		16	100

Twenty one Londoners' wills (1.5%) have bequests to grandchildren: there were eleven named grandsons and ten named grand-daughters, with women more likely to remember grandchildren; women 8%, men 3%. Ten Bury St. Edmunds wills (3%) contain bequests to grand children, again with differences between grand-parents; 25% of women to 11% of men. For example, Juliana Glemsford, the widow of the London fishmonger Richard Glemsford, left 20s. to her grandson John, the son of her son Simon Codyngton, by a previous marriage.⁶⁷ Not all bequests were monetary.

⁶⁶ Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1. Register Osborn. The numbers for both sexes are compiled from married men and women, widowers and widows wills only.

⁶⁷ Richard had contributed five marks towards the costs of securing the city's return to favour following complaints against the city by the lords at the Gloucester parliament on 1

Robert Stanley citizen and chaloner of St. Martin Outwich, left his grand-daughter Katherine a number of household goods.⁶⁸ She was to have a coverlet with a tester decorated with lilies, three pairs of sheets and a pair of blankets, a mattress, two of his best brass pots and two best brass pottels, a latten dish, half a dozen garnished pewter vessels, a pewter pint pot and a pewter quart pot, six silver spoons and a mazer banded with silver with the image of St. Katherine in the middle, possibly left to her because her name was Katherine. These items were to be kept in the custody of Stanley's executors until Katherine came of age, or was married.⁶⁹

In Bury St. Edmunds bequests to grandchildren followed a similar pattern. Alice de Bradefeld a widow of St. Mary's parish left 20s. to each of her two grandsons John and Thomas and her two grand-daughters Alice and Leticia, who were the children of her daughter Agnes. Geoffrey Glemsford of St. James parish left a tenement in Cookrowe in the town first to his wife Alice for her life, then to his daughter Alice for her life and finally to her son Geoffrey, his grandson.⁷⁰

Cousins, usually noted as 'cognatus', were included in ninety-four (7%) of the London wills but in only eight wills (2%) in Bury St. Edmunds. Again, as with the bequests made to brothers and sisters, the disparity between London and Bury St. Edmunds testators suggests that London will-makers wished to remember their cousins, who probably lived in other parts of the country where the testators concerned still had family links. Whereas the Bury testators, were more likely to have come into contact

November 1378. The following year he was one of the four sub-collectors of the graduated Poll Tax levied by Parliament for Colman Street ward and was a member of the Common Council for Colman Street ward on 8 July 1384 and was present on 13 October 1384 at the election of Nicholas Brembre as mayor. *LBH* pp. 124, 131 and 239; *CPMR 1381-1412*, p. 85. Her will is GL MS 9051/1, fols. 2^v-3^r.

⁶⁸ A maker of 'chalons' used for coverlets and blankets. He was one of the two masters of the Chaloners' Company 1378/9; *LBH*, p. 96

⁶⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fols. 2^v-3^r and 1411, fols. 11^v-12^r.

⁷⁰ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 49^r-49^v and fols. 95^r-95^v. Glemsford's will was drafted on Saturday 1 February 1399/1400.

with members of their extended family on a more regular basis, thus the need may not perhaps have been as great to remember them with post-mortem bequests.

The choice of godparents was important. The church's marriage laws regarded godparenting as establishing a spiritual family relationship; as such godparents and godchildren were spiritual family and were prohibited from marrying each other. Godparents were most likely to have been friends, neighbours, guild members, masters or members of the secular clergy.⁷¹ Baptism was but one of a series of rituals accompanying important turning points in an individual's life, such as birth, puberty, marriage and death. It was an important 'rite of passage', whereby the natal kin of the infant were joined by the spiritual kin, the godparents.⁷² Godparents, then as now, were expected to ensure that their godchildren knew the basic beliefs of Christianity – the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* – and were also expected to arrange the child's confirmation. Each child was supposed to have three godparents; two men and a woman for boys and two women and a man for girls. Sometimes godparents were chosen from a higher social rank than that of the parents in the hope that they would act as patrons in the child's later life.⁷³

Thirty nine (3%) of London wills mention godchildren, twenty eight men and eleven women but only four wills (1%) from Bury St. Edmunds, those of two men and two women. This comparatively low figure confirms the conclusion of Robert Dinn that it was only towards the end of the medieval period that Bury testators began to remember godchildren in their wills. Since there is an almost unbroken run of probate registers, it is not the case that more wills survive for the later period.⁷⁴ Rather it would seem that the relationship between godparents and godchildren

⁷¹ B. Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London; the Experience of Childhood* (Oxford, 1993), p. 49.

⁷² What follows is based on Fleming, *Family*, pp. 61–62, and R. B. Dinn, 'Baptism, Spiritual Kinship and Popular Religion in Late medieval Bury St. Edmunds', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, vol 72, no. 3 (1990), pp. 93–106.

⁷³ Fleming, *Family*, p. 62.

⁷⁴ The volume covering the years 1483–90 does not survive.

became more significant in the later period.⁷⁵ As a rule boys were very often named after the principal godfather and girls after the principal godmother. John Welles, waterman left 3s. 4d. to his godson John Est, whilst Christine Reynewell had six god-daughters and all bar one were named after her: Isabel Wade who received 20s. Christine who was also her grand-daughter had 5 marks as did Christine Reynewell, her niece who was the daughter of her step-son John Reynwell. Christine Coroner, the daughter of Richard Coroner, Christine Cobbe and Christine Fouler, the daughter of Margaret Fouler were the other three god-daughters.⁷⁶ Christine Gibbe and Christine Fouler both received 6s. 8d. Christine's will is an example of someone of a higher social standing acting as a godparent.⁷⁷ Two of the London godparents were members of the secular clergy; Roger Hunte, chaplain of St. James Garlikhithe, had three goddaughters, Thomasina Wydermere, Isobel Martyn and Margaret Godfrey. They were each to have 20s.⁷⁸ The other chaplain John Witterney of St. Botolph, Billingsgate, left 12d. to each of his un-named godchildren.⁷⁹ There are examples also of apprentice masters acting as godparents as indicated in the will of the goldsmith Thomas Foxecote, who had been apprenticed to Dru Barentyn. Foxcote named his son Dru in honour of his master who in turn became the boy's godfather.⁸⁰

The four Bury wills all occur towards the end of this study period, two in 1410, one in 1411 and one in 1413. Three of the four were parishioners of St. James's. The widow Isobel Turnour left her god-daughter Johanna Lenne a mattress, possibly a gift

⁷⁵ Dinn, 'Popular Religion', pp. 288–303, and table 7.11.

⁷⁶ A Richard Coroner, draper appears in the city letter books in 1405 amongst a number of drapers providing surety for Henry Herte as keeper of the Seld at Bakwelhalle (Blackwell Hall); *LBI*, p. 42. It is possible that this is the father of Christine Coroner her god-daughter.

⁷⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1396, fol. 16^v; 1408, fols. 4^r-5^r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, 1393, fols. 13^v-14^r. Hunte was one of seven chaplains in St. James' church each paying 2s. to the clerical taxation of 1379; A. K. McHardy, ed., *The Church in London, 1375-1392* London Record Society, 13 (1977), p. 8, no. 47.

⁷⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1406, fol. 6^v.

⁸⁰ *ibid*, 1393, fols. 18^v-19^r. See Lorna E. M. Walker, 'Barentyn, Drew (c. 1350-1415)' <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52160> accessed 23 June 2011. B. Hanawalt, *Growing Up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 45-51 discusses the role of godparents and godchildren.

towards her marriage, whilst Walter Cook left 40d. to his godson John Bette; interestingly, neither godchild was named after the godparent. Johanna Overton left her god-daughter Johanna Slater and her godson John Sawyer a bushel of barley each (note the names); was this to be used for brewing ale or for milling into flour? Finally the mercer Thomas Haule junior left 20d to each of his un-named godsons.⁸¹ Thus for the testators of Bury St. Edmunds, godchildren were not frequently remembered beneficiaries in the early fifteenth century, unlike London. This was to change during the course of the fifteenth century when more testators remembered godchildren in their wills.⁸²

There are 127 (9%) London wills which refer to apprentices; 117 by men and ten by women, who were all widows. Just five men out of the total of 358 Bury wills remembered their apprentices. In London, sixty-nine masters had one apprentice, and fifty had two or more. Four of the London wills refer to female apprentices.⁸³ The tailor Elias Hore had four apprentices, three boys and a girl; the boys were to complete their terms with his widow Cecile, but the girl Isobel Cooke was to receive bed linen towards her dowry. The widow Johanna Wodewey of St. Antholin Budge Row, left 4 marks to her apprentice Margaret, and the painter Richard Chapman left 20s. and 6s. 8d. respectively to his wife Rose's apprentices Margaret and Alice for their marriages. Rose's craft is not clear from the will. The girdler John Welbe of St. Mary Aldermanbury left his apprentice Alice Kaspé a coverlet, a tester of green and blue, a pair of better quality sheets and a pewter dish.⁸⁴ Two Bury St. Edmunds masters had one apprentice and three had two. The types of bequests, principally cash, goods, tools, clothes and bedding were similar in both towns. Tables 4.8 a and

⁸¹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 126^r–126^v; 131^r; 133^v and 135^v.

⁸² Dinn, 'Popular Religion', p. 292, table 7.1 shows the rise in the number of testators remembering godchildren between 1439–1530.

⁸³ On female apprentices in London see S. R. Hovland 'Girls as Apprentices in Later Medieval London' in M. P. Davies and A. Prescott, eds., *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 16 (Donnington, 2008), pp. 179–94.

⁸⁴ G.L. MS. 9051/1, 1409, fol. 10^v; 1411, fol. 2^r; 1412, fols. 12^v–13^r and fol. 6^v.

4.8 b below have full details of numbers of apprentices in households and bequests made by testators to their apprentices.

Table 4.8a. Apprentices in London and Bury St. Edmunds Households.⁸⁵

London					
Total no. of wills 1384					
Male lay testators wills referring to apprentices	117	%	Female testators wills referring to apprentices	10	%
No of bequests to one apprentice	66	56		3	30
No. of bequests to more than one apprentice	44	38		6	60
No. of bequests to former apprentice[s]	7	6		1	10
Bury St. Edmunds					
Total no. of wills 358					
Male testators wills referring to apprentices	5	%	Female testators wills referring to apprentices	0	%
No of bequests to one apprentice	2	40			
No. of bequests to more than one apprentice	3	60			
No. of bequests to former apprentice[s]					

Table 4.8b. Types of bequests to apprentices in London and Bury St. Edmunds.

London					
Male lay testators wills	117	%	Female testators wills	10	%
No. of bequests of cash, goods, clothes	65	55		8	80
No. of bequests of tools of craft	7	6			
No. of bequests reducing length of terms*	13	11		1	10
No. of bequests transferring training to widow**	24	21			
No. of bequests transferring training to others	8	7		1	10
*includes 3 with tools of craft.					
** includes 6 with cash sums					
Bury St. Edmunds					
Total no. of wills 358					
Male lay testators wills	5	%	Female testators wills	0	%
No. of bequests of cash, goods, clothes	3	60			
No. of bequests of tools of craft	1	20			
No. of bequests reducing length of terms					
No. of bequests transferring training to widow					
No. of bequests transferring training to others	1	20			

Table 4.8b shows that twenty four London testators transferred the terms of their apprentices to their wives for completion often with the condition that they were to accept her good governance and with the incentive that their terms would be reduced by at least one or two years often with a cash sum too. The whitetawyer William Makerell of St. Bride's Fleet Street reduced by one year the terms of his two apprentices William Salmon and Richard Lake, whilst John Doncastre senior, of St. Anne and St. Agnes, Aldersgate remitted two years from the apprenticeship of John Bernard, with the instruction that John was to complete his apprenticeship with

⁸⁵ Sources: GL MS 9051/1 and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern.

Doncastre's cousin John Doncastre junior.⁸⁶ Sometimes the transfer came with different conditions. For example, the plumber Thomas Breve of St. Benet Fink had three apprentices, Bartholomew, Martin and Richard. Alice his wife retained all the rights and terms of their apprenticeship unless she remarried outside her husband's trade, in which case the terms and their governance passed to Thomas' executors.⁸⁷ On other occasions, masters granted a conditional release of their terms to their apprentices. Alice Holbook's late husband Robert was a weaver. On his death in 1399 she had taken over the training of his un-named apprentices. In her own will drafted on 2 March 1399/1400, but not proved until 9 April 1404, she granted the apprentices their release plus 3s. 6d. each provided that they completed the weaving of all the cloth that they had in her house.⁸⁸

Finally, the bonds of friendship between master and apprentice that had developed during the years of training were remembered by their former masters. In total, six men and one woman, all from London, left bequests to former apprentices. In 1405 the goldsmith John Goodman alias Fraunceys remembered three former apprentices, William Goldsborough, William Hope and Raymond Chambre; each was to receive 40s.⁸⁹

From the total of 1384 wills in the London sample, there are just 142 wills which refer to servants, ninety-two men from a total of 1143 wills (8%) and fifty women from a total of 241 wills (21%). In Bury St. Edmunds forty-four of the 358 wills refer to servants, thirty-three men from a total of 292 wills (11%) and eleven women from a total of

⁸⁶ GL MS 9051/1, 1408, fol. 3^r and 1403, fol. 1^r.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 1410, fol.16^v. Although Thomas was a plumber, he appears to have been a member of the tailors' fraternity, as he left his silk cap and fur edged cloak of the tailors' fraternity to his brother-in-law Thomas Boone. See M. Davies, 'The Tailors of London: Corporate Charity in the Late Medieval Town' in R. Archer, ed., *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 161-90, table 1, p. 168 shows that admissions by tailors between 1398-1445 was 487 (10.36 per annum) and by non-tailors for the same period was double the amount, 1031 (21.93 per annum).

⁸⁸ Robert's will is GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fol. 5^v and Alice's will is 1403, fol. 16^v and 1404, fol. 1^r.

⁸⁹Ibid, 1405, fols. 14^v-16^v. See also Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 342 and Jefferson, *Goldsmiths'*, p. 268 Chambre and p. 326 Hope. Raymond Chambre was admitted a serving man in 1402/3 and entered the yeomanry of the Company in the following year.

sixty-six wills (21%). In the main bequests to servants, and in the case of twenty-eight London wills, thirteen by men and fifteen by women to former servants, were either cash sums, clothes, bedding or goods. The bequests to former servants indicates the close bond and trust that had developed during the time that they had worked for their masters and mistresses, for which, when the time came to draw up their testaments, these men and women were not forgotten. The will of Christine Reynewell serves as an example of an employer remembering servants and former servants. Alice her servant received 6s. 8d. whilst her three former servants Isabel, Isabel Payne and Thomas Wydermere received respectively 3s. 4d., 3s. 4d. and a pair of sheets and 20d.⁹⁰ Tables 4.9a and 4.9b have full details.

Table 4.9a. Number of testators leaving bequests to servants in London and Bury St. Edmunds.

London					
Male wills mentioning servants: 92 from 1143 male wills = 8%			Female wills mentioning servants: 50 from 241 female wills = 21%		
Types of bequests	No.	%		No.	%
No. of bequests of cash	43	47	No. of bequests of cash	21	42
No. of bequests of clothes	27	29	No. of bequests of clothes	13	26
No. of bequests of bedding	9	10	No. of bequests of bedding	9	18
No. of bequests of tools of craft	4	4	No. of bequests of tools of craft		
No. of bequests of goods	6	7	No. of bequests of goods	6	12
No. of bequests of property	2	2	No. of bequests of property	1	2
No. of bequests of livestock	1	1	No. of bequests of livestock		
Total number	92	100	Total number	50	100
Bury St. Edmunds					
Male wills mentioning servants: 33 from 292 male wills = 11%			Female wills mentioning servants: 11 from 66 female wills = 17%		
Types of bequests	No.	%		No.	%
No. of bequests of cash	16	49	No. of bequests of cash	8	73
No. of bequests of clothes	4	12	No. of bequests of clothes	1	9
No. of bequests of bedding	3	9	No. of bequests of bedding	1	9
No. of bequests of tools of craft	2	6	No. of bequests of tools of craft		
No. of bequests of goods	4	12	No. of bequests of goods	1	9
No. of bequests of property	3	9	No. of bequests of property		
No. of bequests of livestock	1	3	No. of bequests of livestock		
Total number	33	100	Total number	11	100

Table 4.9b. Number of testators leaving bequests to former servants and nurses in London

London					
Male wills mentioning former servants: 13 from 1143 male wills = 1%			Female wills mentioning former servants: 15 from 241 female wills = 6%		
Types of bequests	No.	%		No.	%
No. of bequests of cash	8	62		7	47
No. of bequests of clothes	2	15		2	13
No. of bequests of bedding				5	33
No. of bequests of goods				1	7
No. of bequests of cash to nurse	3	23			
Total number	13	100	Total number	15	100

⁹⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1408, fols. 4^r-5^r.

What tables 4.8a and 4.9a reveal is that in London more wills refer to apprentices than in Bury, but that servants are referred to in broadly similar percentages in both towns. However, what table 4.9a reveals is that far more women mention servants than men in London and Bury St. Edmunds. This should come as no surprise since most female testators were widows and, in the absence of children, servants would have been very important.⁹¹ Table 4.9b shows that twenty-eight London wills refer to former servants and three contain bequests to nurses, all from men, none of the Bury wills refers either to former servants or nurses.

Servants receiving tools were most likely to have been time-served apprentices who continued working for their masters, but had yet to accumulate sufficient working capital to set up on their own account. John Thurok, the London white-tawyer left his servant Hugh Spae his best fur edged gown and all the tools from his shop; clearly Hugh would have been able to carry on trading in his own right. From Bury St. Edmunds Nicholas Combre of St. Mary's parish, trade unknown, left Thomas his servant his shop for one year together with all the tools in it; again was this helping Thomas to begin trading in his own right?⁹² Two testators in each town left horses to their servants. The London carter Richard Botiller left his black horse called 'Balle' to his servant John Northerne; he also had a grey horse which he left to John Goldhanke, wine drawer. John Wolman of Bury St. Edmunds was in all probability a carter as well. In his will dated 9 September 1401 he left each of his two servants a horse with a pack saddle and cloth.⁹³

⁹¹ See Barron, *Widows*, p. xxxiii.

⁹² GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fol. 12^r and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 121^r.

⁹³ GL MS 9051/1, 1407 fol. 7^r and SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 111^v-112^r. On carters see Claire Anne Martin 'Transport for London 1250-1550', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 2008), Appendix G; Calendar of known Commercial Carters and Carmen, 1395-1577.

Having divided up their estates, testators turned to the question of whom to appoint as their executors to carry out their wishes. Tables 4.10a and 4.10b provide full details.

Table 4.10a. The relationship of executors appointed by testators in London⁹⁴

London								
Total no. of wills: 1384								
Male testators wills: 1143 (82%)								
Marital status	married	%	widower	%	unspecified	%	Clergy	%
Number	729	71	72	7	227	22	115	8
Principal Executors either acting with others or as sole executor								
Spouse	711	98						
Son	61	8	15	21				
Daughter	2	0.3	2	3				
Father	3	0.4	1	1.5	2	1		
Mother	6	0.8			5	2.25	2	1.5
Brother	30	4	1	1.5	14	6	4	3
Sister	1	0.15	2	3	3	1.5		
Uncle			2	3	1	0.5		
Godfather					1	0.5		
Nephew	1	0.15			1	0.5	1	0.75
Niece								
Cousin	9	1.25	3	4	4	1.75	4	3
Apprentice	2	0.3						
Servant	1	0.15						
Clergy	45	6	10	14	38	17	73	63
Others	58	8	38	53	146	64	36	31
female testators wills: 241 (18%)								
Marital status	married	%	widow	%	unspecified	%		
Number	8	3	167	69	66	28		
Principal Executors either acting with others or as sole executor								
Spouse	8	100						
Son			35	21				
Daughter			8	5				
Father								
Mother			2	1				
Brother	1	12.5	8	5				
Sister			2	1				
Uncle								
Godfather								
Nephew			1					
Niece								
Cousin			1					
Apprentice								
Servant								
Clergy	1	12.5	35	21	17	26		
Others	6	75	112	67	41	62		

⁹⁴ Source: GL MS 9051/1

Table 4.10b. The relationship of executors appointed by testators Bury St. Edmunds.⁹⁵

Bury St. Edmunds								
Total no. of wills: 358								
Male testators wills: 292 (82%)								
Marital status	married	%	widower	%	unspecified	%	Clergy	%
Number	213	79	17	6	38	15	24	7
Principal Executors either acting with others or as sole executor								
Spouse	111	52						
Son	29	14	3	18				
Daughter	1	0.5						
Father	2	1						
Mother					1	2.5	2	8
Brother	7	3	1	6	4	10		
Sister	1	0.5						
Uncle								
Godfather								
Nephew								
Niece								
Cousin								
Apprentice								
Servant								
Clergy	31	15	6	36	12	32	12	50
Others	63	30	7	41	15	39	10	42
Female testators wills: 66 (18%)								
Marital status	married	%	widow	%	unspecified	%		
Number			46	70	20	30		
Principal Executors either acting with others or as sole executor								
Spouse								
Son			6	13				
Daughter			1	2				
Father								
Mother								
Brother			1	2	2	10		
Sister					1	5		
Uncle								
Godfather								
Nephew								
Niece								
Cousin								
Apprentice								
Servant								
Clergy			19	41	6	30		
Others			19	41	11	55		

The majority of testamentary executors were members of the nuclear family. Amongst the married men in London the majority appointed their wives: 711 (98%) from a total of 729 wills of known married men, either acting as sole executrix, or with other nuclear family members, sons or, occasionally daughters, or as supervisors of the appointed executors. This is in marked contrast to the married men's wills of Bury St. Edmunds, where only 111 (52%) married men appointed their wives from a total of 213 wills of known married men. The explanation for the difference in practice between the married men in both towns is not clear but was, in all probability, due to

⁹⁵ Source: SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern

the enhanced role that women played in London by comparison with women in Bury.⁹⁶ Sixty-one married men's sons (8%) in the London wills were appointed as executors of their fathers' wills compared with twenty-nine (14%) in the Bury St. Edmunds wills. Fifteen London widowers, out of seventy-two (21%) also appointed their sons; the higher percentage figure no doubt compensating for the loss of a spouse, who would otherwise have been appointed. Only three Bury widowers out of a total of seventeen (17%) chose their sons. Widows too appointed their sons; thirty-five London widows from a total of 167 (21%) compared with six from a total of forty-five widows (11%) from Bury St. Edmunds. Daughters were chosen much less frequently than sons; two married men, two widowers and eight widows chose their daughters as executors, either with their husbands, sons-in-law, or other persons, in London, but only two, a married man and a widow, did so in Bury St. Edmunds

Parents, brothers and sisters were also appointed as executors in both towns. In the London wills amongst the laity, thirty married men and a widower included their brothers among their executors, whilst within the ranks of the secular clergy four included their brothers. A further fourteen wills by men of unknown marital status, but possibly single, included their brothers. One married woman and eight widows chose brothers too. Sisters were chosen less frequently; six men (one married, two widowers and three of unknown marital status) and two widows did so in London. For Bury St. Edmunds the figures are significantly lower; seven married men, a widower, four of unknown marital status and two members of the secular clergy included their brothers, and three women, a widow and two of unknown marital status. Fathers and mothers occur less often; for most testators the majority of fathers would have been dead for some time, whereas their mothers, who would have been younger than their husbands and might well have remarried, particularly in London, are appointed more often. Eleven laymen, six married men and five of unspecified status and two clerics in London included their mothers amongst their executors and

⁹⁶ Barron, *Widows*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

two widows also chose mothers. Only three Bury men, one of unspecified status and two clerics included their mothers. Interestingly neither fathers nor mothers were chosen by women in London and Bury St. Edmunds as executors. But the frequent choice of women by testators of both sexes and in both towns shows that women were more than able executors.

Many testators appointed amongst their executors either their parish clerks or members of the secular clergy. These were chaplains for the most part, but occasionally in London the executors were their parish priests, all of whom may have assisted in the writing of the wills. These parish clerks, and clerics would have guided the testators in the testamentary process and would also have known how to prove the will.⁹⁷ In the London sample forty-five married men (6%), ten widowers (14%) and thirty-eight of unspecified status (17%) included members of the secular clergy among their executors. Amongst women's wills, one married woman, thirty-five widows (21%) and seventeen of unspecified status (26%) also chose the clergy. That women, for the most part widows, chose clerics as executors is not surprising, they had to look beyond the family for support in a way that men did not and the parish clergy were part of this support. Amongst clerical testators, not surprisingly seventy-three (63%) from a total of 115 clerical testators chose their fellow clergymen to dispose of their estates. In the Bury wills thirty one-married men (15%), six widowers (36%) and twelve of unspecified status (32%) had members of the secular clergy included amongst their executors. In addition there were nineteen widows (41%) and six of unspecified status (30%) who also chose clerics. Amongst the clerical testators twelve (50%) from the total of twenty-four clergy testators appointed members of their profession among their executors. Whilst members of the regular clergy received bequests, none of the testators in London or Bury St. Edmunds appointed regulars as executors.

⁹⁷ The subject of execution of the will and the role that members of the secular clergy played is discussed in greater detail in Chapter One.

Some testators combined family membership with clerical status; the widower Robert Brighty, a London girdle maker appointed his son Robert, a chaplain as his principal executor in his will dated 17 February 1412/13 and two London widows Alice Skarlet and Felicia Ramseye appointed their chaplain sons, Thomas and Ralph as their executors; both were to act as sole executors.⁹⁸ In Bury St. Edmunds Margaret Welyngham a widow from Westlee in the suburbs of the town, appointed her chaplain son John as one of her two executors.⁹⁹ Amongst the London wills, members of the secular clergy were sometimes appointed to supervise the work of the lay executors; Richard Bryce of St. Sepulchre without Newgate appointed John the parish chaplain there to supervise the work of his two executors John Tipirton and Richard Hoke fellow parishoners.¹⁰⁰ In all forty-three men and sixteen women used members of the secular clergy from their parishes to supervise the execution of their wills. Unlike their London counterparts, no wills made by the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds appointed any members of the secular clergy to supervise their executors. Possibly these men and women preferred to use a family member or business associate to carry out this task rather than a member of the secular clergy. However, with only two parish churches there were fewer clergy available for this task.

Beyond the immediate family and their kin, friends, associates and neighbours were also used as executors, particularly in the absence of family members. This is particularly, but not exclusively the case, amongst the widows, widowers and those of unknown marital status as well as some members of the secular clergy in both towns. In the London wills fifty-eight married men (8%), thirty-eight widowers (53%) and 146 of unspecified marital status (64%) appointed friends, neighbours or associates, both men and women, to act for them. A further thirty-six clerical testators (31%) chose fellow parishoners. It should come as no surprise that more

⁹⁸. GL MS 9051/1, 1414, fols. 2^v-3^r; 1393, fol.17^v and 1409, fol.5^r.

⁹⁹. SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 89^r.

¹⁰⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fol. 3^r.

widows appointed their fellow parishioners, friends and neighbours; there are 112 widows' wills (67%) and thirty-six wills of women of unspecified status (62%) who, in the absence of family members, relied on their friends and neighbours, or sometimes members of their late husbands' craft, to carry out their last wishes. The widow Agnes Salman's late husband Walter was a girdler, and she appointed two girdlers, William Rattistoste and Ralph Ans as her executors; both were to be supervised by her close friend Agnes Sewele. Alice Bromwych, the widow of Richard Bromwych draper, chose a draper Thomas Baker and a brazier John Bowland as her executors.¹⁰¹ However, six married women (75%) also included non-kin members amongst their executors. For example, Katherine Cyfrewast, of St. Martin Pomeroy, had been the widow of the mercer and alderman Adam Stable, but after his death in 1386 had then married Sir John Cyfrewast. In her will of 1403 she appointed the mercer brothers Alan and Richard Everard as her executors.¹⁰² Amongst the Bury St. Edmunds testators eighty-five laymen; sixty-three married men, seven widowers and fifteen of unspecified marital status chose 'non kin' members as their executors, whilst a further ten clerical testators chose similar individuals. Nineteen widows and eleven unspecified marital status women did the same.

Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated how crucially important was the role that the immediate family and members of the extended family played in the lives of the men and women living in London and Bury St. Edmunds at the end of the fourteenth

¹⁰¹ GL MS 9051, 1413, fols. 6^v-7^r and fols. 3^r-3^v.

¹⁰² Ibid, 1403, fol. 6^v. Adam Stable had been alderman for Coleman Street Ward from 1372 until 1375 when he transferred to Cheap Ward where he continued to serve as alderman until 1380-81: Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 367; *LBH*, p. 7. See also *CPMR 1381-1412*, pp. 72 and 127 concerning property transactions by Katherine as Adam's widow in 1384/5 and in 1386 with her new husband John. Alan Everard was appointed as one of the auditors of the London Bridge accounts on 24 September 1399; *LBH*, p. 449. He played an active part in civic government from 1399 onwards including representing the city in Parliament in 1404 and again in 1413 and had become an alderman and had been elected sheriff in 1415 until 1418; *LBI*, pp. 33, 121 and 143 and Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 338. See also his biography in J. S. Roskell, L. Clark and C. Rawcliffe, eds., *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386-1421*, 4 vols (Woodbridge, 1993), vol 3, E-O, pp. 43-45.

and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The wills reveal that it was crucial to make adequate provision for the surviving wives and children. These widows in London and Bury, like those in Bishop's Lynn were well provided for.¹⁰³

The differences between the married men of both towns in appointing their wives as executors of their wills has been noted. The reasons for these considerable differences are unclear, but several possibilities are suggested. First, the majority of the London wills are *testaments* which deal with the movable goods, whereas in Bury many more are both last will and testaments. Second, wives of London citizens (freemen) were expected to continue their husbands businesses and take over the completion of the training of apprentices. This does not seem to be the case of wives in Bury St. Edmunds.¹⁰⁴

Children were important to these will-makers in many ways, not least in continuing their line. Testators needed to ensure that there was adequate provision in their wills for their maintenance, and that of their mothers. Those Londoners who were freemen used the court of orphans, to ensure that their children's patrimony was administered appropriately by guardians appointed by the mayor and aldermen. The will of the cutler Richard Twyford and the evidence of the city records demonstrates how the system operated.¹⁰⁵ There were no equivalent provisions or safeguards for the non citizens of London, or for the inhabitants in Bury St. Edmunds where perhaps other family members were appointed to bring up the children. Bury was a smaller and more tightly-knit community than London.

Widows too had an important role to play, apart from acting as their husbands' executors. They had the task of bringing up the children, and often, where the

¹⁰³ Beauroy, 'Family', pp. 32-33, tables 2.6 and 2.7

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p.30, table 2.5 has figures of 33 wives from a total of 108 wills (31%) were appointed executors of their husbands' estates.

¹⁰⁵ See above pp.158-9.

husband had children from a previous marriage, step-children, managing the household, servants and apprentices. The supervision of apprentices was transferred to widows in twenty-four London wills, but there are no such transfers in Bury St. Edmunds. Perhaps the difference could be attributed to Bury's testators agreeing to transfer their apprentices to complete their terms by other members of the same craft prior to the drawing up of their wills.

Members of the extended family, particularly brothers and sisters were also important; again the difference between London and Bury St. Edmunds is considerable. This suggests that for London, brothers and sisters might not be in close proximity unlike their counterparts in Bury St. Edmunds. Cousins, nephews and nieces and grandchildren were important too as were godchildren the latter more so in London than Bury St. Edmunds, and many testators in both towns included extended family members in their wills. As has been demonstrated the secular clergy also played an important role in the lives of men and women in both towns often being chosen as executors or supervisors. This is more apparent in London than in Bury St. Edmunds, where there was a greater pool of clerics available. However, perhaps we should keep in mind that all the topics discussed in this chapter are based upon the 'intentions' of individual testators in the division of their estates as recorded in their wills. What we do not know, because there are no surviving inventories which would have been originally presented to the church court officials together with the original will, is whether what was 'desired' on the part of testators was accomplished by their executors.

Chapter Five. Literacy, Education and Book ownership.

'Item, I give to Agnes Eggesfeld 40s. and my book called *Piers Plowman*. Item, I give to John Charteris 40s. and all my books covering both physic and surgery, and my silver decorated box, together with 16 caskets and the leather cover that belongs to the box. Item, I give to the church of St. Alphage above, my annotated portiforium. Item, I give my breviary to William, chaplain to John Hore.'¹

This extract is taken from the will of William Palmere, the Rector of St. Alphage, Cripplegate who was among the growing number of well educated clerics serving in London churches at the end of the fourteenth century, who owned a number of books. He had books on medicine and physic, which he does not describe in detail. We do not know if he undertook any medical duties within his parish or in the nearby hospital of St. Mary, known as Elsingspital. As well owning a number of service books, which he would have used during his parochial duties, Palmere also owned a copy of Langland's epic poem *Piers Plowman*.² Palmere's will also names the recipients of his books, and it has been possible to find out something about them.³

Between 1380 and 1415 seventy-three (5%) London wills and seven (2%) Bury St Edmunds wills record ownership of books. In London forty-nine (43%) members of the clergy bequeathed books, twenty-two laymen and four lay women.⁴ In Bury St. Edmunds three of the clergy bequeathed books, three laymen and one lay women. The majority were liturgical books, which the clerical owners would have used on a daily basis in the parish churches in London and Bury St. Edmunds. Some clerical testators possessed a considerable number of books including both didactic and

¹ G L MS 9051/1, 1400, fols. 5^v-6^r translated from the Latin original.

² D. Pearsall, ed., *Piers Plowman by William Langland: An edition of the C text* (London, 1978), p. 9. The most recent comprehensive work on the *Piers Plowman* manuscripts is A. V. C. Schmidt, ed., *Piers Plowman: A Parallel-Text Edition of the A, B, C and Z Versions* (Kalamazoo, 2010).

³ See R. A. Wood, 'A Fourteenth Century owner of *Piers Plowman*', *Medium Aevum*, 53 (1984), pp. 83-90.

⁴ Sylvia Thrupp found that 'About 20% of fifteenth-century wills of personal property mention a few books; in half the cases they were all liturgical and devotional-mass books, missals, psalters and primers': Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 161.

secular works. Two London clerics owned medical books.⁵ On the death of these clerical testators, their service books were often given to their parish church for use by their successors, or usually, supplementing service books already there.⁶ Apart from bequests to their parish churches, the clergy left their books either to other clerics, family members or occasionally, to friends.

The laity too possessed didactic and secular works. For example, Nicholas Hotot woolmonger owned two such works; he had a copy of the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. He also owned a copy of Layamon's *Brut*, or *The Chronicle of Britain*, a secular work on the history of England.⁷ The possession of books by the laity does not necessarily indicate that the owners were literate in the modern sense of the word. Books, which were expensive to produce, could be acquired as status objects signifying the owners position and the wealth which enabled them to purchase these books. As long ago as 1925, C. L. Kingsford wrote

'Certainly the capacity to read and write was no longer an accomplishment confined to the clerical class, indeed, some of the worst letter writers are to be found amongst the lower clergy. In the merchant's office a capacity to read and write must have long been required';⁸

When we examine the owners, their books and the recipients in this study, we begin to get a clearer picture of the literacy, or otherwise, of the individuals concerned and, by implication, of the recipients also.⁹ These aspects will be developed further in this chapter. The question of what constituted 'literacy' in the Middle Ages is not easy to

⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fol. 18^v, John Pychard, who described himself as a 'simple chaplain' and 1400, fols. 5^v-6^r, William Palmere, the rector of St. Alphage.

⁶ On books in parish churches see Fiona Kisby, 'Books in London Parish Churches before 1603: Some Preliminary Observations' in C. M. Barron and J. Stratford, eds., *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society; Studies in Honour of Professor R.B. Dobson*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies XI, (Donnington, 2002), pp. 305-26.

⁷ His will is GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fols. 11^v-2^r. On the ownership of copies of the *Brut*, see especially Lister M Matheson, ed., *The Prose Brut: the development of a Middle English Chronicle*, (Arizona, 1998), pp. 9-16, where he states that the majority of owners of this work in London were drawn from the mercantile elite. Hotot's father, Nicholas I, was a Common Councilman for the ward of Walbrook in 1355/6; LBG, p. 61. For Nicholas Hotot and his family background, see below pp. 222-4.

⁸ C. L. Kingsford, *Prejudice and Promise in XV Century England* (Oxford, 1925), p. 35. For a detailed study of the development of writing skills of Londoners see M. Richardson, *Middle-Class Writing in Late Medieval London* (London, 2011), particularly Chapter 3.

⁹ See S. Lindenbaum, 'London texts and literate practice' in D. Wallace, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 284-309.

define but the ability to understand written documents (especially about credit and debt) was widespread from at least the fourteenth century by merchants and artisans as their livelihood depended upon this facility. In the context of this chapter 'literacy' is meant the ability of testators to understand the written word even without necessarily being able to read adequately by modern standards, or to write at all.¹⁰

In any study of literacy religious or lay, we need to consider what forms of education were available at the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Education, then as now, was also seen as a way of moving up the social scale. London especially, was well placed for the development of all kinds of education for both boys and girls. It was near to the royal court at Westminster, which offered employment to clerks. Often they were drawn from the ranks of the clergy and careers could be made in the service of the Crown: gifted administrators were often rewarded with ecclesiastical benefices at the end of their careers. As a trading centre London also needed educated laymen to keep business records for the merchants and their respective trade companies. The administration of the city at the Guildhall required clerks to record the deliberations of the mayor and aldermen and to keep written records. The Sheriffs' Court and the Husting Court in the city and the law courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas at Westminster provided further opportunities for employment. In excess of two hundred parish clerks, mainly obscure, were also offered employment for the one hundred parish churches; these men would have relied on their literate skills for their livelihood.¹¹ That parish clerks were valued by the majority of Londoners, is shown by the 617 bequests to them recorded in the Archdeacon's probate register.

The role of professional writing laymen, usually described as *scriptores* in the wills of Londoners has already been discussed in Chapter One. The names of these professionals, such as John Cossier, Robert Fraunceys and Robert Huntyngton appear in

¹⁰ The question of what constituted literacy is discussed in M. Richardson, *Middle-Class Writing in Late Medieval London* (London, 2011) especially at pp. 3-4 and 9-10 and notes cited.

¹¹ Lindenbaum, 'London texts', p. 287.

the Archdeacon's probate register witnessing wills, and by implication, drafting them too; they were employed for this purpose.¹²

The last quarter of the fourteenth century saw the growing use of English as a legal, governmental, business and literary language. Literary skills were no longer the sole preserve of the religious, the nobility and gentry: townspeople, merchants and artisans, needed to be able to read and write too. For most of these individuals, English was their only language, so they needed to be taught in their native language rather than in Latin or French. That English was beginning to be used on a more regular basis as the medium of written communication, especially in London, is evident in the surviving records. The first mayoral proclamation written in English was recorded in the city's Letter Books in 1383, and the first surviving English will in London was drawn up in 1387.¹³ The first English will in the Archdeacon's register was drafted on 26 December 1400.¹⁴

In the city of London it was possible to acquire these skills and to pursue them at different levels of attainment. However, these linguistic changes do not appear to have been formalised or regulated: they only rarely attracted the attention of the mayor and aldermen, the Crown, or Parliament. Our perception of the changes taking place in education is impressionistic and dependent upon the survival of particular records: casual references to books and schoolmasters and money for schooling found in wills or in legal cases, or property deeds, company accounts or inscriptions in surviving manuscripts. As Caroline Barron has written, 'These references testify to an unselfconscious and largely unregulated provision of 'learning skills' for boys and girls in the metropolis.'¹⁵

¹² See pp. 52-53 for a detailed discussion of these writing professionals.

¹³ Robert Corn, citizen of London: GL MS 9171/1, fol.198^v. His will is printed in R.W. Chambers and M. Daunt, eds., *A Book of London English 1384-1425* (Oxford, 1931), pp. 209-10.

¹⁴ Riley, *Memorials*, pp. 480 -1; GL MS 9051/1, 1400, fols. 11^v-12^r (John Tyrell), craft unknown.

¹⁵ C. M. Barron, 'The Expansion of Education in Fifteenth-Century London' in J. Blair and B. Golding, eds., *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval history in honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 218-245, at p. 221.

Whilst considerable written material has survived, especially from the fourteenth century onwards, we have very little information about how the authors, clerks and scribes were educated. Four of the testators in the Archdeacon's register provided money for the education of children. In 1399 Richard Whyte, a smith of St. Katherine Cree, left 20s. to pay for the schooling of his son Nicholas'.¹⁶ Nine years later in 1408, the twice widowed Johanna Panton of St. Matthew Friday Street, left 100s. to pay for the schooling of her grandson John, the son of Robert Broun, her son by her first husband the goldsmith John Broun, who had been warden of the Goldsmiths' Company.¹⁷ Following the death of her first husband, Johanna married another goldsmith Thomas Panton.¹⁸ The third testator to provide for schooling was Robert Belamy, whose craft was not recorded, who drew up his will on 30 October 1405. Among the various bequests he left his best dagger with silver decorations and 20s. to his cousin Thomas Bellamy, and he instructed his wife Matilda to provide clothing, victuals and schooling for Thomas from Easter following the date of his will.¹⁹ The final testator was the chaplain William Ryvet of St. Martin Orgar. He was originally from Bacton, Norfolk and he made provision for his nephew Robert in order that Robert might remain in school for his education. It would seem that Robert might be intending to follow his uncle in an ecclesiastical career, as he was left all his uncle's vestments and bed linen together with his service books; a missal, a portiforium and a primer.²⁰ None of the Bury St. Edmunds wills contains any bequests for the education of sons or daughters.

¹⁶ GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fol. 20r.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 1408, fols. 1v–2r. Broun's will is in GL MS 9171/1, fol. 65v. We also have incidental information regarding Johanna's birthplace; she left a chalice and a patten worth 33s. 4d. St. Andrew's church Barningham, Norfolk, a village to the north-east of Bury St. Edmunds towards Thetford. They had at least one son, Robert who also became a goldsmith. Robert married Johanna, who survived him and they had at least two children: Margaret, who married Stephen Thorp, but they both pre-deceased Robert, and John, who was the recipient of his grandmother's legacy.

¹⁸ Thomas also served as a warden of the Goldsmiths' Company on five occasions during his career in 1371/2, together with John Broun; 1379/80; 1382/3; 1388/9 and 1393/4 as senior warden. For John and Thomas' careers in the Goldsmiths' Company see their entries in Lisa Jefferson, ed., *Wardens' Accounts and Court Minute Books of the Goldsmiths' Mystery of London, 1334–1446* (Woodbridge, 2003).

¹⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1405, fol. 13r.

²⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1409, fols. 9v–10r

J.A.F. Thomson found that twenty-two (3.5%) of the 622 Londoners wills entered in the Canterbury probate registers between 1401 and 1530, provided some support for education in the city; mainly for the funding of university scholarships, with an emphasis on the study of theology.²¹ The Archdeacon's testators are lower down the economic scale than the PCC testators, but nevertheless these four individuals, (constituting less than 1% of the testators) made provision for schooling for surviving kin.

The wills studied here also reveal two further schoolmasters in London. In 1405, John Thomyn, a limner, an illuminator of manuscripts and thus allied to the writing crafts, of St. Anne and St. Agnes Aldersgate, appointed his wife Alice as sole executrix of this will which was to be supervised by Robert Schoolmaster of Crokyd Lane. Three years later in 1408, Robert Salman a draper of St. Michael Bassishaw left 6s. 8d. to Thomas 'Scolemaisterman' dwelling in his parish: this bequest provides incidental information that some form of schooling was being undertaken in Salman's parish at this time.²²

The wills of professional writers, all men, variously described as scribe, scrivener, text writer, chirographer or limner, do not reveal information about the education or training system that they may have undertaken in their respective crafts.²³ It has been suggested that some of these professionals were coming into London already qualified.²⁴ There are thirteen wills of writing craftsmen recorded in the Archdeacon's register in London during the period of this study but none in Bury St. Edmunds. Two of these wills mention apprentices, all male, suggesting that young men could learn

²¹ Thomson, 'Piety and Charity' pp. 178 – 95 at pp. 186-7.

²² G L MS 9051/1, 1405, fol. 14^v and 1408, fols. 9^r–9^v. Robert schoolmaster might have been linked to the known parish library in the parish of St. Michael Crooked Lane; Barron, 'Education', pp. 219-245, at p. 290, n. 92. Other names of schoolmasters in late fourteenth-early fifteenth century London include Richard Exton in Hart Street, Aldgate, John Seward in Cornhill and William Relyk at the 'Cardinal's Hat' in Lombard Street; Barron, *LLMA*, pp. 52, 55 and N. Orme, *Medieval Schools from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006), pp. 246, 359-60.

²³ A chirographer was the writer of, often, legal documents: these were either written in duplicate or triplicate with the word *chirographum* written along the middle and then cut through. By this means each party to the agreement possessed a copy of its written record, and each copy could be verified as genuine through introduction to, and comparison with, the other to prevent fraud.

²⁴ Christianson, *Directory*, pp. 27-30.

writing skills from their masters. In 1406, Walter Olton, *scriptor*, of St. Mary Woolnoth, had three apprentices at the time of his death: he left 20s. to Thomas, surname not given, 3s. 4d. to John Rounne and 2s. to John Yates. From these bequests we are able to see the seniority and usefulness of the three individuals concerned. None of the named apprentices appears to have had a later career in London. In the same year John Bradenham, text writer of St. Clement Eastcheap, made over the terms of his apprentice Richard Hawley to his wife Agnes to complete; was Agnes able to carry out his training herself, or did she in turn pass Richard on to another text writer to complete his apprenticeship?²⁵ Lastly, in 1413 Edmund Chamberleyn, chirographer left his shops in the parishes of St. Magnus and St. Olave, and the uncompleted terms of his unnamed apprentices, plus the instruments of his craft to his cousin Thomas Bold, also a chirographer. Thomas was one of Chamberleyn's two executors; the other was Thomas Goldesborough, chirographer, who received 20s. for his labour. Thus we have the names of two other members of Edmund's craft who were active in London at this time.²⁶

Altogether, the names of twenty-nine professional writers and illuminators in London appear in the Archdeacon's register. Apart from leaving their own testaments, they are found either acting as executors of wills or as witnesses to wills, or receiving bequests such as Thomas Panter, *scriptor*, who received 3s. 4d. in the will of John Clerk, a brewer of St. Mary Colechurch, in 1393. Although not specified, Panter's bequest was probably in payment for drawing up Clerk's will.²⁷ Panter was described as a foreigner and sent to the pillory for setting up in business although not properly qualified during Adam Bamme's mayoralty, 1390-91.²⁸ After the pillory Panter was prohibited from

²⁵GL MS 9051/1, 1406, fol. 6^v; 1406, fol. 9^r. Christianson, *Directory*, p. 73. Bradenham was named as an executor of the will of Thomas Lokton, text writer in 1405; *Ibid*, 1405, fols. 6^r-6^v. Bradenham's apprentice Richard Hawley died in 1418-19, whose will is now lost. His name is entered in the Archdeacon's register index for 1418 fol. vi, p. 42; Christianson, *Directory*, p.115.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 1413, fols. 13^r - 13^v. Thomas Bold also received a third of his cousin's residual goods.

²⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1393, fol. 12^v.

²⁸ Steer, *Scriveners'*, p. 3. Riley, *Memorials*, pp.527-9 records that Panter, a scrivener, and William Bowyer, citizen and pelterer, were found guilty of forging a title deed and sent to the pillory.

working again as a scrivener within the city unless he 'should meet with increased favour 'from the city authorities. He must have achieved the city authority's favour, judging from Clerk's bequest which was made two years after his punishment in the pillory. When such men were recorded as acting either as executors or as witnesses to a will, it is likely that they had been directly involved in the writing of the will in the first place. Table 5.1 lists the names of these professional writers active in London between c. 1390 and 1414, and in some cases, they are also recorded in the City records, or in the Scriveners' Company records.

Table 5.1. Names of scribes and other artisan book trades members active in London c.1393–1415 taken from the Archdeacon's Register GL MS. 9051/1

Name	Designation in will	Folio reference	Steer, <i>Scriveners</i>	Christianson <i>Directory</i>
Thomas PANTER	scriptor	1393, fol. 12 ^v	ix, 3 [p. 34]	
John HANKEY	scriptor	1398, fol. 1 ^v		
John COSSIER ²⁹	scriptor; papal and imperial notary	1398, fols. 8 ^r -9 ^r ; 1404, fols. 12 ^r 1404 fol. 12 ^v ; 1407, fol. 6 ^v	xix, a.20 [p.51]	
Robert HUNTYNGTON ¹	scriptor	1398, fols. 21 ^r -21 ^v	X, xx, 66; a.20 [p.54]	
John WYNCHOMBE	scrivener	1398, fols. 21 ^r - 21 ^v	x, xx, a.20 [p.54] 20 [p.282]	
William KYNGESMILL ³⁰	scriptor	1402, fols. 12 ^r and 14 ^v	a.20 [p.58].	
Thomas KARLELE	notary public	1403, fol. 7 ^r		
Geoffrey de BYGDON	bookbinder	1403, fol. 10 ^v		
Walter OLTON	scriptor	1404, fol. 6 ^v		
Robert NORTON	scriptor	1404, fols. 12 ^r and 12 ^v ; 1407, fol. 6 ^v		
Robert FRAUNCEYS	scriptor, notary public	1404, fols. 17 ^v -18 ^r ; 1411, fol. 5	a.20 [p. 57]	
William GODMAN	notary public	1405, fols. 1 ^r - 1 ^v		
Thomas LOKTON	text writer	1405, fols. 6 ^r -6 ^v		28, 73
John COSSYN	notary public	1405, fols. 12 ^v - 13 ^r		
John THOMYN	lymner	1405, fol. 14 ^v		166
William WANSTELL	scriptor	1406, fols. 7 ^v -8 ^r	a.20 [p.57]	X
John BRADENHAM	scriptor texterius	1406, fol. 9 ^r		
John DANKESTRE	lymner	1406, fol. 11 ^v		98
Martin SEMAN	scriptor	1406, fol. 14 ^r	Xx, 4, a.20 [p. 54].65	
Richard WATTEKYNS	scrivener	1406, fol. 15 ^r	a. 20 [p.57]	
John SPARK	scriptor	1406, fol. 16 ^v	a.20 [p. 60]	
John TANNER [FANNER]	scrivener	1407, fol. 6 ^v	xviii, xxi, a.20 [p. 61]	
Nichols KYNGESTON	scriptor	1407, fol. 10 ^v ; 1415, fol. 8 ^v	a.21 [p.63]	
John WHYTE]	scriptor	1407, fol. 15 ^v		128
John BROUN	scriptor	1407, fol. 23 ^r		74-75
Edmund MILLE	scriptor	1407, fol. 23 ^r	a.20 [p.58]	
John GROVE ³¹	scrivener	1408, fols. 9 ^r - 9 ^v	10 [p. 15], 11, 12 [p. 15]	
Robert SALESBURY	text writer	1413, fol. 10 ^v		28, 157
John CARSEWELL	text writer	1413, fol. 12 ^r		
Thomas BOLD	chiroarius	1413, fols. 13 ^r -13 ^v	a.20 [p.58]	
Thomas GOLDSBOROUGH	chiroarius	1413, fols. 13 ^r -13 ^v		
Edmund CHAMBERLEYN	chiroarius	1413, fols. 13 ^r -13 ^v		
Thomas LYNGBELHAM	limner	1413, fol. 13 ^v		
Simon HERMER	scrivener	1413, fols. 15 ^r -15 ^v		

As can be seen in Table 5.1, there were a sizable number of lay professional writers active in the City in this period, all of whom must have received an education in the art of writing documents, mainly in Latin but also in English and more rarely in French. In

³³ Served as warden in 1392 with Martin Seman. Steer, *Scriveners*', p. 20 and *LBH*, p. 375. His notarial mark survives and is reproduced in E. Freshfield 'Some Notarial Marks in the 'Common Paper' of the Scriveners' Company', *Archaeologia*, 54 pt.2 (1895), pp. 239-54, at p. 242.

³⁰ See below, pp. 204-5 and notes cited.

³¹ Warden in 1440 with John Bale; Steer, *Scriveners*', p. 21, n. 8.

addition to these men, two further wills contain bequests to un-named scribes; in 1412 William Gresell waterman of an unnamed parish, left 12d. 'to the scribe for his labour' [in writing his will] and in the following year John Sprot carrier of St. Michael Queenhithe left his girdle with silver decorations and his dagger 'to the writer of his testament'.³²

In the Bury St. Edmunds will sample we have the name of just one scrivener John Gyst, who was the executor of the will of John Paxton in 1401.³³ However, a scrivener's formulary book does survive from Bury. Its first owner was a William Broun, who described himself as 'clerk' and appears to have been active from 1398/9 until 1434/5.³⁴ It contains his rough accounts, in Latin, followed by a section in French on physiognomy based on the treatise *Secretum Secretorum*. The remainder of the book consists of systematic drafts for more than eight hundred conveyances and other documents of a formal nature concerning Bury residents over a period of four and a half years. It provides us with a valuable insight into the daily workings of a provincial scrivener later in the fifteenth century.

How then did these men receive their education? The majority of English schools were secular in nature, in that they existed in the world outside the cloisters of monasteries, nunneries and the friaries. Their teachers were either members of the secular clergy, clerks or educated laity. In his book on medieval schools Nicholas Orme describes:

³² GL MS 9051/1, 1412, fol. 4^r and 1413, fols. 4^v–5^r.

³³ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fol. 100^r. No further information on Gyst has been found to date. The names of two other clerks, who may have been scribes witnessed wills; fol. 100^r (Thomas Golding) and fol. 107^r (John Tost). Other names associated with the writing crafts occur later in this register; William Saroun, clerk (fol. 146^v), William Ampe, parchment maker (fol. 167^r); Ampe's will is registered on fol. 261^r dated 2 October 1442. John Reynold, limner (fol. 193^r), Stephen Burne, scrivener (fol. 217^v), Walter ffrost, parchment maker (fol. 235^v) and the will of William Skevener (scrivener) on fol. 241^v.

³⁴ What follows is based on A. E. B. Owen, 'A Scrivener's Notebook from Bury St. Edmunds', *Archives*, 14(1979), pp. 16–22.

'An early sixteenth century woodcut shows Lady Grammar standing by a tower. She holds an alphabet to a schoolboy. If he learns it, she will open the tower with her key. Inside are rooms on every storey teaching different subjects, through which he may climb to the top.'³⁵

The process of learning in medieval England was like the tower, although somewhat more complicated than the illustration suggests. If the child, usually, but not exclusive male, had mastered reading the alphabet, then he was able to progress to reading, song and grammar. Song schools were the elementary schools where boys were taught to read and where they also received instruction in the singing of plainsong, so that boys could take part in the liturgy of the church, hence the name 'song schools'. Teaching in grammar schools on the other hand, whilst it included reading and song which were considered to be part of grammar, concentrated on the study of Latin words and phrases. As Orme states concerning the teaching of grammar,

'In this narrower sense it had more status than reading and song, because it was more difficult and required more sophisticated teaching.'³⁶

After grammar there were further choices to be made: one route led to business studies such as letter writing, accountancy and common law, i.e. English secular law. Another route was in the liberal arts and philosophy which ultimately became the basic studies in universities. For those children who showed aptitude, further study was available in the fields of medicine, theology and civil and canon law. Whatever career path was chosen, whether in trade or commerce or in the church as a member of the secular clergy, mastering the alphabet and reading were the essential prerequisites to advancement.

Another way in which children received an education was through apprenticeship, in which the boy or girl, was bound to a master for a term of years during which time they would receive formal training 'on the job'. They would also have tuition in reading and writing in English and in casting accounts, all essential grounding for their subsequent

³⁵ N. Orme, *Medieval Schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006), p. 53. What follows is based on chapter 2, 'The Tower of Learning', pp. 53–85.

³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 63–68.

careers. Should a family seek to have a son apprenticed to one of the more prestigious crafts, such as the mercers, goldsmiths or grocers, then the undertaking was made dependent on the ability of the child to read and write, not necessarily in French or Latin, but in English.³⁷ The agreement made between the apprentice and the master or mistress, who had to be a freeman or freewoman of the city of London, and accepted by one of the recognised crafts or mysteries of the city, was the indenture which was legally binding on both parties. Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries London had evolved a 'custom' that further set out the rules for apprenticeship both for masters and apprentice. These indentures, by which apprentices agreed to serve a master for a specific number of years in return for board, lodging, and training, sometimes stipulated that the master should provide the youth with schooling.³⁸ The city required that indentures of apprenticeship were enrolled and recorded under the ward of residence of the master and mistress, and the apprentice was presented to the Mayor and Alderman, or the Chamberlain of the city, both at the beginning and the end of the term. On both occasions a fee was payable to the city authorities. Both the contract of apprenticeship and the various regulations governing it in London were enforceable in the city's courts.³⁹

Most London children would have gone to a school for their education. Barron cites the case of eight year old Richard Le Mazon, who in 1301, was returning to school after his mid-day dinner, swung from one of the beams of London Bridge and was drowned in

³⁷ N. Orme, *Medieval Schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006), p. 69. In 1449 the Goldsmiths' Company required all apprentices to be able to read and write so that they could keep their own records without using outside professional writers; see T. F. Reddaway and L. Walker, eds., *The Early History of the Goldsmiths' Company 1327-1509* (London, 1975), pp. 261-2.

³⁸ Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, p. 158. N. Orme, *Medieval Schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006), p. 69 cites the case of Thomas Bodyn, an apprentice haberdasher, who sought legal redress in the court of Chancery, in 1450 against his master, who had promised to send him to school for the first two years of a twelve year apprenticeship, a year and a half to learn grammar and six months for writing, had neglected to send him at all.

³⁹ For apprenticeship in Medieval London see Stephanie R. Hovland, 'Apprenticeship in London in Later Medieval London (c. 1300–c. 1530) (unpublished PhD thesis University of London, 2006), pp. 15–86. For a study of childhood in London see Barbara Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London; the Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 129–72 Thrupp, *Merchant Class*, pp. 191–233 and Appendix C, 'Geographical Origins and Social Background of Apprentices', pp. 389–92.

the Thames. Where was Richard going to school? It might have been a grammar school where Latin was taught, but more likely, at the age of eight, to a song school. Here a boy would acquire some education in English and in Latin, which would have enabled him to sing in the church services and to maintain church ceremonial by reading the lessons.⁴⁰

However, most London children would have been taught to read and write in informal elementary schools that later came to be known as 'dame' schools, not in the established song schools such as those attached to Westminster Abbey, St. Mary Overy Priory or St. Paul's Cathedral, or the grammar schools. For boys who sought a career in the church or royal service, attendance at one of the grammar schools that had been established in London since at least the late twelfth century would have been necessary in order to be taught Latin. They would then be able to undertake their subsequent careers.⁴¹ Chantry priests or parish clerks such as Robert Schoolmaster of Crokyd Lane and Thomas Scolemaisterman of St. Michael Basissshaw, might earn extra money either by doing some elementary teaching or, more likely, teaching grammar. Likewise professional writers might teach their apprentices (boys and girls) to read and write English before moving on to the more sophisticated aspects of their craft. Examples include Walter Olton, scriptor of St. Mary Woolnoth, who left bequests to his three apprentices, or Edmund Chamberleyn, chirographer.⁴² One such enterprising London scrivener, William Kingsmill produced a manual of commercial French advertising the quality of his tuition in about 1415, a copy of which survives.⁴³ The manual was intended to teach children to read and write in both English and French in

⁴⁰ C. M. Barron, 'The Expansion of Education in Fifteenth-Century London', in J. Blair and B. Golding, eds., *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), p. 224; R. R. Sharpe, ed., *Calendar of Coroners' Rolls of the City of London, 1300 – 1378* (London, 1913), p. 25.

⁴¹ On grammar schools see C. M. Barron, 'The Expansion of Education in Fifteenth-Century London', in J. Blair and B. Golding, eds., *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 225–31.

⁴² See above, p. 200, Table 5.1.

⁴³ London, British Library Addl. MS.17716. See also H. G. Richardson, 'Business Training in Medieval Oxford', *American History Review*, 46 (1941), pp. 259–80 at p. 276 for the note on Kyngesmill's adaptation of the teaching material devised by Thomas Samson.

prose rather than in the earlier form of verse. In this manual a twelve year old boy declares that in the three months that he had been at Kingsmill's hostel he had learned to read and write, to cast accounts, and to speak French and was now ready for a London apprenticeship.⁴⁴

Two particular areas of London were associated with members of the professional writing crafts such as scribes, scriveners, text writers, limners, stationers and book binders where they plied their trade on a daily basis.⁴⁵ The main shopping area of the city was Cheapside, and it was also the area where many mercers carried out their business, particularly between the church of St. Mary le Bow opposite Mercers' Hall, and south to an east-west line that included Pancras Lane. At the other end of Cheapside stood St. Paul's cathedral; the churchyard and Paternoster Row in particular was the area of the book-trades. These two areas between them provided ample opportunities for those individuals with the necessary skills in writing to find employment and practice their crafts, as well as taking on apprentices who in turn would be taught the skills necessary to continue in business themselves. As the fifteenth century progressed textwriters were more likely to be found working here in the production of books, which would have been prepared to order, together with limners, book illustrators, and book binders rather than scriveners, who would have been employed for more legal documents, deeds, contracts or wills. Textwriters such as Thomas Lokton and John Bradenham were two such craftsmen and were well known to each other. Bradenham was one of Lokton's

⁴⁴ N. Orme, *Medieval Schools: from Roman Britain to Renaissance England* (London, 2006), p. 77. Steer, *Scriveners*', p.20. Kingsmill subsequently moved to Oxford in 1420 where he was engaged in teaching business skills. H. G. Richardson, 'An Oxford Teacher of the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 23 (1939), pp. 436–57, reprinted separately with corrections. See the will of William Doncastre citizen and carpenter in 1402, where Kingsmill is recorded as writing his will and an *ultima voluntas*, which does not survive: GL MS 9051/1, 1402, fol. 14^v. Kingsmill, described as citizen and scriptor, also witnessed the will.

⁴⁵What follows is based on A. F. Sutton, 'Fifteenth Century Mercers and the Written Word: Mercers and their Scribes and Scriveners' in J. Boffey and V. Davis, eds., *Recording Medieval Lives*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 17 (Donnington, 2009), pp. 42–58. On the relationship of the book trade with Paternoster Row and St. Paul's see C.P. Christianson, 'The rise of London's book trade' in L. Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 128 – 47 and idem, 'Evidence for the study of London's Late Medieval Manuscript Book Trade' in J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall, eds., *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475* (London, 2007), pp. 87–108.

executors, and also had an apprentice.⁴⁶ Both men may well have worked in one of the many small shops along Paternoster Row.⁴⁷

There is evidence that some individuals had dual careers; Thomas Hatfield and Nicholas Holford were both textwriters, and they combined their trade activities with those of parish or chapel clerks.⁴⁸ From 1404 until his death in 1434, Nicholas combined his work as the tollkeeper or bailiff of London Bridge with that of clerk of the chapel on the Bridge, where his musical skills would have been used to good effect. He rented a shop 'on the west part of the bridge' towards the Southwark end of the Bridge for which he paid 16s.⁴⁹ It is also possible that Nicholas might have been involved in writing the various scrolls, or the music for some of the city pageants.⁵⁰ On his death in 1434, his widow Alice took over her late husband's role as bailiff, for another twenty one years until her death in 1455. In her will drafted in May 1455 she left a missal, possibly written by Nicholas, although he does not mention this bequest to her in his own will, to the master and bridge wardens on condition that the house in which she had lived was granted to her son Nicholas for the same rent of 32s. per annum that she had paid.⁵¹

In Bury St. Edmunds a school was in existence certainly during the twelfth century. Jocelyn of Brakelond mentions it in his chronicle written in 1181. He stated that Abbot Samson had attended the school as a young clerk many years before during the time of Master William of Diss, where Samson obtained his education. William's son Master

⁴⁶ See Table 5.1.

⁴⁷ GL MS 9051/1, 1414, fols. 6r–6v. Neither men appear in the London Bridge Masters Accounts or the Bridge House Rental volumes.

⁴⁸ Christianson, *Directory*, pp. 117 and 119. Hatfield was a text writer originally from Essex; he petitioned the mayor and aldermen to be admitted by redemption to the freedom of the city as a parish clerk on 7 August 1444; *LBK* p. 296. His will records that he was parish clerk of St. Bride's Fleet Street; Commissary Court wills GL MS 9171/4, fol. 259r in 1449. Holford's will, where he records that he is a 'citizen and tyxtwriter', is GL MS 9171/3, fol. 390r in 1434. He was living in the parish of St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge.

⁴⁹ V. Harding and L. Wright, eds., *London Bridge: Selected Accounts and Rentals, 1381-1538* London Record Society, 31 (London, 1995), p. 40.

⁵⁰ See C. M. Barron, 'Pagentry on London Bridge in the Early fifteenth Century', in D. N. Klausner and K. S. Marsalek, eds., *Bring furth the pagants; Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F Johnston* (Toronto, 2007), pp. 91-104, at p. 98.

⁵¹ GL MS 9171/3, fol. 119r. See also C.M. Barron, 'Women traders and artisans in London, c.1200–c.1500', (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/printable/52233>), accessed 14 October 2010.

Walter had asked Samson, by then the abbot in about 1180, to grant Walter the vicarage of Cheventon, by way of charity. Samson is alleged to have answered Walter:-

‘Your father was schoolmaster, and when I was a poor clerk he granted me the entry of his school and the benefit of learning in it without any payment and by way of charity, so I for god’s sake grant your desire’.

Soon after,

‘The abbot bought some stone houses in the town of St. Edmund and assigned them to the master of the schools, in order that the poor clerks might be quit of hiring houses –for which each scholar, whether he could or could not, was forced to pay a penny or halfpenny twice a year.’⁵²

The grammar school therefore was not the monastic school, which existed within the abbey’s precinct, which was solely for the education of the boy novices, who were forbidden to go outside the precinct. Samson’s school was a public school in the town, and the masters were seculars, not monks. The monastery through the Sacrist was responsible for appointing the masters and maintaining the rights and privileges of the school.⁵³ John Harrison, an unauthorised schoolmaster in the town, was prohibited by Abbot Curteys (1429-46) from continuing to teach as he infringed the privileges of the monastery and the town school; he was directed to cease all teaching within eight days of the mandate ‘on pain of greater excommunication’.⁵⁴

In addition to the grammar school in Bury, there was also a song school again of considerable antiquity, where the master enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the (monastic) grammar school master. He had the monopoly for teaching song and the psalter. William of Hoo, the sacrist, acting in his capacity as archdeacon, on 5 February 1290-91 had issued a mandate reminding all parish chaplains that the teaching in the song school was solely the preserve of the master of the song school;

⁵² H. E. Butler, ed., *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond* (London, 1949), pp. 44-45. The houses were situated in School Hall Street, just outside the Abbey precincts.

⁵³ W. Page, ed., *Victoria County History of Suffolk*, 2(London, 1907) p. 301.

⁵⁴VCH *Suffolk*, 2, p. 309.

'by long custom it had been granted and it had been from time whereof there is no memory peacefully obtained that no one should dare to teach boys their psalters or singing without the licence of the master of the Assembly of Twelve';⁵⁵

The assembly of twelve was the guild dedicated to the Translation of St. Nicholas founded in 1282, which met in St. Mary's church.⁵⁶ The guild was run by the master and twelve wardens and was open to both lay men and women. The clergy were therefore instructed to prevent all unauthorised teaching on pain of excommunication from presuming 'to do such things henceforth without the licence of the master, in the places aforesaid or elsewhere except in the song school.' In all probability it was the members of the parish clergy themselves who were undertaking this illegal teaching in the first place, no doubt to provide themselves with an additional income and in response to popular demand.⁵⁷

Members of the secular clergy were, or should have been, amongst the most literate in medieval society. The clerical life, if it was properly followed, involved both the use and understanding of written texts. All clergy, whether in major or minor orders, were expected to repeat the divine office; the eight daily services in praise of God. Once ordained, the priest was set apart from laymen and those in lesser orders alike, by his ability to offer the sacrifice of the mass to God and to celebrate masses for both the living and the dead.⁵⁸ Those who had been ordained priest also had to perform the other sacraments of the Church: baptisms, marriages, burials, confessions confirmation, and penance. All of these tasks would have required the individual to be able to read the liturgical texts in the first place before being able to perform them in the parish. The evidence from the clergy wills in the Archdeacon of London's register and the Sacrist's register for Bury St. Edmunds containing books provides us with an indication of the

⁵⁵ A. Gransden, ed., *The Letter- Book of William of Hoo, Sacrist of Bury St Edmunds, 1280–1294*, Suffolk Record Society, 5 (Woodbridge, 1963), p. 68, no. 112. The mandate is dated 1291. Hoo's Letter Book is British Library Harley MS 230.

⁵⁶ The 1388 return survives: The National Archives MS C47/46/415.

⁵⁷ A. Gransden, ed., *The Letter- Book of William of Hoo, Sacrist of Bury St Edmunds, 1280–1294*, Suffolk Record Society, 5 (Woodbridge, 1963), p. 32, no. 13, dated 1291.

⁵⁸ See V. Davies, ed., *The Clergy in London in the Middle Ages; a Register of Clergy Ordained in the Diocese of London based on Episcopal Ordination Lists, 1361–1539* (London, 2000), p. 8.

breadth of learning that some of these individuals had acquired during their careers, more particularly in London.

The information in the two appendices shows that the majority of books owned by the secular clergy were, not surprisingly, service books. These included Missals, the book used at the high altar for the service of the mass.⁵⁹ Processionals, which contained the music for the responsories and anthems sung in processions made before the mass on Sundays, festivals and Rogation days (of necessity this was a small book as it had to be portable). Portiforiums, or portable breviaries, which were the service books containing the service for each day, and brought together in one volume, the antiphonal, lesson book (usually in an abbreviated form) and all the other service books necessary for the celebration of the canonical office, and avoided the need for separate books of prayers and psalms. Antiphoners, which provided the music for the canonical hours, especially the anthems–antiphons-but also other musical portions of the divine office, such as invitatories, hymns, responses and little chapters. Sometimes Antiphoners were divided; the *antiphonale sanctorum*, which provided the music for the feasts of saints and the *antiphonale temporalis*, which gave the music for Sundays and weekdays throughout the year, including the major festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun, around which the temporal cycle was structured. Thomas de Bladyngton, a lay clerk, possessed two such antiphoners, which he described as being 'in two parts'; he left one copy to the high altar of St. Lawrence Jewry and the other copy to the high altar of St. Nicholas Acon.⁶⁰

Sometimes volumes were bound together. For example in 1395 John Donyngton, a chaplain in St. John Zachary, left his Missal bound with a Tropes to Castle Donnington

⁵⁹ From the eleventh century Missals were formed by incorporating the Grail, or Gradual, which contained all the music sung by the choir at the mass, the Epistle Book, which contained the readings of the epistles arranged according to the liturgical year and the Sacramentary, which set out the various prayers and rites to be performed at each of the sacraments. Further details of the various types of books used in the church by the priest are contained in C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, *The Old Service Books of the English Church* (London, 1904), Chapter Three.

⁶⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fol. 2^r.

church, Leicestershire, in all probability his birth place. Tropes were pieces of music from various authors set to music and sung at certain points in the order of the Mass'.⁶¹ John Strange, a chaplain in St. Mary Axe also possessed a Tropes which had been bound with a Manual; which was a portable volume containing the order for administrating the sacraments and sacramentals, for the offices of baptism, matrimony, churching women, the order of visiting the sick, extreme unction, of burying the dead and other miscellaneous blessings and ceremonies.⁶²

Four London rectors owned ordinals: Roger de Burstede of St. Nicholas Olave, William Belgrave of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, Richard Brunham of Holy Trinity the Less and William de Barton of St. Olave, Mugwell Street.⁶³ Ordinals were part of the prescribed service books necessary in each church for the celebration of the daily Mass and Office.⁶⁴ The ordinal contained a list, embracing the entire year, of their cues for each portion of the service, together with the rubrics controlling its performance. Further, the ordinal served as a perpetual guide and directory of the movable feasts which depended on the ever-changing date of Easter. In larger churches it was customary to chain the ordinal to a desk in the choir so that all who took part in the service could consult it. All four rectors left their manuals to their churches.

Books of hours, or primers, were also owned by two London clerics, Lawrence Kelsal, a chaplain in St. John Zachary and William Ryvet, a chaplain in St. Martin Orgar.⁶⁵ Primers were books produced for an individual's private devotions on the seven daily offices;

⁶¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fol. 21^r. Wordsworth and Littlehales, OSB, p. 206-7.

⁶² Ibid, 1407, fol. 3^v. Strange also possessed an Ordinal bound in with a Martyology [a book containing short accounts of the lives and sufferings of the saints and martyrs commemorated on each day. These were read aloud daily after the office of prime].

⁶³ GL MS 9051/1, 1405, fols. 1^v-2^r and fols. 11^v-12^r; 1406, fol. 3^r and fol. 8^v.

⁶⁴ F.M. Powick, and C. R. Cheney, eds., *Councils and Synods with Other Document Relating to the English Church: A.D. 1205-1313*, 2 (London, 1964), ii, part I, pp. 29 [18] and 647 [62]; W. Lyndewood, *Provinciale (seu constitutiones Angliæ)*. (Oxford, 1697), Lib. III, tit. 23, p. 226. See also Wordsworth and Littlehales, OSB, p. 21.

⁶⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1404, fol. 2^r and 1409, fols. 9^v-10^r. Neither chaplain was especially prosperous, although Kelsal left 8s. for his tombstone and 6s. 8d. for the old works at St. Paul's. Among his personal bequests he left 26s. 8d. to Agnes Kelsal widow of William Kelsal, fishmonger (probably his sister-in-law) and 20s. and clothing to Hugh Blythe.

Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers and Compline.⁶⁶ These books were extremely popular amongst both clerical and lay users throughout the middle ages and up to the Reformation; Eamon Duffy has calculated that there are over seven hundred surviving manuscript primers made for use in England in various libraries throughout the world. With the advent of printing two generations before the Reformation surviving printed copies of primers are even more abundant.⁶⁷ To begin with Books of Hours were expensive to produce, often with richly decorated illustrations, and were thus the province of the wealthy.⁶⁸

In addition to the service books several clergy owned theological books. Three London clergymen, William de Barton, the rector of St. Olave, Mugwell [Silver Street], Richard Asshe, a chaplain in St. Andrew by the Wardrobe and John Stanton, a chaplain in St. Magnus the Martyr, possessed copies of *Pars Oculi*.⁶⁹ Asshe also owned a Gradual, or Grail, which was a music book used for accompanying the service of the Mass, and an unspecified book of scripture.⁷⁰ In Bury St. Edmunds Richard atte Lane chaplain of Herringswell, a village to the north west of Bury St. Edmunds, owned a copy of William de Pagula's completed work the *Oculus Sacerdotis*.⁷¹ Another London chaplain Albert Grunyng, from St. Benet Gracechurch, owned a copy of William de la Fumenterie's *Pharetra* and a copy of Jacobus de Voragine's *Aurea Legenda* (Golden Legend). He left his copy of *Pharetra* to master [magister] Edmund Caldecote and the Golden Legend was left to Thomas Clerk the rector of St. Benet Gracechurch.⁷² Nicholas Pole, the parish chaplain of St. Martin Orgar, is among a small number of London clerics whose books suggest a breadth of learning. In addition to his large notated Portiforium

⁶⁶ E. Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers, 1240–1570* (London, 2006), pp.5–6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.2

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 190–5 for Duffy's bibliography.

⁶⁹ The third volume of the *Oculus Sacerdotis* of William of Pagula and published between 1320 and 1326.

⁷⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1411, fol. 3^v and 1413, fol. 32^v. See n. 59 above.

⁷¹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern fol. 50^r.

⁷² GL MS 9051/1, 1398 fol. 11^v. There was an Edmund Caldecote, B.C.L., probably from Cambridge, but whether this was the same man referred to in Grunyng's will however, is uncertain, although the dates would seem to be about right; Emden, *BRUC*, p. 117.

and a Processional, he had a copy of a book called *Breton*, a legal work derived from Bracton's *De legibus Anglie* and a copy of Juvenal's *Satires*; all four books were left to St. Martin Orgar in perpetuity. Perhaps these books were to form the nucleus of a parish library.⁷³ Finally, one other chaplain John Witteneve, of St. Botolph Billingsgate, owned a copy of a book called *Esse*, which was probably *De Esse et Essentia* by Giles of Rome, which he left to John Flamstede, the chief clerk of the neighbouring parish of St. Dunstan in the East in 1406.⁷⁴ These three examples indicate the level of education that some members of London's secular clergy had acquired during their careers.

Apart from William Palmere, the rector of St. Alphage whose will opened this chapter, perhaps the most interesting of the London rectors, is William de Ragenhill the rector of St. Mary Woolchurch. Ragenhill, like Palmere, obtained a London parish by exchange; in Palmere's case, from Catthorpe, Leicestershire in the diocese of Lincoln in 1397 and Ragenhill in 1390/1 from North Collingham, Nottinghamshire, which was in the Archdeaconry of Nottingham in the York diocese.⁷⁵ Neither is recorded as a university graduate, however, both were well educated to judge from the books that they both owned. Members of the Ragenhill family seem to have had successful ecclesiastical careers. An ancestor of William's a John Ragenhill, or John Longespey de Ragenhill, had studied at Oxford, where he is described as magister, and subsequently he had a very successful career in the service of the Crown. In 1334 he was appointed a king's clerk and two years later was a king's proctor, in negotiations concerning free passage of trade between France and England. He was rewarded with the archdeaconry of

⁷³ GL MS 9051/1, 1406, fol. 7r. Not one of these books is listed in the inventory of church goods in the churchwardens' accounts for 1469; GL MS 959, pt. I, fols. 2v, and 19r. There is one entry on fol. 2v that refers to Processionals: 'Item, v peses of prosessionaries', but it is not possible to say if one of these had belonged to Nicholas Pole. Neither is there any reference to chained books, which might have indicated the existence of a parish library in Pole's time.

⁷⁴ GL MS 9051/1, 1406, fol. 6v and n. 75. Flamstede does not appear in the parish clerks bede roll; see N. A. and V. A. James, eds., *The Bede Roll of the Fraternity of St. Nicholas*, London Record Society vol. 39 parts 1 and 2, (London, 2004).

⁷⁵ See p. 192, n. 3. Palmere's exchange is recorded in the register of John Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln 1363–98, Lincolnshire Archives Office, Bishops' Registers 11, fols. 90r–90v and GL MS 9531/3; Register of Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, 1397, fol. clv. Ragenhill's exchange is also recorded in Braybrooke's register, fol. lxxxiv. Ragenhill's rectory was taken over by the sitting incumbent of St. Mary Woolchurch, John Whyles. See also G. Hennessey, *Novum Repertorium Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1898), pp. cxxxiv, notes r107 and r108.

Stow in 1334, but resigned the office in 1335. He appears to have died by September 1338. Ragenhill may also have been the donor of a gloss on the Gospels and a copy of *Liber Sententiarum* given to Oriel College, Oxford.⁷⁶

William Ragenhill possessed at least nine books at the time of his death in 1404, but may well have had others. He owned two service books; a portiforium and a red covered psalter. He also possessed a small red velvet covered book which he had written for his own use, which contained psalms, prayers, the placebo and dirige (part of the office of the dead) and other devotions. Ragenhill is the only cleric among the testators in the Archdeacon's probate register who can be considered as an author or compiler of such a work. He also had a volume in four quires containing the commentaries on the constitutions of the papal legates to England, Ottobuono and Otto, which had been required reading for the secular clergy since they had been formulated in the thirteenth century. He also owned a number of secular works; a copy of the Golden Legend, A History of the Trojan Wars, possibly by Guido delle Colonne, a copy of Gildas's History of Britain in Latin, a Latin copy of The Brut and a bound copy of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*.⁷⁷ We can begin to build up a picture of William de Ragenhill. Judging by the range of his service books he obviously took his ecclesiastical duties seriously, but he also found the time to read the secular works, and he made the effort to write out for his own use various psalms and prayers that he would have found useful in the course of his parochial duties; a very rounded individual indeed.

William's sole executor was his cousin (cognatus) Robert, who had a successful ecclesiastical career in the Salisbury diocese. Robert had been Archdeacon of Dorset, from September 1388 until 1397, and from 1393 was also a canon of Salisbury cathedral, where he had held a number of prebends in succession. In all his appointments he is

⁷⁶ For John's biographical details see Emden, *BRUO* 3, p.1543 and H. P. F. King, ed., Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541: 1: Lincoln Diocese* (London, 1962), pp. 17–19.

⁷⁷ His final book was a tract named '*Lucidarum nuncupatum*'; which I have been unable to identify.

described as magister, which would indicate a university trained man.⁷⁸ William also remembered another member of the Ragenhill family Gerald, possibly a monk, who received a number of vessels and items of clothing.⁷⁹ Of the two recipients of Ragenhill's books we have no further information, except that they may have been chaplains in Ragenhill's church. Richard de Sutton received all William's books except for the small red velvet covered book compiled by Ragenhill himself, which went to John de Stronson, chaplain. Sutton might have been William's protégé; if so he would have benefited most from the books that he had inherited. Perhaps Stronson would have found the small red velvet book of prayers and psalms more useful in his work, probably as an unbeneficed chaplain as well as assisting the parochial clergy in St. Mary Woolchurch when required.

Ragenhill had been in London for seven years before William Palmere's arrival.⁸⁰ The earliest certain evidence of this William Palmere occurs in 1394 when he is described as *capellanus* when he was presented to the rectory of Isfeld, Sussex, by William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury.⁸¹ Palmere did not remain at Isfeld for long; by January 1395/6 he had exchanged this living for that of Catthorpe, Leicestershire, in the diocese of Lincoln, where he was to remain for just over a year before exchanging this living for that of St. Alphage in 1397 where he remained for the rest of his life.⁸² He seems to have been somewhat of a restless spirit, or else was ambitious and sought to exploit the market for exchanging benefices to secure a London rectory. His will is,

⁷⁸ For details of Robert's ecclesiastical holdings in the Salisbury diocese, see Joyce M Horn, ed. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300–1541: Salisbury Diocese*, 3 (London, 1962). He does not appear in Emden, *BRUO* or *BRUC*.

⁷⁹ No record of Gerald exists in either the London Ordinations database compiled by Dr. Virginia Davis, *Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages: A Register of Clergy Ordained in the Diocese of London based on Episcopal Ordination Lists 1361–1539* (London, 2000), or in any of the *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* volumes for Lincoln, London or Salisbury dioceses.

⁸⁰ Palmere was a common name in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The *Piers Plowman* owner was confused by Hennessey by the existence of no fewer than three such William Palmers. G. Hennessey, *Novum Repertorium Parochiale Londinense* (London, 1898), p. 86 and n. g. 88.

⁸¹ Lambeth Palace Library, Register of William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381–1396, vol. ii, fol. 212. The entry is dated 31 August 1394. Isfeld formed part of the peculiar jurisdiction of the Deanery of West Malling reserved for the archbishops of Canterbury in the Deanery of Lewes.

⁸² See n. 3 above. St. Alphage's rectory was in the gift of St. Martin le Grand.

however, markedly different from the other eleven London rectors' wills in the Archdeacon's register. In the first place he does not say that he is the rector of St. Alphage, he simply describes himself as 'clericus' and secondly, he asked to be buried in his churchyard, unlike his fellow rectors who all state that they are the rectors of their parish church and requested burial in the chancels of their churches which was customary amongst parish rectors.

What of the recipients of Palmere's books? The first beneficiary Agnes Eggesfeld, was to have 40s. and his copy of *Piers Plowman*. She is the most intriguing individual for we have no idea who she was nor do we know her marital status; no one named Eggesfeld appears in any contemporary London records. Agnes must have been a literate woman, otherwise why would Palmere leave her this important work? The second beneficiary was John Charteris, who also received 40s. and Palmere's medical books. Again there is no record of a John Charteris in the City records.⁸³ Was he perhaps a barber surgeon or an apothecary working in St. Alphage's parish or in Elsing Spital? Palmere left his annotated Portiforum to his church and his Breviary and 6s. 8d. was to be given to William, chaplain to John Hore, brewer. Hore was a wealthy parishioner of St. Alphage's and between 1384-1388 a Common Councilman for Cripplegate ward, in which St. Alphage was located.⁸⁴ Palmere was unique amongst the London book owners in this study in that he was the only one to have owned a book written in English, *Piers Plowman* which he left to a woman. All the remaining book owners, both secular and lay, left service books, didactic works and histories, which were all written in Latin. Palmere's will poses more questions than answers about the recipients of his books.

⁸³ He does not appear either in C. H. Talbot and E. A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England; A Biographical Register* (London, 1965) or F. Gertz, *Medicine in the English Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1998).

⁸⁴ William the chaplain to John Hore was William Warde, who was left 20s. in Hore's will on condition that he acted as one of Hore's executors. Hore left two wills, both dated 3 March 1412/13; London Commissary Court, GL MS 9171/2, fol. 252^v, and CLA/023/141 (68) and CWCH, ii, p. 400; it was enrolled on 6 November 1413. For his career as a Common Councilman, see LBH, pp.130, 271, 281 and 333.

With the exception of Richard atte Lane, chaplain from Herringswell, a village some eight miles to the north-west of Bury St. Edmunds, who owned a copy of the *Oculus Sacerdotis*, all the books owned by the Bury clergy were service books, suggesting that they were much more limited both in their reading habits and in access to books. However as we have already seen, the abbey was a centre of culture and education within the town and its hinterland, and it controlled the grammar school and song school. The abbey as well as possessing one of the finest libraries in the country by the close of the twelfth century, also had a *scriptorium* which was one of the most prolific in medieval England.⁸⁵ There is some suggestion that the abbey would lend books to the town's elite; the last entry in the register of abbot William Curteys' (1429-46) before the index is a letter of admonition addressed to the *confratres*, members of the lay confraternity of the abbey within the town, requiring the return of all books to the abbey within fifteen days.⁸⁶ Geoffrey Glemesforde, who was a member of the town's elite, left 10 marks for a new Portiforium for use in St. James' church before the altar of St. John the Baptist. Robert Stabler the former Mary Mass chaplain in St. James's church owned the largest number of service books; two portiforiums, two processional, a missal and a primer, all of which were left for his successors in St. James, with the exception of his old portiforium, which was left to the church's charnel chapel 'in memory of a former sacristan Adam Tropet'.⁸⁷ Richard left his manual to Herringswell church and his *Oculus Sacerdotis* to Peter Berene chaplain.⁸⁸ William Say left his black bound psalter to brother John Dene, possibly a monk in St. Edmund's abbey.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ On the development of the library and the *scriptoria*, see R. M. Thomson, 'The Library of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Speculum*, 47 (1972), pp. 617-45

⁸⁶ Merry 'Urban Identities', p. 155; T. Arnold, ed., *Memorials of St. Edmunds Abbey*, 3 vols. (London, 1965 reprint), vol. 3, pp. 278-9.

⁸⁷ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 95^r-95^v (Glemesforde) and fols. 66^v-70^r (Stabler). The reference to a library in St. Mary's church is to be found in the will of Edward Galyon in 1459 when he gave his glossed psalter to the library in St. Mary's for the soul of his dead son John; Merry, 'Urban Identities', p. 157, n. 61.

⁸⁸ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, fol. 50^r.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, fol. 89^v.

Who were the principal beneficiaries of these books? The majority were left to parish churches, whilst other books were bequeathed to fellow clerics or, occasionally, to family members. What is not always clear from the bequests of service books to their parish churches particularly amongst the London clergy, is whether they were additional copies for the parish clergy to use in the performance of the daily services, or replacement copies for worn out volumes or to make up for the loss of certain volumes. Among the surviving pre-Reformation London churchwardens' accounts containing inventories of books for the parishes of Holy Trinity the Less, St. Alphage, St. Benet Gracechurch, St. Lawrence Jewry, St. Margaret Fish Street Hill, St. Martin Orgar, St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street and St. Peter Westcheap, all churches which received service books from their rectors or chaplains, there is no mention of any of these donors or their books.⁹⁰ On other occasions, as in the will of the chaplain Robert Asshe of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, books were left to the church for teaching purposes; Asshe left his gradual and his copy of *Pars Oculi* for the instruction of children and pious women, suggesting that there was some form of schooling available to those parishioners and their children who wished to avail themselves of this facility.⁹¹

Eight members of the London clergy left a book, or books, to their natal parish churches such as William Belgrave the rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, who left his large missal with silver decorations to the church of SS. Peter and Paul, Belgrave, Bedfordshire, to serve daily at the altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas. Likewise, Roger de Burstede the rector of St. Nicholas Olave left his notated portiforium to the church of St. Mary Magdalen in the village of Great Burstead, Essex. William Ryvet, a chaplain serving in St. Martin Orgar who was born in the small village of Bacton

⁹⁰ These accounts together with their manuscript references are to be found in *Books listed in inventories from London Parish Churches: a Handlist to 1603* produced by the Guildhall Library Manuscript Department, at pp. 325-6.

⁹¹ GL MS 9051/1, 1411, fol. 3^v. Perhaps these books were for an embryonic library.

on the North Norfolk Coast, left his Legend of the Saints and his large antiphoner to Bacton church.⁹²

Two parish chaplains, Nicholas Pole of St. Martin Orgar, in addition to his two service books, he also left his copy of his book called *Breton*, a legal work written in Anglo Norman, and derived from Bracton's *De Legibus Anglie* to his parish church. What, one wonders, was the purpose of giving a legal work to his parish church unless a parish library was there for the parishioners' use? John Strange of St. Mary Axe owned a missal, a gradual, a portiforium, an ordinal with a martyrology, a manual with tropes and two processional. He left instructions to his executors that the books were to be left in the custody of his rector. Presumably Stange intended that they would be for the use of both the parochial clergy as well as parishioners, and perhaps they also formed part of a parish library.⁹³ Incidental information regarding a parish library in St. John Zachary is to be found in the will of the chaplain Lawrence Kelsal, who left 40d. for repairs to the library where greatest need: whether he meant the structure or the books is unclear.⁹⁴

Fellow clergy were also remembered by London clergy as well as their relatives and, occasionally, parishioners. For the most part their books were for the use of these men and women, and would have represented a token of the friendships that had developed during their time serving in the various London parishes. Some of these books were devotional in content, whilst service books left to relatives were intended no doubt for the instruction of the individuals concerned. Apart from William Palmere, four other clergy testators, Peter Wysebeche, John Pychard, William Ryvet and William

⁹² GL MS 9051/1, 1405, fols. 11^v–13^r (Belgrave); 1405, fols. 1^v–2^r (Burstead) and 1409, fols. 9^v–10^r (Ryvet).

⁹³ *Ibid*, 1407, fol. 3^v.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 1404, fol. 2^r.

Cachemayde left books to laymen, all of whom were their relatives; two were nephews one was a cousin and the fourth the son of a cousin.⁹⁵

It is likely that many clergy possessed more books than those mentioned in their wills. Three London clergy refer to 'best' copies of portiforums, thereby implying that they also had other copies as well, but these are not mentioned.⁹⁶ A further five just mentioned 'all my books' which were either left to their churches or they were to be sold and the money used for pious and charitable bequests.⁹⁷

Among the laity, the ownership of books might extend beyond those able to read them whether in Latin or in English. Books were non-essential objects of the household, and as such might be seen as luxury items or as examples of conspicuous consumption. Testators did not necessarily single out books as special items when it came to the disposal of their personal goods; often they occur in between items of household effects, or almost as an afterthought or as items to be sold to pay for prayers and masses.⁹⁸ Examination of the Archdeacon's wills, where the individual's craft is noted, reveals that members from the more prominent crafts in London are to be found in owning books. There are four goldsmiths, two drapers, a grocer, a tailor, a skinner and a woolmonger. Lower down the social scale there is a baker, a brewer a capper and a cooper. Of the four women owners, all widows, two have no trades recorded for their late husbands. Elizabeth Burlee was a mercer's widow and Margaret Roberd (may also have been the widow of a mercer). In other words these individuals were most likely to

⁹⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1395, fols. 14^r-14^v (Wysebeche); 1398, fol. 18^v (Pychard); 1409, fols. 9^v-10^r (Ryvet) and 1414, fol. 17^v (Cachemayde).

⁹⁶ Ibid, 1395, fol. 8^r (Wade); 1396, fols. 6^v-7^r (Ledbury) and 1408, fol. 10^r (Glaston).

⁹⁷ Ibid, 1398, fol. 13^v (Chadd); 1400, fols. 1^v-2^r (Sprotborough); 1404, fol. 13^r (Spencer); 1410, fol. 14^r (Panton) and 1413, fol. 32^v (Stanton).

⁹⁸ Merry, 'Urban Identities', p. 155 suggests that in Bury St. Edmunds, the ownership of books 'appears to be a particularly appropriate indicator of elite status as less than 3% of wills between 1346-1493 indicate testators' owning books'. Similarly, Joel Rosenthal writing about clerical books in the York diocese suggests that 'Against the idea that they [books] are the most prized of all bequests, we have wills that specify that books be sold to subsidize prayers'; J. T. Rosenthal, 'Clerical Book Bequests: A *Vade Mecum*, But Whence and Whither?' in C. M. Barron and J. Stratford, eds., *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society: Studies in Honour of Professor R. B. Dobson*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 11 (Donington, 2002), pp. 327-43 at p. 337.

have been able to afford the purchase of books.⁹⁹ The Bury St. Edmunds wills do not record the occupations of the three men and one woman, a widow, who were lay book owners; however, judging by the large sums left for 'forgotten tithes' we may conclude that all with one exception belonged to the urban elite of the town.¹⁰⁰ Full details of the clerical and lay book owners in both towns are found in appendices 12 and 13.

It is possible to find out rather more about some of the London lay book owners. For example, the Archdeacon's register contains the wills of forty-one goldsmiths, the greatest number of members of a mercantile company in the register; four of these goldsmiths (10%) were book owners. The Goldsmiths' company was a comparatively small company in comparison with the Mercers' and Grocers' Companies.¹⁰¹ The Wardens' Accounts for 1368 recorded that there were 135 goldsmiths as full members and in 1403 102 men were in the livery and eighty were yeomen, i.e., junior members free of the city but not yet advanced to the livery.¹⁰² John Forster, who owned a black psalter, had served as a warden four times during his career; 1365-6, 1381-2, 1387-8 and 1394-5. He had been one of the four wardens during his first term in office who presided over the new building works of the company's hall, and he was active in his company often sitting in judgement on defective work.¹⁰³ Forster also served as a Common Councilman for Cripplegate ward, and he was also elected as one of the auditors of the accounts of the wardens of London Bridge¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ This supposition is based on the fact that her executors were mercers, Thomas Hakenden and Richard Onshale, each of whom was to receive 6s. 8d.

¹⁰⁰ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 58^r-58^v: High altar bequests were 20s. (Randolf), 6s. 8d. (West), 40s. (Winchester) and 100s. (Rose). See below, p. 226.

¹⁰¹ Still useful for a history of these companies is W. Herbert, *A History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 2 vols (London, 1834 and 1837).

¹⁰² Jefferson, *Wardens'*, pp. 112-8 and 302-6.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, pp. 94, 96, 194, 222 and 224.

¹⁰⁴ *CPMR 1381-1412*, pp. 53, 55, 85-86, 87 and 133. *LBH*, pp. 235, 239, 271, 281, 299, 332, 339, 373, 375-6.

Roger Cringleford is another goldsmith who owned a number of books, some of which he did not describe, which included two Portiforums, (one annotated) a *Golden Legend* and a small book including the Seven Penitential Psalms, the liturgy and the office of the dead. His annotated portiforum was left to St. Bartholomew's hospital, on certain conditions and his copy of the *Golden Legend* was bequeathed to John Stanford, who was Cringleford's principal executor and his former apprentice. He had been apprenticed to Cringleford in 1401/2, and received his other portiforum and all his other books.¹⁰⁵ Stanford was also entrusted with the patrimony of Cringleford's daughters Agnes and Johanna, described as orphans by 7 May 1418.¹⁰⁶ During his career, Cringleford had fallen foul of the wardens and was put out of the livery in 1376/7 for rebellious behaviour, and in 1403/4 was fined 2s. for sub-standard work. In the same year he was also found guilty of offending against the ordinance concerning the sale of goldsmiths' wares. He claimed that at the time of the alleged offences these ordinances had not been confirmed by the company; nevertheless he paid 40s. 'subject to the wardens' judgement'.¹⁰⁷ But he went on to have a successful career.

The third goldsmith was William Bart who had come out of his apprenticeship in 1379/80 and was entered in the Goldsmiths' Accounts Book as a serving man paying 2s. to the Goldsmiths' Company. Although he never served as a warden like John Forster and Roger Cringleford, he possessed more than one book since he left his best Psalter to St. Clement Candlewick Street in 1409. One would like to know what other books he owned.¹⁰⁸ The final goldsmith book owner is John Walsham who entered the freedom of the city, paying the company 13s. 4d. in 1370/1, and by 1403/4 he was recorded as

¹⁰⁵ GL MS 9051/1, 1411, fols. 9r-9v. For Robert Stanford see Jefferson, *Wardens'*, pp. 268, 322 and 350. John Stanford was probably Robert's brother, but this cannot be verified conclusively.

¹⁰⁶ *LBI*, p. 199. Two years later on 27 April 1420 another goldsmith, John Braumstone, who had married Johanna in the meantime, appeared before the mayor and aldermen to claim his wife's monetary bequest from her father. Braumstone also informed the court that Johanna's sister Agnes and her brother John had also died; each child had been left £10 by their father with their portion to be divided between the survivors if one or the other child died; GL MS 9051/1, 1411, fols. 9r-9v. Braumstone and Stanford were near contemporaries each having started their apprenticeships in 1401/2. Braumstone was apprenticed to William Forde; Jefferson, *Wardens'*, p. 268.

¹⁰⁷ Jefferson, *Wardens'*, pp. 174, 286 and 288.

¹⁰⁸ GL MS 9051/1, 1409, fol. 2v; Jefferson, *Wardens'* p. 185.

being in the livery.¹⁰⁹ Walsham owned a psalter which he left 'to his faithful friend' Thomas Lincoln.¹¹⁰ Thomas Lincoln was also a goldsmith who had been enrolled as an apprentice to Henry Bamme in 1401/2 and was out of his time in 1411/12 when the accounts for that year show that he paid 2s. to register as a serving man.¹¹¹

These examples show how bonds of friendship were forged between the donors and the recipients of their books over time. As we saw Cringleford and John Forster had developed particularly close relationships with younger men of the mystery during their working lives. The relationship between Walsham and Lincoln is less certain, but since Lincoln was called Walsham's 'faithful friend' the younger man may have become close to Walsham after completing his apprenticeship, or maybe before then during his time with Henry Bamme. Although only four of the forty-two goldsmiths wills in the Archdeacon's register mentioned books it is likely that some of the remaining thirty-eight goldsmiths were also book owners. They may well have owned books which for one reason or another did not appear in their wills, either because they had been given to individuals earlier or because they were simply included in the residue of these testators' goods and chattels, which were to be sold and the money used for pious and charitable uses.

The most distinctive book owner however, was Nicholas Hotot the only layman to have a secular book as well as didactic works. In addition to his service book, a primer, he owned copies of the *Brut*, the *Prick of Conscience* and the *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*.¹¹² Hotot does not name his craft in his will which he drew up on 17 November 1404 ; he merely stated that he was a citizen. However the city records reveal that the Hotots were woolmongers. His father, Nicholas 1, fl. 1340 -62, lived with

¹⁰⁹ Jefferson, *Wardens*, pp. 142 and 306.

¹¹⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1412, fol. 8r.

¹¹¹ Jefferson, *Wardens*, pp. 266, 352.

¹¹² This last book was a compendium of doctrine and law—indeed almost all areas of human knowledge then known, compiled from Latin writers of the 12th and 13th centuries. The work was subsequently translated into Middle English; see A. Hendry, ed., *The Mirour of Mans Saluacion, A Middle English Translation of 'speculum humanæ salvationis'* (Aldershot, 1986).

his wife, Johanna, in the parish of St. Swithin, Candlewick Ward. He appears in an action in the assize of nuisance on 8 April 1356, and four years later Nicholas was involved in a dispute over a latrine with two pipes within the bounds of his adjoining tenement in St. Swithin's parish.¹¹³ Nicholas I had been elected a Common Councilman for Wallbrook ward in 1356, and in 1355/6 he was one of five men representing the ward in the collection of a tax to pay for repairing two vessels in aid of the war (with France).¹¹⁴ Nicholas and Johanna had two children Elizabeth and Nicholas II. Elizabeth was to have her father's tenement in the parish of St. Dunstan in the East and Nicholas II was to have the residue of his father's tenements within the city. All these properties were subject to dower provisions for their mother Johanna, who also had the guardianship of both children, according to the custom of the city concerning orphans.¹¹⁵

Both Elizabeth and Nicholas II survived into adulthood and in due course inherited their father's property. Elizabeth took her tenement situated in the corner of St. Dunstan in the East on the south side of the churchyard, with her into her marriage to John Guy, ironmonger.¹¹⁶ Nicholas II married Alice the daughter of Thomas Albon, woolmonger, and in due course inherited all of his father's other properties, fourteen messuages in all, located in the parishes of St. Dunstan in the East, St. Mary Woolnoth and St. Swithin.¹¹⁷

¹¹³ John le Bakere essoined himself by his attorney William de Gylyngham, against Nicholas. The case was plagued with continual delays before the records of the case ceases on 3 October 1360. H. M. Chew and W. Kellaway, eds., *London Assize of Nuisance 1301–1431*, London Record Society, 10 (1963), pp. 112, 125–6.

¹¹⁴ *LBG* p. 61. Nicholas's cousin, Roger was one of the three collectors appointed; he was also an executor with Nicholas's wife Johanna of his will

¹¹⁵ *HRWD*. 90 (69), dated 1362. Orphans were, by city definition, children who had lost a citizen father.

¹¹⁶ V. Harding and L. Wright, eds., *London Bridge Accounts 1381–1538*, London Record Society, 31 (1995), p. 47, item 148. It rendered 4s. 8d. annual rent to London Bridge. Guy was still alive in 1418 when on 15 October he was discharged by the mayor and aldermen from serving on juries 'on account of his great age'. On 11 February 1418/19 Guy stood as a suretee to William Botelor, ironmonger, concerning Botelor's guardianship of Edmund the orphaned son of William de Ware, woodmonger; Botelor had married William's widow, unnamed: *LBI* pp. 198 and 211.

¹¹⁷ Albon had four children in all; John and Elizabeth, both bastards, another son John and Alice, Hotot's wife. *LBH* p. 387.

He had an illegitimate son, Robert, who subsequently married and had a son John.¹¹⁸ None of Nicholas' books was left to family members; his copy of *The Brut* went to John Longman, occupation unknown, whilst Robert the chief clerk of St. Nicholas Shambles received his copy of the *Prick of Conscience* and his *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and the mercer John Lane received his primer. Other than his bastard son Robert who was to have 10 marks, Nicholas' other children are not mentioned and Agnes his wife was left his goods and chattels, clothing and bedding.

The majority of the books mentioned in wills by the laity were, not surprisingly, service books, primers, or books of hours, which were very popular being small volumes, sometimes illustrated, and intended for personal contemplation and prayer. Ten primers were bequeathed by men and two by women. Next in popularity were psalters, books of psalms, eight owned by men and one owned by a woman, Elizabeth Burlee, the mercer's widow. Four portiforiums, portable breviaries, were all owned by men; as already discussed: the goldsmith Roger Cringleford owned two copies, one of these with musical notation. Three men and one woman owned Missals.

Who were the recipients of these books, and did men and women choose the same recipients? A number of testators left their service books to their parish church: Adam Bret, brewer and Agnes atte Hale, widow, left their Missals to their parish churches.¹¹⁹ Others chose to leave their books to the churches of their birth place such as the baker John Wade who left his missal to Hatfield Broad Oak church in Essex, or William Swoon, esquire, who left 100s. for the purchase of a Missal for Great Baddow church, Essex. Such bequests served as a reminder of the familial links, but also advertised their

¹¹⁸ See A. K. McHardy, ed., *The Church in London 1375–1392* London Record Society, 13 (1977), p. 60, item 473; Harding and Wright, *London Bridge*, pp. 148, item 148 and p. 119, item 307 and *LBH*, pp. 421–2. John was involved in a dispute over one of his grandfather's properties on 23 January 1451. He was found guilty of making a false plaint: H. M. Chew, ed., *London Possessory Assizes: A Calendar*, London Record Society, 1 (1965), pp. 127–8.

¹¹⁹ GL MS 9051/1, 1406, fols. 14^r-14^v (Bret) and 1407, fols. 29^v-30^r (atte Hale).

success in London.¹²⁰ For other testators the parish clergy were the recipients. For example, John Brightwell, trade unknown, left a pair of prayer books of the Matins of the Virgin Mary and his gradual to John Morden, chaplain, and Henry Galifer, again of unknown occupation, who left his portiforium to his rector, Andrew Norwich of St. Clement Eastcheap.¹²¹ However the majority left their books to family members, former apprentices and friends. Thus John Knottesford, draper left his best primer to his daughter Margaret Knottesford and his other primer to his sister Agnes Knottesford. John Stachesden, baker left his red covered primer to his son John, and Juliana Bernes, who also owned a primer, left it to her daughter Joan.¹²²

According to Canon Law, all parishes were required to own a basic set of liturgical books for the celebration of the daily Mass and Office. From the late thirteenth century, provincial and diocesan synods specified that the provision and repair of liturgical books was to be the responsibility of the parishioners.¹²³ In 1411, the chalonier John Stanley left 7 marks [£4. 13s. 4d.] to his parish church of St. Martin Outwich for the repair of books where greatest need.¹²⁴ Fiona Kisby's study of books in London parish churches before 1603 is based on the examination of all forty-nine surviving church wardens' accounts and inventories between 1400 and 1603. She has tabulated the incidence of books surviving in these church wardens' accounts for thirty parishes, and her findings concerning parish ownership of liturgical books, suggest that there was a high rate of compliance with the canonical requirements on the part of the parishioners in these parishes.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ GL MS 9051/1, 1413, fols. 14^r-14^v (Wade) and 1398, fols. 13^v-14^r (Swoon).

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 1409, fol. 5^v (Brightwell) and 1411, fol. 9^v (Galifer).

¹²² *Ibid.*, 1413, fol. 22^v (Knottesford); 1414, fols. 7^r-7^v (Stachesden) and 1400, fol. 4^v (Bernes).

¹²³ *Councils and Synods with other documents Relating to the English Church*, II, A.D.1205-1313, eds. F. M. Powick and C. R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), part I, p. 29 [18]; p.647 [62]

¹²⁴ G.L. MS. 9051/1, 1411, fols. 11^v-12^r.

¹²⁵ Fiona Kisby, 'Books in London Parish Churches before 1603: Some Preliminary Observations' in C. M. Barron and J. Stratford, eds., *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society: Studies in Honour of Professor R. B. Dobson*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies 11 (Donington, 2002), pp. 305-26), Appendix, pp. 325-6.

The Bury St. Edmunds lay book owners' followed their London counterparts both in their books, which were all service books, and their choice of recipients. As already noted, the three laymen were all members of the town's elite.¹²⁶ Roger Rose stands head and shoulders above the other two men giving 100s. to the high altar of St. James's church for forgotten tithes and oblations. Rose had served as the town's alderman seven times between 1353 and 1390.¹²⁷ He was a member of the prestigious Candlemass Guild, dedicated to the Purification of the Blessed Mary which met in St. James's church. As the town's alderman, he also became the guild's alderman during each of his terms of office.¹²⁸ Rose owned missals all of which he left to William Wade, chaplain, possibly serving in St. James's church. Robert Randolph, craft unknown, left his missal to the high altar of St. James's church, and his psalter was left to the clerk John Bochisham for life; on Bochisham's death it was to remain in St. James's. Finally, hisnotated poriforium was given first to Robert Karter, chaplain in Ashfield church for life and then to the parish chaplain. It seems probable that Ashfield, a village some thirty miles due east of Bury St. Edmunds was Randolph's birthplace.¹²⁹ One other Bury inhabitant was a book owner. Richard Charman, who died in 1390, was another member of the urban elite of the town.¹³⁰ He was a draper and served as alderman in 1368, whilst his appointment as a royal tax collector in 1379 reinforces his position within the town's exclusive group.¹³¹ His donation to the high altar of St. Mary's, his parish church, at 26s. 8d. was in the highest category and his will also included cash bequests to the Abbey's obedientaries. His links with the senior personnel of the Abbey may have included a number of land and property transactions.¹³² Significantly, Charman had a personal chaplain, Richard

¹²⁶ See above, p. 220, n. 100.

¹²⁷ M. Lobel, 'A List of the Aldermen and Bailiffs of Bury St. Edmunds from the Twelve to the Sixteenth Century' *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 22 (1934), pp. 8-9. Gottfried, *Bury* Appendix B, pp. 269-71 records Rose serving as Alderman ten times between 1353 and 1390.

¹²⁸ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, fol. 104r. He left 20s. to the guild and two other guilds also in St. James's church received 20s. each—Corpus Christi and St. Botolph. On the Candlemass Guild and its role in civic affairs in the town see Lobel, *Borough*, pp. 147-50; Merry, 'Urban Identities', pp. 143-4.

¹²⁹ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, fol. 46v.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 58r-58v.

¹³¹ Merry, 'Urban identities', pp. 163-5.

¹³² Gottfried, *Bury*, pp. 137. Gurnay was left 26s. 8d. in Charman's will, and he was one of Charman's four executors, for which he received a further 10s. for his labours.

Gurnay. Charman himself served as an executor for a number of prominent Bury testators, and a number of these appointments involved him and his co-executors acting as agents in the sale of substantial lands and properties.¹³³ However, it is in his land transactions that he stands out from his contemporaries, appearing in some thirteen documents between 1354 and 1380.¹³⁴ In all of his transactions he would have retained copies of the deeds together with his accounts recording the various purchases and sales as he later consolidated his holdings within the town. Unfortunately, his account books have not survived. Of all the men and women book owners from both towns Charman is exceptional; a draper and merchant, property holder and successful financier, philanthropist and supporter of civic causes in later life, the friend of senior abbey personnel with whom he had done business during his career.

Conclusions

This chapter has explored the educational opportunities that were available to the laity in both towns at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries. For many, perhaps the majority, a minimal level of reading skills would have been acquired with the proliferation of documents of all kinds. Most documents would at this time have been written in Latin but individuals would have understood what they contained as they would have been read aloud, not in Latin but the vernacular. As Sheila Lindenbaum noted, 'the rate of literacy was high... even Londoners...who could not read would have a pragmatic knowledge of many textual forms. They would be familiar with religious tracts and sermons read aloud in the household, the civic regulations recited in the wardmotes, all manner of legal documents concerning property holding and trade, royal proclamations and wills'.¹³⁵ This same observation

¹³³ SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern, fols. 1^r-1^v (John Osbern 10 June 1354) or fol. 29^v (Richard Overton, spicer, not dated).

¹³⁴ Gottfried, *Bury*, pp. 137-8. Gottfried portrays Charman as a *rentier* accumulating land and property for rent yield, which would have made him unusual for the period. The deeds in which Charman appears are in the Hengrave collection of deeds in Bury St. Edmunds Record Office; SROB MS 449.

¹³⁵ Lindenbaum, 'London Texts', p. 287

would also hold true for Bury St. Edmunds. On the other hand writing was a distinct skill which would have been taught in schools or through apprenticeship with a professional scribe; none of our testators with the exception of William de Ragenhill state explicitly that they had drafted their wills.

The term 'pragmatic' literacy, referred to by Michael Clanchy, was defined as 'the literacy of one who has to read or write in the course of business' which had become more widespread with the bureaucratic demands in Latin emanating from the royal courts of Chancery and The Exchequer from the thirteenth century. It thus became useful for individuals to acquire an understanding of Latin to comprehend these documents.¹³⁶ Similarly amongst the mercantile traders and small artisans there was a growing awareness of the need to keep records of transactions and accounts, for which, whilst they might not necessarily have written them, they would have employed one of the many clerks who were abundant in London. The opportunity to acquire some formal education for men and women in the growing number of schools has been noted although only four London testators made provision for their offspring to go to school. The analysis of the London wills has revealed the names of a number of scribes active in the city in this period who were not members of the Scriveners' Company.¹³⁷ Among the Bury wills we have the names of a number of 'clerks' who were active in the town.

Book ownership was not widespread amongst the laity either in London or Bury St. Edmunds, although as noted the absence of books in these wills does not necessarily indicate that these men and women did not possess them. Books were expensive to make, as such they were regarded as 'luxury' items indicating the wealth of the individual concerned in being able to afford their purchase, but not necessarily the ability of being able to read them. However, as this period was still one where reading

¹³⁶ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1993), p. 247 and n. 107.

¹³⁷ See Table 5.1 above.

aloud was commonplace (what Clanchy called 'oral literacy'), books could be enjoyed by having them read aloud.

On the other hand parish libraries are found in a number of the London parish churches and some testators left money for the maintenance of these books. In Bury, the abbey's extensive library was made available to the elite of the town. Books would have been placed in the church to allow parishioners to read them, or have passages read to them by the parish clergy.

The majority of all the books named in these wills were in Latin, not surprisingly as most were service books. Only one book was in English, *Piers Plowman*, which was owned by William Palmere, the rector of St. Alphage London. Whilst English was becoming more universally used as the preferred language for written documents of all types, it would be later in the fifteenth century before books written in English would become commonplace.

Conclusion

The last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth centuries was a time of major disruption and strife in England. The country was afflicted by recurrent outbreaks of plague after the first major visitation in 1348-9, later termed the Black Death, which had catastrophic effects: 60% of the population may have died. Recovery rates were slow, particularly, but not exclusively, in London, and it was not until the sixteenth century that London's population reached its pre-Black Death figure. Bury St. Edmunds also suffered population decline but perhaps not as severe as London. As a result of the diminished population, opportunities arose for the survivors to improve their living standards, not least by charging higher prices for their labour. This in turn provoked concerted resistance from the Crown and Parliament and legislation was enacted to restrict these wage increases to the pre-Black Death rates. The landlords' attempts to enforce these pre-plague wages met with great resistance, and culminated in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, which began in Essex and spread throughout Kent and East Anglia, to London and other parts of the country.

Richard II's reign was marked by continual strife, not least caused by his own behaviour towards his nobles, particularly with his uncle John of Gaunt and Gaunt's son Henry Bolingbroke, and his disinclination to wage successful war with France. He needed income with which to pursue the war as well as to meet his conspicuous spending at his court; Gaunt's death and the subsequent appropriation of the Duchy of Lancaster estates and Bolingbroke's banishment only stoked the resentment of the majority of the aristocracy, whom the king needed to rule effectively. Richard's actions eventually led to Bolingbroke's usurpation of the crown in 1399. Relations between Richard and

London were often acrimonious and have been well documented, in particular, by Ruth Bird and Caroline Barron.¹

The inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds too endured difficult, and at times violent relations with the Abbey, their feudal overlord, who sought to retain his jurisdiction over the town, which he exercised through his Sacrist. The townsfolk had only limited self government. The growing resentment often boiled over into conflict and insurrection, with attacks on the monastic buildings and, on occasion, the monks themselves, particularly in the fourteenth century, the most serious being in 1327.² The outbreak of 1379 was altogether more serious. It centred on the disputed election of the town's alderman on 19 October 1379 when the angry mob broke into the church and the inner part of the monastery, forcing the monks to shut themselves up in the infirmary chapel overnight.³

It is against this background of crisis and conflict that this study of the wills of the men and women in London and Bury St. Edmunds is set. The examination of all these wills has shed some light on the lives of these men and women, for the most part artisans and small craftsmen, their wives and their widows which has afforded a glimpse into their world as they neared death, and into the provisions that they made for their souls, their burials, the Church and their family.

There are a number of differences between the inhabitants of the two towns which have been highlighted in these chapters. Whilst the vast majority of the London wills record the date of drafting the wills and /or testaments and the date of granting probate to the executors is recorded in the Archdeacon's register, the wills for Bury St. Edmunds are markedly different. In a considerable number of cases the clerks copying the wills into the register neglected to record the date that the will was drawn up.

¹ R. Bird, *The Turbulent London of Richard II* (London, 1949) and C. M. Barron, 'The Quarrel of Richard II with London 1392-7' in F. R. H. Du Boulay and C. M. Barron, eds., *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKissack* (London, 1971), pp. 173-201.

² Lobel, *Bury St. Edmunds*, pp. 143-5 and notes cited.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-5.

Similarly during this period dates of granting probate were also omitted, although as the fifteenth century went on both date of drafting and granting probate began to be more systematically recorded. So, while it has been possible to produce notional mortality rates for London, it has not been possible to do this for Bury St. Edmunds. Another difference between the wills in these two towns is the language of the wills themselves. Not one of the Bury wills in this study is written in English, whilst there are ten English wills out of a total of 1384 in the London register.

In their religious practices, Londoners showed a greater sophistication than their Bury counterparts, both in the religious preambles to their wills and regarding their choice of burial place. The redemptive powers of God are manifested in a considerable number of the London wills, where statements such as 'I bequeath my soul to God Almighty, my Creator and Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary his mother and all the Saints in Heaven' are to be found. The Bury wills are more conservative in outlook with no references to 'God Almighty my Creator and Saviour' in their preambles. In a number of cases Londoners also invoked 'additional' saints to intercede on their behalf.

Burial choices also show differences; a considerable number of Bury testators required a simple Christian burial without giving details of where they wish to be buried; however most chose their parish churches and churchyards. Londoners were more precise and many specified particular locations alongside dead loved ones in order to be reunited in death. Widows, particularly, wanted to be reunited with their husbands. Londoners made more elaborate funeral provisions, specifying torches, tapers, and the presence of poor men and women dressed in black or russet gowns to accompany the corpse; there are no such provisions in any of the Bury wills which again is suggestive of a more conservative outlook.

The belief in the power of intercessory prayers by the living for the dead in speeding their souls through Purgatory is to be found in the majority of these wills. In addition 14% of Londoners made provision for fixed term chantries compared with only 11% of Bury's inhabitants and 7% of Londoners (2% from Bury) included provision for masses, sometimes with singing for the benefit of their souls. Post-mortem bequests for pilgrimages was more popular with Bury's inhabitants than with the Londoners, although the reasons for this is not clear.

Charitable provisions in both towns were based on the seven works of mercy. These precepts guided many of these men and women in providing doles for those less well off than themselves. The deserving poor, sick and infirm and prisoners were remembered, particularly in London, where they received doles, clothing food and fuel, in return for their prayers; the prayers of the poor were considered especially efficacious. Bequests to the mendicant orders of friars attracted considerable numbers of bequests in both towns no doubt because of their vows of poverty, and their preaching skills which appealed to the laity.

The growth in church building during this period is reflected in many of these wills in both towns. Many London churches had bell-towers constructed, as well as glazing and roof works and internal works. In Bury, St. James's church was building its bell-tower whilst St. Mary's was having major works to the chancel. Again these donations reflected the parishioners, involvement in their parish churches, particularly their concern for the embellishment of the fabric and internal spaces for which they were responsible. In addition to specific donations for these major building works, a number of testators also provided money for the provision of vestments and books.

In the disposal of their goods, members of the immediate family were the principal beneficiaries: widows and surviving children received the bulk of the goods. There are

considerable differences between the bequests of widows and those of men. Widows remembered a wider circle of family and friends, and singled out particular items to be given to those closest to them. The fact that widows enjoyed a greater freedom of choice in how they chose to distribute their goods should come as no surprise. They were released from the constraints of married life, where their own lives had been governed by their husbands and all their possessions had passed to their husbands' control. London widows could largely dispose of their goods as they wished; men were constrained by London custom. London widows also had far more opportunities than their Bury counterparts, because of the London custom of *legitim*, whereby they were entitled to a third, or a half of their husbands' goods if there were no surviving children from the marriage, as well as a third or half of their husband property.⁴

One of the most striking differences between married men in London and Bury concerns the appointment of their widows to be their executors; whilst 98% of Londoners with a surviving wife appointed their widows as executors, either to act sole or with other individuals, only 52% of the married men with a surviving wife in Bury St. Edmunds did so. The reasons are unclear, but one explanation may be that London women were more involved in their husbands' work, and so would know about their goods and debtors as well as any outstanding debts to suppliers which, as widows they were able to discharge more effectively than their Bury counterparts. Widows however often turned to people outside the immediate family when choosing executors, and were much more likely than men to select members of the clergy. Again probably the lack of close kin meant that these women looked further afield for support.

There are striking, if not unexpected, differences between both towns in regard to book ownership. Whilst many clerical and lay men and women in London possessed service books, a number also owned copies of didactic works and secular books. The most

⁴ See Barron, 'Widows World' in C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton, eds., *Medieval London Widows* (London, 1994), pp. xiii-xxxiv.

interesting is William Palmer, rector of St. Alphage who, apart from his service books, owned a copy of *Piers Plowman*, the only English work recorded amongst these London owners. All the Bury book owners only possessed service books, again reflecting their more conservative nature. Further, there are incidental references to parish libraries in London. In Bury the abbey's library, one of the most important in the country, also made available their books to the elite of the town, and many of London's religious houses also lent books from their own libraries..

There were major differences between these two towns, one was the capital of the country extending its influence nationwide, and governed by its own Mayor and Aldermen, and the other was an important regional centre governed by one of the wealthiest monasteries in the country, where self determination would not come until the dissolution of the Abbey in 1538. But in both towns, the evidence of these wills suggests that men and women were concerned about the fate of their souls, their bodies and their fellow men.

Appendices

Appendix 1. Archdeacon of London Register of Copy Wills: Concordance data ¹

All entries in this appendix are based on the original index in the Archdeacon's Register which recorded each person and the year of granting probate. The date of the testament and the date of probate are taken from each will. Folio reference relates to the original references entered in the index and Fitch foliation uses the references in M. Fitch, ed., *Index to Testamentary Records in the Archdeaconry of London, (1363)-1700, now preserved in Guildhall Library, London, vol. 1 (London, 1979)*.

Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
LOYS alias Tyler	John	03/11/1393	06/11/1393	1393 f.12	1
LORVER	John	07/11/1393	01/11/1393	1393 f.12	1
SAVAGE	John	24/11/1393	06/12/1393	1393 f.12	1
LECHE	Richard	26/05/1393	07/12/1393	1393 f.12v.	1v
CLERK	John	20/11/1393	29/11/1393	1393 f.12v	1v
SANLET	William	20/07/1393	30/12/1393	1393 f.13	2
KNIGHT	Margery	12/10/1393	23/12/1393	1393 f.13	2
MANBY	Robert	16/11/1393	21/11/1393	1393 ff.13-13v	2-2v
HUNT	Roger	05/12/1393	11/12/1393	1393 ff.13v-14	2v-3
HUNT	Roger	05/12/1393	05/12/1393	1393 f.14	3
MARLEBERGH	Roger	18/10/1393	12/12/1393	1393 f.14v.	3v
BYRDEYN	Margaret	07/12/1393	15/12/1393	1393 f.14v	3v
HALLE	Nicholas	09/12/1391	24/12/1391	1393 f.15	4
WESTMORE	Thomas	08/01/1392	01/01/1393	1393 f.15	4
LEDEREDE	Matilda	25/10/1393	16/01/1393	1393 ff.15-15v	4-4v
SPALDYNG	Simon	11/10/1393	23/01/1393/4	1393 f.15v	4v
MALTON	William	06/01/1392/3	23/01/1393/4	1393 f.15v	4v
ORPYNG	Emmote	16/08/1392	18 /02/1393	1393 ff.15v-16	4v-5
HOLME	John	24/08/1393	20/09/1393	1393 f.16	5
at HALLE	Richard		24/04/1393/4	1393 f.16	5
TWYKFORD	Agnes	29/11/1393	03/02/1393/4	1393 f.16	5
PENNE	Matilda	04/11/1392	03/02/1392/3	1393 ff.16v-17	5v-6
BARET	John	12/12/1393	28/02/1393/4	1393 f.17	6
PYLTON	Robert	12/12/1393	28/02/1393/4	1393 f.17	6
HAWKE	Thomas	03/02/1393/4	04/02/1393/4	1393 f.17v	6v
SKARLET	Alice	05/08/1393	08/02/1393/4	1393 f.17v	6v
CLERKE	Richard	24/01/1393/4	05/02/1393/4	1393 f.17v	6v
MANTEL	John	26/02/1393/4	02/02/1393/4	1393 f.17v	6v
CAUNTON	Laurence	25/01/1393/4	28/02/1393/4	1393 f.18	7
GYSLINGHAM	Thomas	16/05/1392	25/02/1393/4	1393 ff.18-18v	7-7v
FOXCOTE	Thomas	24/02/1393	27/02/1393	1393 ff.18v-19	7v-8
RUDLYNN	John	17/01/1393	03/03/1393	1393 f.19	8
JOHN	Stephen	13/10/1393	20/03/1394	1393 f.19	8
EATON	Thomas	27/01/1393	21/03/1393	1393 ff.19-19v	8-8v
RANDOLF	Stephen	13/03/1393	22/03/1393	1393 f.19v	8v
SAWLETTE	Christine	07/03/1393	23/03/1393	1393 f.20	9
SANFFREY	Richard	11/11/1393	29/03/1393	1393 f.20	9
ROMENEY	Agnes	22/09/1393	24/09/1393	1393 f.20v	9v
KYRKTON	Thomas	08/02/1393	not given in register	1393 f.20v	9v
PYE	Helen	28/01/1393	08/08/1394	1393 f.20v	9v
WYGHT	Elianora	18/12/1394	12/02/1394/5	1394 f.9	10
DUNCHE	Geoffrey	23/01/1393/4	21/02/1393/4	1394 ff.9-9v	10-10v
CLAYDON	John	30/01/1393/4	23/02/1393/4	1394 f.9v	10v

¹ G.L. MS. 9051/1

Appendices

Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
LANDGAU	Richard	04/02/1393/4	not given	1394 f.9v	10v
BUSSHEYE	John	begining of this will missing	19/03/1393/4	1394 f.11	11
DUNCH	Thomas	12/03/1393/4	17/03/1393/4	1394 f.11	11
FURZWATER	John	19/03/1393/4	23/03/1393/4	1394 ff.11-11v	11-11v
RUSSELL	John	11/03/1393/4	18/03/1393/4	1394 f.11v	11v
CHAUMBRE	Emma	06/02/1393/4	08/02/1393/4	1394 f.11v	11v
WANDESFORDE	Mary	07/01/1393/4	05/04/1395	1394 f.11v	11v
DUNHEAD	Matilda	25/10/1394	16/03/1394/5	1394 f.12	12
SMYTH	Agnes	08/04/1395	18/04/1395	1394 f.12	12
BRENT	Walter	02/06/1394	30/04/1395	1395 f.1	12v
BYSOUTH	John	24/04/1395	03/05/1395	1395 f.1	12v
EYE	Thomas de	31/12/1394	16/04/1395	1395 f.1	12v
FYSSHERE	John	19/05/1395	22/05/1395	1395 f.2	13
BLADYNGTON	Thomas de	23/04/1395	30/04/1395	1395 f.2	13
GLEMESFORD	Julianna	16/03/1394	24/05/1395	1395 ff.2v-3	13v-14
FYKILDENE	Peter	10/03/1394/5	03/06/1395	1395 f.3	14
SCORE	Richard	27/05/1395	04/06/1395	1395 f.3	14
CARLETON	Henry	03/06/1395	07/06/1395	1395 ff.3-3v	14-14v
CRINEWELL	Thomas	03/06/1395	07/06/1395	1395 f.3v	14v
CASTEL	William	23/05/1395	02/06/1395	1395 f.3v	14v
HANDYMAN	Gilbert	12/10/1394	16/11/1394	1395 f.4	15
BRYDBROOK	Geoffrey	21/09/1394	22/11/1394	1395 f.4	15
HENRY	Richard	25/06/1393	23/11/1394	1395 ff.4-4v	15-15v
de la LANDE de GUERNSEY	William	not given	27/11/1394	1395 f.4v	15v
BENE	Margery	13/10/1394	29/11/1394	1395 ff.4v-5	15v-16
RANKYN	Thomas	28/10/1394	08/11/1394	1395 f.5	16
KENT	John	27/10/1394	not given	1395 f.5v	16v
LEO	John	12/11/1394	19/12/1394	1395 ff.5v-6	16v-17
SUDBURY	Margaret	10/06/1394	20/11/1394	1395 ff.6-6v	17-17v
BARGER	Robert	11/10/1394	01/12/1394	1395 f.6v	17v
CLAYDICH	John	20/10/1394	08/12/1394	1395 ff.6v-7v	17v-18v
ESSEX	John	05/12/1394	11/12/1394	1395 f.7v	18v
ARSSCELL	Thomas	29/10/1394	07/12/1394	1395 ff.7v-8	18v-19
LYNEDRAPER	William	24/10/1394	not given	1395 f.8	19
YPE	John	06/12/1394	14/12/1394	1395 f.8	19
MASCHAL	Matilda	26/11/1394	16/12/1394	1395 ff.8-8v	19-19v
BONANNRE	John	27/12/1394	02/01/1394/5	1395 f.9	20
WEST	Robert	23/01/1394/5	26/01/1394/5	1395 f.9	20
TYLLWORTH	Elizabeth, heiress of mother Johanna	25/01/1394/5	30/01/1394/5	1395 f.9	20
HERNY	Alice	03/01/1394/5	07/01/1394/5	1395 f.9v	20v
GRAVENEY	John	24/10/1393	08/01/1394/5	1395 f.9v	20v
BENTELEY	John	02/02/1394/5	13/02/1394/5	1395 f.9v	20v
VYNE	Nicholas	06/06/1395	07/06/1395	1395 f.10	21
WALE	Richard	11/06/1395	15/06/1395	1395 f.10	21
STAFHURST	Thomas	20/04/1395	16/06/1395	1395 f.10	21
PYKYN	John	18/06/1395	18/06/1395	1395 ff.10-10v	21-21v
LANGFORD	Beatrix	23/06/1395	26/06/1395	1395 f.10v	21v
JAMES	Henry	03/07/1395	05/07/1395	1395 f.10v	21v
HYRST	John	05/06/1395	06/07/1395	1395 f.11	22
BURTON	Alan	04/07/1395	not given	1395 f.11	22
WORCETERE	John	15/06/1395	06/07/1395	1395 f.11	22
AUSLEE	John	10/07/1395	10/07/1395	1395 ff.11-11v	22-22v
ROBERD	Margaret	19/07/1395	12/07/1395	1395 f.11v	22v

Appendices

Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
LABFORD	Alice	17/07/1395	23/07/1395	1395 f.11v	22v
CHAPMAN	Thomas	21/01/1394	02/08/1395	1395 ff.11v-12 + insert	22v-23
STEPYNG	Frowyng	06/08/1395	08/08/1395	1395 f.12v	23v
MANYKYN	Lodekynus	04/08/1395	06/08/1395	1395 ff.12v-13	23v-24
ZONTIN		16/07/1395	19/07/1395	1395 f.13	24
GRISONUS	John	06/08/1395	09/08/1395	1395 ff.13-13v	24-24v
STEPHEN	William	11/07/1395	06/08/1395	1395 ff.13v-14	24v-25
WODEWARD	Thomas	27/07/1395	27/07/1395	1395 f.14	25
PANESHERST	John	19/07/1395	06/08/1395	1395 f.14	25
WYSEBECHE	Peter	25/03/1395	08/08/1395	1395 ff.14-14v	25-25v
HAWETON	Henry de	13/08/1395	13/08/1395	1395 f.14v	25v
KYNG	Laurence	07/08/1395	13/08/1395	1395 f.14v	25v
FELTON	Roger	12/08/1395	16/08/1395	1395 f.15	26
NEWENHAM	Henry of	12/08/1395	14/08/1395	1395 f.15	26
THRUS	Alexander	29/07/1395	12/08/1395	1395 ff.15-15v	26-26v
VANLET	Godfrey	13/08/1395	30/08/1395	1395 f.15v	26v
HESEWYKE	John	28/07/1395	27/08/1395	1395 f.15v	26v
BASSE	John	20/08/1395	28/08/1395	1395 ff.15v-16	26v-27
DENTON	Ralph de	23/07/1395	26/08/1395	1395 f.16	27
WADRESEY	John	03/08/1395	31/08/1395	1395 f.16	27
SHUATO	Thomas	28/08/1395	31/08/1395	1395 ff.16-16v	27-27v
GYLE	John	28/08/1395	31/08/1395	1395 f.16v	27v
KEMP	Thomas	27/08/1395	04/09/1395	1395 f.16v	27v
FYCHET	Margaret	20/08/1395	03/09/1395	1395 f.16v	27v
LONDON	Robert	23/08/1395	03/09/1395	1395 ff.16v-17	27v-28
SCHETE	Robert	15/08/1395	02/09/1395	1395 f.17	28
THURSTON	Andrew	04/09/1395	08/09/1395	1395 f.17	28
BEDFORD	William	03/09/1395	07/09/1395	1395 ff.17-17v	28-28v
VILLERS	Nicholas	25/08/1395	07/09/1395	1395 f.17v	28v
DELE	William	30/08/1395	Not recorded	1395 f.17v	28v
CLYFTON	Richard	04/09/1395	11/09/1395	1395 f.18	29
FRANKELYN	William	25/08/1395	11/09/1395	1395 f.18	29
GRANEVE	Bartholomew	10/09/1395	11/09/1395	1395 ff.18-18v	29-29v
van AKEN	Herman	24/08/1395	13/09/1395	1395 f.18v	29v
BOWMERSS	Robert	13/08/1395	14/08/1395	1395 f.18v	29v
STONELEY	Walter	13/09/1395	16/09/1395	1395 f.18v	29v
GUENESSONE	William of Harthian	13/09/1395	16/09/1395	1395 f.19	30
GYLDEFORD	Henry	15/08/1395	17/09/1395	1395 f.19	30
BUTTON	Isabella	09/05/1395	17/09/1395	1395 ff.19-19v	30-30v
CLAPTON	Robert	21/05/1395	19/09/1395	1395 f.19v	30v
BILLYNGES	William	14/09/1395	16/09/1395	1395 f.20	31
CHALNEYE	Christine	18/09/1395	23/09/1395	1395 f.20	31
CHALMESDENE	Robert	13/09/1395	23/09/1395	1395 ff.20-20v	31-31v
COLMAN	Walter	15/09/1395	23/09/1395	1395 f.20v	31v
TREWE	Walter van der	18/09/1395	not recorded	1395 f.20v	31v
SCORE	William	09/09/1395	29/09/1395	1395 ff.20v-21	31v-32
DONYNGTON	John	26/09/1395	31/09/1395	1395 f.21	32
HENDYSOME	Robert	09/08/1395	31/09/1395	1395 f.21	32
BIRTON	John de	02/10/1395	04/10/1395	1395 ff.21-21v	32-32v
ROUS	Robert	06/10/1395	06/10/1395	1395 f.21v	32v
MABANK	Reginald	27/09/1395	07/10/1395	1395 f.21v	32v
MAY	Thomas	07/10/1395	missing until 1396 f.3	1395 f.21v	32v
COPLYN	Robert	10/08/1396	12/08/1396	1396 f.3	33
SEYS	John	04/03/1395	22/09/1396	1396 f.3	33
WELLYS	Thomas	04/08/1396	30/08/1396	1396 f.3v	33v

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Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
ORPYNGTON	Richard	03/09/1396	07/09/1396	1396 f.3v	33v
RIDESDALE	John de	05/09/1396	11/09/1396	1396 ff.3v-4	33v-34
MARTYNE	Agnes	31/08/1396	15/09/1396	1396 f.4	34
CROYDON	John de	09/07/1394	18/09/1396	1396 ff.4-4v	34-34v
BALSHAM	John	04/09/1396	19/09/1396	1396 f.5	35
DRAPER	Thomas	20/09/1396	23/09/1396	1396 f.5	35
FRANKES	Richard	18/09/1396	22/09/1396	1396 ff.5-5v	35-35v
DREYSCHO	Stacey	21/09/1396	22/09/1396	1396 f.5v	35v
WHYKES	Alain	22/09/1396	26/09/1396	1396 ff.5v-6	35v-36
PAXTON	Thomas	23/09/1396	26/09/1396	1396 f.6	36
KNAPETTE	Thomas	01/09/1396	30/09/1396	1396 f.6	36
TOPCLYFF	Adam	14/10/1396	24/10/1396	1396 f.6v	36v
LEDBURY	John	07/10/1396	27/10/1396	1396 ff.6v-7v	36v-37v
UNDERWODE	Margaret	27/09/1396	05/11/1396	1396 f.8	38
MOLANDI	James Francis	07/10/1396	22/10/1396	1396 ff.8-8v	38-38v
LUDNEY	Walter	04/11/1396	28/11/1396	1396 ff.8v-9	38v-39
BURTON	John	01/12/1396	04/12/1396	1396 ff.9-9v	39-39v
SAYRE	Peter	08/11/1396	04/12/1396	1396 ff.9v-10	39v-40
MONALDI	James Francis	SEE 166 ABOVE	SEE 166 ABOVE	1396 ff.10-10v	40-40v
WELHAM	Richard	08/11/1396	13/12/1396	1396 ff.10v-11	40v-41
DEYTHUM	William	14/12/1396	18/12/1396	1396 f.11v	41v
BRECHE	John	03/02/1395	28/12/1396	1396 ff.11v-12	41v-42
SPERSOLDES	Peter	12/11/1396	30/12/1396	1396 ff.12-12v	42-42v
LUCAS	John	10/01/1396	31/12/1396	1396 f.12v	42v
BOLE	Richard	05/01/1396	31/01/1396	1396 f.12v	42v
WYLYNGHAM	Elias	01/08/1396	16/12/1396	1396 f.13	43
TOLWORTH	William	08/01/1396/7	18/01/1396/7	1396 f.13	43
HAYWARD	Thomas	31/10/1396	08/01/1396/7	1396 f.13v	43v
SELES	Johanna	06/12/1396	19/02/1396/7	1396 f.14	44
PALYNG	John	17/01/1396/7	26/02/1396/7	1396 ff.14-15	44-45
HAYTLE BROMLE	called John	16/10/1396	23/02/1396/7	1396 f.15v	45v
OKLE	Alice	16/02/1395/6	26/02/1396/7	1396 ff.15v-16	45v-46
BONDE	Simone	12/02/1396/7	19/03/1396/7	1396 f.16v	46v
WELLES	John	20/11/1396	23/03/1396/7	1396 f.16v	46v
LONGE	John	30/03/1397	04/04/1397	1397 f.1	47
OKKELEY	John	05/03/1397	18/04/1397	1397 ff.1-1v	47-47v
SENECHAL	John	21/03/1396	19/04/1397	1397 ff.1v-2	47v-48
WOOTON	William	01/10/1396	20/04/1397	1397 ff.2-2v	48-48v
GRENDON	James	20/04/1397	26/04/1397	1397 f.3	49
DOSSER	Simon	04/10/1393	27/04/1397	1397 ff.3v-4	49v-50
CAUNTERBURY	Henry	08/04/1396	22/05/1397	1397 ff.4-4v	50-50v
CLOPTON	John	21/05/1397	22/05/1397	1397 ff.4v-5	50v-51
COMPER	Richard	27/03/1397	24/05/1397	1397 f.5	51
SCUT	Thomas	21/05/1397	28/05/1397	1397 f.5	51
NODYON	William	18/10/1396	07/06/1397	1397 f.5v	51v
PETER	William	09/08/1397	22/08/1397	1397 f.5v	51v
BRAMBEL	Edmund	29/06/1397	21/08/1397	1397 f.6	52
WESTON	Laurence	23/05/1397	21/08/1397	1397 ff.6-6v	52-52v
HORNCASTELL	Walter	28/08/1397	03/09/1397	1397 f.6v	52v
GOLDBURY	Everard	18/10/1396	04/09/1397	1397 ff.6v-7	52v-53
HOREWODE	John	18/08/1397	04/09/1397	1397 ff.7-7v	53-53v
WEST	Robert	16/08/1397	05/09/1397	1397 ff.7v-8	53v-54
LAKE	John	29/08/1397	09/10/1397	1397 ff.8-8v	54-54v
KESTON	William	01/09/1397	05/09/1397	1397 f.9	55
CLIVESLEY	John	20/04/1397	27/09/1397	1397 f.9v	55v
ASTON	William	not recorded	not recorded	1397 ff.9v-10	55v-56

Appendices

Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
GARLYK	Simon	08/10/1397	not recorded	1397 ff.10-10v	56-56v
BARTON	William	15/03/1396	11/10/1397	1397 f.10v	56v
EDWARD	Walter	16/01/1397	18/02/1397	1397 f.10v	56v
FRAUNCEYS	Edmund	11/09/1397	23/10/1397	1397 f.11	57
TOLLER	Hugh	29/09/1397	23/10/1397	1397 ff.11-11v	57-57v
NORTON of Shorditch	William	02/09/1397	23/11/1397	1397 f.11v	57v
COLMAN	Henry	24/10/1397	26/10/1397	1397 f.11v	57v
LEGGE	John	23/10/1397	03/11/1397	1397 f.12	58
CHARYNGES	John	05/11/1397	07/11/1397	1397 ff.12-12v	58-58v
HALLE	Cecilia	06/04/1395	31/10/1397	1397 ff.12v-13	58v-59
SCHARMAN	John	19/11/1397	22/11/1397	1397 f.13	59
WYCHERLE	Robert	10/11/1397	15/11/1397	1397 f.13	59
GAYTRIKES	Thomas	26/11/1397	01/12/1397	1397 f.13v	59v
GATE	John	28/11/1397	07/12/1397	1397 f.14	60
ROBYN called DONET	John	30/12/1397	30/12/1397	1397 f.14	60
FRAUNCEYS	Richard	03/01/1397/8	09/01/1397/8	1397 f.14v	60v
GOLDRYNG	John	29/12/1397	09/01/1397/8	1397 ff.14v-15v	60v-61v
ATTEFELD	Alice	29/11/1397	24/01/1397/8	1397 f.15v	61v
SALESBURY	William	20/01/1397/8	24/01/1397/8	1397 f.16	62
LENENDALE snr.	John	04/07/1396	30/01/1397/8	1397 ff.16-16v	62-62v
BATESWAYN	John	07/01/1397/8	09/01/1397/8	1397 ff.16v-17	62v-63
TYKELL	Agnes	29/12/1397	11/02/1397/8	1397 ff.17-17v	63-63v
PENY	William	19/02/1397/8	/02/1397/8	1397 f.17v	63v
FARNESYRE	Thomas	09/02/1397/8	08/03/1397/8	1397 f.17v	63v
CAUSTON	Roger	07/11/1393	25/03/1398	1398 f.1	64
PANCHEY	Thomas	18/03/1398	30/04/1398	1398 f.1	64
GRAVENEY	Matilda	07/02/1397/8	02/04/1398	1398 ff.1-1v	64-64v
HAKEY	John	27/07/1397	12/04/1398	1398 f.1v	64v
BENE	William de	11/08/1397	16/04/1398	1398 f.1v	64v
BYNGFELDE	Robert	28/02/1397/8	15/04/1398	1398 f.1v	64v
ESTMERE	John	15/04/1398	21/04/1398	1398 f.2	65
TALWORTH	Emote	05/03/1397/8	20/04/1398	1398 f.2	65
VALE	William	23/04/1398	29/04/1398	1398 f.2	65
PEYNTOR	Roger	not recorded	04/00/1398	1398 f.2v	65v
NOKE	Robert atte	28/05/1398	04/06/1398	1398 f.2v	65v
BAYON	Richard	10/05/1398	05/06/1398	1398 f.2v	65v
RICHARD	William	28/07/1397	11/06/1398	1398 ff.2v-3	65v-66
COSSALE	Thomas	24/05/1398	07/06/1398	1398 f.3	66
HAY	John	03/06/1398	12/06/1398	1398 ff.3-3v	66-66v
MARTYN	Thomas	19/05/1398	14/06/1398	1398 f.3v	66v
CALTHORPE	John	05/06/1398	18/06/1398	1398 ff.3v-4	66v-67
LYNDELEY WORCESTE	alias John	17/06/1398	24/06/1398	1398 f.4	67
BLEWELL	John	25/05/1398	24/06/1398	1398 f.4v	67v
DONCASTRE	Thomas	17/07/1398	06/08/1398	1398 f.4v	67v
OPTON	Rose	17/08/1398	19/08/1398	1398 f.4v	67v
CORBET	John	04/08/1398	26/09/1398	1398 f.5	68
GATE	Thomas	02/09/1398	03/10/1398	1398 ff.5-5v	68-68v
STACHYSDEN	Alice	28/05/1398	11/10/1398	1398 f.5v	68v
HUNYNGTON	Robert	01/11/1398	12/11/1398	1398 ff.5v-6	68v-69
BENET	Geoffrey	06/11/1398	27/11/1398	1398 f.6	69
PALMERE	Thomas	20/04/1398	08/12/1398	1398 ff.6-6v	69-69v
GAYLARD	Roger	10/12/1398	30/12/1398	1398 f.6v	69v
van MUNSTER	Henry	31/12/1398	04/01/1398/9	1389 ff.6v-7	69v-70
MATESHALE	John	03/01/1398/9	04/01/1398/9	1398 f.7	70
SPALDYNG	Katherine	22/11/1398	not recorded	1398 f.7	70
SMELT	John	04/12/1398	01/02/1398/9	1398 f.7	70

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Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
BECHEFONT	Robert	30/11/1398	04/02/1398/9	1398 f.7v	70v
GERALD	John	12/01/1397	07/02/1398/9	1398 f.7v	70v
STOKE	William	07/12/1398	08/02/1398/9	1398 f.7v	70v
TAMWORTH	Henry	18/07/1391	14/02/1398/9	1398 f.8	71
HAMOND	John	05/02/1398/9	03/03/1398/9	1398 f.8	71
WADDESWORTH	William	07/02/1398/9	19/03/1398/9	1398 ff.8-9	71-72
BUSSH	John	04/12/1398	20/03/1398/9	1398 ff.9-9v	72-72v
POUNTFREYT	John	14/10/1398	28/03/1399	1398 ff.9v-10	72v-73
POUNTFREYT	John	19/10/1398	28/03/1399	1398 f.10	73
HULL	Stephen	22/02/1398/9	30/03/1399	1398 f.11	74
PARKER	John	17/02/1398/9	30/03/1399	1398 ff.11-11v	74-74v
GRONYNG	Albert	12/03/1398/9	03/04/1399	1398 f.11v	74v
KNOLLES	William	10/03/1399	07/04/1399	1398 f.11v	74v
FORSTER	John	19/01/1398/9	08/04/1399	1398 f.12	75
WALTHAM	William	02/04/1399	09/04/1399	1398 f.12	75
BRAWHYNGE	Thomas	08/03/1380/1	not recorded	1398 f.12v	75v
AGHTON	John	14/11/1398	16/04/1399	1398 f.12v	75v
SMYTH of Walden	Richard	01/05/1399	07/05/1399	1398 f.12v	75v
VALE	Margery	10/04/1399	11/05/1399	1398 f.13	76
FULLERE	Adam	20/03/1398/9	10/05/1399	1398 f.13	76
BRICCHEFORD	William	09/10/1398	28/05/1399	1398 f.13v	76v
CHADDE	John	29/05/1399	19/06/1399	1398 f.13v	76v
SWOON of Baddow, Essex	Gt. William	20/09/1396	25/06/1399	1398 ff.13v-14	76v-77
GYFFARD	Richard	10/03/1397	02/07/1399	1398 ff.14-14v	77-77v
STONEHAM	Margery	04/11/1398	10/07/1399	1398 ff.14v-15	77v-78
SPAKEMAN	John	29/07/1399	04/08/1399	1398 f.15	78
CODENHAM	Robert	06/08/1399	not recorded	1398 ff.15-15v	78-78v
HOOBOK	Robert	04/08/1399	13/08/1399	1398 f.15v	78v
GRUBBE	Peter	28/08/1399	06/09/1399	1398 f.15v	78v
SOUTHERON	Robert	01/07/1399	13/08/1399	1398 f.16	79
GEORGE	John	17/08/1399	23/08/1399	1398 f.16	79
STRANGESHALL	William	31/08/1399	12/09/1399	1398 f.16	79
YEALDYNG	Nicholas	14/08/1399	17/09/1399	1398 ff.16-16v	79-79v
GIFFARD	Richard	10/03/1397	not recorded	1398 f.16v	79v
UPSALE	Robert	20/02/1398	04/09/1399	1398 f.16v	79v
LACOK	Robert	23/09/1399	26/09/1399	1398 f.17	79A
STAUNTON	John	30/09/1399	30/09/1399	1398 f.18	79A
GOLDSMYTH	Robert	05/10/1399	05/10/1399	1398 ff.17-17v	79A-79Av
COK	Agnes	04/10/1399	06/10/1399	1398 f.17v	79Av
BOLTON of Lancaster	Hugh de	05/10/1399	07/10/1399	1398 ff.17v-18	79Av-80
LYTON	John	03/10/1399	08/10/1399	1398 f.18	80
PAYS	John	06/10/1399	11/10/1399	1398 ff.18-18v	80-80v
PRYCHARD	John	29/10/1399	11/11/1399	1398 f.18v	80v
VYNE	Richard	24/11/1399	28/11/1399	1398 ff.18v-19	80v-81
SOUTHLOND	Thomas	24/08/1399	02/12/1399	1398 ff.19-19v	81-81v
RANDES	John	19/09/1399	14/11/1399	1398 f.19v	81v
KETERYNG	John	02/11/1399	10/11/1399	1398 f.19v	81v
CLERK	John	12/12/1399	15/12/1399	1398 f.19v	81v
MYCHELL	Agnes	01/08/1399	04/12/1399	1398 ff.19v-20	81v-82
WHYTE	Richard	14/07/1399	20/10/1399	1398 f.20	82
STEBENHITHE	Richard	03/08/1390	23/12/1399	1398 f.20	82
HAVERYNG	Thomas junior of Hoxton	22/12/1399	26/12/1399	1398 f.20v	82v
DAWE	Reginald	20/08/1399	26/12/1399	1398 f.20v	82v
SPENCER	Sybilla	02/10/1399	02/01/1399/1400	1398 f.21	83
PURRY	John	24/12/1399	03/01/1399/1400	1398 f.21	83

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TYLE	John	05/01/1399/1400	09/01/1399/1400	1398 f.21	83
WYNCHCOMBE	John	12/01/1399/1400	21/01/1399/1400	1398 ff.21-21v	83-83v
SHEREWYND	Hugh	19/01/1399/1400	23/01/1399/1400	1398 f.21v	83v
BOLYNG	John	19/11/1399	24/01/1399/1400	1398 f.21v	83v
HARDYNG	William	09/04/1392	27/01/1399/1400	1398 ff.21v-22	83v-84
van NEWE CONTREY	John called Christian	19/02/1399/1400	26/02/1399/1400	1398 f.22	84
ROPPEY	John	25/02/1399/1400	28/02/1399/1400	1398 f.22	84
ATTE WATER	Ralph	12/02/1399/1400	28/02/1399/1400	1398 f.22v	84v
HOTH	John	11/03/1399/1400	16/03/1399/1400	1398 f.22v	84v
COFYN	John	05/02/1399/1400	18/03/1399/1400	1398 f.22v	84v
MELTON	William	02/01/1399/1400	not recorded	1398 f.23	85
HONEYWODE	Thomas	15/03/1399/1400	20/03/1399/1400	1398 f.23	85
BRAYTOFT	Idomena	11/03/1399/1400	26/03/1400	1398 ff.23-23v	85-85v
CORNES	Thomas	24/03/1399/1400	not recorded	1398 f.23v	85v
GORYNG	William	29/03/1400	05/04/1400	1398 f.23v	85v
SALMAN	William	26/02/?	not recorded	1400. f.1	86
GLYMESFORD	Margery	22/04/1400	24/04/1400	1400 f.1	86
NOT RECORDED	George son of Walter	not given	03/05/1400	1400 ff.1-1v	86-86v
KIRKEBY	William	06/04/1400	13/05/1400	1400 f.1v	86v
SPROTBURGH	Robert de	08/05/1400	missing	1400 f.1v-3	86v
TOURS	Denise de	top of folio 3v missing.	29/06/1400	1400 ff.3v-4	87
HEDYNGTON	John	09/04/1400	24/06/1400	1400 ff.4-4v	87-87v
BERNES	Juliana	20/06/1400	02/07/1400	1400 f.4v	87v
GALON	John	06/07/1400	09/07/1400	1400 ff.4v-5	87v-88
PAGE	Richard	15/07/1400	23/07/1400	1400 f.5	88
WILKES	Joan	24/07/1400	27/07/1400	1400 ff.5-5v	88-88v
PALMERE	William	20/07/1400	27/07/1400	1400 ff.5v-6	88v-89
ASTON	Emma	01/04/1400	not recorded;	1400 f.6	89
GODESPEDE	Robert	30/07/1400	11/08/1400	1400 ff.6-6v	89-89v
HADSTOK	Thomas	22/06/1400	12/08/1400	1400 f.6v	89v
MAYN	John	16/08/1400	18/08/1400	1400 ff.6v-7	89v-90
CANYNGGES	John	10/08/1400	16/08/1400	1400 f.7	90
ETON	Walter	03/09/1400	not recorded	1400 ff.7-7v	90-90v
WYLMER	Simon of Louvaine	24/07/1400	22/09/1400	1400 f.7v	90v
Atte LEE	John	07/09/1400	21/09/1400	1400 ff.7v-8	90v-91
GEROLD	John	20/09/1400	not given	1400 ff.8-8v	91-91v
van der STRETE	Lucas	12/06/1400	14/06/1400	1400 f.8v	91v
SMITH	Andrew	31/05/1399	22/10/1400	1400 ff.9-10	93-93
LYTYLLE	Beatrix	11/09/1400	22/10/1400	1400 f.10	93
MISTERTON	John	09/10/1400	10/10/1400	1400 f.10v	93v
NAVAUNT of Gasteyn	John de	27/08/1400	13/11/1400	1400 f.10v	93v
LOKIER of St. Albans	Richard	25/11/1399	14/12/1400	1400 f.10v	93v
POPE	Thomas	16/09/1396	15/12/1400	1400 ff.10v-11	93v-94
OXENFORD	Robert	25/09/1400	not recorded	1400 ff.10v-11 interleaf	92a
MORANTES	Thomas	28/10/1400	20/12/1400	1400 ff.11-11v	94-94v
TYRELL	John	26/12/1400	14/01/1400/1	1400 ff.11v-12	94v-95
SANDWICH	Sybil	12/01/1400/1	24/01/1400/1	1400 12-12v	95-95v
TORRE	John	15/01/1400/1	24/01/1400/1	1400 f.12v	95v
SPELLEY	Simon	23/02/1400/1	25/02/1400/1	1400 ff.12v-13	95v-96A
COMPTON	Simon	03/03/1401	04/04/1401	1400 f.13[1401]	96A
de LUDLOWE of London	Robert	Thursday after feast of B M 1399	20/03/1400/1	1400 ff.13-13v	96A-96Av
COTON	John	04/07/1401	18/07/1401	1400 ff.13v-14[1401]	96Av-96B
PREEST	Thomas	22/07/1401	25/08/1401	1400 f.14[1401]	96B
STEBENHITHE	Isabella	07/02/1400	05/10/1401	1400 ff.14-14v[1401]	96B-96Bv

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HOCHPONTE	William	08/11/1401	12/11/1401	1400 f.14v[1401]	96Bv
WY	Tillman	16/06/1401	10/11/1401	1400 f.14v[1401]	96Bv
FOURNE	Robert	02/07/1401	05/10/1402	1402. f.9	97
POUNFREYT	Thomas	25/10/1402	28/10/1402	1402, f. 9	97
BERNE	Margaret	21/09/1402	02/11/1402	1402, f. 9v	97v
HUBERD	John	12 /02/ 1400/1	14/11/1402	1402, f.9v	97v
JOLYFF	Robert	10/11/1402	14/11/1402	1402 f.10	98
CURTEYS	John	16/06/1401	19/11/1401	1402 f.10	98
MARLEBURGH London	of John	02//11/1402	19/11/1402	1402 ff.10-10v	98-98v
BURGOYNE	William	15/11/1402	28/11/1402	1402 f.10v	98v
DUDBOTE	Agnes	17/01/1400	11/12/1402	1402 ff.10v-11	98v-99
DRAWESWERD	William	16/11/1402	11/12/1402	1402 f.11	99
BUKSALL	John	15/11/1402	16/12/1402	1402 f.11v	99v
FOX	John	23/11/1402	19/12/1402	1402 f.11v	99v
POUNTNEY	Peter	13/12/1402	31/01/1402/3	1402 f.12	100
de KENT	John	30/01/1402/3	01/02/1402/3	1402 f.12	100
SAWGILL	Richard	24/11/1402	05/02/1402/3	1402 f.12	100
de WALTON	Nicholas	12/01/1402/3	08/02/1402/3	1402 f.12v	100v
KETELL	William	29/10/1402	15/02/1402/3	1402 f.12v	100v
PEGEON	John	05/02/1400	18/02/1402/3	1402 ff.12v-13	100v-101
BYGOD	John	14/02/1402/3	21/02/1402/3	1402 f.13	101
NAKYUNER	Arnold	11/02/1402/3	21/02/1402/3	1402. f.13	101
SKEET	Richard	05/12/1402	not recorded	1402 ff.13v-14	101v-102
SKEET	Richard	20/02/1402/3	01/03/1402/3	1402 f.14	102
BERESTELD	Bartholomew	30/12/1402	05/03/1402/3	1402 ff.14-14v	102-102v
DONCASTRE	William	15/03/1402/3	15/03/1402/3	1402 f.14v	102v
DONCASTRE snr.	John	05/03/1402/3	15/03/1402/3	1402 ff.14v and 1403 f.1	102v-103
DONCASTRE snr.	John	11/3/1402/3	15/03/1402/3	1403 f. 1	103
de THORPE	Stephen	20/01/1402/3	20/03/1402/3	1403, f.1	103
FITZHENRY	Conan	01/03/1402/3	02/04/1403	1403 ff.1-1v	103-103v
MILTON	Thomas	10/12/1400	11/04/1403	1403 f.1v	103v
BRACLE	William	05/02/1402/3	20/03/1403	1403 ff.1v-2	103v-104
OLYVER	Edmund	20/02/1402/3	06/05/1403	1403 ff.2-2v	104-104v
MASSEMYLE snr.	John	06/10/1401	08/05/1403	1403 ff.2v-3	104v-105
WYNDERFORE	Margery	25/05/1403	28/05/1403	1403 f.3	105
SKOT	John	19/05/1403	29/05/1403	1403 f.3	105
CHERCHE	John	01/06/1403	04/06/1403	1403 f.3v	105v
THAME alias Howard	Walter	26/05/1403	07/06/1403	1403 ff.3v-4	105v-106
LEE	Isabella	15/10/1402	17/06/1403	1403 ff.4-4v	106-106v
ROTOUR	John	07/03/1401	22/06/1403	1403 ff.4v-5	106v-107
DERLYNGTON	William	15/04/1402	27/06/1403	1403 ff.5-5v	107-107v
MAGTON	Gilbert	05/06/1403	09/07/1403	1403 f.6	108
SUNK	Colardus	20/07/1403	23/07/1403	1403 f.6	108
ELEYN	John	06/06/1403	24/07/1403	1403 ff.6-6v	108-108v
SYFREWAST	Katherine	01/08/1403	01/08/1403	1403 f.6v	108v
NEWYNTON	Alexander	07/08/1403	17/08/1403	1403 ff.6v-7	108v-109
COLEMAN	Isobell	03/09/1403	04/09/1403	1403 f.7	109
NOKET	Margery	27/07/1403	04/09/1403	1403 ff.7v-8	109v-110
LYRPE	Gilbert	17/05/1403	16/09/1403	1403 f.8	110
FOURNEYS	Thomas	03/02/1402	03/10/1403	1403 ff.8-8v	110-110v
BENYNGTON	Alice	24/01/1395/6	03/10/1403	1403 f.8v	110v
BALDOK	Alice	23/09/1403	08/10/1403	1403 ff.8v-9	110v-111
ARNOLD	Bowld	05/10/1403	10/10/1403	1403 f.9	111
BURLEE	Elizabeth	19/08/1400	13/10/1403	1403 ff.9-9v	111-111v
ESE	John	05/12/1402	16/10/1403	1403 ff.9v-10	111v-112

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RAYMOND	William	28/07/1403	18/10/1403	1403 ff.10-10v	112-112v
FELAW	Henry	01/07/1402	03/11/1403	1403 f.10v	112v
PEREPOYNE	Robert	11/06/1403	07/11/1403	1403 f.10v	112v
LORKYN	John	31/10/1403	12/11/1403	1403 f.10v	112v
DERLYNG	Edith	01/05/1401	29/11/1403	1403 f.11	113
TOLLAR	William	02/12/1403	06/12/1403	1403 f.11	113
CORANT	John	19/04/1403	06/12/1403	1403 f.11	113
de WYGHT	Rose	04/12/1403	10/12/1403	1403 f.11v	113v
YONGE	Agnes	08/10/1399	11/12/1403	1403 f.12	114
COTON	Thomas	05/12/1403	15/12/1403	1403 ff.12-12v	114-114v
WAYFER	Richard	18/12/1403	22/12/1403	1403 f.12v	114v
ROLF	Agnes	18/12/1403	03/01/1403/4	1403 f.13	115
ABOTT	John	02/10/1401	04/01/1403/4	1403 ff.13-13v	115-115v
RANDYS	sir John of Norfolk	17/12/1403	03/01/1403/4	1403 f.13v	115v
DELHOLME	John	02/12/1403	07/01/1403/4	1403 f.13v	115v
GYBBES	Richard of Leveryngton, Kent	24/09/1403	07/01/1403/4	1403 f.14	116
CHESEMAN	William	20/01/1403/4	22/01/1403/4	1403 f.14	116
MOKERON	John	11/12/1403	25/01/1403/4	1403 f.14v	116v
LYLE	William	20/01/1403/4	31/01/1403/4	1403 f.14v	116v
BRADLEY	John	23/02/1403/4	02/03/1403/4	1403 f.15	117
atte MORE alias Hamstede	Walter	02/02/1403/4	02/03/1403/4	1403 f.15	117
MYRNE	Robert	21/01/1403/4	02/03/1403/4	1403 f.15	117
MAN	Reginald	02/03/1403/4	10/03/1403/4	1403 ff.15-15v	117-117v
VYGERONE	John	12/03/1403/4	18/03/1403/4	1403 f.15v	117v
GRAMCER	Mayot le	04/11/1403	01/01/1403/4	1403 f.15v	117v
BECHEHAMPTON	William de	14/12/1403	22/03/1403/4	1403 ff.15v-16	117v-118
BAYRE	Thomas de	05/03/1398	not recorded	1403 f.16	118
HOOBOOK	Alice	02/03/1399	09/04/1404	1403 ff.16 and 1404 f.1	118-118v
LENENDALE	John	20/03/1403/4	10/04/1404	1404 f.1	118v
MADESHALE	Richard	19/04/1404	25/04/1404	1404 f.1	118v
ADAMSON Newcastle	of Ralph	15/04/1404	28/04/1404	1404 ff.1-2	118v-119
KELSELL	Lawrence	12/04/1404	29/04/1404	1404 f.2	119
LINCOLN	Robert	25/04/1404	30/04/1404	1404 ff.2-2v	119-119v
EYR	Simon	06/04/1404	07/05/1404	1404 f.2v	119v
STODELEY	Margaret	14/02/1403	11/05/1404	1404 f.2v	119v
CORET	William	14/04/1404	12/05/1404	1404 ff.2v-3	119v-120
HARYNGEYE	John	06/04/1404	23/05/1404	1404 f.3	120
BRYSE	Richard	08/05/1404	30/05/1404	1404 f.3	120
KYNGESBRIGGE	Thomas	03/06/1404	04/06/1404	1404 f.3	120
RAGENHALL	William de	12/01/1402/3	05/06/1404	1404 f.3v	120v
KYNG	Nicholas	05/06/1404	13/06/1404	1404 f.3v	120v
RAGENALL	William	12/01/1402/3	05/06/1404	1404 f.4	121
SPAYNE	John	13/06/1404	30/06/1404	1404 ff.4-4v	121-121v
TOR	John	04/03/1403	03/07/1404	1404 f.4v	121v
LYNDE	John	14/06/1404	17/06/1404	1404 f.6	122
MASSAGER Clerkenwell	of Richard	07/07/1404	17/07/1404	1404 f.6	122
WILLARD	Robert	07/07/1404	19/07/1404	1404 ff.6-6v	122-122v
WALSTED	Thomas	10/07/1404	19/07/1404	1404 f.6v	122v
OLTON	Walter	21/05/1404	22/06/1404	1404 f.6v	122v
MOTTE	Gamelyn	09/06/1404	23/06/1404	1404 f.7	123
BOTILLER	Richard	01/07/1404	05/07/1404	1404 f.7	123
BRIDPORT	Robert	09/07/1404	not recorded	1404 ff.7-7v	123-123v

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LENECOK	Thomas	12/08/1404	23/08/1404	1404 ff.7v-8	123v-124
LANDE	John	20/08/1404	26/08/1404	1404 f.8	124
WYNDENT	Christine	24/08/1404	30/08/1404	1404 f.8	124
GILMYN	William	06/12/1403	11/09/1404	1404 f.8	124
WHITAKER	Thomas	02/08/1404	15/09/1404	1404 ff.8-8v	124-124v
GRENEFELD	William	06/09/1404	17/09/1404	1404 f.8v	124v
CULLUL	Robert	14/09/1404	not recorded	1404 ff.8v-9	124v-125
BELTON	Marian	24/09/1404	31/09/1404	1404 f.9	125
CULVERHAM	John	15/02/1396	04/10/1404	1404 f.9	125
MAYN	Alice	01/10/1404	30/10/1404	1404 ff.9-9v	125-125v
NEUTON	Robert	11/09/1404	03/10/1404	1404 f.9v	125v
DAVYD	Thomas	14/09/1404	05/10/1404	1404 ff.9v-10	125v-126
STANYNG	John	09/10/1404	19/10/1404	1404 f.10	126
WHITAKER	Matilda	20/10/1404	27/10/1404	1404 f.10	126
STAKEFORD	Richard	26/10/1404	31/10/1404	1404 f.10v	126v
HOLOWEY	Amicia	08/07/1404	30/10/1404	1404 f.10v	126v
BOXFORD	John	13/06/1404	17/12/1404	1404 ff.10v-11	126v-127
HOTOT	Nicholas	17/11/1404	28/11/1404	1404 ff.11-11v	127-127v
VAVASOUR	Elizabeth	26/08/1404	26/11/1404	1404 f.11v	127v
THUROK	John	30/09/1404	13/12/1404	1404 f.12	128
FRER	Rose	04/11/1404	13/12/1404	1404 f.12	128
PARYS	John	24/11/1404	15/01/1404/5	1404 f.12v	128v
STAPYLTON of Nottingham, living in London in Phillip Lane next to Elsing Spital	John	17/11/1404	15/01/1404/5	1404 f.12v	128v
FOSSE	John	18/12/1404	23/12/1404	1404 f.13	129
WHYTE	John	02/06/1404	30/12/1404	1404 f.13	129
SPENCER	John	21/02/1403/4	02/01/1404/5	1404 f.13	129
LYNDWYK	Alice	07/10/1404	10/01/1404/5	1404 f.13v	129v
SALMAN	Saloman	21/04/1404	02/01/1404/5	1404 ff.13v-14	129v-130
GYLOT alias Bury	Walter	28/12/1404	07/01/1404/5	1404 f.14v	130v
PORTER	Henry	04/01/1404/5	07/01/1404/5	1404 f.15	131
TAILOR of Shoreditch	Dionisia	31/12/1404	02/01/1404/5	1404 f.15	131
BEDFORD	John	31/10/1404	13/01/1404/5	1404 ff.15-15v	131-131v
TURK	Matilda	28/12/1404	17/01/1404/5	1404 f.15v	131v
BYMONEY	John	27/09/1404	13/01/1404/5	1404 f.15v	131v
REYGATE	Thomas	01/01/1404/5	24/02/1404/5	1404 ff.15v-16	131v-132
DRAYTON of Coventry	Robert	02/09/1399	25/02/1404/5	1404 f.16v	132v
PURSER	Thomas	20/01/1404/5	25/02/1404/5	1404 f.16v	132v
BOWE	John atte	04/11/1404	25/02/1404/5	1404 ff.16v-17	132v-133
PORTER	John	21/06/1403	24/02/1404/5	1404 f.17	133
BELLOGE	John	12/03/1404/5	13/03/1404/5	1404 ff.17-17v	133-133v
SOLE	Richard atte	08/12/1404	12/03/1404/5	1404 f.17v	133v
BENET	Stephen	28/02/1403	23/03/1404/5	1404 f.17v	133v
FRANKLEYN	John	10/10/1403	24/03/1404/5	1404 ff.17v-18	133v-134
FRANKLEYN	John	10/10/1403	24/03/1404/5	1404 ff.18-18v	134-134v
BEAUCHAMP	John	02/02/1404/5	25/03/1404/5	1404 f.18v	134v
PAYN	Roger	13/02/1404	26/03/1405	1405 ff.1-1v	134v-135v
MYOT	John	08/03/1405	06/04/1405	1405 f.1v	135v
BURSTED	Roger de	31/05/1403	not recorded	1405 ff.1v-2	135v-136
BATENBORTH	Ludowic	not recorded	not recorded	1405 f.3	137
AGHTON	Mazerer	16/03/1404	13/04/1405	1405 ff.3v-5	137v-139
SHIRES	Michael	16/01/1404	16/04/1405	1405 f.5	139
STACEY	John	08/04/1405	15/04/1405	1405 f.5v	139v
HALE	Marion	02/08/1404	23/04/1405	1405 f.5v	139v
RICHARD alias Spicer	Thomas	13/02/1404/5	24/04/1405	1405 f.5v	139v

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Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
WYLLYNGHAM	Johanna	03/03/1399	25/04/1405	1405 f.5v	139v
COTELER of Must Lane	Rose	18/10/1403	29/04/1405	1405 ff.5v-6	139v-140
LYLLYNGSTON	John	28/03/1405	03/05/1405	1405 f.6	140
BRULE	Wynardus	04/04/1403	06/05/1405	1405 f.6	140
LOKTON	Thomas	17/07/1404	10/05/1405	1405 ff.6-6v	140-140v
REDYS	Isobell	04/03/1404	11/05/1405	1405 f.6v	140v
PYCHARD	Isabell	08/05/1405	28/05/1405	1405 f.7	141
IRELAND	Lambert son of Henry, count of Ireland	28/05/1405	28/05/1405	1405 f.7	141
SYMOND	John	01/06/1404	28/05/1405	1405 ff.7-7v	141-141v
ATTYE	Thomas	17/04/1405	28/06/1405	1405 f.7v	141v
HANKEDEN	Roger	18/06/1405	21/06/1405	1405 f.7v	141v
PULTER	Thomas	11/05/1405	21/06/1405	1405 f.7v	141v
NEUPORT	Massia	25/06/1405	03/07/1405	1405 f.8	142
EDENSTONE	Walter	13/05/1405	03/07/1405	1405 f.8	142
COLNEY	Roger	29/05/1403	03/07/1405	1405 ff.8-8v	142-142v
FEROR	Richard	21/06/1405	01/07/1405	1405 f.8v	142v
FORSTER	John	15/06/1405	04/07/1405	1405 f.8v	142v
DARWAY	John	09/07/1405	09/07/1405	1405 f.8v	142v
CHYPSTED	William	31/05/1405	10/07/1405	1405 f.9	143
NORTON	Leonard	11/06/1405	21/08/1405	1405 f.9	143
LAMBE	John	22/03/1400	24/08/1405	1405 f.9	143
PLANK	John	18/08/1405	25/08/1405	1405 ff.9-9v	143-143v
FULLER of Havering	Amelia	19/08/1405	24/08/1405	1405 f.9v	143v
HAY	Thomas	14/06/1405	03/09/1405	1405 ff.9v-10	143v-144
HAY	Thomas	06/04/1405	03/09/1405	1405 ff.10-10v	144-144v
GAYNESBURGH	William	20/08/1405	02/09/1405	1405 f.11	145
atte POLE	Reginald	03/09/1405	09/09/1405	1405 f.11	145
PETTE	Philip	28/08/1405	12/09/1405	1405 f.11	145
BELGRAVE	William	14/04/1403	17/09/1405	1405 ff.11v-12	145v-146
CLERK	William	11/04/1404	26/09/1405	1405 f.12v	146v
TAILOR	William	03/10/1405	05/10/1405	1405 f.12v	146v
CYNCK	Dedericus	23/03/1404	20/10/1405	1405 ff.12v-13	146v-147
JACOB	John	21/10/1405	02/11/1405	1405 f.13	147
BELAMY	Robert	30/10/1405	not recorded	1405 f.13	147
TAVERNOR	Alice	19/10/1405	21/10/1405	1405 ff.13-13v	147-147v
OXENFORD	Thomas	24/04/1401	05/11/1405	1405 f.13v	147v
MYMMES	Richard	10/06/1404	06/11/1405	1405 ff.13v-14	147v-148
DAWNER	John	31/10/1405	09/11/1405	1405 f.14	148
JURDEN	Edith	10/11/1405	23/11/1405	1405 f.14	148
COVENTRE junior	William	26/03/1405	not recorded	1405 ff.14-14v	148-148v
THOMYN	John	19/11/1405	04/12/1405	1405 f.14v	148v
STALWORTH	Robert	21/10/1405	12/12/1405	1405 f.14v	148v
GODMAN alias FRAUNCEYS	John	25/06/1405	14/12/1405	1405 ff.14v-18	148v-152
BYRLYNGEY	Roger	14/12/1405	27/12/1405	1405 f.18	152
YERMONOUTHE	John	13/12/1405	08/01/1405/6	1405 f.18v	152v
HESLYNGTON	Robert	25/12/1405	not recorded	1405 f.18v	152v
BARTON	Richard	19/01/1405/6	25/01/1405/6	1405 f.18v	152v
COVENTRE	Richard	21/01/1405/6	26/01/1405/6	1405 f.18v	152v
PETERSONE	Lawrence	02/12/1405	17/02/1405/6	1405 f.19	153
COYF merchant of Germany	Bruno	12/02/1405/6	20/02/1405/6	1405 f.19	153
SAVAGE	Richard	13/02/1405/6	20/02/1405/6	1405 f.19	153
UNDERWODE	William	13/07/1405	25/02/1405/6	1405 f.19	153
WIK	Walter	12/02/1405/6	25/02/1405/6	1405 ff.19-19v	153-153v

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GATYN	John	13/02/1405/6	15/02/1405/6	1405 f.19v	153v
GATYN	Rose	01/13/1405/6	03/03/1405/6	1405 f.19v	153v
BESGATE	John	24/02/1405/6	06/03/1405/6	1405 f.19v	153v
VANBURGH	John	16/10/1405	18/03/1405/6	1405 f.20	154
JURDEN	Nicholas	12/01/1405/6	18/03/1405/6	1405 f.20v	154v
REWARDE	Adam	19/01/1405/6	27/03/1406	1405 f.20v	154v
BREDON	Katherine	04/11/1405	29/03/1406	1405 f.20v	154v
REYNOLD	Alice	13/07/1405	03/04/1406	1406 f.2	155
STOWE	Alice	04/03/1404	16/04/1406	1406 f.2	155
SPENCER	Robert	28/03/1405/6	06/04/1406	1406 f.2	155
WET	John	15/04/1406	15/04/1406	1406 f.2	155
CLERK	Richard	08/04/1406	25/04/1406	1406 f.2v	155v
COUPELOND	Thomas	08/04/1406	02/05/1406	1406 f.2v	155v
ROBATE	John	17/04/1405	04/05/1406	1406 f.2v	155v
ESTON	John	16/04/1406	05/05/1406	1406 f.2v	155v
FORSTER	John	06/05/1406	06/05/1406	1406 f.3	156
PEPER	Ralph	10/05/1406	12/05/1406	1406 f.3	156
BALDOK	Thomas	16/03/1405	17/05/1406	1406 f.3v	156v
SOMERVYLE	John	14/05/1406	23/05/1406	1406 f.3v	156v
KENYNGTON	Agnes	08/06/1406	11/06/1406	1406 f.3v	156v
BRUNHAM	Richard	04/05/1406	06/05/1406	1406 f.3v	156v
BRESLNES	Robert de	30/06/1406	01/07/1406	1406 ff.3v-4	156v-157
YEVELD	John	27/06/1406	03/07/1406	1406 f.4	157
STANYSBY	John	03/06/1406	03/07/1406	1406 f.4	157
STANDELF	Raymond	05/09/1403	04/07/1406	1406 ff.4-5	157-158
WESTWODE	William	29/04/1405	06/07/1406	1406 f.5	158
SHROVESBURI	Thomas	27/05/1406	11/07/1406	1406 f.5	158
SEWALL Hoddesdon	of Thomas	05/06/1406	19/07/1406	1406 f.5v	158v
ASSHE	William	14/07/1406	20/07/1406	1406 ff.5v-6	158v-159
CHADELDON	John	24/07/1406	27/07/1406	1406 f.6	159
FORTHYNGHAM	Ralph de	04/10/1404	28/07/1406	1406 f.6	159
KELKE	Emma	23/05/1406	28/06/1406	1406 f.6	159
WITTERNEYE	John	28/07/1406	04/08/1406	1406 f.6v	159v
LETHENARD	Anne	11/06/1404	06/08/1406	1406 f.6v	159v
BYGMOOR	William	26/03/1406	03/08/1406	1406 f.6v	159v
POLE	Nicholas	13/08/1406	15/08/1406	1406 f.7	160
SHILFORD	John	27/07/1406	16/08/1406	1406 ff.7-7v	160-160v
OLYVER	John	25/05/1406	18/08/1406	1406 ff.7v-8	160v-161
GEFFREY	Thomas	26/08/1406	27/08/1406	1406 f.8	161
SPAROWE	Thomas	22/04/1406	28/08/1406	1406 f.8	161
BLAKEMORE	Thomas	29/08/1406	30/08/1406	1406 f.8	161
BARTON	William de	08/09/1406	17/09/1406	1406 f.8v	161v
DREWE	Joan	01/07/1406	18/09/1406	1406 f.8v	161v
GARDINER	Isolde	17/09/1406	20/09/1406	1406 f.8v	161v
BRADENHAM	John	07/09/1406	22/09/1406	1406 f.9	162
YONGE	Margaret	14/09/1406	28/09/1406	1406 f.9	162
BAWLYN	John	10/09/1406	29/09/1406	1406 f.9	162
CRENCHE	John	09/09/1406	08/10/1406	1406 f.9v	162v
SOMERSHAM	John	08/09/1406	13/10/1406	1406 f.9v	162v
NORTHLONG	Agnes	19/10/1406	26/10/1406	1406 f.10	163
WODE	John atte	23/07/1405	29/10/1406	1406 f.10	163
MYMES	John	07/11/1406	11/11/1406	1406 f.10	163
NEWERK	Petronella	03/11/1406	22/11/1406	1406 ff.10-10v	163-163v
PYNCHBEK	Walter	05/11/1406	25/11/1406	1406 f.10v	163v
TWYFORD	Richard	31/10/1406	29/11/1406	1406 ff.10v-11	163v-164
HERTWELLE	Johanna	16/10/1406	27/11/1406	1406 f.11	164

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SOMERSHAM	Johanna	26/11/1406	03/12/1406	1406 ff.11-11v	164-164v
DANKESTRE	John	24/05/1406	03/12/1406	1406 f.11v	164v
LINCOLN	William	06/12/1406	18/12/1406	1406 f.11v	164v
GOLDYNG	William	18/12/1406	20/12/1406	1406 f.11v	164v
IRYSSH	John	15/12/1406	20/12/1406	1406 f.11v	164v
SCROWTEBY	John	23/02/1404	22/12/1406	1406 f.12	165
MOORTON	William	29/12/1406	31/12/1406	1406 f.12	165
HILL	Richard atte	24/12/1406	03/01/1406/7	1406 f.12	165
PARYS	Robert	08/11/1406	04/01/1406/7	1406 ff.12v-13	165v-166
SPORIER	Margaret	31/12/1406	04/01/1406/7	1406 f.13v	166v
LANGTON	Robert	28/12/1406	08/01/1406/7	1406 f.13v	166v
FARNBURGH	John	10/01/1406/7	17/01/1406/7	1406 f.14	167
DEMAN	Martin	11/04/1405	21/02/1406/7	1406 f.14	167
BRET	William	23/12/1406	22/01/1406/7	1406 ff.14-14v	167-167v
MONK	William	18/12/1406	25/01/1406/7	1406 f.14v	167v
COLYNES	Wynardus van	31/12/1406	26/01/1406/7	1406 f.14v	167v
BYLNEY	Janeſ	12/01/1406/7	01/02/1406/7	1406 ff.14v-15	167v-168
RIDELER	William	02/01/1404	04/01/1406/7	1406 f.15	168
COLYNBORNE	John	04/02/1406/7	10/02/1406/7	1406 f.15	168
ROBERT	William	04/02/1406/7	10/02/1406/7	1406 f.15	168
FORSTER	Robert	03/12/1406	02/03/1406/7	1406 f.15v	168v
POTNAM	Robert	05/03/1406/7	06/03/1406/7	1406 f.16	169
CHESMAN	Walter	04/03/1406/7	18/03/1406/7	1406 f.16	169
HOTOT	John	14/03/1406/7	17/03/1406/7	1406 f.16	169
CHARYNGTON	Matilda	28/12/1406	21/03/1406/7	1406 f.16v	169v
STANNARD	John	04/03/1406/7	22/03/1406/7	1406 f.16v	169v
FELD	Henry atte	21/09/1406	22/03/1406//7	1406 f.16v	169v
SANDWYCH	Lucy	01/07/1405	29/03/1407	1407 f.1	170
GANT	John	22/03/1406	04/03/1407	1407 f.1v	170v
BASTEWEYK	Alice	05/01/1406/7	04/04/1407	1407 ff.1v-2	170v-171
COVENTRE	William	23/03/1406/7	05/04/1407	1407 ff.2-2v	171-171v
SOMERFORD	John	20/03/1406/7	19/04/1407	1407 f.3	172
STAFFORD	John	03/03/1404	11/05/1407	1407 f.3	172
MYLLEWARD of Bristol	John	10/05/1407	16/05/1407	1407 f.3	172
MERYFELD	John	16/04/1407	03/05/1407	1407 f.3	172
WARDE	John	16/05/1407	23/05/1407	1407 f.3v	172v
STRANGE	John	02/05/1407	30/06/1407	1407 f.3v	172v
DELDE of Brabant	Nicholas	12/04/1407	02/06/1407	1407 f.3v	172v
THONOLD of Mons	Allardus	28/06/1404	04/06/1407	1407 ff.3v-4	172v-173
WAKELE	John	02/04/1407	06/06/1407	1407 ff.4-4v	173-173v
WAKELE	John	02/04/1407	06/06/1407	1407 ff.5-6	174-175
BYBBESWORTH	Amicia	30/05/1407	07/06/1407	1407 f.6	175
FRENSSCH	John	07/06/1407	14/06/1407	1407 f.6v	175v
DAVENTRE	Isabel	14/06/1407	21/06/1407	1407 f.6v	175v
CRESWELL	John	15/06/1407	27/06/1407	1407 f.7	176
MARTYN	John	09/06/1407	02/07/1407	1407 f.7	176
HOKAM	sir Thomas	n.d	01/07/1407	1407 f.7	176
WYT	Thomas	29/06/1407	02/07/1407	1407 ff.7-7v	176-176v
LITELMORE	John	17/03/1406/7	03/07/1407	1407 f.7v	176v
OKEHAM	Alice	30/06/1407	03/07/1407	1407 f.7v	176v
ARCHER	Henry	28/06/1407	03/07/1407	1407 f.7v	176v
MARYNER	Alice	06/06/1407	06/07/1407	1407 f.8	177
BENE	Thomas	10/07/1407	10/07/1407	1407 f.8	177
BERNEWELL	Simon	11/06/1407	11/07/1407	1407 ff.8-8v	177-177v
DADYNGTON	John	01/07/1407	11/07/1407	1407 ff.8v-9	177v-178
REYGATE, son of Thomas Reygate,	Thomas	04/10/1406	04/07/1407	1407 f.9	178

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chandler					
RANDOLF	William	11/07/1407	11/07/1407	1407 f.9v	178v
LONET	William	16/02/1406	20/07/1407	1407 f.9v	178v
HUET	Arnold	03/05/1407	21/07/1407	1407 f.9v	178v
FORDHELL	John	22/07/1407	23/07/1407	1407 f.9v	178v
TOPLOWE	John	08/07/1407	25/07/1407	1407 f.10	179
BRAAS	William	17/02/1402	27/07/1407	1407 f.10	179
MAPYLTON	John	09/02/1406	02/08/1407	1407 ff.10-10v	179-179v
ATE HILL	Clemencia	01/07/1407	04/08/1407	1407 f.10v	179v
VALOR	Margaret	02/08/1407	06/08/1407	1407 f.10v	179v
ALYBERNER	Thomas	27/08/1407	24/09/1407	1407 f.10v	179v
MARSCALL	Thomas	08/08/1407	11/08/1407	1407 f.11	180
SWAN	Fen	04/08/1407	17/08/1407	1407 f.11	180
UPTON	John	06/07/1407	17/08/1407	1407 f.11	180
SOKET	Robert	01/08/1407	16/08/1407	1407 f.11	180
MAYNARD	John	01/09/1405	18/08/1407	1407 f.11v	180v
BUK	Nicholas	10/08/1407	19/08/1407	1407 f.11v	180v
KASTRE	John	06/08/1407	19/08/1407	1407 f.12	181
YERDELE	Adam	09/06/1407	19/08/1407	1407 f.12	181
NOELL	William	15/08/1407	20/08/1407	1407 f.12	181
WESTBY	Thomas	not recorded	20/08/1407	1407 f.12v	181v
WYNDE	John	22/08/1407	27/08/1407	1407 f.12v	181v
WEDER	William	24/08/1407	29/08/1407	1407 f.12v	181v
WODECOTE	Robert	22/08/1407	27/08/1407	1407 f.13	182
LUDLAW	John	22/08/1407	29/08/1407	1407 f.13	182
EGGLYSHALE	John	19/08/1407	not recorded	1407 f.13	182
LANGEHURST	William	24/08/1407	01/09/1407	1407 f.13v	182v
DUCHEMAN	Bertram	30/08/1407	01/09/1407	1407 f.13v	182v
BRIKESWORTH	William	28/08/1407	01/09/1407	1407 f.13v	182v
NASE	Godfrey	28/08/1407	03/09/1407	1407 f.13v	182v
HADDON	William	30/08/1407	03/09/1407	1407 f.14	183
DENE	William	02/09/1407	05/09/1407	1407 f.14	183
FELL,of Cornwall, son and heir of Thomas Fell	John	01/09/1407	12/09/1407	1407 ff.14-14v	183-183v
SWETEMAN	Geoffrey	03/07/1407	12/09/1407	1407 f.14v	183v
MURIFELD	Thomas	05/09/1407	13/09/1407	1407 f.15	184
BELLE	Simon	06/09/1407	13/09/1407	1407 ff.15-15v	184-184v
COOK	John	26/08/1407	14/09/1407	1407 f.15v	184v
WHYUY	John	22/07/1407	19/09/1407	1407 f.15v	184v
WARD	Richard	28/05/1401	20/09/1407	1407 ff.15v-16	184v-185
MOREPATH	John	18/09/1407	20/09/1407	1407 f.16	185
WHERKEWORTH	John	16/09/1407	20/09/1407	1407 f.16	185
MASON	John	11/09/1407	21/09/1407	1407 f.16v	185v
LUDNEY	Emma	20/07/1407	24/09/1407	1407 f.16v	185v
de COLONA	Peter	22/09/1407	25/09/1407	1407 f.16v	185v
HOWE	Lawrence	23/09/1407	25/09/1407	1407 f.17	186
ROBELL	Thomas	28/09/1407	30/09/1407	1407 f.17	186
BETTE	John	29/09/1407	30/09/1407	1407 f.17	186
TREWMAN	Robert	10/05/1407	01/10/1407	1407 f.17	186
NOT RECORDED	Lambert of Germany	28/09/1407	01/10/1407	1407 f.17	186
MICHEL	Isobell	02/09/1407	01/10/1407	1407 f.17v	186v
CONYNGES	Christina	02/10/1407	02/10/1407	1407 f.17v	186v
DESTUVE FLANDER	alias Simon	20/09/1407	02/10/1407	1407 f.17v	186v
FYSSHE	Thomas	20/09/1407	02/10/1407	1407 ff.17v-18	186v-187
OBURGH	Gerrard	03/09/1407	03/10/1407	1407 f.18	187

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Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
LYNDRYNGHAM	Matthew	17/09/1407	03/10/1407	1407 f.18	187
TALLYNGTON	Margaret	03/10/1407	03/10/1407	1407 f.18v	187v
MERTON	Lawrence	11/08/1407	02/10/1407	1407 f.18v	187v
BEKE	Thomas	04/10/1407	04/10/1407	1407 f.18v	187v
WATLOWE	Thomas	06/10/1407	not recorded	1407 f.18v	187v
de ALMANIA	Jacob	01/10/1407	09/10/1407	1407 f.19	188
BLAKEWELL	Roger	30/09/1407	09/10/1407	1407 f.19	188
WYDDEMERE junior	John	07/10/1407	09/10/1407	1407 ff.19-19v	188-188v
FRANK	John	06/10//1407	11/10/1407	1407 f.19v	188v
RANDOLF	William	12/07/1407	11/10/1407	1407 f.19v	188v
HOLYN	William	10/09/1407	12/10/1407	1407 f.19v	188v
MARYNS	Edward	04/10/1407	12/10/1407	1407 f.20	189
CAMENSTEDE	Everard	09/10/1407	12/10/1407	1407 f.20	189
SUTE	Robert	08/10/1407	13/10/1407	1407 f.20	189
WEREHORN	Margery	15/10/1407	17/10/1407	1407 f.20v	189v
MOLET	Robert	09/10/1407	17/10/1407	1407 f.20v	189v
KYRKBY	Matilda	14/10/1407	18/10/1407	1407 f.20v	189v
DEWE	Hugh	16/09/1407	18/10/1407	1407 f.21	190
VALENS	Thomas	12/10/1407	18/10/1407	1407 f.21	190
CRANSLE	Robert	25/11/1406	19/10/1407	1407 ff.21-21v	190-190v
HALE	Richard	18/10/1407	19/10/1407	1407 f.21v	190v
BRAYBROOK	John	18/08/1407	20/10/1407	1407 f.21v	190v
COUPER	Christine	folio 22 missing	folio 22 missing	1407 f.23	191
SEYMOR	John	25/10/1407	28/10/1407	1407 f.23	191
CORNEWALLE	Flora	20/07/1407	31/10/1407	1407 f.23	191
SOO	John	13/10/1407	31/10/1407	1407 f.23	191
CROFT	Margaret	29/10//1407	29/10/1407	1407 f.23v	191v
WYGHT	Alice	28/10/1407	02/11/1407	1407 f.23v	191v
FRAUNCEYS	John	23/10/1407	31/10/1407	1407 f.24	192
WHETLAY	Thomas	05/10/1407	03/11/1407	1407 f.24	192
BARRY	John	14/01//1405	16/11/1407	1407 ff.24-24v	192-192v
HOLDESTRETE	William	23/10/1407	06/11/1407	1407 f.24v	192v
van BONE of Westvale	Arnold	6/11/1407	02/12/1407	1407 f.26	193
PARKER	John	10/12/1406	23/12/1407	1407 f.26	193
DANBY	John	10/11/1407	22/12/1407	1407 f.26	193
de LUPRE	John	14/11/1407	29/12/1407	1407 f.26	193
STOKKER	Robert	01/11/1407	25/12/1407	1407 f.26v	193v
BENYNGTON	William	06/08/1406	30/12/1407	1407 f.26v	193v
LEYCESTRE	Robert	16/11/1407	28/11/1407	1407 f.26v	193v
CRAFTE	John	20/10/1407	29/11/1407	1407 f.27	194
BENET	Henry	not recorded	30/11/1407	1407 f.27	194
GLYNGHAM	Nicholas	03/12/1407	03/12/1407	1407 f.27	194
ERSEY	John	30/09/1407	02/12/1407	1407 f.27v	194v
USMAR	Richard	20/10/1407	07/12/1407	1407 f.27v	194v
LAMBYN	William	28/11/1407	07/12/1407	1407 ff.27v-28	194v-195
CATTESWORTH	John	19/11/1407	13/12/1407	1407 f.28	195
deTYE	Johanna	02/09/1407	12/09/1407	1407 f.28	195
SKRIP	Adam	12/12/1407	21/12/1407	1407 f.28	195
SMARHT	John	22/10/1407	18/12/1407	1407 f.28	195
BARTLOT	Thomas	05/10/1407	30/12/1407	1407 f.28v	195v
TROT of Cornwall	John	07/10/1407	05/01/1407/8	1407 f.28v	195v
KYRKBY	John	07/01/1407/8	11/01/1407/8	1407 f.28v	195v
SCOT	Richard	27/08/1407	14/01/1407/8	1407 ff.28v-29	195v-196
GANLEE	Mark	10/01/1407/8	16/01/1407/8	1407 f.29	196
COS	John	18/12/1407	16/01/1407/8	1407 f.29	196
ROULOND	John	03/01/1407/8	17/01/1407/8	1407 f.29	196

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MARHAM	John	16/10/1407	23/01/1407/8	1407 f.29v	196v
atte HALE	Agnes	22/11/1407	25/01/1407/8	1407 ff.29v-30; ff.30-31	196v-197; 197-198
WHITLOK	Nicholas	24/01/1407/8	26/01/1407/8	1407 f.31	198
PENE of Norwich	Thomas	14/01/1407/8	30/01/1407/8	1407 f.31	198
BARE van de Almair	Riddekynne	24/01/1407/8	31/01/1407/8	1407 f.31	198
CARPENTER	William	26/01/1407/8	28/01/1407/8	1407 f.31	198
POUNTFREYT	William	06/02/1407/8	13/02/1407/8	1407 f.31v	198v
WHYTE	Robert	08/02/1407/8	15/02/1407/8	1407 f.31v	198v
DEPHAM	Katherine	01/02/1407/8	15/02/1407/8	1407 f.31v	198v
atte WYNE	Matilda	07/02/1407/8	16/02/1407/8	1407 f.32	199
DYER	Richard	29/08/1407	28/02/1407/8	1407 f.32	199
GRYMESBY	Bartholomew	02/02/1407/8	02/03/1407/8	1407 f.32	199
DEVENYSSH	John	16/02/1407/8	20/02/1407/8	1407 f.32v	199v
BOKYNGHAM	Thomas	11/02/1407/8	11/02/1407/8	1407 f.32v	199v
STAFFORD	Juliana	21/08/1407	16/03/1407/8	1407 f.32v	199v
alls HOBERT	Godfrey alias Gobull	24/01/1407/8	17/03/1407/8	1408 f.1	200
ROMESEY	John	28/09/1407	24/03/1408	1408 f.1	200
REDE	Johanna	25/05/1408	26/05/1408	1408 f.1	200
BYS	John	10/07/1408 at Grynsted	10/07/1407	1408 f.1	200
PANTON	Johanna	04/03/1407/8	01/04/1408	1408 ff.1v-2	200v-201
FAKENHAM	Hugh	29/03/1407/8	04/04/1408	1408 f.2	201
CHYNGELFORD	Alexander	12/03/1406	05/04/1408	1408 f.2	201
MONK	John	28/03/1408	07/04/1408	1408 f.2	201
DONNYNGTON	John	04/04/1408	07/04/1408	1408 f.2v	201v
GARNET	Alice	25/03/1408	26/04/1408	1408 f.2v	201v
FRENDINEW	Nicholas	17/04/1408	28/04/1408	1408 f.3	202
MAKERELL	William	15/04/1408	02/05/1408	1408 f.3	202
SYNK	Matilda	20/04/1408	08/05/1408	1408 f.3	202
CURSON	John	03/04/1408	17/04/1408	1408 f.3v	202v
SMALSTRETE	Richard	23/05/1408	31/05/1408	1408 f.3v	202v
BALDOK	John	24/02/1407/8	11/06/1408	1408 ff. 3v-4	202v-203
REYNEWELL	Christine	01/03/1407	16/06/1408	1408 ff.4-5	203-204
ANNE	John	11/06/1408	23/06/1408	1408 f.5	204
BANDON	William	28/03/1408	23/06/1408	1408 f.5	204
CROCHEVYLE	Edward	07/02/1407/8	27/06/1408	1408 f.5v	204v
CHYRCHE	John	31/05/1408	02/07/1408	1408 f.5v	204v
ALDWYN	Walter	20/08/1406	02/07/1408	1408 ff.5v-6v	204v-205v
LORD	John	27/09/1407	09/07/1408	1408 ff.6v-7	205v-206
ALFORD	Geoffrey	05/07/1408	16/07/1408	1408 f.7	206
COLBROKE	Henry	20/06/1408	19/07/1408	1408 f.7	206
CLAVERYNG	Andrew	11/06/1408	21/07/1408	1408 f.7v	206v
CLAVERYNGTON	Alice	20/07/1408	22/07/1408	1408 f.7v	206v
LUDBROKE	John	22/06/1408	26/07/1408	1408 ff.7v-8	206v-207
BENERE	John	08/05/1408	01/08/1408	1408 f.8	207
OSBERN	John	14/07/1408	01/08/1408	1408 f.8	207
KYNG	Robert	10/07/1408	not recorded	1408 ff.8-8v	207-207v
DANKYN	Godfrey	26/08/1408	28/08/1408	1408 f.8v	207v
BOSTON	Margaret	11/08/1408	05/09/1408	1408 f.8v	207v
BURGULON	William	31/07/1408	06/09/1408	1408 f.8v	207v
IRLAND	Emote	24/08/1408	10/09/1408	1408 f.9	208
SALMAN	Robert	25/10/1408	13/11/1408	1408 ff.9-9v	208-208v
GLASTON	Henry	25/11/1408	19/12/1408	1408 f.10	209
BURY	Walter	14/12/1408	19/12/1408	1408 f.10	209
WRENCH	Roger	18/12/1408	02/01/1408/9	1408 f.10	209
STANXHILL	John	20/12/1408	02/01/1408/9	1408 ff.10-10v	209-209v

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NEKTON	Thomas	28/10/1408	10/01/1408/9	1408 f.10v	209v
de HALE of Brabant	Reginald	07/12/1407	11/01/1408/9	1408 f.10v	209v
WAKELE son of John Wakele, alderman	John	31/12/1408	14/01/1408/9	1408 f.11	210
BARHAM	William	03/07/1408	22/01/1408/9	1408 f.11	210
WYNCHECOMBE	John	15/07/1407	24/01/1407/8	1408 f.11	210
LUCOME dau. of Johanna Lucome former wife of Robert Kempe citizen and mercer	Margaret	04/12/1408	08/01/1408/9	1408 f.11v	210v
HERIED	William	08/02/1408/9	08/02/1408/9	1408 f.11v	210v
FORSTER	John	27/12/1408	13/01/1408/9	1408 f.11v	210v
RODE	Henry	08/12/1408	14/02/1408/9	1408 f.11v	210v
NORWARD	Thomas	17/02/1408/9	20/02/1408/9	1408 ff.11v-12	210v-211
GILDEFORD	Richard	06/02/1408/9	26/02/1408/9	1408 f.12	211
BALYNGTON	Peter	19/04/1405	07/02/1408/9	1408 f.12	211
KENT	William	07/02/1408/9	09/02/1408/9	1408 f.12	211
CHADDESLE alias Pratte	Thomas	10/12/1408	18/03/1408/9	1408 f.12v	211v
MAN	David	13/03/1408/9	13/03/1408/9	1408 f.12v	211v
BILLYNGHAM	Johanna	22/03/1408/9	26/03/1408/9	1408 f.12v	211v
BENET	Idomenia	not recorded	01/04/1409	1409 ff.12v-13	211v-212
WAKEFELD snr.	John	12/12/1408	11/04/1409	1409 f.1 [1408 f.13]	212
DAVELAR	Richard	08/03/1408/9	not recorded	1409 ff.1-1v [ff.13v-14]	212-212v
de COLTER	Constantine	28/02/1408/9	15/04/1409	1409 f.1v [f.13v]	212v
ELYS	Walter	20/04/1409	21/04/1409	1409 f.1v [f.13v]	212v
DAREL	Richard	01/04/1409	26/04/1409	1409 f.1v [f.13v]	212v
de BRYGADE	John	16/04/1409	06/05/1409	1409 f.2 [f.14]	213
FRAUNCEYS	Richard	not given	09/05/1409	1409 f.2 [f.14]	213
CLERK	John	10/05/1409	11/05/1409	1409 f.2 [f.14]	213
SKEEN jnr.	William	20/04/1409	18/05/1409	1409 f.2 [f.14]	213
BART	William	26/03/1409	not recorded	1409 f.2v [14v]	213v
SYMCOCK snr.	Nicholas	01/05/1409	22/05/1409	1409 f.2v [14v]	213v
LYTON	John	01/06/1409	04/06/1409	1409 ff.2v-3 [14v-15]	213v-214
KENNE	John	10/05/1409	05/06/1409	1409 f.3 [f.15]	214
WODEFORDE	Johanna	04/06/1409	12/06/1409	1409 f.3 [f.15]	214
PRESBY	John	07/06/1409	12/06/1409	1409 f.3 [f.15]	214
SKALONNE	Margery	22/06/1409	26/06/1409	1409 f.3 [f.15]	214
de la MERE	Richard	13/06/1409	26/06/1409	1409 f.3v [f.15v]	214v
WYGHTRYNG	John	17/06/1409	30/06/1409	1409 f.3v [15v]	214v
HOLDERNESSE	Robert	27/04/1408	20/04/1409	1409 f.3v [f.15v]	214v
OXENEYE	Giles	18/05/1409	18/07/1409	1409 f.3v [f.15v]	214v
KEINE	John	19/07/1409	21/07/1409	1409 f.4 [f.16]	215
GENTYL	Thomas	18/06/1409	07/08/1409	1409 f.4 [f.16]	215
MONE	William	01/08/1409	08/08/1409	1409 f.4 [f.16]	215
WATLESHURST	Robert	08/08/1409	12/08/1409	1409 f.4 [f.16]	215
BRAY	Robert	18/08/1409	21/08/1409	1409 ff.4-4v [16-16v]	215-215v
NOBLE	Elizabeth	23/08/1409	03/09/1409	1409 ff.4v-5 [ff.16v-17]	215v-216
HAVERYNG	John	02/09/1409	05/09/1409	1409 f.5 [f.17]	216
RAMSEYE	Felicia	08/08/1409	07/09/1409	1409 f.5 [f.17]	216
STACY	John	03/09/1409	09/09/1409	1409 f.5 [f.17]	216
BRIGHTWELL	John	10/09/1409	13/09/1409	1409 f.5v [f.17v]	216v
OLDELOND	John	06/09/1409	16/09/1409	1409 ff.5v-6 [17v-18]	216v-217
WANSFORD	Roger	06/06/1409	19/09/1409	1409 f.6 [f.18]	217
de SAME	Alice	16/09/1409	19/09/1409	1409 f.6v [f.18v]	217v
RICHARDS	Thomas	08/07/1409	19/09/1409	1409 f.6v [f.18v]	217v

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OGGHAM	Henry	13/09/1409	20/09/1409	1409 f.7 [f.19]	218
GRENE	Thomas	19/09/1409	23/09/1409	1409 f.7 [f.19]	218
HAVERYNG Shoreditch	of Margaret	20/09/1409	24/09/1409	1409 f.7 [f.19]	218
OXINFORD	Robert	25/09/1409	06/10/1409	1409 ff.7-7v [ff.19-19]	218-218v
BEWEFOREST	John	26/09/1409	03/10/1409	1409 f.7v [f.19v]	218v
TRUMPYNGTON	Margaret	27/09/1409	05/10/1409	1409 f.7v [f.19v]	218v
RYVET	William	11/10/1409	13/10/1409	1409 ff.9v-10 [ff.19v-20]	218v-219
BOTELER	William le	19/08/1409	16/10/1409	1409 f.10 [f.20]	219
RANDOLF	Christine	20/10/1409	28/10/1409	1409 f.10 [f.20]	219
EDRED	Alice	21/07/1403	13/11/1409	1409 ff.10-10v [ff.20-20v]	219-219v
HORE	Elias	12/11/1409	27/11/1409	1409 f.10v [f.20v]	219v
PAGE	John	05/01/1408	05/12/1409	1409 ff.10v-11 [ff.20v-21]	219v-220
HEDE	John	01/12/1409	11/12/1409	1409 ff.11-11v [ff.21-21v]	220-220v
USKE	William	09/12/1409	14/12/1409	1409 ff.11v-12 [ff.21v-22]	220v-221
SELERE	Julianna	10/12/1409	not recorded	1409 f.12 [f.22]	221
CURSON alias BETELE	Robert	28/11/1409	not recorded	1409 ff.12-12v [ff.22-22v]	221-221v
OXNEY	John	20/11/1409	not recorded	1409 ff.12v-13v [ff.22v-23v]	221v-222v
BARLEE	John	10/06/1409	not recorded	1409 ff.13v-14	222v-223
ODYHAM	Agnes	14/10/1409	not recorded	1409 ff.14-14v [ff.23-23v!]	223-223v
WANTRERS	Roger	13/12/1409	14/01/1409/10	1409 f.14v [f.23v]	223v
BERKESWELLE	Walter	12/12/1409	15/01/1409/10	1409 f.14v [f.23v!]	223v
dame de DUTTON	Margaret		23/01/1409/10	1409 ff.14v-15 [ff.23v-24]	223v-224
HANKES	Richard	09/01/1409/10	23/01/1409/10	1409 f.15v [f.24v]	224v
COKE	John	07/01/1409/10	24/01/1409/10	1409 f.15v [f.24v]	224v
BERNARD	Robert	09/01/1409/10	31/01/1409/10	1409 f.15v [f.24v]	224v
WYNTRYNGHAM	Juliana	09/12/1409	15/03/1409/10	1409 f.16 [f.25]	225
FYSSH	Isabell	02/12/1409	22/02/1409/10	1409 ff.16-16v [ff.25-25v]	225-225v
HOUNTE	Dionisia	22/02/1409/10	22/02/1409/10	1409 f.16v [f.25v]	225v
WHALE in her virginity	Johanna	20/02/1409/10	25/02/1409/10	1409 f.16v [f.25v]	225v
SERGANT	William	01/05/1401	01/03/1409/10	1410 f.1	226
HORWODE	William	10/09/1409	26/03/1409/10	1410 f.1	226
HERT	John	21/02/1409/10	26/03/1410	1410 ff.1-1v	226-226v
SPOT	Thomas	07/04/1410	08/04/1410	1410 f.1v	226v
TOKEY	Richard	29/03/1410	11/04/1410	1410 f.1v	226v
SPENSER	Robert	11/04/1410	16/04/1410	1410 f.1v	226v
WYKYNGHAM	John	03/01/1394	not recorded	1410 f.2	227
NOT RECORDED	William ,servant of John West	06/05/1410	07/05/1410	1410 f.2	227
atte MELLE	Isabell	27/03/1410	30/07/1410	1410 f.2	227
FARLEGH	Dionissia	28/10/1409	07/05/1410	1410 ff.2-2v	227-227v
SEBURGH	Richard	25/06/1410	25/06/1410	1410 f.2v	227v
HAVILE	John	02/04/1409	not recorded	1410 f.2v	227v
BLAKWATER	Nicholas	14.07.1410	not recorded	1410 f.2v	227v
DENY	John	09/02/1402	23/07/1410	1410 f.3	228
STEPYNG	Robert	22/03/1408/9	02/08/1410	1410 f.3	228
de BOYLESTON	John	13/07/1410	04/08/1410	1410 f.3v	228v
ALEYN	Roger	29/08/1407	05/08/1410	1410 f.3v	228v
EDROPE	Matilda	12/02/1407	28/08/1410	1410 f.4	229
TECLE	Johanna	31/08/1410	02/09/1410	1410 f.4v	229v
STILLYNGTON	Thomas	28/07/1407	04/09/1410	1410 f.4v	229v
PAYN	Henry	26/08/1410	05/09/1410	1410 ff.4v-5v	229v-230v

Appendices

Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
HILLE	Thomas	08/09/1410	08/09/1410	1410 f.5v	230v
BOKKYNG	Elias	01/09/1410	13/09/1410	1410 ff.5v-6	230v-231
BOKKYNG	Elias	10/01/1408/9	01/09/1410	1410 ff.6-7	231-232
BOKKYNG	Elias	10/01/1409	01/09/1410	1410 ff.7-7v	232-232v
CASTRE	John	31/05/1410	24/09/1410	1410 f.7v	232v
ASSHFORD	John	16/09/1410	24/09/1410	1410 f.8	233
AYLESBURY	Richard	26/09/1410	30/09/1410	1410 f.8	233
WAYNSLOND	William	01/08/1409	30/09/1410	1410 f.8	233
UMFREY	Thomas	20/09/1410	03/10/1410	1410 f.8	233
KENT	William	04/10/1410	06/10/1410	1410 f.8v	233v
PERS	Guido	30/09/1410	08/10/1410	1410 f.8v	233v
REDE	Matthew	01/08/1410	11/10/1410	1410 f.9	234
DAVEY	John	10/10/1410	14/10/1410	1410 f.9	234
STROTHIR	William	04/10/1410	14/10/1410	1410 ff.9-9v	234-234v
BROMWICHE	Richard	24/08/1410	30/10/1410	1410 ff.9v-10	234v-235
JONES	Roger	19/09/1410	04/11/1410	1410 f.10	235
BOLD	Lawrence	10/11/1410	14/11/1410	1410 f.10v	235v
GAY	John	08/11/1410	18/11/1410	1410 f.11	236
de MIDDLETON	Isabell	04/06/1410	27/11/1410	1410 ff.11-12	236-237
SOMERVILE	John	05/05/1406	2-/11/1410	1410 f.12	237
WYLTSHIRE	Walter	10/11/1410	01/12/1410	1410 f.12v	237v
SPICER	Agnes	15/09/1410	12/12/1410	1410 f.12v	237v
PUTTOK	Richard	11/10/1410	31/12/1410	1410 f.13	238
OLDERWERKES	William	05/01/1410/11	07/01/1410/11	1410 f.13	238
MENDEHAM	John	27/11/1410	11/01/1410/11	1410 f.13v	238v
PAUNTON	Robert	04/04/1407	15/01/1410/11	1410 f.14	239
BARWIK of York diocese	Robert	28/12/1410	19/01/1410/11	1410 f.14	239
BASSET	Thomas	10/09/1410	23/01/1410/11	1410 ff.14-14v	239-239v
JONESSONE	Alard	12/01/1410	28/01/1410/11	1410 f.14v	239v
FURNEYS	Agnes	20/06/1410	01/02/1410/11	1410 f.14v	239v
HEREFORD	Margaret	07/12/1410	16/02/1410/11	1410 f.14v	239v
DORCHESTRE	William	27/11/1410	18/02/1410/11	1410 f.15	240
CHERCHE	Peter	14/02/1410/11	21/02/1410/11	1410 f.15	240
MANNCELL	Johanna	05/10/1410	25/02/1410/11	1410 ff.15-15v	240-240v
ALDERMAN	Edward	20/05/1410	26/02/1410/11	1410 f.15v	240v
BRYD	John	20/02/1410/11	27/02/1410/11	1410 f.15v	240v
STANDON called Manhale	Richard	20/02/1410/11	12/03/1410/11	1410 ff.15v-16	240v-241
BREVE	Thomas	02/01/1410/11	19/03/1410/11	1410 f.16v	241v
BEEKROFT	John	20/01/1410	24/03/1410/11	1410 ff.16v-17	241v-242
COSSHAM	John	23/03/1410/11	31/03/1411	1411 ff.1-1v	242-242v
atte MELLE	Julianna	06/03/1410/11	01/04/1411	1411 f.1v	242v
YONGE	John	03/03/1410/11	06/04/1411	1411 ff.1v-2	242v-243
WODEWEY	Johanna	28/03/1411	07/04/1411	1411 f.2	243
STOKES	John	01/03/1410/11	22/04/1411	1411 f.2	243
WATE	Helen	10/04/1411	29/04/1411	1411 f.2	243
SKEET	John	31/03/1411	29/04/1411	1411 f.2v	243v
SKEET	John	31/04/1411	29/04/1411	1411 f.2v	243v
CRESWYK	Alice	06/04/1411	not recorded	1411 ff.2v-3	243v-244
JOHN	Jankyn	28/03/1411	02/05/1411	1411 f.3	244
STEPULTON	Richard	27/04/1411	02/05/1411	1411 f.3	244
BARDEVYLE	David	15/04/1411	07/05/1411	1411 f.3	244
ASSH	Richard	01/05/1411	11/05/1411	1411 f.3v	244v
PAYN	Henry	26/08/1410	17/03/1410/11	1411 ff.3v-4	244v-245
BREKSPER	sir Adam	10/12/1409	29/05/1411	1411 f.4v	245v
WESTON	Nicholas	04/05/1411	not recorded	1411 f.4v	245v

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Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
BESCHURCHE	John	09/06/1411	17/06/1411	1411 f.4v	245v
BRAMPTON	John	20/06/1411	20/06/1411	1411 ff.4v-5	245v-246
HOPE	Julianna	13/01/1410	03/07/1411	1411 f.5	245
HAYE	Matilda	21/06/1411	10/07/1411	1411 ff.5-5v	246-246v
CUTELLER	Robert	14/07/1411	21/07/1411	1411 f.5v	246v
SCOS	John	06/06/1411	08/07/1411	1411 f.5v	246v
COKET alias Clerk	Alice	16/07/1411	03/08/1411	1411 ff.5v-6	246v-247
EDE	Richard	27/07/1411	03/08/1411	1411 f.6	247
BOTREAU	John	28/05/1411	1/06/1411	1411 f.6	247
KNYGHT	William	03/08/1411	06/08/1411	1411 ff.6-6v	247-247v
REYNALD of Breda, ,Brabant	Henry	09/08/1411	09/08/1411	1411 f.6v	247v
MAIDESTON	John	02/08/1411	15/08/1411	1411 ff.6v-7	247v-248
SHIRWODE	John	01/07/1411	20/08/1411	1411 f.7	248
GERARDSON, seaman of Wyke in Holand	Walter	16/08/1411	19/08/1411	1411 ff.7-7v	248-248v
MALTON	Thomas	09/08/1411	22/08/1411	1411 f.7v	248v
SHAWE	Thomas	12/08/1411	27/08/1411	1411 f.7v	248v
KENT	John	26/05/1411	30/08/1411	1411 f.8	249
TYE	John	07/09/1411	09/09/1411	1411 f.8	249
CANON	John	08/08/1411	17/09/1411	1411 ff.8-8v	249-249v
STILLYNGTON	Johanna	20/09/1411	26/09/1411	1411 f.8v	249v
KYRTON	William	21/09/1411	26/09/1411	1411 f.8v	249v
LYGHTFOTE	John	27/09/1411	04/10/1411	1411 f.8v	249v
DENE	Thomas	13/10/1411	18/10/1411	1411 f.9	250
ALDELEYN	Clarissa	30/09/1411	19/10/1411	1411 f.9	250
MELFORD	Elizabeth	07/09/1411	20/10/1411	1411 f.9	250
van BERKYNG	Sote	24/10/1411	09/11/1411	1411 f.9	250
CRYNGELFORD	Roger	30/06/1410	29/10/1411	1411 ff.9-9v	250-250v
HATFELD	Thomas	12/11/1406	30/10/1411	1411 f.9v	250v
GALFER	Henry	10/11/1411	13/11/1411	1411 f.9v	250v
KYRTON	William	13/11/1411	13/11/1411	1411 f.10	251
PRETERWELL	William	18/11/1411	20/11/1411	1411 f.10	251
HEED	William	30/11/1411	01/12/1411	1411 f.10	251
NORTON	John	30/11/1411	04/12/1411	1411 ff.10-10v	251-251v
DAWBENEY	Agnes	30/11/1411	05/12/1411	1411 f.11	252
BLOMINHAM	Humphry	06/12/1411	07/12/1411	1411 f.11	252
FRENSSH	Thomas	04/12/1411	08/12/1411	1411 f.11	252
PEEKE	Nicholas	15/11/1411	10/12/1411	1411 f.11	252
MARCHE	Richard	05/04/1411	15/12/1411	1411 f.11v	252v
de PORT	Guy	06/12/1411	26/01/1411/12	1411 f.11v	252v
STANLEY	Robert	11/12/1411	22/12/1411	1411 ff.11v-12	252v-253
BOUCHER of Rothwell	William	31/10/1411	24/12/1411	1411 f.12	253
REDE	John	27/12/1411	30/12/1411	1411 f.12	253
LUFFENHAM	Nicholas	27/12/1411	31/12/1411	1411 f.12v	253v
SILBOURN	John	12/12/1409	05/01/1411/12	1411 f.12v	253v
PARSON	Margery	10/12/1411	07/01/1411/12	1411 f.12v	253v
ANDREWE	Johanna	07/04/1411	15/01/1411/12	1411 f.13	254
SPRAY	Isabel	14/07/1398	not recorded	1411 f.13	254
EXTON	Peter	12/01/1411/12	18/01/1411/12	1411 ff.13-13v	254-254v
atte WELLE	Agnes	26/12/1411	14/01/1411/12	1411 ff.13v-14	254v-255
CHEDERSLEY	Thomas	31/12/1411	25/01/1411/12	1411 f.14	255
atte WYCHE	Matilda	27/11/1411	30/01/1411/12	1411 f.14	255
ARDERNE	Agnes	26/04/1411	31/01/1411/12	1411 f.14	255
FANKON	John	22/01/1411/12	03/02/1411/12	1411 f.14v	255v
TURVILE	Alice	11/02/1410/11	not recorded	1411 f.14v	255v

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Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
de la SALE	William	10/03/1410	17/02/1411	1411 f.15	256
BLANKARD	Baldwin	10/03/1410	17/02/1411/12	1411 f.15	256
FYSSHER	Robert	08/02/1411/12	21/02/1411/12	1411 f.15	256
HERMETTE	Nicholas	29/01/1411/12	02/03/1411/12	1411 ff.15-15v	256-256v
HUNT	William	17/08/1411	03/03/1411/12	1411 f.15v	256v
STEBBYNG	Walter	22/02/1411/12	08/03/1411/12	1411 f.15v	256v
CLERK	John	20/02/1411/12	25/02/1411/12	1411 f.16	257
PYGEANT	Roger	09/10/1411	26/02/1411/12	1411 f.16	257
PECOK	Thomas	13/03/1411/12	13/03/1411/12	1411 f.16	257
WYBLESEY	John	07/01/1408	21/03/1411/12	1411 f.16v	257v
PYCHARD	Roger	02/03/1411/12	21/03/1411/12	1411 f.16v	257v
WESTBURY	Agnes	13/03/1411/12	24/03/1411/12	1411 f.16v	257v
GAYWODE	John	22/03/1411/12	23/03/1412	1411 f.16v	257v
CHAUNDLER	Philip	17/03/1411/12	26/03/1412	1411 ff.16v-17	257v-258
CHILDERLEY	Robert	01/03/1411/12	25/03/1412	1411 f.17	258
MYLTON	Walter	20/03/1411/12	25/03/1412	1411 f.17	258
MULTON	Walter	24/02/1411/12	29/04/1412	1411 ff.17-17v	258-258v
STALYNGBURGH	Richard	14/03/1411/12	27/03/1412	1411 f.17v	258v
WALCOTE	Christine	14/02/1411/12	26/03/1412	1412 ff.1-2	259-260
GODFRAY	John	17/11/1411	31/04/1412	1412 ff.2-2v	260-260v
atte MONE	Matilda	15/03/1411/12	02/04/1412	1412 f.2v	260v
HELPERBY	John	02/04/1412	04/04/1412	1402 f.2v	260v
MOLAFYLE	Gilbert	06/04/1412	10/04/1412	1412 f.3	261
WESTACRE	Geoffrey	03/04/1412	14/04/1412	1412 f.3	261
BERNES	Robert	03/04/1412	18/04/1412	1412 ff.3-3v	261-261v
CRISTEMAS	Simon	11/04/1412	22/04/1412	1412 f.3v	261v
SOMERFORD	Roger	07/04/1412	28/04/1412	1412 f.4	262
de PAYE	John	06/04/1412	29/04/1412	1412 f.4	262
GRESELL	William	24/04/1412	30/04/1412	1412 f.4	262
le HOWE	William	12/05/1412	17/05/1412	1412 f.4v	262v
BOXSON	William	24/11/1411	16/05/1412	1412 ff.4v-5v	262v-263v
STILEBONE	John	02/05/1412	21/05/1412	1412 f.5v	263v
MAN	William	08/05/1412	24/05/1412	1412 f.5v	263v
SCOTTE	Oliver	20/05/1412	28/05/1405	1412 f.6	264
LYLYE	Thomas	06/05/1412	04/06/1412	1412 f.6	264
COUPER	John	05/06/1412	10/06/1412	1412 ff.6-6v	264-264v
ANDREWE	John	23/04/1412	09/06/1412	1412 f.6v	264v
WELBE	John	13/06/1412	17/06/1412	1412 f.6v	264v
LAMB	Robert	16/06/1412	17/06/1412	1412 f.7	265
GAVYN	John	25/05/1412	21/06/1412	1412 f.7	265
REDECOTE	Stephen	23/05/1412	11/07/1412	1412 f.7v	265v
TURKES alias ROKELL	Isabell	13/06/1412	14/07/1412	1412 f.7v	265v
KOWRSE	Agnes	14/05/1412	19/07/1412	1412 f.8	266
IVE	John	14/07/1412	19/07/1412	1412 f.8	266
WALSHAM	John	10/05/1409	21/07/1412	1412 f.8	266
MATTHEWE	Ralph	20/07/1412	23/07/1412	1412 f.8v	266v
GEDDYNG	Richard	25/04/1412	11/08/1412	1412 f.8v	266v
CARLILL	Alice	23/08/1412	25/08/1412	1412 f.8v	266v
GOLDSMITH	John	14/08/1412	25/08/1412	1412 f.9	267
CROS	John	23/08/1412	25/08/1412	1412 f.9v	267v
PORTER	John	25/08/1412	31/08/1412	1412 f.9v	267v
BATE of Hoggeston	John	12/08/1412	01/09/1412	1412 ff.9v-10	267v-268
HORNEBY	Alice	02/09/1412	03/09/1412	1412 f.10	268
de NORTHFOLKE	Alice	14/10/1411	05/09/1412	1412 f.10	268
DROST	Henry	12/08/1412	05/09/1412	1412 f.10	268
ROOS son of Richard Roos deceased,	Thomas	24/08/1412	12/09/1412	1412 ff.10v	268v

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Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
former citizen and mercer					
LYVERPOLE	John	2/08/1412	09/09/1412	1412 f.10v	268v
NONNEHAM	John	06/09/1412	11/09/1412	1412 f.10v	268v
HYDE	Adam	09/09/1412	12/09/1412	1412 f.11	269
OKYNTON	William	23/08/1412	16/09/1412	1412 f.11	269
BREDON	Thomas	13/09/1412	not recorded	1412 ff.11-11v	269-269v
SPELMAN	William	28/06/1412	28/06/1412	1412 f.11v	269v
MARTYN	Matilda	16/09/1412	20/09/1412	1412 f.11v	269v
BROME	John	14/09/1412	24/09/1412	1412 f.12	270
BUNKENBURGH dutchman	Ermanus	22/09/1412	24/09/1412	1412 f.12	270
DAVEY	John	22/09/1412	29/09/1412	1412 ff.12-12v	270-270v
RABET	John	30/09/1412	01/10/1412	1412 f.12v	270v
CHAPMAN	Richard	23/09/1412	08/10/1412	1412 ff.12v-13	270v-271
STANES	John	10/12/1411	15/10/1412	1412 f.13	271
ROBYN	Richard	04/10/1412	19/10/1412	1412 f.13v	271v
PYGEANT	Johanna	17/10/1412	19/10/1412	1412 f.13v	271v
LONDON	John	16/10/1412	27/10/1412	1412 f.13v	271v
van DREVE	John	22/10/1412	27/10/1412	1412 ff.13v-14	271v-272
VON	John	28/09/1412	29/10/1412	1412 f.14	272
DENE	Johanna	20/08/1412	17/10/1412	1412 ff.14-14v	272-272v
TREGELEST	John	05/10/1412	04/11/1412	142 f.14v	272v
PIKENHAM	John	14/09/1412	23/11/1412	1412 f.14v	272v
de WARE of London	John	04/09/1412	25/11/1412	1412 f.15	273
NORMAN	John	23/11/1412	26/11/1412	1412 f.15	273
CLEMENT	Agnes	28/11/1412	28/11/1412	1412 f.15	273
WARYN	Matthew	20/11/1412	01/12/1412	1412 ff.15-15v	273-273v
MAGGES	Matilda	14/08/1412	02/12/1412	1412 f.15v	273v
FULLER	Ralph	04/12/1412	07/12/1412	1412 f.15v	273v
EDE	John	09/09/1412	12/12/1412	1412 ff.15v-16	273v-274
de BURY	William	11/05/1412	12/12/1412	1412 f.16	274
STONE	George	23/11/1412	23/12/1412	1412 f.16	274
MASOUN	Peter	06/12/1412	23/12/1412	1412 ff.16-16v	274-274v
WHYTE	Thomas	20/12/1412	03/01/1412/13	1412 ff.16v-17	274v-275
WHYTE	Thomas	30/12/1412	03/01/1412/13	1412 f.17	275
MASOUN	Peter	06/12/1412	23/12/1412	1412 ff.17-18v	275-276v
PYE	John	not recorded	not recorded	1412 f.18v	276v
SMERT	Peter	21/07/1412	14/01/1412/13	1412 f.18v	276v
SWANE	John	13/01/1412/13	17/01/1412/13	1412 f.18v	276v
HINTON	Thomas	10/01/1412/13	18/01/1412/13	1412 f.19	277
TWYFORD	John	02/01/1412/13	18/01/1412/13	1412 f.19	277
SMITH of East Smithfield	John	31/12/1412/13	23/01/1412/13	1412 f.19	277
YOGMAN	John	18/01/1412/13	26/01/1412/13	1412 f.19v	277v
GREYLOND	John	22/01/1412/13	26/01/1412/13	1412 ff.19v-20	277v-278
WHELER	Richard	25/01/1412/13	27/01/1412/13	1412 f.20	278
WYNTON	John	09/02/1412/13	16/02/1412/13	1412 f.22	279
SERNE	Johanna	14/02/1412/13	20/02/1412/13	1412 f.22v	279v
BRANSTON	John	15/02/1412/13	26/02/1412/13	1412 f.22v	279v
KYRTON	Richard	24/02/1412/13	25/02/1412/13	1412 f.22v	279v
GOWFAST	Roger	22/01/1412/13	28.02.1412.13	1412 f.22v	279v
HENDY	John	not recorded	28/02/1412/13	1412 f.22v	279v
COKE	John	23/02/1412/13	08/03/1412/13	1412 f.23	280
HAMPER	Richard	04/02/1412/13	05/03/1412/13	1412 f.23	280
BARTHORP	John	04/12/1411	08/03/1412/13	1412 ff.23-23v	280-280v
STEVEN	William	9/03/1412/13	18/03/1412/13	1412 f.23v	280v
HOSYER	William	19/03/1412/13	24/03/1412/13	1413.f.1	281

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Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
BERKYNG	Nicholas	30/09/1412	02/04/1413	1413 f.1	281
GRAVENEY	Alice	13/03/1412/13	04/04/1413	1413 f.1	281
PERCHE	John	14/02/1412/13	07/04/1413	1413 f.1v	281v
TRAYLE	Helen	29/03/1413	10/04/1413	1413f.1v	281v
PRENTYS	John	07/04/1413	11/04/1413	1413 f.1v	281v
van der GOOS of Sealand	Margaret	08/04/1413	19/04/1413	1413 f.2	282
PALMER	Walter	10/02/1411	26/04/1413	1413 ff.2-2v	282-282v
PALMER	Walter	10/02/1411	26/04/1413	1413 ff.2v-3	282v-283
BOTELER	Thomas	14/09/1409	21/04/1413	1413 f.3v	283v
MALYNG	John	13/04/1413	15/04/1413	1413 f.3v	283v
LANTE	John	30/04/1413	30/04/1413	1413 f.4	284
HERLAW	William	07/11/1412	04/05/1413	1413 f.4	284
THRESSHER	John	23/04/1413	05/05/1413	1413 ff.4-4v	284-284v
BERKYNG	Johanna	04/05/1413	06/05/1413	1413 f.4v	284v
VENOUR	John	15/05/1413	16/05/1413	1413 f.4v	284v
SPROT	John	24/04/1413	17/05/1413	1413 ff.4v-5	284v-285
HERT	Geoffrey	23/05/1413	not recorded	1413 f.5	285
ALDERFORD	Edmund	26/05/1412	28/05/1413	1413 f.5	285
WELBY	John	20/05/1413	29/05/1413	1413 f.5v	285v
PHILIP	Thomas	26/05/1413	01/06/1413	1413 ff.5v-6	285v-286
CHAPMAN	John	31/05/1413	04/06/1413	1413 f.6	286
WORSOPPE	Thomas	18/05/1413	06/06/1413	1413 f.6v	286v
COSYN	John	02/06/1413	13/06/1413	1413 f.6v	286v
FLETE	John	13/02/1411	13/06/1413	1413 ff.6v-7	286v-287
ADAM	Agnes	04/06/1413	15/06/1413	1413 f.7	287
GRAVENEY	Richard	20/04/1412	16/06/1413	1413 f.7	287
WHYTE	William	18/05/1413	16/06/1413	1413 ff.7-7v	287-287v
SENT	William	01/11/1412	26/06/1413	1413 f.7v	287v
KNOTTESFORD	John	24/05/1413	30/06/1413	1413 f.8	288
HUNT	Robert	20/05/1413	28/06/1413	1413 f.8v	288v
BRYGHTLOME	Robert	27/06/1413	29/06/1413	1413 f.8v	288v
LOFFE of London	Arnold	25/06/1413	14/07/1413	1413 f.9	289
GALOFRE	Walter	05/07/1413	15/07/1413	1413 f.9	289
MICHEL	Cecilia	24/06/1413	01/07/1413	1413 f.9	289
SHERE	Walter	02/07/1413	18/07/1413	1413 f.9	289
BELE	William	19/07/1413	not recorded	1413 f.9	289
GOFF	John	22/07/1413	24/07/1413	1413 f.9v	289v
THORNNEY	Matilda	15/07/1413	20/07/1413	1413 f.9v	289v
MAYNE	John	23/07/1413	28/07/1413	1413 f.9v	289v
atte DOWNE alias FORSTER	John	06/07/1413	29/07/1413	1413 ff.9v-10	289v-290
SKARDE	Richard	22/07/1413	29/07/1413	1413 f.10	290
CLERK	Richard	02/08/1413	26/08/1413	1413 f.10	290
LESYNGHAM	John	12/12/1412	10/01/1413	1413 ff.10-10v	290-290v
SALESBURY	Robert	18/05/1413	05/08/1413	1413 f.10v	290v
CLERK of Hoghston Shoreditch	Richard	not recorded	not recorded	1413 f.11	291
BISSHOPE	John	14/12/1413	not recorded	1413 ff.11-11v	291-291v
BLOME	Peter	10/08/1413	11/08/1413	1413 f.11v	291v
SANDE	Geoffrey	09/08/1413	11/08/1413	1413 ff.11v-12	291v-292
ESELFOT	Henry	09/08/1413	13/08/1413	1413 f.12	292
WESTE	Thomas	23/07/1413	13/08/1413	1413 f.12	292
van COLEYN	Gobellus	15/08/1413	16/08/1413	1413 ff.12-12v	292-292v
HOMERTON	John	22/10/1409	21/08/1413	1413 f.12v	292v
van BUNE	Peter	18/08/1413	22/08/1413	1413 f.12v	292v
BACARELL	Gerius Petrus	20/08/1413	not recorded	1413 ff.12v-13	292v-293
ANDREW	Simon	11/08/1413	21/08/1413	1413 f.13	293

Appendices

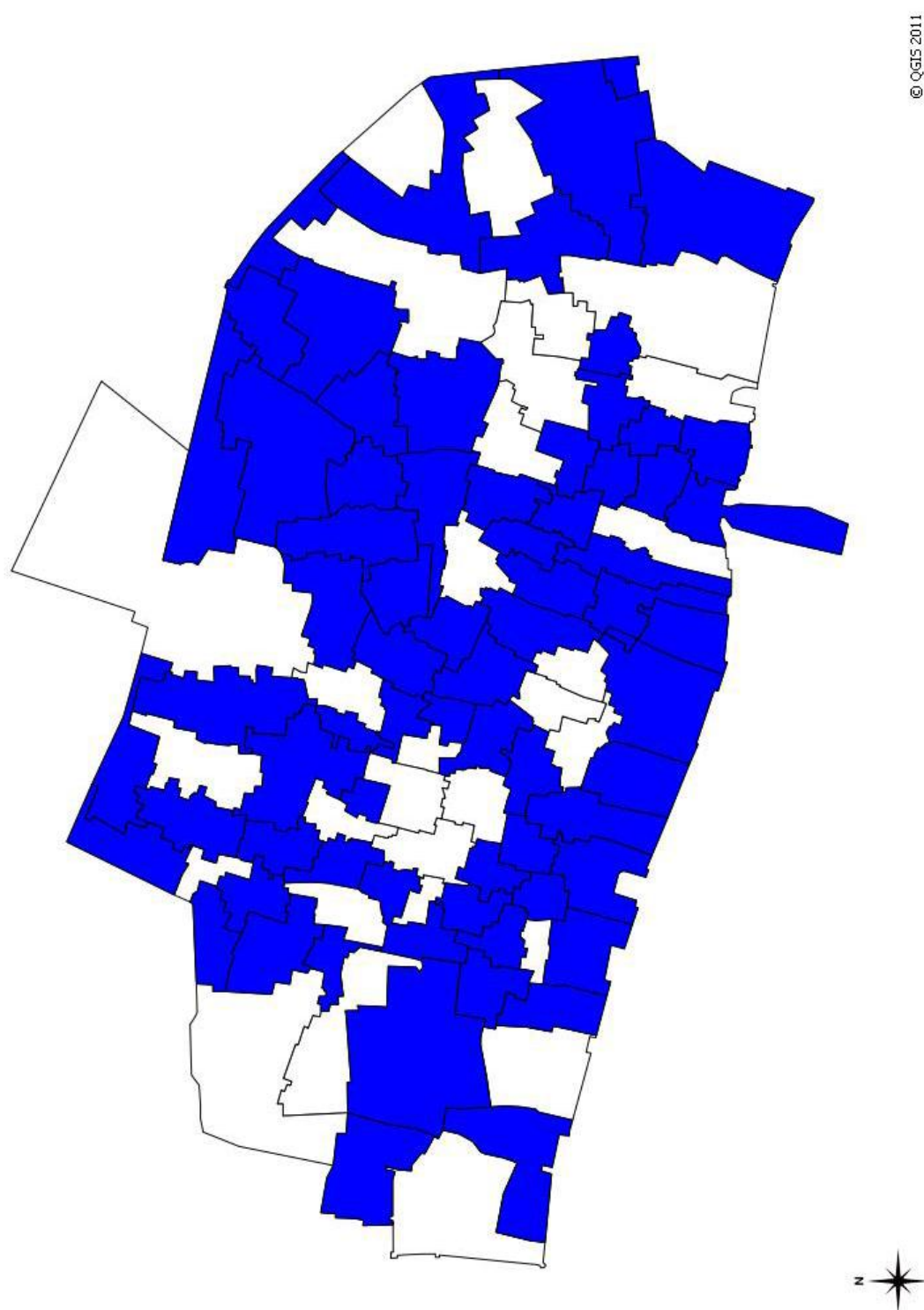
Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
de SPARRE	Antonio	20/08/1413	23/08/1413	1413 f.13	293
CATON	William	01/04/1413	25/08/1413	1413 ff.13-13v	293-293v
BARON	William	24/08/1413	25/08/1413	1413 f.13v	293v
PARKER	John	20/08/1413	25/08/1413	1413 ff.13v-14	293v-294
BRAUGHYNG	John	21/08/1413	25/08/1413	1413 f.14	294
WADE	John	26/08/1413	29/08/1413	1413 ff.14-14v	294-294v
WYGHMORRE	Nicholas	20/08/1413	30/08/1413	1413 f.14v	294v
WEGGE	Nicholas	26/08/1413	31/08/1413	1413 ff.14v-15	294v-295
FULBORNE	Cecile	24/08/1413	31/08/1413	1413 f.15	295
STAPLE	Agnes	26/08/1413	01/09/1413	1413 f.15	295
HERBEGOVE	Thomas	27/08/1413	not recorded	1413 ff.15-15v	295-295v
WYNCHECOMBE	Alice	20/11/1410	05/09/1413	1413 f.15v	295v
HERTE	William	not recorded	not recorded	1413 ff.15v-16	295v-296
HETON	Henry	04/09/1413	07/09/1413	1413 f.16	296
EDWARD	Richard	07/09/1413	09/09/1413	1413 f.16	296
van AKEN	Katherine	24/08/1413	11/09/1413	1413 ff.16-16v	296-296v
HUGHSONE	Tideman	24/08/1413	12/09/1413	1413 f.16v	296v
LYNCOLN	Robert	05/09/1413	12/09/1413	1413 ff.16v-17	296v-297
de REGIBUS of PAPIA	Thomas	04/09/1413	12/09/1413	1413 f.17	297
PLOWDEN	Thomas	20/08/1413	12/09/1413	1413 f.17	297
SMERT	John	18/09/1413	22/09/1413	1413 f.17	297
van BIEN	Dederic	07/09/1413	22/09/1413	1413 ff.17-17v	297-297v
de PORT	Katherine	20/09/1413	22/09/1413	1413 f.17v	297v
WALKER	Henry	21/09/1413	24/09/1413	1413 f.17v	297v
NICOLAUS	Jacob	22/09/1413	26/09/1413	1413 f.18	298
WILLIAMS DOUGHTER	Marian	27/09/1413	03/10/1413	1413 f.18	298
SPICER	Alice	07/09/1413	03/10/1413	1413 f.18	298
DYTTON	Walter	05/10/1413	07/10/1413	1413 f.18	298
BRYT	William	01/10/1413	02/10/1413	1413 f.18v	298v
van BERGHT	Henry	09/10/1413	11/10/1413	1413 f.18v	298v
ROSEWILL	William	30/09/1413	13/10/1413	1413 f.18v	298v
COTERELL	Alan	01/10/1413	15/10/1413	1413 f.1 [f.19]	299
HAYTON	Thomas	28/09/1413	17/10/1413	1413 f.1 [f.19]	299
LITTULTON	William	09/11/1413	not stated	1413 f.1 [f.19]	299
FERNOR	William	10/10/1413	22/10/1413	1413 f.1v [f.19v]	299v
OVERTON	Thomas	26/10/1413	29/10/1413	1413 f.1v [f.19v]	299v
GRENE	John	31/08/1413	29/10/1413	1413 ff.1v-2 [ff.19v-20]	299v-300
ONARD	Thomas	25/10/1413	03/11/1413	1413 f.2 [f.20]	300
GEDDYNG	Matilda	06/01/1412	03/11/1413	1413 ff.2-2v [ff.20-20v]	300-300v
HOLME	Robert	07/11/1413	08/11/1413	1413 f.2v [f.20v]	300v
BEAUCHAMP	John	09/10/1413	09/11/1413	1413 f.2v [f.20v]	300v
BAMME	Henry	20/07/1413	15/11/1413	1413 f.3 [f.21]	301
TURKESEY	Thomas	02/11/1413	not recorded	1413 f.3 [f.21]	301
HAVERRILL	Alice	03/10/1413	17/11/1413	1413 ff.3-3v [ff.21-21v]	301-301v
LAMBARD	John	17/10/1413	12/11/1413	1413 f.3v [f.21v]	301v
LAUNDE	William	27/10/1413	22/11/1413	1413 f.3v [f.21v]	301v
ROMSEYE	Walter	12/11/1413	24/11/1413	1413 f.4 [f.22]	302
COTERELL	Alan	01/10/1413	10/12/1413	1413 f.4 [f.22]	302
SPENDLOVE	John	15/11/1413	27/11/1413	1413 f.4v [f.22v]	302v
CRAVEN	John	03/12/1413	05/12/1413	1413 f.4v [f.22v]	302v
LYON of Lewes, Sussex	John	13/05/1411	12/12/1413	1413 ff.4v-5 [ff.22v-23]	302v-303
BEVYNGTON	Hugh	02/08/1413	30/11/1413	1413 f.5v [f.23v]	303v
BEKESWELLE	Roger	28/02/1412	02/01/1413/14	1413 ff.5v-6 [ff.23v-24]	303v-304
DVELLOWD	William	23/12/1413	05/01/1413/14	1413 f.6 [f.24]	304

Appendices

Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
de CHESTERTON	William	11/12/1413	05/01/1413/14	1413 f.6	304
BROMWYCH	Alice	21/07/1413	06/01/1413/14	1413 ff.6v-7 [ff.24v-25]	304v-305
PORT	William	08/02/1413/14	25/02/1413/14	1413 f.7 [f.25]	305
FOREST	John	05/01/1413/14	12/01/1413/14	1413 f.7v [f.25v]	305v
WYNTER	Edmund	27/04/1413	18/01/1413/14	1413 ff.7v-8 [ff.25v-26]	305v-306
BRAY	Peter	14/12/1413	15/01/1413/14	1413 f.8 [f.26]	306
OLYVER	Johanna	21/09/1413	17/01/1413/14	1413 f.8 [f.26]	306
SALMAN	Agnes	01/04/1413	15/01/1413/14	1413 f.8v [f.26v]	306v
EVERARD	John	15/01/1413/14	15/01/1413/14	1413 f.8v [f.26v]	306v
HAYWARD	John	17/01/1413/14	26/01/1413/14	1413 ff.8v-9 [ff.26v-27]	306v-307
FRYTH	John	08/11/1413	06/02/1413/14	1413 f.9 [f.27]	307
FADER	Stephen	31/01/1413/14	12/02/1413/14	1413 f.9 [f.27]	307
ROGER	William	29/05/1413	21/02/1413/14	1413 f.9v [f.27v]	307v
LYNCOLN	Margery	06/11/1413	22/02/1413/14	1413 f.9v [f.27v]	307v
HUXSTER	Johanna	16/02/1413/14	24/02/1413/14	1413 f.9v [f.27v]	307v
atte MORE	Alice	05/02/1413/14	26/02/1413/14	1413 ff.9v-10	307v-308
AMYS	John	15/12/1413	04/03/1413/14	1413 ff.10-10v [ff.28-28v]	308-308v
CREEK	John	12/02/1413/14	05/03/1413/14	1413 ff.10v-11v [ff.28v-29v]	308v-309v
SKET	Richard	05/09/1413	08/03/1413/14	1413 f.11v [f.29v]	309v
STANLEY	Richard	11/11/1413	24/02/1413/14	1413 f.11v [f.29v]	309v
DANYN	Peter	05/10/1413	08/03/1413/14	1413 f.11v [f.29v]	309v
LYNGBELHAM	Thomas	08/03/1413/14	08/03/1413/14	1413 f.11v [f.29v]	309v
LANGTON	John	19/02/1413/14	16/03/1413/14	1413 f.12 [f.30]	310
PYNCHBEK	William	01/03/1413/14	21/03/1413/14	1413 f.12 [f.30]	310
WYNCHECOMBE	Thomas	13/03/1413/14	26/03/1413/14	1413 f.12v [f.30v]	310v
HADDEMAN	Johanna	18/08/1413	05/04/1414	1413 f.13 [f.31]	311
CHAMBERLEYN	Edmund	15/06/1413	15/04/1414	1413 ff.13-13v	311-311v
LARDENER	Robert	12/03/1413/14	19/04/1414	1413 f.14 [f.32]	312
ADYN	Margaret	14/04/1414	20/04/1414	1413 f.14 [f.32]	312
STANTON	John	07/04/1414	28/04/1414	1413 f.14v [f.32v]	312v
HOWTON	Alice	05/10/1409	25/05/1414	1413 f.14v [f.32v]	312v
CREKE	Agnes	10/09/1413	not recorded	1414 f.1	313
GREGORI	Alice	09/04/1414	02/05/1414	1414 f.1v	313v
CROUCH	John	02/05/1414	04/05/1414	1414 ff.1v-2	313v-314
MOTTE	John	22/04/1414	07/05/1414	1414 f.2	314
SPROT	Isabell	01/02/1412	08/05/1414	1414 f.2v	314v
BEDWELL	Nicholas	11/04/1414	08/05/1414	1414 f.2v	314v
BRIGHTY	Robert	17/02/1412	08/05/1414	1414 ff.2v-3	314v-315
BRAYBROOK called Grubbe	William	07/08/1413	28/04/1414	1414 ff.3v-4v	315v-316v
MYLYS	Thomas	09/05/1414	15/05/1414	1414 f.4v	316v
REYBRED	Hugh	27/03/1414	15/05/1414	1414 ff.5-5v	317-317v
BORANE	John	26/11/1413	16/05/1414	1414 f.6	318
BURSTALL	William	02/05/1414	19/05/1414	1414 f.6	318
SEWALE	Agnes	15/05/1414	19/05/1414	1414 ff.6-6v	318-318v
KYRKEBY	Gilbert	19/05/1414	24/05/1414	1414 f.6v	318v
KYRKEBY	Richard	15/04/1414	05/06/1414	1414 ff.6v-7	318v-319
STACHESDEN	John	11/05/1414	13/06/1414	1414 ff.7-7v	319-319v
KOC	Robert	04/06/1414	13/06/1414	1414 f.7v	319v
GUY	Richard	01/09/1406	18/06/1414	1414 f.7v	319v
WEBBE	John	11/06/1414	30/06/1414	1414 f.8	320
PAYN	Matilda	02/06/1414	03/07/1414	1414 ff.8-8v	320-320v
SMERT	Margaret	13/06/1414	09/07/1414	1414 ff.8v-9	320v-321
EVERARD	Richard	05/07/1414	10/07/1414	1414 ff.9-10	321-322

Appendices

Surname	Forename	Testament date	Probate date	Folio reference	Fitch foliation
BURWELL	William	05/07/1414	10/07/1414	1414 f.10	322
ALFONS of Spain	Nicholas	06/07/1414	13/07/1414	1414 f.10	322
WALDEN	Elen	07.07.1414	not recorded	1414 f.10	322
FRANKELEYN	Stephen	03/08/1414	08/08/1414	1414 f.10v	322v
KELLOWE of Dereham	William	17/03/1413	10/06/1414	1414 f.10v	322v
MACHON of Milton	Thomas	18/09/1414	10/10/1414	1414 f.11	323
MALYN	Henry	30/08/1414	22/10/1414	1414 f.11	323
HORE	William	31/10/1414	03/11/1414	1414 f.11	323
HOLTE	Alice	14/03/1413	16/11/1414	1414 f.11v	323v
PAGENAHL	John	31/10/1414	18/11/1414	1414 f.12	324
CREKE	Johanna	05/11/1414	15/11/1414	1414 ff.12-13	324-325
BURTON	Robert	09/04/1408	26/11/1414	1414 f.13	325
DAMYSELL	Thomas	08/08/1413	30/11/1414	1414 f.13v	325v
LORKYN	Johanna	01/07/1413	09/12/1414	1414 f.13v	325v
ENGLEYS	Katherine	16/11/1414	14/12/1414	1414 f.14	326
PEVERELL	Gylemos	01/05/1414	07/05/1414	1414 f.14	326
ALRYGGE	Thomas	06/12/1414	02/01/1414/15	1414 f.14	326
BROUN	John	09/09/1413	03/01/1414/15	1414 f.14v	326v
SANTON	Thomas	09/01/1414	not recorded	1414 f.14v	326v
PALMER	Margery	12/07/1414	15/02/1414/15	1414 f.15	327
ELAND	Robert	17/12/1414	22/01/1414/15	1414 ff.15-15v	327-327v
BURGATE	Richard	09/01/1414/15	26/01/1414/15	1414 f.16	328
POUNTENEY	Johanna	28/02/1411	04/02/1414/15	1414 ff.16-16v	328-328v
HOPER	Walter	01/03/1414/15	not recorded	1414 f.16v	328v
HOBERD	William	01/03/1414/15	06/03/1414/15	1414 f.17v	329v
CACHEMAYDE	William	10/03/1414/15	12/03/1414/15	1414 f.17v	329v
YONGE	William	09/04/1415	20/04/1415	1415 f.1	330
MARCHE	Agnes	06/04/1415	22/04/1415	1415 f.1	330
HAWKES	Richard	10/04/1415	not recorded	1415 f.1	330
HEREFORD	Thomas	13/03/1414/15	04/05/1415	1415 f.1v	330v
TWYFORD	John	07/07/1414	14/05/1415	1415 ff.1v-2	330v-331
SELVESTRE	John	28/05/1415	01/06/1415	1415 f.2	331
YONGE	Johanna	15/05/1415	02/06/1415	1415 f.2v	331v
REDER	John	11/06/1415	14/06/1415	1415 f.2v	331v
ALDEWYNCLE John Nicol Aldwyncle Norfolk	John Nicol of	01/07/1412	12/06/1415	1415 f.2v	331v
APPULTON	Richard	06/09/1415	10/09/1415	1415 f.6	332
WYGH	Johanna	27/05/1415	16/09/1415	1415 f.6	332
WHITBY	Agatha	31/08/1415	not recorded	1415 f.6	332
FRENSSH	John	26/08/1415	14/09/1415	1415 ff.6v-7	332v-333
LAXMAN	John	12/08/1415	18/09/1415	1415 f.7	333
REGNARD	Agnes	08/09/1415	not recorded	1415 f.7	333
BRETERHODE	Roger	02/08/1415	18/09/1415	1415 f.7v	333v
SALLE	Piers	21/09/1415	24/09/1415	1415 f.7v	333v
BARRET	Walter	not recorded	not recorded	1415 f.7v	333v
LIBARD	John	12/04/1408	26/09/1415	1415 f.8	334
CAUSTON	Thomas	29/08/1415	30/09/1415	1415 f.8	334
HYNKLEY	John	10/09/1415	07/10/1415	1415 f.8v	334v
PARKE	Isabell	12/09/1415	17/10/1415	1415 ff.8v-9	334v-335
POOL	Martin	18/07/1415	18/10/1415	1415 f.9	335
FRADESHAM	William	06/06/1415	19/10/1415	1415 f.9v	335v
HEREND	Andrew	10/09/1415	21/03/1415/16	1415 f.9v	335v

Appendix 2. The Parishes of London in 1520 Including Extra-parochial Areas ¹

Coloured areas show the geographical distribution of London parishes with wills registered in the Archdeacon of London Register of Copy wills: GL MS 9051/1

¹ Map generated by Dr. Justin Colson, 2011

Appendix 3. Testamentary Jurisdiction in the medieval parishes of the city of London.

Parishes in bold type occur in the wills registered in the Archdeacon of London Register of Copy Wills, GL MS 9051/1.¹

i. Commissary court. Forty-six parishes

St. Alban Wood Street.	St. Botolph without Bishopsgate	St. Margaret Bridge Street	St. Mildred Poultry
All Hallows Barking.	St. Bride Fleet Street	St. Margaret Pattens	St. Nicholas Acon
All Hallows Honey Lane.	St. Christopher le Stocks	St. Martin Orgar	St. Nicholas Cole Abbey
All Hallows Staining	St. Clement Candlewick Street, East Cheap	St. Martin Outwich	St. Nicholas Olave
St. Andrew Hubbard.	St. Dunstan in the West	St. Martin Pomay, Ironmonger Lane	St. Olave Jewry
St. Andrew Undershaft.	St. Edmund the King and Martyr Lombard Street	St. Martin, Vintry	St. Peter Paul's Wharf
St. Antonin, later	St. Gabriel Fenchurch	St. Mary Magdalene Milk Street	St. Peter the Poor
St. Antholin		St. Mary Woolchurch	St. Sepulchre without Newgate
St. Benet Fink	St. George Botolph Lane, Eastcheap	St. Matthew Friday Street	St. Stephen Coleman Street
St. Benet Gracechurch	St. James, Garlickhithe	St. Michael Cornhill	St. Swithin Candlewick Street, London Stone
St. Benet Paul's Wharf	St. Katherine Cree, Christ Church	St. Michael, Wood Street	
St. Benet Sherhog	St. Lawrence Pountney	St. Mildred Bread Street	
St. Botolph Billingsgate	St. Lawrence Jewry		

ii. Archdeacon's court. Forty five parishes²

All Hallows London Wall	St. Botolph Aldersgate	St. Martin Ludgate	St. Mary Staining
All Hallows the Great	St. Ethelburga	St. Margaret Lothbury	St. Mary Woolnoth
All Hallows the Less	Holy Trinity Aldgate	St. Margaret Moses	St. Michael Bassishaw
St. Alphage	Holy Trinity the Less	St. Mary Abchurch	St. Michael le Querne
St. Andrew Holborn	St. John the Evangelist	St. Mary Aldermary	St. Michael, Queenhithe
St. Andrew Castle Baynard, by the Wardrobe	St. John Wallbrook	St. Mary Axe	St. Nicholasin the Shambles
St. Anne and St. Agnes,³	St. John Zachary	St. Mary Colechurch	St. Olave Hart Street
St. Audoen, St. Ewen,	St. Katherine Coleman	St. Mary at Hill	St. Olave Silver Street
St. Owen			
St. Augustine, by St. Paul	St. Leonard Eastcheap	St. Mary Magdalen Old Fish Street	St. Peter Westcheap
St. Bartholomew the Little	St. Leonard Foster Lane	St. Mary Mounthaw	St. Peter Cornhill
St. Botolph without Aldgate	St. Magnus the Martyr,	St. Mary Somerset	St. Stephen Walbrook
			St. Thomas the Apostle

iii. Peculiar court of Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Three parishes

St. Helen Bishopsgate	St. Giles Cripplegate	St. Gregory by St. Paul's
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¹ The theoretical division of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of London parishes are taken from A. J. Camp, *Wills and their whereabouts*, (London, 1974), pp.85-87. The division of parishes used by Camp is based, for the City, on Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*, (London, 1831), and may not reflect the division in fifteenth-century London. This information is also reproduced in J. S. W. Gibson, *Wills and Where to Find Them* (Chichester, 1974), pp.85 - 91.

² There are three stray wills registered and probated in the Archdeacon's court for the Middlesex parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, which was in the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Middlesex. The wills in question are Robert Bowmersh, Thomas Haveryng of Hoxton and Dionisia Tailor of Shoreditch; GL MS 9051/1, 1398, fols. 18^v and 20^v and 1404, fol. 15^r.

³ This parish was held jointly with the royal peculiar of the Dean and chapter of Westminster.

iv. Deanery of Arches. Eleven parishes

St. Dunstan in the East	St. Dionis Backchurch	All Hallows Lombard Street	St. Michael Crooked Lane
St. Mary Bothaw	St. Michael Paternoster	St. Mary le Bow	St. Pancras Soper Lane
St. Vedast Foster Lane	All Hallows, Bread Street, Watling Street	St. John the Evangelist, Watling Street	

v. Joint jurisdiction between Deanery of Arches and Commissary Court**St. Mary Aldermanbury****vi. Joint jurisdiction between the Deanery of Arches , Commissary Court and Royal Peculiar of Dean and Chapter of Westminster.****St. Leonard Foster Lane**

Appendix 4. Additions, rebuilding or major repairs to Bury St. Edmunds churches between 1393 and 1414

Source: SROB MS IC/500/2/1 Register Osbern

Date	Church	Patron	Bequest	Testator and will ref.
1389*	St. James	Abbot and Convent of St. Edmunds. Benedictine	20s. to the chancel.	Stephen Harlyng, fol. 57 ^r
	St. James		1 mark for repairs to the chancel.	Eustace Bermyngham, fol. 59 ^r
1390	St. James		3 brass pots for cost of repairs to the chancel.	Gilbert Ray, f. 59 ^v
1391	St. James		3s. to the chancel fabric.	Henry Kuncel, fol. 60 ^r
	St. James		7 marks 6s. 8d. to the chancel.	William Crowe, fol. 62 ^r
	St. James		3s. 4d. to the chancel fabric.	William Bosard, fol. 70 ^v
1392	St. James		11d. for the repairs to the chancel.	John Wade, snr. Fol. 61 ^r
	St. James		20d. to chancel fabric.	Roger Say, fols. 62 ^v – 63 ^r
	St. James		20s. to the chancel fabric.	Richard Reynold, fol. 64 ^r
	St. James		12d. to the chancel fabric.	Richard Porter, fol. 65 ^r
	St. James		6d. to the chancel fabric.	William Habbes, fols. 65 ^v – 66 ^r
	St. James		3s. 4d. for repairs to the chancel and 2s. for repairs to the book of devotion.	John Prudhome, fol. 69 ^v
1393	St. James		8d. for repairs to the chancel.	William Cokedon, fol. 66 ^r
	St. James		6s. 8d. for repairs to the chancel.	Thomas Hamond, butcher, fols. 66 ^r – 66 ^v
	St. James		Primer, 2 processional and a surplice.	Robert Stabeler, chaplain, fols. 66 ^v – 67 ^r
	St. James		6s. 8d. to the chancel fabric.	Robert Saleman, fol. 67 ^v
	St. James		2s. for the chancel works.	John Berdewell, cordwainer, fol. 70 ^r
1394	St. James		40s. to the chancel fabric.	John de Cavenham, chaplain, fols. 71 ^v – 72 ^r
	St. James		20s. for repairs to the chancel.	William le May, fuller, fol. 72 ^v
	St. James		3s. 4d. to the chancel fabric.	Matilda Lucas, fol. 72 ^v
1394	St. James		20s. to the chancel fabric.	John Calf, cordwainer, fols. 75 ^v – 76 ^r
1395	St. James		20s. for repairs to the chancel.	Henry de Carleton, fols. 74 ^v – 75 ^r
1402	St. James		40d. for the chancel works.	Agnes Harlyng, fol. 101 ^v
	St. James		3s. 4d. for the chancel works.	Amicia de Aldham, fol. 101 ^v
1404	St. James		3s. 4d. for repairs to the chancel.	Margaret Lucas, fol. 106 ^r
1393	St. Mary's	Abbot and Convent of St. Edmunds. Benedictine	3s. 4d. to the belfry if it is being built.	Robert Maunderville, fols. 67 ^v – 68 ^r
1396	St. Mary's		6s. 8d. for the belfry fabric.	Roger Cook, fols. 79 ^r – 79 ^v
1397	St. Mary's		6s. 8d. for the belfry fabric.	Alice Abbot, fol. 89 ^r
1401	St. Mary's		13s. 4d. for the belfry fabric.	John Wolman, fols. 111 ^v – 112 ^r
1402	St. Mary's		20d. for the belfry fabric.	Christine Shelfhanger, Fol. 101 ^v
	St. Mary's		3s. 4d. for the belfry fabric.	Margery Bussche, fol. 106 ^v
1408	St. Mary's		3s. 4d. for the chancel fabric.	Giles Brakestede, fol. 123 ^v
1410	St. Mary's		12d. for the new ceiling in the chancel.	William Mercer, fuller, fol. 134 ^v

*Denotes year during which the testament was made. Probate dates are not recorded in the Sacrist's register during the period of this study. See Chapter One for further details.

Appendix 5. Additions, rebuilding or major repairs to London and suburban parish churches 1330-1530.¹

Date	Church	Patron ²	Bequest	Testator and will reference. ³	Schofield LAMS Transactions 45	E. A. Ashby (unpublished MA thesis, 1951) appendix 1C
1395	St. Olave, Jewry	Prior and convent of St. Mary, Butley, Suffolk. House of Augustinian Canons.	£10 for the bell tower. £10 for provision of sacred vestments for use of the parish clergy	Thomas Chapman, citizen and cooper. 1395, fols 11 ^v -12 ^r + insert	p. 125: refers to Morstead, in more detail than Ashby does; added under Ashby. John Fetipace left £40 for the 'reparation and sustentation' of the church in 1464. Schofield suggests building programme between 1435-65 included north tower porch.	No. 70, p. 414. Will of 1450 by Thomas Morsted surgeon to Henry IV, V, VI and sheriff 1436 refers to the chapel he had recently 'new built', on the north side. P C C 12 Rous (PROB 11/1/115)
1398	St. Michael Bassishaw	Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's + laity	3s. 4d. to the bell tower fabric.	Richard Bayon, 1398, fol. 2 ^v	p. 121. New arcades, a rebuilt exterior and tower in the 15 th century- last phase presumably the rebuilding financed by John Burton, mercer, † 1460 and Agnes his wife	
1398	St. Andrew Holborn	Prior and Convent of St. Saviour, Bermondsey. Cluniac order.	3s. 4d. to the bell tower.	Roger Gaylard,, 1398, fol. 6 ^v	p. 92. Church rebuilt in 15 th century, probably during rectorship of Gilbert Worthington, 1439-47. Money left for belfry at north west end of church in 1447; CHW, ii, p. 540. Previously money left for belfry in 1280.	No. 10 p. 408. John Rowell brewer, 1447, left land and tenements, from profits to pay for a chantry and for construction of belfry on n. w. end, CHW, ii, p. 540.
1398	St. Benet, Gracechurch	Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.	100 marks to churchwardens for perfecting the bell tower.	John Pountfreyt, citizen and saddler, 1398, fols. 9 ^v -10 ^r	p. 94. Chapels are recorded to St. Mary in 1348 and St. Sithe in 1397: CHW, I, p. 534 and ii, p. 238.	No. 20, p. 409. William Jurden left a message for the maintenance of church works and ornaments; CHW, ii, p.631
1398	St. Magnus the Martyr, London Bridge	Abbot and convent of Bermondsey, Cluniac, +Abbot & Convent, Westminster. Benedictine	A piece of silver and a silver ornament for the maintenance of the bell tower.	Margery Vale, baker's widow, 1398, fol. 13 ^r		No. 34, p. 410. Thomas Owen (grocer) left £10 to the church for building in 1501. PCC21 Moone. (PROB 11/12/349)

¹ Sources: Archdeacon of London's probate register, G L MS 9051/1; Schofield, *LAMAS Transactions*, 45 (1994) and E. A. Ashby MA Thesis 1951, Appendix 1C

² Information collated from G.L. Hennessy, ed., *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, (London, 1898) and D. Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, eds., *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, revised ed. (London, 1971)

³ Unless otherwise noted, the testator is a parishioner of the church in question.

Appendices

Date	Church	Patron ²	Bequest	Testator and will reference. ³	Schofield LAMS Transactions 45	E. A. Ashby (unpublished MA thesis, 1951) appendix 1C
1398			100lbs. copper for work on casting nine bells. No cash sum given for this amount of copper.	Robert Lacok, citizen and stockfishmonger, 1398, fol. 17 ^r		
1398	St. Nicholas Shambles	Dean of St. Martin le Grand	6s. 8d. to the bell tower.	John Spakeman, citizen and butcher 1398, fol. 15 ^r	p. 123-4. Chapels added to north and south of sanctuary between 1340-1400. North aisle added and possibly south aisle between? 1375-1450. Church had a tower by no later than 1550, located at the west end of the nave and south porch. Vestry added on north east side which involved partial rebuilding of north wall of the church, 1400-1450.	
1398	St. Sepulchre, Without Newgate	Prior and convent of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield. House of Augustinian Canons.	6s. 8d. to the new bell tower.	Richard Stebenhithe, Citizen and ironmonger, 1398, fol. 20 ^r	pp. 128-9. Tower of fifteenth century 16'-3" square. St. Stephen's chapel also fifteenth century, protrudes from the north wall. Chapel with porch constructed on south side of choir paid for by Sir John Popham † 1463; Stowe, ii, pp. 33 and 362.	
1398	St. Peter Cornhill	Lay to 1436, then to the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of London	20d. for glazing a window in the nave.	John Hammond, citizen and girdlemaker, 1398, fol. 8 ^r	pp. 126-7. Church was repaired especially the roof in Edward IV reign, Stowe, I, pp. 194-5.	
1411			40s. for glazing the windows in the chancel.	John Skeet, brewer, 1411, fol. 2 ^v .		
1412			40s. towards the cost of leading the south aisle roof, 40s. for the old church works and 40s. for one white vestment in honour of the B.V.M.	Peter Masoun, citizen and tailor, 1412, fols. 16 ^r -16 ^v		
1400	St. Margaret, Fish Street Hill	Abbot and Convent of Westminster.	£20 for the nave fabric and the bell tower.	Robert de Sprotburgh, Rector, 1400, fols. 1 ^r -3 ^r		

Appendices

Date	Church	Patron ²	Bequest	Testator and will reference. ³	Schofield LAMS Transactions 45	E. A. Ashby (unpublished MA thesis, 1951) appendix 1C
1413			20s. for the bell tower fabric.	William Palmer, citizen and baker, 1413, fols. 2 ^r – 2 ^v		
1400	St. Alphage	Dean of St. Martin le Grand.	40s. for the chancel ceiling, providing his successor agrees to the conditions of his bequest.	William Palmere, rector 1400, fols. 5 ^v –6 ^r	p. 92. Had a churchyard by 1414; <i>CHW</i> , ii, p. 409.	
1405	St. Mary Staining	Prioress and Convent of St. Mary, Clerkenwell. House of Augustinian Canonesses	50s. for the fenestration, possibly the glazing, of the chancel.	John Symond, citizen and lorimer, 1405, fols. 7 ^r –7 ^v .		
1405	St. Antholin	Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.	20s. to the chancel roof.	Roger Colnay, citizen and baker, 1405, fols. 8 ^r –8 ^v		No. 6, p. 409. John Breton (merchant tailor) left £5 for work on the steeple in 1519; PCC 28 Maynwaring. (PROB 11/20/403).
1407	St. Katherine Cree	Prior and convent of Holy Trinity, Aldgate,	100s. for a new rood loft, plus a chalice, vestment, missal and other ornaments to the high altar for clergy's use.	Agnes atte Hale, widow, 1407, fols. 29 ^v –30 ^r	pp. 108-9. In 1496 Henry Snow left £20 for building the tower; <i>Stowe</i> , ii, p. 397(v). Surviving archaeological evidence in 1928, suggests a three aisled church by the 15 th century.	
1407	St. Andrew Undershaft	Bishop of London	3s. 4d. to the bell tower.	William Dene, citizen and leather dresser, 1407, fol. 14 ^r .	pp. 92-93. Fifteenth century Tower survives in first three stages at south-west corner of church. Nave and aisles date from rebuilding between 1520-32 by several prominent merchants. Sir William Fitz-William, master of Merchant Tailors in 1499, sheriff 1506, rebuilt all the church except north side of nave and north aisle which was funded by Stephen Gennings, mayor in 1508-9; <i>Stowe</i> , i, p. 143.	No. 23, p. 409. Thomas Osborne, £6. 13s. 4d. towards the building in 1524; PCC 27 Porch. (PROB 11/22/414)

Appendices

Date	Church	Patron ²	Bequest	Testator and will reference. ³	Schofield LAMS Transactions 45	E. A. Ashby (unpublished MA thesis, 1951) appendix 1C
1408	St. Mary Woolchurch	Abbot and Convent of St. John the Baptist, Colchester. Benedictine House.	6s. 8d. to the painting above the table,? retable, at the high altar.	William Bandon, citizen and vintner, 1408, fol. 5 ^r		No. 45, p. 412. Entirely rebuilt with adjustment to the site; <i>LBK</i> , pp. 267-8 and 272. No. 46, p. 412. John Humber sold lands and tenements, partly used for maintenance of the fabric in 1444; <i>CHW</i> , ii, pp. 520-1. No. 47. In 1510, Richard Shore left £20 towards making the porch at the west end of the church and a piece of gold for making ornaments; <i>PCC</i> 31 Bennet, 48. (PROB 11/16/803) Simond Gyer (draper) refers to new works which he had lately built there in 1457. <i>PCC</i> 13 Stockton. (PROB 11/4/229)
1408	St. Dunstan in the West.	The Crown until 1411, then to Abbot and Convent of Alwyck. Premonstratensian Canons.	20s. for the rood loft.	John Mpylton, citizen and marbler, 1408, fols. 10 ^r -10 ^v		
1410	St. Thomas of Acre	Archbishop of Canterbury until 1415; then D & C of St. Paul's	40s. for unspecified works.	Elias Bokking, citizen and draper, 1410, fols. 6 ^r -6 ^v		
1412	St. Nicholas Acon		20 marks towards the cost of building the new bell tower.	Christine Walcote, widow, 1412, fols. 1 ^r -2 ^r	p. 123. Church repaired and given battlements by John Bridges, mayor 1520; <i>Stowe</i> , I, p. 204. Chapel of St. George made by George Lufkyn, tailor to Henry VII; <i>Stowe</i> , ii, p. 396(ix).	No. 70, p. 414. John Pyyur the rector, left 10 marks for 'ledding' the church in 1442; <i>GL MS</i> 9171/4, fol. 155 ^r .
1413	St. John Walbrook	Prioress and Convent of St. Helen's Bishopsgate	60s. towards the cost of the new works.	Walter Romsey, citizen and skinner, 1413, fol. 4 ^r [fol. 22 ^r]	p. 76. It was enlarged by 1412.	

Appendices

Date	Church	Patron ²	Bequest	Testator and will reference. ³	Schofield LAMS Transactions 45	E. A. Ashby (unpublished MA thesis, 1951) appendix 1C
1413	St. Ehelburga Bishopsgate	Prioress and Convent of St. Helen's Bishopsgate. Benedictine Nunnery	20d. for works on the bell tower.	Simon Andrew, 1413, fol. 13 ^r	pp. 101-2. Much of the surviving work of fourteenth fifteenth centuries. Severely damaged by terrorists in April 1993.	No. 49, p. 410. In 1444, John Humber assigned some of the proceeds from the sale of his lands and tenements to maintenance of the fabric of the church.
1413	St. Leonard Shoreditch ⁴	Archdeacon of London	20d. to churchwardens for the bell tower fabric.	Nichols Whyghtmore, 1413, fol. 14 ^v		
1413			8d. to churchwardens for the bell tower fabric.	William Herte, 1413, fols. 15 ^v -16 ^r		
1413			20d. to the churchwardens for the bells in the bell tower..	Richard Clerk, 1413, fol. 11 ^r		
1413	St. Michael Cornhill	Abbot and convent of Evesham. Benedictine House	100s. to the bell tower works.	Alice atte More, widow 1413, fols. 9 ^v -10 ^r	p. 76. 1421 new tower.	
1414			10s. for the bell tower fabric	Margaret Smer, widow 1414, fols. 8 ^v -9 ^r		
1413	St. Mary Abchurch	Prioress and Convent of St. Mary Overy. House of .Augustinian Canonesses	£10 to bell tower fabric providing work is finished by the churchwardens within 2 years of the date of his testament.	John Creek, citizen and tailor, 1313, fols. 10 ^v -11 ^v [28 ^v -29 ^v]	p. 116. Chapels of St. Mary and St. Trinity in the church; Strype 1720, l, ii. pp. 183-4.	
1413	St. Dunstan ⁵ Stepney	Bishop of London	4 marks for the glazing in the church.	John Wade, citizen and baker. 1413, fols. 14 ^r -14 ^v		

⁴ St. Leonard Shoreditch was situated in Middlesex, technically in the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Middlesex; however, as the Archdeacon of London had the patronage, then these wills were registered in his court of probate.

⁵ St. Dunstan Stepney was also in Middlesex and within the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon of Middlesex.

Appendix 6 London testators and their Fraternities.

Donor	Trade/craft	Fraternity and Church	Bequest	Will ref.
Roger HUNT	chaplain	St. James, in St. James Garlickhithe	20s.	1393, fols. 13 ^v -14 ^r
John ROBYN alias DONET	Priest	St. James in St. James Garlickhithe	6s.8d. for maintenance of the priest His Portiforum to Sir Thomas Cokshate, fraternity priest	1397, fol. 14 ^r
Adam FULLERE	Citizen and joiner	St. James in St. James Garlickhithe	6s. 8d.	1398, fol.13 ^r
John FOX	Citizen and pie baker	St. James in St. James Garlickhithe Piebakers' fraternity	6s. 8d. 3s. 4d. to offertory box	1402, fol.11 ^v
Richard MYMMES		St. James in St. James Garlickhithe	1 torch	1405, fols. 13 ^v -14 ^r
John WYDDEMERE junior	Citizen and joiner	St. James in St. James Garlickhithe	6s. 8d.	1407, fols. 19 ^r -19 ^v
Ralph FULLER	Citizen and joiner	St. James in St. James Garlickhithe	2s.	1412, fol. 15 ^v
Alice GRAVENEYE	Widow	St. James in St. James Garlickhithe	3s. 4d.	1413, fol.1 ^r
Matilda PENNE		Corpus Christi of Skinners	20s.	1393, fols. 16 ^v -17 ^r
John KENT	Citizen and smith	St. Giles in St. Milchael Cornhill Glorious martyr of St. Thomas in Rome Corpus Christi in St. Michael Cornhill	10s. 3s.4d. 3s.4d.	1395, fol. 5 ^v .
John IPERS		St. Mary in Chapel of All Hallows Barking	6d.	1395, fol. 8 ^r
Matilda MASCHAL		St. Mary in Chapel of All Hallows Barking	10s. to fraternity lamp	1395, fols. 8 ^r -8 ^v .
John CHARYNG		St. Mary in chapel of All Hallows Barking	20d.	1397, fols. 12 ^r -12 ^v
Geoffrey BONET		St. Mary in chapel of All Hallows Barking	40d.	1398, fol.6 ^r
Richard SKEET	Citizen and brewer	St. Mary in chapel of All Hallows Barking	10s.	1402, fols. 13 ^v -14 ^r
Richard WALE	Chaplain	Holy Trinity in St. Mary le Bow	3s. 4d.	1395, fol.10 ^r
Richard CLIFTON	Citizen and brewer	Fraternity of All Saints of Brewers in All Hallows on London Wall	20s	1395, fol.18 ^r
Richard WAYFER	Citizen and brewer	Fraternity of Brewers in All Hallows on London Wall	6s. 8d.	1403, fol.12 ^v .
John BISSHOPE	Citizen and vintner	Fraternity of Brewers in All Hallows on London Wall	20s.	1413, fols. 11 ^r -11 ^v
Robert BONMERSH	Vicar of St. Leonard Shoreditch	Blessed Mary in St. Leonard Shoreditch	6s. 8d.	1395, fol. 18 ^v
Walter COLMAN		St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre without Newgate St. Katherine in St. Sepulchre without Newgate	40d. to fraternity and 2 candles and 4 torches at his exequies 20d.	1395, fol.20 ^v .
Robert STEBENHITH	Citizen and ironmonger	St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre without Newgate	10s. for maintenance of its chaplain	1398, fol. 20 ^r
William KIRKEBY		St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre, Newgate	20s.	1400, fol.1 ^v
John BUKSOLL	Citizen and coppersmith	St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre without Newgate	12d.	1402, fol.11 ^v
Thomas PURSER	Citizen	St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre without Newgate	6s. 8d.	1404, fol.16 ^v .
John BAMBURGH	Clerk and lay brother of the Hospital of St. John Jerusalem, England	St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre without Newgate	3s. 4d.	1405, fol. 20 ^r
Alice STOWE	Widow	St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre without Newgate	2s.	1406, fol. 2 ^r

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Donor	Trade/craft	Fraternity and Church	Bequest	Will ref.
Lucy SANDWICH		St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre without Newgate St. John in St. Martin Ludgate St. James in St. James Garlickhithe	10s. and 1 torch 10s. 10s.	1407, fol.1 ^r
William HOBERD		St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre without Newgate	3s. 4d.	1414, fol. 17 ^v
John HOREWOOD		Holy Trinity in St. Alphage London Wall	3s. 4d. maintaining fraternity lamp	1397, fols. 7 ^r -7 ^v
Robert WEST	Citizen and poulterer	Corpus Christi in St. Mary Coneyhope Lane	3s. 4d.	1397, fols. 7 ^v -8 ^r
John LAKE	Citizen	Holy Cross in St. Lawrence Jewry	6s. 8d.	1397, fols. 8 ^r -8 ^v .
William KESTON	Chaplain	Holy Trinity in St. Lawrence Jewry	6d. to each fraternity chaplain	1397, fol. 9 ^r
John ELINESLEY	Citizen	St. Lawrence in All Hallows Barking	40d.	1397, fol. 9 ^v
Symon GARLYK		St. Mary in St. John Walbrook	6s. 8d.	1397, fols. 10 ^r -10 ^v
John BATESWAYN	Citizen and baker	Holy Cross in St. Nicholas Cole Abbey	10s. to fraternity secretary	1397, fols. 16 ^v -17
Roger GAYLARD		St. Sytha in St. Andrew Holborn	40d.	1398, fol.6 ^v
John BUSSH	Citizen and chandler	St. John the Baptist of Tailors SS. Fabian & Sebastian in St. Botolph Aldersgate	40s. 20s.	1398, fols. 9 ^r -9 ^v
John FRANKLEYN	Citizen and draper	St. John the Baptist of Tailors Blessed Mary of drapers	20s. 6s. 8d.	1404, fols. 17 ^v -18 ^r
Walter EDENSTONE	Chaplain	St. John the Baptist of Tailors	4d. for each poor member for rent	1405, fol.8 ^r
Petronella NEWERK		St. John the Baptist of Tailors	20s.	1406, fols. 10 ^v -11 ^r
John MAPYLTON	Citizen and marbeler	St. John the Baptist of tailors St. Dunstan, in St. Dunstan in the west	13s. 4d. 13s. 4d.	1407, fols. 10 ^r -10 ^v
Alice WYGHT		St. John the Baptist of Tailors	26s. 8d.	1407, fol. 23 ^v
Elias HORE	Citizen and Tailor	St. John the Baptist of Tailors	20s.	1409, fol.10 ^v
John RABET	Citizen and tailor	St. John the Baptist of Tailors	10 marks to repairs to Fraternity's house	1412, fol.12 ^v
John GEORGE		St. Michael in St. Michael Bassishaw St. Stephen in St. Stephen Coleman Street	6s. 8d. 6s. 8d.	1398, fol.16 ^r
Reginald DAWE	Citizen and smith	Corpus Christi in the chapel of St. Mildred Poultry	6s. 8d. for his name to be entered in list of dead brothers and for prayers for his soul	1398, fol. 20 ^v
John GALON	Citizen and stockfishmonger	Salve Regina in St. Margaret Fish Street Hill	3s. 4d.	1400, fols. 4 ^v -5 ^r
Gilbert ANGHTON	Citizen and stockfishmonger	Salve Regina in St. Margaret Fish Street Hill	40s.	1403, fol.6 ^r
Andrew SMYTH	Citizen and pie baker	St. Anne in St. Michael Cornhill	10s.	1400, fols. 9 ^r -10 ^r
Guido PERS	Citizen and greytawyer	St. Anne in St. Michael Cornhill	8s. to fraternity chest	1410, fol. 8 ^v
Isobell LEE		St. Mildred in St. Mildred Bread Street	12d.	1403, fols. 4 ^r -4 ^v
Thomas COTON	Citizen and bowyer	St. John the Baptist in St. Martin, Ludgate St. Mary above the gate at Ludgate	3s. 4d. 20d.	1403, fols. 12 ^r -12 ^v
William CHESEMAN		St. Thomas in Rome	12d.	1403, fol.14 ^r
William WHITE	Citizen and shipwright	St. Thomas in Rome	20s.	1413, fols. 7 ^r -7 ^v
John TOR	Citizen and merchant	St. Giles in St. Giles Cripplegate	40d.	1404, fol.4 ^v
Thomas PHILIP	Citizen and grocer	St. Giles in St. Giles Cripplegate	6s. 8d.	1413, fols. 5 ^v -6 ^r

Appendices

Donor	Trade/craft	Fraternity and Church	Bequest	Will ref.
Thomas WALSTED	Citizen and draper	St. Christopher in St. Christopher le Stocks	2s. for maintenance of fraternity. 8d. to fraternity chaplain	1404, fol.6 ^v
John OLYVER	Citizen and draper	St. Christopher in St. Christopher le Stocks St. Anne in St. Michael Cornhill	13s. 4d. 13s. 4d.	1406, fols. .7 ^v -8 ^r
Robert ELAND	Citizen and tailor	St. Christopher in St. Christopher le Stocks St. John the baptist of Tailors	6s. 8d. 20s.	1414, fols. 15 ^r -15 ^v
Robert BRIDPORT	Citizen and skinner	Blessed Mary in St. Michael Cornhill	3s. 4d.	1404, fols. 7 ^r -7 ^v
Alice MAYN		St. Mildred in St. Michael Bassingshaw	6s. 8d. a year from her property to chaplain for prayers	1404, fols. 9 ^r -9 ^v .
Nicholas HOTOT		St. Erkenwald, in St. Paul's Cathedral	13s. 4d.	1404, fols. 11 ^r -11 ^v
John SPENCER	Chaplain	Fraternity of Chaplains of London	20s.	1404, fol. 13 ^r
Thomas REYGATE	Citizen and chandler	St. Mary in St. Botolph Billingsgate All Hallows in All Hallows Bread Street?	3s.4d. each to two fraternity chaplains 6.8d.	1404, fols. 15 ^v -16 ^r
Mazera AGHTON		Salve Regina in St. Magnus the Martyr Blessed Mary in St. Mary Woolchurch.	100s. 20s.	1405, fols. 4 ^r -5 ^r
Thomas RICHARD Alias SPYCER		Holy Trinity in St. Botolph, Aldersgate	3s. 4d. to fraternity lamp	1405, fol.5 ^v .
Thomas LOKTON	Citizen and text writer	St. Michael in St. Michael Cornhill	6s.8d.	1405, fols. 6 ^r -6 ^v .
Peter SMERT	Citizen and draper	St. Michael in St. Michael Cornhill	3s. 4d.	1412, fol.18 ^v
Alice BROMWYCH		St. Michael and St. Anne in St. Michael, Cornhill	3s. 4d. 3s. 4d.	1413, fols. 6 ^v -7 ^r
John FRYTH	Citizen and turner	St. Michael in St. Michael Cornhill	2s. to fraternity chest	1413, fol. 9 ^r
Margery SMERT	Widow	St. Michael St. Mary St. Nicholas all in St. Michael Cornhill	3s. 4d. 3s. 4d. 3s. 4d.	1414, fols. 8 ^v -9 ^r
John SYMOND	Citizen and lorimer	Fraternity of Lorimers St. Mary of Lorimer, in St. Bride Fleet Street	6s. 8d. 6s. 8d.	1405, fols. 7 ^r -7 ^v .
William CHIPSTED	Citizen and baker	St. Mary called Salve Regina in St. Mary Woolchurch	13s. 4d.	1405, fol.9 ^r
Leonard NORTON		St. John the Baptist in St. Michael le Querne All Hallows ? church	20s. to poor box 20s. to poor box	1405, fol.9 ^r
William TAYLOR		Blessed Mary Shorditch	8d.	1405, fol.12 ^v
Roger BYLLYNGEY	Citizen	Holy Trinity in St. Mary-le-Bow	20s.	1405, fol.18 ^r
Nicholas JURDEN	Citizen and salter	Corpus Christ in All Hallows, Bread Street	20s.	1405, fol. 20 ^v
Thomas COUPELAND		St. Mary in St. Bride Fleet Street	6s. 8d.	1406, fol. 2 ^v
Thomas SEWALL of Hoddesdon	Citizen & baker of London.	St. Mary, in St. Mary, Woolchurch	6s. 8d.	1406, fol.5 ^v
John WITTENEYE	Chaplain	Fraternity of Priests	4d. to each brother	1406, fol. 6 ^v
Nicholas POLE	Parish chaplain of St. Martin Orgar	Fraternity of Priests	20s.	1406, fol. 7 ^r
Thomas BLAKEMORE	Clerk	Fraternity of Clerks	2 coverlets	1406, fol. 8 ^r
Margaret YONGE		St. John in St. Lawrence Jewry	3s. 4d.	1406, fol. 9 ^r
John BAWLYN	Citizen and armourer	St. Christopher in St. Lawrence Pountney	20d.	1406, fol. 9 ^r

Appendices

Donor	Trade/craft	Fraternity and Church	Bequest	Will ref.
Richard TWYFORD	Citizen and cutler	Fraternity of Cutlers	Not given: to remember him in their prayers.	1406, fols. 10 ^v -11 ^r
Richard atte HILL	Citizen and chandler	Blessed Mary in St. Benet Gracechurch	12d. to chaplain for prayers	1406, fol. 12 ^r
Thomas REYGATE		St. Mary in St. Botolph Billingsgate	5 marks	1407, fol. 9 ^r
William BRIKESWORTH	Citizen and tailor	Journeymen Tailors	6s. 8d.	1407, fol. 13 ^v
Thomas FFYSHE	Citizen and girdler	Fraternity of Girdlers	20s. for poor members maintenance	1407, fols. 17 ^v -18 ^r
Roger BLAKEWELL		St. James in St. James Garlickhithe	3s. 4d.	1407, fol. 19 ^r
Hugh DEWE	Baker	St. Mary of Carmelite Friars church St. Clement's, church not given	20d. 20d.	1407. f.21
Agnes atte HALE		Fraternity of London chaplains	12d. to each chaplain	1407, fols. 29 ^v -30 ^r
Robert WHYTE	Citizen and shearmonger	St. Peter in St. Peter Cornhill	1 cloth for the fraternity's altar	1407, fol.31 ^v .
Hugh FAKENHAM	Citizen and chandler	St. John the Baptist in St. Lawrence Jewry	6s. 8d.	1408, fol. 2 ^r
Richard SMALSTRETE	Citizen and armourer	St. Mary in St. Mary's chapel St. Mildred Poultry	6s. 8d.	1408, fol. 3 ^v
John BRIGHTWELL		St. Mary Rouncesvalles in chapel of St. Mary Rouncesvalles Westminster	6s. 8d.	1409, fol. 5 ^v
Robert OXINFORD	Citizen and skinner	Salve Maria in St. John Walbrook	40d.	1409, fols. 7 ^r -7 ^v
Robert BERNARD		St. Mary of Arthenburgh Gt. Yarmouth	3s. 4d.	1409, fol.15 ^v
Isabell atte MELLE		St. Christopher in St. Mary at Hill	3s. 4d.	1410, fol. 2 ^r
Henry PAYN	Citizen and forster	His Craft of Forsters	6s. 8d. to craft's chest	1410, fols. 4 ^v -5 ^v
Isabella de MIDDLETON		St. Michael in St. Michael Bassishaw	13s. 4d.	1410, fols. 11 ^r -12 ^r
Richard STANDON called MANHALE	Citizen and chandler	St. Peter in St. Peter Cornhill	Various properties and rents enrolled in Husting 9/2/1395/6	1410, fols. 15 ^v -16 ^r
Peter MASOUN	Citizen and tailor	St. Peter in St. Peter Cornhill	1 service vestment, 1 domical with ornaments, 1 cup, 2 silver ampules and £7 per annum and quitrent from various properties to celebrate divine service in honour of God and St Peter in perpetuity.	1412, fols. 16 ^r -17 ^r
Thomas BRERE	Citizen and plumber (Was also member of tailors gild.)	A Fraternity in St. Antonin St. John the Baptist of Tailors*	10s. His two fraternity gowns and hoods to Richard Turnour and Thomas Boone his brother in law.	1410, fol.16 ^v
Alice CRESWYN		Fraternity of Pittancers	12d. for each chaplain	1411, fols. 2 ^v -3 ^r
Richard STEPULTON	Citizen and weaver	St. Mary in St. Katherine Coleman Street	10d.	1411, fol..3 ^r
Walter GERRARDSON	Seaman of Wyke in Holland	Holy Trinity in St. Mary at Hill	5d.	1411, fols. 7 ^r -7 ^v
John SILBOURN	Citizen and haberdasher	Holy Trinity in St. Mary-le-Bow Holy Cross in St. Lawrence Jewry	3s. 4d 3s. 4d.	1411, fol.12 ^v
Margery PARSON	Widow	Holy Trinity in St. Botolph Aldersgate St. Fabian in St. Botolph Aldersgate	12d. to chaplain 12d. to chaplain	1411, fol.12 ^v
Peter EXTON	Citizen and baker	Salve Regina in St. Magnus the Martyr	20s.	1411, fols. 13 ^r -13 ^v
Nicholas HERMETTE		St. John in St. Lawrence Jewry	6s. 8d.	1411, fols. 15 ^r -15 ^v
John BATTE		St. Mary in St. Leonard Shoreditch	3s. 4d.	1412, fols. 9 ^v -10 ^r

Appendices

Donor	Trade/craft	Fraternity and Church	Bequest	Will ref.
Thomas HUNTON		Blessed Virgin Mary in St. Leonard Shordevitch	1 gold ring	1412, fol.19 ^r
John BARTHORP	Citizen and brewer	St. Mary in St. Mary Woolchurch	6s. 8d. and 1 torch	1412, fols. 23 ^r -23 ^v
Robert BRYGHTEME	Chaplain	Fraternity of Chaplains	6s. 8d. to his brother chaplains	1413, fol. 8 ^v
John GOFF	Citizen and saddler	Fraternity of Saddlers	20s. for light at his exequies	1413, fol. 9 ^v
Richard CLERK		St. Mary in St. Leonard Shoreditch	20d. to fraternity light	1413, fol.11 ^r
Dederic van BIEN	Embroiderer	St. Anne in All Hallows the Great	20d.	1413, fols. 17 ^r -17 ^v
Henry WALKER	Chaplain	St. Anthony in St. Benet Fink	12d. to bro. William and bro. Thomas Plomer for prayers	1413, fol.17 ^v
Walter DYTTON	Citizen and marbler	St. Dunstan in St. Dunstan in the West	6s. 8d. for special prayers	1413, fol.18 ^r
Edmund WYNTER	Citizen and saddler	St. Giles, in St. Giles, Cripplegate Saddlers company	13s. 4d. 20s. for poor members	1413, fols. 7 ^v -8 ^r
John HAYWARD	Citizen and pastry cook	Fraternity of Pastry Cooks	6s. 8d.	1413, fols. 8 ^v -9 ^r
John CREEK	Citizen and tailor	St. Mary in St. Mary Abchurch St. John the Baptist of Tailors	20s. 10 marks for repairs to the Fraternity's property and 20s. for poor members	1413, fols. 10 ^v -11 ^r
John LANGTON	Chaplain in St. Michael Cornhill	Fraternity of priests All Hallows in St. Michael Cornhill	10d. to each brother 6s. 8d.	1413, fol.12 ^r
John STANTON	Chaplain in St. Magnus, Bridge	Fraternity of St. Charity? Salve Regina in St. Magnus the Martyr	4d. to each brother 6s. 8d.	1413, fol.14 ^v
Nicholas BEDEWELL	Citizen and white-tawyer	St. Mary in All Hallows on London Wall. Holy Trinity in St. Stephen Coleman Street Glovers fraternity	3s. 4d. 3s. 4d. 3s. 4d.	1414, fol. 2 ^v
John STACHESDEN	Citizen and baker	Fraternity of St. Cross	£3 to his brother and chaplain of it to distribute amongst members, each to receive 12d.	1414, fols. 7 ^r -7 ^v
Richard GUY	Citizen and mercer	Holy Trinity in St. Stephen Coleman Street	3s. 4d.	1414, fol. 7 ^v
Margery PALMER		St. Anne in St. George Eastcheap	1 torch	1414, fol.15 ^r

Appendix 7. Bury St. Edmunds testators and their Fraternities

Donor	Trade	Fraternity	Bequest	Ref.
Thomas GROSER		Babwell no dedication given	3s.4d. to pray for his soul.	IC/500/2/1 fol. 50 ^r
Richard PORTER		St. George in Abbey church	12d.	IC/500/2/1 fol. 65 ^r
John BODEKYSHAM	Clerk	St. John the Baptist in St. James' St. Botolph in St. James'	2s. for brethren and 2s. for poor members 2s. if members present at his funeral	IC/500/2/1 fol. 74 ^r
Richard CAVENHAM	Chaplain	St. Botolph, in St. James'	2s.	IC/500/2/1 fol. 84 ^r
William HARDYMAN		St. Botolph in St. James' St. Nicholas, in St. Mary's	6s.8d. 6s.8d. for his soul	IC/500/2/1 fol. 96 ^v
Thomas de GODRISTON	chaplain	St. Botolph in St. James'	6s.8d. and clothes	IC/500/2/1 fol.122 ^v
Isabell BACON	widow	St. Mary Magdalen in St. Mary's	12d.	IC/500/2/1 fol. 86 ^v
John RERY	Mercer	Purification of BVM Corpus Christi All Saints all in St. James	40d. to gild lamp 40d. to gild lamp 40d. to gild lamp	IC/500/2/1 fol. 94 ^v
Roger ROSE		Purification of BVM Corpus Christi St. Botolph all in St. James'	20s. for his soul 20s. 20s.	IC/500/2/1 fol.104 ^r
William METHEWOLDE		Purification of BVM in St. James'	20s.	IC/500/2/1 fols. 141 ^v -142 ^r
Edmund WELYNGHAM	Draper	St. Mary, Westlee	2s.	IC/500/2/1 fol.102 ^r
Alice CHARMAN	widow	St. Nicholas in Abbey church	1 best towel and 1 best banker	IC/500/2/1 fol.102 ^v
Thomas BOND	Chaplain	The two gilds at Westlee [St. Mary and a.n.o]	3s.4d. each	IC/500/2/1 fol.106 ^v
Alice WOLLEMAN	widow	St. John, Glemsford	8s.	IC/500/2/1 fol.114 ^r
Matilda atte LEE	widow	St. Nicholas in St. Mary's	12d.	IC/500/2/1 fol. 116 ^v
Thomas WILLINGHAM		St. Mary, Westlee	3s.4d. for	IC/500/2/1 fols. 118 ^v -119 ^r
Adam WATERWARD		Corpus Christi and St. Anne in St. James'	6s.8d. 6s.8d.	IC/500/2/1 fols. 127 ^v -128 ^v
John ADAM		St. John the Baptist, Rougham	2s.	IC/500/2/1 fol.132 ^r
John FREDE	Draper	St. Anne in St. James' St. Mary, Yarmouth	40d. 12d.	IC/500/2/1 fol.137 ^r

Appendix 8. Surviving Gild Returns for London

T.N.A. REF.	CHURCH	DEDICATION
C47/41/187	St. Paul's, St. Mary's chapel	Annunciation of Blessed Virgin Mary
C47/41/200	St. Paul's Cathedral	St. Katherine
C47/42/209	St. Paul's cemetery	All souls
C47/46/464	St. Paul's Cathedral and St. Mary Bethlehem without Bishopsgate	Annunciation and Assumption of the craft of Pouchmakers
C47/41/193	St. Austin, Paul's Gate	St. Austin
C47/41/188	Preaching Friars church	Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary
C47/41/189	Carmelite Friars church	Conception of Blessed Virgin Mary
C47/41/190	St. Lawrence, Jewry	Holy Cross
Bodley Ms.London rolls 2	St. Lawrence, Jewry	Brotherhood of St. Anne
C47/41/191	St. James, Garlickhithe	St. James
C47/41/192	St. Owen (Ewen), Newgate	St. Anne
C47/41/194	St. Botolph, Bishopsgate	Henry Yevele's perpetual chantry
C47/41/195	St. Bride, Fleet Street	St. Bride
C47/42/203	St. Bride, Fleet Street	St. Mary
C47/41/196	St. Botolph, Aldersgate	SS. Fabian and Sebastian
C47/41/198	St. Botolph, Aldersgate	St. Katherine
C47/42/210	St. Botolph, Aldersgate	Holy Trinity
C47/41/197	St. Anthony	St. Katherine
C47/41/199	St. Mary, Colechurch	St. Katherine
C47/42/201	St. Sepulchre, Newgate	St. Katherine
C47/42/207	St. Sepulchre, Newgate	St. Stephen
C47/42/408	St. Magnus, Bridge Street	Salutation of Our Lady
C47/42/202	St. Mary, Bethlehem Hospital	St. Mary of Bethlehem
C47/42/204	St. Dunstan by the Tower	Blessed Virgin Mary
C47/42/205	St. Giles, Cripplegate	Salve Regina and St. Giles
C47/46/469	St. Giles, Cripplegate	Corpus Christi
C47/46/470	St. Giles, Cripplegate	Fraternity of Minstrels
C47/46/463	St. Giles, Cripplegate	Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Luke
C47/42/206	All Hallows, London Wall	Blessed Virgin Mary
C47/42/211	All Hallows, London Wall	White-tawyers gild
C47/46/471	All Hallows, London Wall	Fraternity of Brewers
C47/42/212	St. Mary, Rouncesvalles, Westminster	Assumption of St. Mary Rouncesvalles.
C47/42/213	St. Stephen, Coleman Street	Holy Trinity
C47/42/214	St. Stephen, Coleman Street	Barbers Fraternity
C47/42/215	St. Stephen, Coleman Street	Cutlers Fraternity
Bodley Ms.London rolls 4a	St. Stephen, Coleman Street	Brotherhood of St. Nicholas
Bodley Ms.London rolls 4b	St. Stephen, Coleman Street	Brotherhood of the Light of St. Mary
C47/42/216	St. Katherine by the Tower	St. Katharine
C47/42/217	St. Katherine by the Tower	The little company of glovers
C47/46/465	St. Thomas of Acon and St. John the Baptist, Haliwell	Our Lady and St. Joseph and Our Lady and St. John
C47/46/466	St. Benet, Gracechurch Street	Our Lady
C47/46/467	St. Benet, Gracechurch Street	Fraternity of Girdlers
C47/46/468	St. Benet, Gracechurch Street	Fraternity of Saddlers
Bodley Ms.London rolls 3	Whitefriars church	Yeomanry of Curriers

Appendix 9. London gild masters/wardens from the 1388/9 returns in Chancery

TNA REF	DEDICATION	CHURCH	MASTERS/WARDENS	WILL REF
C47/41/187	Annunciation of BVM	St. Mary's chapel, St. Paul's Cathedral	Walter REYNEL William KYRTON	9051/1, 1411. fol.8 ^v
C47/41/188	Assumption of BVM	Friars Preachers church	Robert AUGUSTYN John HADDON	9171/2, 1408, fol.112 ^r
C47/41/189	Conception of BVM	Carmelite Friars church	Robert WANLYNE Richard LECHE	
C47/41/190	Holy Cross	St. Lawrence, Jewry	Stephen PETTLEE Thomas NEKTON Stephen WALPOLE John REVESDALE	9171/4, 1435, fol.15 ^r widow 9051/1, 1409, fol.10 ^v
C47/41/191	St. James	St. James, Garlickhithe	Roger STOKES Henry GARNENYLL	9171/1, 1399, fol.424 ^v
London rolls 2	Brotherhood of St. Anne	St. Lawrence, Jewry	Adam HOLT Alexander SEYUYLE William REYMOND Thomas ADAM William ate BRIGGE	
C47/41/192	St. Anne	St. Audoen	John SHEPAISE Nicholas MYNOT	
C47/41/195	St. Bride	St. Bride, Fleet Street	John de HILL John CHAMBERLAIN	
C47/42/203	St. Mary	St. Bride, Fleet Street	John WALWORTH	9171/1,1397, fol.388 ^r
C47/41/196	SS Fabian & Sebastian	St. Botolph, Aldersgate	John DANCASTRE Richard SPAIGNE	9051/1, 1406, fol.11 ^r
C47/41/198	St. Katherine	St. Botolph, Aldersgate	Richard BRECHEFORDE Reginald SWETEBON	
C47/41/199	St. Katherine	St. Mary, Colechurch	James SNOW John GROVES	9171/2, 1411, fol. 214 ^v 9171/2,1408, fol. 129 mem.
C47/42/207	St. Stephen	St. Sepulchre, Newgate	Richard BERNES William KIRTLEY Simon FRENSCHE John RYSLE	9171/2,1407, fol.107 ^r 9171/3,1432, fol.303 ^r
C47/42/208	Salutation of Our Lady and St. Thomas	St. Magnus, London Bridge	John SANDLEHURST Walter ate WELLE Gilbert SPORIER Stephen BARTELET	
C47/42/209	All Souls	St. Paul's Cemetery	John PAKOW John HOLDERNESS	9171/2,1410,fol.1 88 ^v mem.
C47/42/210	Holy Trinity	St. Botolph, Aldersgate	Philip ate VYNE	HRWD 125 (85) ¹
C47/46/469	A little company of the light of Corpus Christi	St. Giles, Cripplegate	Walter SAVAGE	
London rolls 4b	Brotherhood of the light of St. Mary	St. Stephen, Coleman Street	William GLOVER Stephen BARON	

¹ London Metropolitan Archive H[usting] R[olls] of W[ills] and D[eed]s

Appendix 10. Surviving Gild Returns for Bury St. Edmunds

T,N.A. REF.	CHURCH	DEDICATION
C47/46/401	St. Edmund Abbey Church	Corpus Christi
C47/46/405	St. Edmund Abbey Church	St. Christopher
C47/46/407	St. Edmund Abbey Church	Passion of St. Edmund
C47/46/408	St. Edmund Abbey Church	St. Edmund of Bury
C47/46/409	St. Edmund Abbey Church	St. George
C47/46/411	St. Edmund Abbey Church	St. John the Baptist
C47/46/413	Chapel of St. Margaret, St. Edmund's Abbey	St. Margaret
C47/46/403	St. James	St. Anne
C47/46/404	St. James	St. Botolph
C47/46/406	St. James	St. Mary
C47/46/410	St. James	St. James
C47/46/412	St. James	St. John the Baptist
C47/45/400	St. Mary	Assumption
C47/46/402	St. Mary	Corpus Christi
C47/46/414	St. Mary	St. Mary, Magdalene
C47/46/415	St. Mary	St. Nicholas
C47/46/416	St. Mary	St. Peter
C47/46/417	St. Mary	Clerks of Glemsford

Appendix 11. Bury St. Edmunds gild aldermen from the 1388/9 returns in Chancery

TNA REF	DEDICATION	CHURCH	ALDERMAN	WILL REF
C47/45/400	Assumption of BVM	St. Mary's	? William Spicer	IC/500/2/1 fol.94 ^r
C47/46/402	Corpus Christ	St. Mary's	William Hardman, chaplain	
C47/46/414	St. Mary, Magdalene	St. Mary's	Richard Freman	
C47/46/415	St. Nicholas	St. Mary's	William Hardman, chaplain ¹	
C47/46/416	St. Peter	St. Mary's	Not recorded on return	
C47/46/417	Clerks of Glemsford	St. Mary's	William Hardman, chaplain	
C47/46/403	St. Anne	St. James'	Not recorded on return	
C47/46/404	St. Botolph, Bishop	St. James'	William Hardman, chaplain ²	
C47/46/406	Purification of BVM	St. James'	John Calf ³	
C47/46/410	St. James	St. James'	William Draghton	
C47/46/412	St. John the Baptist	St. James'	Richard Iremonger	IC/500/2/1 fol.162 ^r
C47/46/401	Corpus Christi	St. Edmund	Indistinct on microfilm.	
C47/46/405	St. Christopher	St. Edmund,	John Bone	IC500/2/1 fol.144 ^r
C47/46/407	Passion of St. Edmund	St. Edmund	Brown Whrigte William de Melton ⁴	
C47/46/408	St. Edmund of Bury	St. Edmund	John Devene ⁵	
C47/46/409	St. George	St. Edmund	John Smyth	
C47/46/411	St. John the Baptist	St. Edmund	Edmund Lucas	
C47/46/413	St. Margaret	Chapel of St. Margaret. ⁶	Henry Lystere	

¹ Described as gubernatore² Described as prior of the gild³ Died between 1398 and 1400. His widow Johanna made her will on 28/3/1400, ref. IC/500/2/1 f.108.⁴ Melton was the deacon of the gild.⁵ Died between 1389 and 1399. His widow, Alicia made her will on 30/1/1399, ref. IC500/2/1 ff.91v-92.⁶ The chapel was attached to the side of the abbey church within the precincts of the abbey.

Appendix 12. London book owners and their books

Source GL MS 9051/1

1. Clerical owners

Year and folio ref.	Owner's name	Book Titles.	Recipient
1395. fol.10 ^r	Richard Wale, chaplain in St. Mary le Bow	Best portable Breviary (Portiforium)	John Port, chaplain
1395. fols. 14 ^r -14 ^v	Peter Wysebeche, chaplain in the Guildhall ⁷	Portows [Portiforium]	John, son of his cousin Robert Blake chaplain
1395. fol. 21 ^r	John Donyngton, chaplain in St. John Zachary	Missal with Tropes	Castle Donnington church, Leicestershire
1396. fol. 6 ^r	Thomas Paxton, chaplain in St. Nicholas Cole abbey	Portable Breviary (Portiforium)	His executors to sell it and the money received given to his natural father in Lincoln
1396. fols. 6 ^v -7 ^r	John Ledbury, rector of St. Peter, Westcheap	Antiphoner; Gradual; Missal Manual Best Portiforium covered with silk	St. Peter Westcheap church John Crowland, chaplain
1397. fol. 9 ^r	William Keston, chaplain in St. Lawrence Jewry	Pars Sonlonli ⁸ ; a glossed hymnal One paper book of various tracts	John Benle, chaplain Robert Pyre, chaplain
1397. fol.14 ^r	John Robyn called Donet, priest in St. James Garlickhithe	Portable Breviary (Portiforium)	Thomas Cokleshate, priest of St. James's fraternity in St. James's Garlickhithe
1398. fol.11 ^v	Albert Grunyng, chaplain in St. Benet Gracechurch	My small book called Faretra ⁹ ; Legend of the Saints ¹⁰	M(agister) Edmund Caldecote M(agister) Thomas Clerk, rector of St. Benet, Gracechurch
1398. fol.13 ^v	John Chadde, rector of St. Matthew, Friday Street	Unspecified books	To be sold by his executors and money to be distributed for the benefit of his soul
1398. fols. 17 ^r -17 ^v	Robert Goldsmith, rector of St. Augustine by St. Paul's Gate	Portiforium	John Wenlok
1398. fol.18 ^v	John Prychard, simple Chaplain in St. Leonard Eastcheap	Books on the Art of Medicine and divinity ¹¹ ; Portiforium	William Burton, apothecary ¹² To his nephew Honorius
1400. fol.1 ^r	William Salman, rector of St. Peter, Paul's Wharf	Portiforium	John, chaplain at Colney [London Colney Herts?]
1400. fols. 1 ^v -2 ^r	Robert de Sprotburgh, rector of St. Margaret, Bridge Street	Unspecified books	To remain in his church.
1400. fols. 5 ^v -6 ^r	William Palmer, rector of St. Alphage	Notated Portiforium Breviary Piers Plowman Books on medicine, surgery	St. Alphage's church William, chaplain to John Hore ¹³ Agnes Eggesfeld John Chatreris ¹⁴

⁷ A long serving chaplain in the Guildhall his name appears as one of six chaplains in the Guildhall in the Clerical Poll Tax of 1379–81 paying a total of £2 6s. 4d.; A. K. McHardy, *The Church in London, 1375 – 1392*, London Record Society, 13(London, 1977), no. 53, p. 9.

⁸ I have been unable to find any reference to this book.

⁹ William de la Furmenterie's *Phareta*. I owe this reference to Ms. Pamela Robinson and others referred to later in the text.

¹⁰ Possibly a copy of Jacobus de Voragine *Aurea Legenda* (Golden Legend) compiled c.1275.

¹¹ *Ars medicine*, or the *articella*, a basic collection of medical texts.

¹² He does not appear in either C. H. Talbot and E. A. Hammond, *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: A Biographical Register* (London, 1965) or F. Getz, *Medicine in the English Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1998).

¹³ Citizen and brewer; common councilman for Cripplegate Ward; *LBH*, pp. 239, 271 and 333. Will: GL MS 9171/2, Register Broun, fol. 252^v.

¹⁴ As n. 12 above.

Appendices

Year and folio ref.	Owner's name	Book Titles.	Recipient
		and physic	
1400. fols. 7 ^v -8 ^r	John atte Lee, chaplain in St. Michael Bassishaw	New Missal; Manual	Elder Newton church,
1401. fol.14 ^v	William Hochepont, chaplain in St. Clement, Eastcheap	Portiforium Missal	Benyngton church, Herts. Possibly his birthplace. His successors in St. Clement's
1404. fol.2 ^r	Lawrence Kelsal, chaplain in St. John Zachary ¹⁵	Primer; Portiforium; Book of the Sacrements ;	John Marshall, chaplain. John Stodesbury, chaplain
1404. fol.3 ^v	Thomas Weston, chaplain	Antiphoner	St. Katherine's altar in St. Bride Fleet Street.
1404. fols. 3 ^v -4 ^r	William de Ragenhill, rector of St. Mary Woolchurch. ¹⁶	Portiforium; A red covered Psalter; Golden Legend; four quires containing commentaries on the Constitutions of Ottobuono and Otto ¹⁷ ; A History of the Trojan Wars ¹⁸ ; a small book on the History of England in Latin. ¹⁹ A covered book of Bede's History of England; a tract named lucidarum. ²⁰ A small red velvet covered book written by the testator containing psalms, prayers, placebo and dirige and other devotions.	Sold with other goods and monies received to the high altar of St. Mary, Woolchurch Richard de Sutton, chaplain John de Stronston, chaplain John Twyford, clerk
1404. fol.6 ^r	John Lande, chaplain in St. Mary Somerset	Portiforium covered in red leather	Henry, chaplain in St. Dunstan in the East
1404.olf.8 ^v	William Grenefeld, chaplain in St. Michael Wood Street	A book containing the Placebo and Dirige and other commendations and other prayers.	Walter, chaplain in St Martin le Grand, formerly parish clerk of St. Peter, Westcheap
1404. fol.13 ^r	John Spencer, chaplain in St. Augustine by St. Paul's	Unspecified books	Sold by executors for benefit of his soul
1405. fols. 1 ^v -2 ^r	Roger de Burstede, rector of St. Nicholas, Olave	Collects Manual; two folios of holy scripture Notated Portiforium in two folios. Ordinal Psalter. 1 bound paper book in two folios	St. Nicholas Olave. St. Mary Magdalen, Gt. Burstead Essex. John Wyrecestre, vicar of Horndon, Essex. John Sutton, chaplain in St. George Eastcheap Richard Dunton, chaplain
1405. fol.5 ^r	Michael Shires, chaplain in St. Mary Magdalen Milk Street	Missal; An Old Journal	Priest celebrating at St. James' altar St Mary Magdalen, Milk Street John, sub clerk St Mary Magdalen, Milk Street for his election

¹⁵ Kelsal also left 40d. for the repair of the books in St. John Zachary

¹⁶ Ragenhill had exchanged the rectory of North Collingham, Lincoln diocese for St. Mary Woolchurch by 17 Feb. 1390/1; Hennessey, p. cxxiv.

¹⁷ The papal legates Otto and Ottobuono visited Britain during the 13th century on the orders of Pope Gregory IX and Clement IV respectively. They both produced doctrines [constitutions] on canon law for all of the English clergy. See C. R. Cheney, ed., *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (London, 1970), p. 37 and M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216-1307* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 472-4.

¹⁸ Possibly by Guido delle Colonne; it was very popular in the middle ages.

¹⁹ Probably Gildas' History of England, written in the early sixth century.

²⁰ Probably by Marchetto da Padova, 1274?-1319. A seminal treatise on musical theory which had a fundamental influence in musical notation and mode during the Middle Ages.

Appendices

Year and folio ref.	Owner's name	Book Titles.	Recipient
1405. fols. 9 ^r -9 ^v	John Plank, chaplain in St. Margaret Lothbury	Antiphoner	St. Margaret, Lothbury
1405. fols. 11 ^v -13 ^r	William Belgrave, rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street	Two new graduals; three Processionals one with collects and two others also with collects; one Notated Manual; one Notated Ordinal; an old Martyrology; one whole and complete Legendary One large Missal decorated with silver gilt signs; one Missal	St. Mary, Magdalen, Milk Street SS. Peter and Paul's church, Belgrave, Beds.
1405. fol.20 ^r	John Vamburgh, clerk and lay brother of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, London	Primer	Henry Berwic, test's. clerk
1406. fol.3 ^r	Richard Brunham, rector of Holy Trinity the Less	Portiforium; Ordinal; Psalter; Manual	Holy Trinity the Less.
1406. fol.6 ^v	John Witteneye, chaplain in St. Botolph, Billingsgate	Missal; Portiforium; Book of Divinity ; One suitable book called <i>Esse</i> . ²¹	St. Botolph, Billingsgate John Flamstede, chief clerk of St. Dunstan in the East
1406. fol.7 ^r	Nicholas Pole, parish chaplain of St. Martin, Orgar	1 great notated Portiforium; Processional; and a book called <i>Breton</i> . ²² One book called <i>Jovenall</i> ²³	St. Martin Orgar in perpetuity John Andreusone, chaplain
1406. fol.8 ^v	William de Barton, rector of St. Olave, Silver Street	Ordinal; one new manual and one processional and one legend of the temporalities of St. Paul's and another legend of All Saints of the use of St. Paul's. ²⁴	St. Olave, Silver Street
1407. fol.3 ^v	John Strange, chaplain in St. Mary, Axe	Missal, Gradual, Portiforium, Ordinal with Martyrology Manual with Tropes, and two Processionals	St. Mary Axe in the custody of the rector.
1408. fol.1 ^r	John Romesey, chaplain in St. Mary Aldermanbury	Psalter	John de Asteley, chaplain
1408. fol.5 ^r	John Anne, chaplain in St. Antonin	Missal Journal	St. Antonine's church Execs. To sell for pious and charitable works
1408. fol.10 ^r	Henry Glaston, chaplain in St. Martin Pomery	Best Portiforium	St. Martin, Pomeroy church
1409. fols. 9 ^v -10 ^r	William Ryvet, chaplain in St. Martin Orgar	Legend of the Saints; 2 quires; Large Antiphoner. Antiphoner; Missal, a small Portiforium and a Primer.	Bacton Church, Norfolk Churchwardens of St. Martin Orgar Robert Ryvet, his nephew
1410. fol.14 ^r	Robert Paunton, chaplain in St. Michael Wood Street	Unspecified book	St. Michael, Wood Street

²¹ Possibly the work by Giles of Rome entitled *De Esse et Essentia*.

²² A legal work in Anglo Norman derived from Bracton *De legibus Anglie*.

²³ Possibly a copy of Decimus Junius Juvenal's *Satires*, a work dating to 2nd century A.D

²⁴ On the use of St. Paul's see Richard W Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 480-96.

Appendices

Year and folio ref.	Owner's name	Book Titles.	Recipient
1411. fol. 3 ^v	Richard Assh, chaplain in St. Andrew by the Wardrobe	Gradual; Pars Oculi ²⁵ Book of Scripture	St. Andrew by the Wardrobe for children and pious women to be taught from it. John Kyrkely, chaplain for life.
1411. fol. 7 ^v	Thamas Malton, chaplain	Portiforium	Guildhall chapel in perpetuity
1411. fols. 10 ^r	John Norton, chaplain in St. Alban Wood Street	Missal and Best Manual Manual; Portiforium with silver clasps; A small Portiforium, 'Portos' A large book of songs (possibly a Liber Organum) and other similar books	St. Mary's altar in St. Lawrence, Norton Davy, Towcester St. Michael, Braddene Executors to provide for a Chantry chaplain for prayers for his soul. Executors to sell it for pious and charitable works. St. John's Clerkenwell
1412. fol. 10 ^v	John Lyverpole, chaplain in St. John Zachary	Missal	St. Mary's altar in St. Botolph's, Aldgate
1413. fol. 32 ^v	John Stanton, chaplain in St. Magnus the Martyr	Pars Oculi; Unspecified books	Thomas Hoo, chaplain
1414. fol. 17 ^v	William Cachemayde, rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth	Portiforium	William Cachemayde, his cousin and servant for his long service

2. Lay owners

Year and folio ref.	Owner's name	Book Titles.	Recipient
1395. fol. 2 ^r	Thomas de Bladyngton, clerk	Antiphoner in 2 parts; Antiphoner in 2 parts and a Legendary of the Innocents in four parts. ²⁶	High altar of St. Lawrence, Jewry High Altar of St. Michael, Acon
1395 fol. 11 ^v	Margaret Roberd	Primer	Katherine Hawe
1395. fol. 19 ^r	Henry Gyldeford, clerk	Unspecified booklets	Not stated
1397. fols. 1 ^v -2 ^r	John Seneschall, clerk of St. Lawrence Pountney	Liber Organum ²⁷	St. Lawrence Pountney for prayers for his soul.
1398. fols. 13 ^v -14 ^r	William Swoon of Gt. Baddow, Essex	Missal valued at 100s.	To Gt. Baddow church, Essex.
1398. fol. 18 ^r	John Lyton, citizen and cooper	2 Psalters; 1 Primer	To his son John
1400. fol. 4 ^v	Juliana Bernes	Primer	To her daughter Joan
1400. fols. 11 ^v -12 ^r	John Tyrell	Primer Psalter	Prioress of Stratford at Bow Nunnery Isabell a nun of the Minoresses House Aldgate
1402. fols. 12 ^v -13 ^r	John Pegeon, capper	Portiforium	Thomas Lakenham of St. Bartholomew's hospital

²⁵ *Pars Oculi* was the third volume of the *Oculus Sacerdotis* of William of Pagula, which was written in three volumes and published between 1320 and 1326. The other volumes were the dextera pars oculi, a manual of practical preaching, first appearing in 1320 and the sinistra pars oculi, a set of theological questions and answers. *Pars Oculi* was a manual dealing with the confessional and first appeared in about 1326. The entire book was republished in 1384 by John de Burgh as the pupila oculi.

²⁶ Probably a Legendary, which was a collection of saints' lives in four parts in order of the liturgical calendar. If this assumption is correct then the very beginning has been lost, since the book should start with Andrew (30 November), the start of Advent. I owe this reference and others referred to later in the text to Ms. Pamela Robinson.

²⁷ Possibly a copy of the Magnus Liber organi, a compilation of the medieval music known as 'organum'. Its full title is 'Magnus liber organi de graduali et antiphonario pro servitio divino'. It was written during the 12th and early 13th centuries and this series of compositions is attributed to the masters of the Notre Dame School of music, notably works by Leonin and his successor Pérotin.

Appendices

Year and folio ref.	Owner's name	Book Titles.	Recipient
1403. fols. 9 ^r -9 ^v	Elizabeth Burlee	Psalter	Thomas Dane, mercer
1404. fols. 11 ^v -12 ^r	Nicholas Hotot, woolmonger	The Brut Prick of Conscience Speculum Humanae Salvationis ²⁸ Primer	John Longman Robert, chief clerk of St. Nicholas, Shambles John Lane, mercer
1406. fol.3 ^r	John Forster, citizen and goldsmith	Black Psalter	Johanna, dau. of John Currant, goldsmith, executor
1406. fol.6 ^r	Ralph de Forthyngton, clerk of St. Katherine Cree	Portiforium of Sarum Use	Alan de Lenerton, clerk, executor.
1406. fol.8 ^r	Thomas Blakemore, clerk of St. Mary Woolnoth	Psalter	Robert Bysshopp, chaplain
1406. fols. 14 ^r -14 ^v	Adam Bret, citizen and brewer	Missal	St. Peter, Cornhill
1407. fol.13 ^r	John Ludlowe, citizen and tailor	Primer	Richard Ludlowe, his brother
1407. fols. 29 ^v -30 ^r	Agnes atte Hale	Missal	Holy Trinity, Aldgate for the chaplains use
1407. fol.32 ^v	John Devenyssh, esq.	Ordinal	John, chaplain in All Hallows the Great
1409. fol. 2 ^v	William Bart, citizen and goldsmith	Best Psalter	St. Clement, Candlewick Street
1409. fol. 2 ^v	Nicholas Symcock, senior	Psalter	Churchwardens of Halstow church, Kent
1409. fol. 5 ^v	John Brightwell	Psalter with Collects A pair of Prayer Books of Matins of the Blessed Virgin Mary; Gradual	Wallingford, Oxfordshire John Morden, chaplain
1409. fols. 7 ^r -7 ^v	Robert Oxinford, citizen and skinner	Primer	Thomas Remyng, apprentice of John Stanston
1409. fols. 12 ^v -13 ^v	John Oxney, citizen and grocer	Unspecified books	John Snell, chaplain
1409. fols. 13 ^v -14 ^r	John Barlee, citizen and draper	Portiforium	St. Mary, Axe
1411. fol.9 ^v	Henry Galfer	Portiforium	Andrew Norwich rector of St. Clement, Eastcheap,
1411. fols. 9 ^r -9 ^v	Roger Cryngelford, citizen and goldsmith	Notated Portiforium Golden Legend Portiforium A small book of Seven Penitential Psalms; litany; Placebo and Dirige	St. Bartholomew's hospital with conditions. John Stanford Robert Stanford, principal executor Unspecified beneficiary
1412. fol.8 ^r	John Walsham, citizen and goldsmith	Psalter	Thomas Lincoln his faithful friend, also a goldsmith.
1413. fols. 4 ^v -5 ^r	John Sprot, currier	Primer	Sold to pay for works to St. Michael, Queenhithe
1413. fol. 8 ^r	John Knottesford, citizen and draper	Best Primer Primer	Margaret Knottesford his daughter Agnes Knottesford his sister
1413. fols. 14 ^r -14 ^v	John Wade, citizen and baker	Missal	Hatfield Broad Oak church, Essex.
1413. fol. 22 ^v	John Craven, clerk of St. Mary Aldermanbury	New Processional of Sarum Use	Brother John Hilderston, canon
1414. fols. 7-7 ^v	John Stachesden, citizen and baker	Red covered Primer	John Stachesden, son

²⁸ A compendia of doctrine and law—indeed almost all areas of human knowledge then known, compiled from Latin writers of the 12th and 13th centuries. The work was subsequently translated into Middle English; see A. Hendry, ed., *The Mirour of Mans Saluacion, A Middle English Translation of 'speculum humanae salvationis'* (Aldershot, 1986).

Appendix 13. Bury St. Edmunds book owners and their books

Source SROB MS IC/500/2/1, Register Osbern

1. Clerical owners

Year and ref.	Owner's name	Book titles	Recipient
1385. fol.50 ^r	Richard Atte Lane of Heringswell, chaplain	Manual Portiforium; Oculus Sacerdotis	Heryngeswelle church for prayers for his soul Peter Berene, chaplain
N/d/ fols. 66 ^v -67 ^r	Robert Stabler, Mary Mass chaplain in St. James's church.	Primer with notated services for the dead, 2 Processionals, Missal Old Portiforium Great notated Portiforium	Altar of SS. Mary and Martin in chancel of St. Mary's church for the use of Mary Mass chaplain To the charnel chapel in memory of Adam Tropet, sacrist St. Mary's Mass chaplain and his successors
1398. fol.89 ^v	William Say, chaplain	Black bound Psalter	Brother John Dene

2. Lay owners

Year and ref.	Owner's name	Book titles	Recipient
N/d. fol.46 ^v	Robert Randolf	Missal notated Portiforium Psalter	High altar of St. James' his parish church Robert Karter chaplain of Ashfield for life; then to parish chaplain John Bochisham clerk, for life; then to St. James church
1387. fol.54 ^r	Margaret West of Mildenhall	Mass book	Wydelygrave church
1391. fol.62 ^v	Thomas Wynchester of Mendlesham	Great Missal Primer and Missal	All Saints chapel, Mendlesham Robert Stalyng, chaplain of Kenton
1402.fols. 104 ^r -104 ^v	Roger Rose ¹	Missals	William Wade, chaplain

¹ Rose was a member of the town's elite and had served as alderman on at least nine occasions between 1353 and 1390; see Chapter Five p. 226.

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MS A6/1/5 Sacrist's Account roll 1418/19

MS A6/1/16 St. Saviour's Hospital, hospitaller's and claviger's accounts

MS B6/3/1 Taxation for the ninth, 14 Edward III

MS B9/1/1 Plain and Coverlet Weavers writ.

MS B9/1/2 Ordinances of the Weavers Craft Guild

MS E2/41/4 Transcript of St. John's cartulary (British Library MS Arundel 1).

MS E5/9/305/7 Rental of St. Peter's Hospital

H1/5/20/1-4 Original Charters of St. Peter's Hospital

London**British Library**

Additional MS 17716 Collection including forms of charters and letters associated with scrivener William Kingsmill, 15th cent.

London Metropolitan Archives

MS 9051/1. Wills and administrations in the Archdeaconry Court of London. Register of Copy Wills, 1368–1415

MS 9171/1. Wills and administrations in the Commissary Court of London. Register Courtney 1374–1400

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MS 9531/3. Register of Roger Braybrook, bishop of London, 1381-1404

MS 9531/4 Registers of Roger Walden, bishop of London, 1404-6; Nicholas Bubwith, bishop of London, 1406-7 and Richard Clifford, bishop of London 1407-21

MS 142 Late nineteenth-century Transcription and translation of some London Guild Certificates of 1389

CLA/023/ Court of Husting: Rolls of Deeds and Wills

The National Archives

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C47/42/201-217. Guild Certificates of 1389 for London

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