

English Wills  
proved in the Prerogative Court of York  
1477-1499

To Dr Lesley Boatwright,  
classicist, palaeographer and touch-typist extraordinaire

English Wills  
proved in the Prerogative court of York  
1477-1499

Edited by

Heather Falvey  
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Richard III Society  
2013

First published in the United Kingdom by the Richard III Society

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ISBN: 978-0-904893-20-5

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Printed and bound in the UK by Biddles, part of the MPG Printgroup, Bodmin and King's Lynn

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The original probate register from which these wills are taken is held at the Borthwick Institute at the University of York. We are grateful to the Institute for permission to publish not only the transcripts but also the photograph of the will of Isabel Grymston and to adapt the beginning of the will of Dame Alice Nevile for the dust jacket. In particular, thanks are due to Dr Amanda Jones for answering many questions about the register itself.

The transcription of the wills was a group project. Participants included Pam Baker-Clare, Marie Barnfield, Dinah Coyne, Moira Habberjam, Graham Javes, Doreen Leach, Bryan Longfellow, Toni Mount, Mary O'Regan, Shirley Roberts and Jacqueline Simpson. In addition to Lesley Boatwright, those who transferred transcripts into Microsoft Word were Marie Barnfield, Andrea Brown, Helen Bushell, Alison Elvy, Su Franks, Susan Gunn, Keith Horry, Doreen Leach, Rebecca Mallard, Carrie McDowell, Toni Mount and Stephen York. Tig Lang supplied several definitions and explanations for the notes and Glossary. Lesley Boatwright, Heather Falvey, Peter Hammond and Lynda Pidgeon provided information for the notes, in addition to that supplied by James Raine in *Test. Ebor.*, published in the 1860s. Peter wrote part of the Introduction, supplied the map and compiled Appendix 2; Heather wrote the remainder of the Introduction and compiled Appendix 1 and the indexes.

Thanks are due to George Dawson, Acting Archivist of John Taylor & Co., Bellfounders of Loughborough, for correcting our assumptions about John Broune and William Wynter; to Professor Claire Cross; to Anita Pond for designing the striking dust jacket, a companion to that of *The Logge Register*; and to Stephen York for handling all matters relating to printing.

Lesley Boatwright not only translated the Latin where necessary, but also collated and checked the typed transcripts. Her untimely death in October 2012 meant that she did not see her hard work come to fruition. This volume is dedicated to her.

The Society aims to promote, in every possible way, research into the life and times of Richard III. The 89 wills published here provide much information about people from various strata of society living in northern England in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

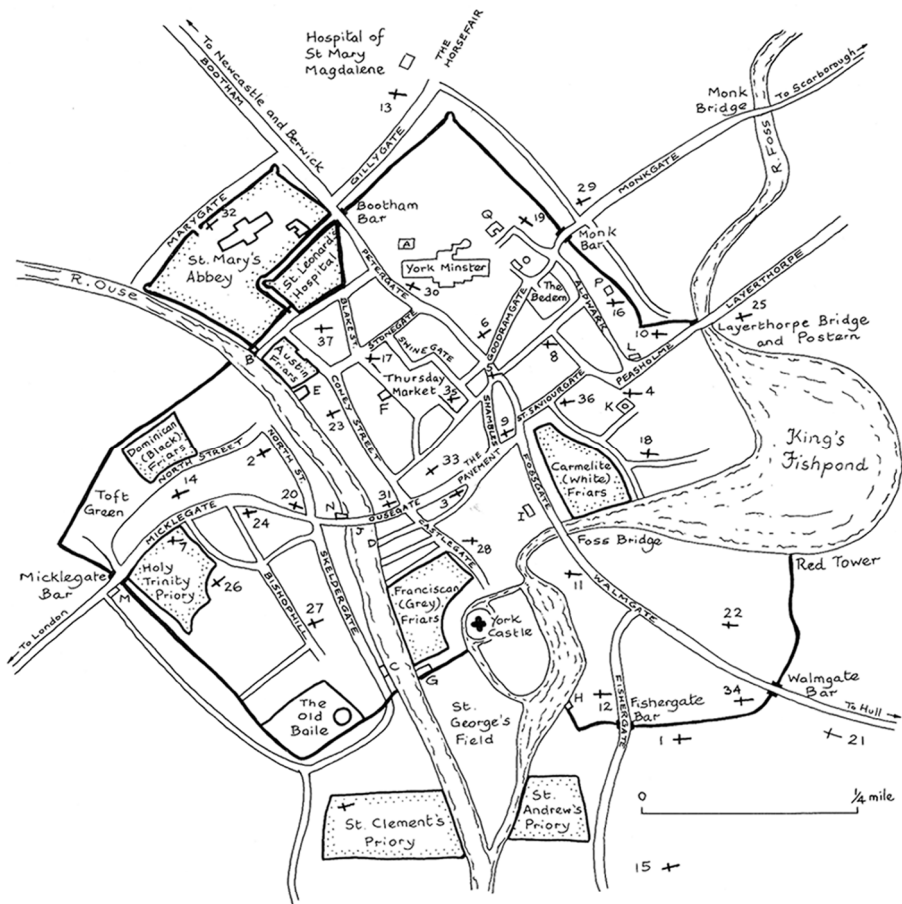
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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CFR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i>
Emden, <i>Cambridge</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500</i>
Emden, <i>Oxford</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford</i>
<i>Hist. Parlt.</i> , I	J. C. Wedgwood, <i>History of Parliament 1439-1509</i> , vol. I, <i>Biographies</i>
Northeast and Falvey, <i>'Baldwyne' II</i>	P. Northeast and H. Falvey, eds, <i>Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474: Wills from the Register 'Baldwyne', Part II, 1461-1474</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i> (online version)
Sutton and Hammond, <i>Coronation</i>	A. F. Sutton and P. W. Hammond, <i>The Coronation of Richard III</i>
<i>Test. Ebor.</i>	J. Raine, ed., <i>Testamenta Eboracensia, A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York, Parts I-V</i>
<i>VCH County of York</i>	<i>Victoria County History: A History of the County of York</i> (online version at <a href="http://www.british-history.ac.uk">www.british-history.ac.uk</a> )
<i>YHB</i>	L. Attreed, ed., <i>York House Books 1461-1490</i> , 2 vols (paginated continuously)





—+— Parish churches

— City and Castle walls, fortified precinct of St Mary's Abbey

- |                            |                                    |   |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| A Archbishop's Palace      | G Friar Tower                      | M St Thomas' Hospital                     |
| B St Leonard's Tower       | H Fishergate Postern (Talkandture) | N St William's Chapel and Council Chamber |
| C City Crane               | I Merchants Hall                   | O St William's College                    |
| D City Staith              | J Ouse Bridge                      | P Tailors' Hall                           |
| E Common Hall              | K Peasholme Priests' House         | Q Treasurer's House                       |
| F Davy Hall                | L St Anthony's Hall                |   |
| 1 All Saints Fishergate    | 14 St Gregory                      | 26 St Mary Bishophill junior              |
| 2 All Saints North Street  | 15 St Helen Fishergate             | 27 St Mary Bishophill senior              |
| 3 All Saints Pavement      | 16 St Helen-on-the-Walls           | 28 St Mary Castlegate                     |
| 4 All Saints Peasholme     | 17 St Helen Stonegate              | 29 St Maurice                             |
| 5 Christ Church            | 18 St John                         | 30 St Michael-le-Belfrey                  |
| 6 Holy Trinity Goodramgate | 19 St John-del-Pike                | 31 St Michael Ousebridge end              |
| 7 Holy Trinity Micklegate  | 20 St John Ousebridge end          | 32 St Olave                               |
| 8 St Andrew                | 21 St Lawrence                     | 33 St Peter                               |
| 9 St Crux                  | 22 St Margaret                     | 34 St Peter-in-the-Willows                |
| 10 St Cuthbert             | 23 St Martin Coney Street          | 35 St Sampson                             |
| 11 St Denys                | 24 St Martin Micklegate            | 36 St Saviour                             |
| 12 St George               | 25 St Mary                         | 37 St Wilfred                             |

*Map of medieval York*



## INTRODUCTION

### ENGLISH WILLS PROVED AT YORK

In 2008 the Richard III Society published, in two volumes, the 379 wills contained in the 'Logge Register' of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. This is the register of wills proved between 1479 and 1486, together with a few from 1478.<sup>1</sup> Transcription of the wills had been a group project over a long period of time, the completion of which apparently left such a gap in the transcribers' lives that they requested another project. The Logge Register had been selected because its coverage included the reign of Richard III; it was suggested therefore that the next project should be the transcription of the equivalent register from the Prerogative Court of York. Upon investigation, it became clear that this new plan was not without difficulties.

#### **The Will Register**

Probate Register V of the Prerogative Court of York, held at the Borthwick Institute at the University of York, is much larger than Logge. It comprises over 520 folios. In places the foliation is erratic, with a handful of numbers not being used (33, 55, 76, 77, 97 and 98) and at least one number being duplicated (two consecutive folios are numbered 453).<sup>2</sup>

In the Preface to the *Index of Wills in the York Registry*, Collins describes the physical state of the York probate registers and how they are organised.<sup>3</sup> He notes that in particular the folios of Registers II, III and IV are muddled. Also there are a number of time gaps between grants of probate suggesting that some grants were not recorded in the registers or that some folios have since been lost. Furthermore, some folios in Register III rightly belong at the end of Register V. How this state of confusion came about is unknown. Writing in 1889, Collins says:

... probably some two or three centuries ago, through a commendable desire to preserve such transcripts as then existed and were falling into decay, the caretaker, for the time being, handed over the then straggling folios to the binder, in bundles, without previous arrangement; or he, more probably, being an ignorant and unlettered man, with knowledge just sufficient to distinguish the top from the bottom of the page, shuffled up the parchment

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<sup>1</sup> The original is TNA, PROB11/7; the published transcript is L. Boatwright, M. Habberjam and P. Hammond, eds, *The Logge Register of PCC Wills, 1479-1486*, 2 vols (Knaphill, 2008).

<sup>2</sup> Appendix 1 in this volume is a descriptive list of the entries on each folio; the two folios numbered 453 have been designated 453 and 453[a].

<sup>3</sup> F. Collins, ed., *Index of Wills in the York Registry, 1389 to 1514* (Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association Record Series, VI for the year 1888, York, 1889).

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folios as he would a pack of cards, before dealing, and thereby produced their present unhappy condition.<sup>4</sup>

Consequently, the wills published here are not in chronological order according to date of the grant of probate: they are given in the order in which they are presented in the register. Table 1 summarises the dating of the folios.

**Table 1: dating of folios in Register V**

<b>reg.</b>	<b>folios</b>	<b>dates proved</b>
IV	89-94	wills proved 10 May 1476 to 8 Aug. 1476 <i>6 weeks missing</i>
V	1-12	wills proved from 24 Sept 1476 to 13 Feb. 1476/7
V	187-190	wills proved from 13 Feb. 1476/7 to 21 April 1477
V	186	2 wills proved in April 1477
V	191-198	wills proved from 22 April 1477 to 14 June 1477
V	13-24	wills proved from 18 June 1477 to 26 Nov. 1477
V	115-185	wills proved from 5 Dec. 1477 to 9 Sept. 1480 <i>one month missing</i>
V	89-114	wills proved from 12 Oct. 1480 to 28 Nov. 1481
V	50-74	wills proved from 27 Nov. 1481 to 1 Oct. 1482
V	25-49	wills proved from 29 Sept. 1482 to 26 April 1483
V	75-88	wills proved from 25 April 1483 to 19 Sept. 1483
V	199-513	wills proved from 23 Sept. 1483 to 10 May 1498
V	514-518}	The wills on these folios cover the period from June 1498 to March 1500/01, but are so mixed that it is doubtful if the folios can be placed chronologically.
III	331-342}	
III	307-330}	
V	519-521}	
VI		commences 30 April 1501

Source: Collins, *Index of Wills*, p.202

The pages and folios that appear on the microfilm of Register V contain more than 1850 entries, of which the vast majority are wills, i.e. wills and testaments, wills only, testaments only, and nuncupative wills.<sup>5</sup> There are also some 370 records of grants of letters of administration; 23 codicils, deeds or

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<sup>4</sup> Collins, *Index of Wills*, pp. iii-iv

<sup>5</sup> For the sake of brevity, in the volume's title and in the Introduction the noun 'will' is used to cover several document types: testaments and wills combined; testaments only (dealing with the disposal of goods and chattels); and wills proper (dealing with the disposal of land). For a detailed discussion of the difference, see, for example, Northeast and Falvey, eds, *'Baldwyne' II*, pp. xlix-l.

## INTRODUCTION

donations; 45 probate sentences; and three *approbacio testamenti*.<sup>6</sup> The majority of the wills are wholly in Latin but there are 82 wholly in English, three comprising a Latin testament with an English will,<sup>7</sup> two comprising a Latin testament and an English codicil,<sup>8</sup> one comprising a Latin donation and an English will,<sup>9</sup> and two that are a mixture of Latin and English.<sup>10</sup> As the number of competent Latin transcribers was very limited, it was decided to transcribe only the English wills, together with the six Latin items, with translations, and their associated English documents. This is therefore an arbitrary selection, but the most practical approach under the circumstances. At a late stage one of the mixed Latin and English wills was added, the other being in too poor a condition to be read in its entirety.<sup>11</sup> Thus, in summary, the main text of this volume comprises 89 wills from Probate Register V of the Prerogative Court of York.

### The transcripts

The value of wills as historical sources has long been recognised. One of the first published volumes of transcripts of wills was James Raine's *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Part I (1836).<sup>12</sup> Over the course of the next 45 years Raine edited four further volumes of *Test. Ebor.*<sup>13</sup> Virtually all of Raine's transcripts are of entire wills, published in their original language. They are, however, a selection that is, as the title of the first volume indicates, 'illustrative of the history, manners, language, statistics, &c. of the province of York'. Thus the wills that he published were specifically chosen for the nature of their content or the status of the testator. Of the 89 wills published in this volume, 41 were

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<sup>6</sup> Latham, ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word List*, translates *approbacio testamenti* as 'probate of testament'. From the register it is clear that there is a distinction between this and a grant of probate: each *approbacio* was entered directly after the grant of probate for the same deceased person.

<sup>7</sup> William Wencelagh (**12**); Ralph Constable (**84**); Katherine Sage (**86**).

<sup>8</sup> Ellen Johnson (**41**); Margaret Barwyk/Berwik (**85**).

<sup>9</sup> Baldwyn Young (**18**).

<sup>10</sup> William Gascoigne (fols.1-2) and John Leeston (fols. 462d-463). Rather than the testament being in Latin and the will in English, which is the case for wills 12, 41, 84, 85 and 86, in these two documents the Latin and English text is intermixed.

<sup>11</sup> John Leeston (**89**); Gascoigne's will is badly damaged.

<sup>12</sup> J. Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia, or, Wills registered at York: illustrative of the history, manners, language, statistics, &c. of the province of York, from the year MCCC downwards* (Surtees Society, vol. 4, 1836).

<sup>13</sup> The subsequent volumes had the shorter title of *Testamenta Eboracensia, A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*. Part II, Surtees Society, vol. 30, was published in 1855; Part III, vol. 45, in 1864; Part IV, vol. 53 in 1868; and Part V, vol. 79, in 1881.

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published by Raine in either volume III or volume IV of *Test. Ebor.*<sup>14</sup> But here, due to the nature of our selection, are the wills of a baxter (baker) (39), a yeoman (40) and a weaver (57), none of whom Raine considered sufficiently interesting to include. However, he did publish the wills of two ‘founderers’ (metal-founders) (58, 64), commenting that ‘Notices like these of the implements used by different artificers are always curious’.<sup>15</sup>

The project was carried out in the same way as Logge, with two different volunteers transcribing each will. For various reasons, after the initial transcripts had been completed, the project languished for several years. Then, in 2011, with the encouragement of the Research Committee, Lesley Boatwright resurrected it. Thanks to a good response to an appeal for volunteers in the June *Ricardian Bulletin*, the text of the initial 88 wills was transferred into Microsoft Word. Lesley then began standardising their format but her untimely death intervened and the text was finalised by Heather Falvey.

### Marginations

All marginations have been included in the volume’s text. Mostly these consist of side-headings, in Latin, giving the testator’s name and place of residence, together with their occupation or status. It is possible that these were added when the main entries were made, as an aid to locating them. The style of writing is different, but that does not necessarily mean that the side-headings were written by another clerk as the registry clerks would have been capable of using more than one ‘hand’. However, the side-heading of will 39, that of Richard Estwod, baxter of York, indicates that they may have been added later: the text in the margin originally read ‘*Testamentum Ricardi Baxter nuper de Ebor’ defuncti*’, with ‘Estwod’ inserted in a different hand. This suggests that the person writing the side-heading read ‘baxter’ as the testator’s surname; had he also written the text of the will he would have known that that was his occupation.

Whilst finalising the transcripts there was much discussion over particular words, none more so than over the name (and sex) of the testator of will 48. There is no conclusive evidence in the text of the will as to whether the testator is male or female, and *def* in the side-heading is also gender non-specific. In the *Index of Wills in the York Registry*, p.2, Collins gives ‘Elener Agland’. However on close inspection it is more likely that the capital is an O rather than an E; also, since ‘n’, ‘u’ and ‘v’ can be virtually indistinguishable in medieval script, the ‘n’ could be ‘v’: hence ‘Olever Agland’. The side-heading for the

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<sup>14</sup> The *Test. Ebor.* reference has been noted at the beginning of relevant wills and some of the notes that Raine added to the wills have been reproduced or edited, and then supplemented where possible.

<sup>15</sup> *Test. Ebor.*, IV, pp.77-8, 88-9; quotation from p.88.

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will gives *oliveri*: the ‘ol’ cannot be read as ‘el’. Hence, here the testator has been identified as **Oliver** Agland of Wakefield.

Most of those marginations that do not provide the testator’s identity simply state ‘*computatum est*’, i.e. ‘it is accounted for’, presumably referring to the executors’ probate account.

Occasionally there is the margination ‘*fabrica beati Petri*’ (or similar), (i.e. ‘to the fabric of St Peter’) against bequests to the Minster or to ‘Seynt Peter wark’.<sup>16</sup> This suggests that the registry clerk who copied the will into the register (or a later clerk) had decided to highlight such bequests; however, not all bequests to the Minster are so noted.

### Dating

All of the wills except one were dated by day, month and year. That of Thomas Hopton (26) concludes: ‘This is my testament and my will made at Bristeshaw upon the Saturdaye in the passion weke in the yere of King Richard the third *primo anno*.’<sup>17</sup> Reference to Cheney’s *Handbook of Dates* indicates that Easter Sunday 1484 was 18 April and therefore that the Saturday in Passion Week was 17 April.

The only other dating by liturgical feast appears in the probate sentence of the will of Martyn of the See (67). It was proved on 15 December, and, administration having been granted to two of the executors, power was reserved for the other three if they appeared in the probate court before the feast of the Purification next. The feast of the Purification of Our Lady was celebrated on 2 February.

In England until 1752, the year began on 25 March (Lady Day) rather than 1 January.<sup>18</sup> In this volume, the year is taken to begin on 1 January, and in the case of dates falling between 1 January and 24 March, the double year has been indicated, for example, 5 February 1483/4. However, when working with medieval and early modern documents it becomes clear that writers sometimes dated them with the year beginning on 1 January, often referred to as ‘new style’. This is the case for two of the wills here. Robert Adamson, barker of Doncaster (17), made his will on 13 February 1484; since it was proved on 2 June 1484, the dating of the will must be new style. Similarly, the Latin testament of Margaret Barwick/Berwik of Bulcote (85) is dated *xiiij<sup>o</sup> die mensis Januarii anno domini millesimo CCCC<sup>mo</sup>Lxxxviiij* [13 January 1498]; since it

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<sup>16</sup> See, for example, wills 2, 31 and 58. The bequest in will 2 that is highlighted in this way is ‘to the cathedrall chirch of York’, confirming that *beati Petri* refers to the Minster rather than either of the two parish churches of St Peter in York: St Peter the Little and St Peter in the Willows.

<sup>17</sup> In the first year: the first year of Richard’s reign was 26 June 1483 to 25 June 1484.

<sup>18</sup> This is discussed at great length in Cheney, *Handbook of Dates*, pp.3-6.

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was proved, together with her English will, on 10 May 1498, the testament must be dated new style.

In Register V the clerk did not always record the full date on which probate was granted. Frequently he wrote the day and month and added '*anno supradicto*', obviously meaning 'in the year aforesaid'. But which 'year aforesaid'? One's immediate assumption is that this refers to the year in which the will was written. However, on careful checking of the register, it becomes clear that this may not always be the case: sometimes the clerk meant 'in the same year as that in which probate was granted to the previous entry in the register'. In general, the entries in the register were made in the chronological order in which they were dealt with by the probate court, and, of course, those wills that were made sometime in advance of death would not have been proved in the same year as that in which they were made.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, as the above discussion of the order of the folios indicates, not all of the folios in the register have been bound in chronological order of probate. Therefore, in probate clauses in this volume, rather than make a (possibly erroneous) judgement regarding the year in question, where applicable, *anno supradicto* has been left;<sup>20</sup> not least because the wills transcribed here are not sequential and in most cases the previous will in the register has not been published.

### Language

As already explained the wills here are in English, although the vast majority in the register are in Latin. The English spelling is frequently irregular or idiosyncratic, and sometimes phonetic, in a 'late medieval Yorkshire' accent. The editors are not specialists in northern dialect, so some errors in transcription may have crept in. Much use has been made of Stell's Glossary.<sup>21</sup> 'Why' or 'quy', a northern word meaning 'a heifer up to three years old, or until she has calved', frequently occurs - but even then there are complications as a few testators refer to a quy and her calf. Noticeable are the number of words beginning with 'qw' or 'qwh' suggesting Scots influence on the language.<sup>22</sup> Indeed a specifically Scots phrase has been identified in the will of Dame Jane Boynton of Yarm (37): 'I will myn executores *gar make an ymage* of the salutacion of oure lady and Seynt Gabriell'. They were to 'cause an image to be made' (as in Scots 'gar me greet', meaning 'make me cry'). We have supplied an extensive glossary, but some words could not be found anywhere despite exhaustive (and exhausting) searches in numerous dictionaries and glossaries

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<sup>19</sup> See, for example, Hugh Hastings (33). The testator made his will before going off the fight the Scots in June 1482; it was not proved until January 1489/90.

<sup>20</sup> Lesley was most insistent on this point.

<sup>21</sup> Glossary in Stell, ed., *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350-1500*

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, the Glossary in Simpson, *Scottish Handwriting, 1150-1650*.



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### **The medieval will**

The remainder of the Introduction discusses the form of a medieval will and uses examples from the wills in this volume to illustrate the points being made.<sup>23</sup> A medieval will contained three elements: testament, will proper<sup>24</sup> and probate sentence. Although today the expression ‘last will and testament’ implies a single item, originally the two were separate documents.<sup>25</sup> The testament (Latin *testamentum*) contained bequests of goods and chattels, and gave instructions relating to religious matters, especially dispositions for the good of the testator’s soul; the will comprised directions regarding the disposal of testator’s real estate (Latin *voluntas* or *ultima voluntas*). Probate sentences, in Latin, were noted at the end of the will by the registry clerk. Occasionally the probate clause was omitted from the registered version of the will.<sup>26</sup> One of the wills here, that of Richard Pygot (20), was granted probate twice: firstly in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and then again, more than year later, before the official of the court of York.<sup>27</sup>

### **The medieval testament**

Although there was no set form for a testament, by the late fifteenth century most followed a fairly standard sequence.

**Invocation:** Most begin with the words, ‘In the name of God, Amen’.<sup>28</sup> Occasionally, the all three persons of the Trinity are invoked.<sup>29</sup>

**Date of writing:** Given as day, month and year. Just one, Thomas Hopton (26), dates by a liturgical feast-day.

**The testator:** After giving their name, the testator usually adds the city, town, village or parish where they live, sometimes giving their status and occasionally, where applicable, their occupation. A few of the testators are of national importance, for example, Miles Metcalfe (42), an MP and Recorder of

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<sup>23</sup> The outline of this section is based on the Introduction to Northeast and Falvey, eds, *‘Baldwyne’ II*, pp. xlix-lxxv.

<sup>24</sup> ‘will proper’ is used to refer to the actual will, as distinct from the testament, whereas ‘will’ is used as a broad generic term covering both aspects.

<sup>25</sup> A few of the wills in this volume have a separate testament and will, see, for example, Thomas Markenfeld (75).

<sup>26</sup> For example, Christopher Horbury (5).

<sup>27</sup> Register V records the text of the grant of probate dated 21 June 1483, stating that the testator held goods in various dioceses in the province of Canterbury; then that dated 3 August 1484, stating that he also held goods in the province of York.

<sup>28</sup> The dust jacket design is from the beginning of the will of Dame Alice Nevile (6). The scribe has omitted ‘God’ from the opening phrase and has had to insert it.

<sup>29</sup> For example, John Bradford (70).

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York, and Richard Pygot, Serjeant-at-Law (20). Of the 89 testators in this volume, 16 are women, of whom 12 specifically state that they are widows, 4 give their status as dame, and 1 is an advowess. Of the 73 men, 9 are esquires, 8 gentlemen, and 7 knights. There are several who hold, or have held, civic office, including 3 aldermen and a former mayor of York. One, Thomas Dale (40), describes himself as ‘yeoman’.<sup>30</sup> Six of the testators are clerics: 2 vicars, 2 priests, a parson and a rector. A number of occupations are also represented, some of them high status – perhaps not surprisingly since these are men whose wills were proved in the Prerogative Court of York – 5 merchants, 2 drapers and a mercer. Then there are the leather-workers: John Londisdale, a tanner (63) and Robert Adamson (17), a barker. Most interesting, perhaps, are Laurence Swattok (56), an apothecary and the two ‘founderers’, John Broune (58) and William Wynter (64). Swattok has ‘ij bookes of fesik called Nicholesse’. Broune and Wynter, who both live in the parish of St Helen in Stonegate, York, leave a catalogue of founderer’s tools to various legatees.

Regarding Christian names, among the men, perhaps unsurprisingly, more than 25 per cent (20) are called John. Of the other popular names 11 are called William, 10 Robert, 7 Thomas and 7 Richard;<sup>31</sup> the more unusual names include Baldwin, Guy and Laurence. Among the women, 3 are called Isabel, 3 Margaret and 2 Alice; the other 8 include Jane, Janet and Johannet.

Two knights, Hugh Hastings (33) and John Constable (44), make wills in the early summer of 1482 as they are about join Richard of Gloucester’s campaign against the Scots. Both return safely but neither updates their will subsequently.

**State of mind:** Testators are careful to emphasise their mental competence, even though they might be sick in body. Harry Sayvell, yeoman of the king’s chamber (16), is ‘of gude fressh and hole mynde and neverthesse seke in body’, but few others here admit being ill. Agnes Witham (69) makes her will, with a whole mind, knowing that she will pass from ‘the prison of this worlde of nature’.

**Commendation:** Almost always the first ‘bequest’ is that of the testator’s soul: ‘I commend my soul unto Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and all the saints in heaven’, or similar, sometimes including Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost. Occasionally the testator might include a favourite saint. Here only three testators mention other saints in their commendation: Dame Alice

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<sup>30</sup> This may be a status ascription, but from his bequests it is clear that he is also involved in animal husbandry.

<sup>31</sup> This order of preference for male Christian names corresponds closely to the usual order at the end of the fifteenth century. See *The Complete Peerage*, vol. III, pp.597-630, Appendix C, ‘Some observations on mediaeval names’.

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Nevile (6) adds St Ann; Sir William Akers, priest (45), adds St John the Baptist, probably due to his connection with gild of St John in York; and John Dalton (73) includes five saints – St Michael, St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist, St Katherine and St Barbara. Unusually for this period, Dame Marjory Salvayn (72) bequeaths her soul only to ‘my Saveour Jhu Crist’. Preceding the commendation might be a statement of faith. Several have made their will because the hour of death is uncertain and it is imperative to be ready. John Dalton makes a remarkable testimony of his faith. He knows that death is no respecter of persons since he sees ‘daily dye prynces and grete estates and men of all ages endes ther daies’. He himself beseeches God ‘that I may dye the true soone of holikirke of hert truely confessed with contricion and repentance of all my synnes that ever I did sith the first houre I was born of my moder into this synfull world unto the houre of my deth’.

**Place of burial:** Usually the next consideration is the place of burial. Five of the wills do not mention burial but, as these documents are wills proper and deeds of gift, they would not be concerned with that point.<sup>32</sup> Dame Margaret Pygot (24) asks to be buried in the parish church wherever she happens to die. Three testators simply ask to be buried ‘where it pleases God’.<sup>33</sup>

Of the other 80 testators, despite the Prerogative Court of York covering the whole of the north of England, only eight request burial in places outside Yorkshire, four of which are not even in the archdiocese. (See Appendix 2, which summarises the testators’ burial requests.) The four non-Yorkshire burials within the archdiocese are in Nottinghamshire: Robert Inglissh (3), who comes from Nottingham and has been mayor of the city; John Elston (13), vicar of Shelton; William Came of Newark (78), and Margaret Barwick (85), widow of Bulcote. Christopher Barton (11) comes from Quenby (Leicestershire), in the Canterbury archdiocese: probate is granted in York probably because he holds more land in the northern archdiocese. John Bone, merchant of Doncaster (71), asks to be buried in the parish church of St Peter in Bordeaux, where he is a ‘merchaunt passaunt’. Two men request burial in London. Harry Sayvell (16) nominates the church of the White Friars, or Carmelites, of Fleet Street. Richard Pygot (20) chooses the priory church of St John, Clerkenwell; however, if he dies in York, he wishes to be buried in St Mary’s Abbey.

More than a quarter of the testators live in York itself, 23 out of 89, and most ask to be buried in their parish church there. As there were some 41 churches in York in the fifteenth century, testators have to state precisely which they mean, for example, All Saints’ Pavement or All Saints’ North Street (61,

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<sup>32</sup> Nos 17, 18, 21, 46, 52.

<sup>33</sup> Nos 26, 33, 44; however, it should be noted that Hugh Hastings (33) and Ralph Constable (44) are making their wills before going to fight the Scots and so are preparing for the possibility of dying away from home.

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**63**).<sup>34</sup> John Londisdale, a tanner, requests the latter: All Saints' North Street was very close to Tanners Row, centre of the tanning workers. Similarly the burial of William Akers (**45**) is to be in St Helen's at the Walls, as opposed to that of William Wynter, founderer (**64**), in St Helen's Stonegate. Indeed many metal foundries were situated in Stonegate, and John Broune, Wynter's fellow founderer (**58**), also requests burial at St Helen's Stonegate, in the churchyard, as close to the body of his late wife Johannet as possible.<sup>35</sup> Richer merchants tended to live in the east of the city and just outside: five testators ask to be buried on this side of York. Thomas Knelly, probably a shoemaker (**23**), and William Thorneton, a 'gentleman' (**38**), both wish to be buried in St Cuthbert's, Peaseholme Green; John Beseby, merchant and former sheriff of the City (**61**), in All Saints' Pavement; and Richard Estwood, baxter (**39**), and Juliane Clerkson (**55**) both request burial in Holy Cross (or, St Cross). Juliane is probably not a widow and is perhaps from a merchant family. Of these five, only the wills of Thorneton and Beseby suggest wealth. Many former mayors were buried in All Saints' Pavement, which was (and is) the guild and civic church, but John Carre (**31**), the only former mayor in the sample, requests burial in his parish church of St Sampson, beside his wife. John Warthell *alias* Ratclyff (**36**) wishes to be buried in his parish church of St Edward the Martyr without Walmgate Bar, almost opposite St Laurence. Warthell describes himself as a gentleman but since St Edward's was a small, poor church perhaps he is a merchant who has remained faithful to his old church although he has risen in the world. Another self-described gentleman, Richard Manchester (**49**), who wishes to be buried in the Minster, also claims St Edward's as his parish church.

The next largest group of testators are the nine from Kingston-upon-Hull, all of whom state their occupation, unlike many of those from York. Although almost as large as York in the later medieval period, Hull only had two parishes because it was of much later foundation.<sup>36</sup> The principal parish church was that of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and the lesser church was St Mary the Virgin. Four testators request burial in Holy Trinity, four in St Mary's, and one in the church of the Austin Friars.<sup>37</sup>

The remaining testators come from various places throughout Yorkshire, some quite close to York, such as John Bowmer (**60**) from Acaster Malbis, miles south, down the river Ouse, and widow Agnes Witham (**69**), lately the

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<sup>34</sup> See map of medieval York, p. i.

<sup>35</sup> Broune makes several bequests to his second wife, also called Johannet.

<sup>36</sup> See *VCH County of York, East Riding*, vol. 1, *The City of Kingston upon Hull*, 'The parish churches', pp.287-311.

<sup>37</sup> Edmund Copyndale (**50**) requests burial in 'the chapel church in Kyngeston' and bequests later in the will suggest that he is referring to the lesser church of St Mary.

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wife of Thomas of Cornborough, who wishes to be buried in St Helen's, Sheriff Hutton.

Most of the testators, apart from the three who request burial in York Minster, wish to be buried in their parish church or their 'mother church'. A few request burial in one of the churches belonging to the four major orders of friars. Dame Marjory Salvayn (72) asks for burial within the church of the Grey Friars of York; Dame Jane Boynton (37) in the choir of the 'freres of Yarum', i.e. the Dominican or Black Friars of Yarm; and John Spicer, merchant and alderman of Hull (65), in the church of the Austin, or Augustinian, Friars there. Other burials in non-parish churches include Henry Eure (7) in the Gilbertine priory in Old Malton; Ellen Johnson (41) in the collegiate church of St John of Beverley; and Alice Thwaytes (25) in the Benedictine abbey at Selby.

Not only do testators specify the church in which they wish to be buried, many also specify the spot where their body is to be interred, sometimes next to a particular grave. Testators of high status request burial in a prominent place within their parish church, so that fellow parishioners see their grave and are reminded to pray for their soul. Incumbents and patrons might be buried in the chancel, the most prominent, and therefore most desirable, part of the church; such requests include that of Thomas Marshall, vicar of Felixkirk (27), in the choir of that church, and Thomas Crathorn, 'parson' of Crathorne (53), on the south side of the chancel. Some testators wish to be buried near their spouse or kin: Katherine Sage (86) asks to be buried next to the tomb of her late husband, Thomas Sage;<sup>38</sup> Robert Malleverer, esquire (74), 'in the same place where my fader lieth'; and Thomas Markenfeld, knight (75), before the altar of St Andrew, in the monastery of St Wilfrid in Ripon, 'emonge the beriall of myn auncetours'. Thomas Wod, draper and alderman of Hull (54), wishes to be buried in the north aisle of Holy Trinity, 'undre a new marbill stone bought and lade there by the said Thomas Wodd', next to the grave of John Whitfeld, a former mayor.

**Unpaid debts:** Testators are greatly concerned with the 'health' of their soul. They request outstanding debts to be paid, usually before any other bequests are fulfilled. These often include various obligatory payments to the church: tithes, offerings and mortuaries.

The mortuary, frequently in the wills here called the 'corsepresent', is a customary gift due to the clergy from the chattels of a householder at his death and burial.<sup>39</sup> The majority of testators make such a provision.<sup>40</sup> The form of

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<sup>38</sup> Thomas was her second husband.

<sup>39</sup> Definition from *OED*.

<sup>40</sup> See Index of Subjects under 'mortuary'. In contrast, in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, in the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, only 12 testators from 8 different

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the corsepresent varies, depending of the wealth and status of the testator. Some are in a position to give an animal: their ‘best beast’,<sup>41</sup> or their ‘best horse’,<sup>42</sup> three even give horses fully equipped. For example, Richard Manchester (49) gives ‘unto the parson of my said parish church for my mortuarie my best horse bridle sadle and complete harnessse thereunto dependyng’.<sup>43</sup> Others give clothing: their ‘best garment’,<sup>44</sup> or their ‘best gown’,<sup>45</sup> some give a gown and headwear, such as a hat<sup>46</sup> or hood;<sup>47</sup> three give a gown, a hat and a tippet. For example, William Akers (62) bequeaths ‘for my corsepresand my best gowne with my hat and tipett as the maner is’.<sup>48</sup>

**The burial:** In order to speed the progress of a soul through of purgatory, the prayers of the living are sought. Those present at the burial might assist in this way and various rewards are offered to encourage attendance. As well as the prayers of priests and clerks, those of the poor are welcome and money or food often is promised in return. John Bowmer’s will (60), for example, gives detailed instructions in this regard. He makes provision for 2 lbs of wax ‘to light aboute me to my beriall’; 10s for a vestment and 2 torches ‘to burn aboute my beriall’; 4d to each priest, 2d to every (religious) clerk and 1d ‘to every child that canne syng’, who come to his burial; and 10s for bread, ale and cheese. James Danby (76) makes provision for monetary ‘rewardes’ to priests, clerks and scholars and also ‘mete and drinke’ to ‘men of wurship, frendes and pore people’. During his funeral, John Carre (31) wants 5 wax serges (candles) to burn round his body, a lamp to burn before the blessed sacrament in the choir of the church and also 12 (xij) torches which are to be held by 13 (xij) poor men, who are each to have a gown and hood of ‘gude white clothe’. Edmund Copyndale (50), on the other hand, wants 4 lbs of wax made into ‘two serges with a crosse of wax byrnyng a bowte my bodie the day of my beriall’ but ‘no torches be burneyng aboute my bodie at my beryall and also I will that no white gownes be yeven at my said beryall’.

The funeral began on the evening before the burial with the saying of *placebo*, the Vespers of the service for the dead. On the day of burial the body was carried into the church on a wooden bier. As the above bequests indicate,

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parishes made provision for a mortuary, some leaving a particular animal, others ‘whatever is right’. (Northeast and Falvey, eds, *Baldwyne’ II*, p. liv.)

<sup>41</sup> Nos. 7, 10, 12, 13, 44, 47, 48, 67, 69, 78, 80, 84, 85, 88, 89.

<sup>42</sup> Nos. 23, 27, 32, 34, 39, 42, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 83.

<sup>43</sup> See also nos. 75 and 87.

<sup>44</sup> Nos. 28, 38, 43, 72.

<sup>45</sup> Nos. 23, 32, 39, 42, 55, 56, 57, 58

<sup>46</sup> No. 64.

<sup>47</sup> No. 31.

<sup>48</sup> See also nos. 66 and 82.

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candles and torches would burn about the bier. The Matins of the funeral service, *dirige*, would be followed by Requiem mass, and then the burial.<sup>49</sup> The form of the Requiem Mass, according to the Use of York, as it would have been celebrated for these testators, is discussed at length in *Mass and Parish in late Medieval England: the Use of York*.<sup>50</sup>

Religious observances do not end there. Testators would make provision for the seven-day (or, eight-day) and thirty-day: re-enactments of the funeral, with distributions of food and alms.<sup>51</sup> The anniversary or obit took the form of another re-enactment.<sup>52</sup> Anniversaries might be celebrated for a number of years or even be requested in perpetuity.<sup>53</sup>

**Bequests to churches:** Testators frequently make bequests to the fabric of their parish church and some to other churches, perhaps in the parish where they had been born. Some bequests here indicate ongoing building projects, such as those by Richard Peke (2), John Dalton (73) and Edmund Greneley (77) to ‘the making of the new stepull’ of St Mary’s, Hull.

**Church interior:** Testators also make bequests for fixtures, fittings and the decoration of churches. John Lepton (83) asks to be buried in the new aisle of All Hallows’ church, Terrington, before the altar of St Ann; perhaps to draw the attention, and therefore the prayers, of his fellow parishioners, he also instructs his executors to ‘glayse with white glasse the windowe affore Saint Anne alter’. For the repair of the stalls in St Mary’s, Beverley, Guy Malyerd (29) provides wood in the form of 30 squared trees and 50 ‘waynescotes’. Thomas Dale of Felixkirk (40) bequeaths to the chapel of St Sebastian (location unknown) 40d ‘for to hold the water fra the same’: is this a chapel prone to flooding, or one that needs a holy water stoop? John Dalton (73) gives 6s 8d to the rood loft and church work at Patrington.

Other items supplied for church interiors include books and images, as well as the ubiquitous candles, sometimes called lights. For example, Robert Kirton of Crathorne (19) bequeaths a why (heifer) with a calf for the making of a ‘buke called an ordinal’ for his parish church; James Danby (76) ‘a messe boke

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<sup>49</sup> William Baron (22) requests *dirige* and (Requiem) mass to be said in various churches in Hull, specially requesting the White Friars to say, in St Mary’s church, the ‘masse of the assumpcion of oure lady Seynt Mary Virgin’.

<sup>50</sup> Edited by P. S. Barnwell, C. Cross and A. Rycraft. Chapter 8 describes the reconstruction of the Latin Requiem mass that took place at All Saints’, North Street, York, on 20 April 2002.

<sup>51</sup> For seven-days see nos. 2, 3, 5, 22, 35, 50, 89; for eight-days see nos. 31, 42; unusually, none of the testators specifically mention a thirty-day or ‘month’s mind’.

<sup>52</sup> For bequests for obits, see nos. 37, 44, 51, 70, 84, 88.

<sup>53</sup> See William Baron (22) for obits for 22 years; and nos. 20, 51, 54 for perpetual obits.

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worth xl s'; and Robert Calverley (87) 'a messe booke of prynte if it can be gotten' and money for repairing the chalice. Dame Marjory Salvayn (72) gives a relic – 'a bone Saynt Nynyan' – to the church of the Grey Friars of York. Several testators leave textiles, or money for them, to their parish church, whether for making vestments or altar cloths or other napery. Fittingly for a draper, William Baron (22) bequeaths a sumptuous cope of 'rede purpull clothe velvett with gude grete floures of gold the valour of xx li. sterling'. Robert Calverley (87) gives an altar cloth of diaper and a towel to the high altar of Calverley church, and another altar cloth and towel to Our Lady's altar.

**Priests' services:** Testators frequently request prayers for their soul by priests or other clerics. Although Requiem mass is often specified, other masses might be requested, such as a trental, comprising 30 masses, sometimes said all on the same day.<sup>54</sup> A trental of St Gregory was a more complex devotion with 30 masses being said during a year.<sup>55</sup> Richard Peke (2) specifies exactly how his trental should be celebrated: 'a trentall to be don within the said yere with *Placebo* and *Dirige* and commendacion daily with ix lessones with the prayer Secret and post communion pertenying to the saide trentall after the forme and effecte written in the rubrich and within the utas'.<sup>56</sup> John Beseby (61) specifies precisely how a 'well disposed preste' should celebrate for his soul and those of several others: 'he shall every daye when he hath saide messe with his vestment uppon hym take the holy water steynkill and goe to the grave and theruppon saye *De profundis* with the colett for there soules and cast holywater on the grave for the space of a yere after my decesse'. Richard Pygot (20) even provides for the education of three priests at Oxford or Cambridge.

**Religious houses:** Many of the testators also request prayers from one or more of the numerous religious houses in the archdiocese. Some ask monks and nuns, such as Katherine Sage (86), who makes bequests to the nuns of Yedingham, Nunkeeling and Wykeham. Sir John Pilkington (8) bequeaths 6s 8d to each monk at Fountains Abbey to 'say messe of requiem for my saule within v dayes they have knaulege of my deth'. But these bequests to monks and nuns are in the minority, far more are made to friars. There were four main orders of friars (the Friars Minor or Franciscans, the Friars Preachers or Dominicans, the Carmelite Friars and the Augustinian, or Austin, Friars) and several testators left bequests to all four orders, either specifying the houses or

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<sup>54</sup> For requests for trentals, see nos. 2, 5, 16, 23, 24, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 40, 47, 53, 63, 73, 78, 85, 86.

<sup>55</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp.293-4. For requests for trentals of St Gregory, see nos. 7, 19, 48, 70.

<sup>56</sup> See Glossary for definitions.



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making a general bequest.<sup>57</sup> Other orders mentioned include the Observant Friars of Bordeaux (71) and the friars of St Robert of Knaresborough (5, 31).<sup>58</sup> For himself and several deceased relatives, John Carre (31) requests from various religious houses a number of different trentals, identifying them by name, such as ‘oone *De Nomine Jhu* [of the name of Jesus], ij *De Sancta Cruce* [of the Holy Cross], iij *De spiritu sancto* [of the Holy Spirit], ... one *De Corpore Christi* [of the body of Christ], ij *De Sancta Maria*’.

**Guilds:** Religious or parish guilds also provided prayers for the souls of deceased members, although few of the testators here make bequests to such guilds.<sup>59</sup> Katherine Sage (86), however, bequeaths to the guild of the Resurrection of Our Lord in Holy Trinity church, Hull, a blood-coloured silk girdle, silver and gilt, with *un Chane* hanging therefrom in the middle, perhaps to be draped over the guild’s altar or image in the church.

**Charitable giving:** As Eamon Duffy explains, the seven corporal works of mercy – feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, relieving the prisoner, housing the stranger, and burying the dead – loomed large in the medieval Christian’s preparation for the Day of Judgement.<sup>60</sup> Everyone was expected to relieve the poor, and many of the bequests in these wills testify to this, although the nature of the bequest varies greatly as does its value, depending on the testator’s wealth. The will of Robert Saltmerssh, esquire of Cottingwith (59), is particularly detailed: he gives 3s 4d to each of 20 maidens for their marriage ‘where moste need is’; he gives 5 cows to 5 poor folk to have the milk and the calves for a year, and at the end of the year the cows are to be given to 5 other poor folk and so to continue each year; similarly he gives 3 yoke of oxen; he also makes provision for the mending of roads in West Cottingwith and Thornganby. Dame Alice Nevile (6) has established an almshouse for two poor women ‘that they pray duly for me and all my goode doars’. Richard Pygot (20) leaves £20 to be disposed in alms among poor prisoners, bedridden people and other poor folk, and also 100 marks for making highways and other charitable deeds in recompense for being ‘occupied in the worlde and taken mens money and not done so effectually for it as I aught to have done’. A troubled soul. Another such is John Carre, former mayor of York (31): amongst other charitable bequests he leaves money for food for prisoners in the various prisons in the city; money to every anchoress in York; to the inmates of the maisonsdieu (almshouses) there; to 15

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<sup>57</sup> For bequests to the four orders of friars see 4, 60, 68, 80; for the four orders in York see nos. 7, 9, 14, 20, 24, 31, 42, 47, 59, 62, 69, 79, 82, 83, 84, 87.

<sup>58</sup> For the various houses, see the Index of Subjects under ‘friar’.

<sup>59</sup> See Index of Subjects under ‘guild’.

<sup>60</sup> Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p.358.

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poor maidens for their marriage; and money for 50 beds for poor men and women in the city and suburbs, each bed to cost 13s 4d and have ‘a new coverlet, a new mattresse, ij new blankettes, ij new shetes’. William Burton, vicar of Wighill (**88**), makes provision for the sum of £1 6s 8d to be held by his successor vicars which poor parishioners could borrow to pay their manorial dues and then repay when they could afford to, rather than having to sell goods at a loss to pay those dues. Burton is adamant that the money should not be borrowed to pay taxes, that is, by wealthier householders.

**Household goods:** Specific household items were frequently bequeathed in testaments. For southern England, medieval probate inventories rarely survive, and so testators’ descriptions of such items are of great interest.<sup>61</sup> In contrast, about 100 medieval inventories have survived in the diocese of York, commencing from 1350.<sup>62</sup> Regarding the wills transcribed here, only the probate sentence of Richard Pygot (**20**) mentions an inventory: it was to be exhibited in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, but has not survived.

A few of the testators mention items of furniture, such as tables, chairs and forms.<sup>63</sup> In most households the most expensive piece of furniture was the bed, together with its furnishings. Thomas Wod (**54**) bequeaths ‘myn owne bedd’ to his cousin William Wod, describing its composition: ‘j feder bed with j bolster, j payre of blankettes, j payr of sheetes, iij pyllowes, j sellour of waynescot, j payr of valauncez of blewe, iij curteyns of blewe bukeasyn’. Other testators bequeath furnishings of various colours and patterns: amongst many such items, Katherine Sage (**86**) leaves a table cloth and a ‘duble towell of diapre wark with flowrdelices, xij napkins with ookkes, ... vj whisshins with flowers, j banquer’. Ellen Johnson (**41**) has a ‘tabyll cloz of twyll’, ‘a halling of dammask wark’ and 6 ‘quesshynges with a byrd with a red foyte’. Testators also bequeath cooking pots and pans, spoons, fire irons and other utensils. The three testaments mentioned above, for example, name numerous household items. Isabel Wilton (**28**) seems to list nearly all of her household items individually, ranging from a dozen pewter vessels, ‘the pott we maide oure mete in’, tongs, fire irons and spits, to chests, chairs and arks. Several testators mention pieces of plate. It is clear that some are very ornate, such as the pieces bequeathed by William Came (**78**), which include ‘a standing nutte of maser with a foote of sylver and overgilt with a coveryng to the same with iij estrich fedders of silver and overgilt’.

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<sup>61</sup> See the discussion of early southern inventories in Northeast and Falvey, ‘*Baldwyne*’ II, p. lxxiv.

<sup>62</sup> These inventories have been translated and published in Stell, *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350-1500*.

<sup>63</sup> For tables, see wills 4, 73; for chairs, 17, 28, 32, 41, 75, 88; and for forms, 17, 41, 75.

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Bequests of clothing by both men and women are also very common and thus provide information concerning the costume of the period. Admittedly these testators are among the wealthiest people of their time, but some of the clothing is bequeathed to servants and so would be distributed down the social scale.<sup>64</sup> Again the wills of Katherine Sage (86) and Ellen Johnson (41) are particularly revealing, providing descriptions of many different items of women's clothing. Amongst her garments, Ellen has a russet gown 'furred with a kyrchew', a violet gown 'lyned with bokeram', a violet kirtle and a blue girdle of a finger's-breadth harnessed with silver. Katherine's clothing includes 'a cremesyn gown, a gown purfelled with blak welwitt, ... a lined scarlet gown, a violet gown furred with calibre and a scarlet kirtill'.<sup>65</sup> Occasionally a piece of clothing might be donated to adorn a religious image: Ellen gives a silvered girdle with a red stock to the shrine of St John of Beverley. Of the male testators, Robert Kirton (19), for example, provides details of men's clothing: he has two russet gowns, two 'sanguyn gownes', a 'jekkry goune', a cloak, a jacket and a coat.<sup>66</sup> Robert Marler (1) leaves his servant a gown of the archbishop's livery. A few of the men also mention weapons, such as Guy Malyerd (29), who has a sword and dagger. John Carre (31) even has a pair of silver and gilt spectacles.

Many of the testators own jewellery, quite often 'a pair of beads', i.e. a set of rosary beads, whether of gold, silver, amber, jet, coral or ivory. Some of these are described in detail: Isabel Wilton (28) has a pair of coral beads containing 'three tymes L with all the gaudes of silver and gilt and of every side of gaudes a bede of silver'.<sup>67</sup> Other jewellery owned by testators includes rings, chains and a brooch.<sup>68</sup> While many of these precious items are given to relatives or friends, others are offered to adorn religious images. John Carre (31), for example, bequeaths his 'gold ryng with the dyamonde to hyng aboute the nek of the ymage of oure lady that standes abowve oure lady alter in the mynster where they sing oure lady messe' and his 'other ryng with a ruby and one torcos to hynge aboute oure lorde nek that is in the armes of the same ymage of oure lady'.

**Farming:** As many of the testators live in the city of York or in Hull, they rarely bequeath any animals and so this particular selection of wills provides

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<sup>64</sup> See K. M. Burkholder, 'Threads Bared: Dress and Textiles in Late Medieval English Wills', in R. Netherton and G. R. Owen-Crocker (eds), *Medieval Clothing and Textiles*, i (2005).

<sup>65</sup> See Glossary for definitions.

<sup>66</sup> See also, for example, Richard Manchester (49) and Robert Johnson (82).

<sup>67</sup> See Glossary *sub* 'beads', 'gaud' and 'rosary'.

<sup>68</sup> For rings, see nos. 1, 7, 9, 10, 24, 29, 31, 34, 56, 72, 77, 82, 86; chains, nos. 1, 34; and the brooch, no. 86.

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far less evidence of late-medieval farming practices than wills from rural areas. However, it seems reasonable to assume that those testators who give for their mortuary their ‘best beast’ or ‘best horse’ are engaged in animal husbandry. The otherwise meagre will of John Makeblith of Healaugh (14) mentions two ‘balsan fillys’ and three whys with calves; his widow Isabel (15) bequeaths a cow, a ewe and a lamb. Interestingly, Thomas Marshall, vicar of Felixkirk (27), has a number of animals, including whys, oxen and cows, the latter having names: ‘to Alison my servaunt ij kye called Nightgale and Luffly. Also to Johannet my servaunt a cowe called Tymelt. Also to William Marshall of Bagby a cowe with calf called Gude Kett. Also to John Storer a cowe called Sternelld with calfe. Also to John Squyer a cowe called Wright. Also to Agnes Chapman a cowe called Tydee’.<sup>69</sup> Very little grain is mentioned, indicating that pastoral farming predominated, although Richard Milner (68) has 10 acres of arable in the fields at Topcliff and John Bowmer of Acaster Malbis (60) has at least one acre of wheat. As well as making several bequests of cows and horses, Richard Manchester (49) bequeaths to Thrustan Manchester (relationship unknown) ‘an yren boune wayne, yokkys, temys, plowgh, harrow with two white hede Stottes and all thynges belongyng unto husbandre’ indicating that he has been cultivating land as well as husbanding animals. Similarly, Martin of the See (67) leaves to his wife 4 ploughs and several wains, as well as 60 cattle, 8 mares and several hundred sheep.

**Crafts and trades:** Several of the testators specify their trade or craft and a few specifically bequeath their tools. Robert Adamson, barker of Doncaster (17), has a substantial amount of leather, wrought and unwrought, and leaves various tools to his sons William and Thomas: ‘a long thixill to them bothe, ther is iij axis, ij to Thomas and ij to William, a lat ax t̅ a wombill persour, shaving billis, hewing billis, paring knyves to the use of bothe Thomas and William’. Thomas Knelly (23) appears to have been a corveser (shoemaker), leaving to his cousin William his ‘fourmes and butetras with turnyng staffis, drawere, j kyting knife’. John Kendale, weaver (57), mentions the weavers’ guild of Our Lady; he bequeaths a woollen loom to his nephew, Peter Bolton, and a linen loom to his apprentice, Roger. The latter bequest is conditional on him remaining with Kendale’s wife for the term specified on his indenture; but she is to fulfil her necessary duties as well. The two most interesting craftsmen’s wills are those of John Broune (58) and William Wynter (64), both founderers, living in the parish of St Helen’s, Stonegate, not far from the Minster, who leave various tools and items of equipment to their apprentices or servants. From the contents of their wills it is apparent that they are relatively

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<sup>69</sup> Naming animals was not unusual. John Wryht of Wickham Skeith (Suffolk) gave to Alice his wife three horses, one called ‘Brokke’, the second ‘Bayard’ and the third ‘Hobbe’. (Northeast and Falvey, *‘Baldwyne’ II*, no.210)

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wealthy men who have workshops. Broune also makes provision for his three children to be apprenticed to named masters in different crafts.

**Appointment of executors:** Towards the end of their testament, testators name their executor(s). Frequently these are their spouse and/or other family members; otherwise they might be business associates or friends. Sometimes a supervisor is appointed to assist them, often of higher social status than the testator or executors. Executors and supervisors might also be members of the clergy. The status of executors and supervisors, and/or their relationship to the testator, has been noted in the Index of Subjects.<sup>70</sup> Sir John Pilkington (8) appoints as his executors ‘my lorde off Gloucestre and my lord chambrelane’, and also William Calverley and Robert Chaloner: the latter two are to ‘ryde and labour’ to perform the will and would be accountable to the two lords.

It was expected that executors would fulfil their task satisfactorily and on occasion trouble might be foreseen.<sup>71</sup> William Wynter (64) has a son of the same name who is apparently in religious orders. William senior makes certain bequests to him on condition that he ‘holde hym content’ with the will and does not ‘distrobe myne executores’. In some cases here executors refuse to serve, but the reason is never stated.<sup>72</sup> Others are under age, and therefore not competent.<sup>73</sup> Yet others have died before the testator, or at least before probate has been granted.<sup>74</sup> In the case of Sir John Pilkington (8), eventually only Richard of Gloucester serves as executor, Calverley and Chaloner refusing to undertake administration of the will.<sup>75</sup>

**The residue:** After all the legacies and provisions, the testator bequeaths the residue of their goods, not already mentioned, to their executor(s), requiring them to dispose of the residue ‘as they will aunswer afore God’ (58), or as ‘semeth best for the helth of my saule’ (36).

**Sealing and signing:** Having been written out, the testament was read to the testator and assembled witnesses, and then sealed. Usually the will was written

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<sup>70</sup> See under ‘executor’ and ‘supervisor’.

<sup>71</sup> But see Thomas L. Kinney, “‘Too secuturs and an overseere make thre theves’”: popular attitudes toward false executors of wills and testaments’, *Fifteenth Century Studies*, 3 (1980), pp.93-105.

<sup>72</sup> See the probate clauses to nos. 8, 40, 42, 60, 70, 84.

<sup>73</sup> See the probate clauses to nos. 43, 61.

<sup>74</sup> See the probate clauses to nos. 14, 69, 89.

<sup>75</sup> The probate clause states that administration was granted to ‘the most excellent prince lord Richard, duke of Gloucester’, power being reserved for the other executors; the fourth executor is not mentioned by name in the clause. He was probably William, Lord Hastings, who was Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

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by a professional scrivener: the will of Harry Sayvell (16) is witnessed by Thomas Broune, ‘scryvener of London writer of thiez presentes’. However, three of the wills have been written by the testator himself: Ralph Gascoigne, esquire (34); John Dalton, merchant (73); and Nicholas Conyers, gentleman (80).<sup>76</sup> Indeed Dalton states at the end of both his testament and his will that he has written them and acknowledges that he has made some changes in the latter: ‘And I knowlage all above scrapid [scraped] and raced [erased] is done with myne owne propir handes’. Two other testators, Sir Hugh Hastings (33) and John Rothelay (52), have signed their names.

About a third of the testators state that they have used their own seals to seal the document.<sup>77</sup> The witnessing of the will of William Came (78) is rather more complex and suggests that dispute of some kind had arisen over the validity of the will during the lifetime of the testator. After the original witness clause, Came has had noted that because his seal ‘is to diverss and many unknown’, he has asked the earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire to add their seals to the document. The earls have done so subsequently and then signed to acknowledge the same.<sup>78</sup>

**Witnesses:** The number and status of those who witnessed the testaments here varies considerably. Sometimes we do not know exactly how many there were because the probate clerk failed copy all of the names into the register – perhaps he could not read some of the signatures or marks? For example, the witnesses to Christopher Horbury’s testament (5) are ‘Master Robert Hynderwell, William Watford, George Banes, Gilbert Lygerdoune preste and mony othre’. For many of the documents at least one witness is a member of the clergy; it is possible that he is also its writer.

### The will proper

The last will (*ultima voluntas*) was a legal document, whereas the testament was an ecclesiastical one. The will proper could exist separately from the testament and might be proved separately. Indeed, as already noted, five of the wills here have no testaments.<sup>79</sup> The main purpose of the will proper was to convey instructions or requests to the testator’s nominated feoffees regarding real estate.

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<sup>76</sup> Dame Alice Nevile (6) mentions ‘all othre maters and parcelles’ that ‘I have put, sett and made in remembrance by myn awn hand writing’, but it is unclear whether she is referring to her will or to additional written instructions.

<sup>77</sup> See Index of Subjects under ‘seal, testator’s own’.

<sup>78</sup> Nothing in the will indicates the nature of Came’s connection with the earls.

<sup>79</sup> Nos. 17, 18, 21, 46, 52

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**Houses and buildings:** Although many testators mention their house in their will, very rarely do they give its location; after all, the executors would know where it is. Edmund Copyndale (50), a merchant and former sheriff and mayor of Hull, probably had a grand house in the town, but he simply refers to it as ‘my howse in the which I now dwell’. On the death of John Stokdale, burgess of Scarborough, several properties in the town had passed to his widow, Margaret (46), including the ‘beerehouse’ previously owned by Herry Beerebruer and a house, inhabited by Robert Mayleyard, beside ‘the sepulchre kirke’.<sup>80</sup> Some of the wills provide information about the composition of the testator’s house, often indirectly, such as when indicating the location of particular bequests of furniture. Robert Adamson, barker of Doncaster (17), bequeaths a messuage near Mawdelyn Gate to each of his two sons, Thomas and William, identifying the properties according to whom they were purchased from. The house passing to Thomas has (at least) a hall with a chimney, a chamber, an over parlour, a nether parlour, a kitchen and a well; that passing to William may have a cellar as it is ‘bigged above the grounde and undre’. Isabel Wilton (28) bequeaths utensils and furniture in the parlour, the great hall, the closet, the chamber over the gile house, another chamber and her own chamber.

**Lands:** Some testators provide detailed descriptions of their lands, others simply deal with the disposal of, for example, ‘all my lands and tenements’. William Wencelagh (12) adopts the latter approach; Harry Sayvell (13), on the other hand, is rather more specific, mentioning a house, croft and garden in Wakefield, and freehold and copyhold lands and tenements elsewhere. Baldwin Young, gentleman of Saxton (18), holds the manor of Scarthingwell, as well as various lands in at least 8 places in Yorkshire. Hugh Hastings, knight (33), has a great deal of land, some in Yorkshire and some in Norfolk. He refers to a deed of 16 October 17 Edward IV [1477] which deals with the disposal of the former, the disposal of property in Norfolk and Norwich is detailed in the will. John Holme (51) has lands and tenements in the city and suburbs of York and in Haxby, but the only properties that are located precisely are two seemingly insignificant plots in York: a ‘voyed grounde’ in Owse Gate and a ‘garthe’ or ‘gardyn’ in the parish of St Wilfrid, the properties bounding on all four sides of which are carefully identified.<sup>81</sup> John Rothelay (52) owns various pieces of land, some of which he has acquired and the rest was owned or acquired by his forebears. It seems that Rothelay’s uncle, Thomas Wodd, had fallen foul of Edward IV, who ‘withouten any cause’, had taken certain lands in the parish of Ripon into his own hands and granted them to one Raufe Snayth. Rothelay describes in detail how he eventually got them back and

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<sup>80</sup> She nominates her heir in a deed of gift which the probate court treats as a will.

<sup>81</sup> Thereby giving details of property owned by those people or institutions.

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gives instructions as to how they should be protected against future actions in law. Richard Milner of Topcliff (68) has few landed possessions but these are carefully described: two ‘places’ in Topcliff next to the ‘chauntre house’ and 10 acres of land in the fields. The most detailed bequests of land in this volume are those of John Bradford, the elder, of Warmfield (70), partly because he seems to be expecting trouble from his ‘cosyn’ William Bradford, on whom he lays a heavy curse if he ‘in any wise breke my saide will’.

**Witnesses:** The names of witnesses are not always recorded in last wills; they might be different from those of the corresponding testament.

### **The probate sentence**

This records the certificate of approval added to the original will. The first part states the date on which probate was granted. Since the wills here were registered in the Prerogative Court of York, most were proved in the same place by the same official and so the name or status of that official and the place where this was done is rarely given. Exceptions include the will of John Elston (13) which was proved at Southwell before the Dean of Southwell and those of William Baron (22), William Johnson (30), Thomas Wod (54) and Edmund Greneley (77) proved before the Dean of Harthill (and Hull).

The second part of the probate sentence is the grant of administration which names the executors present and records ‘power reserved’ for those not present.<sup>82</sup> The registry clerk should have copied the whole of the probate sentence into the register but he did not always do so. For example, the will of William Wencelagh (12) has no probate clause. It is unlikely that this is because the will was not proved, since there would be no purpose in entering an unproven will in the probate register.

The preceding examples give a flavour of the variety of information available in wills. The practical, legal documents transcribed here are in fact rich mines for social historians of late-medieval England.

Thomas Hopton (26), for example, anticipates that his widow, Margaret, may take ‘the mantel and ring’, that is, take a vow of perpetual chastity, although whether this is his hope or her design we are not told. William Scargill (21) has a wife and young children, and his parents are still living: there is some uncertainty about money due to one of his daughter’s from his father. Thomas Marshall, vicar of Felixkirk (27), is anxious about the marriage of his cousin Thomas Emson: if he will accept guidance regarding his marriage

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<sup>82</sup> That is, power reserved to the court to make grant of administration to the other executor(s) when they come to ‘take it up’.



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from Thomas Dale, his co-executor, he will inherit the residue of Marshall's goods; if not, he will only receive one third.<sup>83</sup>

Some bequests of land indicate family relationships. Richard Pygot (20) has a brother, John, to whom he is heir: John holds lands and tenements that were their father's and which will pass to Richard on John's death; on Richard's death they are to pass to his son, also Richard; if he dies without issue, they are to pass to Robert Twywell, son of Margaret, the testator's sister. Other bequests suggest flaws in relationships: John Spicer (65) divides his lands divided between his sons Thomas and John. If they strive 'be twyxt theme selfe' over the bequests, or either of them 'striffe or make debate and wolnot be content', then the one that causes the strife is not to have any of the lands.

Finally we can see how items become heirlooms and are to remain in a particular house, rather than be passed to different people who live elsewhere. Two testators, John Elston (13) and Robert Adamson (17), desire certain goods to stay in a specified house and there 'abide for ever'. Indeed, Adamson bequeaths a list of items to the property itself rather than to his heir, requiring that 'All thies goodes aforesaid never to be done a waye but ever to abide upon the same mese [message] as long as they wil last and indure'. Robert Calverley (87) bequeaths to Walter Calverley 'a nutt covered and gilte so that it be an heirlome *to the house*'. James Danby (76) is already in possession of (unspecified) heirlooms at Thorp, which had passed to him from his father, and these are being left 'to myn heires as heirelomes according to my faders last will'.

The wills in this volume provide a wealth of detail on life (and death) in late-medieval northern England. Several of the great and good, including Richard III when duke of Gloucester, are mentioned here, but so too are many lowly legatees who do not appear in any other documents: in these wills they are named for posterity.

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<sup>83</sup> The executor may be the same person as the witness 'Thomas Emson parissch clerk of Felixkirk': parish clerks were not in religious orders and so could marry.

## GLOSSARY

Where spelling varies, the modern spelling is given first with the original spelling in [ ]. The online version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* has been consulted extensively, as has the Glossary in P. M. Stell, ed., *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350-1500*. Where Stell's definition is (slightly) different from the *OED*'s, Stell's has been preferred. Where the date of the first mention in the *OED*'s definition is later than the date of the will, this has been noted, e.g. (*OED* 1550). Other authorities are briefly noted; their full details appear in the Bibliography. A number in **bold** in ( ), e.g. **(10)**, refers to the will in which the word occurs.

**abett:** habit (clothing)

**abillour: (87)** probably an item of clothing

**aiglet [aglottes]:** metal tag of a lace (formerly called point), intended primarily to make it easier to thread through the eyelet-holes, but afterwards also as an ornament to the pendent ends

**almaner:** all manner

**alum [alom]:** a whitish transparent mineral salt, very astringent, used in dyeing, tawing skins, and medicine

**ambling horse:** a horse that moves in an amble, i.e. moves by lifting the two feet on one side together, alternately with the two feet on the other; hence, moves at a smooth or easy pace

**ambry, almerly [awmre, ambry, almory]:** cupboard with a door, safe, locker, for food, books, etc (Yaxley, *Researcher's Glossary*)

**aminish [amenyshe, ameniss]:** to make less, lessen, diminish

**anouement:** adornment, ornament

**apultor: (63)** *not found*; may be **avultor**, *but that cannot be found either*

**arayment:** raiment, clothing

**ark:** chest, box, coffer (*Middle English Dict.*)

**armite:** hermit

**arras [arrasse]:** a rich tapestry fabric, in which figures and scenes are woven in colours

**aught: (54)** possession; that which one possesses as his own; property

**avowmentes: (49)** the sense here seems to be endowments

**awmer:** amber

**backs [bakkes]: (63)** thickest and best tanned hides (*OED* 1535)

**bagirons [bagyrans], pair of: (72)** ornamental objects (silver and enamelled), *exact definition unknown*

**balk: (28)** a cross-beam or bar in a chimney or kiln

**balzan [balsan] [filly]: (14)** a horse with white feet (*OED* 1660)

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- banker [banquere, banneris]:** covering, of tapestry or other fabric, for a bench, couch or chair (*Middle English Dict.*)
- baren parte: (77)** ?an extra bequest to a legatee unlikely to have children
- barker:** tanner
- barkhouse [barkehouse]:** building in which bark is stored, a tan-house
- barm-pan [barne pan]:** a pan for skimming off the barm, or froth, that forms on fermenting malt (Stell)
- battle-axe:** a kind of axe used as a weapon of war in the Middle Ages
- baxster:** baker, originally the female form
- beads, pair of:** a set of rosary (*q.v.*) beads, usually with 165 beads: 15 groups of 10 small beads and 15 large beads. In (28) several pairs of beads are said to have 3 times 50 beads. The paternoster was the large bead in a rosary, usually occurring as every eleventh bead; so called from the practice of saying a *Paternoster* ('Our Father') at each large bead, and an *Ave* ('Hail Mary') at each small one. (Northeast & Falvey, '*Baldwyne*' II, 'Glossary')
- bed:** often bedding rather than the actual piece of furniture
- bedehouse [bedhouse]:** house of prayer
- bede-time [bede tyme]:** saying of prayers for the (named) dead during mass
- bedstokes: (28)** the part of a bed which supported the mattress and clothes. The sides and ends of the frame were perforated with holes, through which strong cords were drawn to form a tight net, on which was placed a woven rush mat, other mattresses and feather beds. (Milward, *Glossary*)
- bee [bei]: (79)** a ring or torque of metal, usually meant for the arm or neck
- begreved: (8)** afflicted
- behoof [behove]:** use, benefit, advantage
- bell fete patoones: (58)** ?bell-shaped *pot* feet patterns (bells do not have feet)
- bewitte:** bequeath
- big (verb) [bygged]:** to establish, reside; here (6), the testatrix is establishing an almshouse for 2 poor women
- bill, hewing:** digging implement; a mattock or pickaxe
- bill, shaving:** implement used for pruning, cutting wood, lopping trees, hedges
- bink [bynk]:** a shelf, bench or dresser
- blackshanks:** *see* shanks
- blewstone: (24)** ?sapphire
- blue:** when referring to a garment, may mean made of the fabric known as York blue (Stell)
- boardcloth [bordcloth]:** table-cloth or altar-cloth (*Middle English Dict.*)
- boar-spear [borespere]:** a spear used in boar-hunting
- bocasin [bukeasyn, bokynsyn]:** a kind of fine buckram, that resembled taffeta
- bokyll:** buckle
- bond:** Middle English 'boundell' = bundle, so (41) 'a bond lyne' is a bundle of linen; *see also* bund

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- book of bocas [boke, booke]:** book of Boccaccio, mostly likely (extracts from) *The Decameron*
- bord alexander [Borde Alissaunder]:** striped silk originating from Alexandria (Yaxley, *Researcher's Glossary*)
- brandreth:** iron framework placed over or before the fire (Stell)
- breder:** brother
- brewing lead:** leaden cooling vessel used in brewing (Milward, *Glossary*)
- brigandine [brighanders, brigonders]:** body armour of steel rings or small plates sewn on a jerkin of cloth or leather and covered with a similar material (Yaxley, *Researcher's Glossary*)
- brotherhood [broderhede]:** guild; (23) appears to refer to friars
- buckram [bokeram]:** fine linen or cotton fabric, originally made at Bokkara (Stell)
- bukskyn [buckskin]:** skin of a buck, i.e. of a male deer
- bund: (86)** bundle
- burd(e) [noun]:** board; cloth (Stell)
- burde [verb]:** board in
- burnissher, two hand; one hand: (64)** a tool for smoothing surfaces or for burnishing or polishing articles (*OED* 1598); for use with one or two hands
- butteris [butetras]:** farrier's tool for paring horse-hoofs; a paring-knife (Yaxley, *Researcher's Glossary*)
- calaber [calibre]:** squirrel fur (Stell)
- calsedones:** *see* chalcedony
- casten:** cast-off ; (87) 'casten gere' = cast-off clothing
- caunter:** *see* counter
- causey [causy]:** a series of flagstones laid down on wet or soft terrain to prevent the formation of holloways; 'causey' is derived from a Norman French word meaning 'trodden', and is not a shortening of 'causeway', which comes from a similar root (Hey, *Oxford Companion*).
- celure [selour, sellour]:** canopy covering a bed; (54) made of wood.
- chaffing pan/dish [chawfor]:** vessel for heating water (Stell)
- chalcedony [calsedones]:** a transparent or translucent semi-precious stone, a sub-variety of quartz, with a wax-like polish (Yaxley, *Researcher's Glossary*)
- chalder:** dry measure of capacity for various materials, especially coal, grain or lime (Stell)
- chalet:** chalice
- chalice:** cup used during the celebration of mass (Stell)
- chamlet:** name originally applied to some beautiful and costly eastern fabric; 'a light stuff, formerly much used for female apparel, made of long wool, hard spun, sometimes mixed in the loom with cotton or linen yarn' (Ure, quoted in *OED*)

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- charger [chargeour]:** large plate for a joint of meat (Stell)
- chawfor: (41),** *see* chaffing pan/dish
- chevalier [chevaler]:** horseman; esp. a mounted soldier, a knight
- church stile:** stile at the entrance to a churchyard
- chyne:** chain (Stell)
- cierge:** *see* serge
- cleuse hammer: (64)** *not found*
- cloz:** cloth, cloths
- coaction:** compulsion, constraint, coercion
- cod:** purse, scrip; pillow, cushion; here (32) could be either type of item
- cognizance [connysauce]:** device or mark by which a person, company, etc., is known or distinguished, as a crest, heraldic bearing, coat of arms, etc.; a badge; specifically in heraldry, a device or emblem borne for distinction by all the retainers of a noble house, whether they bore ‘arms’ or not.
- collect [collet]:** a prayer; strictly the prayer in office for the Eucharist which precedes the epistle, then generally, a short prayer which includes invocation, petitions and ascription of glory (Purvis, *Dictionary*)
- commendation:** an office originally ending with the prayer ‘*Tibi, Domine, commendamus*’, in which the souls of the dead were commended to God; said both before their burial, and in anniversary or commemorative services
- conable:** a phonetic reduction of ‘covenable’; proper, due, convenient, suitable, competent
- Confiteor:** a form of prayer, or confession of sins (‘*Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti*’, ‘I confess to Almighty God’) used in the Latin Church at the beginning of the mass, in the sacrament of penance, and on other occasions
- convent:** company of men or women living together in the discipline of a religious order and under one superior; a body of monks, friars, or nuns forming one local community
- cope: (44)** cup
- corchiff:** *see* kerchief
- corse: (25)** corpse
- corse:** ribbon or band of silk (or other material), serving as a ground for ornamentation with metalwork or embroidery, used as a girdle, garter, etc
- corse-present [corsepresent]:** customary gift due to the clergy from the chattels of a householder at his death and burial; same as mortuary
- corveser:** shoemaker
- costhyns:** cushions
- couched work:** embroidered with gold thread or the like laid flat on the surface
- counter [caunter, countour]:** desk or table at which accounts etc. could be drawn up (Stell)
- counterfeit [counterfete]:** made to a pattern, fashioned, wrought (Stell)

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- coup:** (67) a box cart; a tilting cart with closed sides used for lime or manure (Stell)
- crake foute:** (64) ‘crake’ = crow (*OED*; northern dialect), so perhaps a mould or stand shaped like a crow’s foot
- crappet, fur of:** ?rabbit fur
- cross days [crosse dayes]:** at Beverley, Cross Monday, the Monday in Rogationtide, was one of the two ceremonial high points in the year for the guilds of the town, the other being Corpus Christi. (See *VCH County of York, East Riding*, vol. 6, pp.42-49)
- cruets [crowettes]:** vessels to hold the wine and water for mass (Watkin, *Inventory of Church Goods*)
- daker:** see dicker. (63) **a daker of apultor bakkes:** a dicker of [---] high quality skins
- dalk [dalke]:** pin, brooch, clasp, buckle
- damask:** rich silk fabric woven with elaborate designs and figures, often of a variety of colours
- damysyn:** (86) either, of damask; or, damson-coloured
- De profundis:** Psalm 129, used in the Office of the Dead, which commences ‘*De profundis clamavi ad te Domine: Domine exaudi vocem meam*’ (‘From the depths I have cried to thee O Lord: Lord hear my voice’)
- demenaunce:** demeanour, behaviour
- depute:** consign, deliver over
- diaper:** fabric having repeated patterns of figures or geometrical designs; garment or cloth of this fabric (*Middle English Dict.*)
- dicker [daker]:** half a score, i.e. 10; specifically a package or lot of (ten) hides
- dight [dyght]:** (41) suitable, necessary, useful
- dirige [derige]:** origin of the English word ‘dirge’; the matins of the office of the dead, said in church after the corpse had been brought in and before the requiem mass; so called from the antiphon with which it began, ‘*Dirige domine deus*’ (‘Direct O Lord God’).
- don':** see dun
- doubler:** large dish or bowl made of either wood or pewter (Stell)
- dowtenotte:** doubt not
- drawere:** an instrument, tool, or agent for drawing; an extractor. Here (23), the testator may be a farrier.
- dun [don']:** of a dull or dingy brown colour
- dyght:** see dight
- emanges:** amongst
- eme [eame]:** uncle; friend, gossip
- ensens:** incense
- erthe burde:** (64) *not found*; a ?board of some kind
- every:** (24) ivory

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- falden, faldyng:** a mantle or cloak of coarse woollen cloth; a folding table (Stell)
- farm:** a fixed yearly amount (whether in money or in kind) payable as rent, tax, or the like (as opposed to a rent, tax, etc., of variable amount, *e.g.* one calculated at a certain proportion of the produce)
- farryd:** *see* furred
- farthing bread: (58)** loaf of bread that cost a farthing (a quarter of a penny)
- fat [fatte]:** vat
- fat borde: (17)** either thick board or board for vat
- featherbed:** mattress stuffed with feathers (Milward, *Glossary*)
- feches:** *see* fitchew
- felle: (18)** filly
- ferme:** *see* farm
- ferr house: (64)** perhaps from *ferrum* (iron), so iron house, foundry; or possibly fire house, furnace
- filly:** young mare
- firine: (86)** probably meaning ‘of fir; of spruce’
- fitchew [feches]:** the fur or hair of a polecat
- flowrdelices:** fleur-de-lis
- folower: (37)** foal
- form: (23)** a mould or ‘shape’; an implement on which anything is shaped or fashioned (*OED* 1653 but seems to fit)
- form:** a long seat without a back, a bench
- founder:** one who founds or establishes (an institution) with an endowment for its perpetual maintenance
- founderer:** skilled metal-worker
- fournes:** fire; furnace
- franchise [fraunches]: (31)** jurisdiction of the city of York
- frellis: (64)** *not found*
- frende:** a kind of cloak (Jacob, *Register*, ‘Glossary’)
- fresshwald:** threshold
- friars, four orders of:** Friars Minor or Franciscans, Friars Preachers or Dominicans, Carmelite Friars and Augustinian or Austin Friars (see Northeast & Falvey, ‘*Baldwyne*’ II, p. lx)
- friezed [fresed]:** (of cloth) embroidered or otherwise adorned with patterns in gold; or, having a nap. (*OED*; both definitions from sixteenth century)
- frontlet:** ornament or band worn on the forehead
- furred [farryd]:** made of fur, lined or trimmed with fur; **(41)** trimmed with [something]
- fustian [fusteanes]:** cloth with linen warp and cotton weft (Stell)
- gallows, iron [yryn galews]:** iron frame used to suspend pots over the fire (Stell)

## GLOSSARY

- gar: (37)** ‘gar make an ymage’ = ‘cause an image to be made’ (as in Scots ‘gar me greet’, meaning ‘make me cry’) (*ex info*. Tig Lang)
- garn(e):** yarn (Stell)
- garnish:** set of dishes (usually 12) (Halliwell, *Dictionary*)
- garth:** small piece of enclosed ground, usually beside a house or other building, used as a yard, garden, or paddock
- gate [gayt]: (89)** a street; frequent in street-names of northern and midland towns
- gaud:** the large bead of the rosary, representing a Paternoster
- gauded:** with beads
- gile house:** brewhouse (Milward, *Glossary*)
- god barnes:** godchildren
- gorget [gorgett]:** piece of armour for the throat
- gossip:** familiar acquaintance, friend, chum; formerly applied to both sexes
- grater: (64)** an instrument with a rough indented surface used for grating or rasping, perhaps here a file
- graundame:** grandmother
- grece: (80)** step
- green:** (of gown or fabric) Lincoln green (Stell)
- grizzled [griselde]:** of grey colour, grey, grizzled; formerly also (of a horse), roan
- grysse croft:** grass croft, i.e. pasture
- hack hammer (hak): (64)** a specialist hammer, presumably with a chisel type blade on one end
- halding swyne: (60)** ‘halding’ is a participle of the verb ‘to hold’, meaning ‘To keep watch over, keep in charge, herd, ‘keep’ (sheep, etc.) (*OED*); so perhaps here it means a domestic pig.
- halling:** tapestry or plain cloth (Stell)
- harden [hardyn]:** coarse linen made of ‘hards’, the hard fibres of hemp and flax (Yaxley, *Researcher’s Glossary*)
- harnessed [harnest]:** decorated
- herse:** metal or wooden structure for supporting cloths, candles, statues, etc., placed over the corpse in church during a funeral
- heyde: (41)** type of fabric or clothing, or perhaps hide
- hingle, iron:** part of support for hanging a pot over the fire (Stell)
- hoill:** whole
- hukes: (64)** hooks; a ‘huke’ is also an outer garment, a cloak with a hood, but not in this context
- hustlements:** furniture, goods (Stell)
- hye where: (31)** high choir
- hyngyng:** hanging
- ichone:** each



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- iewell:** jewel
- ilkone:** each
- in grane:** dyed
- inamyld [enamelled]:** inlaid or encrusted
- iniuncture: (36)** *see* jointure
- jack [jak]:** short close-fitting gown (Stell)
- jekkry: (19)** ‘jekkry goune’; perhaps ‘checkery’, meaning ‘chequered, checked’ (*OED*)
- jointure:** the holding of property to the joint use of a husband and wife for life or in tail, as a provision for the latter, in the event of her widowhood
- kelpyd: (9)**, kelp = iron hook in the chimney for hanging pots (*OED*); kilp = detachable handle of a pot (*OED*); perhaps ‘kelpyd pan’ = pan with a detachable handle.
- kerchief [corchiff]:** cloth used to cover the head, formerly a woman's head-dress
- kidcotes [kytcottes]:** name for the municipal prisons in York, first used in 1278-8. (*VCH County of York, City of York*, p.491)
- kiln-haire [kylne heire]: (17)** kiln-cloth made of hair cloth: coarse open fabric made from horse hair, and used for drying malt over a kiln (*Milward, Glossary*)
- kirk maister:** churchwarden
- kirk:** church
- kirkgrave:** churchwarden. ‘grave’ = steward, a person placed in charge of property
- kirtle:** garment for men or boys varying as to length, shape and materials, usually worn as outer garment; garment for women or girls, often outer garment, sometimes worn over smock (*Middle English Dict.*)
- kist [kiste]:** chest, box, coffer
- kit:** wooden vessel made of hooped staves (Stell)
- knell [knyll]:** sound made by a bell when struck or rung, especially the sound of a bell rung slowly and solemnly, as immediately after a death or at a funeral
- knop [knope]:** small rounded protuberance, a knob (especially one of an ornamental character, e.g. upon the stem of a chalice, a candlestick, etc.)
- kow:** cow
- kyrechew:** kerchief *q.v.*
- kytting knife: (23)** ‘kyt’ and ‘kit’ are forms of ‘cut’ (*OED*); so perhaps ‘cutting knife’
- langel:** necklace, pendant (Yaxley, *Researcher's Glossary*)
- lathe:** barn; cow-house (Stell)
- lathe [lathis; leyth]: (58), (64)** a ‘machine for turning wood, metal, ivory, etc., in which the article to be turned is held in a horizontal position by means of

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adjustable centres and rotated against the tools with which it is cut to the required shape' (*OED* 1611, but seems feasible)

- lathe hammer: (64)** perhaps hammer for working metal while it is on the lathe
- latten:** mixed metal of yellow colour, either identical with, or closely resembling, brass
- latting axe [lat ax]:** used for splitting wood for laths (Milward, *Glossary*)
- laver:** vessel for washing (Stell)
- lawn [lamyn]:** kind of fine linen, resembling cambric
- lees:** pasture; pasturage; meadow-land; common
- levacion tyme:** time of the elevation of the host during mass
- leveray:** livery
- liard:** small coin formerly current in France, of the value of the fourth part of a sou; hence, typically, a coin of small value
- liflode, lyvelod:** revenue; income
- lige:** to lie; to be in a prostrate or recumbent position
- litsterhouse:** 'litster' = dyer, so dye-house
- lyn:** linen; line = the fibre of flax
- maison dieu [masindeux]:** home for the poor
- malison:** a curse, a malediction
- mandrel [mawndrellis]: (64)** a cylindrical rod round which metal or other material is forged, cast, moulded, or otherwise shaped (*OED* 1554)
- mans taile:** *see* taile, in mans
- mantle [mantel] and ring:** the garment and ring assumed by a widow or wife as a symbolic expression of her vow of perpetual chastity made before a bishop
- martiloge [martilege]:** list or register of martyred saints, sometimes with an account of their lives; a book containing this information; also, the burial register of a cathedral or religious community
- mash vat [maskfattes]:** vat in which an infusion of malt and boiling water was made in the first stage of brewing (Milward, *Glossary*)
- mazer [maser]:** bowl or drinking cup without a foot (Stell)
- meat cloth [metecloth, met cloth]:** tablecloth
- melting house: (64)** building in which metal is melted
- mese, messuage [mece, messe]:** a house-site and the land belonging to it (Northeast & Falvey, *'Baldwyne' II*, 'Glossary')
- mete board:** board for meat or food
- mickle [mekill]:** a great quantity or amount; a great deal. **(48)** = 'any more of'; **(58)** = 'as much'.
- minish:** diminish, *but see also* mynyshynge
- mortuary:** customary gift formerly claimed by the incumbent of a parish from the estate of a deceased parishioner
- murrey [murray]:** cloth of mulberry or purple-red colour (Stell)

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- musterdevillers [musterdevelis]:** woollen cloth, originally from Montivilliers in Normandy, usually of a mixed grey colour (*Middle English Dict.*)
- mynyshynge: (73)** completing
- necked [nekked]:** with a neck
- noble:** English gold coin first minted by Edward III, usually valued at 6s. 8d.
- nonage:** state of being under full legal age; minority, youth
- nutte:** cup made from a coconut shell mounted in metal; also, one made of other materials to resemble this
- office, divine:** the prayers to be recited of obligation by all priests, religious and clerks personally (Purvis, *Dictionary*)
- ook, ookkes:** ?oak, oaks
- ordinal:** manual containing instructions to a priest for the office (*q.v.*) and its variations in the ecclesiastical year (Purvis, *Dictionary*)
- oxgang:** measure of land formerly in use in parts of northern England and Scotland, equivalent to an eighth of a carucate; so called because a carucate was the amount of land that could be ploughed by a team of eight oxen in a year.
- pamphlet [pampelet]:** short handwritten work or document of several pages fastened together; a handwritten poem, tract, or treatise. Here (73), a codicil to the will.
- parclose:** partition or screen (Stell)
- paten:** shallow dish for holding the bread during mass (Stell)
- patener: (23)** one who makes patens; or, one who makes patterns.
- pattern [patoone]: (58)** figure in wood or metal from which a mould is made for casting (Stell)
- pechis:** pieces
- pendant [pennand]:** ornamental fringe
- piercer [persour]:** gimlet
- placebo:** the vespers of the office of the dead, said in church or the deceased's house in the evening before the burial; so called from the antiphon with which it began, '*Placebo domino*, etc'
- plaincloth:** cloth without embroidery or embellishment
- plunket [plonkett]:** type of woollen fabric, usually of a grey or light blue colour
- portasse [pottous]:** a breviary, a prayer book containing the daily offices, or services, in one volume
- posnet [postnet]:** small metal pot for boiling with a handle and three feet (Stell)
- post communion: (2)** the last part of the Eucharist, which follows the priest's communion (Purvis, *Dictionary*)
- pottle pot [potell]:** small pot or measure holding two quarts i.e. half a gallon
- pounced [powned]:** of metalwork: embossed or chased for decoration

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**pressour:** clothes press or cupboard (Stell)

**pruce:** *see* spruce

**pruk, yryn: (41)** ?weapon of some kind

**puke:** superior kind of woollen cloth used for making garments, gowns, hose

**pure:** poor

**purfelled:** to purfle = to decorate with a purfle; to adorn (a garment) with a border of threadwork or embroidery; to trim with gold or silver lace, precious stones, pearls, fur, etc.

**pyx:** vessel or box in which the consecrated bread of the Eucharist is kept

**queare:** choir

**quern:** small hand-mill (Stell)

**quey stirk [whye styrk]:** a young cow, usually between one and two years old

**quey, quy [qwhie, whye]:** a heifer up to three years old, or until she has calved (Stell)

**quidene:** the fifteenth day after any feast, including the actual day of the feast in the reckoning

**qwgeder:** whichever

**qwhet:** wheat

**qwhit:** white

**qwisshyns:** cushions

**rakke: (41)** bars of iron to support a cooking utensil (Stell)

**rakkes, rakkys: (89)** rakes. 'Until the sixteenth century the rake was probably an all-wood implement, used mainly for gathering corn, hay, etc. together. The head was 2-3 feet wide, braced against the shaft, and with long wooden teeth, sometimes projecting on both sides of the head.' (Yaxley, *Researcher's Glossary*)

**rasour:** razor

**raye:** striped (of cloth)

**refute:** (noun) shelter or protection from trouble or danger

**rejoice [reioise, reiose]: (73)** enjoy the benefit of possessing

**remmeland:** remnant of cloth

**remored:** remembered

**reversed:** (of fabric in a garment) lined, or faced with

**revestry [revestre]:** vestry or sacristy of a church

**rewill [rewle]:** good order and discipline

**rifte wud: (7)** perhaps felled wood

**roan [royn', royne]:** soft flexible leather prepared from sheepskin

**rood [rude]:** a crucifix, especially one positioned above the middle of a rood screen of a church or on a beam over the entrance to the chancel

**rosary:** a form of prayer involving the recitation of fifteen decades of 'Hail Mary', each decade being preceded by the Lord's Prayer, and followed by the *Gloria Patri*. A string of 165 beads for counting out the prayer was also

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known as a 'rosary': 150 beads for the 'Hail Mary' and 15 for the Lord's Prayer. (Barnwell, et al., *Mass and Parish*, p.212)

**royal [roialle]:** English gold coin, originally of the value of ten shillings

**russet:** coarse woollen cloth of reddish-brown, grey or neutral colour, formerly used for the dress of peasants and country-folk

**salet:** form of basinet, a fifteenth-century helmet

**sanguine [sanguyn]:** blood-coloured

**scummer [scomer]:** flat ladle, often perforated, for skimming liquids (Yaxley, *Researcher's Glossary*)

**scute:** English name for the French coin called écu

**secret (prayer): (2)** an offertory prayer said silently before the preface in the Eucharist (Purvis, *Dictionary*)

**see kyst: (28)** perhaps, sea chest; or chest to sit on

**selion [selyond]:** usually a strip of land in the common fields, but here **(36)**, it is used as a measurement of land in a croft

**selour, sellour:** *see* celure

**serge, cierge [sergys, sergesse]:** wax candle or taper, especially a large wax candle used in religious ceremonies

**settle [settel]:** chair, bench, stool, or the like

**shafing knife: (64)** shaving knife

**shanks, black:** shanks = kind of fur obtained from the legs of animals, especially kids, goats or sheep, used for trimming outer garments

**sharte:** shirt

**shepe leder:** sheep leather; **(47)** perhaps sheepskin.

**shifted [schyftyd]:** shift = to apportion, distribute; to separate into shares, divide

**shone: (88)** shoes

**side [syde]:** large, ample, spacious, extensive

**signet:** seal; signet ring

**skist:** shared; split

**smallware [smale ware]:** ephemeral items.

**solez: (24)** perhaps 'soils', where 'soil' = piece or stretch of ground; a place or site

**sored:** (of horses) sorrel; of a bright chestnut colour; reddish brown

**splints [splentes]:** plates or strips of overlapping armour, for example for the elbows (Stell)

**spruce:** from Prussia (Spruce-land), usually referring to wood

**stag:** any male animal in its prime, including deer, horses, bulls, boars, hogs and rams (Stell)

**stamped [stawmped]: (6)** referring to a piece of plate: *exact meaning unknown* (date of first *OED* reference for stamped metalwork is much later)

**stened:** stained; coloured

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- stepe fates:** steeping vats
- stert [sterk]: (28)** handle
- stevened:** embroidered (Stell)
- steynkill: (61)** perhaps ‘standell’: a tub or barrel (Stell)
- stirk [styrk]:** bullock between 1 and 2 years old (Stell)
- stot[t] [stothis]:** (in northern counties) a steer, a young castrated ox
- stud: (80)** referring to person, stud-herd: the servant in charge of a stud (*OED* reference is from Fountains abbey)
- sty [stie, stye]:** ladder
- surplice [surples, surplesse]:** loose linen clerical garment, reaching right down to the feet, with very large sleeves cut so that the openings hung down vertically, and ample material gathered in at the neck (Watkin, *Inventory*)
- surviour:** surveyor; supervisor
- sygthis:** sight, oversight
- table: (24)** board or other flat surface on which a picture is painted; the picture itself
- taile, in mans: (70)** shape, fashion, bodily form or appearance (obscure, rare; *OED* 1300 and 1325); perhaps here male servants who are fully grown
- tangs, payr:** pair of tongs
- tapet [tapett]:** piece of figured cloth used as a hanging, table-cover, carpet, or the like
- tavern: (17)** shop or workshop attached to or under a dwelling-house
- tawny:** composite colour, consisting of brown with a preponderance of yellow or orange; but formerly applied also to other shades of brown
- teme [temmys]:** set of harness or chains for oxen or horses, or a bridle (Stell)
- tenour:** tenure
- teynd[es]:** tenth part (of anything); a tenth; so, tithes
- thixtell [thixill]:** adze (Milward, *Glossary*)
- tippet [typpet]:** long narrow slip of cloth or hanging part of dress, formerly worn either attached to and forming part of the hood, head-dress or sleeve, or loose, as a scarf or the like
- tissue [tusshew]:** band or girdle of rich stuff
- Toftes, friars of the:** the Black Friars of York, whose house originally stood in the Kings-tofts just within the city ditch, on the south bank of the Ouse (*VCH Yorks*, vol. 3, *Religious Houses*, p.283)
- torcos:** turquoise
- trawn: (88)** perhaps a version of ‘treen’ i.e. wooden, as this is describing a chair; or ‘thrown’, meaning ‘turned on a lathe’ (Stell)
- trayne gown:** gown with a train; ‘train’ = elongated back of a robe or skirt, or a separate long piece of material attached at the back of formal dress, which trails behind on the ground

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- treinelyn:** (17) Stell has 'trynellyn' and says 'possibly a trindle, a wooden tub for brewing'
- trental (of St Gregory):** set of 30 masses, which could be celebrated over a period of time or all on one day; in a trental of St Gregory, the masses had to be celebrated at certain specified festivals. (Duffy, *Stripping*, pp.293-4.)
- trestles [trisles]:** support for something, consisting of a short horizontal beam or bar with diverging legs, usually two at each end; esp. one of a pair or set used to support a board so as to form a table
- trispus:** trespass
- tufts [tuftes]:** cloth with the nap left on (Stell)
- tup:** male sheep, ram
- twill:** woven fabric characterized by parallel diagonal ridges or ribs, produced by causing the weft threads to pass over one and under two or more threads of the warp, instead of over and under in regular succession, as in plain weaving
- unction:** extreme unction: 'a sacrament in which the sick in danger of death are anointed by a priest for the health of soul and body, the anointing being accompanied by a set form of words' (*Catholic Dictionary*)
- upholder:** dealer in small wares or second-hand articles (of clothing, furniture, etc.); a maker or repairer of such things
- utas:** octaves. In the Christian church, the seventh day after a festival (this being the eighth day when counted inclusively, following ancient Roman practice); (hence) the period of eight days beginning with the day of a festival.
- vestment:** (clerical): special garments worn by the priest when celebrating mass, as follows (in the order in which they are put on): **amice:** white linen garment worn in the manner of a hood and secured by tapes or strings passing round the shoulders; **alb:** white linen garment with sleeves, covering the whole figure; **stole:** long narrow strip of coloured fabric, hung from the neck and reaching nearly down to the feet; **girdle:** twisted cord or narrow sash which gathered the folds of the alb round the waist; **maniple:** narrow strip of coloured material worn on the left arm and reaching to the knees; **chasuble:** large conical garment, covering the whole figure from the neck to below the knees. The **deacon** wore a **dalmatic** (a tunic with wide sleeves, reaching to below the knees) instead of a chasuble, while the **subdeacon** wore a tunic (similar to the dalmatic) instead of the chasuble and stole. (Watkin, *Inventory*)
- vestment:** (not clerical): garment or article of clothing, especially one of the nature of a robe or gown
- voyage [viage]:** journey or expedition undertaken with a military purpose; a warlike enterprise or undertaking; march against an enemy
- wain [wayne, wayn]:** large open cart with four wheels for heavy loads (Stell)

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- wainscot [waynsco(t)te]:** superior quality of foreign oak imported from Russia, Germany, and Holland, chiefly used for fine panel-work; logs or planks of this oak; oak boarding for panel-work
- waire and werth:** goods to the value of
- waulk mill [walke myln]:** mill for fulling cloth
- weal [weill, wele]:** welfare, well-being, happiness, prosperity
- wether [wedder]:** castrated male sheep
- weyball of iron:** iron weight for scales
- where:** choir
- whilk:** which (from hwylc) (*OED*)
- whisshins:** cushions
- white:** silver (Yaxley, *Researcher's Glossary*)
- why[e]:** *see* quy
- whyk:** quick; living
- wimble [womble]:** gimlet
- win [wonnys, wonnyd]:** dwell, reside in
- witt:** bequeath
- witword:** testament
- working irons [wirking irenes]:** tools
- works of mercy, seven:** the seven corporal works of mercy; taken from Matthew 25:35–37 and Tobit 12:12. Feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, visiting the sick, relieving the prisoner, housing the stranger, burying the dead. (*OED*; *see* Duffy, *Stripping*, pp.357-8)
- wort lead [wort leyde]:** large pot, caldron or kettle where malt was infused (Stell)
- worvin: (86) ?woven**
- yeoman [yoman]: (40)** a man holding a small landed estate; a freeholder under the rank of a gentleman; hence *vaguely*, a commoner or countryman of respectable standing, *especially* one who cultivates his own land. **(75)** servant or attendant in a royal or noble household, usually of a superior grade, ranking between a sergeant and a groom, or between a squire and a page.
- yowe:** ewe
- yren:** iron



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- Yaxley, D., ed., *A Researcher's Glossary of words found in historical documents of East Anglia* (Dereham, 2003)

## EDITORIAL PROCEDURES

\ word /	an insertion, usually in the same hand as the main text
<del>word</del>	a word or phrase deleted
?word	an uncertain reading
[illeg.]	illegible word or group of letters
capitals	changed to lower case except in proper names
Mr	silently expanded to Master
y (thorn)	silently expanded to th
Xpo	silently expanded to Christ as in Christ, Corpus Christi, Christofer, Christopher
3 (yogh)	silently expanded to y or g depending on sense
<b>(1)</b>	bold number in round brackets refers to will number in this volume
dating	the year is taken to begin on 1 January; dates between 1 January and 24 March inclusive have double dating for the year (e.g. 23 February 1486/70)

## TESTATORS IN THIS VOLUME

- 1 Robert Marler of York
- 2 Richard Peke, priest of Kingston-upon-Hull
- 3 Robert Inglissh of Nottingham
- 4 Richard Hamerton, knight
- 5 Christopher Horbury of Wakefield
- 6 Dame Alice Nevile, widow
- 7 Henry Eure, esquire of Old Malton
- 8 John Pilkington, knight
- 9 Janet Candell, or Caudell, widow of the parish of St Sampson, York
- 10 Isabel Grymston, widow of Flinton
- 11 Christopher Barton, esquire of Quenby in the parish of Hungarton (Leics)
- 12 William Wencelagh, gentleman of Brandesborton in Holderness
- 13 John Elston, parson of Shelton (Notts)
- 14 John Makeblith of Healaugh
- 15 Isabel Makeblith, widow of John, of Healaugh
- 16 Harry Sayvell, yeoman of the king's chamber
- 17 Robert Adamson, barker of Doncaster
- 18 Baldwin Young, gentleman of Saxton
- 19 Robert Kirton of Crathorne
- 20 Richard Pygot
- 21 William Scargill, esquire of Lead
- 22 William Baron, draper of Kingston-upon-Hull
- 23 Thomas Knelly of the parish of St Cuthbert, York
- 24 Dame Margaret Pygot
- 25 Alice Thwates, widow and advowess
- 26 Thomas Hopton, esquire of Swillington
- 27 Thomas Marshall, vicar of Felixkirk
- 28 Isabel Wilton, widow of Hull
- 29 Guy Malyerd, mercer of Beverley
- 30 William Johnson of Lockington
- 31 John Carre, former mayor of York
- 32 Johannet Holme, widow of Monkgate, York
- 33 Hugh Hastings, knight
- 34 Ralph Gascoigne, esquire of Burnby
- 35 Richard Milneron of Hekburgh in the parish of Kellington
- 36 John Warthell alias Ratclyff, gentleman
- 37 Dame Jane Boynton of Yarm
- 38 William Thorneton, gentleman of York
- 39 Richard Estwod, baxter of Colliergate, York
- 40 Thomas Dale, yeoman of Felixkirk

## TESTATORS

- 41 Ellen Johnson, widow of Beverley
- 42 Miles Metcalfe, gentleman of York
- 43 William Aukeland of the parish of St Denis, York
- 44 John Constable, knight
- 45 William Akers, priest
- 46 Margaret Stokdale, widow of Scarborough
- 47 Robert Pott of Ripon
- 48 Oliver Agland of Wakefield
- 49 Richard Manchester, gentleman of the parish of St Edward in the suburbs of York
- 50 Edmund Copyndale, merchant of Kingston-upon-Hull
- 51 John Holme, gentleman of Huntington
- 52 John Rothelay
- 53 Thomas Crathorn, rector of Crathorne
- 54 Thomas Wod, draper and alderman of Kingston-upon-Hull
- 55 Juliane Clerkson
- 56 Laurence Swattok, apothecary of Kingston-upon-Hull
- 57 John Kendale, weaver of the parish of St Sampson, York
- 58 John Broune, founderer of the parish St Helen in Stonegate, York
- 59 Robert Saltmerssh, esquire of [East] Cottingwith
- 60 John Bowmer of Acaster Malbis
- 61 John Beseby, the elder, merchant
- 62 William Akers of the parish of St Martin, Conyng Street, York
- 63 John Londisdale, tanner
- 64 William Wynter, founderer of the parish of St Helen in Stonegate, York
- 65 John Spicer, merchant and alderman of Kingston-upon-Hull
- 66 John Banes of Monkgate, York
- 67 Martyn of the See, knight of Barmston in Holderness
- 68 Richard Milner of Topcliff
- 69 Agnes Witham, widow of Cornborough
- 70 John Bradford, the elder of Warmfield
- 71 John Bone, merchant of Doncaster [and Bordeaux]
- 72 Dame Marjory Salavyn, widow of York
- 73 John Dalton, merchant of Kingston-upon-Hull
- 74 Robert Malleverer, esquire
- 75 Thomas Markenfeld, knight [of Markenfeld]
- 76 James Danby, knight
- 77 Edmund Greneley, merchant of Kingston-upon-Hull
- 78 William Came of Newark (Notts)
- 79 Robert Kirke of the parish of St Maurice, York
- 80 Nicholas Conyers, gentleman of Stokesley
- 81 George Blanatt

## TESTATORS

- 82 Robert Johnson, grocer and alderman
- 83 John Lepton
- 84 Ralph Constable, esquire of Burton Constable in the parish of Halsham
- 85 Margaret Barwick/Berwik of Bulcote (Notts)
- 86 Katherine Sage, widow of Scarborough
- 87 Robert Calverley, the elder, esquire of Calverley
- 88 William Burton, vicar of Wighill
- 89 John Leeston of Tickhill