

SECULAR PIETY AND RELIGIOUS  
LIFE IN LINCOLNSHIRE BETWEEN  
1480 and 1536 : PRACTICAL  
MANIFESTATIONS OF RELIGIOUS  
PIETY, THE REFORMATION AND  
EARLY TUDOR GOVERNMENT

*'...let them learn to show piety at home...'*

I Timothy Chapter 5 verse 4

Submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the University of Leicester

John R Ketteringham, B.A., M.Phil.

1994

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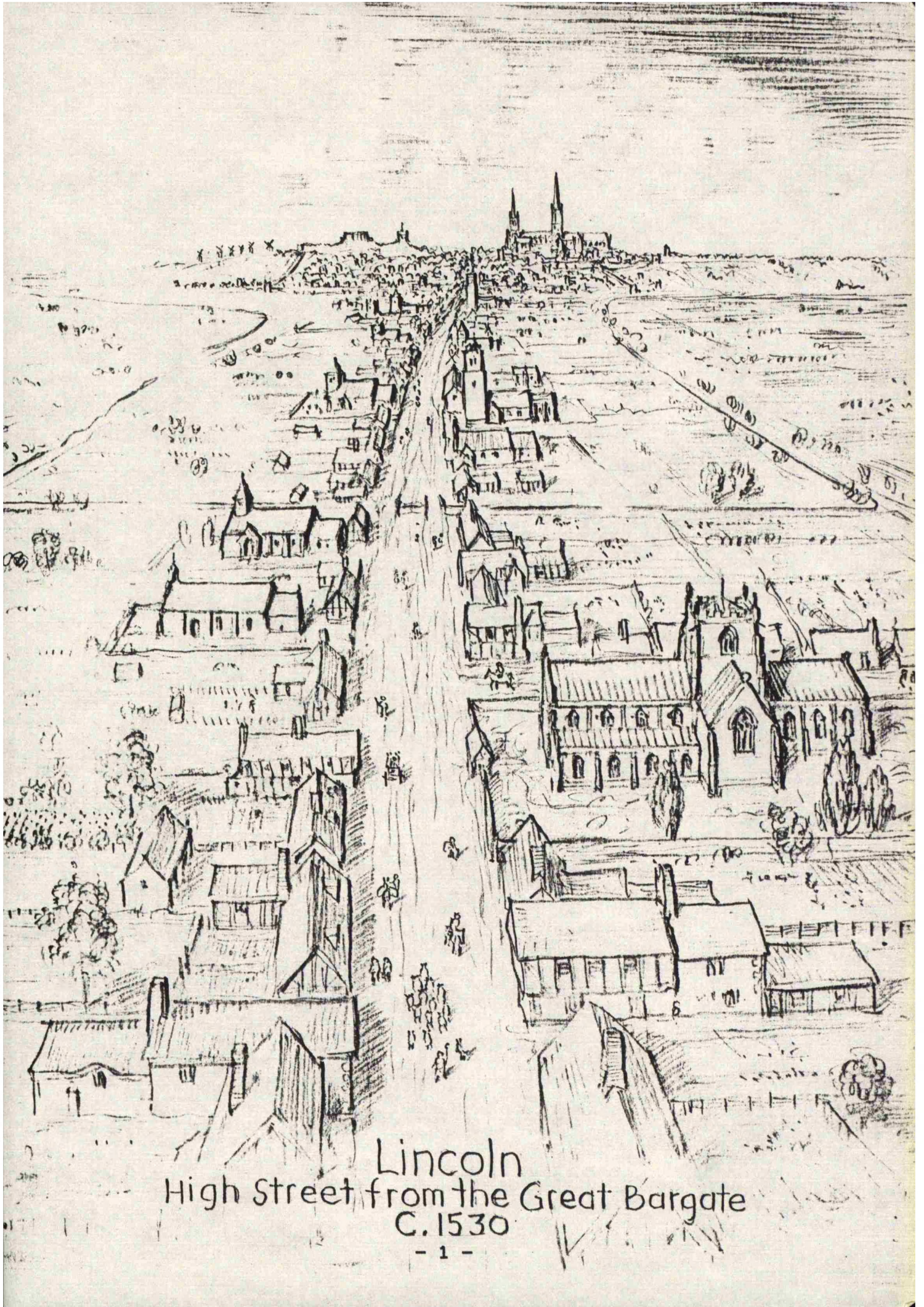
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Lincoln  
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C. 1530

## CONTENTS

	Page
MAPS	4.
ILLUSTRATIONS	4.
TABLES	5.
ABBREVIATIONS	14.
GLOSSARY	16.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	18.
INTRODUCTION	21.
I THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY TUDOR ENVIRONMENT	32.
ANNEX : STEWARDS FOR ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY IN LINCOLNSHIRE	58.
II CHURCH AND LAITY : THE INFLUENCING OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF	64.
ANNEX A : THE CHESTER PLAYS	104.
ANNEX B : THE LINCOLN MYSTERY PLAYS	106.
III AN ANALYSIS OF SECULAR WILLS	117.
IV THE INFLUENCING OF BEQUESTS IN SECULAR WILLS	180.
V THE FINANCING OF CHURCH BUILDING, MAINTENANCE AND ORNAMENTATION	207.
VI EARLY TUDOR GOVERNMENT, LOCAL PIETY AND THE LINCOLNSHIRE RISING 1536	232.
ANNEX A : COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED ON 3 SEPTEMBER 1534 TO ASSESS ECCLESIASTICAL INCOME FOR LINCOLNSHIRE	277.
ANNEX B : EXECUTIONS RESULTING FROM THE LINCOLNSHIRE RISING OF 1536	278.

	Page.
VII CONCLUSION : PIETY OR INSURANCE?	280.
APPENDIX A Probate Courts	297.
APPENDIX B The Fabric Fund of Lincoln Cathedral	301.
APPENDIX C Church Building, Maintenance, Furnishing and Ornamentation	341.
APPENDIX D Participants and Supporters Lincolnshire Rising 1536	356.
BIBLIOGRAPHY	367.

### MAPS

1. Parish Map of Lincolnshire and Key.	7.
2. Medieval Wapentakes in Lincolnshire.	20.
3. Major Roads in Lincolnshire in the Middle Ages.	30.
4. Navigable Rivers in the Middle Ages.	31.
5. The Agricultural Regions of Lincolnshire.	62.
6. Maritime Trade and Fishing in the Middle Ages.	63.

### ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Lincoln c.1530.	1.
2. Wall Paintings in Friskney Parish Church :	
The Last Supper	114.
The Resurrection and the Ascension	115.
The Gathering of the Manna	116.
3. Churches, Priors and Abbeys of the Witham Valley.	179.
4. Leake and Leverton Parish Churches.	206.
5. St. James' Church, Louth c.1515.	231.

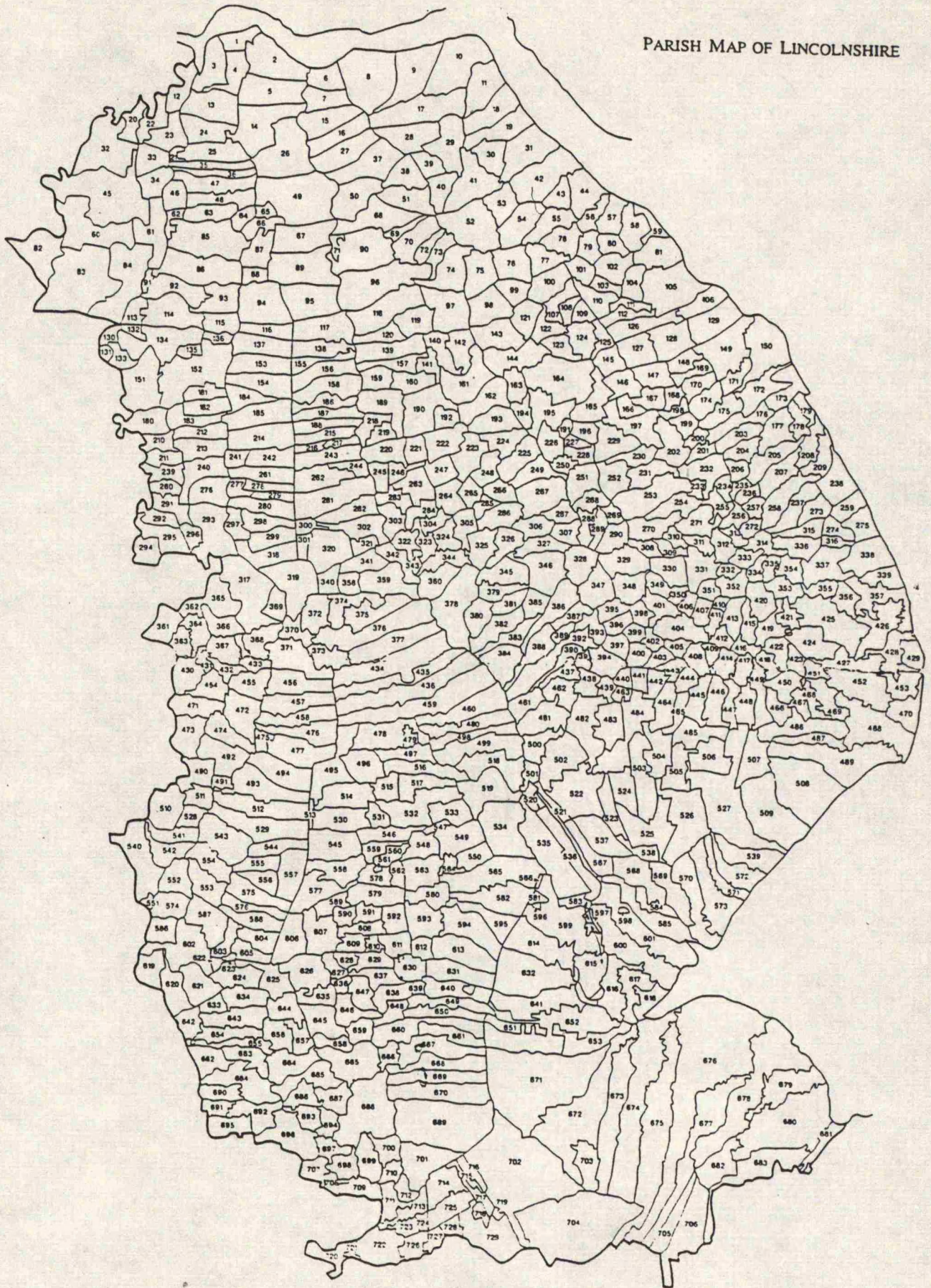
## TABLES

	Page
1. Centres of Population.	41.
2. Sacks of Wool in the Boston Wool Fleet.	44.
3. The Personal Wealth of Lincolnshire Farmers.	48.
4. Baptisimal Names.	84.
5. Dedications of Lincolnshire Churches.	86.
6. Receipts at the opening of the Shrine of St Hugh's Head in Lincoln Cathedral.	92.
7. The Income of Stipendiary Priests.	95.
8. Bequests in Secular Wills 1480-1536.	117.
9. Bequests of soul in Secular Wills.	123.
10. The Place of Burial.	126.
11. The cost of burial in Church.	129.
12. Relationship between place of burial and occupation or status.	130.
13. Type of Commemorative Mass.	135.
14. Amounts bequeathed for 'Tithes forgotten'.	144.
15. Bequests to the Religious Houses.	160.
16. Bequests for the Provision of Alms to the Poor.	166.
17. Bequests made by Husbandmen, Shopkeepers etc.	182.
18. Time between the making of a Will and Probate.	185.
19. Executors, Supervisors and Witnesses.	187.
20. Status of Clerical Witnesses or Supervisors.	188.



	Page
21. The Clergy and Will Making.	189.
22. The Place of Residence and Will Making.	197.
23. The Residue or 'Third Part'.	202.
24. St James' Church, Louth : Gifts and Legacies.	214.
25. The Income produced by Funeral Bellringing.	215.
26. Summary of Church Building, Enlargement and Major Repairs c1480-c1536.	230.
27. The Number of Households in a Community.	252.
28. Executions resulting from the Lincolnshire Rising.	276.
29. An analysis of Wills containing no 'religious' bequest.	293.

PARISH MAP OF LINCOLNSHIRE



### KEY TO PARISH MAP

The Map on the previous page and the following key is based, with permission, on the Map which appears in Hardy, A. K. Clerical Poll-Taxes of the Diocese of Lincoln 1377-1381 (Lincoln Record Society, 1992) pp. 180-188. The following explanatory note is a condensed version of that which appears on p. 174 of that volume :

The map is not ideal but is intended as a guide. The parishes marked by an \* came into being after the medieval period. Settlements which were not parochial in the middle ages but subsequently became so are indicated by †. Such places were usually served by a chapel rather than a parish church. The key number of the 'parent' parish is given in brackets. The symbol H indicates that a parish is based on what, before the Dissolution, was a religious house. Where a parish later became two this is noted.

1. Whitton	38. Melton [Ross]	75. Cabourne
2. Winteringham	39. Croxton	76. Swallow
3. Alkborough	40. Kirmington	77. Irby
4. Halton, West	41. Brocklesby	78. Laceby
5. Winterton	42. Stallingborough	79. Bradley
6. Ferriby, South	43. Healing	80. Scartho
7. Horkstow	44. Coates, Great	81. Humberston
8. Barton-on-Humber	45. Belton	82. Wroot
9. Barrow-on-Humber	46. Burringham*	83. Haxey
10. Goxhill	47. Brumby	84. Owston
11. Halton, East	48. Ashby	85. Messingham
12. Garthorpe*	49. Broughton	86. Scotter
13. Burton-upon-Stather	50. Wrawby cum Brigg*	87. Manton
14. Roxby cum Risby	51. Barnetby le Wold	88. Cleatham*
15. Saxby All Saints	52. Limber, Great	89. Hibaldstow
16. Bonby	53. Keelby	90. Cadney cum Howsham
17. Thornton Curtis	54. Riby	91. Ferry, East (84)†
18. Killingholme, North	55. Aylesby	92. Scotton and East Ferry (Common Land)*
19. Killingholme, South	56. Coates, Little	
20. Toft, East	57. Grimsby, Great	
21. Gunhouse*	58. Clea	
22. Luddington	59. Cleethorpe*	93. Scotton
23. Amcotts (34)†	60. Epworth	94. Kirton-in- Lindsey
24. Flixborough	61. Butterwick, West (84)†	95. Redbourne
25. Crosby*	62. Butterwick, East*	96. Kelsey, North
26. Appleby	63. Bottesford	97. Nettleton
27. Worlaby	64. Holme*	98. Rothwell
28. Wootton	65. Raventhorpe	99. Cuxwold
29. Ulceby	66. Twigmoor*	100. Beelsby
30. Habrough	67. Scawby	101. Barnoldby-le Beck
31. Immingham	68. Bigby	102. Waltham
32. Crowle	69. Somerby	103. Brigsley
33. Keadby	70. Searby cum Owmby†	104. Holton le Clay
34. Althorpe	71. Newstead H	105. Tetney
35. Scunthorpe	72. Grasby	
36. Frodingham	73. Clixby (74)†	
37. Elsham	74. Caistor	

106. Coates, North	154. Hemswell	202. Louth
107. Hatcliffe	155. Atterby*	203. Grimoldby
	156. Bishop Norton	204. Manby
108. Ravendale, West	157. Owersby, South	205. Carlton, Great
109. Ravendale, East*	(one parish with	206. Carlton, Little
110. Ashby cum Fenby	139)	207. Gayton le Marsh
111. Waithe	158. Glentham	208. Theddlethorpe All Saints
	159. Kingerby	
112. Grainsby	160. Kirkby cum	209. Theddlethorpe St. Helen
113. Wildsworth (114)+	Osgodby+	
114. Laughton	161. Walesby	210. Knaith
115. Northorpe	162. Tealby	211. Gate Burton
116. Grayingham	163. Kirmond le Mire	212. Kexby*
117. Waddingham	164. Binbrook	213. Willingham
118. Kelsey, South	165. Kelstern	214. Fillingham
119. Holton le Moor (74)+	166. Elkington, Nth.	215. Saxby
120. Thornton le Moor	167. Fotherby	216. Firsby, West
121. Croxby	168. Grimsby, Little	217. Firsby, East
122. Thorganby	169. Covenham St.	218. Toft next Newton
123. Swinhop	Mary	219. Newton by Toft
124. Wold Newton	170. Yarborough	220. Faldingworth
125. Haverby cum Beesby	171. Conisholme	221. Buslingthorpe
126. Thoresby, North	172. Somercotes, Sth.	222. Linwood
127. Ludborough	173. Skidbrooke with	223. Legsby
128. Fulstow	Saltfleet Haven+	224. Sixhills
129. Marshchapel (128)+	174. Alvingham	225. Hainton
	175. Cockerington, Nth.	226. Burgh on Bain
130. Stockwith, East (151)+	176. Cockerington, Sth.	227. Grimblethorpe*
	177. Saltfleetby St.	228. Gayton le Wold
131. Walkerith*	Peter.	229. Welton le Wold
	178. Saltfleetby All Saints	230. Hallington
132. Greenhill* and Redhill*	179. Saltfleetby St. Clements	231. Raithby cum Maltby
133. Morton*	180. Lea	232. Legbourne
134. Blyton	181. Springthorpe	233. Lawthorpe, Little*
135. Pilham	182. Heapham	234. Reston, North
136. Southorpe	183. Upton	235. Castle Carlton
137. Blyborough	184. Harpswell	236. Reston, South
138. Snitterby (117)+	185. Glentworth	237. Strubby with Woodthorpe
139. Owersby, North (one parish with 157)	186. Caenby	238. Mablethorpe
140. Claxby	187. Normanby	239. Marton
141. Usselby (160)+	188. Dwmby	240. Stow
142. Normanby le Wold	189. Rasen, West	241. Coates
143. Thoresway	190. Middle Rasen	242. Ingham
144. Stainton le Vale	191. Wykeham, East	243. Spridlington
145. Wyham cum Cadeby	192. Market Rasen	244. Cold Hanworth
146. Ormsby, North	193. Willingham, Nth	245. Snarford
147. Utterby	194. Ludford Parva	246. Freisthorpe
148. Covenham St. Bartholomew	195. Ludford Magna	247. Lissington
149. Grainthorpe	196. Calcethorpe	248. Torrington, East
150. Somercotes, North	197. Elkington, Sth.	249. Willingham, Sth.
151. Gainsborough	198. Brackenborough	250. Biscathorpe
152. Corringham	199. Keddington	251. Donington on Bain
153. Willoughton	200. Louth Park H	
	201. Stewton	

252. Withcall	301. Riseholme	348. Fulletby
253. Tathwell	302. Scothern	349. Salmonby
254. Haugham	303. Stainton by Langworth	350. Somersby
255. Muckton	304. Rand	351. Brinkhill
256. Authorpe	305. Wragby	352. Driby
257. Tothill	306. Sotby	353. Well
258. Withern with Stain	307. Ranby	354. Alford
259. Trusthorpe	308. Oxcombe	355. Farlesthorpe
260. Brampton*	309. Worlaby	356. Cumberworth
261. Cammeringham		357. Mumby cum Chapel+
262. Hackthorn	310. Ruckland	358. Cherry Willingham
263. Wickenby	311. Walmsgate	359. Fiskerton
264. Holton cum Beckering*	312. Swaby	360. Stainfield
265. Torrington, West	313. Belleau	361. Scarle, North
266. Barkwith, East	314. Aby with Greenfield	362. Swinethorp*
267. Benniworth	315. Beesby	363. Eagle Hall*
268. Stenigot	316. Markby	364. Eagle
269. Cawkwell	317. Skellingthorpe	365. Doddington
270. Farforth cum Maidenwell	318. Burton	366. Whisby*
271. Burwell	319. Lincoln (deanery)	367. Thorpe on the Hill
272. Claythorpe	320. Nettleham	368. Hykeham, North
273. Maltby le Marsh	321. Sudbrooke	369. Boultham
274. Hannah cum Hagnaby	322. Newball (303)+	370. Bracebridge
275. Sutton le Marsh	323. Bullington	371. Waddington
276. Sturton	324. Goltho*	372. Canwick
277. Thorpe in Fallows	325. Langton by Wragby	373. Mere
278. Brattleby	326. Hatton	374. Washingborough
279. Aisthorpe	327. Great Sturton	375. Heighington (374)+
280. Scampton	328. Hemingby	376. Branston
281. Welton	329. Belchford	377. Potter Hanworth
282. Dunholme*	330. Tetford	378. Bardney
283. Snelland	331. Ormsby, South	379. Gautby
284. Fulnetby	332. Calceby	380. Tupholme
285. Barkwith, West	333. Thoresby, South	381. Waddingworth
286. Panton	334. Haugh	382. Bucknall
287. Market Stainton	335. Rigsby cum Ailby*	383. Horsington
288. Goulceby	336. Saleby with Thorsethorpe	384. Stixwold
289. Asterby	337. Bilsby	385. Wispington
290. Scamblesby*	338. Huttoft	386. Edlington
291. Torksey	339. Anderby	387. Thimbleby
292. Fenton (295)+	340. Greetwell	388. Woodhall
293. Saxilby	341. Reepham	389. Langton
294. Newton on Trent	342. Barlings H	390. Martin (Marton)
295. Kettlethorpe	343. Coldstead*	391. Dalderby
296. Hardwick*	344. Apley	392. Thornton
297. Broxholme	345. Minting	393. Horncastle
298. Carlton, North	346. Baumber	394. Scrivelsby
299. Carlton, South	347. Ashby, West(393)+	
300. Grange de Lings*		

395. Low Toynton	441. Claxby Pluckacre	487. Wainfleet All Saints
396. High Toynton	442. Mingsby	488. Croft
397. Mareham on the Hill (393)+	443. Hareby	489. Wainfleet St. Mary
398. Greetham	444. Bolingbroke	490. Beckingham
399. Scrafield	445. Keal, West	491. Stragglethorpe (490)+
400. Hameringham	446. Keal, East	492. Brant Broughton
401. Ashby Puerorum	447. Toynton All Saints	493. Leadenham
402. Winceby	448. Toynton St. Peter	494. Welbourn
403. Asgarby	449. Halton Hologate	495. Temple Bruer H with Temple High Grange*
404. Hagworthingham	450. Great Steeping	496. Ashby de la Launde
405. Lusby	451. Gunby	497. Rowston
406. Bag Enderby	452. Burgh le Marsh	498. Thorpe Tilney*
407. Harrington	453. Winthorpe	499. Walcott (518)+
408. Mavis Enderby	454. Thurlby	500. Tattershall
409. Raithby	455. Auburn	501. Dogdyke (518)+
410. Sutterby	456. Harmston	502. Coningsby
411. Aswardby	457. Coleby	503. Carrington
412. Sausthorpe	458. Boothby Graffoe	504. Fen*
413. Langton by Partney	459. Blankney	505. Stickney
414. Hundleby	460. Martin	506. Midville*
415. Dalby	461. Kirkstead	507. Eastville*
416. Partney	462. Kirkby on Bain	508. Friskney
417. Spilsby	463. Wilksby	509. Wrangle
418. Ashby by Spilsby	464. Kirkby, East	510. Claypole
419. Skendleby	465. Hagnaby	511. Fenton (490)+
420. Ulceby with Fordington	466. Little Steeping	512. Fulbeck
421. Claxby	467. Firsby	513. Byard's Leap*
422. Scremby	468. Irby in the Marsh	514. Brauncewell with Dunsby
423. Candlesby	469. Bratoft	515. Bloxholm
424. Welton le Marsh	470. Skegness	516. Digby
425. Willoughby with Sloothby+	471. Norton Disney	517. Dorrington
426. Hogsthorpe	472. Bassingham	518. Billingham
427. Orby	473. Stapleford	519. North Kyme (one parish with 534)
428. Addiethorpe	474. Carlton le Moorland	520. Hart's Grounds*
429. Ingoldmells	475. Skinnand	521. Pelham's Lands*
430. Swinderby	476. Navenby	522. Wildmore*
431. Morton	477. Wellingore	523. Thornton le Fen*
432. Haddington (433)+	478. Scopwick	524. Westville*
433. Hykeham, South	479. Kirkby Green	525. Frithville*
434. Nocton	480. Timberland	526. Sibsey
435. Dunston	481. Tattershall Thorpe*	527. Leake
436. Metherringham	482. Tumbly	528. Stubton
437. Roughton	483. Mareham le Fen	
438. Haltham	484. Revesby	
439. Wood Enderby	485. Stickford	
440. Moorby	486. Thorpe St. Peter	

529. Caythorpe	571. Butterwick	619. Woolsthorpe
530. Cranwell+	572. Benington	620. Denton
531. Roxholme (546)+	573. Freiston	621. Harlaxton
532. Ruskington	574. Allington	622. Grantham
533. Anwick	575. Barkston	623. Grantham Grange*
534. Kyme, South (see 519)	576. Syston	624. Spittlegate Houghton* and Walton*
535. Amber Hill*	577. Wilsford	
536. Kirton (det.)*	578. Quarrington	625. Somerby
537. Langrville*	579. Silk Willoughby	626. Ropsley
538. Sibsey (det.)*	580. Burton Pedwardine	627. Braceby*
539. Leverton	581. Gibbet Hill*	628. Haceby
540. Long Bennington	582. Hale, Great	629. Newton
541. Dry Doddington (542)+	583. Wigtoft (det.)*	630. Threckingham
542. Westborough	584. Skirbeck Quarter*	631. Horbling
543. Hough on the Hill	585. Wyberton	632. Donington
544. Normanton	586. Sedgebrook	633. Stroxton
545. Rauceby, North (one parish with 558)	587. Gonerby, Great	634. Ponton, Little
546. Leasingham	588. Belton	635. Humby (625)+
547. Haverholme H	589. Kelby	636. Sapperton
548. Evedon	590. Culverthorpe*	637. Walcot
549. Ewerby	591. Swarby	638. Folkingham
550. Howell	592. Aswarby	639. Birthorpe
551. Bennington Grange*	593. Screddington	640. Billingborough
552. Foston (540)+	594. Helpringham	641. Quadring
553. Marston (554)+	595. Hale, Little	642. Wyville with Hungarton
554. Hougham	596. Royalty Farm*	643. Ponton, Great
555. Carlton Scroop	597. Simon Weir*	644. Boothby Pagnal
556. Honington	598. The Friths*	645. Ingoldsby
557. Ancaster	599. Swineshead	646. Lenton
558. Rauceby, South (see 545)	600. Kirton	647. Pickworth
559. Holdingham (562)	601. Frampton	648. Laughton
560. New Sleaford	602. Barrowby	649. Sempringham
561. Old Sleaford (det.)*	603. Manthorpe* cum Little Gonerby	650. Pointon*
562. Old Sleaford	604. Londonthorpe(622)+	651. Surfleet (det.)*
563. Kirkby la Thorpe	605. Harrowby	652. Gosberton
564. Asgarby	606. Welby	653. Surfleet
565. Heckington	607. Haydor	654. North Stoke
566. Mown Rakes*	608. Aunsby	655. South Stoke (one parish with 654)
567. Brotheertoft*	609. Dembleby	656. Bassingthorpe
568. Boston	610. Scott Willoughby	657. Bitchfield
569. Skirbeck	611. Osbournby	658. Osgodby (646)+
570. Fishtoft	612. Spanby (613)+	659. Keisby (646)+
	613. Swatton	660. Aslackby
	614. Bicker	661. Dowsby
	615. Wigtoft	662. Skillington
	616. Sutterton	663. Easton*
	617. Algarkirk	
	618. Fosdyke	

664. Burton Coggles	701. Thurlby
665. Irnham	702. Deeping St. Nicholas†
666. Kirkby Underwood	
667. Rippingale	703. Cowbit (672)+
668. Dunsby	704. Crowland
669. Hacconby	705. Gedney Hill*
670. Morton	706. Sutton St. Edmunds
671. Pinchbeck	707. Holywell (696)+
672. Spalding	708. Almby (696)+
673. Weston	709. Carlby
674. Moulton	710. Manthorpe*
675. Whaplode	711. Braceborough
676. Holbeach	712. Wilsthorpe*
677. Fleet	713. Greatford
678. Gedney	714. Baston
679. Lutton (680 etc)+	715. Tallington (det.)*
680. Sutton St. Mary	716. Uffington (det.)*
(one parish with	717. Barholm (det.)*
682, 706)+	718. Market Deeping (det.)*
681. Central Wingland*	
682. Sutton St. James	719. Market Deeping (det.)*
(see 680, 706)	
683. Tydd St. Mary	720. Stamford
684. Colsterworth	721. Stamford St. George
685. Corby	722. Uffington
686. Swayfield	723. Barholm
687. Swinstead	724. Stowe
688. Edenham	725. Langtoft
689. Bourn	726. Tallington
690. Stainby	727. Deepin, West
691. Gunby	728. Market Deeping (St. Guthlac)
692. Witham, North	
693. Couthorpe (696)+	729. Deeping St. James (East Deeping)
694. Creeton	
695. Witham, South	
696. Castle Bytham	
697. Little Bytham	
698. Careby	
699. Witham on the Hill	
700. Toft (699)+ and Lound (699)+	



## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AASRP</u>	Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers.
<u>AASRP</u> Vol. XXI Pt. II. pp. 195-203	Cheales, H. J. 'The Mural Paintings of All Saints Church Friskney'.
<u>AASRP</u> Vol. XXI Pt. II. pp. 135-151	Venables, E. 'The Shrine and Head of St. Hugh of Lincoln'.
<u>AASRP</u> Vol. XXII Pt. II. pp. 174-222	Maddison, A. R. 'Lincolnshire Gentry during the sixteenth Century'.
<u>AASRP</u> Vol. XXXIV Pt. I pp. 27-46	Foster, C. W. 'Inventories of Church Goods AD 1548'.
<u>AASRP</u> Vol. XLI pp. 61-114 and 179-218.	Foster, C. W. 'Lincolnshire Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.'
<u>Arch. Jnl.</u>	<u>Archaeological Journal</u>
Bowker, <u>Reformation</u>	Bowker, M. <u>The Henrician Reformation</u>
D&C	The Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral
Ed(s).	Editor(s).
et. al.	et alii. (and others).
f.	folio.
ff.	folios.
H. M. C.	Historic Manuscripts Commission.
HMSO	His/Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
Ibid.	<i>Ibidem</i> (in the same place)
<u>J. Ecc. H.</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
LAAS	Lincoln Archaeological and Architectural Society
LAO	Lincolnshire Archives Office
<u>L and P</u>	<u>Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII.</u>
LCC	Lincoln Consistory Court.

LRS. Lincoln Record Society

LRS Vols. 5, Foster, C. W. (Ed.) Lincolnshire Wills  
10 and 24. (for details see Bibliography)

LRS Vol. 12. Cole, R. G. (Ed.) Chapter Acts...  
1536-1547

MS(S) Manuscript(s)

No(s). Number(s).

op. cit. *opere citato* (the work cited)

Peacock, Leverton Peacock, E. 'Extracts from the  
Churchwardens Accounts of the Parish  
of Leverton' Archaeologia Vol. XLI  
Pt. 2. (1867) pp. 333-370.

Peacock, Sutterton Peacock, E. 'Churchwardens Accounts of  
St. Mary's Sutterton' in Arch. Jnl.  
Vol. XXIX (London, 1832), pp. 53-63.

p. page.

pp. pages.

Pt. Part.

PRO Public Record Office.

Scarisbrick, Reformation Scarisbrick, J. J. The Reformation and  
the English People

sic. so written.

St(s). Saint(s).

Trs. Translator.

v. versus ie reverse.

Vol. Volume.

### GLOSSARY

Acolyte	= Server assisting the deacon and priest.
Antiphons	= Set of sentences recited during the Divine Office.
Antiphony	= Liturgical book containing the choir office and Mass.
Breviary	= Liturgical book containing the Psalms, hymns, lessons and prayers.
Caput honoris	= The chief residence.
Chasuble	= Undermost garment used by priest when celebrating the Eucharist.
Cope	= Cloak worn by a priest when the chasuble is not used.
Corporal	= Square piece of linen on which bread and wine are placed and consecrated.
Dalmatic	= Over-tunic worn at High Mass by a deacon.
Eucharist	= Central act in Christian Worship i.e. the Holy Communion or Mass.
Gand'/gaud'	= Beads (of a rosary).
Gild/Guild	= Association of people with a common interest either spiritual, social or commercial.
Gradual	= Set of Antiphons sung immediately after the first Scriptural lesson.
Grate/Grail	= See Gradual.
Hundred	= Administrative division of a county (shire) which included a court which met every three weeks to try petty criminal justice and for the collection of dues twice a year. It was also the unit for home defence.
Indulgence	= Remission of temporal punishment that still remains due after sin has been forgiven.

Manuale	= Book containing forms prescribed for the administration of the sacraments.
Mass Book	= See Antiphonary.
Misericord	= A carved bracket under a hinged seat, in the choir stalls, giving support or 'mercy' during the long services at which they were required to stand.
Papal Legate.	= The usual designation of the papal representative in England during and before the seventeenth century.
Portus	= Name used in England for the Breviary.
Pyx	= Receptacle containing the reserved Host.
Seam	= Two bushels.
Strike	= Bushel or eight gallons.
Tunicle	= Outer garment worn by a sub-deacon
Wapentake	= Name given to the sub-divisions of a shire in the East Midlands corresponding to a hundred elsewhere (see above).

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The subject of this thesis, which was suggested to me by Dr. D. T. Williams, has enabled me to make use of the extensive Muniments of Lincoln Cathedral much of which has received little academic attention. These documents, together with the parish records and probate registers upon which much of the research has been based, are deposited in the Lincolnshire Archives Office and Dr. Gershom Knight, Principal Archivist, and his staff have been of great assistance. The staff of Bishop Grossteste College, Lincoln have produced books for me many of which have not seen the light of day for many decades! The staff of the Local Studies Room in Lincoln Central Library have also been of considerable assistance.

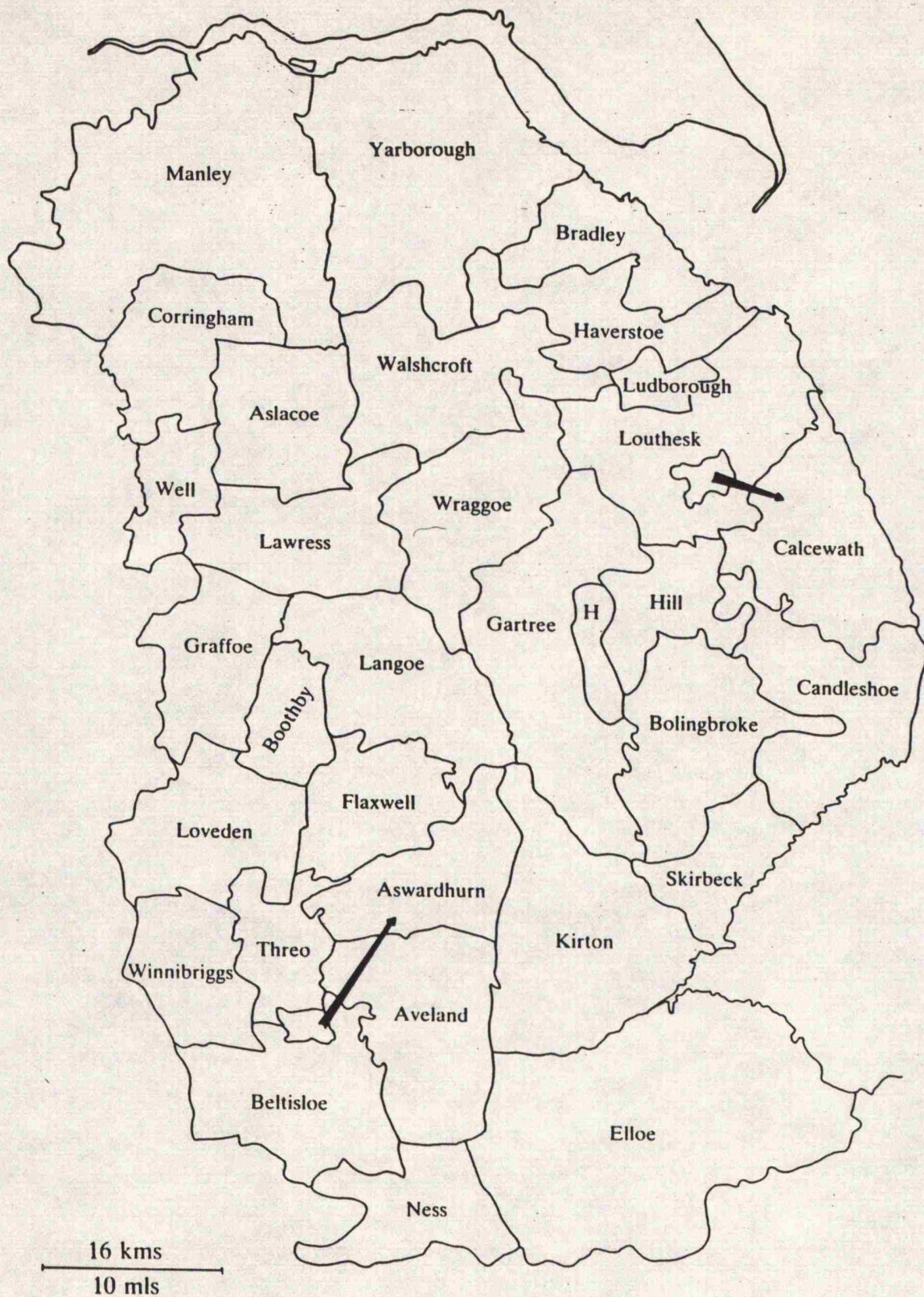
David Vale, ARIBA, produced the reconstruction drawings which appear on pages 1, 179 and 231 which help to illustrate life in Lincolnshire c450 years ago. I am also grateful to David Vale for the Map which appears on page 31 and to Nevil Birch for producing the Map which appears on page 62. The Lincoln Record Society readily gave permission for me to use the Map and Key which appears on pages 7-13 and the History of Lincolnshire Committee of the Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology gave permission for me to use the Maps which appear on pages 20 and 30.

The editors of the forthcoming Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire and Dr. S. Pawley gave permission for the map which appears on page 63 to be used.

Acknowledgement is also made of the work of Canon Foster who founded the Lincoln Record Society and was responsible for the editing and publication of the three volumes of Lincoln wills upon which much of the statistical evidence contained in the thesis has been based. Canon Foster also left much manuscript material which has been of considerable value.

Several academics answered questions and clarified points for me and these are acknowledged in footnotes at an appropriate point in the thesis.

The enthusiasm and encouragement of my research supervisor, Dr. D. T. Williams, especially during a difficult time medically, has given me the impetus to complete the very considerable research necessary and I am very grateful to him for the initial suggestion and subsequent support and guidance. I hope that the result has justified his forbearance in dealing patiently with my questions and reading the several drafts.



*Lincolnshire's medieval wapentakes, based on the 1334 lay subsidy returns. Arrows show detached portions; H is the Liberty of Horncastle*

Source : Platts, G. Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire P. 5.

## INTRODUCTION

The object of this present study is to try to establish the way in which the 'common' people who lived in an extensive but remote part of England demonstrated their religious beliefs in the years immediately preceding the religious upheavals of the English Reformation.

For the great majority in the middle ages the right of the church to exercise control over their lives from baptism to burial was an accepted tradition. It was believed that any infringement of ecclesiastical law would be punished, not only in this life, but certainly in the life hereafter. Support for parish churches demonstrated the piety and the standing of the benefactor in the local community. The wealthy paid for the building or extension of the church building and poorer members of the community gave ornaments or small sums of money to support its maintenance, ornamentation or furnishing.

Life was hard and precarious, death was ever present. Although plague was the major cause of death, disease and injury which today cause little concern could prove fatal.

The parish church was the centre of the community and provided light, recreation and meaning to life. It is not surprising that any appeal for funds was

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enthusiastically supported by all levels of the local community. But was this a genuine demonstration of piety or merely unthinking conformity with long standing tradition? Those who refused to contribute might well incur not only the wrath of the Deity, but of their neighbours, friends and the community at large. Support for the church might be regarded as a form of insurance against the perils in store for the soul during its passage through Purgatory on its journey to heavenly bliss. Generous support for the church impressed one's neighbours and the inclusion of a benefactor's name in the parish bederoll ensured remembrance at periodical intervals. Was it no more than superstitious conventionality?

In this thesis an attempt will be made to decide whether, for the Lincolnshire 'commons', piety was genuine or merely a form of insurance. As Dr Peter Heath has recently pointed out, the piety of the nobles is well documented and the greater availability of research material due to the reorganisation of record offices and access to private archives, has led in the last thirty years or so to the publication of an unprecedented number of academic studies of the piety of the nobility and gentry class.\* This thesis breaks new ground by examining the piety of those who cannot be classed as

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\* Heath, P, 'Between Reform and Reformation: The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteen Centuries' in J.Ecc.H Vol. 41 No. 4 (1990), pp. 647-8 and 668-9.

members of the nobility or gentry class and must, therefore, be regarded as the 'commons'. The first study of secular piety was undertaken by Dr. J. A. F. Thomson in a paper entitled 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London'. His source wills were from registers dated 1440 to 1449 (320), 1479 to 1486 (302), and 1523 to 1530 (190) together with a few other wills making a total of slightly more than 812 wills for the whole of the ninety year period. Most of these wills were of wealthy merchants and tradesmen.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Vale followed some eleven years later with a paper on the gentry of Yorkshire for the 110 years from 1370 to 1480 in which he examined some 140 wills.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1980s several other studies of secular piety were published. The piety of Kentish gentry was examined by Dr. Fleming who made use of two hundred wills made during the forty-eight years from 1481 to 1529 as his research source. Twenty-one of these were of knights, seventy-five of esquires and one hundred and four of gentleman status.<sup>4</sup> In his examination of the religious sympathies of the gentry in Gloucestershire for the three

2. J.Ecc.H. Vol. 16 (1965) pp. 178-195.

3. Vale, M. G. A. Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry, 1370-1480 (Borthwick Paper No. 50, 1976)

4. Fleming, P. W. 'Charity, faith and the gentry of Kent, 1422-1529' in Pollard, T. Property and Politics: Essays in late Medieval English History (Gloucester, 1984) pp. 36-58.

hundred years from 1200 to 1500, Dr. Saul took a narrow 'sample' of twenty-four wills.<sup>5</sup> Dr Heath, in his study of urban piety for the 129 years from 1400 to 1529, examined 355 wills made by Hull testators.<sup>6</sup> As in the London study, most of the wills were made by wealthy merchants and tradesmen.

Dr. Carpenter in a study of the religion of the gentry of fifteenth century England examined sixty-six wills made by Warwickshire testators<sup>7</sup> but the most comprehensive account of late medieval piety is contained in Dr Tanner's study of the church in medieval Norwich for the 162 years from 1370 to 1532 in which 904 wills were analysed.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Tanner included the clergy as well as all levels of society. Not surprisingly in a study of urban piety many of the testators were tradesmen or craftsmen and many had held office as mayor or alderman.

As with the studies discussed above, the present researcher has also relied heavily on the analysis of secular wills for evidence of trends in testamentary .....

<sup>5</sup>. Saul, N. 'The religious sympathies of the gentry in Gloucestershire 1200-1509' in Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Vol. 98 (1982), pp 99-112

<sup>6</sup>. Heath, P. 'Urban piety in the later Middle Ages; the evidence of Hull wills' in Dobson, B. (Ed.) Church, Politics and Patronage (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 209-34.

<sup>7</sup>. Carpenter, C. 'Religion of the gentry of fifteenth-century England' in Williams, D. (Ed.) England in the fifteenth century (Woodbridge, 1987) pp. 53-74.

<sup>8</sup>. Tanner, N. P. The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-15532 (Toronto, 1984).

bequests for Lincolnshire as a whole. A total of 2039 wills has been examined but 211 of these were unsuitable for detailed analysis although many of these have yielded examples of particular types of bequest which have been quoted in the thesis. The remaining 1828 wills made in the fifty-seven years from 1480 to 1536 is a greater number than has been used in any other study of secular piety. It is considered that the resulting tables are as accurate as is possible using wills as the main source. Many of these wills have been published in an abbreviated form by the Lincoln Record Society but it has been necessary, in most cases, to refer to the original manuscript contained in the probate registers.<sup>7</sup> The use of wills has its pitfalls and these are discussed at an appropriate point in the thesis. Unfortunately, for the 'commons', who are the main subject of this thesis, there is little other written evidence except for a few Churchwarden's Accounts which have survived for the period covered by this thesis and the Fabric Fund Accounts of Lincoln Cathedral have also proved useful.

Except as stated above, no attempt has been made to be selective and the results of the examination of secular wills are discussed in detail in Chapter IV. The majority of the wills were registered in the Lincoln Consistory .....

<sup>7</sup>. LRS Vols. 5, 10 and 24; LAG LCC Wills 1532-4; 1534&c; 1535-7 and 1538-40.

Court and in the Court of the Archdeaconry of Stow but a few wills proved by the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral have been examined. Wills for the early years of this study are scarce and, therefore, any suitable wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury have been carefully examined for evidence.<sup>10</sup> Eleven wills dating from 1467 to 1527 have been found in the first surviving Register of the Corporation of Lincoln and these have also been consulted. They appear to have been preserved as a record of land transfer and have proved only marginally useful in the context of this thesis.<sup>11</sup>

Only a small percentage of testators mention their status but it has been possible to identify about eleven per cent of wills made between 1519 and 1531 as those of yeomen, husbandmen and tradesmen, that is those Lincolnshire testators who cannot be described as either 'nobles' or 'gentry'.

As mentioned above, wherever possible other sources have been used to supplement the evidence from wills. In this respect the Churchwarden's Accounts for St. James',

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<sup>10</sup>. AASRP Vol. XLI pp. 61-114 and 179-218.

<sup>11</sup>. LAO L1/3/1.

Louth and St. Helen's, Leverton have been particularly useful.<sup>12</sup> The Fabric Fund Accounts of Lincoln Cathedral provide evidence, not only of testamentary bequests, but also of the generosity of the living and the type and value of the contribution i.e corn, money, jewels etc.<sup>13</sup> Considerable evidence of the generous support by Lincolnshire testators for church building campaigns has been disclosed and brief details of these together with bequests for ornamentation, vestments, gilding and other decoration have been included in an Appendix to this thesis. Valuable comparative evidence for the dating of church building work and other work has been included in Table 26.

The first two chapters of the thesis are devoted to a description of medieval life in general and Lincolnshire life in particular as an aid to understanding the way in which people conducted their lives and their relationship with the church. Particular attention has been paid to the type of bequest made to the church; when wills were made and why a particular bequest was made in preference to another. The way in which occupation, place of residence and the clergy may have influenced support for a

<sup>12</sup>. Dudding, R. C., (Ed.,) First Churchwarden's Book of Louth 1500/24 (Oxford, 1941).

Peacock, E. 'Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of Leverton', in Archaeologia Vol. XLI Pt. 2 (1867) pp. 333-370.

<sup>13</sup>. LAO D&C Bj/1/4; LAO D&C Bj/5/19

particular project is discussed before looking at specific building and other projects which enabled pious laymen to manifest their piety.

The influence of wall paintings, religious drama, the liturgy and ritual associated with the great festivals is described and discussed as an aid to our understanding of the reason for the enthusiastic support and undoubted affection which medieval people had for their parish church.

In Chapter VI the events leading up to the Lincolnshire Rising of 1536 are discussed in some detail. The present writer considers that this major event in the history of Lincolnshire demonstrates the way 'reforms' in religious life which were imposed on the people in an unsympathetic manner, caused distress to those whose lives had been regulated by the church for many centuries. In this Chapter extensive reference has been made to the contemporary chronicler Edward Halle.<sup>14</sup> This chronicle was first published in 1548 twelve months after Halle's death which occurred in the same year as that of Henry VIII. Although Halle was clearly a loyal supporter of the king, his chronicle is an invaluable contemporary account which gives the 'official' viewpoint and reflects the way in which most people regarded such matters as the .....

<sup>14</sup>. Halle, E. The Union of the Two Noble Houses of Lancaster and York (London 1550).

downfall of Wolsey and More. Halle is particularly valuable as a source expressing contemporary attitudes towards the momentuous events of the reign of Henry VIII. The edition quoted in this thesis is that of 1550 which was published in facsimile, in 1970. Each reign is foliated separately and the Chronicle covers all English Kings between 1399 and 1548.

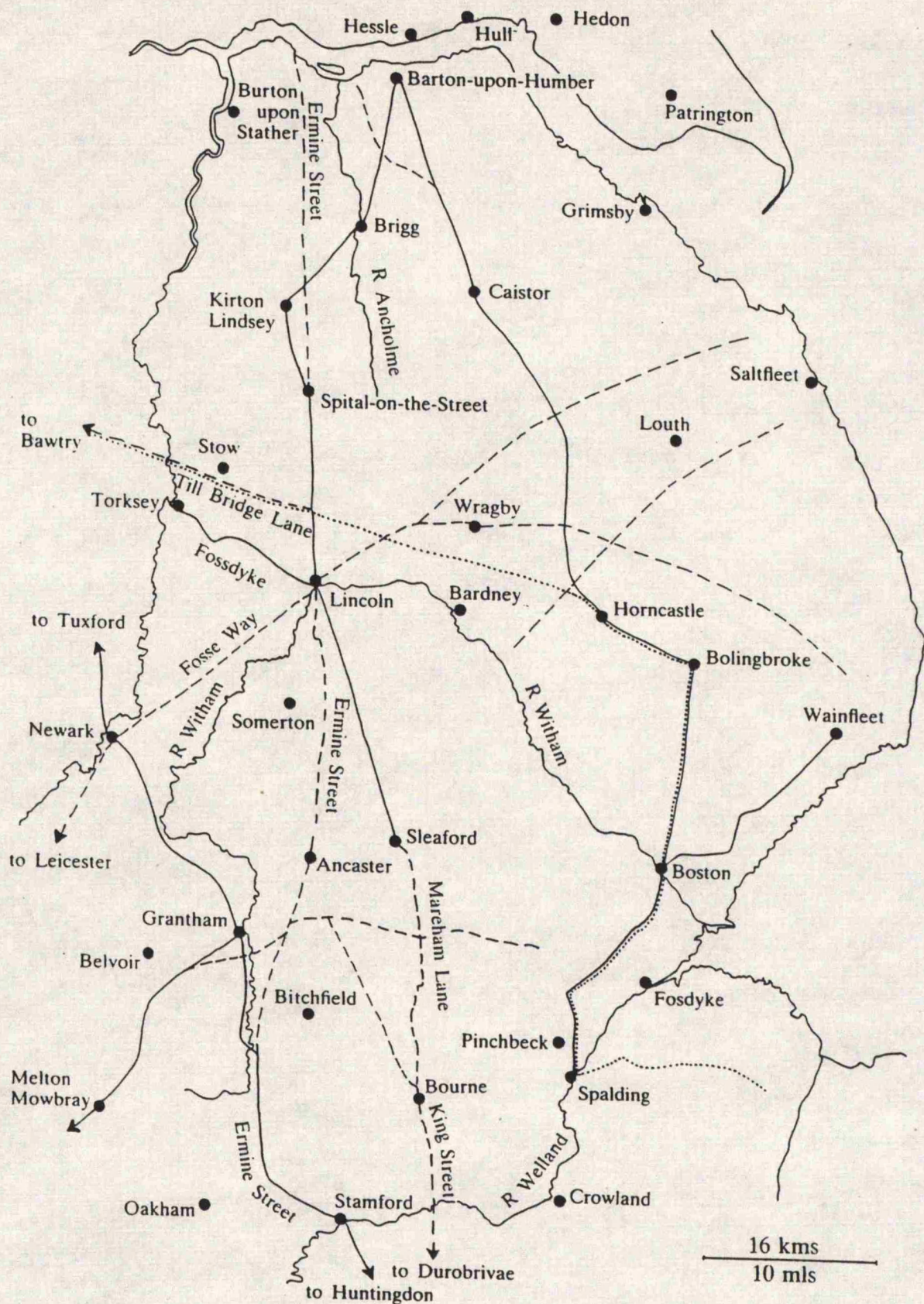
Having identified the ways in which Lincolnshire people manifested their piety, in the conclusion, whenever possible, a comparison has been made with evidence from other parts of England presented in the works mentioned above.

In order to clarify and illustrate the points made in this thesis twenty-nine Tables have been compiled. This is far more than in any previous study of secular piety and it is, therefore, hoped that the final conclusions are much more broadly based and supported than in previous investigations.

As an aid to identifying places, particularly those mentioned in Chapter V, a number in square brackets has been placed after some place names ie Croft [400]. This refers to the Map on page 7.

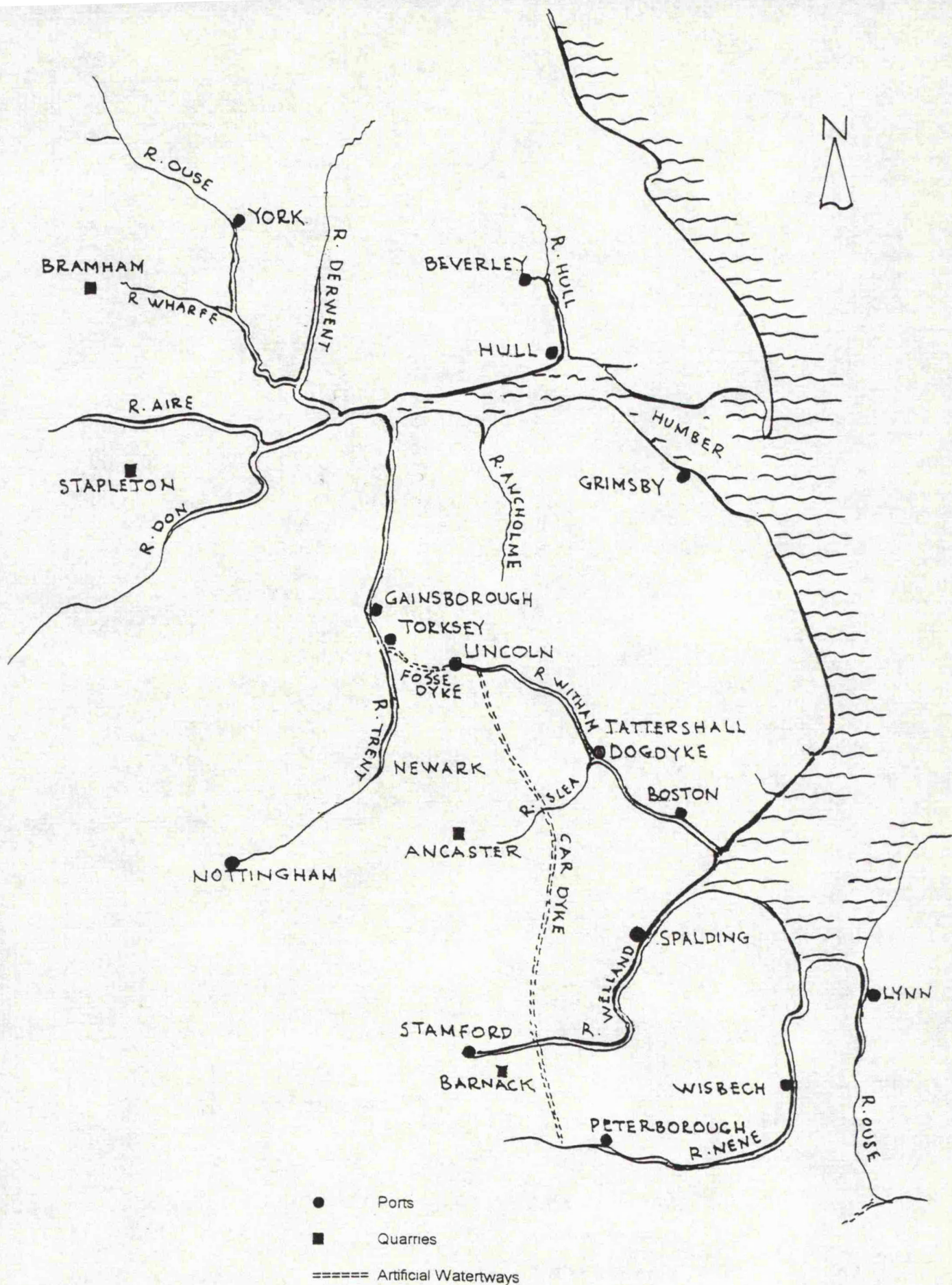
Unless stated otherwise the dates quoted have been converted to modern usage.





Major roads in Lincolnshire during the Middle Ages. Broken lines show Roman roads likely to have continued in use. Continuous lines show roads apparently included in the fourteenth century Gouth Map. The dotted route is that followed by John the barber in 1323 when driving a herd of livestock, from Long Sutton to Tadcaster.

Source : Platts, G. Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire p. 4.



Navigable Rivers of Lincolnshire in the Middle Ages  
 Redrawn by David Vale from Barley, M. M. 'Lincolnshire Rivers in the Middle Ages' in *LAAS* Vol 1 (Lincoln, 1939)

CHAPTER I  
THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND  
EARLY TUDOR ENVIRONMENT

This Chapter is intended to provide a background to the discussion contained in the following Chapters. After briefly reviewing the national scene, life in Lincolnshire in the late Middle Ages is described before investigating sources of wealth in the widely differing agricultural regions of the county which determined church building and other pious works discussed later in the thesis.

Of the English counties Lincolnshire is the second largest far behind the size of Yorkshire and closely followed by Devon and Norfolk in extent. Nevertheless, its large dimension is the chief reason why, like Yorkshire, it had three divisions down to 1974; Holland, Kesteven and Lindsey, which were recognised long before the Norman Conquest. Holland consists largely of land reclaimed from the marshes in the south-east of the county. Kesteven consists of the marsh upland region lying between Stamford [720] and Lincoln [319]. Lindsey covers by far the largest area of the county and consists of parts of the Trent Valley, the limestone Cliff, the central clay vale, the Wolds and the Marsh. It originated as the ancient kingdom of Lindsey and was divided into .....

three Ridings in the same way as Yorkshire. However, by far the most important administrative regions in the early Tudor period were the 'wapentakes' or 'hundreds'. Most of the names by which these are known are Danish in origin.<sup>1</sup>

For the great majority of medieval people the right of the church to exercise a control over their lives from baptism to burial was an accepted tradition. It was believed that any infringement of ecclesiastical law would be punished, not only in this life, but certainly in the life hereafter. Support for parish churches demonstrated the piety and the standing of the benefactor in the local community. The wealthy naturally made the greater contribution but the modest contributions of poorer members of the community to support the maintenance of the fabric must not be forgotten.

As will be made clearer later in this thesis, there was strong support for the parish church which played such an important part in daily life and, in most respects, for the Church in England though this did not always extend to the activities of the papal curia since piety and support were for 'English' causes.

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<sup>1</sup>. Rogers, A. A History of Lincolnshire (Henley, 1970) pp. 7, 21 and 25.

A map showing the divisions of Lincolnshire is on p. 20.

In this respect a stand was taken as early as 1253 when Robert Grossteste, Bishop of Lincoln had refused to present a nephew of the pope to a canonry in Lincoln Cathedral and in 1351 the Statute of Provisors abolished the practice of 'providing' a foreign official with the income from a British benefice even if the beneficiary provided a stipend for a resident priest.<sup>2</sup> By the close of the fifteenth century, there were movements amongst the laity for reform, both of the liturgy and of the clergy, coupled with a desire to limit papal interference in the affairs of the English Church and people.

Many of the 'reforms' enacted during the reign of Henry VIII although inspired by the king's marital problems and, later by the need to raise money to finance various projects, had the support of an unquantifiable majority of lay people. This was particularly so for the king's plans to repudiate papal authority and, to a lesser extent, to his desire to appropriate religious houses with an income of under £200. Though, in religious matters, ancient traditions died hard, reform was in the air.

Thus, the custom of presenting a deceased parishioner's best beast, item of clothing or furniture to the church at .....

<sup>2</sup>. Hoorman, J. R. H. A History of the Church in England (London, 1967) p. 93.

the burial was abolished by a Statute which became law in April 1530 and was replaced by a mortuary payment based on the value of the estate.<sup>3</sup> This type of reform was generally accepted but later acts motivated by the excesses of the king were to cause much unrest, particularly in the county of Lincoln.<sup>4</sup> Topographic factors may have played their part here.

Lincolnshire, even in the late twentieth century, remains one of the most isolated and least known of English counties. In the sixteenth century it was the most northerly county to be governed directly from London, those counties north of the Humber coming under the control of the Council of the North based at York and other Northern authorities.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. xxiii

<sup>4</sup>. The later 'reforms' and their impact in Lincolnshire will be discussed in Chapter VI. For more detailed discussions of the Henrician Reformation the following works should be consulted :

Scarisbrick, J. J The Reformation and the English People (Oxford, 1984)

Bossy, J. Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1985)

Guy, J. Tudor England (Oxford, 1980)

Bowker, N. The Henrician Reformation (Cambridge, 1981)

<sup>5</sup>. Hill, J. W. F. Tudor and Stuart Lincoln (Cambridge, 1956) pp. 1-2.

Then, as now, the geographical position of the county away from the main routes to the north had some bearing on its isolation. Until Bishop Alexander bridged the River Trent at Newark in 1169 the main route to the north from London was the Roman Ermine Street which passed through Lincoln and continued on to Barton-on-Humber [8] and then crossed the Humber by ferry into Yorkshire. After the bridging of the Trent the main road diverted from Ermine Street north of Stamford [720] at Colsterworth [684] and passed through Grantham [622] to Newark and Doncaster. The only way to cross the River Trent north of Newark was by the Lincolnshire based ferries at Gainsborough [151] and Stockwith [130] and the Nottinghamshire based ferries at Dunham and Littleborough.<sup>4</sup>

The late Sir Francis Hill described the county at the beginning of the sixteenth century as follows :

'The deterrents to travel, physical, economic and psychological, were so great that small men moved about hardly at all, but stayed where God put them. Merchants went to fairs and markets, or round the farms to buy wool; lawyers went on circuit of the assize towns; magistrates went to sessions and clergy to visitations; country lads were apprenticed in neighbouring towns, and a few adventurous spirits went further afield, perhaps to London to try their fortunes. Of the citizens of Lincoln the recorder, who was often one of the city's representatives in parliament, and his parliamentary colleague were

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<sup>4</sup>. Barley, H. W. Documents relating to the Manor and Soke of Newark-on-Trent Thornton Society Record Series Vol.16 (Nottingham, 1956) p. xix.

Hodgett, G. A. J. Tudor Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1975) p. 1.

See maps of Roads and Navigable Rivers on pages 30 and 31.

taken by public duty to London. So occasionally was the mayor, but 'to ride up' was a serious matter, to be evaded if possible, and at the least to be postponed until the summer reduced the hardships of the journey. ...ordinary folk seldom went further than they could walk in a day...'<sup>7</sup>

Although the county as a whole, because of its geographical position, escaped much of the political upheaval of the middle ages, internal communication was not as difficult as Sir Francis implies. Indeed medieval roads were full of wayfarers of all kinds. Lincolnshire was no exception. From probate certificates for the year 1531 an itinerary for the commissary who was the representative of the bishop in the archdeaconaries has been drawn up and recorded in Appendix A to this thesis.<sup>8</sup> This confirms that considerable distances could be covered quickly when necessary. For example, on 9 November 1531 Dr. Pryn travelled thirty-eight miles to Pinchbeck [671], where he proved the will of Robert Baythe. The next day he travelled ten miles to Wyberton [585] where he held Court and proved eight wills. The next day he travelled sixteen miles to Sleaford [560], where he proved the will of Hugh Gull before travelling the sixteen miles to Lincoln. Apparently he only remained in Lincoln for one day before journeying the twenty miles to Caistor [74] and moving on the next day to Grimsby [57], which is about .....

<sup>7</sup> Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> For details of the duties of the commissary see pp. 66-67.



twelve miles distant. After proving four wills in Grimsby he returned the thirty miles to Lincoln, where he remained until 20 November before commencing his journeys again. Dr. Pryn, contrary to Sir Francis Hill's comment quoted above, carried out most of his visitations during the winter months. Perhaps the reason for this may have been that more deaths took place at this time. Travel by horseback through fen and marshland must have been very unpleasant during the winter months. The travels of Dr. Pryn adequately confirm that it was possible to travel throughout the county quite rapidly when this was necessary.

The late Professor Maurice Barley has shown how well the county was served by navigable water courses and the present writer is of the opinion that the inhabitants of Lincolnshire in the late Middle Ages did not consider themselves at all isolated or ill-informed.\* It is significant that most of the comments on the isolation and character of Lincolnshire have originated from the perceptions of London based travellers which are notoriously different from those of provincials. The best known derogatory outburst was that of Henry VIII when he said that the county was 'one of the most brute and

\*. Barley, H. W. 'Lincolnshire Rivers in the Middle Ages' in LAAS Vol. I (Lincoln, 1939) pp. 1 to 22.

See Maps of Roads and Navigable Rivers on pages 30 and 31.

beastly' in the realm. However, he was prejudiced having been held in defiance by the participants in the Lincolnshire Rising (see Chapter VI). John Williams, a servant of Thomas Cromwell, writing to his master on 27 October 1536 describes the gentlemen of Lincolnshire by saying that in no county had he seen 'such a sight of asses, so unlike gentlemen as the most part of them...knights and esquires are meeter to be baileys, men void of good fashion and in full of wit...' The low opinion of Lincolnshire people persisted and in a letter written during the eighteenth century by Lord Clifford to Sir Gervase Clifton the noble lord in describing the agriculture of Northumberland commented that 'Fowles of the choicest kindes are to be had there enough to make a Lincolnshire man sick at the second course'. Charles Chester, a prisoner apparently in the Tower of London, in a letter to the Lord Admiral written in 1592 said

'If I am grievous in your honour's hearing or sight let me be banished in the Brill, Flushing, Lincolnshire, or in the worst place of her Majesty's dominions or to some vile war without pay so I am not left in this cage of misery...'

Clearly Lincolnshire and its inhabitants were held in no high regard by southerners.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>. H. N. C. State Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII Vol. I Pt. 2 (London, 1830) No. 48; L and P Vol. XI No. 888  
H. N. C. Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections Vol. VII (HMSO, 1914) p. 432.  
H. N. C. Calendar of Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury etc. Vol. IV (HMSO 1892) p. 221.

Perhaps, however, Lincolnshire people had the last laugh - it was an advantage during the troubles of the times that most of the battles, royal progresses and the like, except for the county town, passed the county by!

Parliament met in Lincoln in 1301, 1315, 1316 and 1327. There were battles in the city in 1141 and 1217 but the only other major upheaval was the short lived rebellion in 1470 led by Lord Welles. This minor conflict of the Wars of the Roses became known as the battle of Lose Coat Field (near Stamford).<sup>11</sup>

The county town, of course, contained the cathedra of the diocesan bishop, who was responsible for an area stretching from the Humber to the Thames and contained the whole of the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Huntingdon, Bedford, Oxford, Buckingham and part of Hertfordshire. Lincoln itself had, by the late fifteenth century, declined and the great merchants had gone leaving the city's trade in the hands of smaller men, mercers, drapers, tanners, butchers and braziers, with the occasional goldsmith.<sup>12</sup>

In the Diocesan Return of 1563 Lincoln is shown as having 459 households and other Lincolnshire communities with 200 or more households were as follows :

Boston	471	Grantham	252	Tattershall	236
Kirton (Holland)	228	Coningsby	221	Stamford	213
Barton-on-Humber	207	Swineshead	209	Pinchbeck	200

<sup>11</sup>. Hill, J. W. F. Medieval Lincoln (Cambridge, 1948) pp. 179-180, 201-205, 239-245, 283.

<sup>12</sup>. A brazier is a worker in brass. Hill, J. W. F. Tudor and Stuart Lincoln, p. 22.

Unfortunately the return is not complete but the Poll Tax Return of 1377 suggests that Louth and Wainfleet should be added to the above list.<sup>13</sup>

TABLE 1  
Centres of Population

Town	Tax payers in 1377 (Over 200)	Households in 1563 (Over 100)
Bardney	408	100 .
Barton-on-Humber	-	207 .
Boston	-	471 .
Coningsby	418	221 .
Grantham	-	252 .
Ingoldmells	401	- .
Kirton (Holland)	-	228 .
Lincoln	-	459 .
Louth	680	- .
Pinchbeck	-	200 .
Stamford	-	213 .
Swineshead	-	209 .
Tattershall	263	236 .
Wainfleet	678	- .
Whaplode	-	115 .

The main towns as listed above and the reasons for their importance are considered below in detail as an aid to understanding the church building campaigns and other manifestations of secular piety which are discussed later in this thesis.

By the fifteenth century Boston [568] had overtaken Lincoln [319] as the largest centre of population. The town owed its prosperity to the wool trade and all wool .....

<sup>13</sup>. Hodgett, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-199.

Platts, G. Land and People in Medieval Lincolnshire (Lincoln, 1985) pp. 306-308

had to pass through the staple port en route to Calais. It has been said that the magnificent tower - Boston Stump - had foundations laid on wool and the same could be said of the spire of St. James Church in Louth [202]. This will be discussed in detail in Chapter V. Louth was the market town for the wold sheep farming region. Wool was bought and sold in the town and then transported by road to Saltfleet Haven [173] and then by ship to Boston.

In many ways the medieval history of Grantham [622] is similar to Louth. Wool produced by sheep grazing on the heathlands was sold in the town's market and parchment was produced from the animal skins. It was the wealth produced from the wool industry which financed the building of the magnificent spire of St. Wulfram's Church c1300. In the sixteenth century a small cloth industry developed but this was never very large and the leather industry became the main producer of wealth in the town. The bridging of the Trent at Newark was a great asset to Grantham as the main highway to the north, which had run from Peterbrough through Stamford and Lincoln, was diverted through Grantham to Newark. The Great North Road as it became known was intersected at Grantham by the road to Boston with a link to the Roman Ermine Street

through Sleaford [560] and on to Lincoln. Grantham was, therefore, a convenient place for goods to be loaded and transferred for transportation to the port at Boston and further afield.

Tattershall [500], of course, had its Castle, which had been rebuilt between 1434 and 1446 as his principal residence by Ralph, Lord Cromwell, who held many offices under the Crown, the most important of which was Lord Treasurer of England. He had also rebuilt the Church, founded a College and built bede houses in the shadow of the Collegiate Church. In the Subsidy of 1526 eleven clergy are named and together with the lay people employed at the Castle made up the population of Tattershall.<sup>14</sup> The Rivers Bain, Slea and Witham converged at Dogdyke [501] and both Tattershall and the neighbouring village of Coningsby [502] were sited on the River Bain.

Coningsby had always been of considerable importance and the Louth Churchwarden's Accounts record the transport of the so called 'Ancaster' stone quarried at Wilsford [577], first by cart, the eleven miles to Appletreeness on the River Slea.<sup>15</sup> Thence by river to Dogdyke and then the short journey, again by cart, to Coningsby. The stone was then cut to size before being taken by cart the nineteen miles to Louth.

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<sup>14</sup>. Salter, H. E. A Subsidy Collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526 (Oxford, 1909) p. 6.

<sup>15</sup>. Dudding, op. cit., pp. 21, 41, 54.

An entry in the same accounts for 1503 records the payment of 4s to 'John Cole m[aste]r mason wyrkyn at conysby of ston be 6 dais fo be caus of careage for bryng to Louth'. Another entry is for six weeks work for which a payment of 20s. was made.<sup>16</sup> The stone was taken by water to Coningsby and surplus stone removed to reduce the weight before the arduous journey by horse and cart over some nineteen miles was undertaken.

Wainfleet [487] was another important haven and was sited on the River Steeping. In 1378 and 1471 it ranked fourth in importance of the Lincolnshire ports as shown by Table 2 below.<sup>17</sup>

TABLE 2  
Number of Sacks in the  
Boston Wool Fleets

Haven or port	1378	1471	1515
Boston	229	1061	0
Fishtoft	0	0	47
Gedney	0	0	44
Grimsby	354	0	0
Saltfleet	410	128	0
Skirbeck (Boston)	0	120	55
Wainfleet	204	81	0.

<sup>16</sup>. Dudding, R. C. (Ed.) First Churchwarden's Book of Louth 1500/24 (Oxford, 1941) p. 54.

<sup>17</sup>. Compiled from information in Pawley, S. J. 'Lincolnshire Coastal Villages and the sea c1300-c1600 : Economy and Society' (Leicester University unpublished Ph. D. thesis 1985) p. 124.

Vessels from these and other havens and ports along the Lincolnshire coast made up the wool fleets which sailed from the staple port once or twice each year.

Kirton-in-Holland [600] was a market town in the most fertile agricultural region of the county. Swineshead [599] and Pinchbeck [671] were also large villages in the same area and all three places owed their prosperity to the buying and selling of agricultural produce. Swineshead had a market and the Cistercian Abbey founded in 1134 no doubt added to its prosperity.

Stamford [720] is sited on the Great North Road at its intersection with the road (now the A43) from Oxford through Kettering, Spalding and Boston. In a similar way to Grantham, it was a convenient place where goods could be loaded or transferred before transportation on the River Welland to the port at Boston and other parts of the country.

Barton-on-Humber [8] is situated on the south Humber Bank and was, before the rise of Kingston-upon-Hull, the most important port on the Humber with a ferry to the north Humber bank.

There were other places which might be included in Table 1 and described here but comparative statistics are not available. These include the fishing port of Grimsby [57] and the market town of Spalding [672].



The towns mentioned above were the most populous in the county but Lincolnshire, in proportion to its large area, has always had few places with a large population. Only Lincoln and Boston, by medieval standards, can be seen as heavily populated. The typical Lincolnshire settlement was one of c100-c200 people in a nucleated village having a parish of c2-3,000 acres. In some thinly populated areas the acreage would be larger and in areas such as the South Wolds which had a denser population the area was smaller. In Lincolnshire as a whole there were over 700 parishes.<sup>10</sup>

There are four agricultural zones within the county; the Fens, Marshland, Claylands and the Wolds and Heath and a map indicating their locations appears on page 62. In the sixteenth century the fenlands comprised most of the administrative division of Holland and the eastern fringe of Kesteven and south-eastern Lindsey up the Witham Valley as far as Lincoln.

The fens were the richest agricultural region of the county providing abundant grazing and fertile arable fields. There were ample supplies of fish and fowl and the fens also supplied reed and sedge for thatch and fuel.

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<sup>10</sup>. I am grateful to Dr. Denis Mills for reading and commenting on the parts of this chapter dealing with the population and economy of the county.

The marshlands formed a belt of clay and saltmarsh stretching the length of the coast from the Humber down to Wainfleet [487] and this area was mainly used for cattle grazing and meat production, with some arable farming. This coastal belt also had a salt industry which was already well established by the time of the Roman occupation and supplied the essential ingredient for the preservation of fish and meat. Salt was a commodity in heavy demand because of its preservative qualities and salt production was an important industry in the area north of the Wash. As well as its use for preserving fish landed at local ports such as Wrangle, salt was bought by the Scandinavian merchants for use in the Baltic herring fisheries. The prosperity of the salt industry probably accounts for the church building programmes of the early sixteenth century at Marshchapel and Theddlethorpe which will be discussed in Chapter V.

The chalk and limestone uplands of wolds and heath were almost entirely given over to sheep farming and the wool was in demand by the Yorkshire and East Anglian clothiers. The poorest region was the claylands which produced wheat, peas and some rye, with barley being the main cash crop.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>. Thirsk, J. English Peasant Farming (London, 1957) pp. 7, 49-58.

This was much in demand by maltsters and brewers from a wide area outside the county. Peat was cut in the Isle of Axholme to the north-west of the county and was in demand for use as a fuel. The map reproduced on page 63 illustrates Lincolnshire trading and fishing in the Middle Ages.

From the evidence of probate inventories for the period from 1530 to 1540 Dr. Joan Thirsk was able to compile the following table which gives some idea of the comparative wealth of different parts of the county.<sup>20</sup>

TABLE 3  
Personal wealth of  
Lincolnshire farmers 1530-40

Value of Estate	Marsh		Clay		Wolds and Heath		Fen	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Less than £10	2	11	10	41	12	26	31	45.0
£10 - £20	3	17	9	38	19	41	20	29.0
£20 - £30	6	33	3	13	5	11	9	13.0
£30 - £40	-	-	-	-	3	6	5	7.0
£40 - £50	2	11	-	-	3	6	2	3.0
£50 - £60	2	11	-	-	2	4	1	1.5
£60 - £80	3	17	1	4	1	2	1	1.5
£80 - £100	-	-	1	4	2	4	-	-
Total no. of inventories	18		24		47		69	

The average value of holdings in the marshlands was £24 16s. 8d. in the claylands £10 9s. 4d. in the wolds and heathlands £15 4s. 8d. and in the fenlands £10 16s. 10d. In 1524 Holland was assessed on 22% of the total tax for .....

<sup>20</sup>. Ibid., p. 56.

the county with an area amounting to 18% of the county acreage. The corresponding figures for Kesteven were 23% and 26% of the acreage and for Lindsey 55% tax and 56% acreage from which it can be deduced that Holland was relatively speaking the richest region of the county.

Many of the baronial families which had received grants of land after the Norman Conquest in Lincolnshire had died out through the failure of the male line through battle, execution or natural causes which meant that their lands had reverted to the crown and had been redistributed to new families. The Wars of the Roses and their aftermath had been a particular cause of the extinction of baronial families and much Lincolnshire land was, therefore, still in the hands of the crown in the early sixteenth century. For example, the Lincolnshire lands of the Welles family had reverted to the crown when John, Lord Welles died in 1498 and earlier the death of Humphrey Bouchier, Baron Cromwell at the Battle of Barnet in 1471 extinguished the dynasty with its *caput honoris* at Tattershall.<sup>21</sup> By the early sixteenth century the peerage in the county consisted of the lords Burgh, Clinton and Saye, and Hussey all of whom were of recent creation. There was, therefore, no one family which could claim precedence. Until the creation of the three peers mentioned above,

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<sup>21</sup>. Burke, B. A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages (London, 1883) pp. 147 and 572-3.

Lincolnshire agriculture was mainly in the hands of yeomen and minor gentry together with a few families who had achieved the honour of knighthood. Of the three peers with Lincolnshire connections Thomas de Burgh had his principal seat at Gainsborough. This manor was acquired through marriage in the fifteenth century and the manor house can still be seen. Lord Burgh was steward for the bishop of Lincoln for land at Stow, Nettleham, Dunholme and Nocton. He was also steward of lands in Lincolnshire which belonged to Willoughton Preceptory and Blyth Abbey.<sup>22</sup>

Edward Fiennes, as Lord Clinton and Saye, entered the county when he acquired the Talboys estates at Kyme near Sleaford through his marriage with Elizabeth Blount in 1531. His principal seat was at Aminton, Warwickshire.<sup>23</sup>

John Hussey was elevated to the peerage in 1529 and had land in the Sleaford area. The family had been settled in the area for at least one hundred and fifty years and probably longer but it was only through Lord John Hussey that they achieved national importance. Hussey was a loyal supporter of the Tudors and became controller of the household under Henry VII. In 1503 he became master of the wardships which enabled him to profit from estates which came into the hands of the crown. He

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<sup>22</sup>. Ibid., p. 90; AASRP Vol. XXII Pt. II p. 206.

<sup>23</sup>. Burke's Peerage and Baronetage (London, 1975) p. 578.

was made a knight of the body in 1522 and then appointed chief butler of England. Hussey was steward of the bishop of Lincoln's castle at Sleaford and of his manor of Navenby. He also acted as steward for St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln, of Kirkstead Abbey, Tattershall College, the abbeys at Revesby, Thornton, Bardney, Croyland, Swineshead, Spalding, Vaudey, Sempringham, Bourne, Barlings and of Haverholm Priory. He was bailiff of the lands in Lincolnshire of Peterborough Abbey, Fotheringhay College and the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of York. These offices brought in a total in fees of £40 16s. 8d each year. Hussey's younger brother Sir Robert Hussey was steward of Kirkstead Abbey's lands at Scampton and Dunholme and of Stixwold Abbey's estates in Kesteven. He was also steward of Belvoir and Cattley Abbeys and of the Thurgarton Priory estates in Lincolnshire. Sir Robert's son Thomas was steward of Kirkstead Abbey's lands at Marton, Branston and Sheepwash.<sup>24</sup>

Much Lincolnshire land was in the hands of the religious houses. Most of this land and other property had been given or bequeathed as payment for masses which were to be celebrated for the souls of the faithful departed. Monastic property was scattered throughout the .....

<sup>24</sup>. AASRP Vol. XXII Pt. II p. 206; Burke's Extinct Peerages p. 294.

county and beyond and, therefore, a large number of stewards were required.

Many county gentlemen acted in this capacity and also as bailiffs, auditors or in some other office and this may have given them an advantage when monastic land came on the market after the dissolution.

As well as being responsible for the collection of rents, a major duty of a steward was to preside over the manorial courts. Of course, it was impossible for a steward such as Lord Hussey to carry out all the duties himself and much of the routine administration might be delegated to an under-steward or bailiff.<sup>25</sup> In an Annex (see pages 58-61) to this Chapter all those known to have assisted in some way in the administration of land owned by a religious house or the church are recorded for 1536. It will be seen that many laymen made a quite substantial income from this source.

Both Burgh and Hussey were elevated to the peerage in 1529 and Lord Clinton and Saye did not acquire his Lincolnshire estates until 1531. Therefore, it was not until Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk became guardian of Catherine, Lady Willoughby who he married in 1534 as his fourth wife that a peer with clear precedence emerged in the county. Brandon obtained much monastic property

<sup>25</sup>, AASRP Vol. XXII Pt.II p. 205.

after the dissolution and, with the estates which he acquired through his marriage, he became a very considerable landowner in the county.<sup>26</sup>

Consequently, until the 1530s, Lincolnshire was dominated by yeomen and gentlemen with a few families who had achieved knighthood - most of recent creation. Of the eleven knights in the county four were knighted in 1513 and two in the 1530s.

Sir William Ayscough was knighted in 1513 after the siege and capture of Terouenne in France. He had seats at Stallingborough [42] and South Kelsey [118]. Sir William was steward for Thornton and Newhouse Abbeys and also of lands held at Stallingborough by Selby Abbey.<sup>27</sup> Sir Andrew Billesby was also knighted in 1513, he was head of an old established family seated at Bilsby [337] near Alford. Sir Andrew was steward for Louth Park Abbey and Bullington Priory.<sup>28</sup> The important Copledyke family had its seat at Harrington [407] near Spilsby and was, in the early sixteenth century, headed by Sir John Copledyke.<sup>29</sup> This family had first gained a knighthood in the late thirteenth century and also held land in Frampton near Boston.

Probably the best known county family were the Dymokes of Scrivelsby [394] who, by virtue of their tenancy of the

<sup>26</sup>. Hodgett, *op. cit.*, p. 6-7; *Burke's Extinct Peerages* p. 71.

<sup>27</sup>. Haddison, A. R. *Lincolnshire Pedigrees* (Lincoln, 1902) p. 59; *AASRP* Vol. XXII Pt. II p. 207.

<sup>28</sup>. Haddison, *op. cit.*, p. 135; *AASRP* Vol. XXII Vol. II p. 208.

<sup>29</sup>. Haddison, *op. cit.*, pp. 267.



manor of Scrivelsby, have, for many centuries, been Sovereign's Champion. In the early sixteenth century Sir Robert was the head of the family and steward of Stixwold Abbey.<sup>30</sup> Another gentry family of the period which is still represented in the county are the Heneages of Hainton [225], where they have been established at least since the late fourteenth century. At the time of the Lincolnshire Rising the head of the family was Sir Thomas Heneage who was steward of the Bishop of Lincoln for lands in Louth. He was also steward for the lands of Peterborough Abbey at Fiskerton and Scotter. Sir Thomas also received a pension from the Monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary in York. His younger brother, John, acted as Receiver for the estates of the Dean of Lincoln, who was another brother, George Heneage! John Heneage was also steward for the lands of Stixwold, Revesby, Markby, Humberston, Thornton and Bardney Abbeys and the Priors of Legbourne, Six Hills and Bullington. The Heneages were the greatest beneficiaries in Lincolnshire at the dissolution from the sale of monastic lands and received those of Heynings, Legbourne, Newstead and Wellow.<sup>31</sup> Sir Edward Maddison was knighted at the Coronation of Anne Boleyn on 31 May 1533 and had his seat at Fonaby near

<sup>30</sup>. AASRP Vol. XXII Pt. I p. 207; Maddison, op. cit., p. 319. The Championship is the right of the Lord of the Manor not the Dynoke family as is commonly assumed. Information from Mr. T. R. Leach.

<sup>31</sup>. Maddison, op. cit., p. 481; AASRP Vol. XXII Pt. II. pp. 205-6.

Caistor [74] Sir Edward also had land at Grimblethorpe [227] and Little Carlton [206].<sup>32</sup> The Mussenden family of Healing [43] was in decline because much of their property had passed through the female line. The family appears to have first achieved knighthood in the fourteenth century but the direct line died out. Sir Thomas Mussenden, the head of the family in the early sixteenth century, appears to have been recently knighted.<sup>33</sup>

The important family of Skipwith had first achieved knighthood in the thirteenth century whilst seated in Yorkshire. They had acquired the South Ormsby [331] estate through marriage in the fourteenth century and at its head was Sir William Skipwith.<sup>34</sup> Sir Robert Tyrwhit had also been knighted at Terouenne in 1513 and was seated at Kettleby. He was steward for Thornton Abbey and Kyme Priory.<sup>35</sup>

Sir George Talboys of Kyme [519] near Sleaford was steward of Kirkstead and Tupholme Abbeys and Stainfield Priory.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>. Maddison, *op. cit.*, p. 624

<sup>33</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 698. <sup>34</sup>. *Ibid.*, pp. 894-5.

<sup>35</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 1019; AASRP Vol. XXII Pt. II p. 207.

<sup>36</sup>. Maddison, Lincolnshire Pedigrees p. 957.

The Thimbleby's of Irnham [665] near Bourne had acquired this estate through marriage. The head of the family was Sir John Thimbleby who had been knighted in 1513.<sup>37</sup>

The leading gentlemen who had not achieved knighthood but held substantial lands as bailiffs under the crown or Duchy of Lancaster were the Carres of Sleaford [560], the Custs of Pinchbeck [671] and the Langtons of Langton [413] near Partney.

Robert Carre purchased the Castle at Sleaford and several manors including Aswarby [592] and Asgarby [403].<sup>38</sup> The Langtons have been seated at least since the thirteenth century at the village of that name near Spilsby.<sup>39</sup> The last male member of the family died very recently. Hugh Cust of Pinchbeck [671] inherited considerable property from his father in 1491 and he added much more to it, all in the vicinity of the family seat at Pinchbeck. He appears to have regarded himself as a yeoman but he was certainly a wealthy member of this class. The family was, until recent years, represented in the county by Edward John Peregrine Cust, seventh baron

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<sup>37</sup>, Haddison, op. cit., p. 957. <sup>38</sup>, Ibid., p. 228. <sup>39</sup>, Ibid., p. 581.

Brownlow whose family seat was at Belton [500] near Grantham.<sup>40</sup>

As already stated much land was held in Lincolnshire by the religious houses and the secular church. In the next Chapter the way in which the church influenced daily life and the reason why so much property was given for religious purposes will be discussed. But generally the aristocracy and the gentry classes in Lincolnshire were thin on the ground leaving greater scope for yeomen, farmers and merchants to acquire land and wealth and involve themselves in parish patronage and piety.

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<sup>40</sup>. Cust, Lady Elizabeth. Records of the Cust Family 1479-1700 (London, 1898) pp. 23-38.

Kidd, C. and Williamson, D. (Eds.) Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage (London, 1970) p. 169.

ANNEX<sup>41</sup>

Names of those who acted as Officials for the Religious Houses or other Ecclesiastical Authorities for land owned in Lincolnshire in 1536

Name and Residence	Religious House or other Landlords	Post	Lands in	Fee			Total Income		
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Hussey, Lord John of Sleaford	Bishop of Lincoln	Steward	Sleaford	2.	0.	0.			
		Steward	and Navenby	1.	6.	8.			
	Bardney Abbey	Chief Steward	-	2.	13.	4.			
	Barlings Abbey	Chief Steward	-	2.	0.	0.			
	Bourne Abbey	Steward	-	1.	6.	8.			
	Crowland Abbey	Steward	Kesteven	2.	0.	0.			
	Fotheringay College	Steward	Spittlegate	1.	0.	0.			
	Haverholme Priory	Steward	-	1.	10.	0.			
	Kirkstead Abbey	Custodian <sup>42</sup>	Aratree	1.	6.	8.			
	St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln	Steward	Lincoln	2.	0.	0.			
	Peterborough Abbey	Steward	Gosberton	3.	6.	8.			
	Peterborough Abbey	Bailiff	Liberties	5.	6.	8.			
	Revesby Abbey	Steward	-	1.	6.	8.			
	Seampringham Abbey	Chief Steward	-	3.	0.	0.			
	Spalding Abbey	Chief Steward	-	5.	0.	0.			
	Swineshead Abbey	Steward	-		13.	4.			
	Tattershall College	Steward	Kesteven	1.	0.	0.			
	Thornton Abbey	Steward	-	1.	0.	0.			
	Vaudey Abbey	Steward	Haubeke	1.	0.	0.			
	Monastery of Blessed Virgin Mary York	Steward	Lincoln	2.	0.	0.	40.	16.	8.
=====									
Hussey, Sir Robert	Belvoir Priory	Steward	-	3.	6.	8.			
	Catley Priory	Steward	-	1.	6.	8.			
	Kirkstead Abbey	Steward	Scampton						
		Steward	and Dunholme	1.	0.	0.			
	Stixwold Abbey	Steward	Kesteven	1.	0.	0.			
Thurgarton Priory	Steward	-	1.	0.	0.	7.	13.	4.	
=====									
Hussey, Thomas	Kirkstead Abbey	Steward	Marion, Kesteven, Branston and Sheepwash.	1.	0.	0.	1.	0.	0.
=====									
Burgh, Lord of Gainsborough	Bishop of Lincoln	Steward	Stowe, Nettleham, Dunholme and Bishop Norton	6.	13.	4.			
	Blyth Abbey	Chief Steward	-	2.	0.	0.			
	Willoughton Preceptory	Chief Steward	-	2.	0.	0.	10.	13.	4.
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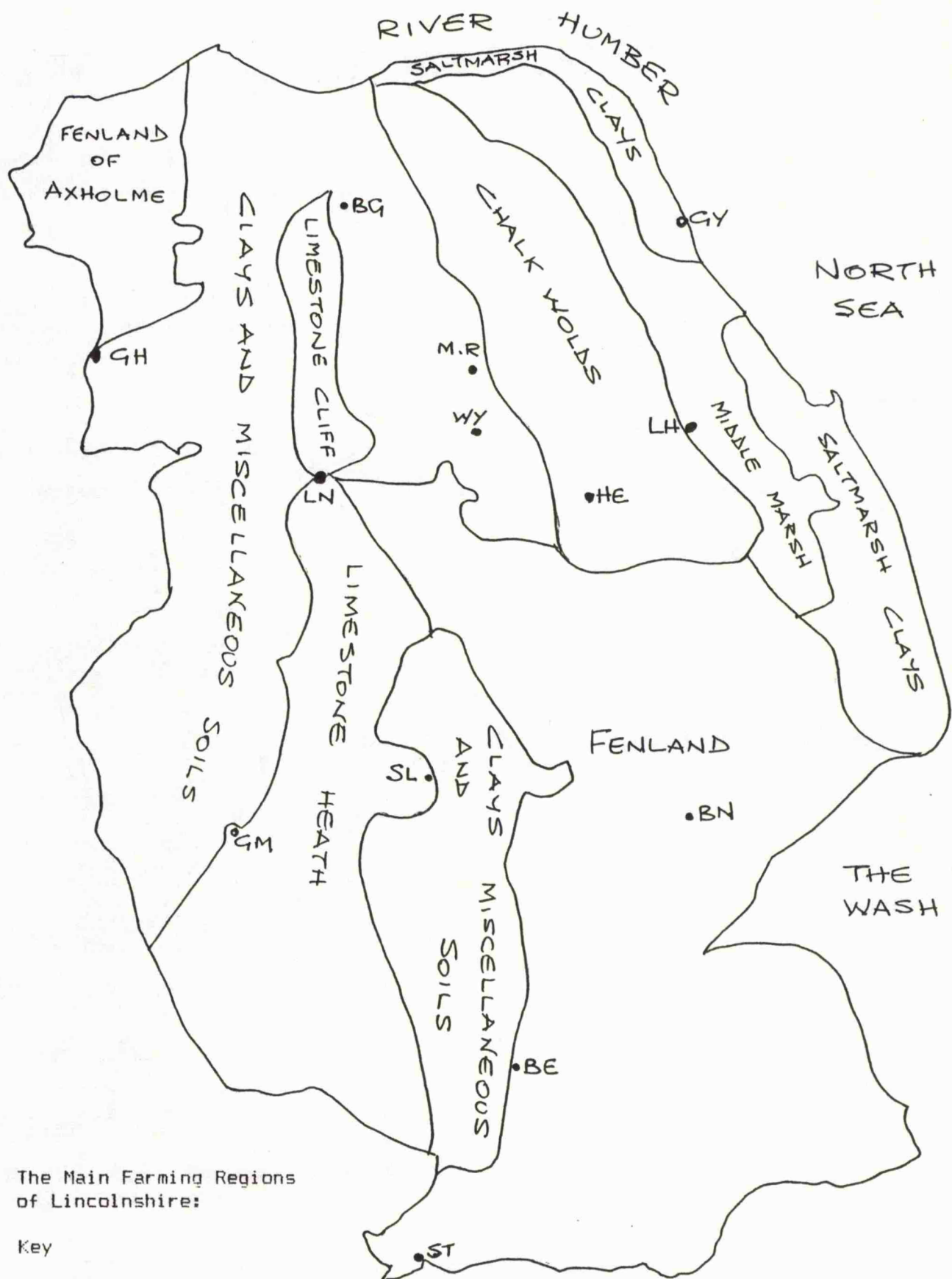
<sup>41</sup>. Compiled from information in AASR Vol. XXII Pt. II, pp. 205-209. <sup>42</sup>. Custodian of the Houses.

Name and Residence	Religious House or other Landlords	Post	Lands in	Fee			Total Income		
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Ayscough, Sir William	Newstead Abbey	Chief Steward	-	2.	0.	0.			
	Nun Coton Priory	Steward	-	1.	0.	0.			
	Selby Abbey	Steward	Stallingborough	1.	6.	8.			
	Thornton Abbey	Steward	-	2.	0.	0.	6.	6.	8.
Bevercotes, Richard	Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral	Receiver-General		10.	11.	8.	10.	11.	8.
Billesby, Sir Anthony of Bilsby	Louth Park Abbey	Steward	-	2.	0.	0.			
	Bullington Priory	Steward	Huttoft	1.	0.	0.	3.	0.	0.
Cawood, William	Bardney Abbey	Auditor	-	2.	0.	0.			
	Legbourne Priory	Auditor	-		5.	0.			
	Louth Park Abbey	Auditor	-		13.	4.			
	Markby Priory	Auditor	-		13.	4.			
	Tattershall College	Steward	Kestevan and Lindsey	2.	0.	10.			
		Auditor	-	2.	19.	8.	8.	12.	2.
Coney, Thomas	Tattershall College	Bailiff	Kirton-in-Holland	1.	0.	0.	1.	0.	0.
Dalysen, William of Laughton	Axholme Priory	Steward	-		13.	4.			
	Eisham Priory	Under-Steward	-		13.	4.			
	Heynings Priory	Chief-Steward	-		1.	0.	0.		
	Nostel Priory	Steward	-		1.	0.	0.		
	Thornholme Priory	Auditor	-		1.	0.	0.	4.	6.
Dymoke, Sir Robert of Scrivelsby	Stixwold Abbey	Steward	-	1.	6.	8.	1.	6.	8.
Dymoke, Thomas of Carlton	Barlings Abbey	Bailiff	North Carlton	1.	0.	0.			
	Kirkstead Abbey	Bailiff	Scampton	3.	0.	0.	4.	0.	0.
Grantham, Hugh of Dunholme	Bullington Priory	Auditor	-		1.	0.	0.		
	Mellow Abbey	Auditor	-		1.	0.	0.		
	Newsome Abbey	Auditor	-		1.	0.	0.		
	Willoughton Preceptory	Auditor	-		2.	0.	0.	5.	0.
Henneage, Sir Thomas of Mainton	Bishop of Lincoln	Steward	Louth	3.	6.	8.			
	Peterborough Abbey	Steward	Fiskerton and Scotter	1.	10.	0.			
	Monastery of B.V.M York	Pension	-	5.	0.	0.	11.	6.	8.

Name and Residence	Religious House or other Landlords	Post	Lands in	Fee			Total Income		
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Henneage, John	Dean of Lincoln	Receiver	-	5.	0.	0.			
	Bardney Abbey	Under Steward	-	13.	4.				
	Bullington Priory	Steward	West Torrington	13.	4.				
	Humberstone Abbey	Chief Steward	-	13.	4.				
	Legbourne Priory	Steward	-	10.	0.				
	Markby Abbey	Steward	Huttoft	10.	0.				
	Revesby Abbey	Steward	Thorseway	1.	0.	0.			
	Sixhills Priory	Steward	-	1.	13.	4.			
	Stixwold Abbey	Steward	Lindsey	13.	4.				
	Thornton Abbey	Steward	-	1.	0.	0.	12.	6.	8.
Hill, John	Tattershall College	Receiver	-	6.	13.	4.	6.	13.	4.
Irby, Anthony	Barlings Abbey	Auditor	-	1.	0.	0.			
	Spalding Priory	Under-Steward	-	2.	0.	0.			
	Tattershall College	Steward	Holland	13.	4.	3.	13.	4.	
Littlebury, John of Hagworthingham	Bardney Abbey	Under-Steward	-	13.	4.				
	Bullington Priory	Steward	Burgh-le-Marsh	13.	4.				
	Crowland Abbey	Steward	Lindsey and Claxby	2.	0.	0.			
	Hagnaby Priory	Steward	-	13.	4.				
	Markby Priory	Steward	-	1.	0.	0.			
	Mount Grace	Steward	Minting	13.	4.				
	Revesby Abbey	Steward	Sibsey	1.	3.	0.			
	Tattershall College	Steward	Lindsey	1.	0.	0.	8.	16.	4.
Littlebury, Robert of Stainsby	Crowland Abbey	Bailiff	Langtoft	2.	13.	4.	2.	13.	4.
Longland, Luke	Spalding Priory	Bailiff	-	3.	3.	4.	3.	3.	4.
Moigne, Thomas of North Willingham	Bardney Abbey	Steward	-	13.	4.				
	Bullington Priory	Steward	Hackthorn	1.	0.	0.			
	Thornton Abbey	Steward	-	1.	0.	0.			
	Wellow Abbey	Chief Steward	-	13.	4.	3.	6.	8.	
Moigne, William	Crowland Abbey	Steward	Claxby	1.	6.	8.	1.	6.	8.
Mussenden, Anthony of Healing	Bardney Abbey	Steward	-	13.	4.				
	St. Catherines Priory	Steward	Lindsey	1.	0.	0.			
	Tattershall College	Steward	Tumby, Langton, Wood Enderby and Coningsby.	1.	0.	0.			
	Thornton Abbey	Steward	-	13.	4.				
	Vaudey Abbey	Steward	-	1.	0.	0.			
	Wellow Abbey	Chief Steward	-	2.	0.	0.	6.	6.	8.

Name and Residence	Religious House or other Landlords	Post	Lands in	Fee			Total Income		
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Ogle, Richard of Pinchbeck	Barlings Abbey	Steward	Swaton	1.	0.	0.			
	Crowland Abbey	Steward	Holland and Freiston	4.	0.	0.			
	Tupholme Abbey	Attorney	-		6.	8.			
	Vaudey Abbey	Steward	Pinchbeck	1.	0.	0.	6.	16.	8.
=====									
Porter, Augustine of Belton	Mount Grace Monastery	Receiver of Rents	South of Trent	4.	0.	0.			
	Monastery of B.V.M York	Bailiff	Belton	1.	0.	0.	5.	0.	0.
	=====								
St. Paul, George of Snarford	Bullington Priory	Steward	Ingham		13.	4.			
	Newsham Abbey	Under-Steward	-	1.	0.	0.			
	Spalding Priory	Steward	Alkborough	1.	0.	0.			
	Thornton Abbey	Steward	-	13.	4.	3.	6.	8.	
=====									
Sapcotts, Henry	Archdeacon of Lincoln	Receiver	-	8.	13.	4.	8.	13.	4.
=====									
Sutton, Hamon	Kirkstead Abbey	Bailiff	Branston, Sheepwash, Canwick and Newark.	1.	0.	0.	1.	0.	0.
=====									
Talboys, Sir George of Kyme.	Kirkstead Abbey	Steward	-	2.	13.	4.			
	Stainfield Priory	Steward	-	1.	0.	0.			
	Tupholme Abbey	Steward	-	2.	0.	0.	5.	13.	4.
=====									
Tyrwhit, Sir Robert of Kettleby	Elsham Priory	Steward	-	1.	0.	10.			
	Kyme Priory	Steward	-	1.	6.	8.			
	Thornton Abbey	Steward	-	2.	0.	0.	4.	7.	6.
=====									
Tyrwhit, Sir William	Gokewell Priory	Chief Steward	-	1.	0.	0.			
	Newstead Abbey	Steward	Ancholme	1.	0.	0.			
	Thornton Abbey	Steward	-	1.	0.	0.	3.	0.	0.
=====									
Mymbish, William	Tattershall College	Bailiff	Maltby and Woodthorpe	1.	6.	8.	1.	6.	8.
=====									
Yarborough, Charles	Alvingham Abbey	Steward	-	2.	0.	0.	2.	0.	0.
=====									
Yarborough, Christopher	Nun-Ormsby Priory	Steward	Grainthorpe	13.	4.		13.	4.	
=====									





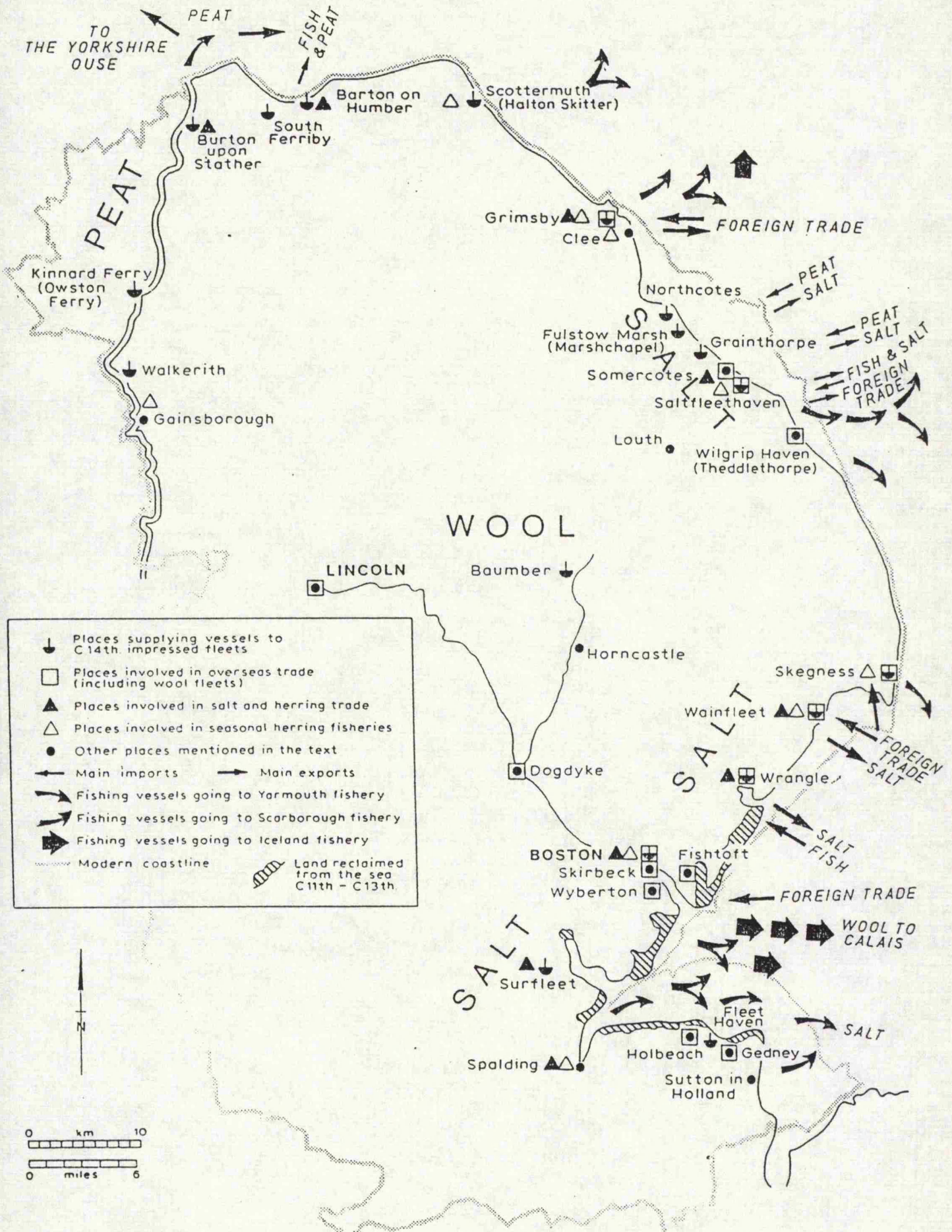
The Main Farming Regions of Lincolnshire:

Key

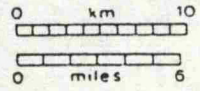
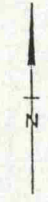
- |                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| BE = Bourne     | BG = Brigg        |
| BN = Boston     | GH = Gainsborough |
| GM = Grantham   | GY = Grimsby      |
| HE = Horncastle | LH = Louth        |
| LN = Lincoln    | MR = Market Rasen |
| SL = Sleaford   | ST = Stamford     |
| WY = Wragby     |                   |

Source : Drawn by Nevil Birch from information in Thirsk, J. English Peasant Farming pp.49-58.

# MARITIME TRADE AND FISHING IN THE MIDDLE AGES



- ↓ Places supplying vessels to C 14th. impressed fleets
- Places involved in overseas trade (including wool fleets)
- ▲ Places involved in salt and herring trade
- △ Places involved in seasonal herring fisheries
- Other places mentioned in the text
- ← Main imports      → Main exports
- ↘ Fishing vessels going to Yarmouth fishery
- ↙ Fishing vessels going to Scarborough fishery
- ↗ Fishing vessels going to Iceland fishery
- ⋯ Modern coastline
- ▨ Land reclaimed from the sea C11th - C13th.



Source : Bennett, S. A. G. and Bennett, N. (Eds.) Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire (Hull forthcoming).

CHAPTER I I  
CHURCH AND LAITY  
THE INFLUENCING OF  
RELIGIOUS BELIEF

The landscape of Lincolnshire in the late Middle Ages was dominated by the parish churches and religious houses. Even the smallest rural community had its own church or chapel which was the largest and most prominent building in the locality. The drawing on page 179 shows the large number of churches and religious houses which dotted the landscape of the Witham valley between Bardney and Lincoln up to the dissolution. This region of Lincolnshire is now bleak and quite sparsely populated.

Although intended primarily for religious worship the church building was also used constantly for a variety of secular activities and the church, therefore, impinged on the lives of people from all sections of society.

The physical presence of the church building and the frequent sound of its bells were a continuous reminder of the mortality of man.

Services were celebrated in parish churches each day from an early hour commencing with the Morrow Mass which was said soon after daybreak for the convenience of those wishing to start the daily round with prayer. There would probably be another mass later in the morning and

.....

vespers in the afternoon.<sup>1</sup>

Obits and chantry masses were celebrated at frequent intervals throughout the morning and parishioners were expected to attend service at least on Sundays and feast days. They were also expected to make confession and receive the Eucharist at least once a year usually at Easter. Religion was important and it was in the interest of all to maintain their parish clergy and keep on good terms with them. Priests and parishioners were interdependent; the clergy provided for the spiritual needs of their flock throughout life and at death, in return, the parishioners paid for their upkeep.

The church with its burial ground was usually in the centre of the dwelling-places of the living but individual graves were not marked or remembered. The church-yard was also used as a centre of social activity; for festivity and trade. Clearly 'God's Acre' had an indelible place in daily life.

.....  
<sup>1</sup>. H. M. C. Report on the Manuscripts of Lord de l'Isle and Dudley  
Vol. I (HMSO, 1925) pp. 179-183.

Bradshaw, H. and Wordsworth, C. (Eds.) Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral  
Vol. I (Cambridge, 1892) p. 374.

Dudding, R. C. First Churchwarden's Book of Louth 1500/24  
(Oxford, 1941) pp. 13-14.

Periodically the commissary, who was the representative of the bishop in the Archdeaconaries, would make a visitation and wills would be proved in the church. Although one major business at a visitation would be the proof of wills he had a number of other duties which were set out in a Memorandum by Bishop William Smith dated 6 November 1500.<sup>2</sup>

These are summarised below :

1. He was to ensure that rectories, vicarages, the chancels of the churches and other property of the church was in good repair.

2. No chaplain or other religious person was to receive a stipend without licence of the Bishop or Vicar-General.

3. He was to correct fornicators and adulterers and to punish the criminous.

4. Any monetary penances were to be put to pious uses and especially to the maintenance of the Cathedral fabric.

5. Any burial services were to be recorded and the mortuaries accounted for.

6. The profits of vacant benefices were also to be recorded together with the length of time the benefice was vacant.

7. The commissary was to prove and record all wills. He was to ensure that executors were supervised and debts cleared before bequests were distributed.

8. He was responsible for supervising parish churches, chapels and hospitals together with the parish clergy.

.....  
<sup>2</sup>. LAO Register of Bishop Smith XXIV f. 213-4.

9. He was to ensure that banns were read before marriages were solemnized.

10. The commissary was to account to the Bishop or Vicar-General between All Saints' Day and Christmas for all money, jewels and other items received. He was also to inform the Bishop or Vicar-General of all penances and other corrections and the names of non-resident clergy.

The commissary was expected to remind parishioners of the need for funds for various charitable and other works including the maintenance of the Cathedral fabric. The many small bequests to the orphans of St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln may also have resulted from appeals by the commissary.<sup>3</sup>

No doubt at the visitations the gossip of Cathedral and City was discussed and quickly spread as the commissary and his retinue progressed from one end of the county to the other.

As well as being the centre of the religious life of the community the parish church played almost as important a part in business and social activities. In most churches at this time the nave was an uncluttered space which was used for many secular purposes and, in fact, has been described as the 'village hall'.<sup>4</sup> It was a convenient place for the assembly of parishioners to elect churchwardens, for moot courts and the like.

.....  
<sup>3</sup>. For a more detailed analysis of the duties of the commissary see Morris, C. 'The Commissary of the Bishop in the Diocese of Lincoln' in *J. Ecc. H.*, Vol. X Pt. I (1959) p. 59 especially note 5.

<sup>4</sup>. Davies, J. *The Secular Use of Church Buildings* (London, 1968) p. 78.

Legal business was transacted in the church porch and, in many cases, a room was built above the porch for this purpose and was sometimes also used as a schoolroom. Although not encouraged by the episcopate, dances and plays, markets and fairs were often held in the churchyard. In fact, the fees paid by stallholders were often a valuable source of church income.

The regular meeting of parishioners in church helped to sustain not only a corporate identity but a collective memory. Benefactors were named in the parish bederoll which was recited each Sunday and prayers said for their souls so ensuring that their names were remembered for a long period.

An example of a bederoll has not survived in Lincolnshire but the 'Roll of benefactors to the Parish Church of Wymondham made in the year of our Lord 1524' from the neighbouring county of Norfolk provides a good example of what a bederoll was.<sup>5</sup> The Wymondham bederoll is introduced as follows :

'This Wrightyng made the xxviiij<sup>th</sup> day of marche in the yer of our lord God ihu Mlcccccxiiij<sup>th</sup> makyth and berith mende and recorde as hathe ben benefactours onto the parische church of Wymondham. Whoose actes to the pleasur of god in the seid church be remaynyng for the whiche actes Ihu reward ther sowlys in eternal blisse. And for that ye schall prey'.

<sup>5</sup>. I am grateful to Dr. Paul Cattermole for supplying me with a copy of his transcript of the Wymondham Bederoll which is deposited in the Muniment Room of Wymondham Abbey.

The first entry in this bederoll reads

'Fyrst for the soule of Master Richard Longyard that gave a Crosse with Mary and John silver and gylt and inameled. Also a foote to the same of copyr gylt. Also a Crismatory of sylver and parte gylt'.

The last entry reads :

'Also for the soullys of Robert Kensy and Margery his wyff that hathe geven the best crosse of Sylver and gylt and inameled'.

There are eighty-eight entries in the Wymondham Bederoll and the most frequently occurring entry is for the provision of vestments, chalices and tabernacles. Wymondham was a large and prosperous church which probably ranked with the Lincolnshire churches at Boston, Grantham and Louth.

Many of the entries in the Wymondham Bederoll suggest that they relate to gifts from the living towards such projects as the provision of organs and the building of the tower. Automatic inclusion in the bederoll would seem to be the right of all parishioners who contributed substantially to the maintenance, ornamentation or furnishing of their parish church. Those testators who in their wills made bequests for prayers only would not be included in the bederoll because they had already made provision for 'the health of their soul'. However, in Lincolnshire, it seems to have been possible to pay for inclusion in the list of those for whom the parishioners were asked to pray. William Basse of Sapperton [636] in



his will dated 17 May 1527 bequeathed 10d to the parson of Newton 'for saying dirige, mespens and bedrolle...' He bequeathed 3d towards the repair of the bells and 2d for candles. Basse also left 4d to ensure inclusion in the bederoll of his own parish church in Sapperton. Margaret West, a widow of Willingham by Stow [213], in her will dated 22 October 1528 left her house and land for the repair of the church which would presumably have guaranteed inclusion in the bederoll of her parish church. However, she left 16d for the inclusion of her husband and herself.<sup>6</sup>

The will of John Tupplyn of North Somercotes [150] dated 29 March 1529 contains several bequests for the provision of masses and candles but nothing for repairs, furnishings or ornamentation so, presumably he would not be automatically included in the bederoll and he bequeathed 4d. to ensure this.<sup>7</sup>

The bederoll was, therefore, a register of all the benefactors for whose souls the prayers of the parishioners were desired and it has been suggested that the names recorded thereon were read from the rood-loft and this, because of its elevated position, was ideal for the purpose.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps this accounts for the numerous bequests for the maintenance, provision, gilding or painting of the rood loft.

<sup>6</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 32; LRS Vol. 10 p. 99. <sup>7</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 121.

<sup>8</sup>. Cook, G. H. The English Medieval Parish Church (London, 1954) p. 156.

On entering the parish church attention was immediately drawn to the chancel screen which was almost always surmounted with a Crucifixion scene of Christ hanging on the Cross with Mary and John standing on either side. In addition to the representation of Our Lady which formed part of the rood scene there would be at least one other image of the Mother of Christ within the church. Often other representations of the Blessed Virgin were within the church as Our Lady of Pity or Our Lady of Grace. The image of the patron Saint of the Church would be one of many others through which medieval people addressed their prayers. Henry Chambres in his will made bequests to seven images in the church of St. Mary of Horncastle [393]. These were St. Loy, St. Trynion, St. Saviour, St. Anthony, St. Laurence, Our Lady of Pity and Our Lady of Grace. Alice Abraham made bequests to the images of Our Lady, Our Lady of Pity, St. George, St. James and St. Catherine in Skirbeck church. The number of images for which provision is made in these wills is unusual but they do give an indication of the number which were placed within medieval churches. It is more usual to mention one or two as in the will of Robert Gylman who provided for a candle to be placed before the images of St. Catherine and St. Margaret in Coleby [457] church.<sup>7</sup> The Sutterton [616] Churchwarden's Accounts contain two

<sup>7</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 15, 106; LRS Vol. 24 p. 61.

important entries. The first dated 1521 records the provision of two new images of Saints and the payment of 2d for 'iij hokys and sittyn of ij sanctes'. Perhaps this refers to statues of Mary and John which would be suspended either side of the Cross above the rood screen. In 1530 a new image of the Blessed Virgin Mary was made and 2d was 'payd for cartyng home of our lady' and 1d 'for bred and drynk to them that helpyd hyr onto the carte'. A curtain was suspended before the image and 1d was paid for curtain rings.<sup>10</sup>

It has recently been suggested that the small windows which were a feature of many of the smaller parish churches were placed so that the light from the sun would be concentrated on specific features of the church. As Dr. Morris has recently written

'...the slender shaft of sunshine reaching into the church on bright days was intended not as a source of general illumination but rather as a natural spotlight, angled perhaps upon the altar or rood'.<sup>11</sup>

In a building lit only by the candles burning before the statues of the Saints these natural spotlights would create a dramatic and awe-inspiring effect. A Lincolnshire example is at Greetwell [340] two miles east of Lincoln.

Wall paintings were also a feature of medieval churches and the most popular subject retold the fable of the Three

.....  
<sup>10</sup>. Peacock, Sutterton p. 61.

<sup>11</sup>. Morris, R. Churches in the Landscape (London, 1989) p. 297

Living and Three Dead. Other common subjects were Doom and the Last Judgement and as all the paintings were in full view of the congregation they were left in no doubt as to their ultimate fate! At Pickworth [647], above the chancel arch, is a painting depicting Doom and on the north clerestory wall at the east end is depicted the Ascension into Heaven. Farther west the fable of the Three Living and the Three Dead appear and below is St. Michael weighing a soul attended by the Virgin Mary. Between the clerestory windows opposite the south door of the nave is a colossal painting of St. Christopher. There are other surviving wall-paintings in Lincolnshire at Corby Glen [685] and in the south porch of All Saints Church, Goxhill [10]. Extensive wall paintings were discovered in Friskney [508] parish church c1900 and tracings were made by the rector before they disappeared. Some of these are reproduced on pages 114-116.<sup>12</sup>

It has been suggested that some wall-paintings were, in fact, 'stills' from the religious drama which formed an important part of the life of the medieval church.

.....  
<sup>12</sup>. Anderson, H. D. Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches (Cambridge, 1963) p. 183-4.

The drawings made by Revd. Cheales were published in AASRP Vol.XXI Pt. II. The drawings reproduced were :

- The Last Supper between pages 194 and 195.
- The Kings doing homage between pages 196 and 197.
- The Jews stabbing the host between pages 198 and 199.
- The Gathering of the Manna and the Resurrection between pages 200 and 201.

Certainly the most commonly reproduced wall paintings illustrate the same sequence of events which were represented in the 'pageants' as shown by the programme of the so called 'Chester Plays' which is reproduced at Annex A to this Chapter. These plays were performed on the first three days of Whitsun Week and a similar cycle of plays appears to have been performed in Lincoln on St. Anne's day (26 July). Indeed it has been suggested that the title of these plays is in fact a misnomer and they should be ascribed to Lincoln as the following extract shows :

'...misnamed the *Ludus Coventriae*...successive scholars...have built up an impressive body of evidence for assigning the N-Town plays to Lincoln'.<sup>13</sup>

The N-Town plays have recently been transcribed and edited by Keith Ramsey, M.A., M.Ed., LRAM and Professor E. Schells for production at Lincoln. The scripts of three of the plays are reproduced at Annex B to this Chapter.<sup>14</sup>

.....  
<sup>13</sup>. Cameron, K. and Kahrl, S. J. 'The N-Town Plays at Lincoln' in Theatre Notebook, Vol. XX No. 2 (1965/6) p. 1.

See also Craig, H. English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1955) pp. 266-7.

<sup>14</sup>. Ramsey, K. and Schell, E. The Lincoln Mystery Plays (Lincoln, 1993)

Some of the plays were performed in Lincoln Cathedral in August 1993. The complete cycle is to be performed in 1994.

The first of these records the 'trial' of Joseph and Mary, the parents of Jesus, for allegedly breaking a vow of chastity. They were ordered by the bishop to consume an alcoholic drink and when they did this and were unaffected they were declared innocent. Raise Slander then drinks and is rendered insensible! This play has not been performed since the Reformation. The Play of the Last Supper and the Resurrection and Ascension Play are also reproduced in Annex B. Both of these are subjects recorded by the Fiskerton wall paintings. The total number of plays was thirty-nine and they were performed on fixed scaffolds erected around a central platform on the West Green with the Cathedral as a majestic backdrop.<sup>13</sup>

The Corporation Minutes in 1521 required

'Every Alderman to make a gown for the Kings in the pageant on St. Anne's day and the Pater Noster play to be played this year'.<sup>14</sup>

After processing through the City the plays were performed at the Cathedral as the following entry shows :

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<sup>13</sup>. Cameron and Kahl, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

<sup>14</sup>. Craig, H. op. cit., p. 135.

Nackray, W. D. (Ed.) 'The Manuscripts of the Corporation of Lincoln' in H. N. C. Fourteenth Report Appendix, Pt. VIII (HMSO, 1895) p. 29.

'On Saturday 7 June 1483 the dean of the cathedral with his brethren, the precentor, the chancellor, the treasurer, and one Alford, standing according to custom before the west door of the choir, discussed the procession of St Anne to be made by the citizens of Lincoln on St Anne's day next, and decided that they would have the play of the Assumption or Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary repaired, got ready, and played and shown in the procession aforesaid, as usual in the nave of the said church'.<sup>17</sup>

The Churchwarden's Accounts for Sutterton [616] confirm that plays were staged in the villages.<sup>18</sup> The entries are as follows :

- 1497. 'For ye plaars rewarde of Qwatlode [Whaplode] ixd.
  - 1521) Candles were provided for the players in these
  - 1522) two years.
  - 1524. Received from sundry people 9s. 6d.'for increments for the play playd on the day of the assumption of our lady'
  - 1525. The players of Swineshead received 'for a rewarde' 3s 4d and 7d for 'brede and drynke'. In the same year the players of Donington were paid 12d.
  - 1526. 3s 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. was 'gater yng for the players of Frampton and Kyrton'
  - 1531. 7d was given to the players of Whaplode.
- .....

<sup>17</sup>. LAO D&C A/3/1 f. 18; LAO D&C A/2/37 f. 17.

Craig, H. op. cit., pp. 269-70.

Shull, V. 'Clerical Drama in Lincoln Cathedral 1310-1561' Publications of the Modern Languages Association of America Vol. 52 (New York, 1937) p. 958.

<sup>18</sup>. Peacock, Sutterton pp. 61-62.

The Churchwarden's Accounts for Holbeach [676] record the sale of 'Harod's coat' for 18d and 'all the Apostyl' coats and other raggs' for 8s 8d and these were presumably the costumes used in religious drama.<sup>17</sup> These entries give ample evidence for the performance of plays in the seven parish churches at Donington [632], Frampton [601], Holbeach [676], Kirton-in-Holland [600], Sutterton [616], Swineshead [599] and Whaplode [675]. These are in the Fenland region between Boston and Spalding and it seems a reasonable assumption that the plays were performed throughout the county. Perhaps the smaller villages did not have their own company of players but commissioned performances from their larger neighbours as seems to have been the case at Sutterton.

As will be seen from Annex A to this Chapter the programme for the Mystery Plays includes the most significant events recorded in both the New and Old Testaments such as the Creation, The Flood, the Massacre of the Innocents and Doomsday. There is emphasis on the basic tenets of the Christian faith such as the Immaculate Conception, the Last Supper, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.

.....

<sup>17</sup>. Saunders, W. H. B. (Ed.) Fenland Notes and Queries Vol. I (Peterborough, 1971) p. 9.



'The Trial of Joseph and Mary' is set in the context of the Bishop's Court and indeed throughout the programme of plays it is clear that much attention has been paid by the authors to present them within settings and in language which would be easily understood by the audience.

Several of the characters in this particular play are given names relating to familiar trades or occupations. These are Sawdir SADDLER, Tom TINKER, Piers POTTER, Bartholomew the BUTCHER, Miles the MILLER, Coll CRAKE-CRUST and Bowting the BREWSTER. The use of familiar names and situations together with the simple and sometimes slightly bawdy language would appeal and be readily understood by the simple, devout and pious 'commons' of Lincoln and the shire.

The plays deal not only with the major tenets of the Christian faith, but with the every day vices of humanity including adultery, blasphemy and murder. The virtuous are not forgotten and are promised, in the plays, their reward on the day of Judgement. The moral and religious content of the plays are, of course, important but Christian belief is a source of joy and there is much simple humour.

Because of their very lack of sophistication the plays were an even more effective source for the teaching of the Christian faith.

At a time when many rectors were non-resident contact with the parish clergy for most people was with the curate, stipendiary or chantry priest. As will be discussed later in this Chapter many of the minor clergy were local people and related to some of the parishioners. They, therefore, understood local problems and had the confidence of their flock. They were usually conscientious in their daily duties but were often poorly educated with little knowledge of the more intricate facets of the 'official' religious doctrines. However, they were able to instruct parishioners in the basic tenets of the Christian religion. Therefore, in rural communities such as Lincolnshire most people's religious belief would consist of little more than a knowledge of the ten commandments, Apostle's Creed and Lord's Prayer. Although knowledge of the more obscure doctrines of the Christian religion may have been lacking; religion was real and important. It helped to make sense and gave purpose to life.

A priest was required to preach at least four times a year and to say the offices daily. His most important duty was to celebrate the mass and he was also required to hear confessions at least once a year.<sup>20</sup> Occasionally

.....  
<sup>20</sup>. Bowker, H. The Secular clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln (Cambridge, 1968) p. 110.

the bishop would order the clergy to say prayers on occasions of special need. In October 1500 priests in the Archdeaconry of Lincoln were ordered by the bishop to pray for deliverance from plague.<sup>21</sup>

Preaching was usually reserved for the great festivals, processions or at visitations when visiting clergy would deliver a sermon. Because of their rarity the preaching of a sermon was an important occasion and all those that could would be present in church or gathered around the church-yard cross which often served as a pulpit. The Mendicant Friars were comparatively well educated and in a much better position to exert influence than most parish clergy. They encouraged the belief in Purgatory as an intermediate stage where the sins of those ultimately destined for Heaven were punished before proceeding on their journey. The Friars had a vested interest in this doctrine which had been gaining in popularity from the Middle Ages. They were also advocates of the benefits of confession and were ready to hear penitents. The four orders of Friars were very often beneficiaries in Lincolnshire wills and the level of bequests remained constant right up to the dissolution from testators living in all parts of the county which suggests that the Mendicant preachers travelled extensively. The number of bequests to the large number of other religious houses in the county is very low compared with

.....  
<sup>21</sup>. Ibid., p. 111.

those to the Friars except in the case of St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln which will be discussed in detail later.<sup>22</sup>

Important as was the instruction given by parish clergy and the sermons preached by visiting clergy and the religious, by far the loudest and most persistent proclamation of the Christian message was the frequent sound of the bells from the towers of churches and religious houses. Although bells were rung primarily to announce services and the Canonical Hours they were also rung to announce the passing of a Christian soul, to warn of danger and on other occasions.

The rules for bellringing at Lincoln Cathedral were very elaborate and before midnight mass and afternoon vespers the bells were rung for about one and a half hours with intervals every twenty minutes when the order in which the bells were rung would be altered. The rules for the ringing of the bells at the Collegiate Church of the Holy Trinity at Tattershall and for St. James' Church, Louth confirm that at every church bells were of considerable importance in medieval religious life.<sup>23</sup> Bells were dedicated to the glory of God and in honour of a Saint. This was believed to endow them with special powers which included the ability to drive away

.....  
<sup>22</sup>. See pp. 154-157.

<sup>23</sup>. Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, p. 374; H. M. C de l'Isle and Dudley *op. cit.*, p. 181; Dudding, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

thunderstorms, plague and fire. Payment to bellringers for ringing to drive away thunderstorms are not uncommon and the Churchwarden's Accounts for Spalding record a payment in 1519 of 3d. for 'ryngyng when the Tempest was'.<sup>24</sup>

A long-standing bellringing custom took place on the Vigil of All Saints when ringing commenced at mid-night and continued at least until dawn and sometimes throughout the day. This was the day when the whole company of the dead were remembered and it was widely believed that the souls of the departed would revisit their earthly homes.<sup>25</sup> Bellringing illustrates the superstitious content of medieval religion.

Most church towers contained three bells and the larger Abbeys possessed many more often of great size. The proximity of towers meant that most people would hear the bells throughout the working day and would be able to kneel and pray when the most solemn parts of services were signalled. The passing bell was rung through the closing minutes of a life announcing the imminence of a death to neighbours in their homes or out in the fields so that they could kneel and pray for the departing soul. A handbell was rung throughout the parish to summon

<sup>24</sup>. Cox, J. C. (Ed.) Churchwarden's Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the close of the Seventeenth Century. (London, 1913) p. 212.

<sup>25</sup>. Price, R. Bells and Man (Oxford, 1983) p. 114.  
Whistler, L. The English Festivals (London, 1947) p. 198.

parishioners to attend a funeral and also in front of the funeral procession to warn people to kneel as the cortege passed by. The impact of bells on medieval life is graphically illustrated by Chaucer in the following passage :

'It's of three rioters I have to tell  
Who long before the morning service bell  
Were sitting in a tavern for a drink.  
And as they sat, they heard the hand-bell clink  
Before a coffin going to the grave;  
One of them called the little tavern-knave  
And said 'Go and find out oaf at once - look spry! -  
Whose corpse is in that coffin passing by'.<sup>26</sup>

When John Lyttil of Great Grimsby [57] made his will on 26 November 1530 he specifically instructed that the

'belman was to go about the towne to warne all wel disposyd people to cum theder and to pray for all crystyn soulys'.<sup>27</sup>

Bells were clearly of great significance and prayer was also of great importance in medieval religious life and death. Appeals to the Deity were addressed through a Sainly intermediary and it was believed that the greater the volume of prayer the more likely it was that supplications would be successful. Dr. Norman Tanner has suggested that devotion of the Saints was the reason why certain names were chosen by parents for their children. He found that 33% of Norwich testators were given the .....

<sup>26</sup>. Chaucer, G. The Canterbury Tales (Trs. Coghill, N. London, 1958) p. 268.

<sup>27</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 81.

baptismal name John in honour of the Baptist and Evangelist; 15% William in honour of the Norwich martyr; the names Robert and Thomas were each chosen by 11%.<sup>28</sup> An examination of Lincolnshire wills made in 1514, 1521, 1525 and 1531 recorded in Table 4 below gives similar

TABLE 4

AN ANALYSIS OF BAPTISMAL  
NAMES OF LINCOLNSHIRE  
TESTATORS

Name	1514 <sup>29</sup>	1521 <sup>30</sup>	1525 <sup>31</sup>	1531 <sup>32</sup>	Overall No. %
John	5	9	8	47	69 27.83
Robert	1	6	2	31	40 16.13
William	3	4	3	28	38 15.33
Richard	1	2	5	25	33 13.31
Thomas	3	3	1	22	29 11.70
Henry	-	1	-	3	4 1.61
Roger	-	1	1	2	4 1.61
Simon	-	-	-	4	4 1.61
Edmund	-	-	-	3	3 1.21
Stephen	-	1	1	1	3 1.21
Adam	-	-	1	1	2 0.81
Edward	-	-	-	2	2 0.81
James	-	-	1	1	2 0.81
Michael	-	-	1	1	2 0.81
Nicholas	-	-	-	2	2 0.81
Alan	-	-	-	1	1 0.40
Alexander	1	-	-	-	1 0.40
Andrew	-	-	-	1	1 0.40
Bryan	-	-	-	1	1 0.40
George	-	-	-	1	1 0.40
Hugh	-	-	-	1	1 0.40
Leonard	-	-	-	1	1 0.40
Miles	-	1	-	-	1 0.40
Oliver	-	-	-	1	1 0.40
Parnell	-	-	-	1	1 0.40
Walter	-	1	-	-	1 0.40
Totals	14	29	24	181	248 100.00

<sup>28</sup>. Tanner, N. P. *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984) p. 82.

<sup>29</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 5 pp. 55-67. <sup>30</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 5 pp. 87-101.

<sup>31</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 5 pp. 146-163; *LRS* Vol. 10 pp. 17-20. <sup>32</sup> *LRS* Vol. 24 pp. 120-225.

results with John coming first with nearly 28%, Robert second with 16%, William 15%, Richard 13% and Thomas nearly 12%. These five names comprise about 85% of the total whilst the four names mentioned in the Norwich analysis made up about 75% of the total. It is difficult to agree with Dr. Tanner's theory, at least for Lincolnshire. It might be expected that the name Hugh in honour of Bishop St. Hugh or Little St. Hugh of Lincoln would feature prominently amongst Lincolnshire people but, in fact, this name does not occur at all in the above Table. There also seems to be no identifiable Saint to account for the popularity of the name Robert in either Norfolk or Lincolnshire. Perhaps it could be argued that Bishop Robert Grossteste of Lincoln, whose shrine in the Cathedral was a popular place of pilgrimage, might be responsible for some Lincolnshire people naming their sons in his honour. It seems doubtful if Lincolnshire people would name their offspring in honour of the Norwich boy Saint in preference to their own Little Saint Hugh or the very highly regarded Bishop Saint Hugh. The names of the Apostles except for St. John and perhaps St. Thomas, are poorly represented in the Table. It does not seem, from Lincolnshire evidence, that devotion of the Saints extended to the use of their names at baptism.

An examination of the dedications of 596 churches in Lincolnshire as recorded in Table 5 below reveals that, of the male Saints, Andrew came first closely followed by



Peter with Nicholas in third place closely followed by Michael and St. John the Baptist.<sup>33</sup> If devotion of the Saints was an influence on the choice of baptismal name it might be expected that these five names would be high in the list contained in Table 4 but, apart from John, it would appear that, at least for Lincolnshire people, devotion of the Saints played little part in parental choice of name for their offspring.

TABLE 5  
DEDICATIONS OF LINCOLNSHIRE  
CHURCHES

Dedication	No.	Dedication	No.
All Saints	95	St. Andrew	68
St. Peter	64	St. Mary Virgin	59
St. Margaret	31	St. Nicholas	29
St. Michael	28	St. Helen	28
St. John Baptist	25	St. Peter and St. Paul	23
St. James	19	St. Mark	16
St. Laurence	15	Holy Trinity	14
St. Bartholomew	7	St. Clement	10
St. Edith	7	St. Oswald	7
St. Thomas Becket	7	St. Botolph	6
St. Denis	6	St. Leonard	6
St. Mary Magdalene	6	St. Benedict	5
Holy Cross	5	St. Stephen	5
St. Swithin	5		.

Few made such lavish provision for commemorative masses as did William Hussyll of Boston [568] who in his will dated 27 December 1533 provided for eleven masses, dirige and commendation. The first mass was to be in honour of the Father of Heaven and the second :

<sup>33</sup>. Compiled from information contained in Venables, E. 'The dedication of the churches of Lincolnshire as illustrating the History of the County' in *Arch. Jnl.* Vol. XXXVIII pp. 381-384.

'...my redeemer JHU CRYST Third the Holy Ghost and other five masses of the five principull wondys off our Lord JHU CRYST and the five princypull jois of our lady hys mother the ninth mass in honor of the blyssed trinite the tenth mass in honour of the apostylle the eleventh masse in the honour off all sancts'.<sup>34</sup>

Those that could afford to do so built and endowed chantry chapels and made provision for funds to be available to maintain a priest in perpetuity. The main duty of the chantry priest was to pray each day for the souls of the founder and his family but sometimes he assisted in the education of the children of the parish.

In the late Middle Ages few such chapels were founded and it was more usual for money or property to be made available to support a chantry priest as did John Thompson who, in his will dated 26 April 1527, left land to provide for a chaplain to pray for the souls of himself and relatives in Freiston [573] church for 99 years.<sup>35</sup> Those who could not afford to provide for a chantry priest were able to achieve merit in the world to come by enrolling as members of a fraternity or gild. These were associations of lay people who combined under the patronage of a Saint to assist each other in life and to provide a decent funeral after death. In their simplest form fraternities were simply poor men's chantries and would aspire to little more than the

<sup>34</sup>. LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 129. See pp. 131-140 for other examples of bequests for commemorative masses.

<sup>35</sup>. LRS Vol.10, p. 28.

provision of a funeral mass for deceased members for which the living members subscribed a 'mass penny'. In some cases it was a statutory requirement of the gild that the brothers bequeathed to the fraternity a proportion of their worldly goods.<sup>36</sup> A gild licensed on 18 November 1510 at Saltfleet Haven in the parish of St Botolph, Skidbrooke in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary provided a stipend of £6 each year to support a priest to say mass and dirige daily to celebrate the well being of the king and of Queen Catherine as well as members of the fraternity. An additional 4d was paid to the priest for each mass said.<sup>37</sup>

The Gild of the Resurrection in St. Martin's Church, Lincoln provided

'twenty candles with the mortuary candles round the herse of a dead brother and at funeral mass, where the graceman and two wardens offer 2d of the gild-fund and each brother 1d so that there may be as many masses as there are brethren'.<sup>38</sup>

Sometimes gilds were founded to serve the needs of a particular section of the community and the fraternity of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Holbeach [676]

<sup>36</sup>. Scarisbrick, Reformation p. 20.

<sup>37</sup>. PRO C66/1612/W15; L and P Vol. I Part I p. 19.

<sup>38</sup>. Westlake, H. F. The Parish Gilds of Medieval England (London, 1919) p. 168.

was founded by

'certain shepherds and other shepherds and herdsmen believing that their flocks would be better cared for if they themselves made some devotion to the holy Virgin Mary, especially as they were very often obliged by their duties to absent themselves from mass, decided to find a candle to burn before the image of the Virgin in the parish church and two torches at the elevation on festivals'.<sup>39</sup>

Gilds could assist members in need and sheep or cattle might be purchased or bequeathed to the gild and hired out to members. The bequest by Alan Wakeman, a tailor of Lincoln, of the tools of his trade - a 'pair of sherres and a praysyng iron' - to the Clerke's Gild was probably intended to assist a poor apprentice.<sup>40</sup>

It was possible to enter a gild after death and Barnard Richman of Tallington [715] in his will made on 20 October 1530 required his executors to purchase, on his behalf, the 'pardon of the gild of Boston'. John Blancherde of Swineshead [599] in his will dated 19 August 1533 asked 'to be received as dede brother in our Lady Gylde paying 3s. 4d.'.<sup>41</sup>

Over time some gilds became very wealthy and St Mary's Gild in Boston had an income of over £900 in the mid 1520s. The annual celebrations of the larger gilds might last several days and there would be music, dancing,  
.....

<sup>39</sup>. Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>40</sup>. Ibid., p. 62; LRS Vol. 5 p. 149.

<sup>41</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 64; LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 191.

mimes, pageants and a gild play. The procession from chapel to gild hall was very splendid with the brothers dressed in livery. The names of the dead and living members were read at the annual mass.<sup>42</sup>

Many wills contain provision for 'trentals' or a series of thirty days of prayer to ease the journey of the soul to Paradise. These were often supplemented by bequests to the poor, not in order to relieve their misery, but to ensure a large attendance at the funeral in return for the prayers of the beneficiaries. An example of this type of bequest is contained in the will of Thomas Jakman of Tattershall [500] dated 2 January 1535 who left 2d each to the

'beadfolke of Tatershale College to be at my buryall to everyche of them to pray for me'.<sup>43</sup>

Sometimes bequests to the poor were in kind as when Robert Selton of Alkborough [3] in his will dated 6 July 1530 bequeathed thirteen gowns to thirteen poor men in return for their prayers at his burial.<sup>44</sup>

A pilgrimage was a journey made to a holy place undertaken in order to obtain supernatural help or as an act of penance or thanksgiving. Such a journey might be undertaken as a thanksgiving for deliverance in battle or from plague.

.....  
<sup>42</sup>. Scarisbrick, *Reformation* p. 23.

<sup>43</sup>. LAD LCC Wills 1534 etc. f. 12.

<sup>44</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 24 p. 16.

Some pious Lincolnshire people went on pilgrimages to Walsingham in the neighbouring county of Norfolk and to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket in Canterbury Cathedral. The shrine of the Holy Blood at Hales in Gloucestershire was patronised by Lincolnshire people as was, occasionally, the Shrine of St. James at Compostella in Spain. In his will dated 10 June 1535 William Annabull of Boston a paten maker left, appropriately, to St James Gild 12d and a staff of silver gilt 'that I brought from St James, Compostella'.<sup>43</sup> However, most Lincolnshire pilgrims supported the shrines in the Cathedral. The most popular of these was undoubtedly that of Bishop St Hugh but pilgrimages were also made to the tomb of the Cathedral's founder, Bishop Remigius, to Bishop Grossteste's tomb and to that of Lincolnshire's native born Bishop, John of Dalderby. There was also a statue of St. Petronella at Boultham near Lincoln which attracted pilgrims as did a number of other holy places in the County.

Table 6 below shows the amounts received and recorded at the 'aperture' of St. Hugh's Head Shrine in Lincoln Cathedral which took place at Pentecost and on 7 October which was the Festival of the translation of St Hugh. Unfortunately the account is incomplete for 1517 and the pages for 1518 and 1519 are missing.<sup>44</sup>

.....

<sup>43</sup>. LAO LCC Hills 1535/7 f 49.

<sup>44</sup>. Source LAO D&C Bj/5/16/2 unfoliated; AASRP Vol. XXI Pt. II pp. 135-151.

TABLE 6

RECEIPTS AT THE OPENING OF THE SHRINE OF ST. HUGH'S HEAD

Year	Pentecost	October	Total	Year	Pentecost	October	Total
	£ s d	£ s d	£ s d		£ s d	£ s d	£ s d
1510	7 6 8	7 0 0	14 6 8	1522	2 14 1	7 2 10	9 16 11
1511	4 8 0	4 15 5	9 3 5	1523	3 19 7	3 12 4	7 11 11
1512	3 11 3	6 1 10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	9 13 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1524	1 18 11	4 1 8	6 0 7
1513	3 9 7	4 10 0	7 19 7	1525	1 10 10	3 19 2	5 10 0
1514	4 16 10	4 10 0	9 6 10	1526	1 3 9	4 16 7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	6 0 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1515	2 17 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	4 8 8	7 6 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	1527	3 0 7	4 14 8	7 15 3
1516	1 12 2	5 8 7	7 0 9	1528	4 2 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	5 2 9	9 4 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1517	incomplete			1529	4 0 0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	5 18 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	9 18 6
1518-19	missing			1530	6 4 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	7 6 5	13 11 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
1520	3 6 8	5 18 4	9 5 0	1531	6 8 7	6 0 0	12 8 7
1521	5 3 0	4 15 10	9 18 10	1532	2 2 5	4 2 0	6 4 5

In 1510 the following payments were made from the receipts at the audit<sup>47</sup> :

'Fee to Master Wm Smyth archdeacon of Lincoln principal master of St Hugh Shrine this year'	5s	0d
'To same Master for wine'		6d
'To the chaplain Keeper on this day'	8s	8d
'To the same for wine'		3d
'To his fellow auditors'		4d
'To the Keeper of the High Altar'		6d
'To the Keeper in the night'	20s	0d
'To the same for wine'		6d
'To the janitor of the close'	6s	8d
'To the person making the opening'		6d
'To preparing the account'		6d
	'Total fees'	43s 6d
'For preparing 12 lbs of old wax'		6d
	'Total paid'	43s 2d [sic]

'54 lbs of wax viz 17 lbs remainder from last account and 28 lbs by way of promise to John Talby Receiver General of the Lincoln Church, voted by chapter. And remaining in wax prepared on the day and year aforesaid 7 lbs. Thus remaining in the chest of St Hugh on the 5th week of Pentecost 1510 £4 in gold and 20s 9d in silver within the hands of the Keeper viz £6 2 10 'croid pens'

Total' 100s 21d

<sup>47</sup>. This record has been translated from the Latin and arabic numerals have been used instead of Roman as in the manuscript.

An examination of the subsidy collected in 1526 shows that in the larger parish churches there were a considerable number of clergy. For example at the parish church of St. James' in Louth [202] there was a prebendary who was presumably the rector, a vicar, a priest whose status was not given but by his placing in the list was probably a curate, a chantry priest and eight stipendiary priests. At Boston [568] the list of priests is headed by a vicar followed by three curates, eighteen chantry priests and eleven stipendiary priests. At Heckington [565] only three priests are named; a vicar, curate and chantry priest.<sup>40</sup>

The payment of the rector and vicar was by a tax on the parishioners known as a tithe or tenth. The authority and origin for this tax is contained in Genesis Chapter XXVIII verse 22 in which a vow is made to God '...of all that thou shalt give me I will surely give the tenth unto thee'. According to Bishop Moorman non-payment of tithes was looked upon as larceny against God and was, therefore, regarded as a serious offence. No doubt this accounts for the very high percentage of bequests in secular wills for 'tithes forgotten'. There were two types of tithe - praedial and personal. Praedial tithes

<sup>40</sup>. Salter, H. E. A Subsidy collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526 (Oxford, 1907) pp. 12, 66 and 78.



were levied on the produce of nature, that is of the soil or of beasts, and were sub-divided into greater tithes which included the major crops and lesser tithes which included every kind of natural product and the labour of man. Lesser tithes were due on hay and had to be paid even if this was taken from roadside verges! Even crops grown for a householder's own use were taxable. In fact every conceivable kind of product used by man either cultivated or obtained from natural or wild sources was subject to tithe.

Personal tithes were levied on the profits of trade and business. They were paid to the parish church in which the parishioner lived.<sup>49</sup>

A rector was entitled to the whole of the tithes but if there was both a rector and vicar in a parish the rector was entitled to the greater tithes and the vicar to the smaller.

The curate received a fixed income from the rector or vicar which was usually between £4. and £5. A chantry priest was paid from the income of the chantry which he served and a stipendiary priest was paid a fixed annual sum which varied from parish to parish. Table 7 below analyses the income of a stipendiary priest in three Rural Deaneries as recorded by the Subsidy collected in 1526.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup>. Cross, F. L. Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (Oxford, 1974) p. 1380.

Gasquet, F. A. Parish Life in Medieval England (London, 1906) pp. 11-14.

Moorman, J. R. H. Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, 1945) pp. 116-9.

<sup>50</sup>. Salter, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-6, 15-19, 71-73.

TABLE 7

THE INCOME OF STIPENDIARY PRIESTS

Annual Stipend	Rural Deanery							
	Bolingbroke		Calcewaith		Lovedon		Overall	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
£4. 0s. 0d.	1	. 16.67	3	. 23.08	2	. 28.57	6	. 23.08
£4. 6s. 8d.	1	. 16.67	-	-	-	-	1	. 3.84
£4. 13s. 4d.	1	. 16.67	5	. 38.46	4	. 57.14	10	. 38.46
£5. 0s. 0d.	1	. 16.67	2	. 15.38	-	-	3	. 11.54
£5. 6s. 8d.	2	. 33.32	3	. 23.08	1	. 14.29	6	. 23.08
Totals	6	. 100.00	13	. 100.00	7	. 100.00	26	. 100.00

The evidence from wills shows that a number of testators had close relatives in the priesthood but unfortunately their status is not often disclosed. Of the forty-six wills which mention this relationship twenty-two priests were sons of the testator, eight brothers, one brother-in-law, one a nephew and one a cousin. In eleven cases, although a priest who witnessed a will or was named as an executor and had the same surname as the testator, the relationship is not given. In the will of Joseph Beneson, a merchant of Boston, he leaves instructions that 'Robert Beneson my brother, hermyt, have to by hym abbyttes [habits] with all xxvjs. viijd'.<sup>21</sup>

The evidence available suggests that many of the minor clergy had local roots and would be well aware of the problems of their flock.

<sup>21</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 177

Life was precarious in late medieval Lincolnshire; disease and injury which are now easily cured were often fatal but the greatest concern was an outbreak of plague. The mortality of man was ever present in the minds of medieval people and the passing and funeral bell continually reminded the community of the inescapable fact that death could strike at any time. The Churchwardens' Accounts of St James' Church, Louth record outbreaks of plague in 1516, 1519 and 1520.<sup>92</sup> The Minutes of the Corporation of Lincoln also record outbreaks of plague in 1515, 1521 and 1550.<sup>93</sup> The record of the outbreak in 1515 is particularly significant :

'It is agreed that whereas divers garments and other 'herionments' are yearly borrowed in the country for the arranging of the pageant of St. Anne's Gild but now the knights and gentlemen are afraid with the plague so that the 'graceman' cannot borrow such garments every alderman shall prepare and set forth in the said array two good gowns...'.<sup>94</sup>

Religious belief was genuine and necessary in order to make sense of life which centred on the parish church. Much comfort was derived from the belief in the power of prayer to assist the soul through the perils of Purgatory. An important aid to prayer and meditation was, and still is, the rosary. The word 'rosary' is derived from the late medieval Latin *rosarium* and originally referred to .....

<sup>92</sup>. Dudding, op. cit., pp. 183, 200 and 204.

<sup>93</sup>. Mackray, op. cit., pp. 25, 29, 42.

<sup>94</sup>. Ibid., p. 25.

the repetition of the 'Hail Mary' 150 times (see below). This type of repetitive prayer is associated with religions other than Christianity including Islam and Buddhism. In the tenth century the lay brothers of Cluny, who had no knowledge of Latin, repeated the Lord's Prayer 150 times in place of the Psalms counting on a knotted string. The origin of the rosary as a set of beads is associated with St. Dominic the founder of the Dominican order in the early thirteenth century. The devotions associated with the reciting of the rosary developed gradually and reached their definitive form in the fourteenth century. In 1524 Pope Leo X gave the rosary official approbation.<sup>53</sup> The rosary is essentially a set of fifty beads in the form of a necklace divided into five 'decades' each of which is marked by a larger bead. The larger bead was sometimes made from a precious stone. Suspended from the rosary is a cross and one large bead, three smaller beads and one large bead. Medieval rosaries do not seem always to have been divided into decades by a larger bead.<sup>54</sup> A rosary left by Isabella Talzor of East Keal to the Fabric Fund of Lincoln Cathedral consisted of fifty small lacquered beads made of .....

<sup>53</sup>, Sheppard, L. (Ed.) New Dictionary of the Liturgy (London, 1967) pp. 173/4.  
 Goetz, P. W. (Ed.) New Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 10 (Chicago, 1990) p. 185.

<sup>54</sup>, The large number of rosaries bequeathed to the Fabric Fund of Lincoln Cathedral for the years 1494/5, 1505/6 and 1531/2 are recorded in Appendix B. It will be seen that rosaries were made from a variety of materials from the simplest of lacquered wood to the most elaborate made of precious stones on a silver chain and from which a silver cross was suspended.

coral but a rosary left by George Wylkynsone of Broughton consisted of beads of jet with five 'gaudes' of silver. Agnes Sewell of Ingoldsby left a rosary consisting of jet beads with five silver jewels.<sup>87</sup> The accounts of the Cathedral Fabric Fund confirm that rosaries could be made from almost any material and, of course, whatever their composition their purpose was the same. In order to stress the importance of prayer and meditation and the part which rosaries played a full description of the prayers associated with the rosary and the way in which it is used is given below.<sup>88</sup>

The Sign of the Cross

'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen'.

The Apostles' Creed

'I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified; died, and was buried. He descended into hell; the third day He arose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.'

.....  
<sup>87</sup>. LAO D&C Bj/1/4 f. 7v-8; A 'gaude' was an ornamental bead usually the larger and more ornamental bead placed between the decades. LRS Vol. 5 p. 251; LAO D&C Bj/1/4 f. 273v.

<sup>88</sup>. Although the prayers associated with the rosary recorded here are modern essentially they appear to have followed the same pattern from the fifteenth century. I am grateful to John Wilford BA, FSA for reading the above and discussing the use of the rosary with me. Source : Rodgers, P. and I. (Compilers) Praying the Rosary (Enfield, 1972) passim.

The Our Father

'Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name:  
Thy Kingdom come: Thy will be done on earth as it is  
in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread: and  
forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who  
trespass against us. And lead us not unto  
temptation: but deliver us from evil. Amen'

The Hail Mary

'Hail, Mary, full of grace; the Lord is with thee:  
blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the  
fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, Mother of God,  
pray for us sinners, now and at the hour of our  
death. Amen'

Glory be to the Father

'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the  
Holy Spirit; as it was in the beginning, is now, and  
ever shall be, world without end. Amen.'

The Hail, Holy Queen.

'Hail, holy Queen, Mother of Mercy! our life, our  
sweetness, and our hope! To thee do we cry, poor  
banished children of Eve; to thee do we send up our  
sighs, mourning and weeping in this valley, of tears.  
Turn then, most gracious Advocate, thine eyes of  
mercy towards us; and after this our exile show unto  
us the blessed fruit of thy womb, Jesus: O clement, O  
loving, O sweet Virgin Mary.'

Let us Pray

'O, God, whose only begotten Son, by His life, death,  
and resurrection, has purchased for us the rewards of  
eternal life, grant, we beseech Thee, that meditating  
upon these mysteries in the most Holy Rosary of the  
Blessed Virgin Mary, we may imitate what they  
contain, and obtain what they promise: through the  
same Christ our Lord. Amen'

These prayers are said as follows :

Taking the Cross suspended from the rosary, the Sign of  
the Cross is made and the associated prayer is said  
followed by the Apostles Creed. The first large bead is  
held and the 'Our Father' said. Each of the next three  
small beads is held and the 'Hail Mary' said over each

bead followed, finally, by the 'Glory Be'. The next large bead is held and first Meditation described below made and then each of the next ten beads is held and a 'Hail Mary' said over each followed, finally, by the 'Glory Be'. The large bead which marks this 'decade' is held and Meditation is made on the second 'Mystery' followed as before by the 'Our Father', ten 'Hail Marys' and the 'Glory Be'. This is repeated for each of the 'decades' making five Meditations in all. When the bead from which the Cross is suspended is reached the meditant concludes with the prayers 'Hail Holy Queen' and 'Let us Pray'.

There are three sets of 'Mysteries'. The first set, which is known as the 'Joyful Mysteries', are said on Mondays and Thursdays, the Sundays of Advent and the Sundays after Epiphany until Lent. The first Meditation of the 'Joyful Mysteries' is on the Annunciation and commemorates the appearance of the Angel Gabriel to Mary to announce that She is to be the Mother of God. The second 'Joyful Mystery' is on the Visitation and commemorates Elizabeth's greeting to Mary 'Blessed art Thou among women and blessed is the fruit of Thy womb!' The third 'Joyful Mystery' marks the Nativity when the Virgin Mary gave birth to the Redeemer of the World. The fourth 'Joyful Mystery' commemorates the Presentation when Mary presented Jesus to the Elders in the Temple. The fifth and final 'Joyful Mystery' commemorates the finding

by Mary of Jesus preaching in the Temple.

The second set of Mysteries is known as the 'Sorrowful Mysteries' and these are said on Tuesdays, Fridays and the Sundays in Lent. The first 'Sorrowful Mystery' commemorates the Agony in the Garden when Jesus prayed at Gethsemane and contemplated the sins of the World. The second 'Sorrowful Mystery' commemorates the scourging and mortifying of Christ's body. The third 'Sorrowful Mystery' commemorates the Crowning with Thorns and the fourth the carrying of the Cross by Jesus on his way to Calvary. The fifth and final 'Sorrowful Mystery' marks the Crucifixion.

The third and final set of mysteries is known as the 'Glorious Mysteries' and are said on Wednesdays, Saturdays and on the Sundays after Easter until Advent. The first 'Glorious Mystery' marks the Resurrection when Jesus rose three days after his death. The second 'Glorious Mystery' commemorates the Ascension into Heaven by Jesus forty days after his Resurrection. The third 'Glorious Mystery' marks the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Mary and the Apostles and the fourth commemorates the Assumption when the Blessed Virgin Mary was united with her Son in Heaven. The fifth and final 'Glorious Mystery' commemorates the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin when She was crowned Queen of Heaven and earth.

The cycle of meditation represented by the rosary was a reminder of the main events in the life of Christ and his



Mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary. Coupled with the influence of wall paintings, religious drama and the liturgy it is clear that religion was a very real part of the medieval life. The routine observance of the religious ritual which had become established by custom over many centuries was a real comfort and provided stability and meaning to the precarious and troubled life of medieval people.

The evidence of wills clearly shows that most parishioners had a pride in their 'own' church. They were actively concerned with its maintenance, embellishment and furnishing.

Even if worldly considerations influenced the way in which some parishioners supported appeals for funds to furnish, ornament or maintain a parish church it is not surprising that this was a task undertaken with enthusiasm. The building had served as a meeting place for all ranks of the community for both secular and religious purposes on equal terms for many generations. By the late Middle Ages most churches had been in constant use for about five hundred years and considerable maintenance and rebuilding was required. The parish gilds, which had been founded to assist the poor in life and at death and to arrange the funeral mass, helped to provide colour and entertainment in an otherwise dull existence. The members also assisted indirectly in the financing of the building of gild chapels in the parish

church and even in exceptional cases the rebuilding of the church building. By supporting their parish gild the members of the fraternity could achieve merit in the life hereafter.

In the next Chapter specific building campaigns will be discussed in detail.

ANNEX A

THE CHESTER PLAYS<sup>99</sup>

'Heare followeth all ye Companyes as they were played vpon their seurall dayes which was Monday, Tuesday & Wednesday in ye whitson weeke.

The Companyes or trades that playe :	The story or matter that euery Companye die act :	[The no. of the play in Lincoln Mysteries] <sup>100</sup>
1. Barkers ) Tanners )	The falling of Lucifer	1.
2. Drapers ) Hosiers )	The creation of ye worlde	2.
3. Drawers in Dee ) & waterleaders )	Noah & his ship	4.
4. Barbers ) Waxe chandlers ) Leeches )	Abraham & Isacke	5.
5. Cappers ) Wyerdrawers ) Fynners )	Kinge Balack & Balaam with Moyses	
6. Wrightes ) Slatereres ) Tyleres ) Daubers ) Thatcheres )	Natiuytie of our Lord	9.
7. Paynters ) Imbrotheres ) Glasiers )	The shepperdes offeringe	10.
8. Vinteners ) Marchantes )	Kinge Harrauld & mounte victoriall	
9. Mercers ) Spicers )	bringe forthe ye 3 kinges of Collen.	
	The 9 pagiantes aboue written weare played vppon ye first day beinge Monday.	
1. Gould smythes ) Massons )	The destroyeinge of the Childeren by Herod.	12.
2. Smythes ) Forberes ) Pewteres )	Purification of our Ladye.	
3. Butchares	The Pinackle with ye woman of Canan. <sup>61</sup>	14-15.
4. Glouers & ) Parchment makers )	The rising of Lazarus	16.
5. Coriesters or ) shoemakers )	The coming of Christe to Ierusalem.	
6. Bakers ) Mylners )	Christes maundy with his desiples.	18.

<sup>99</sup>. Furnivall, F. J. The Digby Mysteries (London, 1882) pp. xx - xxii.

<sup>100</sup>. The number of the play in Ramsey, K. and Schell, E. The Lincoln Mystery Plays (Lincoln, 1993)

<sup>61</sup>. The Temptation, and the Woman taken in Adultery.

- |    |                                   |             |                           |     |
|----|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|-----|
| 7. | Stringers<br>Cowpers<br>Turners   | )<br>)<br>) | The scourging of Christ   |     |
| 8. | Iremongers<br>Ropers              | )<br>)      | The Crusifienge of Christ | 23. |
| 9. | Tapsters<br>Hostlers<br>Inkeapers | )<br>)<br>) | The harrowing of hell     |     |

These 9 pagiantes aboue written weare  
played vpon ye second day: beinge tuesday

- |    |  |                       |   |     |
|----|--|-----------------------|---|-----|
| 1. | Skidders<br>Cardemakers<br>Hatters<br>Poynters<br>Girdlers | )<br>)<br>)<br>)<br>) | The Resurrection                        | 25. |
| 2. | Sadlers<br>fusters   | )<br>)                | The Castle of Emaus &<br>the Apostles   |     |
| 3. | Taylores   | )                     | The Ascention of Christe                |     |
| 4. | Fishmongers  | )                     | Whitsonday ye makeinge<br>of the Creede |     |
| 5. | Shermen  | )                     | Prophetes before ye day<br>of Dome      |     |
| 6. | Hewsters<br>Bellfownders                                   | )<br>)                | Antechroiste                            |     |
| 7. | Weauers<br>Walkers   | )<br>)                | Domes Daye                              | 26. |

These 7 pagiantes weare played  
vpon ye third daye, beinge wensedaye...'

.....

ANNEX B

THE LINCOLN MYSTERY PLAYS

No. 8 : THE TRIAL OF JOSEPH AND MARY<sup>42</sup>

SIM SUMMONER Avoid sires, and let my Lord the Bishop come  
And sit in the court, the law for to do,  
And I shall go in this place, them for to summon  
That are in my book: the court you must come to,  
I warn you all here about  
That I summon you, all-you rout  
Look you fail for no doubt  
At the court to appear.

Both John Jordan and Geoffrey Gile  
Malkin Milk-Duck and fair Mabel,  
Steven Sturdy and Jack-at-the-Stile,  
And Sawdir Saddler.

Tom Tinker and Beatrice Bell,  
Piers Potter and Wat-at-the-Well  
Sim Small-Faith and Kate Kell,  
And Bartholemew the Butcher,  
Kit Cackler and Colin Crane,  
Jill Fetise and fair Jane,  
Cock-Crane and Lettice Little Trust,  
Miles the Miller and Coll Crake-Crust.

And look you ring well in your purse  
Or else your cause may speed the worse,  
Though that you sling God's curse  
Even at my head  
Fast come away  
Both Bowting the Brewster and Sibyl Sling  
Meg Merryweather, fall for nothing,  
The court shall be this day.

ENTER RAISE SLANDER

RAISE SLANDER Ah! Sires, God save you all!  
Here is a fair people in goods fay,  
Good sires, tell me what men may call  
I trow you cannot by this day,  
Yet I walk wide and many a way,  
To raise slander is my lay,  
Back-Biter is my brother of blood.  
Now by my troth, I have a sight  
Even of my brother, lo, here he is,  
Welcome dear brother, my troth I plight,  
Your gentle mouth let me now kiss.

BACK BITER Thanks, brother Raise-Slander, I too have bliss!  
I am, full glad we met this day.

RAISE SLANDER Right so am I brother, iwis  
Much gladder than I can say.

BACK BITER Hark! Raise-Slander, canst thou ought tell  
Of any new thing that wrought was late?

RAISE SLANDER Within a short while a thing befell  
I trow thou wilt laugh right well therat.  
Sir, in a temple a maid there was  
She seemed so holy within that place  
Men said she was fed with the holy angel.  
She made a vow with man never to mell  
But to live a chaste and clean virgin.  
However it be, her womb does swell,  
And is as great as thine or mine.

<sup>42</sup>. Ramsey and Schell, op. cit., pp. 26-31.

BACK BITER     Yea! That old shrew Joseph, my troth I plight  
Was so enamoured upon that maid  
That of her beauty, when he had sight,  
He ceased not till he had her assayed!

RAISE SLANDER   Ah, nay, nay! Far worse she has him paid,  
Some fresh young gallant she loveth well more  
That his leg over her has laid  
And that does grieve the old man sore.

BACK BITER     By my troth, all may well be  
For fair and fresh she is to see.  
And such a morsel as seemeth to me  
Would cause a young man much delight.

RAISE SLANDER   Such a young damsel of beauty bright  
And of shape so comely also,  
Of her tail oft-time she be light  
Right lusty for to go.

BACK BITER     That old cuckold was falsely beguiled  
To that fresh wench when she was wed,  
Now must he father another man's child,  
And with his swink that child be fed.

RAISE SLANDER   A young man may do more cheer in bed  
To a young wench than may an old,  
That is the way that life is led  
That many a man is cuckold.

BISHOP ABIYACHAR ENTERS AND SITS

BISHOP           Hark you fellows, why speak you such shame  
Of that good virgin Maid Mary?  
You are accursed, her so to defame;  
She that is of life so good and holy.

BACK BITER     Sib of thy kin though that she be  
All great with child her womb doth swell,  
Do call her hither, thyself shall see  
That it is truth that I thee tell.

BISHOP           These heavy tales my heart do grieve,  
Of her to hear such foul mischief,  
Sim Summoner, in haste went thou thy way,  
Bid Joseph and his wife by name  
At the court to appear this day,  
To clear themselves of this defame.

SIM SUMMONER    Already, sir, I did them call  
Here at the court to appear withal.

SIM SUMMONER GOES TO JOSEPH AND MARY

SIM SUMMONER    Ah, Joseph, good day with thy fair spouse!  
My Lord, the Bishop, has for you sent,  
One did him tell that in thy house  
A cuckold his bow is each night bent;  
Fair maid, that tale ye best can tell:  
Now by my troth, tell your intent -  
Did not the archer please you right well?

MARY            Let God in heaven be my witness  
That sinful work was never my thought.  
I am a maid yet, of pure cleanness,  
Just as I was into this world brought.

SIM SUMMONER    Other witness shall none be sought -  
Though art with child, each man may see.  
I charge you both you tarry not,  
But to the Bishop come forth with me.

JOSEPH           To the Bishop with you we wend,  
Of our purgation we have no doubt.

MARY             Almighty God shall be our friend  
When the truth is tried out.

THEY APPROACH THE COURT

SIM SUMMONER    My Lord the Bishop, here have I brought  
This goodly couple at your bidding,  
And as me seemeth the way she's fraught,  
'Fair child lullay' soon must she sing.

BISHOP           Alas Mary, what hast thou wrought?  
I am shamed, even for thy sake,  
Did old Joseph with strength thee take  
Or hast thou chosen another mate  
By whom thou art thus brought to shame?  
Tell me who hast wrought this wrack  
How hast thou lost thy holy name?

MARY             My name I hope is safe in fashion  
God to witness I am a maid,  
Of fleshly lust and bodily passion  
In deed nor thought I never assayed.

JOSEPH           She is for me a true, clean maid,  
And I for her am clean as thee,  
Of fleshly sin I never assayed  
Since the time that she was wedded to me.

BISHOP           Thou shalt not scape from us thus so.  
First thou shalt act us a solemn play;  
Straight to the altar thou shalt go,  
The drink of vengeance there to assay.  
Here is the bottle of God's vengeance -  
This drink shall be now thy purgation.  
This has such virtue by God's ordinance,  
That which man drinks of this potation  
And goes certain in procession,  
Here in this place, this altar about,  
If he be guilty of some maculation  
Plain in his face shall it show out.

JOSEPH           I am not guilty, as I first told,  
Almighty God I take as my witness.

BISHOP           Then this drink in haste though hold,  
And to processing thou straight address.

JOSEPH DRINKS AND GOES ROUND THE ALTAR

JOSEPH           This drink I take with meek intent.  
As I am guiltless, to God I pray:  
Lord as thou art omnipotent,  
On me thou show thy truth this day.

SIM SUMMONER    This old shrew how slow he goes,  
Long he tarrieth to go about,  
Lift up thy feet, set forth thy toes  
Or by my troth thou gettest a clout.

JOSEPH           Ah! Gracious God, help me this tide,  
Against this people that me defame;  
As I never once did touch her side  
This day help me from worldly shame.

BISHOP Joseph with heart thank thee thy Lord  
Whose high mercy doth thee forgive.  
For thy purgation we shall record  
With her in sin thou didst never live,  
But Mary, thyself mayst not refuse:  
All great with child we see thee stand,  
What manner of man did thee misuse?  
Why hast thou sinned against thy husband?

MARY I trespassed never with earthly wight,  
Therefore I hope by God's hand  
Here to be purged before your sight;  
From all sin clean, just as my husband,  
Give me the bottle out of your hand,  
Here shall I drink before your face:  
About this altar then shall I wend  
About to go, by the great God's grace.

BISHOP Now by the good Lord, that all this world wrought  
If God on thee show any token or sign,  
Purgation I trow was never so dear bought,  
For God will thee surely this day fine.  
Hold here the bottle, take a large draught  
And about the altar go thy procession.

MARY To God in this case, my cause have I taught.  
Lord, through thy help, I drink this potation.

MARY GOES AROUND THE ALTAR

BISHOP Almighty God! What may this mean?  
Though she has drunk of God's potation,  
This woman with child is fair and clean,  
Without foul spot or maculation.

RAISE SLANDER Sir, in good faith one draught I shall pull,  
If these two drinkers have not all spent.

HE DRINKS AND FALLS ON HIS HEAD

Out, out, alas! What aileth my skull?!  
Ah, my head on fire me thinketh is burnt.  
Mercy good Mary! I do me repent  
Of my cursed and foul language.

MARY Now good Lord, in heaven omnipotent,  
Of his great mercy your sickness assuage.

BISHOP We all on knees fall here on ground,  
Thou God's handmaid, pray for our grace.  
All cursed language and shame ill-found  
Good Mary forgive us here in this place.

MARY Now God forgive you all your trespass,  
And also forgive you all defamation  
That you have said, both more and less,  
To my defame and maculation.

BISHOP Now Blessed Virgin, We thank you all,  
Of your good heart and great patience.  
We will go with you home to your hall  
To do you service with high reverence.

MARY I thank you heartily of your benevolence.  
Unto your own houses I pray you all go  
Almighty God your ways wisse  
For that high Lord is most of might.  
He may you speed that you not miss  
In heaven of him, to have a sight.



No. 18 : THE LAST SUPPER : THE CONSPIRACY WITH JUDAS<sup>45</sup>

CAIPHAS       As a primate most prudent, I here present  
Ye Bishops of the law with grave intent  
I, Caiaphas, am charged that against our church do fight.  
To correct all errors that against our church do fight.  
But behold! It is wasted, all that I do,  
In all our matters we priests profit it nought.  
For this Jesus the people now draw him to  
For the marvels that he hath wrought.  
Some new subtlety must be sought,  
For in no wise may we thus him leave.

ANNAS         Every man for his part must help in this need,  
And counteract all the subtleties that you can.  
Now let us see who can give the best rede  
To obtain some destruct on this man.

ENTER JUDAS

JUDAS         Hail princes and priests that are present!  
New tidings to you I come to tell.  
If you will follow my intent,  
My master Jesus I will you sell;  
His intent and purpose for to fell,  
For I will no longer follow his law.  
See you what money I shall tell  
And let Jesus my master be hanged and drawn.

ANNAS         Now welcome Judas, our own friend.  
What shall we for thy master pay?  
We shall thee both give and lend  
The payment shall have no delay.

JUDAS         Let the money down here be laid,  
And I shall tell you as I can.  
In old terms I have heard said  
That money makes a chapman.

ANNAS         Here are thirty pieces of silver bright,  
Knit fast within this glove,  
If we may have thy master this night,  
This shalt though have and all our love.

JUDAS         As for that, sirs, have you no doubt.  
I shall ordain so you shall not miss.  
When you have come them all about,  
Take the man that I shall kiss.  
I must go to my master again,  
Doubt not sirs; this matter is sure enough.

CAIAPHAS       Farewell Judas, our friend certain,  
Thy labours we shall right well endow.

JUDAS AND COURT LEAVE. ENTER PETER AND JOHN TO SIMON THE LEPER.

PETER         Good man, the prophet our lord Jesus  
This night will rest within thy hall.  
This message he sends to thee by us  
That for his supper ordain thou shall.

JOHN         Yea, for his and for his disciples all,  
Ordain thou for his Maundy  
A paschal lamb, what so befall,  
For he will keep his Paschal with thee.

.....  
<sup>45</sup>. Ramsey and Schell, op. cit., pp. 65-68.

SIMON

What! Will my Lord visit my place?  
Blessed be the time of his coming!  
I shall ordain within a short space  
For my good Lord's welcoming.  
Sirs, walk in at the beginning  
And see what victuals that I shall take.  
I am so glad of this tiding,  
I know not what joy I should make.

JESUS AND OTHER DISCIPLES ENTER

Gracious Lord, welcome to them.  
Reverence be to these, both God and man;  
That thou my poor house will see,  
I shall serve them in all I can.

JESUS

Joy of all joys to thee is sure.  
Simon I know thy true intent;  
The bliss of heaven thou shalt secure,  
This same reward I shall thee grant.

LAST SUPPER ARRANGED

Brethren, this lamb that is set herein  
That we eat of this night,  
It was commanded by my father to Moses and Aaron  
When they were with the children of Israel in Egypt.  
And as we with flat breads do it eat,  
And also with bitter seasoning,  
And as we take the head with the feet,  
So did they alike in everything.  
And as we stand, so did they stand,  
And their loins they girded verily,  
With shoes on their feet and staves in their hand.  
And as we eat it, so did they hastily.

This figure shall cease, another shall follow thereby  
Which shall be of my body that am your head,  
Which shall be showed to you by a mystery  
Of my flesh and blood in the form of bread.  
With fervent desire of heart's affection,  
I have wholly desired to keep my Maundy  
Among you before I suffer my Passion,  
For from this no more together sup shall we.

And as the Paschal lamb we here do eat,  
Which in old law was used as sacrifice,  
So the new lamb that shall be given by me  
Shall be used for a sacrifice most of price.

Wherefore to thee, Father of Heaven that art eternal,  
Thanking and honour I yield to thee,  
To whom in the Godhead I am equal  
But in my manhood of less degree.  
Wherefore I, as man, worship the deity,  
Thanking thee Father that thou wilt show this mystery  
And thus through thy might, Father, and blessing by me,  
From this that was bread is made my body.

PETER

With more delicious meat, Lord, thou may us not feed  
Than with thine own precious body.  
Wherefore, if I have trespassed in word, thought or deed,  
With bitter contrition Lord, I ask mercy.

JESUS ADMINISTERS THE SACRAMENT TO ALL EXCEPT JUDAS

JESUS

This is my flesh and blood  
That for thee shall die upon the rood.  
Judas, art thou advised what thou shalt take?

JUDAS Lord, thy body I will not forsake.  
JESUS My body to thee I will not deny.  
But since thou wilt presume thereupon,  
It shall be thy damnation, verily,  
Here, in advance, I do thee warn.  
JESUS ADMINISTERS SACRAMENT TO JUDAS

One of you has betrayed me  
That at my board with me has eaten.  
It had been better for him to have been  
Both unborn and unbegotten.

PETER Lord, it is not I.

ALL DISCIPLES REPEAT IN TURN UNTIL JUDAS

JUDAS Is it I, Lord?

JESUS Judas, thou sayest that word;  
Me thou hast sold that was thy friend.  
What you have done, go, bring to an end.

JUDAS LEAVES. SATAN OVERLOOKS

SATAN Ey, ey, Judas, darling mine,  
Thou art the best to me that ever was bore!  
In hell will ye wear a crown right fine,  
And join me in damnation evermore.

Thou hast slain thy master and eaten him also!  
I wish thou couldst bring him to hell withall;  
But yet I fear he should there do sorrow and woe  
That all hell shall cry out on me full fell.

+++

No. 25 : THE RESURRECTION<sup>44</sup>

MARY ASLEEP BESIDE THE TOMB, THE  
STONE IS ROLLED BACK AND CHRIST EMERGES

JESUS A hard road I have gone  
And pains suffered many a one,  
Stumbled at stake and stone  
Nigh three and thirty years,  
I came down from my Father's throne  
For to amend man's moan,  
My flesh was beaten to the bone,  
My blood I bled clear,  
For man's love I suffered death,  
And for man's love I have risen from the dead,  
For man I have made my body into bread,  
His soul for to feed,  
Man, if thou let me thus alone  
And will not follow me anon,  
Thou wilt not find another one  
To help thee in thy need.

HE WAKES MARY

JESUS Salve, sancta parens! My mother dear!  
All hail, mother, with glad cheer,  
For now is arisen with body clear  
Thy son buried so deep,  
This is the day that I you told  
I should arise out of the clay so cold,  
Now I am here with breast full bold,  
Therefore no more ye weep.

.....  
<sup>44</sup>. Ramsey and Schell, op. cit., pp. 26-31.

MARY  
Welcome, my lord! Welcome my grace!  
Welcome, my son and my solace!  
I shall thee worship in every place.  
Mickle sorrow in heart I had  
When thou were laid in death's bed,  
But now my bliss is newly bred.  
All men may joy this sight.

JESUS  
All this world that was forlorn  
Shall worship you both even and morn,  
For had I not of you been born  
Man had been lost in hell.  
I was dead and life I have,  
And through my death man do I save.  
For now I am risen out of my grave,  
In heaven man shall ever dwell.

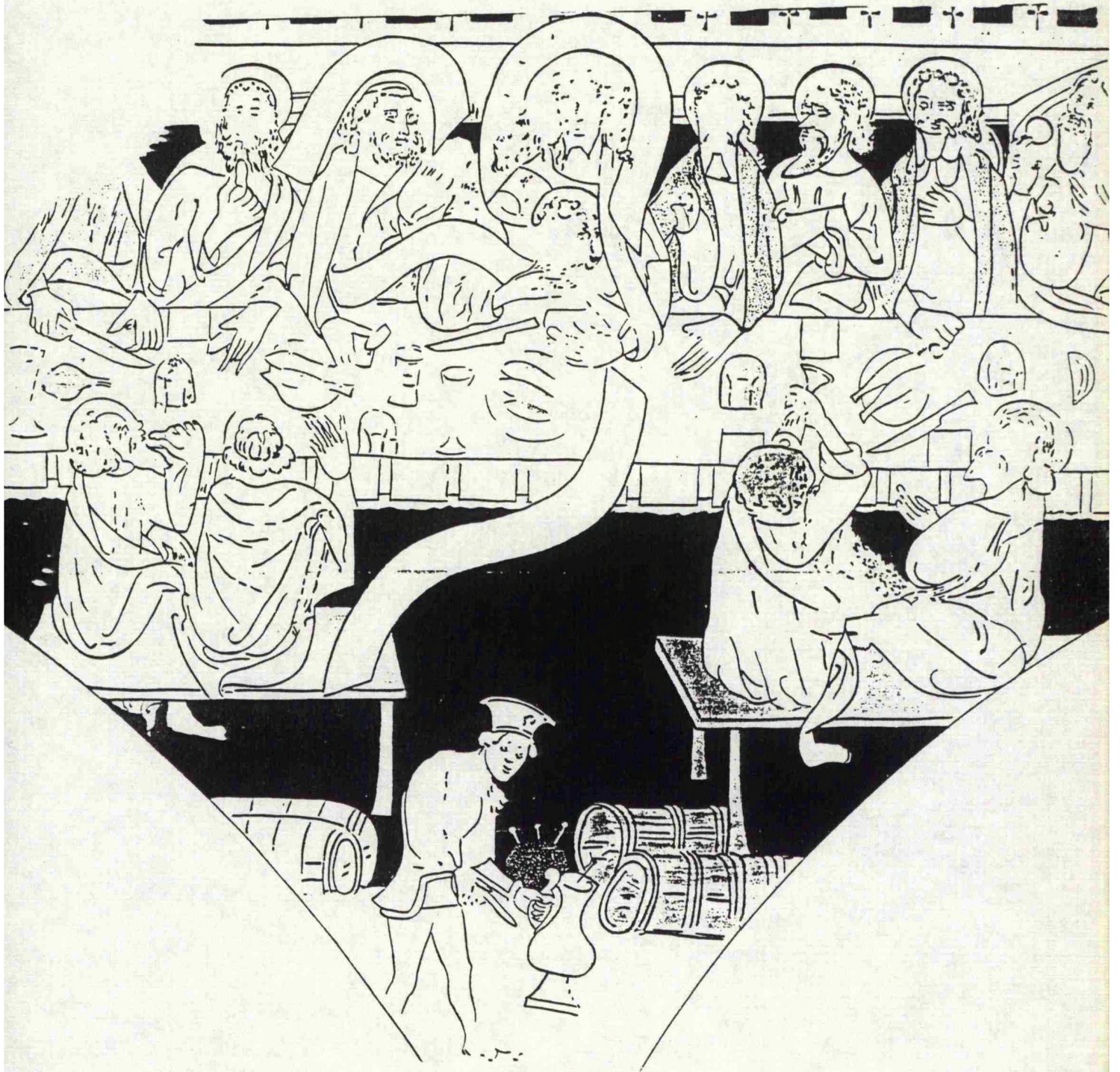
MARY  
Ah, dear son, these words are good  
Thou hast well comforted my mourning mood.  
Blessed be thy precious blood  
That mankind thus doth save.

JESUS  
Now, dear mother, my leave I take.  
Joy in heart and mirth ye make,  
For death is dead and life doth wake,  
Now I am risen from my grave.

MARY  
Farewell, my son! Farewell, my child!  
Farewell, my lord, my God so mild!  
My heart is healed that first was wild.  
Farewell, my own dear love!

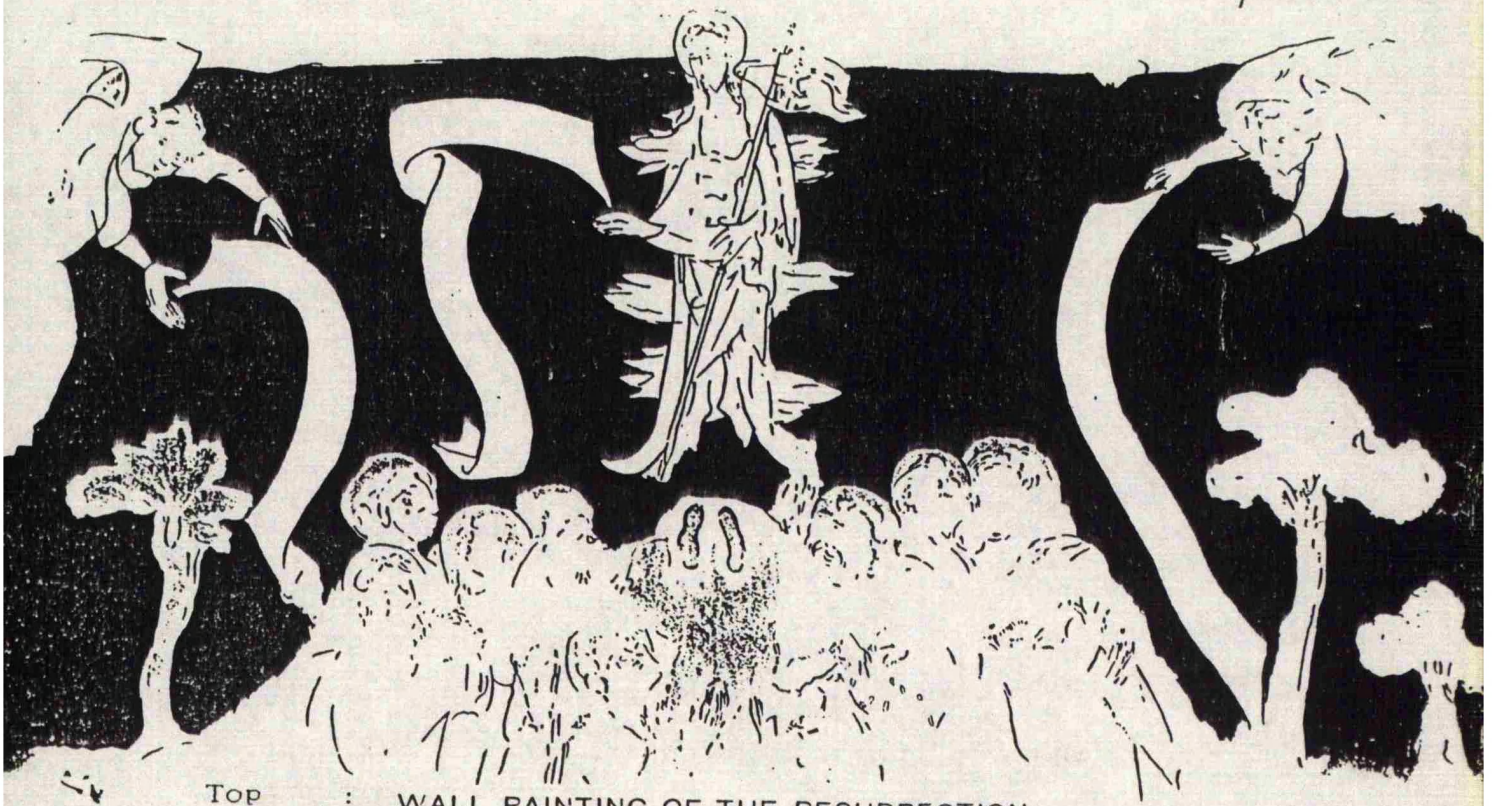
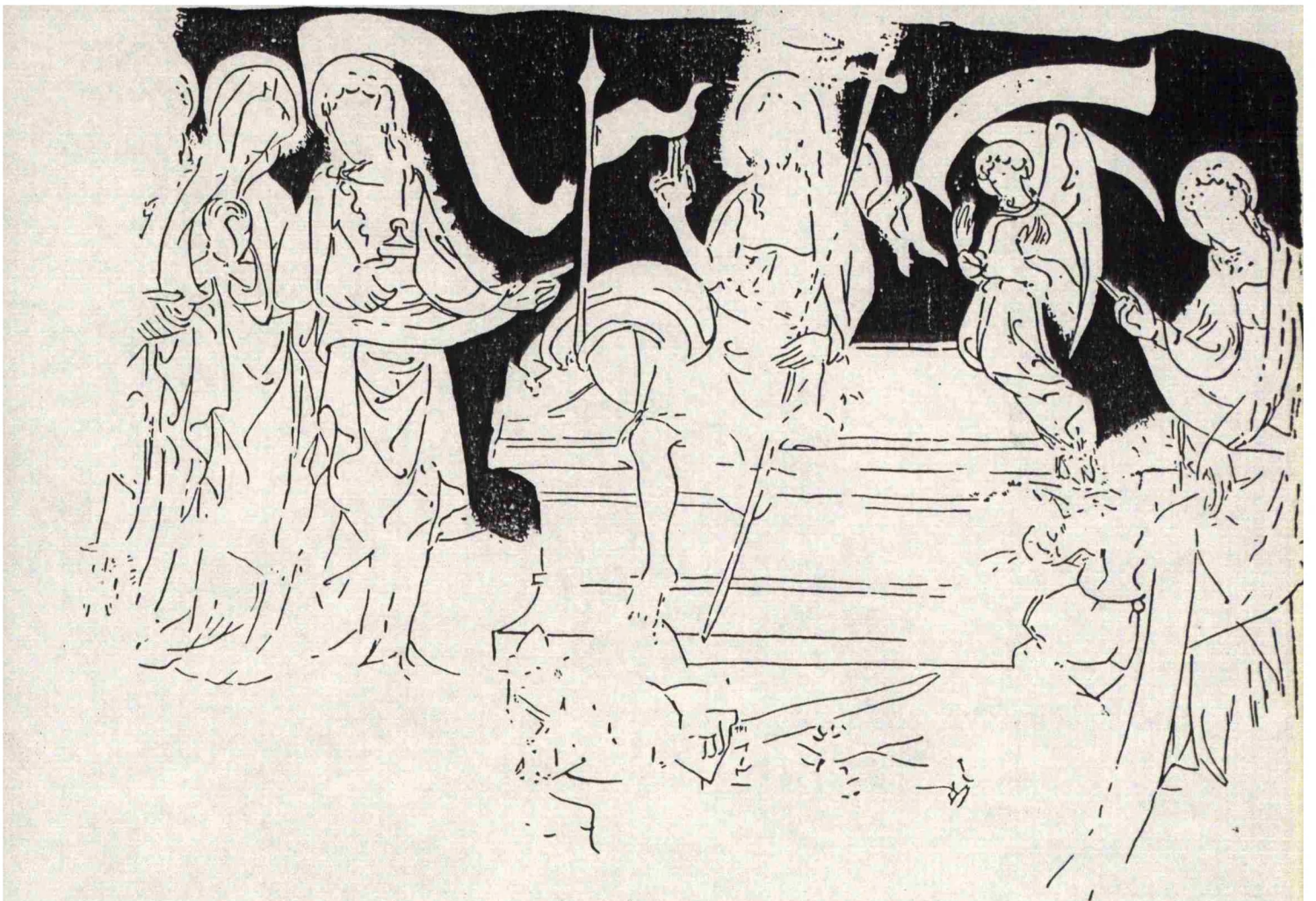
#### JESUS ASCENDS

Now all mankind be glad with glee,  
For death is dead, as you may see,  
And life is raised endless to be  
In heaven dwelling above.  
When my son was nailed on tree,  
All women might rue with me,  
For greater sorrow might never none be  
Than I did suffer at this.  
But this joy now passes all sorrow  
That my child suffered on that hard morrow,  
For he has saved us from death so narrow  
To bring us to his bliss.



The Last Supper

Friskney



Top : WALL PAINTING OF THE RESURRECTION.

Bottom : WALL PAINTING OF THE ASCENSION

FRISKNEY



THE GATHERING OF THE MANNA: FRISKNEY CHURCH, LINCOLNSHIRE.

**CHAPTER III**  
**AN ANALYSIS OF SECULAR WILLS**

In this Chapter the way in which Lincolnshire people disposed of their worldly goods is examined in detail. Before discussing the bequests themselves, the reason for making a will and the form in which it was made are discussed. The more usual types of 'religious' bequest are detailed in the following table :

**TABLE 8**  
**AN ANALYSIS OF BEQUESTS IN SECULAR WILLS**  
made between 1480 and 1536

	1481	1500	1510	1515	1520	1525	1530	1531	1532	1533	1534	1535	1536	Overall
	1499	1509	1514	1519	1524	1529								
Number of wills	24	52	33	17	103	129	286	191	179	246	129	180	91	1828
<b>PARTISH CHURCH</b>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tithes, High altar Sacrament	58	87	91	71	80	43	88	92	93	92	83	94	96	82
Other bequests to 'own' church	50	67	64	59	65	39	59	62	61	57	66	56	49	58
Lights	29	17	33	35	21	13	17	23	25	22	30	22	26	24
Burial and other Commemorative Masses	29	35	61	65	48	49	41	36	51	46	45	41	44	45
Parish Gilds	25	23	33	Nil	23	11	17	14	16	23	18	20	16	18
Other parish churches	33	33	21	24	29	18	59	31	25	25	28	28	19	28
<b>LINCOLN CATHEDRAL</b>														
Bequests for repair of the fabric	79	92	94	47	93	44	91	93	96	95	96	92	89	92
Other Bequests	21	12	18	12	16	9	20	18	20	19	24	21	18	17
<b>RELIGIOUS HOUSES</b>														
Abbeys, Monasteries Priories, Nunneries etc	13	17	24	12	12	8	13	11	9	9	9	6	4	11
Friars	17	33	30	18	22	13	21	22	19	21	18	16	18	20
St Catherines Priory	25	23	58	18	32	12	21	23	31	34	27	20	31	27
Public Works	4	29	3	6	5	3	5	9	6	7	5	3	4	6
Alms for the Poor	17	42	9	18	13	8	8	6	10	7	11	12	14	13
The residue 'for the good of my soul' <sup>1</sup>	38	58	64	47	38	29	32	59	47	48	56	47	34	45

<sup>1</sup>. See pp.201-205.



1. The reason for making a will

Most wills were made at the time of the last confession when death appeared to be imminent. Will making was regarded as a religious act. Occasionally the testator's state of health is included in the preamble. John Jobson, a fishmonger of Lincoln, in his will dated 28 June 1525, states that he is 'seyk in body' but John Sleforde simply says when making his will on 12 December 1525 that he is 'seke'.<sup>2</sup> George Browne of Lincoln also appears to have been ill when he made his will on 21 February 1533 but he was anxious to make it clear that he was

'hole of mynde thynkyng my last howre in thys miserable worlde [had come]'.<sup>3</sup>

Adam Wilkinson alias Draper of Belton in Axholme [45] when he made his will on 27 March 1531 was '...hole of mynd and seeke in bodye...'.<sup>4</sup> Although only a small number of testators mention the state of their health, death was a constant companion and, no doubt, an outbreak of plague or other epidemic disease was a frequent reason for making a will. It is not surprising to find that, on making a close examination of Lincolnshire wills made in 1530, 85% had at least one clerical witness who had probably heard the dying testator's confession. At a time when most people were unable to write it is a reasonable supposition

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<sup>2</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 150; LRS Vol. 5 p. 150. <sup>3</sup>. LAD LCC W111s 1532-4 f. 249v. <sup>4</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 123.

that one of the clerical witnesses actually wrote the will. The possibility of clerical influence on the content of wills is discussed in Chapter IV. Of the 286 wills made in the year 1530 the average time between the date of the will and that of probate was 117 days. The shortest period between the date of the will and probate in that year was three days and the longest seven years and 224 days.<sup>5</sup> The longest period between the date of the will and probate which has been found in the period from 1480 to 1536 is that of Thomas Ransby of Harmston [456] which was made on 23 September 1505 and not proved until 13 September 1533 - almost twenty eight years.<sup>6</sup> A few wills were clearly made because of the hazardous nature of a testator's occupation and this may have been the case with Thomas Ransby but, unfortunately, his occupation is unknown. James Washynghborough, who is described as a mariner of Wyberton [585] which is near the port of Boston, made his will on 3 April 1525 but it was not proved until 19 April 1532.<sup>7</sup> Arthur Ormsby, who describes himself as the 'squire' of North Ormsby [146], when making his will on 2 August 1467 stated that he was 'proposing to visit the Holy City of Jerusalem'. This was

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<sup>5</sup>. The will of William Croyle of Horbling was dated 1 March 1530 and proved on 4 March 1530. LRS Vol. 24 p. 109. The will of John Medley of East Ravendale was dated 14 December 1530 and proved on 18 July 1538. LRS Vol. 24 p. 84.

<sup>6</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 8.

<sup>7</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 17.

a very dangerous undertaking and, as the will was proved about sixteen months later, on 15 November 1468, one wonders how far 'Squire' Ormsby had progressed on his pilgrimage.<sup>68</sup>

There was a ritual surrounding a parishioner's last illness and the making of his last will and testament. This began with a procession, led by acolytes ringing a handbell and carrying candles, taking the Euchrist and Holy Water to the sick person. The bell was to warn bystanders to pray for the soul of the dying person. As the procession progressed it would be joined by the friends and neighbours of the dying person. All these people would crowd into the sick-room and the ceremonial ritual of death would begin with the administration of the Sacrament and the pardoning of the dying person and those present. The making of the will was a natural process following on from the forgiveness of sins. The bequests to the testator's 'own' church gained credit for his soul and the bequest for 'tithes forgotten' would help to ease his conscience of any possible inadvertent sin against the church. Death was clearly a public ceremony which included parents, friends and neighbours and even children and no doubt the large audience would assist the testator and clerical scribe in the choice of beneficiaries.<sup>69</sup> The

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<sup>68</sup>. *AASRP* Vol. XLVI p. 107.

<sup>69</sup>. Rock, D. *Church of Our Fathers* Vol. II (London, 1905) p. 372.

Aries, P. *Western Attitudes towards Death* (Trs. Ranun, P. London, 1976) pp. 11-12.

will of William Hayward of Wyberton [585] made on 14 February 1514 records the witnesses present as follows :

'Thes wytnes, Sir Roger bat', John Troboke, John Hogkynson, John Garroke and James Washyngbrugh, with other moo.'<sup>10</sup>

## 2. The preamble and bequest of the soul

The earliest surviving Lincolnshire will is that of Henry de Coleby which was made on 5 September 1272 and commences as follows :

'+ In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, Amen. This is the testament of Henry de Coleby in Lincoln, who though weak in body, was nethertheless of good and sound mind, ignorant of what might befall him after the manner of men, and knowing and considering that nothing is more certain than death, nothing more uncertain than the hour of death, and being unwilling to die intestate, made it in this manner'.<sup>11</sup>

The general form of the preamble remained essentially the same for most wills for the next two hundred and fifty years and the following will recorded in the Chapter Acts of Lincoln Cathedral is a good example of the usual straightforward preamble of most early sixteenth century Lincolnshire wills :

'In the name of God, Amen. The xxiiij day of November, In the yere of our Lorde God, M fyve hundreth xxvth, I Matild' Haldyn, of Burgh in the Marsh with hole and good mynde make my last will and testament thus. Firste, I bequeth my soule to the mercy of God, and to our Lady Saynt Mary, and to all the hole company of heven, and my body to be buryd in the chapell of Saynt John within the churche of Burgh'.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 66-7. <sup>11</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 8. <sup>12</sup>. LRS Vol. 12 p. 115.

The will of Robert Clerke of Washingborough [374] made on 1 July 1528 has a rather more elaborate preamble :

'In the name of the Father and the Sonne and the Holy Goste thre persons and on God I Richard Clerke...being hole in body and mynde, laude, prayse and thankes unto allmyghty God...First remembryng the moste perfytt example of our moste blessyd and paynfull passion sayd *Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritummeum* so I synfull creature, gyffs frely and thankfully commendes and bequethys my pore soule unto almyghty God and to our Lady saynt Mary and to all the holy compeny of heven...'.<sup>13</sup>

Robert Tayllor of Worlaby [27] when making his will on 28 April 1532 also bequeaths his soul to the 'company of heaven' but in a simpler form :

'Fyrst I wyt my soule to God Allmyghty and to our Lady S Mary and to all the glorious saintes in heven...'.<sup>14</sup>

There are a number of variations of this form of bequest and William Hassyll of Boston [568], in his will dated 27 December 1533 uses the following :

'I bequeath my soule to almyghty God to our Lady Sanct Mary hys mother in whome under God I put my most trust'.<sup>15</sup>

The bequest of the soul to the 'whole company of Heaven' appears in the majority of wills but, as shown in Table 9, below in about 5% this is abbreviated to 'I bequeath my soul to Almighty God etc.' and in 0.6% to 'I bequeath my soul etc.'

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<sup>13</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 89.

<sup>14</sup>, LRS Vol. 24 p. 230.

<sup>15</sup>, LAD Hills LCC 1532-4 f 129.

TABLE 9

## BEQUEST OF THE SOUL IN SECULAR WILLS

	1514	1521	1525	1531	1536	Totals
Number of wills	16	36	28	25	50	155
Form of Bequest	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
'I bequeath my soule to the mercy of God, and to our lady St Mary, and to the whole company of heaven...'	15 .93.8	36 .100	19 .67.8	25 .100	46 .92.0	141 .91.0
'I bequeath my soul to Almighty God etc	1 .6.2	-	6 .21.4	-	1 .2.0	8 .5.2
'I bequeath my soui etc.	-	-	1 .3.6	-	-	1 .0.6
'I bequeath my soul to Almighty God and Our Lady St Mary	-	-	-	-	1 .2.0	1 .0.6
No bequest	-	-	1 .3.6	-	1 .2.0	2 .1.3
Mutilated Manuscript	-	-	1 .3.6	-	1 .2.0	2 .1.3

As all the surviving wills for the period are actually copies made at the time of probate the abbreviation could either have been made by the scribe or by the official dictating the will rather than by the person writing the original will or by the testator. The bequest of the soul had clearly become a form of words and cannot, therefore, be taken as an indication of the testator's personal religious preference. However, the fact that either scribe or official could with a clear conscience,

at a time when the adoration of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saintly intercession was very much a part of Christian worship, abbreviate the bequest in this way may have been a small but significant signal that a more straightforward form of Christian worship was approaching.

The fact that death was inevitable and could occur at any time was a major preoccupation of some testators as the will of Henry Chambres of Horncastle [393] made on 20 February 1524 confirms :

'...by the grace of God the incertain stroke of dethe and the sodan knokkyng and flagicion of allmyghytty God, now beiyng in gode helthe, makyth my last will and mynde in this maner of forme foloyng...'.<sup>16</sup>

Thomas, his brother who lived at Bolingbroke [444], in his will dated 14 July 1527 says that 'he is of good helth and prosperite loved by God but dredying the howre uncerten off deth...' His will was proved only ten days later and internal evidence suggests that both wills were drawn up by Roger Chambres who was the son of Henry.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 15-16.

<sup>17</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 36.

William Preston of Beckingham [490] in his will dated 20 April 1528 says that he was 'dredyng the perell of dethe...' <sup>19</sup> and Joan Anson of Rowston [516] in her will proved on 17 May 1533 was 'consyderyng the perell of dethe...' <sup>20</sup>

Finally, perhaps Robert Umfray of Fulney [672] or his scribe, when he made his will on 4 June 1533, was conscious of the upheavals in religious life which were becoming evident when he said that he made his will 'stedfastly belevyng in all the articles of the fayth.' <sup>20</sup>

### 3. The Place of Burial

After the commendation of the testator's soul came the disposal of the body. Most burials took place in the churchyard of the deceased's parish church and Table 10 below gives details of the type of instruction contained in secular wills.

As can be seen from Table 10 below about 6%(48) overall of the testators who requested burial in church also specified a particular place within the church. Of these testators, seven (14.6%) asked to be buried near their wife, husband or other relative but John Warren of Holbeach [676] in his will made on 26 May 1526 asked to be buried in the church 'where my frendes do lye'.<sup>21</sup> Twelve

<sup>19</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 77.

<sup>19</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 143.

<sup>20</sup>. LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 182. <sup>21</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 56-57.



TABLE 10

PLACES OF BURIAL AS REQUESTED IN SECULAR WILLS

	11504 to 1509	11509 to 1514	11514 to 1519	11519 to 1524	11524 to 1529	11529 to 1530	11530 to 1531	11531 to 1536	Overall
Number of wills	24	20	30	84	234	90	284	50 <sup>22</sup>	816
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
Parish Church	14 .58.3	8 .40.0	15 .50.0	139 .46.4	38 .16.2	123 .25.6	86 .30.3	119 .38.0	242 .29.6
Churchyard	8 .33.3	7 .35.0	10 .33.3	137 .44.0	47 .20.0	136 .40.0	191 .67.2	128 .56.0	364 .44.6
Church or churchyard	- -	- -	- -	1 .1.2	18 .7.7	3 .3.3	4 .1.4	- -	26 .3.3
Religious House	- -	- -	1 .3.3	- -	2 .0.9	- -	- -	- -	3 .0.4
Friary	1 .4.2	1 .5.0	- -	1 .1.2	2 .0.9	- -	- -	- -	5 .0.6
'Where please God'	- -	1 .5.0	1 .3.3	2 .2.4	2 .0.9	- -	1 .0.4	- -	7 .0.7
'Where most covenient'	1 .4.2	1 .5.0	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2 .0.3
Not specified	- -	2 .10.0	3 .10.1	4 .4.8	125 .53.4	128 .31.1	2 .0.7	3 .6.0	167 .20.5
Particular place in Church	- -	2 .10.0	- -	4 .4.8	15 .6.4	5 .5.8	21 .7.4	1 .2.0	48 .5.8
Particular place in churchyard	- -	- -	- -	2 .2.6	1 .0.4	- -	3 .1.6	- -	6 .0.8

(25%) asked to be buried before an image or light and nine (18.8%) asked for burial near the rood. Ten (20.8%) specified burial in the choir and this was the most popular place of burial in the church followed by an aisle or the nave which was chosen by five (10.4%) testators. Four (8.3%) asked to be buried in the church porch or near a door. John Haltun, an alderman and mechant, asked in

<sup>22</sup>. The first fifty wills for this year have been examined.

his will made on 12 December 1527 to be buried 'before the stall wher I do use to syt'.<sup>23</sup>

Burial in the chancel, choir, before an image or the rood were probably inspired by the hope that the customary prayers offered by the clergy and people for all the faithfull departed souls would be of benefit to themselves. Of the six testators who asked to be buried in a particular part of 'God's Acre' two asked to be buried near their spouses, two before the churchyard cross and two in the 'privilege place' which was probably also near the churchyard cross. This was the place from which the friars delivered their sermons and this would be important for those who could not afford to be buried in church and were seeking additional prayers for their soul.

The choice of place of burial appears to have depended more on the wealth or status of the deceased than on any belief in the advantage to the soul which burial in any particular place may have had for the passage of the soul through the perils of Purgatory. Table 11 below indicates that the usual charge for burial in church was 6s 8d. and further confirmation of this is recorded in the Churchwardens Accounts for Sutterton which in 1497 recorded the receipt of 6s 8d. each for the burial in the church of Thomas Gybbon and 'Maister Hylton'.<sup>24</sup> A few

<sup>23</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 56-57. <sup>24</sup>. Peacock, Sutterton p. 58.

testators asked for burial to be 'where it pleases God' or 'where most convenient'. An average of about 21% make no burial request at all leaving their relatives or executors to decide on the place of interment. As has been stated above the choice of place of burial in church or churchyard appears to have been based either on the availability of funds or on the deceased's status in the community.

Table 11 below shows that the usual charge for burial in a parish church was 6s. 8d. and for burial in the Cathedral 20s. Table 12 shows that most people of yeoman status or above requested burial in their parish church. Those described as 'husbandmen' chose their place of burial according to their means. A close examination of the sum bequeathed for 'tithes forgotten' by the six husbandmen who requested burial in church discloses that the average amount is 2s. 6d. with the largest sum being 6s. 8d. and the smallest 8d. Similarly those who requested burial in the churchyard averaged 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d with the largest sum being 2s. 8d. and one testator left a calf to the church and another a cow. It seems clear that burial within a church and in a particular place in the church was preferred because it was believed that the soul of the deceased would benefit from the prayers of the faithful. If burial was within the churchyard then the preferred place was near the churchyard cross so that the soul would benefit from the prayers of the friar preachers

and also from the masses said over the grave at interment. Although the actual place of burial was dependent on the wealth of the deceased clearly this was considered to be important for the well-being of the soul of the deceased. This belief also emphasises the primitive nature of much of the ceremonial of the medieval liturgy.

TABLE 11  
THE COST OF BURIAL IN CHURCH

Date of Will	Source	Parish of Testator	Occupation/Status	Amount
.2. 7.1508	LRS Vol. 5 pp. 35/6	Grimsby St James	Gentleman	6s 8d <sup>25</sup>
.5. 5.1509	LRS Vol. 5 p. 39	Lincoln St Swithin	Gentleman	6s 8d <sup>26</sup>
18. 9.1521	LRS Vol. 12 pp. 24/5	Lincoln St Margaret	Not given	20s 0d <sup>27</sup>
10. 7.1522	LRS Vol. 5 p. 110	Lincoln St Martin	Chapter Clerk	6s 8d
29.12.1522	LRS Vol. 5 pp. 111/2	Withcall St Mary	Not given	6s 8d
.3. 2.1523	LRS Vol. 12 pp. 48/9	Lincoln [St Margaret?]	Alderman	20s 0d <sup>28</sup>
23.12.1524	LRS Vol. 5 pp. 141/2	Lincoln St Mary	Alderman/Draper	10s 0d
.2. 4.1530	LRS Vol. 10 p. 175	Marshchapel	Yeoman	6s 8d
.6. 4.1530	LRS Vol. 10 pp. 178/9	Stainton	Not given	6s 8d
.9. 4.1530	LRS Vol. 10 p. 179	Lincoln St Botolph	Smith	3s 4d
26. 5.1530	LRS Vol. 10 p. 209	Horncastle	Widow	10s 0d
24. 8.1530	LRS Vol. 24 pp. 40/1	Addiethorpe	Not given	6s 8d
14.11.1530	LRS Vol. 24 p. 74	Stainfield	Not given	6s 8d
17.11.1530	LRS Vol. 24 p. 77	Hacconby	Not given	3s 4d
28.12.1530	LRS Vol. 24 p. 90	Somercotes St Peter	Not given	6s 8d
24. 2.1530/1	LRS Vol. 24 pp. 107/8	Grimsby St James	Esquire	6s 8d
.5. 1.1531/2	LRS Vol. 24 p. 198	Gayton le Marsh	Widow	6s 8d <sup>29</sup>
15. 4.1532	LCC 1532/4 f. 71d	Gosberton	Widow	6s 8d
12.10.1532	LCC 1532/4 f. 33	East Keal	Gentleman	6s 8d
.4. 3.1532/3	LCC 1532/4 f. 234d	Ludborough	Husbandman	6s 8d
.9. 3.1532/3	LCC 1532/4 f. 101d	East Keal	Draper	6s 8d
22. 4.1533	LCC 1532/4 f. 112d	Swineshead	Gentleman	6s 8d
.3. 5.1533	LCC 1532/4 f. 268d	Old Bullington	Keeper and Servant	5s 0d
.5. 5.1533	LCC 1532/4 f. 144	Lincoln St Laurence	Brazier	6s 8d
13.11.1533	LCC 1532/4 f. 111d	Irby on Humber	Widow	6s 8d
12.12.1533	LCC 1532/4 f. 231d	North Willingham	Husbandman	6s 8d
18. 7.1534	LCC 1532/4 f. 280	Lincoln St Peter le Wigford	Glover	6s 8d
.2. 1.1534/5	LCC 1534&c. f. 12	Tattershall	Shoemaker	6s 8d
28. 3.1535	LCC 1535/7 f. 16	Marshchapel	Mariner	6s 8d
.4. 4.1536	LCC 1535/7 f. 153	Ludborough	Widow	6s 8d
.1. 3.1536/7	LCC 1538/40 f. 73	Waddington	Not given	3s 4d
24. 3.1536/7	LCC 1538/40 f. 161	Ludborough	Husbandman	6s 8d

<sup>25</sup>. '...my body to be buried in the church of the Friars Minor of Grymesby aforesaid...'

<sup>26</sup>. '...my body to be buried in the church of the Friars Minors of the said city [Lincoln]'

<sup>27</sup>. '...my body to be buried within the Cathedral Church of our Lady of Lincoln within the south dayre'

<sup>28</sup>. '...my body to buried within the Cathedral church of our lady of Lincoln in the body of the said church nygh the sepulture of Syr Richard Marchaunte.

<sup>29</sup>. '...and for my berelay in the church I gyff unto the payntyng of the sepulchre vjs viijd'

TABLE 12  
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLACE OF BURIAL  
AND OCCUPATION OR STATUS

Occupation or Status of Testator	1505/1510		1511/1515		1516/1520		1521/1525		1526/1530		1531/1536		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<b>BURIALS IN CHURCH</b>														
Baker	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.46
Barber	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.56	2	0.92	
Barber/Fishmonger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Bowyer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Chapter Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.25	-	-	-	-	1	0.46
Cordwainer/Shoemaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.56	2	0.92	
Draper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.85	1	0.78	2	0.92
Fishmonger	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.25	-	-	-	-	1	0.46
Glover	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Husbandman	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.25	5	9.25	13	10.15	19	8.80
Jeweller	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.46
Maltmaker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.46
Mariner	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.25	-	-	1	0.78	2	0.92
Mercer	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3.70	1	0.78	4	1.85
Merchant of the Staple	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.85	-	-	1	0.46
Miller	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Roper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.85	-	-	1	0.46
Skinner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.85	-	-	1	0.46
Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.85	-	-	1	0.46
Tanner	-	-	-	-	1	16.67	-	-	1	1.85	1	0.78	3	1.39
Taylor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.56	2	0.92
Taylor and Draper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46
Upholsterer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46
Yeoman	-	-	-	-	1	16.67	-	-	2	3.70	5	3.90	8	3.70
Alderman <sup>30</sup>	1	10.0	1	50.0	-	-	2	13.50	-	-	1	0.78	5	2.31
Burgess	-	-	1	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.46
Esquire	1	10.0	-	-	1	16.67	-	-	2	3.70	1	0.78	5	2.31
Gentleman	2	20.0	-	-	-	-	1	6.25	6	11.11	5	3.90	14	4.17
Knight	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.25	-	-	-	-	1	0.46
Sheriff/miller	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.46
Vowess/widow	1	10.0	-	-	1	16.67	1	6.25	1	1.85	-	-	4	1.85
Widow	1	10.0	-	-	-	-	2	12.50	3	5.35	12	9.37	18	8.33
<b>Total Burials in Church</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>50.0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>66.67</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>86.75</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>51.85</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>42.19</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>49.54</b>
<b>BURIALS IN CHURCHYARD</b>														
Barber	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Brazier	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Chandler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Cordwainer	-	-	1	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.46
Draper	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.25	1	1.85	1	0.78	3	1.39
Fishmonger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Husbandman	-	-	-	-	1	16.66	-	-	17	31.48	43	33.59	61	28.24
Labourer	-	-	-	-	1	16.66	-	-	1	1.85	1	0.78	3	1.39
Miller	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Notary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Patent Maker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Sadler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Servant	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	12.50	5	9.25	-	-	7	7.95
Smith	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.25	-	-	1	0.78	2	0.92
Tanner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.85	2	1.56	3	1.39
Taylor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1.85	2	1.56	3	1.39
Tile Burner	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.78	1	0.46	
Yeoman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3.13	4	1.85	
Widow	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	6.25	-	-	12	-	13	6.02
<b>Total Burials in Churchyard</b>	<b>Nil.</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>50.0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>33.33</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>31.25</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>48.15</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>59.37</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>50.46</b>	
<b>Overall Totals</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>218</b>	<b>100.00</b>

<sup>30</sup>. The occupations of Aldermen are known in three cases. They were a draper, a merchant and a smith.

#### 4. The Funeral and Commemorative Masses.

The funeral service was known as a Requiem Mass from the introit *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine; et lux perpetua luceat.* This was the basic funeral service to which all deceased persons were entitled and was paid for by the mortuary which will be discussed in the next section of this Chapter. In the belief that a large number of masses would assist the passage of the soul through Purgatory many testators requested and left money for other masses to be celebrated.

The first of these was Vespers of the Dead which was celebrated on the evening before the funeral and was known as the Placebo because the office began with the antiphon *Placebo Domino in regione vivorum.* In addition Matins of the Office of the Dead might be celebrated early on the morning of the funeral and was known as a Dirige because it began with the antiphon *Dirige, Domine, Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam.*<sup>31</sup>

Professor Scarisbrick comments :

'testators took it for granted that there would be, not just a Christian burial with requiem mass but also subsequent prayers even though they made no provision for this in their wills'.<sup>32</sup>

.....  
<sup>31</sup>. The details of masses are taken from LRS Vol. 5 pp. 245-7

<sup>32</sup>. Scarisbrick, Reformation p. 6

Table 13 below shows that 59% of testators in 1514 made a bequest to provide for additional commemorative masses to be celebrated. In 1521 such bequests had fallen to 42% and, as the legislation passed by the 'Reformation Parliament' increased, so such bequests declined probably because of the uncertainty of the policy which the King as 'Supreme Head' of the Church in England would follow. In 1531 and 1536 only 28% of testators made provision for commemorative masses.<sup>33</sup>

The most popular form of bequest provided for a stipendiary priest to celebrate a mass for a limited period. In 1514 one testator left 20s for prayers to be said at Hagnaby Priory and another asked for mass to be celebrated daily for three months. The bequest of John Thorpe of Moulton [674] for masses to be celebrated for forty years was exceptional. Payment was to be made from the rent of a number of houses which he left to the church. Most bequests to chantry priests were for periods of up to twelve months.<sup>34</sup>

A considerable number of testators requested a trental which was a set of thirty requiem masses. These could be said all on one day or on thirty different days. William Hoganson bequeathed 10s. to provide thirty priests to .....

<sup>33</sup>, See pp. 240-246.

<sup>34</sup>, LRG Vol. 5 pp. 59, 63, 67.

sing a trentall on the day of his burial.<sup>355</sup> Those testators who mention the amount to be paid for the celebration of a trental specify 10s. as do the testators of Norwich.<sup>356</sup> There seems to be no doubt that 10s was the 'going rate' for the celebration of each trental. 3.8% of testators asked for two sets of trentals and this probably meant that a requiem mass was to be said on sixty days. William Nod in 1531 asked for a trental to be celebrated by the Augustinian Friars in Boston, another trental by the White Friars in Cambridge and a third trental by the Greyfriars in Kings Lynn.<sup>357</sup>

About 3% of testators asked for a requiem mass to be said on the anniversary of their death. This was known as an obit and might be continued for many years as shown by Table 13.

The payment for commemorative masses often absorbed a considerable part of the deceased's estate. For example, John Cater of Barton-on-Humber [8] instructed that after the death of his son his house was to be used to pay for an annual obit.<sup>358</sup> Similarly Robert Benet of Donington [632] on 12 June 1529 instructed that an obit was to be celebrated for ninety-nine years and this was to be financed from the income of his house which was to be sold at the end of the term and the proceeds given to the parish church 'in honour of God and all Saints.'<sup>359</sup>

.....  
<sup>355</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 10 p. 139. <sup>356</sup>. Tanner, N. P. *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984) p. 102. <sup>357</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 24 p. 121. <sup>358</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 10 p. 32. <sup>359</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 10 p. 126.



A particularly important example is contained in the will of John Cley of Spalding [672] dated 10 September 1529.<sup>40</sup> His eldest son, Thomas, was to have his house and certain household items and the remainder was to go to his second son, Henry and eldest daughter, Catheryne. Thomas was to give five marks to Catheryne 'when she cumyeth to full age' but she was required to 'fynde on honest prest to syng for me and my good frendes halff a yer'. Henry was left another house and land but was to give to the youngest daughter, Agnes five marks and she was also required to provide a priest to celebrate for half a year. John Cley owned other houses which he left to his brother who, strangely, was also named John on condition that he provided a priest for two years. Other testators, rather than burden their family with the responsibility of providing for commemorative masses, instructed that their property was only to be used for this purpose if their heirs did not survive. For example, James Washyngburgh of Wyberton [585], a mariner, said that if his heirs died his mansion was to be sold to provide an obit for six years.<sup>41</sup> William Symson, a butcher of Spalding [672], asked that, if his heirs died, his mill was to be sold to provide for a priest to sing 'so long as money will extend'.<sup>42</sup> Under the heading 'Unspecified requests'

.....

<sup>40</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 144/5. <sup>41</sup>, LRS 10 p. 17. <sup>42</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 52.

TABLE 13  
TYPE OF COMMEMORATIVE MASS

	1514	1521	1525	1531 <sup>43</sup>	1536 <sup>43</sup>	Overall
Number of Wills	17	36	28	50	50	181
	No : %	No : %	No : %	No : %	No : %	No : %
Requests for Commemorative Masses	10 : 59	15 : 42	13 : 46	14 : 28	14 : 28	66 : 36.46
Wills not containing a request for Masses	7 : 41	21 : 58	15 : 54	36 : 72	36 : 72	115 : 63.54
Testators requesting more than one type of Mass	2 : 12	3 : 8	2 : 7	4 : 8	1 : 2	11 : 6.07
	ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF MASSES REQUESTED BY TESTATORS					
Placebo and Dirige	2 : 12	1 : 3	1 : 4	2 : 4	- : -	6 : 3.14
Requiem Mass	2 : 12	1 : 3	1 : 4	3 : 6	- : -	7 : 3.87
Masses at Burial, 7th and 30th days	1 : 6	- : -	1 : 4	1 : 2	- : -	3 : 1.66
Mass on anniversary of death (obit)	1 : 6	2 : 6	1 : 4	1 <sup>44</sup> : 2	- : -	5 : 2.76
Chantry Masses	3 : 18	4 : 11	3 : 11	4 : 8	8 : 16	22 : 12.15
Obit for six years	- : -	- : -	1 : 4	- : -	- : -	1 : 0.55
Obit for twenty years	1 : 6	- : -	1 : 4	- : -	- : -	2 : 1.10
Obit for eighty years	- : -	- : -	1 : 4	- : -	- : -	1 : 0.55
Obit for ninety nine years	- : -	- : -	2 : 7	- : -	- : -	2 : 1.10
Perpetual obit	2 : 12	3 : 8	3 : 11	1 : 2	- : -	9 : 4.97
One trental	4 : 24	3 : 8	1 : 4	7 : 14	6 : 12	21 : 11.60
Two trentals	2 : 12	2 : 6	- : -	2 : 4	1 : 2	7 : 3.86
Three trentals	- : -	- : -	- : -	1 : 2	- : -	1 : 0.55
Unspecified requests	- : -	3 : 8	1 : 7	1 : 2	- : -	5 : 2.76

<sup>43</sup>. The first fifty wills in chronological order have been analysed.

<sup>44</sup>. An obit was to be celebrated on the seventh and thirteenth anniversary of decease.  
LRS Vol. 24 p. 141.

in Table 13 above of the five wills one testator asked for masses to be celebrated for the souls of himself and 'all crysten souls', two testators asked for the 'five masses of the five wounds' and two testators asked for masses to be celebrated at *Scala Caeli*.<sup>45</sup> The Church of Santa Maria Scala Caeli is a circular church in Rome which is said to stand on the site of St. Paul's martyrdom. Those who provided for masses to be said in this church would receive the benefits conferred by an indulgence. The Lady Chapel in St. Botolph's Church, Boston was granted by Pope Julius II in 1510 the privilege that whoever went to pray in the chapel should have the same relief from the pains of Purgatory as they would have earned by visiting the church of Scali Caeli in Rome. This also applied to those who made a bequest for a mass of *Scali Caeli* to be celebrated in Boston.

It is evident that commemorative masses were considered of great importance and although the actual number and type of celebration may have depended on the wealth of the deceased, the devotional and religious motives were present and the poorest member of the community would gain credit and relief from the pains of Purgatory even if he did not have the means to endow commemorative masses. Devotion to the Saints and the Blessed Virgin was the key to eternal bliss.

.....  
<sup>45</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 95, 99, 101 and 155; LRS Vol. 24 p. 126.

The volume of prayer was also important and a good attendance at the funeral and commemorative masses helped the testator to express his devotion to the Saints and, by their intercession, to the Deity. A bequest for the provision of alms in the form of sustenance or money to the poor was a common means of encouraging a good attendance. Thomas Spurr of Middle Rasen [190] whose will was dated 30 March 1530 asked for 10s to be spent at his funeral on bread to be distributed among the poor.<sup>46</sup> Thomas Bellow of Boston [568] in his will dated 9 May 1526 left the large sum of £4 to :

'be gyffyn in almes to pore people at the dayes of my buryall, my vijth day and xxxty day'.<sup>47</sup>

Robert Jolif of Trusthorpe [259] wished for ten marks to be 'dealte at the daie of my burial unto everie one that comes'...and 'at my yere daie to poor men in the towne 6s 8d'.<sup>48</sup> Reginald Idyll of Bucknall [382] in his will dated 1 April 1535 instructed that :

'every man and woman and chyldre at the day of my buryall [was to have] a farthing lofe to pray for my soul...'.<sup>49</sup>

The instruction contained in the will of Robert Bulle of Swineshead [599] which was made on 7 December 1532 and

<sup>46</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 171/2.

<sup>47</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 214. See also LRS Vol. 5 pp 135, 144, 157 and LRS Vol 12 p. 115.

<sup>48</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 122.

<sup>49</sup>. LAD LCC Wills 1535/7 fol. 26v.

proved sixteen days later requests his wife to provide breakfast at his burial and at the requiem masses on the seventh and thirtieth days afterwards 'for them that attend'.<sup>80</sup> No doubt this was very welcome on a cold winters day! It was considered by most testators necessary to achieve a large attendance at the funeral and other services commemorating their own souls or their relatives by whatever means possible. This was not intended only to show the testator's status in the community but a real expression of Christian faith and especially in the power of prayer to ease the perils of Purgatory. However, to some this was seen to be superstitious in nature and there were those who were against extravagance. To conclude this section two very different wills are considered at length. The first is that of Hugh Schawe of Boston [568] who is described as a Skinner and made his will on 22 April 1530.<sup>81</sup> He gives very precise instructions for his funeral :

'I will that the iiij orders of freys in Boston as well prestes as other of the convent, bryng me furthe to the paryshe church of St Botulphe in Boston, ij and ij together to say placebo and dirige with commendacion over the nyght, yff it so fortune; and in the mornyng every preste of them, as can or may, say messe of Scala Celi, yff it be Wednesday, Fryday or Satterday; and then every preste of theym to have for hys payn and labor iiijd and every novys and yong frere jd. Also I will that ther be spent at my

<sup>80</sup>. LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 225.

<sup>81</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 189-191

buryall day, vijth day and xxxy day, at every day of theym onely by hit selff, in alms xs in breyd or money. Also my buryall day, vijth day and xxxth day be generall to all prestes and clerkes that shall be ther present to say placebo and dirige with commendacion, ij and ij together, over the nyght; and in the mornyng the sayd prestes to say messe at Scala Caeli yff it so fortune it be Wednesday, Fryday or Setterday; and every one of them to have for hys labor and payn iiijd. I will that one hable prest syng for me, Margaret and Agnes, Emote, Margery and Jenet my wyffes and William and Alice my fader and moder soules, and all my benefactors and all crysten soulys for the space of iiij yeres, in our Ladys qwere at Boston and he to have for his stipende and wages vl vjs viiijd to be payd yerely'

Hugh Schawe also provided for masses in the Lady Choir and an obit by the Lady Gild.

However, Richard Clerke who is described as a gentleman of the city of Lincoln was very much against extravagance. His will is dated 1 July 1528 and, because it is unusual is considered at length.<sup>82</sup> Clerke commences with the following preamble :

'...hole in body and mynde, laude, prayse and thankes unto allmyghtty God, make orden and declare thys my testament ...remembryng the moste perfyte example of our moste blessyd Savior Crist Jhesu the wich in the ende of hys most blessyd and paynfull passion sayd, *Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*, so I, synfull creature, gyffys frely and thankfully commendes and beqwethys my pore soule unto allmyghtty God and to our Lady saynt Mary and all the holy compeny of heven...'

after providing for his burial and mortuary he continues as follows :

.....

<sup>82</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 pp. 89-90.

'And not that my executors or executrice make no pompous buryall, but bryng my body to the grounde honestly with owt any solempe rynyng of all the bellys, savyng on peale afore dirige and on other peale at messe, and ellys but on bell be rung continually to I be layd in the grounde in my long bedde'.

Although Richard Clerke continues by stating that poor people are not to be given aims in order to ensure their attendance at his funeral he bequeaths :

'oon hundreth grootes [to] be dolte to on hundreth persons that be in povertie and age, dwellers in the towne ther as I shall departe; and ther be not so many therin the towne, then to sende to the next townes to make up the numbere of fyve score, so that every person may have on grote'

Unfortunately the conclusion to this will is missing and, therefore, there is no indication as to the witnesses, but it does seem that Clerke was an educated man who was capable of drawing up his own will. The preamble suggests that he was a genuinely pious man given to 'good works'.

#### 4. The Mortuary and 'tithes forgotten'

It was customary to make a gift or offering at the time of burial to the incumbent of the parish church from the estate of a deceased parishioner. The nature of the gift was regulated by local custom but it usually consisted of the best possession of the deceased and might be an animal, garment, piece of furniture or other item. In many places it was customary to bring the gift to the church with the deceased at the time of burial. When Thomas Cowde of Timberland [480] made his will on 12 June

1529 he said that 'my corse present to be gyffyn of my best goodes as use and custom requiryth' and this is the most common form.<sup>83</sup> Some testators were more specific and Thomas Paule of Brampton which is in the parish of Torksey [219] bequeathed his best horse and harness.<sup>84</sup>

The mortuary was often a considerable burden on the estate and a statute which became law on 1 April 1530, after stating that there was 'much doubt and ambiquity' about mortuaries which were 'over-excessive to the poor people and other persons of this realm', introduced new rules which are summarized below.<sup>85</sup>

- '1. No mortuary shall be demanded in respect of any person who had movable goods under the value of ten marks at his death.
2. No mortuary shall be payable except where it has been the custom to pay mortuaries.
3. No more than one mortuary shall be demanded in respect of each person, and that one in the place where he usually dwelt.
4. Mortuaries shall be paid according to the following scale :

Where the value of the chattels of the deceased after payment of debts is

i	from 10 to 29 marks	3s. 4d
ii	30 to 39 marks	6s. 8d
iii	40 marks or over	10s. 0d

.....  
<sup>83</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 133.

<sup>84</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 22.

<sup>85</sup>. The information about mortuaries is reproduced from LRS Vol. 10 pp. xxiii/xxiv



provided that in places where mortuaries have hitherto been accustomed to be paid of less value than is aforesaid, no person shall be compelled to pay more than has been accustomed.

5. No mortuary shall be demanded from a married woman or a child, nor from a way-faring man except in the place where he usually dwelt.
6. It shall be lawful nevertheless for parsons, vicars, and other spiritual persons to receive any sum of money or other thing which shall by any person dying be bequeathed to them, or to the high altar of their church'.

Only three weeks after the statute became law Hugh Schawe, a skinner of Boston [568], instructed that his mortuary was to be 'aftyr the acte of parliament lately mayd, and after the custom of the towne of Boston'.<sup>56</sup> News could, and did, travel quickly in rural Lincolnshire!

William Puttrell of Theddlethorpe St Helen [209] in his will dated 26 March 1529 gave instructions that his mortuary was to be 'the thyng which the lawe requirth' but William Holden of Burton Stather [13] when he bequeathed a cow for 'tithes forgotten' and his mortuary said that this was given 'the statute to the contrary notwithstanding'.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps the cow was worth more than the amount required by the Statute.

.....  
<sup>56</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 190.

<sup>57</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 6; LRS Vol. 10 p. 11.

The major support for the parish priest came from tithes which consisted of a tenth of the produce of the parishioners. The temptation to under pay or evade this must have been very great and 82% of all testators bequeathed a sum usually described 'for tithes forgotten' but sometimes 'to the high altar' or 'sacrament'. Because tithes were regarded as a gift due to God non-payment was a serious offence and a sin. No doubt this accounts for the high percentage of bequests for 'tithes forgotten' recorded in Table 8. Typical bequests are those of Thomas Burne of Nun Ormsby [146] who left 12d for 'tithys and oblacions negligently forgottyn and with holden' and Robert Chamber of Pickworth [647] left 3s 4d for 'dischargyng of my conscience anenst God for tythys forgottyn...'.<sup>86</sup>

If a testator held land in parishes other than that in which he lived it was usual to make a bequest also to those churches for 'tithes forgotten'. Table 14 below shows that most testators bequeathed 12d (18%) followed by 6d (15%), 4d (14%) and 8d (13%). Not all bequests were in money and William Holme of Rand [304] left his best cow, Margaret Sheffelde of South Elkington [197] a linen sheet whilst John Sawyer of Thurlby [701] left a strike of barley.<sup>87</sup> A strike was a bushel or eight gallons. Of the twenty (12.9%) testators who did not make a bequest

<sup>86</sup>, LRS Vol. 24 p. 123 and 124. <sup>87</sup>, LRS Vol. 24 p. 125; LRS 24 p. 132; LRS Vol. 5. p. 102.

for 'tithes forgotten' no doubt some had a clear conscience and had paid their dues regularly. Four of those who did not make a bequest were described as widows. Tithes were a tax levied on the value of a persons goods or produce. This amounted to a tenth and, therefore, presumably the amount bequeathed for 'tithes forgotten' would also be related to the value of a persons estate. The amount bequeathed might also depend on the frequency with which the testator had evaded tithe payment. Perhaps the equation would be 'estimated value' multiplied by the number of years in which the tax had been evaded.<sup>40</sup>

TABLE 14

AMOUNTS BEQUEATHED FOR 'TITHES FORGOTTEN'

Amount	1514		1521		1525		1531		1536		Overall	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
2d	-	-	1	2.78	-	-	-	-	3	6.00	4	2.58
4d	-	-	7	19.44	4	14.29	3	12.00	9	18.00	23	14.84
6d	14	25.00	7	19.44	-	-	1	4.00	12	24.00	24	15.48
8d	1	6.25	8	22.22	2	7.14	4	16.00	6	12.00	21	13.55
1s 0d	14	25.00	4	11.11	4	14.29	6	24.00	10	20.00	28	18.06
1s 4d	-	-	-	-	1	3.57	1	4.00	1	2.00	3	1.94
1s 8d	3	18.75	3	8.33	3	10.71	2	8.00	-	-	11	7.10
2s 0d	-	-	1	2.78	-	-	1	4.00	4	8.00	6	3.87
3s 4d	2	12.50	2	5.56	1	3.57	4	16.00	2	4.00	11	7.10
6s 8d	1	6.25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.65
In kind	-	-	1	2.78	-	-	2	8.00	-	-	3	1.93
No Bequest	1	6.25	2	5.56	13	46.43	1	4.00	3	6.00	20	12.90
Totals	116	100.00	136	100.00	128	100.00	125	100.00	150	100.00	155	100.00

<sup>40</sup>. For a detailed explanation of tithes see pp. 93-95.

## 5. Bequests to the Parish Churches and Lincoln Cathedral

As shown by Table 8 about 58% of all testators made a bequest to their parish church in addition to the mortuary and 'tithes forgotten'. In 1529/30 92% of testators in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon and 86% of testators in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham in 1521/3 made a bequest to their parish church in addition to the mortuary payment and 'tithes forgotten'. Dr. Fleming found that, in Kent, 42.6% of testators described as esquires and 39.4% of gentlemen supported their parish church.<sup>61</sup> The most common bequest was to the 'Church Works' which was meant as a contribution to the maintenance of the church building. If a particular repair, rebuilding or addition was being undertaken at the time the will was made testators quite frequently specified that this was to be supported rather than the more usual bequest to the fabric fund. When John Slye of Sibsey [538] made his will in 1521 he left 4s for the repair of the bell-tower, William Barton of Fulbeck [512] in 1531 left 6s 8d for the repair of the bells and William Holmes left 30s for the 'covering of the steeple'.<sup>62</sup> In these three cases quite expensive work was being carried out at these churches at the time the will was made and it is possible to trace the progress of a

.....  
<sup>61</sup>. Bowker, *Reformation* p. 177;  
Fleming, P. W. 'Charity, Faith and the Gentry of Kent, 1422-1529' in  
Pollard, T. (Ed.) *Property and Politics: Essays in late Medieval English History*  
(Gloucester, 1984) p. 48.

<sup>62</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 5 p. 93; *LRS* Vol. 24 p. 123; *LRS* Vol. 24 p. 125.

particular building operation by the number of such bequests. This aspect is discussed in detail in Chapter V. Such specific bequests could well have resulted from a suggestion by the clerical witness and this will be discussed at length in Chapter IV.

Bequests to 'the church' were intended as a contribution to the conduct of the services and maintenance of the clergy but there are many other bequests for the ornamentation or furnishing of the building, provision of vestments or books.<sup>43</sup> William Scott in his will dated 13 October 1514 made a contribution of 4s. for the 'desking of the church'. This refers to the installation of pews in Moulton [674] church. Jenet Wright provided an ornament for the high altar at Benington [572] and Dame Margaret Sutton bequeathed a new cope for Burton [318] church.<sup>44</sup> Although bequests of this nature and contributions towards the maintenance of the church building may have been suggested by the clerical scribe who would usually have a good knowledge of the financial standing of the testators and their ability to contribute to a particular need of the parish church, the final decision as to where his money was to go was that of the testator and, as

<sup>43</sup>. The interpretation of the terms 'church work' and 'the church' has been arrived at after consulting Cattermole, P. and Cotton, S. 'Medieval Parish Church Building in Norfolk' in Norfolk Archaeology No. 38 (1983) p. 235 and LRS Vol. 5 p. 250.

<sup>44</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 pp. 62 and 92; LRS Vol. 10 p. 18.

Professor Scarisbrick says

'...we are indeed hearing the testator speak and are not being deceived by clerical ventriloquism'.<sup>65</sup>

Building work which was taking place at the time a testator was making his will would be well known to him. As has already been pointed out, daily life was centred on the parish church and, unless a testator had been confined to bed for sometime, he would know of any fund raising which was taking place. Indeed, as at Louth (see Chapter V) there would be continuing appeals to parishioners for funds for major building work.

About a quarter of all testators made a bequest for the maintenance of lights (candles). Most of these bequests were for one or two lights and William Thomas of Wickenby [263] left three bee hives to provide two lights.<sup>66</sup> John Lesse of Holbeach [676] bequeathed a pound of wax to provide a light 'afore oure lade...yearly so long as my wyffe kepe her beys'.<sup>67</sup> William Benson made provision for fourteen lights in Horncastle [393] parish church, Richard Clarke, also of Horncastle, left 12d each to Our Lady of Grace light, the Lady light, Saint Ninion's light and All Hallows light; 6d each to seven other lights and 3s 4d to the torch light.<sup>68</sup> Thomas Tedde of Coningsby [502] made provision for eight lights and these bequests

.....

<sup>65</sup>. Scarisbrick, *Reformation* p. 101. <sup>66</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 24 p. 8.

<sup>67</sup>. *LAO LCC Wills 1534 etc f. 314.* <sup>68</sup>. *LAO LCC 1535/7 f. 81; LRS* Vol. 5 p. 84.

not only give an indication of the number of candles in a church but also of the large number of images.<sup>67</sup> The majority of bequests for the provision of lights were for candles to be placed before the image of Our Lady of Pity followed by Our Lady of Grace. There are many bequests for candles to be placed on the high altar and in front of the rood. These are sometimes described as Sacrament or Crucifix lights or in honour of St Saviour. Some testators left money to provide the candle in the lantern which was carried in front of the procession taking the Sacrament to a dying person.<sup>70</sup>

Torches were a feature of funeral and commemorative services and could be very large but not many equalled those of Geoffrey le Scrope, a canon of Lincoln Cathedral, who, in 1382 requested twenty torches '... of the length of xii feet by the ell...'.<sup>71</sup>

The provision of torches and tapers at these services must have added greatly to their impressiveness. About a third of all testators left money for lights in other parish churches in addition to their own. Sometimes testators held land in a number of parishes and this, no doubt, inspired William Jobson of Healing [43] in 1525 to leave 4d to the 'four churches yt bownys upon ouer feyld...' and John Alyn of Long Bennington [540] left 12d.

<sup>67</sup>, LAO LCC Wills.1532/4 f.51. <sup>70</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 pp. 54, 63, 67 and 152.

<sup>71</sup>, LRS Vol. 5. p. 12.

to 'evere church that bundes off hus...'.<sup>72</sup> John Jobson, a fishmonger of Lincoln, made bequests to no fewer than twenty-four churches.<sup>73</sup> Seven churches received 20d each; twelve received 3s. 4d. each; three received 6s. 8d. each. Folkingham church was given 'a great stone trough' and the parish church at Lancaster was left 20s. There are several other wills in which a large number of churches are mentioned and Robert Halgarth<sup>74</sup> of Horncastle [393] left '4d a piece [to] every church buttyng by the highway as I do ryde to Spyllesby'.<sup>74</sup>

These bequests are clearly personal to the testator and were unlikely to have been influenced by the scribe or witness. As Professor Scarisbrick comments

'it is difficult to see why the local priest [who was probably the scribe] should have encouraged bequests to [a number of other] parish churches'.<sup>75</sup>

As shown by Table 8 about 92% of all testators made a bequest to the fabric of Lincoln Cathedral. 92% of testators in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon in the year 1529/30 and 98% of testators in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham in 1521/3 also supported the Fabric Fund which indicates that throughout the Diocese people had a real affection for the Cathedral.<sup>76</sup> The commissary was required as part of his duties to 'put to pious use, and

.....  
<sup>72</sup>. LAD LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 72; LRS Vol. 10 p. 193. <sup>73</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 pp. 149/51.

<sup>74</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 127. <sup>75</sup>. Scarisbrick, Reformation p. 10.

<sup>76</sup>. Bowker, Reformation p. 177. For a more detailed analysis of gifts and bequests to the the Cathedral Fabric Fund see pp. 223-223.



especially to the maintenance of the Cathedral fabric, the proceeds of monetary penances...' and, as he was also responsible for enrolling all wills, no doubt on his frequent visitations he would remind clergy of the ever present need then, as now, for funds for the upkeep of the cathedral.<sup>77</sup> In Appendix B the bequests in money and kind are given in detail for the years 1484/5, 1505/6 and 1531/2. Other bequests to the Cathedral were made by about 17% of testators mainly to the High Altar and to the Shrine of Bishop St. Hugh.

#### 6. Bequests to the Parish Gilds

Table 8 discloses that 18% of all testators in Lincolnshire made a bequest to a parish gild but, as the Table shows, such bequests were in decline. In the year 1529/30 10% of testators in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon supported the gilds but in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham during the year 1521/3 only 2% of testators made such a bequest.<sup>78</sup> Dr. Tanner found that 15% of lay testators made a bequest to the gilds in Norwich and comments that this was rather surprising as :

'They were the only religious bodies apart from parishes to which most lay people could belong and they were largely controlled by the laity'.<sup>79</sup>

.....  
<sup>77</sup>. Morris, C. 'The Commissary of the Bishop in the Diocese of Lincoln' in J. Ecc. H Vol. X Pt. I (1959) p. 59 note 5.

<sup>78</sup>. Bowker, Reformation p. 177. <sup>79</sup>. Tanner, N. P. op. cit., p. 132.

Most bequests to the gilds were conditional on prayers being said for the soul of the deceased testator and Edward Browne of Lincoln in his will made in 1505 left

'to the Gret Gilde of Lincoln xls or elles the valour of xls in good plate if they will graunte me to say every yere at dyner tyme for my soule and all cristian soules de profundis...'.<sup>80</sup>

He also requested that the Gild of St. Anne should say a *pater noster* and an *Ave Maria* at their annual dinner in return for a bequest of 20s. The Clerkes Gild was to 'have xiijs iiijd if thei will graunte me to say this Amteyne [anthem?] *anima mea*' at their annual dinner.

Similarly William Barker, also of Lincoln, left a silver spoon to the Clerke's Gild in return for prayers to be said at the annual dinner and another Lincoln testator, John Jobson also requested the bretheren of the Clerkes Gild to say 'oon *pater noster* and oon *Ave*...at the day of their feest the rehersyng of my name...' in return for a bequest of 6s 8d.<sup>81</sup>

An unusual bequest was that of William Foster of Lincoln who left to the Clerkes Gild

'a hundrythe thake tyls of thys condicion that they shall say every yere at the dinner the rehersyng of my name one *ave maria*'.<sup>82</sup>

.....  
<sup>80</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 24. The gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of St Andrew in Wigford was generally known as the Great Gild.

Westlake, H. F. The Parish Gilds of Medieval England (London, 1919) p. 171.

<sup>81</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 197; LRS Vol. 5 p. 149.

<sup>82</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p.24.

It was customary to read out the names and pray for the repose of the souls of deceased brothers at the annual dinner of the gilds in the same way as the names of benefactors were recorded in the bederoll and recited by a priest periodically in the parish church. This is confirmed by the will of William Man of Kirton-in-Holland [536] made in 1535 in which, in return for a gift of 40s to the Lady Gild of Frampton [601], he specifically requested that his name be included in the bederoll of that gild.<sup>63</sup>

As was shown in Chapter II the gilds were an important part of medieval life and most people would belong to at least one. It is, therefore, surprising as Dr. Tanner says that the number of bequests was so small. Most gilds had been founded for about two centuries and many had become very wealthy so perhaps testators felt that the regular payment of their membership fees was sufficient support and their testamentary bequests would be better employed elsewhere.<sup>64</sup> The number of gilds in the larger towns was very large and Richard Hycke, a Mercer of Boston [568], left sums ranging from 4d to 6s 8d to no less than fifteen in that town.<sup>65</sup>

.....  
<sup>63</sup>, *LRS* Vol. 10 p. 197.

<sup>64</sup>, The earliest recorded foundation date of a Lincolnshire Gild is that of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the church of St. Mary at the Bridge, Stamford in 1210 and the latest foundation date was that of the Guild of the Holy Trinity at Horkstow dated 1386. Westlake, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 and 177.

<sup>65</sup>, *LAD LCC Wills* 1532/4 f. 139v.

Richard Qwyttyngham of Sutterton [616] left his mansion in 1531

'to the use of the parishioners of Sutterton to be ther gylde house [for] the space of lxxxxix yeres and longer and the kyngs lawe will suffer it...[in return for] one *Pater noster*, one *Ave Maria* and one *Credo*, and they that canne to sing *de Profundis*...'.<sup>66</sup>

Qwyttyngham was clearly concerned that the changes in religious worship introduced by Henry VIII might eventually affect the gilds and this concern was also expressed in the will of Robert Bull of the neighbouring parish of Swineshead [599] made two years later.<sup>67</sup> Bull left half an acre of land to the Gild of Our Lady 'so long as the law will give licence to keep obit'.

The gilds were particularly important to those who could not afford to provide for the celebration of the large number of commemorative masses which were considered necessary to ease the soul's journey through the perils of Purgatory. It was possible to become a member of a gild after death and John Blancherde also of Swineshead left 3s. 4d. 'to be received as dede brother in Our Lady Gylde'.<sup>68</sup> Presumably when Barnard Richman asked his wife to purchase 'the pardon of the Gild of Boston' he was asking to be admitted as a dead brother in order to benefit from the periodic prayers said by the gild chaplain for the repose of the souls of departed brothers.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup>, *LRS* Vol. 24 p. 176.

<sup>67</sup>, *LAD LCC Wills* 1532/4 f. 225.

<sup>68</sup>, *LAD LCC Wills* 1532/4 f. 191. <sup>69</sup>, *LRS* Vol. 24 p. 64.

## 7. Bequests to the Religious Orders

In Lincolnshire, immediately before the dissolution of the smaller religious houses in 1536, there were fifty-nine abbeys, monasteries, priories and nunneries (hereinafter referred to as the 'enclosed orders'). In addition there were houses of Austin, Carmelite, Franciscan and Dominican friars in Boston [568], Lincoln [319] and Stamford [720]. The Austin and Franciscan friars had houses in Grimsby [57] and there was a house of Franciscan friars in Grantham [622] making a total of seventy-four religious houses in the county.

As shown by Table 8 in Lincolnshire 11% of testators made a bequest to the enclosed orders and 20% to the friars compared to only 8% to the enclosed orders and 16% to the friars for the year 1529/30 in the Archdeaconary of Huntingdon.<sup>90</sup> 16.6% of Kentish gentry supported the friars and 10.7% the enclosed orders.<sup>91</sup> The greater support for the friars was probably because they were a familiar sight, not only in the large towns, but in the villages whereas few people would come into contact with a member of the enclosed orders. An analysis of the bequests to the four orders of friars in Lincoln in wills made in 1530 shows that 88% were made by testators living at a distance greater than six miles from the city.

.....  
<sup>90</sup>. Bowker, Reformation p. 177.

<sup>91</sup>. Fleming, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

When William Eyre of Saleby [336] made his will on 11 July 1531 he bequeathed to the :

'iiij orders of frerys wych visytes the towne of Saleby for ther lyffynge, to eche order singler be it selfe xiij for to have at every house sayd or song messe and dirige for helthe of my soule'.<sup>92</sup>

The particular friars which were to receive the bequest are not clearly identified; Lincoln [319] is about seventy miles distant and Boston [568] sixty miles from Saleby. However, whichever centre is meant, the will goes some way to illustrating the distances covered by the friars. Although not always mentioned in wills, this bequest also illustrates the point that such bequests had a religious motive and were made on the understanding that the testators would be remembered in the daily round of prayer.

Bequests continued to be made to the friars after the dissolution of the smaller religious houses in 1536 and on 7 December 1537 William Jakson of Boston asked to be buried before the rood in the church of the Austin friars in Boston.<sup>93</sup> As late as 25 April 1538 Helene Cryall also of Boston made a bequest of 6s 8d in payment for burial in the church of the black friars in Boston.<sup>94</sup>

An analysis of bequests to the enclosed orders suggests that usually these were made by testators living in the immediate locality. An exception was the Priory of St. Catherine without Lincoln. As will be seen from Table 8

<sup>92</sup>, LRS Vol. 24 p. 146. <sup>93</sup>, LAO LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 22. <sup>94</sup>, LAO LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 64v.

an average of 27% of testators made a bequest to this religious house. The Hospital of St. Sepulchre had been attached to the Priory by Henry II c1154 and it was the hospital which gave the Priory its reputation as a charitable institution providing for the sick, widows and especially orphans. Bequests were invariably made for the support of the orphans and not the Priory itself. In 1535 it was recorded that the cost of maintaining and educating the orphans was £21. 13s. 4d per annum. The Priory was dissolved on 14 July 1538.<sup>75</sup> The large number of bequests to the orphans probably resulted from the fact that testators had first hand experience of the charitable work of the lay sisters. At a time when death was commonplace many young children must have lost both parents and had no surviving relatives who could look after them. No doubt the commissary on his visitations reminded the parish clergy of the benefits which support for the orphans by testators would confer on their souls.<sup>76</sup> Of the fifty testators who made a bequest to the orphans in 1530 38% left 2d and 36% left 4d with the remainder making bequests ranging from 1d. to 3s. 4d. The last recorded bequest to the orphans was of 6d. by

.....

<sup>75</sup>. Cole, R. E. G 'The Priory of St. Katharine without Lincoln of the Order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham' in AASR Vol. XXVII Pt. II (Lincoln, 1904) pp. 266-7.  
 Page, W. (Ed.) Victoria History of the Counties of England : A History of Lincolnshire  
 Vol. I (London, 1906) p. 190.

<sup>76</sup>. See p. 67.

John Brande of Sutterton [616] on 16 June 1538 just four weeks before dissolution.<sup>97</sup>

As shown in Table 15 below most bequests to the friars were to all the houses in a particular town. Of the 282 bequests made to the friars between 1480 and 1536 80% were to all the orders. During the same period six testators asked to be buried in the church of an enclosed order and an equal number in a friary.

Bequests to the enclosed orders were much fewer than to the friars and most were made by testators living nearby. Bequests to the religious were still being made long after the smaller monasteries had been dissolved and most people seem not to have suspected that the remaining religious houses would suffer the same fate.

On 30 August 1535 Richard Shorte of Grimsby [57] bequeathed 6s 8d to Wellow Abbey, Grimsby 'for prayers'. The Abbey was dissolved about twelve months later 'before Michaelmas'.<sup>98</sup> On 17 December 1536 Thomas Lawrence also of Grimsby made a will leaving the large sum of 20s to St. Leonards Priory, Grimsby 'if yt be not suppressyd'.<sup>99</sup> The priory was, in fact, not dissolved until 15 September 1539. Lawrence also made bequests of 16d. to the nuns, 20d. to the Prioress and 20s. to the Priory of Alvingham [174] 'if yt be not suppressyd'. This religious house was dissolved on 26 September 1538.<sup>100</sup> The witness to

<sup>97</sup>. LAB LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 108. <sup>98</sup>. LAB LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 70v; Page, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>99</sup>. LAB LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 123v. <sup>100</sup>. Page, op. cit., pp. 179 and 192.



both wills was Henry West 'parson of St Mary's' and it might seem surprising that, knowing of the dissolution of Wellow Priory in his own town about two months prior to witnessing this will, he should not advise Thomas Lawrence against making this bequest and to divert such a large sum to a more profitable purpose. Perhaps West's advice was disregarded - clerical influence was not always acceptable to a testator. It may well have been difficult for many to accept that the religious houses which had been a part of their life for so many centuries could disappear so quickly. The latest bequest to an enclosed order in Lincolnshire was that of Thomas Quyxem of Glanford Brigg [50] who, on 20 September 1537 left 4d to the small house of nuns at Orford Priory which was not dissolved in 1536 but survived until 8 July 1539.<sup>101</sup>

Professor Scarisbrick points out that the Earl of Shrewsbury when he made his will in August 1537

'...while 'in good health' and shortly after he had played a conspicuous part in putting down the Pilgrimage of Grace for his king...left 40s to three charterhouses and a £1 each to the friars of Nottingham and Derby. He also bequeathed clothes and vestments to Worksop Abbey. He may have been in good health, but he was not in good foresight - because the religious houses he endowed had been suppressed by the time his will was proved in early 1539'.<sup>102</sup>

.....  
<sup>101</sup>. LAO LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 57v; Page, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>102</sup>. Scarisbrick, *Reformation* p. 8.

Although it may seem surprising that testators were making bequests to the religious houses right up to the dissolution of the remaining religious houses there had been many official denials that this was likely to take place. On 18 January 1538 a priest, Richard Layton, who was involved in the visitations of religious houses wrote to Thomas Cromwell as follows :

'At my coming to Banwell Priory on Twelfth Even it was bruited in Cambridge that the Priory should be suppressed, that I would go thence to Ely and Bury and suppress wherever I came and that the King was determined to suppress all monesteries... To stop this bruit I went to the abbeys and priories...I said that babblings alleging that the King would suppress them all slandered their natural sovereign...'<sup>103</sup>

In 1539 in an official account of the Reformation headed 'Grants made to the king by the clergy and realm' it was recorded that

'since then other religious persons have surrendered their houses to the King beseeching him to take them...Some other houses, for the respect of the places they stand in, he will not disolve'.<sup>104</sup>

Later that same year the act which legalised the dissolution of the remaining religious houses was passed! If such a prominent and well-informed member of the Court as the Earl of Shrewsbury could not foresee the dissolution of the remaining religious houses it is not surprising that the humble 'commons' refused to believe that this could happen.

.....

<sup>103</sup>, L and P Vol. XIII Pt. I p. 102.

<sup>104</sup>, L and P Vol. XIV Pt. I No. 402 p. 155.

TABLE 15  
 REQUESTS TO THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Purpose	11481/11499	11500/11510	11511/11514	11515/11519	11520/11524	11525/11529	11530	11531	11532	11533	11534	11535	11536	Over 1-all
THE ENCLOSED ORDERS														
Burial in a Religious House	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	6
Burial and other masses	-	-	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	-	-	12
Single House	2	2	3	2	4	11	15	11	4	10	7	5	3	79
Several Houses	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Total number of wills	4	2	3	2	4	12	15	11	4	10	7	5	3	82
THE FRIARIES														
Burial in a Friary	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	6
Burial and other masses	-	4	1	-	3	1	2	5	4	5	-	1	-	26
One or two Friaries	-	1	1	1	2	3	12	9	3	10	6	6	1	55
'All' the Friaries	4	11	7	2	19	20	38	30	22	32	11	16	14	126
Total number of wills	4	12	8	3	21	23	50	39	25	42	17	22	15	128
% to enclosed orders	50	14	27	40	16	34	23	22	14	14	29	19	17	23
% to friaries	50	86	73	60	84	66	77	78	86	86	71	81	83	77

8. Educational Bequests

Most bequests for the education of a boy were conditional upon him becoming a priest and specify that he was to be supported until the age of twenty-four or twenty-five. The following are some examples of this type of bequest. When Agnes Buknall of Thimbleby [387] made her will on 12 March 1528 she bequeathed to her son Robert :

'all my housys and landes lying within the towne and feldes of Thymbly to have and to hold to hym and to hys heyres of hys body , so that he fynde the sayd Henry hys brother at skole to he cum to lauffull age of a prest...'.<sup>105</sup>

When William Woodfurth of Farlesthorne [355] made his will on 30 March 1530 he left an annuity of 40s. to Edward Ormesby until he reached the age of twenty five 'to fynd him at scole therwyth'.<sup>106</sup> Several bequests are made to members of the Ormesby family but the relationship is not clear. It is probable that Edward Ormesby intended to enter the priesthood. The will of Robert Blawe of Tofte by Newton made on 3 April 1530 was more specific :

'Also I will that the sayd Richerd shall have my eldest sonne and hys part for to fynd hym att scolle, and makyng hym a prest, yff it please God to send hym hellyght'.<sup>107</sup>

Richerd Nayllor was the testator's brother-in-law.

.....  
<sup>105</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 114

<sup>106</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 172

<sup>107</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 176

A bequest by John Sheperde 'the yonger' of Benington in Holland [572] made on 8 May 1530 instructs his wife 'to fynde John my sone at skole to he be xxiiij yeres of age' although, again, entry to the priesthood is not mentioned the late age to which John was to be educated suggests that this was the intention.<sup>106</sup> On 16 September 1530 the father of John Sheperde the younger also named John and also of Bennington made his will.<sup>107</sup> As the will of John Sheperde the younger was proved on 11 August 1530 clearly he had died before his father who was anxious that the education of his grandson should continue. John Shepherde the elder made provision in case his grandson who was also named John decided not to become a priest. The wording of the bequest is as follows :

'To Richerd my sone iij acres arable lande callyd Watlande lying in Seldyke of thys condicion that he shall kepe John my sonne [sic] att the scole to he cum to xxiiij<sup>ty</sup> yeres of age, and to fynde hym all thynges necessary as met, drynke, clothe, and the sayd Richerde to gyff hym the ij last yeres xxs by yere; yff the sayd John be not a preste at the ende of the sayd xxiiij<sup>ty</sup> then I wyll that he have the sayd iij acres land callyd Wat lande in fee simple; yff the sayd John be a prest at the sayd xxiiij<sup>ty</sup> yeres ende, then I will the sayd John have an acre lande of the forsayd iij acres of the south syde and Richerd my sonne the ij acres of the north syde'.

A somewhat similar bequest is that contained in the will of Christopher Haghys of East Keal [446] who, in his will made in 1532, instructed that :

.....  
<sup>106</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 201.

<sup>107</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 48.

'Thomas Haghus sone be founde of my goods at the  
gramer scole and to have all thyngs necessary as  
schall become a scholar to have unto such tyme that  
the sayd Thomas Haghus my sone be fully xxiiij yeres  
of age and then yff hys mynde wt serve him with  
cummyng to be a priest he to have when he shall syng  
hys fyrst messe iijl vjs viijd and ij silver spones  
and thys to be payd him at the sayd age off xxiiij  
yeres be he preste be he none'.<sup>110</sup>

Bequests for the education of girls are rare but Thomas  
Ely of Theddlethorpe All Saints [208] in his will made on  
10 January 1529 specified that his daughters Helen and  
Agnes should :

'be put in an abbey to lerne, and either of theym to  
be there the space of halfe a yere, and to be founde  
at my costes duryng the forsaid space'.<sup>111</sup>

Perhaps this was to complete their education before  
marriage.

Not all educational bequests were made with the  
intention of the beneficiary becoming a priest. William  
Foster of Gosberton [652] made his will on 9 May 1512 and  
asked that Margaret 'my wyff to hyr power helpe to fynd  
Thomas my sonn att scole'.<sup>112</sup> There is no mention of the  
age to which Thomas was to be educated and there is no  
mention of the priesthood. Thomas was to receive the  
same bequests of beasts and sheep as his brothers Edward  
and Nicholas. A very similar bequest was made by  
Margaret Jakson a widow of Bicker [614] in 1524.<sup>113</sup>

.....  
<sup>110</sup>, LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 33. <sup>111</sup>, LRS Vol. 10, p.160.

<sup>112</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 p. 47. <sup>113</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 p. 131.

An important bequest is that of John Lawes of Wigtoft [583] who, when making his will on 9 June 1525, instructed that, after leaving 23s. to his grandson, his executors should

'keape the said John sonn of Robert lait my sonn at such scoles and lernyng as he maye have profittably the exercise of writing and redyng so that he may thereby be more mete to be putt to a Craft...'.<sup>114</sup>

A bequest of a 1d. made by Richard Clarke in 1520 'to the scolers' was perhaps intended as a reward and encouragement to those children who were being given a rudimentary education by the parish priest.<sup>115</sup> A very similar bequest was made by William Nod of Lutton [679] in his will made on 25 March 1531 in which he left a halfpenny 'to every chyld beyng lernyd in the parysh...'.<sup>116</sup>

A particularly good example of the religious nature of educational bequests is contained in the will of William Jowytson of Stickford [485] who, when he made his will in 1532, bequeathed 100s. for a priest to pray for his soul for four years with the condition that :

'...he will teche the chyldren of the said towne of stykforde and if he will not teche none then he is to have yerely for his stipende but 7 marks'.<sup>117</sup>

Most educational bequests were intended to assist members of the deceased's own family but Robert Jolif of Trusthorpe [259] in 1523 asked :

.....  
<sup>114</sup>, LRS Vol 5, p. 148.  
<sup>116</sup>, LRS Vol. 24 p. 122.

<sup>115</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 p. 84.  
<sup>117</sup>, LRS Vol. 1532/4 f. 264.

'myn exequitors to finde a priest at scole at the universitie of oxford by the space of iij yeres, gevinge him yerelie the same iij yeres viij marke'.<sup>118</sup>

The testator makes no mention of a wife or children so perhaps the bequest was made because he could not encourage a member of his own family to enter the priesthood.

A similar bequest was that of John Yong of Pinchbeck [671] who, in his will made in 1532 instructed :

'my executrix shall gyff to Sir Thomas Walpull 6s. 8d. yff he will go to the universite towards hys exhibition and iff he go not to the universite then I will my executrix schall dispose it to pore folke'.<sup>119</sup>

The bequests made towards the education of a young man with the intention that he should become a priest in due course were, as with so many bequests, religiously motivated and designed so that the soul of the testator would benefit from frequent prayers. No doubt other educational bequests were made with the hope that the recipient would remember to pray for the repose of the soul of their benefactor.

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<sup>118</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 p. 122.

<sup>119</sup>, LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 93.



9. Bequests for 'Works of Charity'

TABLE 16  
 BEQUESTS FOR THE PROVISION OF ALMS TO THE POOR

No of wills containing a bequest occasion	1514		1521		1525		1531		1536		Overall	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
At Burial	2	50.00	3	66.00	4	25.00	12	66.00	13	61.00	34	59.00
7th and 30th days	-	-	-	-	1	25.00	2	17.00	2	15.00	5	15.00
At obit	-	-	1	33.00	2	50.00	3	25.00	-	-	6	18.00
Other occasions	1	50.00	-	-	1	25.00	3	25.00	3	23.00	8	22.00
Other parishes	-	-	2	66.00	-	-	-	-	4	31.00	6	18.00

As shown by Table 8 an average of 13% of all testators made a bequest to the poor and this compares with the bequests by the gentry of Kent 13.8% of whom made such a bequest during the period 1481-1529.<sup>120</sup> Table 16 above shows that by far the most usual bequest was for alms to be distributed at the burial. This was to ensure a good attendance and often the bequest incorporated a specific request for the recipients to pray for the soul of the benefactor.<sup>121</sup> When John Madyson, a yeoman of Marshchapel [129] made his will on 2 April 1530 he asked

'every on of my servantes and pore frendes that was with me at my departyng have sumwhat to pray for me to the valour of a pare of hose or a kyrchyff...'.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>120</sup> Fleming, op. cit., p. 46.

<sup>121</sup> When considering Table 16 it should be remembered that some testators made a bequest for the provision of alms to the poor on other occasions than at their burial. This accounts for the difference in the total number of bequests and the number of wills.

<sup>122</sup> LRS Vol. 10 p. 175.

Robert Selton of Alkborough [3] in 1487 left instructions that thirteen poor men were to have a new gown each and John Huddylstone of Rowston [49] in 1530 left the large sum of £10 for distribution

'among pore people for my soule, the soulys of my father and mother, and all crysten soulys, at the day of my buryall and vij<sup>th</sup> day'.<sup>123</sup>

Agnes Groswell of Boston in her will made on 16 March 1488 asked that 'a cade of red herring' should be distributed to the poor people of Boston. A 'cade' was a barrel of herrings holding six 'great hundreds' or 720.<sup>124</sup>

An unusual bequest was that of William Gressyngton of Lincoln who asked that

'...forty paupers might be introduced into my house and there they might have food and drink in sufficiency and that they might pray for my soul, my parents and all my benefactors now dead'.<sup>125</sup>

Alms were also distributed on the great Festivals. John Shepherde of Benington [572] asked for bread to be given to the poor on Good Friday for twenty five years and half a quarter of malt was to be distributed on St. Thomas's day also for twenty five years.<sup>126</sup> Sare Edmund

.....

<sup>123</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 172; LRS Vol. 24 p. 54.

<sup>124</sup>. AASRP Vol. XLI p. 207; Little, W. et al. The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles (Ed. and revised Onions, C. T. Oxford, 1933) p. 246.

<sup>125</sup>. LAG L1/3/1 f. 31. <sup>126</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 48.

of Long Sutton [680] instructed that

'...three acres of lande in Crossgate be sold, and the money therof receyved to be disposyd emonges pore people within the chirch of Sutton to pray for my soule and all crysten soulys'.

He also left instructions for his wife to

'bake a seame of wheate in tyme of lente next cumyng, and to dispose the same in dedes of almys emong pore people in the parysh church...'.<sup>127</sup>

Alms for the poor did not always take the form of food, money or clothing. John Taylyor of Great Cotes [44] bequeathed :

'...to the churche a cowe to be lettyn at the syght of the churchwardens to a pore man for ijs., xijd. of it to the churchwarkes, vjd for dirige and messe, vjd for bred and ale to the ryngers'.<sup>128</sup>

In 1535 Thomas Kirkby made a similar bequest and William Bucknall of Canwick [372] bequeathed

'...a yeryng calffe to the paryshyng of Canwyk to make them a commune bull off'

He also asked that

'a quarter of malte shall be brewyd and iiij dosyn bred and iiij stonys of chese to be delte for my soule in Canwyk churche'.<sup>129</sup>

The possibility of the death of beneficiaries was recognised and Nicholas Idon of Spalding [672] in his will made in 1528 stipulated that £8 was to be 'disposyd among pore people' if any of his three daughters should die

<sup>127</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 202.

<sup>128</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 99.

<sup>129</sup>. LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 72; LRS Vol. 24 p. 137.

before the age of sixteen. He had already made provision for his son and wife and had bequeathed three copes to the parish church.<sup>130</sup> The contingency bequest to the poor was the testator's way of expressing his piety without depriving his family. Many Lincolnshire wills make similar provision in the event of the death of a beneficiary.

Alms were sometimes bequeathed to neighbouring parishes and this may have been because the testator farmed land in those parishes. Robert Newcom of Candlesby [423] in his will made in 1521 bequeathed 5s. :

'...to be disposed among the pourest folke inn Welton at the sight of the curate and ij or iij men of the same town. Also after the same manner in orby vs., gunby ijs., bratofte ijs., Irby xxd., Frysby iijs., gret Stepyng iijs., Ashby ijs., Scremby ijs. viijd., and Skendilby'.<sup>131</sup>

John Tayller of East Keal [446] when making his will in 1532 named his beneficiaries as follows :

'...six pore folke that is to say William Garbutt, John Hudson, Agnes Underwoode, Robert Archer, Esabell Breyley and Richerde Shepperde ich one of thes a new cote'.<sup>132</sup>

Richerd Welby Esquire of Moulton [674] in 1487 left the large sum of £40 to 'poor prisoners lying in Lincoln Castell and in Newgate, London'.<sup>133</sup> Robert Milne who

<sup>130</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 116.

<sup>131</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 p. 93.

<sup>132</sup>, LAG LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 101v.

<sup>133</sup>, AASRP Vol. XLI p. 216.

lived in the parish of St. Nicholas, Newport, Lincoln which is very near Lincoln Castle left 4d to the prisoners in the castle 'to by them bred'.<sup>134</sup>

An unusual bequest was that of Alice Arnold of Spilsby [417] who in 1529 left 'a coverlet and a materasse' for use with 'one almesse bed to be had within the parochie of Spillesby'.<sup>135</sup> Presumably there was provision in the parish of Spilsby for poor travellers to be lodged. The will of Lawrence Delffe of Holbeach [676] made in 1523 makes provision for an almshouse to be established and it seems that provision for travellers was also intended.

'I will myn executors shall buyld a howse at my forsaid cotage off iij bays and in on bay will have a howse off xiiij fote and a kechyn and a loft and in the loft a bede for pore pepull and for ij persons to loge in for on nyght'.<sup>136</sup>

Charitable bequests were very varied and, although the hope was that prayers would be said for their benefactors, except for alms distributed at funerals this was not usually emphasised. In addition to the causes mentioned above there were bequests to the blind, aged and bedridden.<sup>137</sup> Finally, Edward Browne, a jeweller of

.....

<sup>134</sup>. LRS Vol. 12 p. 121.

<sup>135</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 130.

<sup>136</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 123.

<sup>137</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 pp. 110 and 112; LRS Vol. 24 p. 126.

Lincoln, in 1505 after making several generous bequests to the poor for alms at his funeral and commemorative masses made the following bequest :

'I will that my executors give in almes to pouer men strangers for hurtes harmes and domages that I and my servantes have done in corne, meadowes and pastures bi the waye that we have gone xiijs. iiijd'.<sup>139</sup>

Perhaps Edward Browne's conscience was troubling him for damage caused to crops whilst hunting and the bequest would gain him Heavenly credit. Again this can be seen as a religiously motivated bequest. 'Forgiveness of those that trespass against us' is part of Christian teaching and having forgiven Browne his 'hurtes, harmes and damages' no doubt the 'pouer men strangers' would pray for the repose of his soul.

#### 10. Bequests for Public Works.

As shown by Table 8 about 6% of all testators made a bequest for the maintenance of bridges, roads and the like compared with about 9% of Kentish gentry.<sup>140</sup> 16% of testators in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon in 1529/30 and 10% of testators in the Archdeaconry of Buckingham from 1521 to 1523 made similar bequests.<sup>141</sup> As Dr. Fleming has pointed out such bequests were regarded as acts of charity and he quotes the following verse c1520 in praise of generous merchants

'Many be good and worshipful also,  
And many charitable dedis they do,  
Byld churchys and amend the hyeways,  
Make almys howsys and help many decays'.<sup>141</sup>

<sup>139</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 25. <sup>139</sup>. Fleming, op. cit., p. 47.

<sup>140</sup>. Bowker, *Reformation* p. 177. <sup>141</sup>. Fleming, op. cit., p. 46.

Richard Welby of Moulton [674] in his will which was made on 12 November 1487 asked for the residue of his estate to be used to repair the drains, gates and highways in the villages of Weston and Moulton.<sup>142</sup> Bequests such as these were for the common good. The name of the testator would be recorded in the parish bederoll and prayers would, therefore, be said regularly by the beneficiaries for the souls of their benefactors. There was, therefore, a religious motive for bequests of this nature.

The causeway, which was a raised roadway between patches of bog land, was particularly important in the fens and marshes of Lincolnshire. Four testators living in Long Bennington [540], in their wills made in 1530 and 1531 provided for the repair of the causeway. Two left 4d. each, one left 18d. and one 3s. 4d. Also in 1531 Parnell Cooke of Dry Doddington [541] left 6s. 8d. towards the building of a new causeway at Westburgh which is about two miles from Long Bennington.<sup>143</sup>

Long Bennington [540], Dry Doddington [541], Westburgh [542] and Foston [552] are all in an area of marshland bounded by the River Witham which changes course between Long Bennington and Westburgh from north/south to west/east. This area would be subject to flooding and .....

<sup>142</sup>. AASRP Vol. XLI p.216.

<sup>143</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 pp. 2, 127, 167, 193, 208 and 211.

there were several causeways carrying the Great North Road over the marshlands. The road passes over Foston Beck and over the Shire Dyke north of Long Bennington. Doddington Lane passes over the River Witham to the West of Dry Doddington.<sup>144</sup> Clearly bridges and causeways were important to the inhabitants of this area. The regular maintenance required was a public work which was supported by a number of testators. Simon Leueret a mercer of Grantham [622] in 1506 left £20 for the mending of the bridges at Foston [552] which was about two miles from Long Bennington.<sup>145</sup> The majority of bequests for the maintenance of public works were, understandably, for the repair of roads and, in 1533, Thomas Fen of Edenham [688] left instructions that six loads of stones were to be laid in the street of the neighbouring parish of Grimsthorpe 'of my own costs and chargys'.<sup>146</sup> Nicholas Gray of Boston asked for his keel, which was a flat bottomed boat, to be sold for £5 6s. 8d and £3 of this was to be used for mending the highways.<sup>147</sup> Margaret Jakson a widow of Bicker [614] in her will made in 1524 asked that part of the proceeds from the sale of her land should be used for the

'mendinge of the church ways that I and my frendes bi whom it come may be prayd for'.<sup>148</sup>

.....  
<sup>144</sup>, I am grateful to Dr. Denis Mills for assistance with this paragraph.

<sup>145</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 p. 26. <sup>146</sup>, LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 307.

<sup>147</sup>, LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f.131v; Little, W. op. cit., p. 1079. <sup>148</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 p. 130



Perhaps widow Jackson was anxious that the state of the road to the church should not deter parishioners from attending services to pray for the health of her soul.

Edmund Hobson a mercer of Spalding [672] left £4 to be spent on the 'mending of the highway in the Market stede wher most nede is and ij botrys of stone at the high bryg'.<sup>149</sup> The market hill was to be paved and a further 10s was to be spent on the 'mending of the lane of thys syde of Broughton crosse between thys and Pynchbek and wher most nede is'.

#### 11. 'Reform' and the power of prayer

In this Chapter the way in which testators expressed their belief in the power of prayer to assist the passage of their souls through the perils of Purgatory has been discussed. Additional masses to those celebrated at the funeral were often celebrated, in return for payment, on the seventh and thirtieth days after burial and masses were frequently requested at other times. Some testators provided for masses to be said on the anniversary of their death and these might be repeated for many years. Bequests for the maintenance or extension of the church fabric or for the provision of furnishings or for the ornamentation of the church earned inclusion in the parish bederoll. The names of those recorded thereon would be

.....

<sup>149</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 52.

recited by the parish priest at regular intervals and their souls prayed for. Bequests of money, bread, cheese and ale were made to encourage the attendance of a large number of parishioners at the funeral and subsequent commemorative masses. There was a strong belief that the volume of prayer assisted the passage of the deceased's soul through the perils of Purgatory. Funerals became a social occasion for the living. Bequests which could, indirectly, result in prayers for the soul of the deceased included the maintenance of roads, bridges and causeways. Bequests for the provision of gild halls and alms houses would earn remembrance in the prayers of the gild brethren or inmates of the alms houses.

Bishop Moorman when summing up the Henrician Reformation wrote :

'The parish churches looked just as they always looked; the services remained what they had always been; the clergy behaved as their predecessors had behaved for centuries. To the ordinary villager the great changes of Henry's reign meant little. Constitutionally the Church in England had been revolutionised, but the changes which affected the daily lives of the people were yet to come'.<sup>190</sup>

Although this is essentially true, Lincolnshire people, long before the 'Reformation Parliament' was convened were expressing concern for 'the old order'.

.....

<sup>190</sup>. Moorman, J. R. H. A History of the Church in England (London, 1967) p. 179.

In 1525 Robert Hall in providing for an obit said that this was to be for 'so long as the laws of England will sufferyt'.<sup>1591</sup> It is difficult to understand why he should make this provision. At the time this will was made the king had not submitted his petition to the pope for a divorce from Queen Catherine and there seems to have been no hint of impending 'reform' in religious matters. In 1528 Thomas Quadrying made a similar proviso when he bequeathed 3s. 4d. to the rood of Langton 'yerly...duryng the space that the law of Inghland will admitte...'.<sup>1592</sup> The so called 'Reformation Parliament' was not convened until November in the following year.

In 1531 Richard Qwytynggham left his mansion to be used as a gild house for ninety nine years and longer 'if the kynges lawe will suffer it...'.<sup>1593</sup> Also in 1531 Thomas Cheny instructed his executors to provide a priest to pray for ninety nine years 'so long as the king's laws will suffer it'.<sup>1594</sup> In 1533 William Jakson provided 5s. for an obit to be celebrated for five years 'if the kings laws will suffer it'.<sup>1595</sup>

.....

<sup>1591</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 p. 157. <sup>1592</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 75.

<sup>1593</sup>, LRS Vol. 24 p. 173. <sup>1594</sup>, LRS Vol. 24 p. 27.

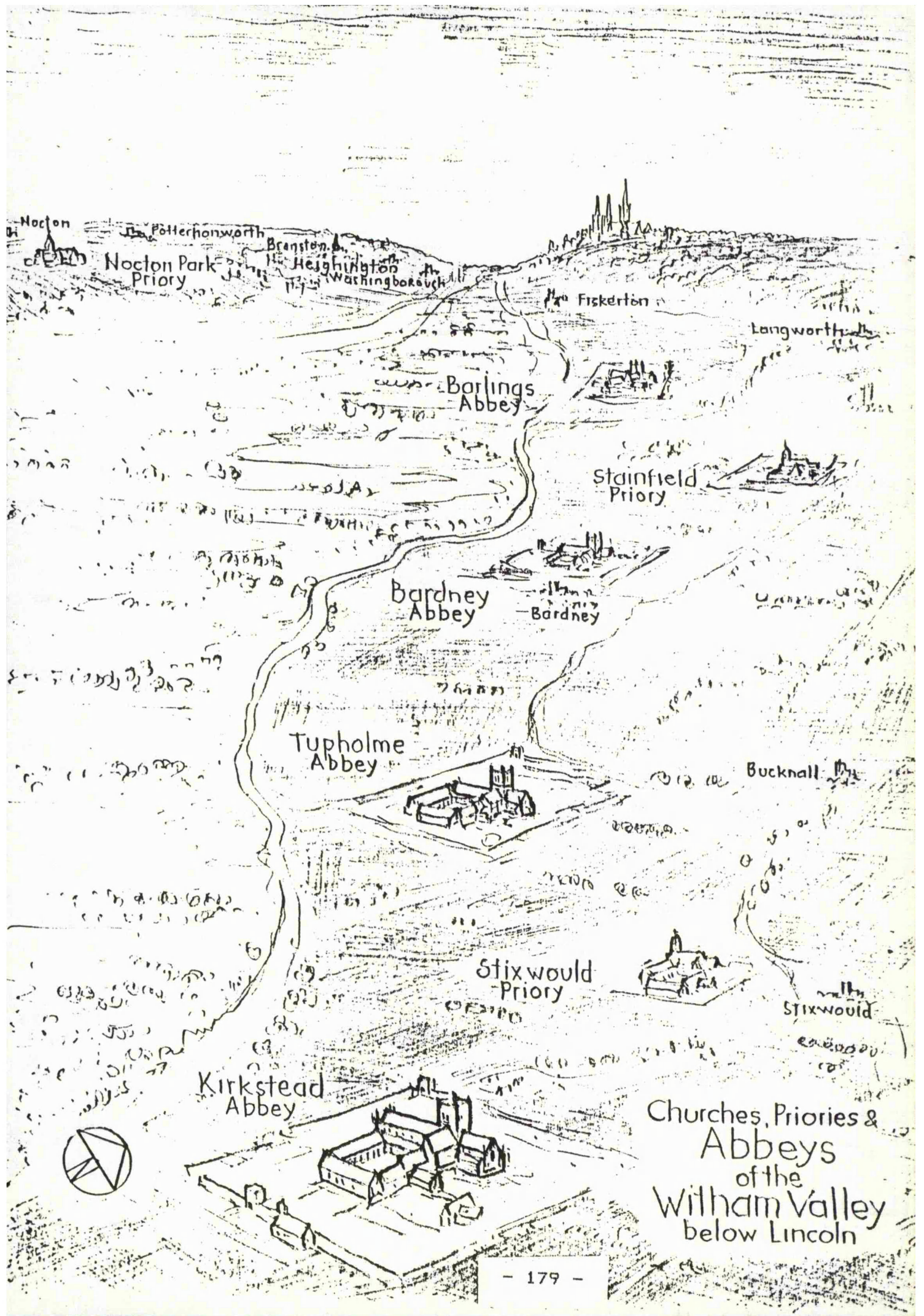
<sup>1595</sup>, LAG LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 134v.

Although the 'Reformation Parliament' had enacted, by 1533, a number of statutes aimed at limiting the power of the pope over ecclesiastical matters in England and the regulation of tithes and mortuaries and other statutes concerning the clergy, there would seem to be little to concern the testators mentioned above. In 1534 the king assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church in England and papal authority was finally repudiated in 1536. In Chapter VI it will be shown that the Lincolnshire Rising was, to a great extent, triggered off by rumours which had been spread by the clerk to the commissary during his visitations. Perhaps rumours of the king's intentions were being spread in a similar manner as early as 1525.

As has been shown earlier in this Chapter up to the point of dissolution and beyond bequests continued to be made to the religious houses. In Chapter VI it will be shown that Lincolnshire people were, and still are, resistant to any attempt to amend the established order and, therefore, the Henrician 'reforms' were viewed with suspicion and were a cause of real concern. It has been made abundantly clear in this Chapter that the bequests discussed were all religiously motivated. Although it .....

seems strange that, as early as 1525, concern was being expressed that changes in religious practice might be in the air, this undoubted fact confirms that, in Lincolnshire, religion and the belief in the power of prayer was real and very much a part of daily life - and death.

Having discussed here the content of lay wills in the next Chapter an attempt will be made to ascertain why testators decided to direct their wealth to a particular cause.



Nocton  
Potterhanworth  
Nocton Park Priory

Branston  
Heighington  
Washingborough

Fiskerton

Langworthy

Barlings Abbey

Stainfield Priory

Bardney Abbey

Bardney

Topholme Abbey

Bucknall

Stixwold Priory

Stixwold

Kirkstead Abbey

Churches, Priories &  
Abbeys  
of the  
Witham Valley  
below Lincoln

CHAPTER IV  
THE INFLUENCING OF BEQUESTS  
IN SECULAR WILLS

In Chapter III it was shown that almost all bequests in secular wills were made in anticipation that the beneficiaries would pray for the soul of the deceased.

The intention of this Chapter is to pursue this theme further by looking at the influences which led to the testator's final decision on the disposal of his worldly possessions.

The object of this thesis is to establish the way in which Lincolnshire people who cannot be seen as ranking among the gentry or nobility disposed of their worldly goods at their death and to what extent their motives can be seen as religiously inspired. Unfortunately few wills, especially for the early years of the period covered, mention the occupation of the testator. However, ninety-three husbandmen and forty tradesmen and craftsmen have been identified. An analysis of the bequests contained in these wills is recorded in Table 17 below and a comparison is made with the overall analysis of wills dating from 1480 to 1536 in Table 8.<sup>4</sup> Of the forty tradesmen and craftsmen twelve lived in Lincoln, eight in Boston and two in Spalding. The remainder lived in the smaller market towns and the villages. Therefore,

<sup>4</sup>. See p. 117.

55% lived in the larger centres of population but only one of the ninety-three husbandmen lived in a large town (Boston). Table 17 shows that the wills of the husbandmen compare very closely with the overall analysis contained in Table 8. There was greater than average support by husbandmen for parish churches other than that of the parish in which they lived. This is probably because it was customary to pay tithes to churches of the parishes in which land was cultivated and, as has been shown previously, land could be held in a considerable number of parishes. Such support would be seen as earning additional credit for the benefactor in the life to come.

It is significant that no less than 56% of the tradesmen and craftsmen supported the guilds compared with only 8% of the husbandmen and an overall figure of 18%. This is probably because, as stated above, the majority of tradesmen and craftsmen lived in the large towns where there were a considerable number of craft guilds. There was less than average support by the tradesmen and craftsmen for 'other churches' and this can be accounted for by the fact that tithes would only be payable to the church in which the business was based. Few tradesmen or craftsmen would transact business in more than one parish. Surprisingly, there was less support for the Cathedral by tradesmen and craftsmen. Perhaps the higher than average



**TABLE 17**  
**AN ANALYSIS OF BEQUESTS IN SECULAR WILLS**  
**made by Husbandmen, Shopkeepers etc**  
**between 1519 and 1536**

	Husbandmen	Shopkeepers {Craftsmen <sup>2</sup>	Overall
	.....	.....etc.....	.....
Number of wills	93	38	1828 <sup>3</sup>
<b>PARISH CHURCH</b>	%	%	%
Tithes, High altar Sacrament	96	82	82
Other bequests to 'own' church	60	31	58
Lights	32	18	24
Burial and other Commemorative Masses	44	62	45
Parish Gilds	8	56	18
Other parish churches	43	15	28
<b>LINCOLN CATHEDRAL</b>			
Bequests for repair of the fabric	91	64	92
Other Bequests	20	10	17
<b>MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS</b>			
Abbeys, Monasteries Priories, Nunneries etc.	6	13	11
Friars	18	36	20
St Catherines Priory	13	23	27
Public works	3	5	6
Alms for the poor	4	23	13
The residue 'for the good of my soul'	56	16	45

<sup>2</sup> Included under this heading are :

. 1 baker      2 smiths    1 labourer   1 skinner    1 roper      1 mercer  
. 5 taylors    2 drapers   1 merchant   1 tileburner 2 cordwainers (shoemakers)  
. 1 builder    2 brasiers   1 puter      2 tanners    1 malt maker   1 weaver  
. 2 Fishmongers\* 2 glovers   1 sadler    2 barbers\*   1 paten maker   1 chandler  
. 1 miller     1 sadler    1 bowyer    1 upholster

<sup>3</sup>. See Table 8 p. 117.    <sup>4</sup>. One testator is described as a barber and fishmonger

support for the friars accounts for this; there were four houses of friars each in Lincoln and Boston and many testators would have experienced the reputation of the friars as persuasive preachers. There were also rather more bequests from the tradesmen and craftsmen for alms for the poor but most of these are coupled with the masses celebrated at the burial and on the seventh and thirtieth days after death. Medieval religion had much primitive credulity and it was important to have a large attendance at commemorative masses in order to guarantee the maximum possible volume of prayer to the Saints pleading for their intercession for the soul of the deceased. Virtually every bequest can be seen as designed to achieve this. This no doubt accounts for the much greater number of bequests for masses amongst the wealthier town based tradesmen and craftsmen who could afford to make payments to encourage a large attendance at their funerals. Edmund Hobson a mercer of Spalding instructed his executors to 'gyff for the helth of my soule and all crysten soulys in funeral expenses at my buryall day and xxx<sup>ty</sup> day xvl'. £15 was, of course, a considerable amount of money in 1530 when this will was made. Thomas Knowlys a merchant of Barton-on-Humber asked that at his burial 'pore people, my prentys and every one of my god .....

sonnys' should be given 4d. When Hugh Schawe a skinner of Boston left 10s. to the poor he instructed that 5s. was to be paid on All Saints day and 5s. on Good Friday 'wher most nede is'.<sup>5</sup> Each of these testators in different ways was ensuring that his soul would benefit from a large volume of prayer.

As demonstrated by Table 17 occupation did have some influence on the way in which the pious layman distributed his wealth at his death. The wealthy townsman was able to endow commemorative masses and support the guilds which played an important part in medieval life particularly in the towns. The less affluent husbandman instructed his executors to distribute the residue of his estate for the 'health of my soul' and often the poor would be the beneficiaries, or perhaps objects for which finance was needed in his own community would benefit. No matter how the deceased's estate was disposed of, the motive was the same; to ensure the maximum volume of prayer for the soul of the testator and his family.

The relationship between will making and imminent death no doubt inspired Christopher Marlow, when writing the play The Tragical History of the Life and Death of Dr Faustus in the late sixteenth century to put into the mouth of Wagner the student and servant of Dr. Faustus, the following lines :

.....

<sup>5</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 189; LRS Vol. 24 pp. 51 and 145.

'I think my master means to die shortly:  
 He has made his will and given me his wealth,  
 His house, his goods, and store of golden plate,  
 Besides two thousand ducats ready coin'd...'.<sup>6</sup>

In Table 18 below a more detailed analysis of the relationship between the date of a will and its proof is

TABLE 18  
 TIME BETWEEN THE MAKING OF  
 WILLS AND PROBATE

	1514	1521	1525	1531	Overall
Number of wills	16	36	28	25	105
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
0 to 4 weeks	4 .25.0	2 .5.6	3 .10.7	5 .20.0	14 .13.3
5 to 8 weeks	2 .12.5	5 .13.9	5 .17.9	15 .60.0	27 .25.7
9 to 12 weeks	- . -	5 .13.9	3 .10.7	2 .8.0	10 .9.5
13 to 16 weeks	2 .12.5	7 .19.4	2 .7.1	1 .4.0	12 .11.4
17 to 20 weeks	1 .6.3	2 .5.6	1 .3.6	- . -	4 .3.8
21 to 24 weeks	- . -	3 .8.3	1 .3.6	- . -	4 .3.8
7 to 12 months	- . -	2 .5.6	2 .7.1	2 .8.0	6 .5.7
Over one year	- . -	3 .8.3	3 .10.7	- . -	6 .5.7
Undated wills or probate missing	7 .43.7	7 .19.4	8 .28.6	- . -	22 .21.1

given but it has to be borne in mind that the date of proof depended on the availability of the commissary or other official and the actual average time between the making of a will and the death of the testator was probably shorter than the Table indicates. No burial registers exist in Lincolnshire for the period of this thesis but, in a study of will making in Leverton [539]

<sup>6</sup>. The complete text of the play is contained in Jump, J. D. (Ed.) *Doctor Faustus*; Christopher Marlowe (London, 1962) pp. 1-105.

The quotation above is on p. 87.

and Grantham, [622] Stephen Coppel found that, in the slightly later period 1562 to 1600, the burial of thirty-two (53%) from a total of sixty testators took place within one week of making their will. In Grantham twenty-four (50%) of forty-eight testators were also buried within one week of making their wills. Only two (3%) of the Leverton testators and six (13%) testator's from Grantham survived for over twelve months.<sup>7</sup>

From the evidence of Table 18 above it can be seen that about 48% of all wills were proved within three months of making and 67% within six months. This confirms the generally held view that most testators were in poor health and wills were made in anticipation of imminent death. It is, therefore, very possible that the clerical scribe and also any clerical witnesses had considerable influence on the choice of beneficiary.

As shown by Table 19 below 73% of secular wills include a priest amongst the witnesses. The clerical witness had heard the sick person's confession before preparing the will and this document was regarded as part of the religious ritual which surrounded the death bed. At a time when few lay people could read or write it seems a reasonable assumption that the priest would write the .....

<sup>7</sup>. Coppel, S. 'Willmaking on the Death-bed' in Local Population Studies No. 40 (Nottingham, 1988) pp. 37-45.

will on behalf of the testator. The will of Robert Mawer of Trusthorpe [259] specifically states that it was written 'by me Robert Hanserde the parson' and in the will of John Young of Addlethorpe [428] it is stated that 'Sir

TABLE 19

EXECUTORS, SUPERVISORS AND WITNESSES TO SECULAR WILLS

	1514	1521	1525	1531	Overall
Number of wills	16	36	28	25	105
	No . %	No . %	No . %	No . %	No . %
Clerical Witness	6 , 3.8	26 , 72.0	22 , 78.5	19 , 76.0	73 , 69.5
Lay Witnesses only	10 , 62.0	10 , 2.8	5 , 17.9	6 , 24.0	31 , 30.0
Witnesses not named	- , -	- , -	1 , 3.6	- , -	1 , 0.5
Clerical Executor/Supervisor	3 , 19.0	8 , 22.0	5 , 17.9	5 , 20.0	21 , 20.0
Lay Executor/Supervisor	13 , 81.0	26 , 72.0	21 , 75.0	20 , 80.0	80 , 76.2
Executor/Supervisor not named	- , -	2 , 6.0	2 , 7.1	- , -	4 , 3.8
Clerical Witness or Supervisor	10 , 62.5	29 , 80.5	23 , 82.2	19 , 76.0	81 , 77.1
No Clerical Witness/Supervisor	6 , 37.5	6 , 16.7	3 , 10.7	6 , 24.0	21 , 20.0
Witnesses/Supervisor not named	- , -	1 , 2.8	2 , 7.1	- , -	3 , 2.9
Wife, son or other close relative as executor/supervisor	6 , 37.5	19 , 52.8	14 , 50.0	17 , 68.0	56 , 53.3

John chaplayn, yt mayd thys will and wrote it wt hande'. Robert Story of Grainthorpe [149] paid his parish priest 12d for making his will.<sup>9</sup> After having confessed and probably received the sacrament from the scribe most sick people would be receptive to any suggestions as to the most beneficial way of disposing of

<sup>9</sup>. LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 13; LRS Vol. 24. p. 41; LRS Vol. 24 p. 38.

their earthly wealth for the 'health of their soul'. Indeed this seems to have been the usual practice and there is no suggestion that there was any clerical skulduggery.

Of the forty-two surviving wills made in 1526 priests were involved in thirty nine as witnesses. In one will a priest is named as supervisor but he was also the testator's brother.<sup>9</sup> From information contained in the record of the Subsidy collected in 1526 the status of thirty-one clerical witnesses has been ascertained as shown in Table 20 below.<sup>10</sup>

TABLE 20  
STATUS OF CLERICAL  
WITNESSES OR SUPERVISORS  
TO SECULAR WILLS

Status	No. of Wills.	%
Rector	1	3.23
Vicar	2	6.45
Curate	6	19.35
Chantry Priest	8	25.81
Stipendiary Priest	14	45.16
	<u>31</u>	<u>100.00</u>

From this evidence it would seem that it was usual for the minor clergy whose income was based on a fixed stipend to be involved in will making and the possible effect of this on decision making will be discussed later in this Chapter.

<sup>9</sup>. LRS Vol. 5. p. 174.

<sup>10</sup>. Salter, H. E. *A Subsidy Collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526* (Oxford, 1909) pp. 1-82.  
Note : The status of priests given in wills is considered to be unreliable.

TABLE 21 : THE CLERGY AND WILL MAKING

Clergy and parish	1526		1527		1530		1521		1481	
	First	Last	1530	1531	1532	1537	1533	1530	1538	1538
Number of wills	8	10	12	8	6	9	10	6	18	28
PARISH CHURCH										
Tithes, High altar	63	60	75	50	33	89	80	50	82	
Sacrament										
Other bequests to 'own' church	75	60	8	25	83	78	80	33	58	
Lights	-	-	-	12	33	-	-	-	24	
Burial and other Commemorative Masses	25	40	83	37	50	22	60	67	45	
Parish Gilds	13	-	42	25	-	33	-	-	18	
Other parish churches	13	10	8	25	17	11	20	-	28	
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL										
Bequests for repair of the fabric	63	60	75	50	17	89	80	50	92	
Other Bequests	-	10	25	12	-	67	-	-	17	
RELIGIOUS HOUSES										
Abbeys, Monasteries Priors, Nunneries	13	-	-	12	-	33	-	50	11	
Friars	-	-	42	-	-	22	10	-	20	
St Catherines Priory	63	60	42	37	17	33	60	33	27	
Public Works	-	10	8	12	-	11	10	-	6	
Alms for the Poor	13	30	17	12	-	11	10	-	13	
The residue 'for the good of my soul'	25	-	17	25	-	56	50	50	45	

11. LRS Vol. 5 p. 164; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 23, 145, 164, 169, 194, 199; LRS Vol. 24 p. 13.  
 12. LRS Vol. 5 p. 177; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 45, 48, 104, 131, 188; LRS Vol. 24 pp. 15, 59, 73, 105.  
 13. LRS Vol. 5 p. 175; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 60, 101, 114, 213, 214; LRS 24 p. 26, 42, 161, 207, 211.  
 14. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 45, 98, 111; LRS Vol. 24 p. 33, 53, 102, 215; LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 17.  
 15. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 47, 79, 132; LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 ff. 137, 281; LAO LCC Wills 1538/40 f.55.  
 16. LRS Vol. 10 p. 191; LRS Vol. 24 pp. 69, 147, 218; LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 ff.32, 101, 196, 213, 215.  
 17. LRS Vol.5 p. 167; LRS Vol.10 pp. 40, 81, 189, 201; LRS Vol.24 pp. 2, 48, 73; LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 180, 311.  
 18. LRS Vol. 5 p. 97; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 34, 43, 62, 210; LRS Vol. 24 p. 102.  
 19. See Table 8 p. 117.



Unfortunately comparatively few wills witnessed by a particular priest have survived and the statistics contained in Table 21 above must be considered with caution.

Of the eight wills witnessed by Thomas Ashley a stipendiary priest of Kirton-in-Holland [600] five (63%) contain the usual bequests to Lincoln Cathedral, for 'tithes forgotten' and to the orphans of St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln. Robert Bray bequeathed an acre of land to the nearby Abbey of Swineshead [599] in return for the celebration of commemorative masses and when his son Robert 'departes thys present worlde' three acres of land was to go to the church 'for evermore'.<sup>20</sup> In another will the beneficiaries are asked to provide for an obit for eighty-four years.<sup>21</sup>

The ten wills witnessed by William Bewyk, a stipendiary priest of Pinchbeck [671] are also conventional but 40% make provision for commemorative masses. It is significant that six (60%) testators provide for bequests for the support of all the altars in the church.

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<sup>20</sup>, LRS Vol. 5 p. 164

<sup>21</sup>, LRS Vol. 10 p. 23

Thomas Cersy, a curate of Boston, [568] witnessed twelve wills made by Boston people between 1526 and 1531. 75% of these contain the usual bequests to Lincoln Cathedral and for 'tithes forgotten'. No less than 83% request commemorative masses and there is also an above average number (42%) of bequests to the gilds. St. Botolph's church, Boston supported no fewer than eighteen chantry priests and the bequests for commemorative masses were no doubt related to the wealth of the testators.<sup>22</sup> Of the twelve wills examined, two testators are described as merchants, one as a butcher, one as a roper, one as a notary and one as a gentlewoman.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, 50% of the twelve testators can be seen as comparatively wealthy.

Robert Gee, who is described as a curate of Spalding [672] witnessed three wills in which no religious bequest was made at all.<sup>24</sup> In one of these wills provision is made for a bequest to be used for commemorative masses if the recipient dies. In another will a similar provision is recorded but the bequest is to be used for the 'health of my soul'. Surprisingly, only one of the eight wills contains a bequest to the priory in Spalding.<sup>25</sup> In this will, which was made by Edward Hobson who is described as .....

<sup>22</sup>. Salter, *op. cit.*, p. 67

<sup>23</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 75; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 60, 101, 114; LRS Vol. 24 pp. 42, 211.

<sup>24</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 45, 98 and 111.

<sup>25</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 53.

a mercer, the prior was appointed supervisor and he was also requested to celebrate the funeral mass. This will was proved four weeks after making and its complexity suggests that it had been prepared well before sealing and not as a death bed testament.

John Gybson was curate of Weston [673] before becoming vicar of Donington-in-Holland [632]. All but one of the six wills witnessed by him contain a bequest to the appropriate parish church for repairs or ornamentation. Only two of the six wills witnessed by Gybson contain bequests for 'tithes forgotten' and it is significant that both were made after he became vicar of Donington.<sup>24</sup>

The nine wills witnessed by John Peychyll of Burgh-le-Marsh [452] and thirteen by Roger Pyshe, a curate of Bennington, [572] contain the usual high percentage of bequests to Lincoln Cathedral and for 'tithes forgotten' but both record a higher than usual number of other bequests to their own church. Seven of the nine wills (78%) witnessed by Peychyll contain such a bequest and five of these are clearly meant as a contribution to ongoing building work. Although most of the wills simply mention 'the church work' several are more specific. For example the will of Henry Hall specifically mentions the 'reparacions' and the will of Thomas Temper instructs his

<sup>24</sup>. LAD LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 55; LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 ff. 137v and 281.

executors to pay for the resilvering and gilding of the choir. The will of John Missynden which was witnessed by the vicar of Burgh, Thomas Jordan, also mentions the 'reparacions'.<sup>27</sup> The wills witnessed by Roger Pyshe are very similar with six of the ten wills mentioning building work. The six wills witnessed by Thomas Pycton, a stipendiary priest of Butterwick [571], contain a higher than average number of bequests for commemorative masses (67%) but two of the four wills containing such bequests are conditional on the decease of the beneficiaries. John Forman left property to his wife and to his children, Richard and Alice, when they reached the age of fifteen, but if all three died the property was to go to John Baxter in return for a trental of masses. Forman left other property to his brother Henry but if he died John Baxter was to receive the property providing he arranged for an 'honest priest' to sing for the soul of the testator for half a year. The will of Richard Holland provided for the remainder of his property to go to his daughter Helen and then to her heirs but if she died without heirs part of the property was to be used to provide for a priest to pray 'for my soul and all crysten soules so long as the money thereto will endure'.<sup>28</sup>

.....  
<sup>27</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 137 and 157; LAG LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 30.

<sup>28</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 97; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 35, 62, 210

Ashley, Bewyk and Gee seem to have had no particular preference for the way testators disposed of their property and 38% of the wills witnessed by Robert Gee contain no religious bequest at all. Thomas Cersy appears to have believed that commemorative masses provided the best means of achieving salvation. It might appear that Cersy himself hoped to supplement his stipend of £5 13s. 4d. which he received as a curate, but a close examination of the bequests shows that in three wills it was the friars who were to celebrate. In one will the masses were only to be celebrated if the heirs had died and in another it was a gild which was to arrange the mass. Therefore, it seems unlikely that Cersy had any ulterior motive in suggesting to testators that they provide for such masses in their wills.

John Gybson appears to have considered that the way to salvation was by means of contributions to the maintenance or ornamentation of the parish church. The high percentage (89%) of bequests for 'tithes forgotten' in wills witnessed by John Pechyll may have been influenced by his interest in the income to be derived from these but unfortunately his status is not clear. The number containing bequests for church repairs in wills witnessed by him are also high but bequests for commemorative masses are low and he appears to have considered that heavenly .....

credit lay in material causes rather than through prayer. There seems to have been building work in progress at Roger Pyshe's church in Bennington and, not surprisingly, his priorities were with funding this.

The material evidence is limited but is sufficient to demonstrate that, although clerical scribes had the opportunity to remind testators of particular needs of their church, this did not lead to abuse. In the context of an age when it was believed that the disposal of material possessions was an important means of obtaining salvation, the sick and pious person would receive some comfort from advice given by a clergyman when preparing his last will and testament.

Having examined the wills witnessed by particular priests, attention is now paid to the influence which the place of residence may have had on will making. The wills made by testators living in the ten parishes are compared in Table 22 with the overall statistics recorded in Table 8.<sup>29</sup>

In all of the ten parishes except Gedney [678] and Halton Hologate [449] the percentage of wills in which a bequest is made for 'tithes forgotten' is high and the same is true for bequests to the Fabric Fund of Lincoln Cathedral in all of the parishes except Gedney. Gedney

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<sup>29</sup>, See page 117.

also had fewer than average bequests for the support of the orphans of St. Catherines Priory, Lincoln.

It will be seen from Table 22 below that, although the parishioners of Gedney did not make the usual number of bequests for 'tithes forgotten', or to the Fabric Fund of Lincoln Cathedral and to St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln, 60% asked for commemorative masses to be celebrated compared with the overall 45%. Of the ten Gedney wills 50% ask for the residue of their estates to be used for the health of their souls compared with the overall 45%

.....  
Sources for Table 22 overleaf.

- <sup>30</sup>. Bennington : LRS Vol. 5 pp. 92, 167; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 40, 68, 81, 189, 196, 201;  
LRS Vol. 24. pp. 48, 73.
- <sup>31</sup>. Boston : LRS Vol. 5 pp. 49, 59, 104, 175; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 40, 48, 55, 60,  
62, 92, 100, 105, 114, 170, 174, 189, 212, 214; LRS Vol. 24 pp. 19,  
26, 42, 57, 131, 150, 154, 161,  
162, 164, 190, 207, 210, 218.
- <sup>32</sup>. Freiston : LRS Vol. 5 pp. 55, 73, 97, 126; LRS Vol. 10 pp 24, 26, 70, 159,  
163, 173, 182; LRS Vol. 24 pp. 5, 27, 102, 140.
- <sup>33</sup>. Gedney : LRS Vol. 5 pp. 115, 163, 167, 169; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 25, 30, 53, 68, 71.
- <sup>34</sup>. Grantham : LRS Vol. 5 pp. 26, 33, 104, 156, 182, 184, 187; LRS Vol. 10 p. 21;  
LRS Vol. 24 p. 140, 201. LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 ff. 85(2), 197, 303.
- <sup>35</sup>. Halton : LRS Vol. 5 pp. 48, 77, 102; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 103, 107, 158, 165, 182.
- <sup>36</sup>. Kirton : LRS Vol. 5 pp. 83, 103, 111, 135, 140, 164, 187; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 24,  
36, 55, 78, 82, 91, 112, 139, 145, 153, 169, 194(2), 199, 200, 208;  
LRS Vol. 24 pp. 2, 13, 95, 159
- <sup>37</sup>. Leake : LRS Vol. 5 pp. 98, 143, 160; LRS Vol. 10 pp 184; LRS 24 p. 103;  
LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 ff. 94, 121, 159, 180, 229.
- <sup>38</sup>. Moulton : LRS Vol. 5 pp. 54, 62, 63, 67; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 61, 79, 131;  
LRS Vol. 24 pp. 55, 61, 127; LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 ff. 73, 135, 184, 223, 295
- <sup>39</sup>. Waddington : LRS Vol. 5 p. 114, 140, 143; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 101, 201; LRS Vol. 24 pp. 18, 27, 62.

TABLE 22<sup>40</sup>

THE PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND WILL MAKING

Parish	IB IE IN II IN IG IT ID IN	B ND S O LN L A N D	F R I S T O N	G R A N T Y	G R A N T Y	H A R I T A M	HIK OII LIR EIT GIO AIN TI EII IN	HIL OIE LIR LIK E	M O L L O N	W A U D I N G	O V E R I A L I N G	
Dates of Wills	First Last	1521 1530	1512 1531	1513 1531	1522 1534	1505 1533	1518 1530	1508 1531	1521 1533	1513 1534	1522 1530	1481 1536
Number of wills		30 10	31 32	32 15	33 10	34 14	35 8	36 27	37 11	38 15	39 8	29 1828
PARISH CHURCH	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tithes, High altar Sacrament		70	84	73	10	93	38	67	82	87	75	82
Other bequests to 'own' church		60	9	67	20	57	63	70	73	53	25	58
Lights		-	6	27	10	-	-	4	-	87	-	24
Burial and other Commemorative Masses		40	66	67	60	21	50	30	73	54	25	45
Parish Gilds		-	50	13	-	7	25	11	-	7	-	18
Other parish churches		10	16	-	-	5	25	-	9	20	13	28
LINCOLN CATHEDRAL												
Bequests for repair of the fabric		70	84	73	10	86	50	67	73	87	63	92
Other Bequests		-	19	20	-	7	13	-	9	7	-	17
RELIGIOUS HOUSES												
Abbeys, Monasteries Priories, Nunneries		-	16	20	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	11
Friars		-	47	20	-	14	-	7	-	13	13	20
St Catherines Priory		50	69	20	10	21	-	56	73	80	-	27
Public Works		-	6	-	-	14	13	4	-	-	-	6
Alms for the Poor		10	19	-	-	7	25	7	-	7	-	13
The residue 'for the good of my soul'		10	41	67	50	43	50	33	45	40	75	45

<sup>40</sup>. Note : The sources for the above Table are recorded on the previous page.



Six of the ten Gedney wills were witnessed by Robert Camson, a stipendiary priest, and he also witnessed a will in company with Thomas Young who is described as a chaplain. One will has no clerical witness and the other two are witnessed by Thomas Wyngood and Andrew Marchand whose status is unknown. Stipendiary priests received a fixed income which, in the case of Camson, was £6. per annum and, therefore, it is possible that this accounts for the fact that none of the wills witnessed by him contain a bequest for 'tithes forgotten'.<sup>41</sup> In fact the only one of the ten Gedney wills containing this bequest is that witnessed by Andrew Marchand whose status is unknown. Five of the six wills containing bequests for the celebration of commemorative masses were witnessed by Robert Camson and the other one was witnessed by Thomas Wyngood whose status is also unknown.<sup>42</sup> None of the clergy who witnessed these wills would be entitled to a share of the tithes and received a stipend or relied on the income received from celebrating the numerous masses which were paid for by the parishioners.

Only wills from five of the ten parishes contain a bequest for the provision of lights. By far the highest number of wills containing such a bequest are from the parish of Moulton [674] where 87% of the testators made

<sup>41</sup>. Salter op. cit., p. 62. See pp. 93-94 for an explanation of the distribution of tithes.

<sup>42</sup>. The rector of Gedney from 1519 to 1541 was George Henneage, Dean of Lincoln Cathedral, and William Massey was vicar from 1525 until 1529 when Richard Webster was appointed. Major, K. A short account of the church of St. Mary Magdalen, Gedney. (Gloucester, 1945) pp. 17-21.

such a bequest for the provision of lights compared with the overall average of 24%. Surprisingly, only 6% of Boston [568] testators make such a bequest and only 4% of those testators living in the parish of Kirton [600]. An explanation for the large number of bequests for the provision of lights in Moulton parish church is not easy to ascertain. However, the fifteen wills were witnessed by eleven different priests and, therefore, it is unlikely that clerical influence can be the reason. It seems that at Moulton there was a strong traditional use of candles as a means of expressing piety.

At Boston the extensive building campaign was completed with the magnificent tower c1520 and no doubt this accounts for the small number of bequests to the church other than for 'tithes forgotten'.<sup>43</sup> Boston testators were now supporting other causes including the gilds and commemorative masses but especially the orphans of St. Catherine's Priory, Lincoln which attracted bequests by 69% of testators. There was also strong support for the friars in Boston but this is not surprising as there were houses of all four orders based in the town.

The heading 'other bequests to 'own' church' in Table 22 includes any item other than the regular bequest for 'tithes forgotten'. The most common 'other bequest' is usually described as 'church work' or 'reparacions'. Of

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<sup>43</sup>. Pevsner, N. and Harris, J. The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire  
Second Edition revised Antram, N. (London, 1987 ) p. 156.

the wills made by the eleven testators living in Leak[527] whose bequests are recorded under the heading 'other bequests to their 'own' church' seven refer to ongoing work; three refer to the new steeple, one to the building of the North aisle and two to the building of the church. For example, in 1524 Lawrence Paynson left 3s. 4d. 'To the byldyng of the new Steple' and in 1530 Thomas Dykynson left part of the proceeds from the sale of land 'to be waryd of the buyldyng of the northe yle...' In 1533 Mawde Arthrowe left 3s. 4d. to the 'byldyng of the kyrk of Leck and when Thomas Felde made his will also in 1533 he asked that 6s. 8d. was to be given towards the building of the church 'at three payments with three quarters of a yere after my decease'.<sup>44</sup> The evidence of these wills is a clear indication of an extensive building campaign at Leake and those wills which only specify 'church work' or 'reparacions' would almost certainly be meant as a contribution to ongoing work.

Perhaps the most significant fact to emerge from a study of the eleven wills made by testators living in Leake is that ten include a bequest to 'every altar'. This may be meant either to provide a candle to be lit in honour of the patron saint or to provide for a priest to pray for the soul of the deceased before each of the altars. The evidence of Table 22 confirms that the traditions or customs of a particular parish had an

<sup>44</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 143; LRS Vol. 10 p. 184; LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 159; LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 180.

influence on the way in which testators expressed their piety.

The ancient law of *legitim*, which had existed in England at least from the reign of Henry II, required a deceased's estate to be divided into three parts. The first part went to the widow, the second to his children and the third part could be disposed of as the testator wished. If he had a wife and no children or children and no wife half of the residue after his debts had been paid could be disposed of as he wished. If he died without wife or children then the whole estate could be disposed of as he wished. By the early sixteenth century this law had fallen into abeyance in many parts of the country but in Lincolnshire it was still customary to divide the estate into three parts.<sup>45</sup> An example of this is contained in the will of John Gray of Calcethorpe [196] made in 1530 which reads as follows :

'Also I wyll that my goodes be devydyd in thre partes, my wyff to have on parte, my chylder another and the thyrd parte I will that my wyff and Gregory my sone whome I made executors dispose for the helthe of my soule'.<sup>46</sup>

As shown by Table 23 below about 50% of testators required their residue or 'third part' to be 'disposed for the health of their soul'.<sup>47</sup> When Richard Trewe of Elsham

.....  
<sup>45</sup>. Blackstone, W. Commentaries on the Laws of England New edition, Chitty, J. Ed. (London, 1826) Vol. II p. 492-493;  
Pollock, F. and Maitland, F. W. The History of English Law before the time of Edward I Second Edition (Reissued Cambridge, 1968) Vol. II pp. 348-350; LRS Vol. 10 pp. xx-xxi.

<sup>46</sup> LRS Vol. 10 p. 177.      <sup>47</sup>. See also Table 8 p. 117.

[37] made his will in 1530 he appointed his wife executrix and he instructed her 'to dispose [of the residue] for the helth of me soule as she wyll answer afore the high Juge of heven'.<sup>48</sup> This is the most common form by which testators disposed of their residue as shown by Table 23 below :

TABLE 23  
THE RESIDUE OR 'THIRD PART'

	1514		1521		1525		1531		Overall	
Number of wills	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
'Disposed for the health of soul'	11	.68.8	17	.47.2	10	.35.7	15	.60.0	53	.50.5
To wife or other close relative	1	.6.2	4	.11.1	12	.42.9	9	.36.0	26	.24.8
To the executors	4	.25.0	11	.30.6	2	.7.1	-	-	17	.16.2
Not mentioned in Will	-	-	4	.11.1	4	.14.3	1	.4.0	9	.8.5

There are variations and Agnes Godfrey a widow of Wainfleet [481] in her will made in 1527 asked her executor to dispose of the residue :

'in work of charyte for the helthe of my soul, all my frendes soulys with all x'pen soulys discharging hys conscience as he will make answer and he thus doying to have for hys labor iijs. ivd'.<sup>49</sup>

As was shown in Table 19 above in about half of secular wills a close relative was appointed executor or supervisor.<sup>50</sup> In about 20% of these wills, there was also either a clerical executor or, more usually, a

<sup>48</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 205. <sup>49</sup>. LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 212. <sup>50</sup>. See page 187.

clerical supervisor whose task was to advise on the way in which the usual request for the residue to be disposed for the good of the testator's soul could be most effectively achieved. A good example of this is contained in the will of William Copuldike of Harrington [407] who, in his will made in 1504 appointed executors and supervisors as follows :

'The residue of my gudes I pwtt to the disposyson of myne executores, whome I make and ordeyne margaret my wiffe, William boucher of Willoughby, 'gentilman,' sir John byllyngay the persone of the chirche of Aserardby, that they dispose them for the sawle as shall be most plesewre to god and to my last wyll. Also I humbely beseke my lord Chancellor of England for the tyme beyng to be the supervisor yf yt plesse hyme'

The Chancellor of England in 1504 was William Wareham, Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>81</sup>

An example from a rather humbler level in society is contained in the will of Robert Lovell who lived in the parish of St. Peter at Pleas, Lincoln and made his will in 1521 :

'I will that Margret my wif be my soule executrix, to whome I bequeth wholly the residew of my goodes unwite and bequeathed...so to dispose theym for the helth of my soule as she may be the better rewarded of almighty god. I will that the sayd Sir Thomas Carter and Edward Smyth be supervisors, to whom I bequeth iijs. iiijd. a pece for ther labours'.<sup>82</sup>

A simpler but similar bequest is contained in the will of Richard Coke of Cowbit [703] made in 1530 as follows :

.....  
<sup>81</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 22. Vincent, B. Haydon's Dictionary of Dates (London, 1871) p. 160.

<sup>82</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 87-88.

'Resydue of goodes to the disposicion of Grace my wyff, which I orden executrix, with the discret oversyght of sir Thomas Sheryff'.

The supervisor, Thomas Sheryff, was also a witness to this will. Although the widow was most usually appointed executor, of course, this was not always possible. The will of William Hesyll of Low Toynton [395] made in 1530 makes no bequests to a widow but he does make small bequests to a son and two daughters and to his god children.<sup>53</sup> He also provides for masses for himself, his wife and parents. Clearly his wife had predeceased him. It is significant that he does not make a bequest to Thomas who appears to have been his eldest son. However, the residue is disposed as follows :

'The resydue of my goodes I gyff to Thomas Hesyll my sonne, whome I make my executor, with the oversight of sir John Balet parson of the churche of Toynton, with whome I make supervisor, and he to have for hys labor ijs.

In Table 19 it was shown that the clergy were involved in either witnessing or supervising about 77% of secular wills and were, therefore, in a strong position to influence the disposal of a lay person's worldly possessions ostensibly as an aid to achieving heavenly credit.<sup>54</sup> The unscrupulous cleric undoubtedly had the opportunity to take advantage either of the testator during his last illness or whilst supervising the disposal .....

<sup>53</sup>, LRS Vol. 24 p. 18.

<sup>54</sup>, LRS Vol. 24 p. 109.

<sup>55</sup>, See page 187.

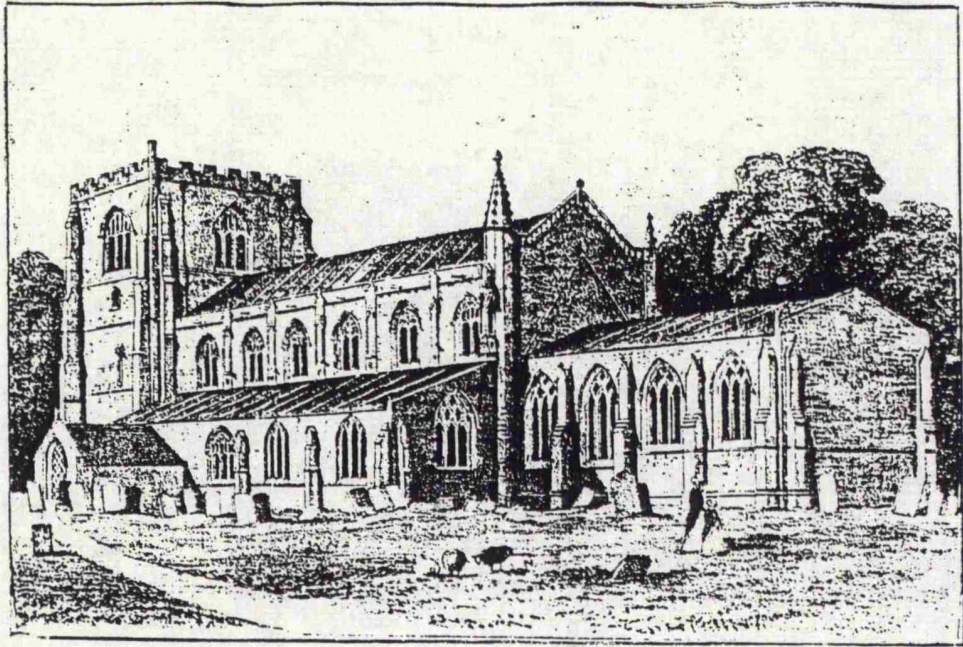
of the residue or 'third part' of the deceased's assets. No doubt most parish clergy were dedicated and trustworthy and it is doubtful if much clerical skulduggery was, in fact, practised. However, it would be wrong not to recognise that the opportunity was there. Most wills were witnessed by a number of lay people in addition to the clergy and the will of Robert Foster of Goulceby [288] made on 15 July 1531 stated that :

'Thes ar the wytnesses, sir Robert Irlande vicar; Robert Adlard; Thomas Bray; John Scutte: John Goodhande; John Pratte; with many moy'.

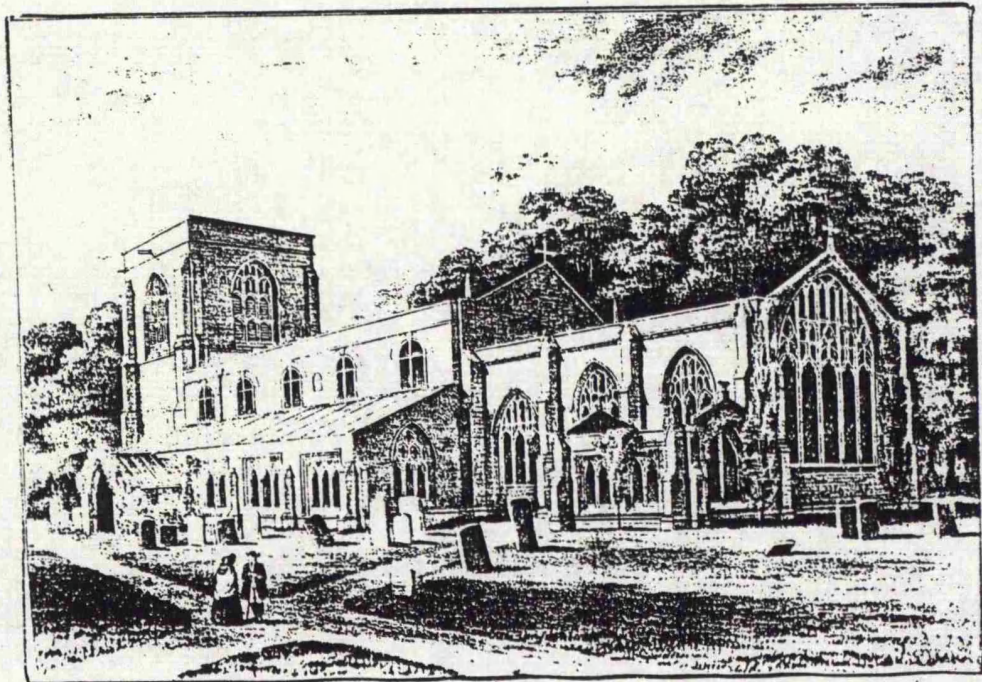
The dying person would not be short of suggestions for ways in which his piety could be expressed and this advice would come, not only from the clergy, but from those members of his family and his friends present at the bedside. The lay witnesses would, no doubt ensure that an over zealous cleric did not exert undue influence on the way in which the dying person disposed of his estate.

.....  
<sup>288</sup>. LRS Vol. 24 p. 150.





LEAKE.



LEVERTON.

CHAPTER V  
THE FINANCING OF CHURCH  
BUILDING, MAINTENANCE AND  
ORNAMENTATION

The large number of Lincolnshire churches which contain evidence either of rebuilding or additions in the Perpendicular style together with interior furnishing and decoration which can be dated to the later Middle Ages give a clear indication of the lively parish life which existed in most parts of the county. Parishioners from all ranks of society were taking an enthusiastic part in parish administration and were prepared to add aisles, towers or windows to their parish churches and to contribute or raise very considerable sums of money to pay for them.

Unfortunately surviving records rarely show how the work was financed and those that do are usually for work instigated by gentry and merchants whose tombs and chantry chapels are a feature of many parish churches.

Although small contributions by individuals to church building campaigns were greatly encouraged very few records have survived in Lincolnshire. However, the accounts of the Fabric Fund of Lincoln Cathedral provide much useful evidence which will be discussed below. The Churchwardens' Accounts for St. James', Louth and St.

Helen's, Leverton provide more evidence which will be discussed below. Fund raising took several forms. At Christmas, Easter and other festivals, parish feasts known as church ales were held in the nave of the church. The ale was made in the parish brewhouse with malt that was usually given by parishioners. The feasting was followed by dancing in the church and the parishioners paid for the ale they drank. The profits provided a substantial sum for the church fabric fund. Money was also raised by collections and gifts both in money and in kind. As was shown in Chapter III bequests were particularly important.

The parish gilds in many cases were wealthy enough to enlarge or add aisles in parish churches in order to house their chapels. In a few cases gilds even rebuilt a church. Gilds enabled poorer members of a local community to contribute to the maintenance of their parish church through gild membership.<sup>1</sup>

A record of bequests and other gifts to Lincolnshire churches which have been identified has been included in Appendix C.

As is shown by Table 8 about 58% of all testators made a bequest to their parish church.<sup>2</sup> Most of these were to the fabric fund or for specific ongoing repairs. As Dr. Morris has pointed out :

.....

<sup>1</sup>. Norris, R. Churches in the Landscape (London, 1989) p. 366.

<sup>2</sup>. See p. 117.

'...the attitude of the rector, parochial morale and organisation...[were factors which led] to countless acts of humdrum maintenance'.

Most parishioners had a pride and commitment to the maintenance and adornment of their church and the many bequests towards these objects confirm this.

Although Dr. Morris states that 'in Lincolnshire the late medieval increase in the sheep population coincided with a decline in church building' Appendix C to this thesis contains many bequests which clearly disprove this statement and show that campaigns for the enlargement and rebuilding of parish churches were still taking place in the county during this period.<sup>3</sup>

Building campaigns often took many years to complete. The spire at Louth took fifteen years and at Leverton the first stage in the rebuilding of the church seems to have commenced in 1492 and was completed in 1519. It is not surprising that testators sometimes asked that payment of their bequests should be conditional upon the work being carried out within a specified period or when the work was finished.<sup>4</sup> When James Washyngborough made a bequest for the repair and maintainance of the choir of his parish church of Wyberton [585] he specified that this was to be .....

<sup>3</sup>. Morris op. cit., pp. 328 and 357.

<sup>4</sup>. Ibid., p. 356.

carried out within six years.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Felde asked that his bequest of 6s. 8d. towards the rebuilding of Leake [527] church should be paid 'at three payments within three quarters of a year after my decease'.<sup>6</sup> John Blanke of Moulton [674] did not specify an actual period within which his bequest was to be paid.<sup>7</sup> It would appear that it was intended to build a new rood loft or repair an existing loft and half of his bequest of 6s. 8d. was to be paid 'at the begining and 3s. 4d. when it is mayd a nede of'.

Few records have survived in Lincolnshire for the building of churches or additions to them which were paid for entirely by an individual. An inscription on the east wall of the Perpendicular porch of Addlethorpe [428] church suggests that it was given by John Goddard :

'The Cryst that suffered  
Grette pangs and hard  
Hafe mercy on the sowle  
Of John Godard  
That thys porche made  
And many oder thynges dede  
Them for Jesus Cryst  
Qwyte hym mede'.<sup>8</sup>

.....  
<sup>5</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 17.

<sup>6</sup>. LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 80v.

<sup>7</sup>. LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 184.

<sup>8</sup>. Pevsner, N. and Harris, J. The Buildings of England : Lincolnshire Second Edition revised .  
Antram, N. (London, 1989) p. 91.

The arms of Anthony Ellis a merchant of the Staple of Calais are visible upon the massive tower that he paid for at Great Ponton [643] in 1519.<sup>9</sup> It is said that Ellis sent a cask to his wife labelled 'Calais sand' which he opened on his return home showing that it contained the greater part of the money which he used to build the tower! Carved on the tower are Ellis's arms and the inscription 'Thinke and Thanke God for all'.

At Grantham [622] c1495 Thomas Hall, a wealthy merchant, built a chantry chapel attached to the Corpus Christi aisle.<sup>10</sup>

The most important and extensive support for church building by individuals in late medieval Lincolnshire was that undertaken by the Browne family of Stamford [720]. They were wealthy wool merchants and the considerable rebuilding of All Saints' Church which took place in the late fifteenth century was a joint undertaking by the brothers John, who died in 1475, and William, who died in 1489. William was also responsible for the building of the magnificent hospital which was completed in 1475.<sup>11</sup>

.....  
<sup>9</sup>. Ibid., p. 332.

<sup>10</sup>. Morris, op. cit., p. 365.

<sup>11</sup>. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments England An Inventory of Historical Monuments : The Town of Stamford (London, 1977) pp. 8 and 37.

The will of William Browne made in 1488 includes a number of bequests to All Saints' Church for vestments and the will of his wife Margaret made in the following year as well as a bequest for 'a palle for the fertour [shrine]' and embroidered cushions for All Saints' Church includes bequests for vestments and palles for seven other churches in Stamford.<sup>12</sup>

Such munificence by wealthy individuals was, of course, welcome but as an expression of secular piety the building campaigns which enabled all levels of the local community to show their support for their own church, are a far more revealing indication of the strength of parish life. This is adequately demonstrated by the Churchwarden's Accounts for St. James, Louth.

The magnificent spire of St. James' parish church, Louth [202] is the most outstanding example of church building in Lincolnshire during the late Middle Ages. The campaign was the culmination of a long programme of enlargement of the original thirteenth century foundation commencing with a new chancel and working west towards a new tower.<sup>13</sup> The building of the spire commenced in 1500 and fortunately the Churchwarden's Accounts have survived.<sup>14</sup>

.....

<sup>12</sup>. See Appendix C.

<sup>13</sup>. Budding, R. C. (Ed.) First Churchwarden's Book of Louth 1500/24 (Oxford, 1941) pp.xiii-xiv.

<sup>14</sup>. The spire in the Churchwarden's Account is referred to as the 'broach' spelt in the following ways : brooch, broch, broche. This refers particularly to a spire which springs, as at Louth, directly from the tower. Wright, J. The English Dialect Dictionary Vol. I (Oxford, 1970) p. 407.

The first entry relating to the spire is as follows :

'Md that John Chapman merchand and his fellows delivered to this accomptant of penys giffyn be dyvers warke men ijs. vjd'.<sup>15</sup>

Which suggests that from the commencement of the building work the humblest of parishioners were supporting the work.

Throughout the fifteen years taken to build the spire money was raised by borrowing from the Gilds of Our Lady, St. Peter and Holy Trinity.<sup>16</sup> Loans were made by individuals and no opportunity to raise money was overlooked.

The planks which formed the roof of the tower were removed together with the lead covering before the first stones of the spire were laid. The planks were then sold and 'Joh White preest...' paid 16d '...for old tymbir takyn of the hiest flour...' and other such sales are recorded.<sup>17</sup> No doubt the lead was stored for recasting and used as required.

When the first stone of the spire was laid in 1501 the following sums of money were given :

.....

<sup>15</sup>. Dudding, op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>16</sup>. Ibid., pp. 17, 31, 33, 46-7, 51, 58-9, 63, 71-2, 85, 93-4, 105, 113, 118-9, 135-143, 160, 176.

<sup>17</sup>. Ibid., pp. 6 and 19.



It ressavvd of the gift of  
George Fitzwillam gent. 20d.

It ressavvd of Joh Chapman  
merchand a nold nobull [ie. an  
old noble] the wich was ressavvd  
for Rob Beverlay of Good Friday 8s. 9d

It ressavvd of John Gyrdyke  
to the same warke 6s. 8d

It ressavvd of dyvers men  
to the same warke 5s. 4d

Sm<sup>m</sup> 22s 5d'.<sup>18</sup>

The Churchwardens' Accounts record numerous gifts and  
legacies as shown in Table 24 below.<sup>17</sup>

TABLE 24  
ST. JAMES' CHURCH, LOUTH  
GIFTS AND LEGACIES

.	f. s. d.		f. s. d.
1500	1. 18. 8.	1507	16. 8.
1501	21. 14. 2. <sup>20</sup>	1508	2. 0.
1502	4. 16. 8	1509	6. 4.
1503	2. 3. 6	1510	6. 0.
1504	11. 4	1511	7. 0. 11.
1505	5. 16. 5	1512	1. 14. 0.
1506	2. 5. 4	1513	3. 13. 7.

The Account for 1502 records that the rope-makers gave  
30s. towards the building of the spire and gifts by  
'dyvers warke men' are regularly recorded.<sup>21</sup>

An important source of income came from the ringing of  
the church bells at funerals. In 1500 the expense of

<sup>18</sup>. Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>19</sup>. Ibid., pp. 3, 17, 32, 48, 60, 75, 86-7, 95-6, 107, 116, 125, 135-4, 143, 159-60, 165.

<sup>20</sup>. Includes £20 given by John Chapman merchant specifically for the building of the spire.

<sup>21</sup>. Dudding, op. cit., pp. 1, 19, 32, 48 and 86.

maintaining the bells amounted to 17s. 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. but the income derived from ringing the 'great bells' at funerals in the same year totalled £3. 2s. 8d. The corresponding figures for the subsequent years are shown in the following Table.<sup>22</sup>

**TABLE 25**  
**Income produced by Funeral Bellringing**

Accounting Year	Receipts			Payments			Balance.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
. 1501	3.	6.	0.	5.	5.		3.	0.	7.
. 1502	3.	7.	4.	18.	10.		2.	8.	6.
. 1503	3.	16.	4.	14.	2.		3.	2.	2.
. 1504	4.	8.	4.	12.	2.		3.	16.	2.
. 1505	5.	14.	4.	15.	10.		4.	18.	6.
. 1506	4.	19.	0.	9.	2.		4.	9.	10.
. 1507	5.	10.	0.	9.	9.		5.	0.	3.
. 1508	3.	7.	4.	8.	8.		2.	8.	8.
. 1509	4.	17.	0.	2.	11.	2.	2.	5.	10.
. 1510	3.	15.	4.	1.	15.	7.	1.	19.	9.
. 1511	2.	12.	0.	4.	9.		2.	7.	3.
. 1512	2.	1.	2.	9.	4.		1.	11.	10.
. 1513	1.	1.	8.	6.	3.		15.	5.	
. 1514	1.	8.	8.	1.	4.	7.	4.	1.	
Total income							£38. 8. 10.		

Three existing bells were recast and three more added during the time the spire was being built and this is dramatic confirmation that bells were not only an important part of religious life but were a valuable source of income.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup>. Ibid., pp. 3-6, 17-19, 35-6, 49-51, 61-6, 76-8, 88-9, 97-8, 108-9, 117-8, 126-7, 159 and 166.

<sup>23</sup>. Ibid., p. 67-8, 79, 101 and 124.

The total cost of building the spire recorded in the Churchwarden's Accounts for 1515 is given as £305. 7s. 5d.<sup>24</sup> Dr. J. Swaby, sometime Vicar of St. James', Louth, summarised the sources of the money required as follows :

- '1. The Sunday collections in church, which averaged about 4s. a week over the period.
2. Money received for burials in the church . It usually cost 3s. 4d. for burial in the porch and 6s. 8d. for burial in the body of the church. Between 1500 and 1521 there were about two hundred such burials.
3. Money received for ringing the great bell either as a passing bell or as a commemoration of the departed. The fee varied from 8d. to 1s. 8d.

The first charge on these [three] items was ordinary church expenditure and only the surplus was available for the spire. Goulding reckons the surplus was about £178. 6s. 5d.

4. Gifts to the extent of £53. 3s. 0d.
5. Loans came to about £73.19s. 0d'.<sup>25</sup>

Another valuable contribution was 'boon' waggons which were carts for the carriage of stone and other items paid for by local tradesmen.<sup>26</sup>

The pride which the parishioners felt upon the completion of their church was expressed as follows :

.....

<sup>24</sup>. Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>25</sup>. Swaby, J. A History of Louth (London, 1951) pp. 96-9.

<sup>26</sup>. Dudding, op. cit., pp. 163-4.

Md. the 15 sonday after holy trenete this yere the wedercoke was sete upon the broch of holy rode ewyn after Ther beyng Will Ayleby parich prest with many of his breder prests ther present haloyng the said wedercoke and the stone that itt stands upon and so conveyed upon the said broch and then the said prests syngyng *Te deum laudamus* with organs And then the Kirke wardens garte rynges all the bels and causid all the pepull ther beyng to hafe brede and ale And all to the lofyng of god oure lade and all saynts And the said Thos. Bradlelay liffid after be v yers.<sup>27</sup>

Md. that Thomas Bradelay merser saide that he myght meyn well [ie 'he well remembered'] and sawe the first stone set upon the said stepull and also the last ston sett upon the broch. And also Agnes the wife of Rob. Inglich barker said the same with many mo.

Md. that Thomas Tayleyor draper gafe the wedercoke wich was bought in Yorke of a gret bassyn and made at Lyncoln and the Kyng of Scotts brought the same bassyn in to Ingland with him'.<sup>28</sup>

According to Dr. Swaby, :

'...a basin which was part of the booty taken at the Battle of Flodden was bought in York and made into a weathercock at Lincoln'.<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps a knight or other high ranking soldier who had taken part in the battle in 1513, had acquired the 'basin' in part payment for his services and this was then sold to Thomas Tayleyor. The Churchwarden's Accounts state that the weathercock was brought from Lincoln by John Kechyn for which he was paid 8d. John Hareson made a shaft six foot four inches long on which to place the weathercock and this also cost 8d. Richard Alan soldered the weather

<sup>27</sup>. The words in italics have been added in a later hand. <sup>28</sup>. Dudding, op. cit., pp. 181-3. See drawing of completed spire on page 231.

<sup>29</sup>. Swaby, op. cit., p. 100.

cock to the shaft. The solder cost 3d. and he was paid 8d for his work.<sup>30</sup> The Churchwarden's Accounts for Louth give the most complete account of a church building campaign of the late Middle Ages in Lincolnshire. The work at Louth, which was so enthusiastically supported by parishioners from all levels of the community, may well have inspired other building schemes or other campaigns designed to enhance parish churches.

In most cases the evidence for dating can only be arrived at approximately by comparing the item with similar dated items. However, bequests made in support of building campaigns can give a more precise date to work which falls within the wide band known as Perpendicular, that is dating from c1350 until c1530.<sup>31</sup> A number of examples of such bequests will be discussed below.

There was considerable enthusiasm in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century for the rebuilding or extension of the churches at Leverton, Leeke and Bennington which are in the marshland area to the north of Boston. The progress of the rebuilding of St. Helen's Church, Leverton [539] which took place over a period from c1492 to c1534 can be traced from the Churchwarden's Accounts<sup>32</sup>. Stylistic evidence shows that the chancel and tower are Perpendicular and the Churchwardens Accounts record bequests for 'emending of the campanile' in 1492,

.....  
<sup>30</sup>. Dudding, op. cit., pp. 181-3, 178-9. <sup>31</sup>. Pevsner, op. cit., p. 837.  
<sup>32</sup>. Peacock, Leverton pp. 333-357; LAO Leverton Par/7/1 f. 224.

1495 and 1498.<sup>33</sup> Payments are also recorded for the recasting and rehanging of the bells which is further evidence for the rebuilding of the tower at this time.<sup>34</sup> As was shown at Louth, it appears to have been usual to add to the bells in a church tower after rebuilding or adding a further stage. The existing bells would, of course, need to be rehung.<sup>35</sup>

In 1517 there is a payment of 2s. 2d. 'for shoryng of ye north side of ye kyrke' and in 1519 there is a payment of 40s 'for halloying of the kyrke'.<sup>36</sup> The north aisle is late Perpendicular in style and it would appear that substantial building work took place in the period 1492 to 1519.<sup>37</sup> In 1527 the buttresses of the church were 'mended' and in 1528 a payment of 3d was made 'to a masyn prentys for wallyng of ye window behynd Saint thos aut'.<sup>38</sup>

Presumably a window over an alter dedicated to Saint Thomas was to be blocked up. Perhaps a new buttress had been built at this point to support the church wall.

.....  
<sup>33</sup>. Pevsner, op. cit., p. 434; Peacock, Leverton pp. 336, 337 and 338.

<sup>34</sup>. Peacock, Leverton pp. 336, 337, 339 and 341.

<sup>35</sup>. The use of church bells for 'pleasure' ringing existed from an early date and such use grew rapidly during the sixteenth century. The effect of this on the rebuilding of church towers and the augmentation of rings of bells has been discussed in detail in: Ketteringham, J. R. 'The use of Church Bells in the Diocese of Lincoln 1536-1799' (Unpublished MPhil. Thesis Loughborough University 1990).

<sup>36</sup>. Peacock, Leverton p. 346. <sup>37</sup>. Pevsner, op. cit., p. 435.

<sup>38</sup>. LAO Leverton Par/7/1 f. 224; Peacock, Leverton p. 351.

There is a mysterious payment in 1521 of a 1d. 'for ale when ye first stone was layde' and, although there is no definite statement of the work undertaken perhaps this refers to the chancel.<sup>39</sup> A will made in 1528 instructs that a sum of 6s. 8d. was not to be paid until 1532 which suggests that the testator wished to contribute to a building proposal but only on its completion.<sup>40</sup> In the following year the residue of an estate was to be used for the 'church work' and in 1530 a bequest of 3s. 4d. was made to the 'reparacions'.<sup>41</sup> In 1533 3s. 4d. was left 'for the building of the kyrke' and in the following year 4d was bequeathed for 'reparacions'.<sup>42</sup> The evidence from the Churchwarden's Accounts and wills confirms that there was very extensive rebuilding of Leverton church which commenced in 1492 and continued at least until 1534.

The neighbouring church of St. Mary at Leake [527] was also considerably re-built at this time. The tower was commenced in 1490 but not completed until 1547. Over the 57 years a total of £359 14s 10d. was raised to pay for this work.<sup>43</sup> Bequests in support are recorded in 1521 and 1530 and were also made for 'the repair and building of the church' in 1532 and 1533.<sup>44</sup> At Leverton and Leake

<sup>39</sup>. Peacock, Leverton p. 353.

<sup>40</sup>. LRS Vol. 10. p. 84. <sup>41</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 145; LRS Vol. 24 p. 70.

<sup>42</sup>. LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 ff. 159v and 42. <sup>43</sup>. Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p. 593.

<sup>44</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 98; LRS Vol. 10. p. 184; LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 ff. 6 and 180v.

it would appear that the original intention was to build both towers much higher.<sup>45</sup>

At Bennington-in-Holland [572], which is adjacent to both Leverton and Leake, a bequest was made towards the building of the new tower in 1530 and for 'repairs' in 1530, 1533, and 1534.<sup>46</sup>

It seems clear that there was much enthusiastic support and commitment for enlarging these three churches in the late Middle Ages.

The church of St. Wilfrid, Alford [354] has a late Perpendicular tower which can be dated from bequests in wills made in 1529, 1530 and 1533.<sup>47</sup> In the neighbouring village of Bilsby [337] a will made on 12 April 1530 includes a bequest in support of the building of the church and another made nineteen days later includes a bequest towards the 'making of the steeple' which suggests a complete rebuilding.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately this church was subject to a Georgian rebuilding and Victorian 'restoration' but there is sufficient evidence to show that much of the church is Perpendicular.<sup>49</sup> At Burgh-le-Marsh [452] five wills made between 1525 and 1530 contain bequests for 'reparacions' and William Pyncrake in his will made on 17 September 1534 asks for the residue of

<sup>45</sup>. See engravings of Leverton and Leake churches on page 206.

<sup>46</sup>. *LRS* Vol. 24 pp. 2 and 48; *LAO LCC Wills* 1532/4 f. 311v; *LAO LCC Wills* 1534&c. f. 286v.

<sup>47</sup>. Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p. 92; *LRS* Vol. 10 pp. 125, 205; *LAO LCC Wills* 1532/4 ff. 25 and 231v.

<sup>48</sup>. *LRS* 10 p. 193; *LCC Wills* 1535/7 f. 135v.

<sup>49</sup>. Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p. 146.



his estate to be given 'to finish the new quere'.<sup>50</sup> In the following year, 1535, Thomas Temper provided for the 'painting' of the new choir in 'silver and gilt'.<sup>51</sup>

Alice Arnold in her will made in 1529 left 3s. 4d. towards the 'buylding of the steeple' and 3s. 4d. 'to the west window' of Spilsby [417] church.<sup>52</sup> Robert Goodricke left 'half a hundredweight of old metal towards the bells'.<sup>53</sup> The bell-openings in the tower at Spilsby are certainly late Perpendicular and it would appear that the top stage of the tower was altered perhaps because of the augmentation of the bells.<sup>54</sup> A similar example is St. Swithin's church Leadenham [493]. Seven wills made between 1527 and 1535 contain bequests for the maintenance, 'upholdyng and reparacion' of the bells.<sup>55</sup> The spire is Perpendicular and the tower has a Perpendicular window which suggests that a Decorated tower was altered to take additional bells and then topped with a new spire.<sup>56</sup>

There seems to have been very extensive rebuilding of Sutterton parish church in the late fifteenth century. This culminated with the reconsecration of the church for which the bishop was paid five marks. The Churchwardens purchased provisions for a parish feast to celebrate the

<sup>50</sup>. LRS Vol. 12 p. 115; LRS Vol. 10 pp. 137, 157, 186; LRS Vol. 24 p. 69; LAO LCC Wills 1534&c. f. 319v. <sup>51</sup>. LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 30v.

<sup>52</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 130. <sup>53</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 116. <sup>54</sup>. Pevsner, op. cit., p. 679.

<sup>55</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 34, 142, 150, 151(2) and 156; LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 89v.

<sup>56</sup>. Pevsner, op. cit., p. 429.

event which included a swan, beef, mutton, lamb, chickens, two pigs, butter, eggs, spice, bread, wine and beer. Unfortunately this seems to be the only documentation for the rebuilding.<sup>57</sup>

As was shown in Table 8 and discussed in Chapter III almost every Lincolnshire will contained a bequest in support of the Fabric Fund of the Diocesan Cathedral but in addition to such bequests it would appear that when the commissary visited the parishes he was given small sums or objects for the same cause.<sup>58</sup> It was part of the commissary's duties to remind parishioners of the need to support the Fund and perhaps these small sums or objects were given in memory of a deceased relative who had died intestate. The accounts for the years 1484/1485, 1505/1506 and 1531/1532 have been transcribed and translated and appear as Appendix B to this thesis. For the year 1531/2 it has been possible to trace a number of wills relating to bequests recorded in the Fabric Fund Accounts and it will be seen that in a number of cases the amount recorded in the Account is less than the amount bequeathed.<sup>59</sup> Perhaps the testator had over estimated the value of his estate.

By far the most usual items given or bequeathed were rosaries but, as will be seen from Appendix B, the objects were very varied and a few examples are given here.

<sup>57</sup>. Cox, J. C. (Ed.) Churchwarden's Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the close of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1913) p. 126. <sup>58</sup>. See pp. 66-7 and 117. <sup>59</sup>. See pp. 333-339

Master Thomas Jacsone bequeathed an amber staff and Isabella Lilie a silver dagger.<sup>40</sup> Several Agnus Dei appear in the accounts. Most of these were cakes of wax stamped with the figure of the Lamb bearing a cross or flag which had been blessed by the pope.<sup>41</sup> In the year 1484/5 the sale of a silver Agnus Dei for 12d is recorded.<sup>42</sup> Presumably this was a medallion with the Lamb and Flag depicted thereon. A belt from which four purses were suspended was sold for 6s. 0d and William Symmys bequeathed two arrows one of them made from silver and one from gold.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps these had been won at an archery contest. There are a number of bequests of grain from which bread was to be baked. Henry Blanchede instructed that bread was to be made from two virgates of land. A virgate was about thirty acres and would produce a considerable quantity of bread. Perhaps the intention was that the bread would be sold and the income given to the Fabric Fund.<sup>44</sup>

Periodically some of the jewellery and other valuable objects were sold and the income of the Fabric Fund was maintained at a very high level until 1522. The total income from this source for most years after 1522 shows a considerable decline. However, in the accounting years

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<sup>40</sup>. LAD D&C Bj/1/4 f. 7v.

<sup>41</sup>. LAD D&C Bj/1/4 f. 7v, 273v and 283.

<sup>42</sup>. LAD D&C Bj/1/4 f. 9.

<sup>43</sup>. LAD D&C Bj/1/4 ff. 9 and 276v.

<sup>44</sup>. LAD D&C Bj/1/4 f. 8. The area of a virgate varied considerably but averaged about 30 acres.

Murray, J. A. H. et al (Eds) A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles  
 Vol. 10 part II (Oxford, 1928) p. 228.

1527/28 and 1530/31 the income recorded from the sale of jewellery is much higher. This is accounted for by the receipt, in 1527/8, of £21 0s. 7d. from 'Maister Alenson for jewellery sold' and in 1530/1 £24 4s. 4d. was received 'for items sold' to Alenson. Not all valuables received by the Cathedral were sold and an Inventory made in 1536 records a remarkable number of valuable objects.<sup>45</sup>

Items bequeathed recorded in the accounts for 1531/2 are far fewer than in the years 1484/5 and 1505/6. Similarly, from 1535 the income from the shrines declined until, in 1538, nothing is recorded at all. The king did not order the destruction of 'a certain shrine and divers feigned relics and jewels with which all simple people be much deceived and brought into great superstition and idolatry' until 6 June 1540. The shrines destroyed were those of Bishop St. Hugh and Bishop John Dalderby. The first was of gold and the second of silver. As a result 2,621 ounces of gold and 4,285 ounces of silver with 'a great number of pearls and precious stones' was taken to the jewel house in the Tower of London.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the jewellery sold in 1527/8 and 1531/2 by the Dean and Chapter was in anticipation of the destruction of the shrines and the appropriation of the valuables of the Cathedral.

<sup>45</sup>. Dugdale, W. (Ed.) Monasticon Anglicanum Vol. VI part III pp. 1278-1287.

<sup>46</sup>. L and P Vol. XV no. 772.

Page, W. (Ed.) Victoria History of the Counties of England : A History of Lincolnshire Vol. I (London, 1906) p. 51.

One of the causes of the Lincolnshire Rising in 1536 was a rumour that the king would appropriate the valuables of the parish churches. This was spread by the clerk to the commissary and it would seem that the Cathedral dignitaries, as early as 1527, may have been discussing the possibility that the king might have in mind the appropriation of the valuables of the Cathedral.<sup>47</sup>

Even after the destruction of the shrines during the reign of Henry VIII further Inventories made during the reigns of Edward VI in 1553 and Philip and Mary in 1557 confirm that many valuable objects and jewels still remained in the Cathedral.<sup>48</sup>

In 1525 a Lincolnshire testator provided for an obit 'so long as the law of England will sufferyt' and there are several similar provisions from that time onwards.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps concern for changes in religious observance which the king might introduce were being manifested in a practical way by the decline in contributions to the Fabric Fund of the Cathedral.

When a major scheme of rebuilding or repair had been completed, parishioners expressed their piety by contributing to or paying for the beautification,

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<sup>47</sup>. See p. 251.

<sup>48</sup>. Dugdale, *op. cit.*, pp. 1287-1292.

<sup>49</sup>. See pp. 176-177.

ornamentation or furnishing of their parish church. Of course, vestments, altar cloths and other such items needed periodic replacing or repair. In Appendix C it will be seen that vestments and altar furnishings were frequently the subject of testamentary bequests. At Gonerby [587] in 1534 Robert Tylling bequeathed £10 to buy a vestment and at Holbeach [676] in the same year John Lesse also left £10 to buy a blue cope of velvet on which his name was to be embroidered 'that I may be remembered in the yere afterward'.<sup>70</sup> Other bequests are either for a complete set of vestments or as a contribution to their cost. There are many bequests for the 'repair' of an altar and the most likely explanation of this term seems to be that the testator was making a contribution to the cost of replacing the altar furnishings. Frontals were changed according to the church calendar and a considerable number of frontals would be required for each of the many altars which were a feature of the medieval parish church.

Books were also subject to wear and tear and needed periodic replacement. At Castle Carlton [235], William Edlyngton made provision for new books to be bought for use by the priest and at Croft [488] a new mass book was to be provided by the executors of John Longe.<sup>71</sup>

.....  
<sup>70</sup>. LAD LCC Wills 1534&c. f. 274; LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 314v.

<sup>71</sup>. AASRP Vol. XLI p. 103; LRS Vol. 5 p. 70.

Ornaments and items such as chalices were frequently the subject of bequests. Agnes Grosewell in her will made in 1488 asked for 'iij platers, iij dishes and iij sawcers of pewter' to be provided for the Corpus Christi chapel in St. Botolph's Church, Boston [568].<sup>72</sup> At Algarkirke [617] in 1510 William Bystill left 20s towards the provision of pews and these were also the subject of a bequest of £4 by Thomas Kirkham of Hogsthorpe [426].<sup>73</sup> Organs were provided for Fleet [677] and Marshchapel [129] parish churches in 1529 and 1530.<sup>74</sup> The medieval organ consisted of a chest to which were attached one or more pairs of bellows and a number of wind pipes.<sup>75</sup>

The gilding and painting of screens and images were also the subject of a number of bequests. The bequest of 3s. 4d. by Thomas Alysby of Donington-on-Bain [251] for the painting of St. Andrew probably refers to a wall painting although this is not made clear.<sup>76</sup>

From these examples and those contained in Appendix C it will be seen that pious parishioners were not only able to contribute to church building campaigns but could express their piety in many other ways. The poorest person could contribute his 'mite' to an appeal for funds to purchase a necessary item and the more affluent could

<sup>72</sup>. AASRP p. 207/8. <sup>73</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 pp. 41 and 43. <sup>74</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 pp. 146, 175 and 185.

<sup>75</sup>. Sadie, S. (Ed.) The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians Vol. 13 (London, 1980) pp. 712-3.

<sup>76</sup>. LRS Vol. 10 p. 189.

arrange for the purchase of, for example, a new chalice or service book on which his name as donor would be written or engraved and he would also have the advantage of being remembered in the parish bederoll.

Donations and small bequests were sufficient for the funding of minor works but larger projects which ran for many years required a sustained effort. But the evidence contained in this Chapter, Appendices B and C and summarised in Table 26 below leaves little doubt that, contrary to the opinion expressed by Dr. Morris, in Lincolnshire, church building, maintenance, ornamentation and furnishing continued despite the difficulties which faced parishioners.<sup>77</sup>

This enthusiasm helps the historian to understand the bewilderment which the 'common man' must have felt as the 'reforms' introduced by the king began to filter down and, as the Revd. R. C Dudding commented in his transcription of the Louth Churchwardens' Accounts :

'...the Lincolnshire Rising of 1536 centred on Louth and was largely caused by rumours that certain parish churches were to be closed. The anger which those who had worked so hard to complete this magnificent monument to their piety can be understood'.<sup>78</sup>

At the time of the dissolution of the smaller religious houses the long campaign of rebuilding of St. James Church, Louth, culminating in the completion of the spire in 1515, was only some twenty years before and many of the

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<sup>77</sup>. See page 209. <sup>78</sup>. Dudding, *op. cit.*, p. xviii.



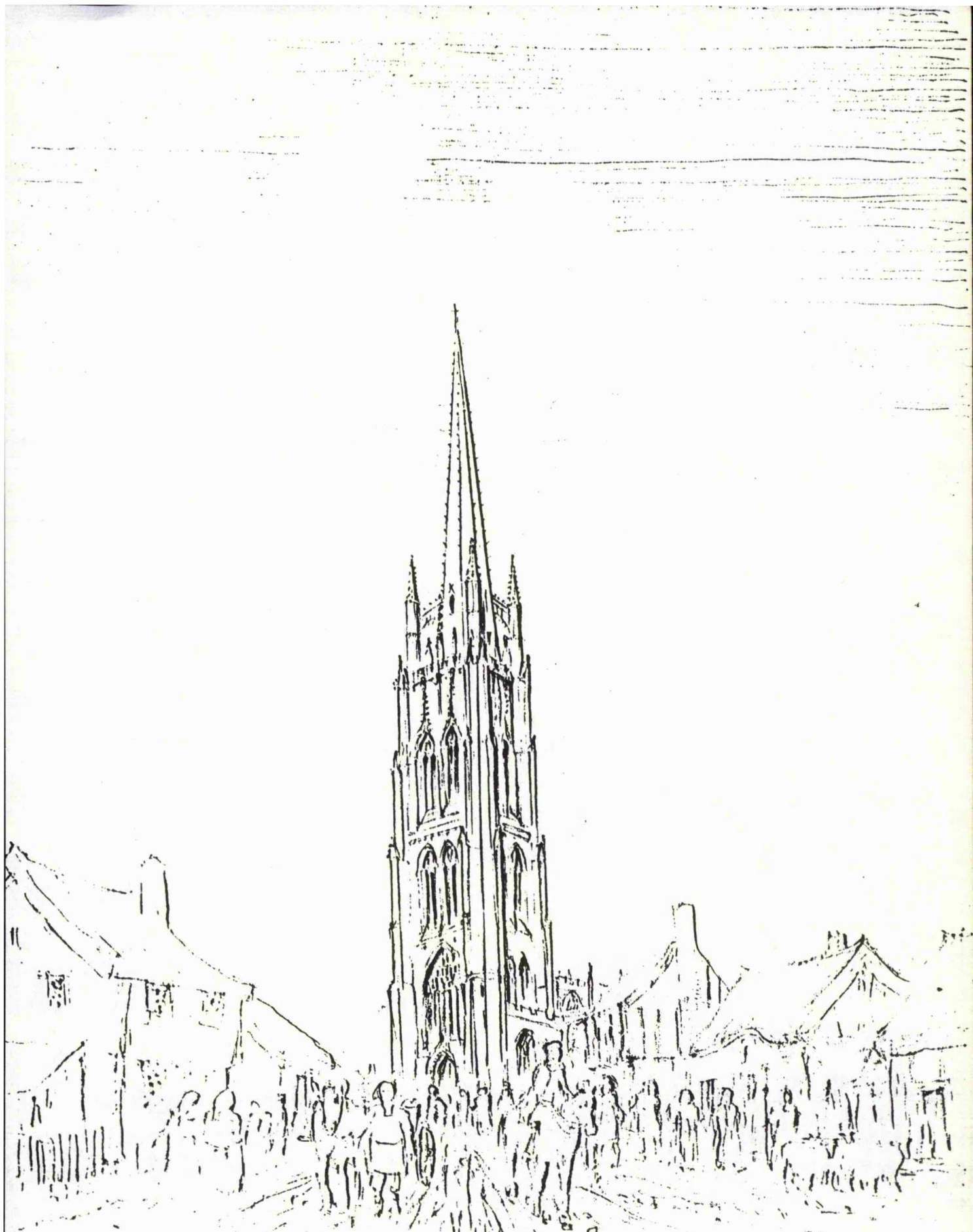
parishioners must have remembered the work and expense which this had involved.

TABLE 26  
SUMMARY OF CHURCH BUILDING, ENLARGEMENT  
OR MAJOR REPAIR c1480-c1536

Church	S o u r c e			Type of Building etc.
	Wills Earliest	Latest	Pevsner Page No.	
Alford	1529	1533	93	Tower, Porch.
Algarkirke	1510		95	Pews, Clerestory.
Ashby Puerorum	1536		106	Tower.
Bennington	1530	1534	141	Tower, Clerestory.
Bilsby	1530		146	Tower, Chancel, North Arcade.
Boston	-		56	Tower started 1425 'completed after 1515'.
Burgh-le-Marsh	1529	1535	195/6	Choir, Chancel.
Great Ponton	-		57	Tower (1519).
Hogsthorpe	1510		383	Top stage tower, choir, south porch.
Howsham**	1530		-	Rebuilding/repair of chapel.
Leadenham	1527	1535	429	Bells, Bell openings in tower, spire
Leake	1521	1530	593/4	Tower (1490-1547) North aisle.
Leverton**	1528	1533	434/5	Extensive rebuilding(c1492-c1534) Tower (1498-1503)
Louth	(see pp. 209-213)		538	Spire (1500/1515).
South Willingham	1532		669	Tower.
South Witham	1529		669	Tower.
Spilsby	1529		679	Tower.
Sutterton	-		-	Church reconsecrated 1493. (See page 222).
Theddlethorpe St. Helen	1529	1535	755	Tower.

\*\* The chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Howsham was licensed in 1405. In 1456 the inhabitants were assigned (from Cadney) with the duty of providing a chaplain and repairing the fabric. The chapel has long since disappeared. Owen, D. 'Medieval Chapels in Lincolnshire' in *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* Vol. 10 (Lincoln, 1975) p. 17.

\*\* For further evidence of the work at Leverton see the Churchwarden's Accounts LAO Leverton Par/7/1. Extracts from these were printed by E. Peacock (Peacock, Leverton).



St James Church Louth c. 1515

## CHAPTER VI

### EARLY TUDOR GOVERNMENT, LOCAL PIETY AND THE LINCOLNSHIRE RISING OF 1536

When Henry VII came to the throne in 1485 he founded a dynasty and heralded a new era in English history which has become known as 'the early modern period'.

Although the money raising methods of the king and his agents were sometimes dubious, he was able to maintain financial stability without resort to a parliamentary subsidy.<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of Henry VII printed books were becoming more generally available, education and the arts flourished but in religious matters men were beginning to criticise long established doctrines. Trade, particularly in wool, was strong and, although Henry VII's reign of twenty-four years had begun with a dubious title at its close in 1509 England was left with a monarchy stronger than it had been for many years.

Bishop Fisher in a sermon delivered at the king's funeral said

'His politic wisdom in governance it was singular, his wit always quick and ready, his reason pithy and substantial, his memory fresh and holding, his experience notable, his counsels fortunate and taken by wise deliberation, and amiable, his natural complexion of the purest mixture, his eyes fair and in good number, leagues and confederacies he had with all Christian princes, his mighty power was dreaded everywhere, not only within his realm but without also, his people were to him in as humble subjection as ever they were to king, his land many a day in peace and tranquility....'.<sup>2</sup>

.....  
<sup>1</sup>. Guy, J. Tudor England (Oxford, 1988) p. 74.

<sup>2</sup>. Scott, A. F. Every one a Witness : The Tudor Age (London, 1976) p. 1.

although this panegyric must be taken with the proverbial 'pinch of salt' clearly Henry VII exerted his authority with the strength which had been lacking in the monarchy for so many years. His son, the young Prince Henry inherited a country financially stable and at peace both at home and abroad.

Henry VIII was the undisputed heir to the throne. His elder brother Arthur had died in 1502 and for seven years Henry had been the obvious future king. Henry was only seventeen years of age and a gifted scholar, a sportsman, a supporter of the arts and a musician who could write both the lyrics and the supporting music. He was also devout and observed his religious duties punctiliously. Being the second son of Henry VII it was originally the intention that he should enter the church.<sup>3</sup>

Henry was understandably popular with the people, perhaps, to some extent, because of the contrast with his father who had been sombre and austere. He was the ideal Renaissance man and a model prince.

At first, Henry VIII was able to achieve his objects by persuading people that his actions were for their own good. However, he had a conscience which could be adapted to support his own interests. Unfortunately, he became tyrannical and did not hesitate to remove those who dared to oppose him.

.....

<sup>3</sup>. Scarisbrick, J. J. Henry VIII (London, 1968) p. 4.

Henry found a useful servant in Thomas Wolsey who had risen during the reign of Henry VII from humble origins to become a leading member of the civil service. Wolsey was appointed dean of Lincoln in 1509 and when Henry VIII succeeded in the same year, Wolsey was appointed almoner. In 1513 he became bishop of Tournai and in 1514 bishop of Lincoln. Later in the same year, he became archbishop of York.<sup>4</sup> At various times he was also abbot of St. Albans, bishop of Bath and Wells, bishop of Winchester and bishop of Durham.

In 1516, prompted by the king, the pope created Wolsey a cardinal. In 1518 he reached the height of his career in the church when he was appointed papal legate.<sup>5</sup> This was largely brought about by the influence of Henry VIII, who clearly saw it as of considerable advantage to him. Wolsey was now the personal representative of the pope and thus had overall control of the church in England.

Because the young king showed little interest in government, preferring to spend his time in pursuing his own pleasures, Wolsey was left to conduct the business of the country as he wished. Understandably, because of his rapid rise to power in the church, Wolsey was unpopular with the clergy and, because of his humble origins, he was also unpopular with the aristocracy. His willingness

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<sup>4</sup>. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII p. 162.

<sup>5</sup>. Loades, D. Chronicles of the Tudor Kings (London, 1990) p. 123.

to serve the king and his undoubted loyalty, appeared to ensure that he would remain in an impregnable position of power. Both France and Spain offered support to Wolsey when the next papal vacancy occurred.

Wolsey's strength at this time lay in his ability to serve the king as a statesman and diplomat rather than in his powerful position in the church in England. However, the church in continental Europe was facing upheaval. In 1517 Martin Luther had challenged the authority of the papacy in Germany and his ideas started a movement which soon spread to England and by 1520 were being discussed in the University of Cambridge.

The king expressed his disapproval of Lutheran doctrine by writing the Assertio Septem Sacramentorum (The Defence of the Seven Sacraments). Professor Scarisbrick suggests that John Longland, the royal confessor and almoner, may have assisted Henry in preparing the book. It is significant that Longland was elevated to the see of Lincoln in May 1521, shortly before the book was published.<sup>4</sup> Henry was awarded the title 'Defender of the Faith' by the pope for his defence of the church. At this time the king regarded reformists as traitors and several were executed.

By the year 1527 it had become obvious that Queen Catherine was unable to supply the king with a male heir .....

<sup>4</sup>. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII pp. 110-112.

and the king's conscience began to trouble him. This led to a petition to the pope for a divorce on the technical grounds that a legal marriage had not taken place because of the previous marriage of the queen to Prince Arthur. The king was convinced that his marriage had been 'contrary to God's laws', even though it had lasted for some eighteen years.

On 27 June 1505 Henry had made a solemn protest before Bishop Fox disowning the marriage contract saying that he would never validate or ratify it. Perhaps as Professor Scarisbrick says this 'protest' may have been made at his father's behest for political reasons.<sup>7</sup>

Edward Halle, a contemporary chronicler and Tudor apologist, wrote as follows concerning the marriage of Prince Henry to Catherine of Aragon :

'duryng whiche preparacion [for the coronation], the kyng was moved by some of his cou[n]sal, that it should be honourable, and profitable to his realme, to take to wyfe the lady Katherine, late wyfe to Prince Arthur his brother diseased, least the having so greate a dowte, might mary out of the realme, whiche should be unprofitable to hym by reason of which moction the kyng beyng young, and not understanding the lawe of God espoused the sayed lady Katherine, the third daye of June, the whiche marriage was dispensed with by the Pope July, at the request of her father, kyng Farnando, contrary to the opinion of all the Cardinals of Rome, beyng divines. This marriage of the brothers wyfe, was muche murmured agaynst in the beginnyng, and ever more and more searched out by learning and scripture so that at the laste by the determinacion of the best universities of Christendo[m] it was adjudged detestable and plain contrary to Goddes lawe...'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup>. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* p. 9.

<sup>8</sup>. Halle, E. *The Union of the Two Noble and illustre fameles of Lancastre & Yorke...* (London 1550) King Henry the VIII fol. ii.

The king called together the 'nobilitie, Judges & counsaylors & divers other persons to come to his palace of Brydewell on Sunday the VIII day of Nove[m]ber' so that he could pave the way towards the petition for a divorce saying to those present :

'...And although it hath pleased almighty God to send us a fayr daughter of a noble woman and me begotten to our great comfort & joy yet it hath ben told us by divers great clerkes, that neither she is our lawfull daughter nor her mother our lawful wyfe but y[et] we lyve together abominably and detestably in open adultry...'.<sup>9</sup>

Henry had, in fact, become infatuated with Anne Boleyn who he was determined to marry. Wolsey was ordered to open negotiations with the Pope for a divorce but the Pope adopted a delaying policy.

As recorded by Halle above, a dispensation had been granted by Pope Julius II to Henry VII in order that the marriage of the then Prince Henry to Catherine of Aragon could take place and the present Pope Clement VII was reluctant to countermand his predecessor's dispensation. But, more importantly, he did not wish to offend the powerful Emperor Charles V.

After two years of waiting Henry turned against Wolsey, blaming him for the delay. He was deprived of the Chancellorship and banished to Esher. On 8 October 1529 he was arrested and tried on a writ of *praemunire*, the grounds being that, acting as papal legate, he had broken

.....  
<sup>9</sup>. *Ibid.*, fol. clxxx.



the statute which forbade appeals to foreign courts.<sup>10</sup> Wolsey had only become papal legate because of Henry's influence but this was now forgotten and Halle alleged that

'...without the kynges assent [Wolsey] had procured to be a legat, by reason whereof he toke away the right of all bishops and spiritual persons'.<sup>11</sup>

Wolsey was banished to his Archdiocese of York but he was again arrested on a charge of high treason on 4 November 1530 and taken for trial in London. However, he died at Leicester Abbey on 29 November 1530. Halle's assessment of Wolsey's character reads as follows :

'In open presence he would lye and saye untrueth and was double both in speche and meanyng. He would promise muche and performe lytle...he was vicious of his body and gave the clergie evyl example...the authorite of this cardinal set the clergie in such a pride that they dysdayned al men...'.<sup>12</sup>

Had it not been for the king's marital problems no doubt Wolsey would have remained in power for many more years and his dismissal from power is confirmation of the ruthlessness of the king. No one was safe if they could not give him what he wanted.

The position of chancellor was filled by a layman, Sir Thomas More. In Hall's account there was a hint of More's eventual and perhaps inevitable fall :

'Sir Thomas More knyght, Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lancastre a manne well learned in the tongues, and also in the Common Lawe whose wytte was fine and full of imaginacio[n]s by reason wherof he was muche geven to mockinge, whyche was to his gravitie a great blemish'.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup>. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* p. 235. <sup>11</sup>. Halle, op. cit., fol. clxxxix versus.  
<sup>12</sup>. Ibid., fol. clxxxiii versus. <sup>13</sup>. Ibid., fol. clxxxiii versus.

When the petition for divorce showed no sign of reaching a successful conclusion the king realised that support for 'reform' had certain advantages for him.

Henry VIII now supported the anticlerical movement. The dismissal of Cardinal Wolsey and the appointment of a layman to the key position of chancellor, a post which was usually occupied by a cleric, was the first step in Henry's 'reform' of the clergy.<sup>14</sup> Of course, Wolsey's dismissal was basically because of his failure to obtain for the king the divorce which he desperately wanted but the appointment of a layman as his successor was a clear act of anti-clericalism.

Parliament had only met for one brief session in fourteen years and the king now realised the folly of allowing government to fall into the hands of one man as had been the case with Wolsey. Halle records that

'...the kinge which after twentie yere past, had bene ruled by other and especial by the Cardinal of Yorke, began now to be a ruler and a king, yea, a king of such wytte, wisdom and pollicie that the lyke hath not reigned over this realme...'.<sup>15</sup>

Henry saw that Parliament could be a useful tool which he could use in his campaign against the church. The justification for 'reform' was recorded by Halle as follows :

.....  
<sup>14</sup>, Scarisbrick, Henry VIII p. 245.

<sup>15</sup>, Halle, op. cit., fol. clxxxiii versus.

'But now when God had illumined the eies of the kynge & that ther subtell doynge was once espied then men began charitably to desyre a reformation and so that the Parliament menne began to shoue there grudges'.<sup>16</sup>

In a conversation with the Spanish Ambassador during which he discussed the Royal Supremacy Henry said that

'...having fulfilled my duty to God and my conscience... [I will] appeal to Parliament for a decision which that body cannot fail to give'.<sup>17</sup>

A clear indication that Parliament was expected to agree to whatever the king required of it.

The so called 'Reformation Parliament' was convened by Henry VIII and first met on 3 November 1529. Halle records this as follows :

'the king...called a counsayl of the chief of the nobles to begin at Westminster the first daye of October next ensuing and also somoned a Parliame[n]t to begin the third day of Nove[m]ber...& declared that the same counsell should devise diverse acts, necessarye and nedefull to bee passed at the sayd Parliament for reformation of certain exacions done to the lay people...'.<sup>18</sup>

Henry commented in a conversation with the Spanish ambassador :

'...those who had the reins of government in their hands deceived me, many things were done without my knowledge but such proceedings will be stopped in future'.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup>. Ibid., fol. clxxxviii versus.

<sup>17</sup>. Scarisbrick, J. J. *Henry VIII* p. 294; de Gayangos, P. *Calendar of Letters...relating to the negotiations between England and Spain 1485-1530* Vol. IV Pt. I 1529-1530 (London, 1879) No. 433.

<sup>18</sup>. Halle, op. cit., fol. clxxxiii; Scarisbrick, op. cit. p. 246; de Gayangos, op. cit., No. 250.

Thomas Cromwell now emerged as the 'power behind the throne'. He was a lawyer who had become rich through money lending and had come under the patronage of Wolsey. He appears to have entered the king's service in January 1530 and by the end of that year he had been made a member of the King's Council. By early 1533 he was the king's chief minister. Cromwell was an administrative genius and a man of energy and vision. He also seems to have been a man who would stop at nothing to serve the king. Cromwell was responsible for the legislative programme of the later sessions of the Reformation Parliament including the break with Rome and the establishment of the Royal Supremacy.<sup>19</sup>

Although the king's failure to obtain a divorce was the driving force which influenced his attack on papal authority over the church in England, he was encouraged by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk who appear to have felt that the church had become too concerned with worldly matters. Presumably the nobility believed that it was their task to assist royal government and that the church should not become involved in matters of state but should confine itself only with matters of religion. The king was also influenced by the works of Tyndale and Fish. William Tyndale had published Obedience of the Christian Man which had asserted 'the rights and duties of princes  
.....

<sup>19</sup>. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII pp. 302-304.

and their claim to the undivided allegiance of their subjects'. This may well have influenced Henry in his autocracy. Simon Fish had published a strong attack on the worldliness of the clergy in his A Supplication for the Beggars which was addressed to the king.

There is evidence that both books had been read by Henry.<sup>20</sup> The first Statute which the Parliament of 1529 promulgated regulated the fees to be charged for the probate of wills and the second Statute laid down a scale of mortuary fees to be charged by the clergy.<sup>21</sup> Further Statutes enacted in the same year dealt with pluralities and non-residence.<sup>22</sup>

The clergy were reluctant to give up their lucrative income from pluralities and the king ordered :

'...eight lordes and eight commons to mete in the Starre Chambre...and there was ...debatyng of the cause, in so muche that the temporall Lordes of the upper house which were there, to be parte with the Commons agaynst the spiritual Lordes and by force of reason caused them to assent to the byll...to the great rejoyсыng of the lay people and the great displeasor of the spiritual persones'.<sup>23</sup>

Statutes dealing with the right of sanctuary and benefit of clergy were also introduced.<sup>24</sup>

In 1534 an Act for the Submission of the Clergy ordered all proposed amendments to ecclesiastical law to be placed

.....  
<sup>20</sup>. Ibid, p. 247-8.

<sup>21</sup>. 21 Henry VIII c. 5; 21 Henry VIII c. 6; Tanner, J. R. Tudor Constitutional Documents AD 1485-1603 Second Edition (Cambridge, 1930) p. 13; See also pp. 141-2 of this thesis.

<sup>22</sup>. 21 Henry VIII c. 13; Tanner, J. R. op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>23</sup>. Halle, op. cit., fol. clxxxix versus.

<sup>24</sup>. 23 Henry VIII c. 1; Tanner, J. R. op. cit., p. 14.

before the king for his assent, before they could become part of Canon Law.<sup>25</sup> The dispensation with papal authority in England had begun in 1532 when the 'Reformation Parliament' promulgated an Act restraining the payment of annates to the See of Rome.<sup>26</sup> This Act was confirmed in 1534.<sup>27</sup> Annates, which comprised the income of a benefice for the first year of an incumbency, had for many years formed a grievance. The Act of 1532 was intended to seek an amicable agreement with the pope but when this failed the Act of 1534 confirmed the previous Act and also required Deans and Chapters of Cathedrals to elect the king's nominee to vacant Sees. A further Act passed in 1534 forbade the payment to Rome of Peter's Pence which was a tribute from each household.<sup>28</sup> In the same year an Act annexed 'first fruits' and 'tenths' to the Crown.<sup>29</sup> An Act of 1533 forbade appeals to the See of Rome of disputes concerning wills, marriages and tithes. In the following year, 1534, the Act of Supremacy reached the Statute Book and the final break with Rome came with an Act of Parliament in 1536 repudiating papal authority.<sup>30</sup>

.....

<sup>25</sup>, 24 Henry VIII c. 19; Tanner, J. R. op. cit., p. 22.  
<sup>26</sup>, 23 Henry VIII c. 20; Tanner, J. R. op. cit., p. 25.  
<sup>27</sup>, 25 Henry VIII c. 20; Tanner, J. R. op. cit., p. 29.  
<sup>28</sup>, 25 Henry VIII c. 21; Tanner, J. R. op. cit., p. 31.  
<sup>29</sup>, 26 Henry VIII c. 3; Tanner, J. R. op. cit., p. 36.  
<sup>30</sup>, 24 Henry VIII c. 12; 26 Henry VIII c. 1; 28 Henry VIII c. 10; Tanner, J. R. op. cit., pp. 40-50.

Halle records that on

'The xi daie of Maie [1532] the kyng sent for the Speaker again and xii of the common house, havynge with hym eight Lordes and saied to them well beloved subjects we thought that y<sup>e</sup> clerergie of our realme, had bene our subjectes wholly but now we have well perceived that they bee but halfe our subjectes yea and scarce our subjectes for all the prelates at their consecration make an othe to the Pope, clene contrary to the othe that they make to us so that they seme to be his subjects and not ours the copie of bothe othes I delyver here to you requiring you to invent some ordre that we bee not thus deluded of our Spirituall Subjects'.<sup>34</sup>

Halle then reproduced the oaths administered to the clergy on behalf of the pope and on behalf of the king.

Papal interference in the affairs of the English church had long been resented and a degree of reform of the clergy together with the limitation of papal authority in England was seen by Henry VIII as a legitimate policy. Most people could accept all but the imposition of the oath of loyalty to the king as Supreme Head of the Church in England and some were prepared to speak against this aspect of Henrician 'reform'. Sir Thomas More was the leading lay person who could not accept the Royal Supremacy and he, together with a number of religious, including Bishop Fisher, suffered execution. Halle records More's downfall as follows :

.....

<sup>34</sup>. Halle, *op. cit.*, fol. ccv.

'for the denyng of the kynges majesties supremite this manne was also counted learned...he was Lorde chauncelor of England and in that tyme a great persecutor of such as detested the supremacy of the byshop of Rome, which he himselfe so highly favored that he stooode to it till he was brought to the Skafolde on the Tower hyll...I cannot tell whether I woulde call him a foolishe wyse man or a wise foolish man for undoubtedly he beside his learnyng had a great witte but it was so myngled with tauntyng and mockyng that it semed to them that best knew him that he thought nothing to be wel spoken except he had ministred some mocke in the communication...'.<sup>32</sup>

In March 1536 an Act authorised the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries the reason given in the preamble being that '...manifest sin, vicious, carnal and abominable living is daily used and committed...'.<sup>33</sup> The valuables of these suppressed monasteries were to go to the King's Treasury, although Lincoln's Member of Parliament, Vincent Grantham, did try unsuccessfully to obtain a grant of the lands of the cell in Lincoln of the Benedictine house of St. Mary of York. At the same time the recorder of the city, Thomas Moigne, was sent to try and obtain a grant of the assets of any chantries which might become available within the city.

Two entries in the Corporation Minutes dated 4 May 1536 record this attempt to gain advantage for the City from Henrician reforms :

'Agreed that if Vincent Grantham can by any means get the lands and tenements of the cell [of the] Black Monks for the use of the common chamber to be enacted at the next Parliament then he shall have the demesne lands of the cell for thirty years paying yearly 5 li.'

<sup>32</sup>, Ibid., fol.ccxvii versus.

<sup>33</sup>, 27 Henry VIII c. 28; Gee, H. and Hardy, W. J. (Eds.)

Documents Illustrative of English Church History (London, 1896) p. 257-268.



'Thirty shillings paid to the Recorder towards the riding up to London of and for obtaining of chantries in the city at the Parliament'.<sup>34</sup>

The unsympathetic manner in which the dissolution of the smaller religious houses was carried out caused much distress and led to rumours that the remaining religious houses were also to be dissolved. The Abbot of Barlings arranged for the storage in Lincoln by James Hill, a priest, of 'a hamper of plate locked with a hanging lock' and £100 in money. He also arranged for the vicar of Scothern [302] to have £100.<sup>35</sup> Not surprisingly, it was rumoured that churches were to close and that their treasures would be taken by the king. At Hull, all the church plate and jewels were sold and the proceeds used to pay for the paving of the streets. It has recently been suggested that these rumours were deliberately spread.<sup>36</sup>

In September 1536 the Bishop of Lincoln, John Longland, had written to clergy explaining the Ten Articles of Belief which had been promulgated in June 1536 and underlined by Injunctions in the following August.<sup>37</sup> The Articles abolished certain holy days occurring at harvest time with the exception of the feasts of the Apostles, of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. George together with Ascension day, the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, All Saints Day and Candlemass. Of particular psycholological importance was the instruction that church dedications

<sup>34</sup>, Mackray, W. D. (Ed.) 'The Manuscripts of the Corporation of Lincoln' in Historical Manuscripts Commission Fourteenth Report Appendix, Pt. VIII (HMSO, 1895) p. 33. <sup>35</sup>, L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 765. <sup>36</sup>, Ward, A. The Lincolnshire Rising (Nottingham, 1986) p. 7; L and P Vol. XII Pt. I Nos. 481 and 765. <sup>37</sup>, Gee and Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 269-274.

were all to be celebrated on 1 October. Patronal festivals were celebrated as a holiday (Holy Day) and the unique link with 'local' Saints would be broken.

The record of this reads as follows :

'Seeing the multitude of holidays lately introduced to the utter impoverishing of poor labourers and workmen, the King has ordained that within the terms of the year at which the common courts of the law be kept, and in the time of harvest, there should be no holidays but Sundays, the feast of Our Lady and the Apostles and certain special besides'.<sup>38</sup>

All these changes and the rumours that were circulating must have caused much distress among those to whom religion and the parish church were the focus of life. The seeds of the Lincolnshire Rising had been sown.

Between January and June 1534 a survey of the wealth of the English Church had been drawn up.<sup>39</sup> The commissioners responsible for this work were drawn from the ranks of the gentry class with the bishop, dean and mayor of Lincoln serving *ex officio*. The names of the commissioners are reproduced in Annex A to this Chapter. This valuation was used by the agents of Thomas Cromwell when deciding which religious houses were to be dissolved when they started work in September 1536.

In early October 1536 three bodies of people were at work in Lindsey. On 2 October 1536, the Parliamentary Commissioners charged with collecting the subsidy which

<sup>38</sup>. Bowker, M. 'Lincolnshire 1536: Heresy, Schism or Religious Discontent?' in Baker, D. (Ed) Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest (Oxford, 1972) p. 150; L and P Vol. IV Pt. I No. 402 p. 155

<sup>39</sup>. Scarisbrick, J. J. Henry VIII p. 337; The record of the survey for Lincolnshire was published by the Record Commission in 1821 in Valor Ecclesiasticus Tempore Henrici Octavi Auctoritate Regia Institus Vol. IV.

Parliament had agreed 'in recognistion of the entire love and zeal which the king bore to his people' had commenced their work. At the same time, 160 clergy from the Grimsby, Walshcroft and Yarborough Deaneries were attending a visitation which was also being conducted in Caistor. [74] The visitation was charged with enforcing the Ten Articles of Faith and the subsequent Injunctions.<sup>40</sup>

There were also large gatherings of clergy in Louth [202] and Horncastle [393]. The deanery of Louthesk, centred on Louth, was being visited by Dr. Frankish and Dr. Rayne was conducting a visitation at Bolingbroke [444] where the clergy of the two deaneries of Horncastle and Hill had gathered.<sup>41</sup>

Convocation had, in June 1536, approved a set of articles known as 'The Bishop's Book' which omitted many traditional formulae and definitions, without being explicitly Protestant. This was reported by Hall as follows :

'...the bishoppes and all the clergie of the realme helde a solempyne convocation at Paules church in London where after much disputacion and debating of matters they publyshed a booke of religion intituled, Articles devysed by the kyngs highnes &c. In thys booke is specyally mencyoned but the Sacramentes wyth the which the Lyncolneshyre men (I mean their ignoraunt priestes) wer offended and ofon depraved the kynges doynge. And this was the first beginninge, as ye shall playnly heare'.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup>. 26 Henry 8 c. 19; James, M. E. 'Obedience and Dissent in Henrician England: The Lincolnshire Rebellion 1536' in *Past and Present* No. 48 (Oxford, 1970) pp. 12 and 14.

<sup>41</sup>. *Ibid.*, pp. 12 and 14.

<sup>42</sup>. Halle, *op. cit.*, fol. ccxxviii.

At the visitations, the clergy were told that they would be required to preach against papal authority and 'superstitious practices'. Priests were to teach the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments in English.<sup>43</sup> Prayers pleading for the intercession of the Saints and the Blessed Virgin Mary were to be discouraged. Any who refused to preach and instruct as required by the Ten Articles and Injunctions were to be deprived of their benefices. Most parish clergy had not previously been required to preach at all and felt themselves ill equipped to adapt to this requirement. There was concern that they would be replaced as more religious houses were dissolved and well-educated monks became available.<sup>44</sup>

The Ten Articles also required all incumbents to give one fifth from their benefices for repairs and one fortieth, if the income was £20 a year or more, to the poor. A scholarship was to be provided to maintain a student at University from each £100 of income received.<sup>45</sup>

A further irritation for the clergy was that the visitations were being conducted by commissioners appointed by Thomas Cromwell, a layman. Cromwell was a lawyer who had been appointed Vicar General after the execution of Sir Thomas More whereas visitations of the clergy had traditionally been carried out by the diocesan bishop or a representative appointed by him.

A third body of men was in the area carrying out the

<sup>43</sup>. James, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15. <sup>44</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 15. <sup>45</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 16 note 55.

work of dissolution of the smaller religious houses. A number of these, including Louth Park [200] which was close by Louth, had already been dissolved. The bells and jewels and other valuables had been taken by the king. It was feared that the same fate was in store for the churches and their valuables. It is not surprising that exaggerated rumours were circulating amongst the many clergy gathered together for the visitations. Perhaps these may have been deliberately spread. When the aged and blind parson of Sotby returned to his parish he said that he had heard a monk named Borrowby read at Louth Cross a letter declaring the king would have all the parish churches six miles apart.<sup>46</sup> Sir Simon Maltby the parson of Farforth [270], who was present at the Bolingbroke visitation, reported that silver chalices were to be given to the king in exchange for tin ones and that he and other priests 'had determined to strike down the chancellor and trusted in the support of their neighbours'.<sup>47</sup> Such rumours led to the issue of a proclamation which stated that the king had never intended to take church valuables, unmarked cattle or to exact fines for weddings, christenings and burials or issue licences for eating wheaten bread, pig, goose or capon! This proclamation gives a very good idea of the concerns which eventually erupted in the Lincolnshire Rising.<sup>48</sup>

The Valor Ecclesiasticus was a survey of ecclesiastical

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<sup>46</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 973. <sup>47</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 975. <sup>48</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 782.

wealth as a whole and not simply monastic income.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps this was the source of the concern which was being expressed that, following the suppression of the monasteries, the king would then close at least some of the parish churches. Indeed many of the concerns which were being expressed at this time by Lincolnshire people materialised during the decade after the Lincolnshire Rising and during the short reign of Edward VI.

There is evidence that the rumour that chalices were to be taken from parish churches and that only one church was to be left within a radius of six or seven miles was spread by Peter Effard, who was the registrar for Dr. John Pryn the commissary who had been proving wills from 23 to 28 September 1536 at Alford [354], Belchford [329], Caistor 74], Grimsby [57], Spilsby [417] and Wragby [305]. Significantly each of these places was represented in the early days of the Rising. Effard had been mayor of Lincoln and, in addition to his duties as registrar, was chapter clerk. He was also a notary public and a well respected member of the community of some standing. It is not surprising that rumours from such a source were believed.<sup>48</sup> It is significant that, as chapter clerk, Effard would be well aware of the discussions which took place amongst the Cathedral hierarchy. Perhaps the rumours he had spread as he progressed around the county

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<sup>47</sup>. Scarisbrick, Henry VIII p. 338.

<sup>48</sup>. LAG LCC Wills 1535/7 ff. 165v-170v; L and P Vol. XII Pt. I Nos. 380 and 481; Bowker, 'Lincolnshire 1536' op. cit., p. 198.

were in fact worries that had been expressed by the Cathedral Chapter. The rumoured closure of churches must have been a particular cause of concern to many of the rebels most of whom came from small and isolated communities as the following Table shows :

TABLE 27<sup>21</sup>

Number of Households in a Community

Rural Deanery	1- : %	10- : %	20- : %	30- : %	40- : %	50 or : %	Total number of
	9 :	19 :	29 :	39 :	49 :	lover :	communities
Bolingbroke	3 : 13	5 : 22	1 : 4	2 : 9	9 : 39	3 : 13	23
Grimsby	8 : 20	12 : 30	10 : 25	3 : 8	2 : 5	5 : 12	40
Hill	1 : 5	12 : 63	3 : 16	1 : 5	2 : 11	- : -	19
Horncastle	3 : 20	6 : 40	2 : 13	- : -	1 : 7	3 : 20	15
Loutheske	28 : 38	11 : 16	13 : 18	13 : 18	4 : 5	4 : 5	73
Walshcroft	8 : 25	7 : 22	5 : 16	3 : 9	2 : 6	7 : 22	32
Yarborough	7 : 18	2 : 5	4 : 10	6 : 15	3 : 8	17 : 44	39
Totals	58 : 24	55 : 23	38 : 16	28 : 12	23 : 9	39 : 16	241

In the Loutheske Deanery centred on Louth 38% of the seventy-three parishes had between one and nine households. In the Horncastle Deanery 40% of the fifteen parishes had between ten and nineteen households. In the Hill Deanery, which was being visited jointly with the Horncastle Deanery at Bolingbroke [444], 63% of the nineteen parishes came within the category of ten to nineteen households. In Table 27 above, only Yarborough and Bolingbroke Deaneries disclose significantly larger

<sup>21</sup>. Compiled from the record of the Diocesan Return of 1563 contained in Hodgett, G. A. J. *Tudor Lincolnshire* (Lincoln, 1975) pp. 189-199.

populated communities. The Yarborough Deanery contained the seats of a number of landed members of the gentry class and this would account for a large population of servants, labourers and the like who were required to service these estates. Bolingbroke Castle would possibly also have a large number of retainers who would, therefore, inflate the population figures for the Bolingbroke Deanery. However, Table 27 confirms that the two centres of the Lincolnshire Rising, Louth and Horncastle, were also centres of small communities which would be at risk if the rumoured church closures were to materialise.

The inhabitants of the isolated Wold villages of present day Lincolnshire know only too well that it is these churches that have been the first to be declared redundant. In medieval Lincolnshire rumours that some of these churches were to be closed must have been very distressing. The fact that all Patronal Festivals were to be celebrated on the same date, 1 October, may well have been seen as further evidence that certain churches were to be closed.

As was shown in Chapter V and illustrated by Appendix C, there was very considerable support and enthusiasm for the building, maintenance, ornamentation and furnishing of .....



the parish churches and it is significant that the Lincolnshire Rising first erupted in Louth [202], where the extensive rebuilding of St. James' church had been completed only some twenty years earlier. The possible relationship between building work carried out on parish churches and the Lincolnshire Rising will be discussed later in this Chapter.<sup>22</sup>

On Sunday 1 October, the eve of the visitation, the vicar of St. James' parish church in Louth, Thomas Kendal, preached and chose as his subject the Ten Articles and their implications. This caused some consternation amongst his congregation.

Thomas Foster, who is described as 'a singing man', said as the procession formed at the end of the service :

'Masters step forth and let us follow the cross this day. God knoweth whether ever we shall follow it hereafter or nay'.<sup>23</sup>

Within the community it had already been rumoured that at the Visitation the plate and jewels from the church would be taken and within these circumstances the seeds of rebellion were beginning to sprout. The vicar, Thomas Kendal, when examined after the Rising, said that the immediate cause was the fact that the men of Hull had sold the crosses and jewels of their church to prevent them .....

<sup>22</sup>. For a more detailed account of the Rising than can be given here see Ward, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 854.

being taken by the king.<sup>54</sup> Following this example Nicholas Melton, who became known as 'Captain Cobbler' presumably because of his trade, together with Alexander Plummer, John Harrison, Henry Sanderson, Thomas Manby and William Man took the keys of the treasury and watched over the church throughout the night. In the morning it was decided to ring a bell in the church tower to call the townspeople together.<sup>55</sup>

When the Bishop's Registrar, John Frankish, arrived to begin the Visitation he was arrested by the rebels and made to swear the following oath :

'You shall swear to be true to Almighty God, to Christ's Catholic Church, to our Sovereign Lord the King, and to the Commons of this realm So help you god and Holydam and by this book'.<sup>56</sup>

This became the standard oath which all the supporters of the Rising were required to swear. Even if forcibly administered, at a time when faith was a reality such an oath would not be lightly broken.

A party of some forty townspeople proceeded to Legbourne Priory [232] where the process of dissolution had commenced. The two agents responsible for this work were taken to Louth and placed in the stocks. Those monks who had joined the rising were encouraged by the success of the rebels at Legbourne to believe that further dissolutions might be stopped by a show of strength.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 970. <sup>55</sup>. L and P Vol. XII Pt. 1 No. 702.

<sup>56</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 552. <sup>57</sup>. James, op. cit., p. 18.

On the following day, 3 October, most of the rioters travelled to Caistor [74] and four of the commissioners drawn from the ranks of the gentry class who were assessing the subsidy were arrested. Lord Burgh and Thomas Moigne escaped. Although the gentlemen joined the rebels it is a matter of dispute whether they did this voluntarily. They did, however, take the oath of loyalty to the commons with other members of the gentry class later in the day.<sup>88</sup>

The gentlemen now assumed leadership of the Rising and a letter was sent to the king recording their grievances and asking for a general pardon, saying that the disorders were a natural reaction to the changes which were being introduced.<sup>89</sup> Clearly then, as now, Lincolnshire people were conservative and resistant to change.

The grievances were first drawn up by George Stones of Haltham [438] who is described as a gentleman, and, after they had been approved by the commons, he circulated them throughout a wide area.<sup>90</sup> The grievances in essentials were as follows :

No more religious houses were to be suppressed.

There was to be no more taxation during the king's lifetime except in time of war.

<sup>88</sup>. L and P Vol. XIII Pt. I No. 702. <sup>89</sup>. James, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>90</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 585.

The five 'heretic bishops' of Lincoln, Rochester, Ely, Worcester and Dublin were to be deprived of office.

Cromwell was to be removed from his post as chancellor.

The Statute of Uses was to be repealed.<sup>41</sup>

The Statute of Uses had been in preparation for several years before finally reaching the Statute Book in 1535. The inclusion of this Statute in the list of grievances was clearly at the behest of the gentlemen. The Statute had no religious significance and was concerned solely with the transfer of land. It would be of no interest to the commons.<sup>42</sup>

In response to the letter containing the grievances delivered to him by Sir Edward Maddison the king expressed his astonishment :

'that you being our sworn servants, should place yourselves in their hands, instead of assembling for the surety of your persons, and for their suppression'.

He went on to say that he had no intention of taking away the valuables of the churches and only required what had been granted to him by Parliament. He ordered the Lincolnshire gentlemen to send a hundred of the rioters to him with halters around their necks!<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 585 (p. 238); LP Vol XII Pt. I Nos. 6(iii), 70 (iii, iv, viii, x, xi, xii).

<sup>42</sup>. 27 Henry VIII c. 10; For a discussion of this Statute see : Lehnberg, S. E. The Reformation Parliament (Cambridge, 1970) pp. 235-238.

<sup>43</sup>. L and P Vol. XI Nos. 568 and 569.

The king's reaction to the petition of the rebels only served to incense them even more and a number of prominent gentlemen swore the oath of allegiance to the commons. These included the Dymokes of Scrivelsby, Sir William Ascough and his son, Sir Edward Maddison, Sir Robert Tyrwhit, Guy Kyme, Sir Andrew Billesby, Thomas Moigne, Robert Dighton, Sir John Sutton and Sir John Coppeldyke. In fact there were few influential gentry families in the north of the county who did not swear the oath. The gentry class of early Tudor Lincolnshire were responsible for maintaining law and order. That they swore the oath of allegiance to the commons is an important factor which must be considered in any attempt to assess the impact of the Rising. That they had joined the Rising and had assumed its leadership must have greatly encouraged the commons and may have convinced them that their action was not treasonable.

The peerage was represented in Lincolnshire by the Duke of Suffolk, who was in London at the time of the Rising, Lord Burgh of Gainsborough [151] and Lord Clinton and Saye who had an estate at Kyme [519]. Lord Burgh and Lord Clinton had both escaped into Nottinghamshire and the only nobleman remaining in the county was Lord John Hussey of Sleaford [561]. Hussey had considerable influence at .....

Court and had been elevated to the peerage in 1529. It was plainly his duty to attempt to put down the Rising. However, his sympathies appear to have been with the maintenance of the traditional catholic church and, therefore, in supporting the Rising. In a secret interview with the Spanish Ambassador, Eustace Chapuys, which took place on 30 September 1534 Hussey had suggested that the Spanish Emperor, Charles V,

'...as Catholic prince and chief of others...ought to take it up, were it for no other purpose than out of pity and commiseration for those poor people, the English...'.<sup>44</sup>

This appears to have been an invitation to the emperor to promote the catholic cause in England on behalf of the pope. Hussey had been chamberlain to the Princess Mary but was removed from this position because he had allegedly encouraged Mary not to accept the Royal Supremacy. Lady Hussey was one of Princess Mary's attendants.

By Friday, 6 October the rebels were encamped on the outskirts of Lincoln ready to enter the city. Hussey instructed the mayor of Lincoln, Robert Sutton, to prepare to resist the Rising but he delayed meeting certain of the gentlemen who had sought a meeting with him to arrange support against the rebels.<sup>45</sup> It is not necessary here to consider Hussey's actions in detail but the rebels

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<sup>44</sup>. de Gayangos, P. Calendar of Letters...relating to the negotiations between England and Spain Vol. V Pt. I 1534-1535 (London, 1886) No. 257.

<sup>45</sup>. James, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

somehow came to believe that they could rely on his support and leadership.<sup>46</sup> In fact, Hussey went to ground and he was no longer in a position to lead the Rising. He took no further action to support either the king or rebels. In the meantime a further letter containing the demands of the insurgents had been drawn up in the chapter house of the Cathedral and sent to the king.

Robert Aske, who was one of the Yorkshire rebels and later became leader of the Pilgrimage of Grace, had met Thomas Moigne in Lincoln and on his return to Yorkshire reported the progress of the Lincolnshire Rising to the northern rebels.<sup>47</sup> Later both Guy Kyme and John Bell travelled to York apparently to arrange for the northern and Lincolnshire rebels to make a joint march to London. When they returned they reported that arrangements were being made for the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire rebels to meet at either Newark or Doncaster ready for a march south.<sup>48</sup>

The gentlemen had difficulty in persuading the rebels not to proceed immediately to London before a reply was received from the king. The reply came on Tuesday 10 October addressed to the gentlemen but they were unable to see it before Moigne was forced to read it to the commons.

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<sup>46</sup>. Ibid., p. 59. <sup>47</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 853.

<sup>48</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 972.

The king's reply was typically forthright and Moigne attempted unsuccessfully to omit the passage which is printed in italics in the following quotation from Halle :

'First we begin and answer the fourth and sixth articles, because on them depends much of the rest. Concerning the choosing of councillors, I have never read, heard nor known that princes' councillors and prelates should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were fit persons or of the ability to discern and choose worthy and sufficient councillors for a prince.

*'How presumptuous, then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beestlie of the hole realme, and of least experience, to fynde faulte with your Prynce, for thelecting of his counsaillours and Prelates; and to take upon you, contrary to Goddes lawe, and mannes law, to rule your Prynce, whom ye are bounde by all lawes to obey, and serve, with both your lyves, landes, and goodes, and for no worldly cause to with stande: the contrary wherof you like traytours and rebelles have attempted, and not like trew subjects, as ye name yourselffes!*

'As to the suppression of the religious houses and monasteries, we wish that you and all our subjects should well know that this is granted us by all the nobles, spiritual and temporal, of this realm, and by all the commons in the same by act of parliament, and not set forth by any councillor or councillors upon their mere will and whim, as you quite falsely would persuade our realm to believe.

'And where you allege that the service of God is much diminished, the truth is the opposite, for there are no houses suppressed where God is well served, but where there was most vice, mischief and abomination of living, and that appears clearly by their own confessions, signed with their own hands at the time of their visitations, and yet we allowed a great many of them to remain, wherein if they do not amend their living we have more to answer for than

.....



for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitality for the relief of the poor, we wonder you are not ashamed to affirm that they have been a great relief to poor people, when a great many or the majority had not more than four or five religious persons in them, and some only one, who spent the substance of the goods of their houses in nourishing vice and abominable living. Now what unkindness and unnaturalness may we impute to you and all our subjects of a like mind, who had rather such unthrifty, vicious persons should enjoy such possessions, profits and emoluments as accrue from the said houses for the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than we, your natural prince, sovereign lord and king, who does and has spent of our own more in your defence than six times their worth?<sup>69</sup>

The commons felt convinced that they had been let down by the gentlemen and a massacre was narrowly averted. However, most of the rebels supported the gentlemen and an uneasy peace reigned overnight.<sup>70</sup>

Recognising that nothing further could be achieved without a leader of the status of Lord Hussey, who might have been able to negotiate with the king, the gentlemen eventually persuaded the commons to disperse and a letter of submission was sent to the king.<sup>71</sup> The king replied on the Friday, accepting the submission and saying that, although the rebels had brought their lives and those of their wives and children, their lands, goods and chattels into jeopardy by rebelling against a king who had ruled over them for twenty-eight years, he would show them .....

<sup>69</sup>. H. N. C. State Papers of the Reign of King Henry VIII Vol. I Pt. II (London, 1830) No. 48.

<sup>70</sup>. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 30. <sup>71</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 971.

mercy. He ordered all harness and weapons to be left in 'the market place' of Lincoln and to depart home to their occupations.<sup>72</sup> The actual market place is not specified but perhaps it was on Castle Hill which is a large open space between the Cathedral and Castle. In a letter from Henry VIII to the Duke of Suffolk he ordered the 'boats on the Humber' to be searched as they were 'a means of passage into Yorkshire...'.<sup>73</sup> If any new rebellion broke out in Lincolnshire the Duke was to

'destroy, burn, and kill man, woman and child [as a] terrible example of all others and specially the town of Louth because this rebellion took its beginning in the same'.

The Lincolnshire Rising, which had erupted in Louth on 2 October 1536 was, by 11 October, apparently over but the king had been left in no doubt of the feelings of the commons of the 'brute and beastly shire'.

But the Rising had not completely collapsed. Although the Boston rebels had been slow to join the rising and had been the first to disperse there was clearly much feeling in that area. Three days after the rising was officially over it was reported that Leonard Bawdre, Hugh Sleforde, William Hudson and one Smythe had raised the inhabitants of Leake [527], Leverton [539] and Wrangle [509] by ringing the bells 'backwards'. Bawdrey, Sleforde and .....

<sup>72</sup>. State Papers op. cit., No. 51.

<sup>73</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 780.

Hudson were tried and condemned but reprieved at Lincoln on 6 March 1537.<sup>74</sup> It was also reported that Sir Simon Maltby, the parson of Farforth [270] who had attended the visitation at Bolingbroke and reported the alleged intention to take away the chalices had, on the Sunday after the collapse of the rising, prayed for the pope and the College of Cardinals!<sup>75</sup> Clearly, acceptance of the Supremacy and other impositions of the Henrician Reformation was given very grudgingly by some Lincolnshire people and then only because of the fear of the king's wrath.

The chronicler Edward Halle recorded the Lincolnshire Rising in the passage reproduced below.<sup>76</sup> This is given in full because Halle gives a very good report of the way in which the rising and the events which preceded it was seen by the king and his supporters.

'The inhabitants of the North parts being at that time very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion meant, but altogether nursed in superstition and popery, and also by means of certain abbots and ignorant priests not a little stirred and provoked by the suppression of certain monasteries, and by the abolishing of the bishop of Rome...[said] see friends now four of the seven sacraments are taken from us, and soon you will lose the other three also, and thus the faith of holy church will utterly be suppressed and abolished. And therefore suddenly they spread abroad and raised great and shameful slanders only to move the people to sedition and rebellion, and to

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<sup>74</sup>, L and P Vol. XI No. 975. The term to 'ring bells backwards' means that instead of ringing the bells in the usual order 1234 with the smallest first they were rung in the order 4321 commencing with the largest.

<sup>75</sup>, L and P Vol. XI No. 975.

<sup>76</sup>, Loades, op. cit., pp. 176 and 180; Hall, op. cit., fol. ccxxviii

kinndle in the people hateful and malicious minds against the king's majesty and the magistrates of the realm, saying let us fully apply ourselves to the maintenance of religion and rather than suffer it thus to decay to die in the field.

And amongst them also were so many, even of the nobility, who did not a little provoke and stir up the ignorant and rude people the more stiffly to rebel and stand therein, faithfully promising them noth aid and succour against the king and their own native country (like foolish and wicked men), thinking by so doing to have given God high pleasure and service. There were also certain other malicious and busy persons who added oil, as the adage says, to the furnace. These made open clamours in every place where there was an opportunity, that the Christian religion would be utterly violated, despised and set aside, and that rather than have it so it behoved and was the part every true Christian man to defend it even to the death, and not allow and suffer by any means the faith (in which their forefathers so long and so many thousand years had lived and continued) now to be subverted and destroyed. Amongst these were many priests who deceived the people also with many false stories and venomous lies and fabrications (which could never enter nor take place in the heart of any good man or faithful subject), saying that all manner of prayer and fasting and all God's service would be utterly destroyed and taken away, that no man should marry a wife, or be a partaker of the sacraments, or even should eat a piece of roast meat but that he should for the same first pay to the king a certain sum of money, and that they should be brought into more bondage and a more wicked way of life that the Saracens are under the Great Turk. The people thus instructed (or as I may more truly say) deceived and mocked with these and other such errors and slanderous tales, being too credulous, hastily they stiffly and stoutly conspired and agreed to the help and maintenance of the once established religion. And in a part of Lincolnshire they first assembled and shortly after joined into an army, being (as it was supposed) of men apt and fit for war about twenty thousand in number'.

.....

Suffolk was not long in seeking advantages at the expense of those likely to be condemned as traitors for their part in the Rising and, therefore, in danger of losing their property. In a letter addressed to the king and dated 19 November he wrote :

'Antony Curtes and N. Horneclif deserve the extremity of the law. Curtes has lands of 40 marks a year and Horneclif £10...[he requested] that my kinsman John Wingfield and George Harper the King's servant may have lands of Curtes if attainted and Sir Osseborne Echingham those of Horneclif where the King shall bind these young gentlemen to serve him'.<sup>77</sup>

Horneclif was one of the Yorkshire rebels and Curtes was a Lincolnshire gentleman who appears to have joined the Pilgrimage of Grace, as the Yorkshire rising is known, after the Lincolnshire rebels had dispersed. He was condemned but then reprieved.

Richard Cromwell in a letter dated Wednesday 11 October written from Stamford and addressed to his uncle, Thomas Cromwell said

'One of Sir John Thymbleby's sons has just come in who says that five or six thousand of them have fled home...my Lord Admiral [Sir William Fitzwilliam] is so eased in the matter that I dare well say he would eat them with salt. I never saw one triumph like unto him. My Lord's Grace has committed young Thimbleby to ward and if his father come not in by 8 o'clock tomorrow will spoil all he has and cut him in pieces'

.....  
<sup>77</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 1104; L and P Vol. XI No. 581(ii).

in a postscript he added

'These two towns [Horncastle and Louth] is better stored of arrant traitors than any towns in England...I would that the whole shire should be sacked up'.<sup>78</sup>

Such bloodthirsty statements suggest that if Suffolk and Cromwell had had a free hand far greater reprisals than were actually exacted would have been imposed. It is particularly surprising that those that had attempted to create further trouble in the Boston area after the rebels had dispersed should have escaped so lightly.

Clearly the rising was regarded as serious and this is emphasised in the following paragraph from a pamphlet written by the government propagandist, Richard Morrison shortly after the Rising :

'If Lincolnshire seke to distroye Englande what wonder is hit if Fraunce and Scotlande sometime have fought to offende me? ...What folly, what madness is this to make an hole in the shyppes [of state] that thou saylest in?'.<sup>79</sup>

Perhaps the reason that the rebels were not treated more harshly was because the disturbances in the north were making themselves felt and the forces which would have been needed to despoil Lincolnshire were required in Yorkshire.

Close contact had been established between the leaders of the Lincolnshire and Yorkshire insurgents and, although .....

<sup>78</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 658.

<sup>79</sup>. Morrison, R. A Remedy for sedition quoted in Fletcher, A. Tudor Rebellions Third Edition (London, 1983) p. 7. I am grateful to Dr. Simon Pawley for drawing my attention to this quotation.

the escape route across the Humber had been cut off, William Leach the leader of the Horncastle rebels escaped and joined the Pilgrimage of Grace.<sup>80</sup> He did, however, attempt to persuade the Lincolnshire Rebels to rise again without success. Leach was executed on 8 July 1539.<sup>81</sup> The Treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral, Henry Litherland, also joined the Pilgrimage of Grace. Apparently he 'maintained men in Yorkshire at his own cost'.<sup>82</sup> Litherland, who was also Vicar of Newark and of St Peter at Arches, Lincoln, was executed on 2 August 1538 at York.<sup>83</sup>

Although Litherland does not appear to have played any active part in the Lincolnshire Rising, in a letter from one William Phelpott addressed to Thomas Cromwell it was alleged that, in two sermons preached on Candlemas day (2 February) 1537 and the Sunday following at Newark, he had made his sympathies with the objects of the Rising clear and :

'...never in these sermons or before taught or declared to the people the king's title to be supreme head; but faintly named him so in desiring them to pray for him. He never spoke of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome. He bade his hearers pray for souls in purgatory. He condemned English books of the Scriptures, and warned them to take heed of those published with the king's privilege, for he never read them nor ever would do. He said it was heresy to say that our fathers were in darkness for they had the true light. There was

.....  
<sup>80</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 729. <sup>81</sup>. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 914 p. 417; Pt. II No. 291(ii).

<sup>82</sup>. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 537. <sup>83</sup>. L and P Vol. XIII Pt. I Nos. 20 and 142.

never more need to pray for the king's council than now. He inculcated the worship of the Virgin Mary exhorting the people to call upon her and commended his parishioners to offer and kiss images, saying they were heretics that would take images down...'.<sup>84</sup>

Perhaps the fact that Litherland was vicar of Newark has some significance. If the rebels had proceeded on their march south there can be little doubt that they would have marched through that town and if the king's forces under Suffolk could not defeat them at this point the road south would be clear.

Litherland was, of course, as treasurer a member of the Cathedral Chapter and, no doubt, he and his colleagues discussed together their concerns for the future of religion. Peter Effard, the chapter clerk, would also be present at these meetings. Perhaps it was the informal discussions which took place in the Cathedral which prompted him to express, whilst carrying out his duties as registrar on visitations with the commissary, his fears that some churches might close and church valuables be appropriated.

As Dr. Bowker has said :

'The immediate cause of the Lincolnshire Rising, there can be little doubt, [was that] too much innovatory action was taking place in so small an area that, on 2 October 1536 it might well have seemed that the relentless efficiency of the Henrician state was being concentrated upon a mere ten square miles'.<sup>85</sup>

.....  
<sup>84</sup>. L and P Vol. XI No. 741; Vol. XIII Pt. I No. 604; LRS Vol. 13 p. xi.

<sup>85</sup>. Bowker, Reformation p. 149.



As has been shown in this thesis, there was considerable and enthusiastic support for church building, maintenance, ornamentation and furnishing and the inhabitants of the remote communities of Lincolnshire, from which most of the rebels came, had a real interest in their 'own' church. The rumours of church closures which had come from an influential and respected member of the Cathedral hierarchy would be believed without question and this in itself must have distressed many of these people. Several of the parish churches in communities from which the rebels came had recently been enlarged or had been the subject of building work. The work at Louth has already been discussed and there can be little doubt that the pride which local people had in their church was a major reason for Louth being at the centre of the Rising. But the work which had been taking place at many other churches involved in the Rising should not be overlooked. The tower of St. Wilfrid's Church, Alford [354] had been built within five or six years of the Rising and a new porch appears to have been built at the same time.<sup>66</sup> At Spilsby [417], the tower had also been built within a short period of the Rising.<sup>67</sup> At Horncastle [393] the north and south chapels were probably added a few years

<sup>66</sup>. Pevsner, N. and Harris, J. The Buildings of England : Lincolnshire Second Edition revised Antram, N. (London, 1989) pp. 92-3

<sup>67</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 679.

before the Rising and there is evidence of other work of this period but the exact date is not clear.<sup>88</sup> At Bilsby [337], the seat of Sir Andrew Billesby who was prominent in the Rising, work had been carried out on the tower, chancel and north arcade within the previous five years.<sup>89</sup>

Details of these and other building campaigns of this time are recorded in Table 26.<sup>90</sup> It was not only building campaigns which were supported enthusiastically. Parishioners supplied or contributed to the purchase of ornaments, vestments, furniture or indeed any item needed for the work of the church. If they were able to they would donate the particular item but the humblest member of the community could play a part by contributing to a fund raising campaign. Details of the more significant items mentioned in wills are given in Appendix C.<sup>91</sup>

It is clear that rumours that churches were to close and their valuables appropriated must have been very distressing. It is not surprising that the commons supported the Rising in large numbers.

Even if a church was not to close, the possible replacement of the local priest with a 'foreigner' however 'learned' must have been abhorrent. As was shown in .....

<sup>88</sup>. Ibid., pp. 394-395.    <sup>89</sup>. Ibid., p. 146.

<sup>90</sup>. See p. 230.        <sup>91</sup>. see pp. 341-355.

Chapter IV, many of the minor clergy who served the small communities of the Wolds were local men with experience of local problems.<sup>72</sup> A good example of this was Sir Nicholas Leach, vicar of Belchford [329], who originated from the nearby parish of Fulletby [348] where his father and two brothers still lived in 1536. The entire Leach family were very active in the Rising.

The changes in religious practice, which were not rumours but undoubted fact, were a further cause of distress. All their lives, people had appealed to the Saints for assistance with their petitions to the Deity for relief of sickness or other adversity. The possible dissolution of the remaining religious foundations which would include the hospitals, St. Catherines Priory together with its orphanage and the houses of the popular Friar preachers were a further cause of concern to the 'common' people. They could support the break with Rome and reform of the clergy but 'enough was enough'.

The speed with which change was introduced and the king's insatiable demand for money destroyed any sympathy which might have been forthcoming from a region of England which was, and is, conservative by nature and resistant to change.

.....  
<sup>72</sup>, see p. 95.

No doubt some parish clergy were more concerned for their own future than for the 'reforms' in religious practice which the king was introducing. Of course, the widely held belief that certain churches were to close, if true, would mean that some clergy would lose their employment. Many of the religious must also have felt some anxiety for their future. Some of the religious from the smaller houses would become parish priests or enter one of the remaining houses but if all religious houses were to be dissolved then their future was very uncertain.

Some priests would feel inadequate and unable to adjust to the requirement to preach. They feared replacement by better educated monks who would be available to take their place as more religious houses were dissolved. Of course, many parish clergy and religious were genuinely concerned that traditional religious observance was being eroded. Clearly there were many reasons for the involvement of secular priests and the religious in the Lincolnshire Rising.

The gentlemen were able to convince the subsequent inquiry that they had been forced by the commons to take the rebel oath. But the fact that they readily took over the leadership was viewed by the king with suspicion.  
.....

Throughout the Rising the gentlemen were able to disassociate themselves from the commons but, in fact, there is ample evidence to suggest that the sympathies of many of them were with the aims of the Rising. The fact that of the gentlemen and nobility only Thomas Moigne and Lord Hussey were executed and the king turned a 'blind eye' to the part which the gentry class had played in the Rising is almost certainly because they were needed to maintain law and order in the county. Having made an example of Moigne and Hussey no doubt the king hoped that this would suffice as an example of the treatment which treachery would incur.

The surviving records of the executions which took place after the trial of those implicated in the Lincolnshire Rising are rather confused. Appendix D records the names of those who clearly played some part in the Rising. The first trials took place in Lincoln on 6 March 1537 and sixty-three rebels were condemned and then reprieved.<sup>73</sup> Thirty-four were condemned and suffered execution at either Lincoln, Louth or Horncastle. They were Thomas Moigne the recorder of Lincoln, six priests, fourteen religious and thirteen commons.<sup>74</sup> A further

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<sup>73</sup>. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(i). The names of those reprieved are prefixed in Appendix D with the letter 'R'.

<sup>74</sup>. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(ii). The names of those known to have been executed have been prefixed with a '+' in Appendix D.

trial of thirteen rebels took place at the Guildhall, London before the chancellor, Sir Thomas Audelay on 27 March 1537. All thirteen were executed at Tyburn on 29 March. These included the abbot of Barlings, Bishop Matthew Makerell, the vicar of Louth, Thomas Kendall and William Morland the former monk of Louth Park.<sup>95</sup>

The thirteen selected for trial at the Guildhall appear to be those who were regarded as the ringleaders of the Rising. No mention is made of the most prominent of the 'commons' from Louth, Nicholas Melton. Perhaps he had died in prison whilst waiting trial.

Lord Hussey was the last to be tried and executed. He was convicted in London on 15 May 1537 and executed in Lincoln on 30 June.

The names of all those executed, so far as can be ascertained from the surviving records are listed in Annex B to this Chapter.

Those members of the commons who suffered execution appear to have been confined to those who had been particularly violent but on the whole considering the numbers who took part in the Rising punishment was not heavy.

.....  
<sup>95</sup>. Hamilton, W. D. (Ed.) A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors from A. D. 1485 to 1559 by Charles Wriothesley, Windsor Herald Vol. I (Camden Society, 1875) p. 62.

Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

It would appear that the total number of executions was as follows :

TABLE 28

Executions resulting from  
the Lincolnshire Rising

Nobility (Lord Hussey)	1
Gentleman (Thomas Moigne)	1
Secular Clergy	9
Religious	16
<u>Commons</u>	<u>21</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>48</u>

The only real effect of the Lincolnshire Rising and the Yorkshire Pilgrimage of Grace was to make the king more determined than ever to continue with the suppression of the religious houses. However, although the king was never in any real danger so long as the nobility supported him, much more trouble might have resulted had a leader of the calibre of the Yorkshireman, Robert Aske, emerged and led the rebels on their proposed march to London gathering support as they progressed.

ANNEX A

COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED ON  
3 SEPTEMBER 1534 TO ASSESS  
ECCLESIASTICAL INCOME FOR  
LINCOLNSHIRE<sup>74</sup>

Longland	John	Bishop of Lincoln.
Heneage	George	Dean of Lincoln.
Palfreyman	William	Mayor of Lincoln.
Ayscough	William	Knight Stallingborough.
Billesby	William	Knight Bilsby.
Browne	Thomas	Not known.
Combes	Henry	Not known.
Copledyke	John	Knight Harrington.
Gildon	Thomas	Gentleman Lincoln.
Grantham	Hugh	Gentleman Dunholme.
Grantham	Vincent	Gentleman Goltho.
Heneage	John	Gentleman Hainton.
Hill	John	Not known.
Hussey	Robert	Knight Honington.
Irby	Anthony	Gentleman Gosberton
Maddison	Edward	Knight Fonaby near Caistor.
Marten	Boniface	Not known.
Moigne	Thomas	Recorder of Lincoln.
Monson	John	Gentleman Gosberton.
Mussenden	Anthony	Gentleman Healing.
Mussenden	Thomas	Knight Healing.
Ogle	Richard	Gentleman Pinchbeck.
Skipwith	William	Knight South Ormsby.
St. Paul	George	Gentleman Snarford.
Tyrwhit	Robert	Knight Kettleby.
Tyrwhit	William	Knight Scotter.
Walcott	Humfrey	Gentleman Walcott.

.....

<sup>74</sup>. *Valor Ecclesiasticus* op. cit., p. 1.

See also *AASRP* Vol. XXII Pt. II pp. 175-177.



ANNEX B

EXECUTIONS RESULTING FROM THE  
LINCOLNSHIRE RISING OF 1536

PEER

1. Lord John Hussey.\*7

GENTLEMAN

2. + Moigne Thomas Recorder North Willingham

PARISH PRIESTS

- |               |          |        |              |
|---------------|----------|--------|--------------|
| 3. + Fisher   | John     | Priest | Scartho      |
| 4. + Grey     | Ralph    | Priest | Croft        |
| 5. + Hutton   | William  | Vicar  | Cockerington |
| 6. ++ Kendall | Thomas   | Vicar  | Louth        |
| 7. ++ Leach   | Nicholas | Parson | Belchford    |
| 8. + Lyon     | John     | Priest | Biscathorpe  |
| 9. ++ Retford | Thomas   | Parson | Snelland     |
| 10. + Smythe  | William  | Priest | Donington    |
| 11. + Youll   | Thomas   | Priest | Louth        |

RELIGIOUS

- |                  |         |           |           |
|------------------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| 12. ++ Mackerell | Matthew | Abbot     | Barlings  |
| 13. + Bradley    | Thomas  | Sub-Prior | Barlings  |
| 14. + Hodgson    | James   | Monk      | Barlings  |
| 15. + Holme      | William | Canon     | Barlings  |
| 16. + Wering     | Richard | Canon     | Barlings  |
| 17. + Cowper     | William | Monk      | Bardney   |
| 18. + Coy        | William | Monk      | Bardney   |
| 19. + Francis    | John    | Monk      | Bardney   |
| 20. + Jenkinson  | Henry   | Monk      | Bardney   |
| 21. + Londysdale | Hugh    | Monk      | Bardney   |
| 22. + Phelip     | Richard | Monk      | Bardney   |
| 23. + Tenaunte   | John    | Monk      | Bardney   |
| 24. + Herryson   | Richard | Abbot     | Kirkstead |
| 25. + Swale      | William | Abbot     | Kirkstead |
| 26. + Wade       | Reynold | Monk      | Kirkstead |

FORMER RELIGIOUS

27. ++ Morland William Louth Park  
alias Burreby

\*7. Executed at Lincoln on 30 June 1537. Hamilton, op. cit., p. 62.

+ Executed in Lincolnshire 6-7 March 1537. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).

++ Executed at Tyburn 29 March 1537. Ward, op. cit., p. 32.

COMMONS

28. +	Cottenham	Robert		Spilsby
29. ++	Fletcher	Barnard	Yeoman	Fulletby
30. +	Herryson	William		Alford
31. ++	Huddiswell	George	Yeoman	Horkstow
32. +	Hudson	Robert		Louth
33. +	Kyme	Guy		Louth
34. ++	Leach	Robert	Yeoman	Fulletby
35. +	Leeke	John		Louth
36. ++	Longbotham	William	Barber	Horncastle
37. +	Manby	Thomas	Labourer/ Victualler	Louth
38. ++	New	Robert	Roper	Horncastle
39. +	Noble	Thomas		Louth
40. +	Nycson	William		Alford
41. +	Parsons	William		Caistor
42. +	Phillipson	Richard		Alford
43. ++	Sothbye	Robert		Horncastle
44. +	Smythe	William	Labourer	Louth
45. ++	Stanes	Bryan	Labourer	Miningsby
46. ++	Trotter	Phillip	Mercer	Horncastle
47. +	Wade	John		Boston
48. +	Wilson	James		Alford

.....

+ Executed in Lincolnshire 6-7 March 1537. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).

++ Executed at Tyburn 29 March 1537. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

CHAPTER VII  
CONCLUSION  
PIETY OR INSURANCE?

The participation of the gentry class in the Lincolnshire Rising may well have been through fear of reprisals by the 'commons' rather than from any religious motive. Many of the clergy must have feared that the rumoured closure of parish churches and also the dissolution of the religious houses might result in their own redundancy. The religious had cause for concern as it became clear that not only the smaller religious houses were likely to close but this could well extend to the larger houses as well. There would, therefore, be a surplus of well qualified religious and not all could be offered posts as parish clergy. No doubt many of the clergy and religious were concerned for the future of religion, but, on the whole, this does not appear to have been a major reason for their participation in the Rising.

The reason for the participation of the 'commons' is much clearer. The rumoured closure of parish churches which played such an important part in medieval daily life was of genuine concern to the 'commons' as was the possible closure of all religious houses. The religious houses were employers of local people and were able to  
.....

nurse the sick. They assisted in times of famine and had much local influence. As is so often the case change and especially the rapid and unsympathetic changes introduced by Henry VIII affected the less affluent members of the community most.

As evidence of the piety of those with whom this thesis is mainly concerned, the 'commons', no doubt, for most, the rumoured closure of parish churches was of genuine concern. It was 'their' church which had seen generation after generation of their families and friends baptised and buried. The names of many departed relatives and friends were recorded in the parish bederoll and regularly read by a priest from the rood loft.<sup>1</sup> The parish church was a constant reminder of the reality of Purgatory, Heaven and Hell. It was within its walls that medieval people were taught the way to heavenly bliss. They were reminded of their ultimate fate and of the perils of Purgatory by the paintings which adorned the walls of the church, in sermons, by stained glass windows, and by carvings on screens, bench ends and misericords.<sup>2</sup> Religious drama, which also took place within the church, was based on the same Sacred 'Mysteries' as the rosary and helped to teach the major events in the lives of the Blessed Virgin Mary and Jesus Christ.<sup>3</sup>

.....

<sup>1</sup>. See pp. 68-70.

<sup>2</sup>. Duffy, E. The Stripping of the Altars (Vale, 1992) p. 3. See also pp. 71-73.

<sup>3</sup>. See pp. 73-76 and 96-102.

The clergy, many of whom were local people, taught and prayed with their flock at least weekly and the possible closure of the parish church would mean an end to the routine religious observance which had taken place within its walls for many centuries.

Significantly, as was shown by the Churchwarden's Accounts for Louth, enthusiasm for the maintenance or extension of the church building seems to have been as strong among all levels of the community, rich or poor.<sup>4</sup> Support for the church building was regarded as a means of gaining heavenly credit which would endure long after any provision made by a testator for a trental of masses, obits or other commemorative masses had been expended.

Although contributions for the repair or other work on the church building might be regarded as a more enduring provision for the souls of contributors they were also an expression of the combined efforts of a community in an enterprise from which no one was excluded and for which everyone could take some credit and feel some pride.

Surprisingly Dr. Bowker commented

'...another [rumour] of less interest to the commons was that churches within five miles of one another as well as chapels were to be 'foredone''.<sup>5</sup>

.....

<sup>4</sup>. See pp. 213-214.

<sup>5</sup>. Bowker, Reformation p. 152.

It is difficult to understand how this conclusion was reached. There is ample evidence to show how fundamental the church building was in every community, and perhaps more particularly in those isolated villages of the Wolds caught up in the Lincolnshire Rising.

As shown by Table 8 an average of 82% of all Lincolnshire testators made a bequest for 'tithes forgotten' or to the High Altar or Sacrament but these payments were in the nature of 'conscience money' or insurance rather than as genuine acts of piety.<sup>6</sup> The deliberate withholding of tithes was regarded as a sin and, therefore, a bequest to restore to the church that which was due to it would gain for the testator credit in the world to come.<sup>7</sup> Of greater significance as acts of piety were the 'other bequests' to the testators 'own' parish church. An average of 58% of Lincolnshire testators made such a bequest.<sup>8</sup> Although Dr. Thomson found only occasional bequests of this nature in late medieval London the other studies mentioned in the Introduction show that the majority of testators supported their parish churches.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the small self-contained communities of rural Lincolnshire had a particular affection for their parish church which was not present in the .....

<sup>6</sup>. See p. 117.    <sup>7</sup>. See pp. 143-144.    <sup>8</sup>. See p. 117.

<sup>9</sup>. Thomson, J. A. F. 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London' in J. Ecc. H Vol. 16 (1965) p. 192.

wealthier urban communities of London. Dr. Tanner in his study of the church in late medieval Norwich commented on the 'number and value of testamentary bequests' for the support of programmes for the rebuilding of parish churches.<sup>10</sup>

The bells from the church tower signalled the Canonical Hours and the most Holy parts of the daily services. Even if parishioners could not be present in church they could recite the well known prayers and could be present in spirit if not physically. The passing and funeral bells enabled them to pray for a departing soul. Clearly the parish church or chapel was of such importance to daily life that it is not surprising that the rumours of closure was, for the commons, a major cause of the Lincolnshire Rising contrary to Dr. Bowker's comments. Although there may have been some 'rabble rousers' amongst the 'commons', for the majority participation in the Lincolnshire Rising was the only way in which they could express their concern for the future of traditional religion and their concern for their church.

Bequests by Lincolnshire testators to the Fabric Fund of the diocesan Cathedral averaged 92% and in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon which comprised Huntingdonshire and part of Hertfordshire for the year .....

<sup>10</sup>. Tanner, N. P. The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532 (Toronto, 1984) pp. 168-9.

1529 92% of testators made such a bequest. No less than 98% of testators living in the most distant county within the diocese, Buckinghamshire, made a bequest to the Cathedral Fabric Fund.<sup>11</sup> The large number of bequests to Lincoln Cathedral was not unique and Dr. Saul found that most Gloucestershire gentry left money to Worcester Cathedral.<sup>12</sup> The explanation for the high percentage of bequests to the Lincoln Cathedral Fabric Fund from testators living in Buckinghamshire might be related to the fact that the diocesan bishop, John Longland, made Woburn his principal residence. Woburn was not far from Oxford where the bishop was chancellor of the University and it was also conveniently placed for travel to London. However, it has to be remembered that the commissary was instructed on his visitations to appeal for contributions to the Fabric Fund and this seems to be the most likely explanation for the high level of support.<sup>13</sup> Although no evidence for this has been found it is also possible that an indulgence had been granted by the bishop to those contributing to the Fabric Fund. Many Lincolnshire people made pilgrimages to the shrines in the Cathedral and had an affection for the Mother Church

<sup>11</sup>. See p. 117 and Bowker, Reformation p. 48.

<sup>12</sup>. Saul, N. 'The religious sympathies of the gentry in Gloucestershire 1200-1509' in Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society Vol. 98 (1982) p. 101.

<sup>13</sup>. See pp. 66-67.



of the Diocese but it is doubtful whether most bequests expressed genuine piety and were made in the same way as bequests for 'tithes forgotten' in accordance with established custom and practice. However, the Fabric Fund accounts reproduced in Appendix B to this thesis show that many gifts were made other than by will and no doubt there was a real affection for the Mother Church of the diocese.

People in medieval Lincolnshire were no less concerned than the majority of people throughout the country for the fate of their souls. Commemorative masses were considered to be a major means of intercession with the Almighty and most people invested as much money as possible in these. Bequests which directly or indirectly resulted in prayers for the repose of the souls of the benefactor and his or her kin were of immense importance.<sup>14</sup>

Those people that had not the means to invest large sums in prayer could rely on their membership of one or more guilds to ensure that prayers for their soul would be arranged on their behalf. A bequest to a religious gild was always a means of ensuring that masses and other intercessionary prayers would be celebrated for a long period after death for the testator and his .....

<sup>14</sup>. See pp. 131-136.

relatives.<sup>15</sup> Although there was a strong belief that a large volume of prayer could ease the passage of the soul through Purgatory it is not clear what relationship there was between wealth and the volume of prayer. Perhaps it was believed that so long as a reasonable investment in prayer was made according to a testator's wealth the reward would be equal no matter what the wealth of the deceased. Our Lord said

'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of Heaven'

and this might well be interpreted to the advantage of the poor.<sup>16</sup>

Many bequests which do not at first appear to be 'religious' on reflection can be seen as designed to attract the prayers of the beneficiaries. The support of 'good works' such as alms for the poor, the provision of almshouses and apparently secular causes such as the maintenance of bridges, roads, causeways and other 'public works' attracted a small but constant number of bequests.<sup>17</sup> But how far was such support or indeed any material manifestation of secular piety genuine or merely .....

<sup>15</sup>. See pp. 150-153.

<sup>16</sup>. Holy Bible : The Gospel according to St. Mathew Chapter 19 verse 24.

<sup>17</sup>. See pp. 166-174.

slavish conformation with the customs and traditions of the parish? Some contributions might be seen as 'one upmanship' or perhaps 'keeping up with the Jones'! There is no doubt that much support for the parish church was to ensure inclusion in the bederoll and, therefore, made in the knowledge that prayers would be said for the soul of the benefactor at regular intervals.

At a time when prayer was important it is difficult to separate genuine piety from the purely secular, that is, a bequest or gift which would not attract the prayers of the recipient. Without doubt testators were mindful of their own salvation but this might well be served by making a bequest for the maintenance of 'public works' which would benefit others. So many types of bequest which appear to have no pious content would in fact attract the prayers of the faithful.

Although some members of the nobility and gentry classes were questioning certain aspects of religious doctrine in the late Middle Ages, for most people religious belief was a simple and straightforward observance of traditional ritual and customary practices. Late medieval religious observance and 'religious' bequests were not seen as an insurance, as is so often the case in the late twentieth century but as a demonstration .....

of the piety of the testator. The eventual destination of the soul for most people was assured. Heavenly bliss was a reality and it was the perils through which the soul must pass on its journey to Paradise which was a major cause for concern. Although a large volume of prayer was the way by which most people hoped to assist the journey of their soul through Purgatory there were other ways of achieving the same end. There was enthusiastic support for causes for which the pope or bishop issued an indulgence authorising whole or partial remission of punishment in Purgatory for sins committed on earth. Indulgences were granted for a variety of causes. There are examples of grants made in return for contributions towards the upkeep and maintenance of hospitals, religious houses, parish churches and religious guilds. An indulgence might be granted for the upkeep of bridges and roads and indeed almost any project which would be seen as contributing 'to the comfort of one's neighbours'. As Dr. Duffy reminds us, 'All of these activities were seen as religious and contributions to them as pleasing to God'.<sup>18</sup> A Lincolnshire example of a papal indulgence was that granted by Pope Alexander VI in 1496 to those who made donations during Holy Week to the Augustinian Friars in Lincoln and other places where their houses were in need of repair.<sup>19</sup> Another was that of John de Dalderby, .....

<sup>18</sup>. Duffy, *op. cit.*, p. 368    <sup>19</sup>. Scarisbrick, *Reformation* p. 58.

Bishop of Lincoln made on 27 April 1314 granted to those 'contributing to the fabric of the tower of Ashby Puerorum church'. Pope Julius II in 1510 granted an indulgence to those who made a bequest for the support of a mass in the Lady Chapel of St. Botolph's Church, Boston.<sup>20</sup>

Although reform of the clergy, the closure of some religious houses and the discouragement of some superstitious practices was possibly needed, too much 'reform' was attempted in a very short time. Had Henry VIII not become desperate to obtain a divorce from Queen Catherine, which precipitated the break with Rome, and his insatiable demands for money, which led to the suppression of the religious houses and the appropriation of their property, a slower approach to reform might well have attracted much less resistance.

Dr. Peter Heath found in his study of Hull wills from 1400 to 1529 that the pattern of pious bequests remained fairly constant.<sup>21</sup> Table 8 discloses that for Lincolnshire from 1481 to 1536, apart from a slight decline in bequests to the parish guilds and to the .....

<sup>20</sup>. LAD Reg, III f. 297; See page 136.

<sup>21</sup>. Heath, P. 'Urban Piety in the later Middle Ages : the evidence of Hull wills' in Dobson, B. (Ed.) Church, Politics and Patronage (Gloucester, 1994) p. 228.

religious houses, the remaining bequests, all of which had a religious motive, also remained constant in number.<sup>22</sup> Although, as has been discussed, place of residence and the influence of a clerical witness might influence the type of bequest, it was exceptional for a medieval Lincolnshire will not to contain at least one religiously motivated bequest.<sup>23</sup> This is confirmed by Table 29 below in which 1804 wills made during the period 1500 to 1536 have been examined. It is important to note that 85% of the wills examined included at least one clerical witness. Included in the total of 267 wills in which no clerical witnesses are named are fifteen wills in which no witnesses are named at all.

Table 29 suggests that the majority of the testators who made no 'religious' bequest owned only that property from which they made their living and the purpose of their wills was to transfer their property to members of their family leaving no surplus which they could bequeath to the church. This would be acknowledged by the clerical witness and scribe who, after writing the will, would hear the testator's confession and administer the Sacrament. No doubt these testators had conscientiously paid their tithes and would receive absolution without any attempt by .....

<sup>22</sup>, See p. 117.

<sup>23</sup>, See pp. 186-199.

the cleric to encourage further giving from their meagre estate. For example Thomas Josson of Butterwick [571] owned two acres which he left to his wife and after her death to his son and his heirs.<sup>24</sup> This appears to have been his only property which would have provided a meagre living perhaps supplemented with game from the Fen. The will of Adam Galthrop of Horbling [631] simply assigns 'the Copy of this house to Kateryn my wiffe the term of my yeres and after her to Thomas or Roger my sonne or Alice my daughter'.<sup>25</sup> Thomas Nicolson of West Keal [445] left 'a pasture' to his wife and then to his daughter together with a cow and calf and this appears to have been the whole of his property.<sup>26</sup>

It is clear that only those who held property which can be seen as providing a livelihood little above subsistence level bequeathed nothing for 'the health of their soul' in one form or another.

A closer look at Table 29 discloses the fact that all the wills which contain no 'religious' bequest were made in the period 1523-1530 but by 1531 every will examined contains a 'religious' bequest. As was discussed earlier concern appears to have been shown in Lincolnshire as early as 1525 for the future of established religion and .....

<sup>24</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 147.

<sup>25</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 161.

<sup>26</sup>. LRS Vol. 5 p. 170.

perhaps some testators were influenced by this when making their wills.<sup>27</sup>.

The only Lincolnshire will of all those examined which might possibly display some Lollard sympathies is that of Richard Clerke which has been discussed earlier in detail.<sup>28</sup> However, all the evidence seems to point to straightforward support and belief in the long established religious practices which took place week by week in their 'own' parish church. Dr. Bowker has said that when Bishop Longland died in May 1547 'he left a diocese with priests and laity as conservative as he was' and interference in the long established religious routines was sure to cause unrest and much distress.<sup>29</sup>

TABLE 29  
AN ANALYSIS OF WILLS CONTAINING  
NO 'RELIGIOUS' BEQUEST made  
between 1500 and 1536

Year	No. of Wills.	No. of Wills containing no 'religious' bequest	%	No. of Wills with a clerical witness	%
1500-09	52	Nil	-	12	23.1
1510-14	33	Nil	-	24	72.7
1515-19	17	Nil	-	12	70.5
1520-23	86	1	1	85	98.8
1524	17	3	17	16	94.1
1525	28	4	14	27	96.4
1526	43	6	14	43	100.0
1527	70	14	20	68	97.1
1528	65	8	12	63	96.9
1529	91	4	4	90	98.9
1530	286	3	1	286	100.0
1531	191	Nil	-	191	100.0
1532	179	Nil	-	132	73.7
1533	246	Nil	-	187	76.0
1534	129	Nil	-	88	68.2
1535	180	Nil	-	143	79.4
1536	91	Nil	-	70	76.9
Totals	1804	43	2.4	1537	85.2

<sup>27</sup>. See pp. 176-177.

<sup>28</sup>. See pp. 139-140.

<sup>29</sup>. Bowker, *Reformation* pp. 160-161.



As has already been shown prominent members of the King's Court were making bequests to the religious houses right up to their dissolution and even beyond.<sup>30</sup> Even the bishop of Lincoln, John Longland who was the king's confessor, did not anticipate how far reaching the 'reforms' of Henry VIII would become. Longland built a chantry chapel in Lincoln Cathedral which can still be seen but he died in May 1547 just before the chantries were dissolved in October of the same year and it was never used as the bishop intended.

If those who were close to the king did not realise what the assumption of the Supremacy by Henry VIII would lead to, how much more bewildering must the changes in religious practice have been to those Lincolnshire people who had found much comfort in the long established traditions, customs and ritual of their religion. Lincolnshire people were still expressing their piety in a quiet and moderate manner when an Injunction of 1538 warned them

'...not to repose their trust or affiance in any other works devised by men's phantasies beside Scripture: as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to images or relics,... saying over a number of beads not understood or minded on, or, such-like superstition...'

'For avoiding that most detestable offence of idolatry'

.....

<sup>30</sup>. See p. 158-159.

images were to be taken down, and the clergy were to

'suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set afore any image or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth across the church by the rood loft, the light before the Sacrament of the Altar, and the light about the sepulchre...'.<sup>31</sup>

Pilgrimages were discouraged, lights, rosaries, images and other 'superstitious' practices were banned but old practices die hard and at the close of the reign of Henry VIII in 1547

'many still believed in the efficacy of intercession for the departed, and priests seem to have mistrusted Henry VIII's Injunctions and in some cases appear to have ignored them'.<sup>32</sup>

It was not until the reign of Edward VI that many of these 'reforms' were, in fact, enforced but P. M. Dawley commenting on religion during the reign of Elizabeth I, wrote :

'People stole into the churches at night to pray, occasionally burning a candle stub on the feasts of Our Lady and the Saints; they paused before the ruined churchyard crosses to utter the familiar intercessions. During the services they fingered their beads and could not keep their hands from the sign of the cross or penitent 'knockings' upon the breast.

Through many a darkened village on the eve of All Soul's the bells of the Parish tolled the forbidden remembrances of the departed, and by the time the churchwardens arrived at the church they found either the belfry ropes stilled or a group gathered there too formidable to restrain'.<sup>33</sup>

.....  
<sup>31</sup>. Tanner, J. R. Tudor Constitutional Documents AD 1485-1603 Second Edition (Cambridge, 1930) p. 94.

<sup>32</sup>. Bowker, Reformation pp. 160-161.

<sup>33</sup>. Dawley, P. M. John Whitgift and the English Reformation (New York, 1955) p. 119.

In Lincolnshire there seems to be no evidence of any move towards Protestantism in the years leading up to the Lincolnshire Rising of 1536. The preambles to wills analysed in Table 9 do not disclose any significant move away from the traditional beliefs and practices of the Catholic church in England.<sup>34</sup>

In conclusion, although some reforms of the clergy, the closure of those religious houses which had clearly become redundant, the break with Rome and other minor reforms was acceptable, 'enough was enough' and, in a predominantly conservative county, most people would not welcome any more interference with religious traditions, customs and practices.

.....

<sup>34</sup>, See p. 123.

APPENDIX A

Probate Courts held by John Pryn,  
Doctor of Decrees, Commissary and  
Official of the Archdeacon of  
Lincoln during the year 1531

Date of Probate	Place of Court	Distance between Courts in miles	Source	Date of Fol. Will	Testator	Parish
27. 3.1531	Wragby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 348v	8.11.1530	John Gunbe	Wragby
27. 3.1531	Wragby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 349v	23. 1.1530	William Holdyng	Burgh on Bain
.	[Lincoln <sup>4</sup> ]	10				
19. 4.1531	Branston	4	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 362	11. 7.1530	William Burton	Waddington
19. 4.1531	Branston	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 362	14. 3.1530	Robert Humberston	Branston
19. 4.1531	Branston	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 362v	8.10.1530	Robert Sparke	Timberland
22. 4.1531	Lincoln	4	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 349v	7. 4.1531	William Richardson	Lincoln St Cuthbert
24. 4.1531	Wragby	10	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 359	1. 4.1531	William Holme	Rand
	[Lincoln <sup>4</sup> ]					
27. 4.1531	Grimsby	32	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 353	26.11.1530	John Lytyll	Grimsby
27. 4.1531	Grimsby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 353v	4. 3.1530	Alyson Howdan	Holton le Clay
27. 4.1531	Grimsby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 354	12.10.1530	William Horncastell	Laceby
27. 4.1531	Grimsby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 353	3. 4.1531	Robert Howet	Swallow
27. 4.1531	Grimsby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 354	12. 4.1531	John Smyth	Wellow
	[Lincoln <sup>4</sup> ]	32				
No date	Ancaster	24	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 292v	4.10.1531	Robert Wardon	Long Benington
5. 5.1531	Ancaster	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 304v	29. 3.1531	William Barton	Fulbeck
5. 5.1531	Ancaster	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 356	15. 2.1530	Jennet Yong	Brant Broughton
5. 5.1531	Ancaster	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 356v	12. 3.1530	John Styll	Marston
5. 5.1531	Ancaster	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 354v	17. 3.1530	Robert Brown	Welby
5. 5.1531	Ancaster	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 355	19. 3.1530	John Barton	Fulbeck
5. 5.1531	Ancaster	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 355v	5. 5.1531	Henry Brandon	Long Bennington
5. 5.1531	Ancaster	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 356	11. 4.1531	Richard Kent	Long Leadenham
8. 5.1531	Horncastle	24	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 298	24. 2.1530	William Hessayll	Low Toynton
8. 5.1531	Horncastle	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 394	5.12.1530	Richard Granger	South Ormsby
8. 5.1531	Horncastle	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 298	8. 5.1531	Thomas Cape	Coningsby
8. 5.1531	Horncastle	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 299	13. 3.1530	John Wayre	West Ashby
8. 5.1531	Horncastle	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 299v	2. 4.1531	John Warter	Kirkby on Bain
8. 5.1531	Horncastle	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 300	19. 3.1531	Robert Nocton	Kirkby on Bain
8. 5.1531	Horncastle	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 393v	10. 4.1531	Thomas Crayn	South Ormsby
9. 5.1531	Bolingbroke	8	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 300v	28.11.1530	Richard Hankcok	East Keal
10. 5.1531	Spilsby	4	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 300v	12. 4.1531	William Anton	Hundleby
10. 5.1531	Partney	2	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 301	2. 4.1531	Janet Mell	Friskney
10. 5.1531	Partney	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 301v	2. 4.1531	Thomas Wenterton	Burgh le Marsh
10. 5.1531	Greenfield	7	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 302v	2. 4.1531	Thomas Dykson	South Thoresby
11. 5.1531	Tothill	4	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 394	5. 4.1531	Robert Edmundson	Theddlethorpe St Helen
12. 5.1531	Louth	12	LAO LCC Wills 1530/31 303v	23. 1.1530	William Bradley	Hallington
12. 5.1531	Louth	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 304	28. 3.1531	Thomas Burne	Nun Ormsby
12. 5.1531	Louth	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 303	16. 3.1530	William Dadde	North Somercotes
	[Lincoln <sup>4</sup> ]	24				

<sup>4</sup>. The Commissary appears to have returned to Lincoln between these Courts.

Date of Probate	Place of Court	Distance between Courts in miles	Source	Fol.	Date of Will	Testator	Parish
22. 5.1531	Swineshead	26	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 235	7.	1.1530	William Brandon	Sutterton
22. 5.1531	Swineshead	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 237	16.	1.1530	John Hordyng	Frampton
22. 5.1531	Swineshead	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 237	6.	4.1531	Simon Paulyng	Wyberton
23. 5.1531	Spalding	12	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 238	18.	9.1530	Thomas Wylson	Gedney Fen
23. 5.1531	Spalding	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 238v	31.	1.1530	Alice Wolriche	Spalding
23. 5.1531	Spalding	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 239	3.	10.1530	William Nudyke	Whaplode
23. 5.1531	Spalding	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 239v	-	-	Robert Elward	Gedney
23. 5.1531	Spalding	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 239	9.	11.1530	Richard Tylson	Pinchbeck
23. 5.1531	Spalding	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 241	21.	3.1530	Thomas Wellys	Weston
23. 5.1531	Spalding	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 241v	4.	4.1531	Robert Honnyngton	Moulton
24. 5.1531	Boston	14	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 242v	9.	4.1531	John Almonson	Boston
24. 5.1531	Boston	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 242v	8.	3.1531	Edmund Burte	Boston
24. 5.1531	Boston	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 395v	28.	4.1531	John Bayte	Fishtoft
24. 5.1531	Boston	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 396	7.	5.1531	Richard Baker	Fishtoft
29. 5.1531	Lincoln <sup>2</sup>	32	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 244	14.	11.1530	Robert Covell	Stainfield
9. 6.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 244v	25.	3.1530	William Nod	Lutton
16. 6.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 329v	21.	4.1531	Edmund Knyght	Skellingthorpe
17. 6.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 330	8.	5.1531	William Foster	Boultham
23. 6.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 330v	30.	4.1531	Robert Vero	Croft
30. 6.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 373	-	-	1531 William Way	North Cockerington
18. 7.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 373	6.	7.1531	John Aly	West Allington
28. 7.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 388v	12.	6.1531	John Skamon	Scrivelsby
29. 7.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 405	11.	4.1531	Margaret Sheffelde	South Elkington
19. 8.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 373v	28.	5.1531	Thomas Pearson	Marston
26. 8.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 404	24.	2.1530	William Hatclyff	Grimsby
28. 8.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 374v	4.	8.1531	Richard Burton	Pinchbeck
7. 9.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 305	11.	7.1531	William Eyre	Saleby
7. 9.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 347v	18.	8.1531	Bryand Beyche	Thorganby
22. 9.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 246v	6.	7.1531	John Ollay	Bucknal
22. 9.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 305v	2.	9.1531	Oliver Toynton	Lissington
22. 9.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 350	8.	6.1531	Richard Kyrke	Claypole
22. 9.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 359v	25.	7.1531	Robert Foster	Goulceby
25. 9.1531	Sleaford	16	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 244	16.	11.1530	Jane Hareby	Evedon
17.10.1531	Grantham	15	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 365v	17.	3.1531	William Kechyn	Little Ponton
17.10.1531	Grantham	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 365	1.	6.1531	Richard Ray	Grantham
17.10.1531	?	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 365v	5.	3.1530	William Breylsforth	Harlaxton
17.10.1531	Grantham	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 366	10.	10.1530	William Wylson	Denton
17.10.1531	Grantham	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 366	28.	9.1531	William Northfoke	Denton
19.10.1531	Irnham	8	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 366v	-	-	1530 Robert Bocher	Witham on the Hill
20.10.1531	Lincoln	28	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 368	6.	7.1531	Thomas Knowlys	Barton on Humber
21.10.1531	Bourne	32	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 366v	29.	3.1531	Robert Chamber	Pickworth
21.10.1531	Bourne	-	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 367	15.	6.1531	Agnes Sygrave	Stowe
22.10.1531	Sempringham	8	LAO LCC 1520/31 Wills 283v	12.	1.1531	John Carter	Grantham
	[Lincoln <sup>4</sup> ]	32					

<sup>1</sup>. The Commissary appears to have returned to Lincoln between these Courts.

<sup>2</sup>. During this period the Commissary was present at Chapter meetings on 1, 24 and 29 July 1531.

Date of Probate	Place of Court	Distance between Courts, in miles	Source	Fol.	Date of Will	Testator	Parish
9.11.1531	Pinchbeck	38	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 368v	2.	7.1531	Robert Baythe	Pinchbeck
10.11.1531	Wyberton	10	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 291v	4.	9.1531	John Bennet	Kirkby by Kingery
10.11.1531	Wyberton	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 369	12.	9.1531	John Williamson	Fishtoft
10.11.1531	Wyberton	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 389v	11.	9.1531	Richard Shallok	Boston
10.11.1531	Wyberton	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 398v	16.11.1530	John Wallnot	Fishtoft	
10.11.1531	Wyberton	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 398	31.	5.1531	Richard Ben	Freiston
10.11.1531	Wyberton	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 398	4.11.1531	John Westmellys	Fishtoft	
10.11.1531	Wyberton	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 401	30.	7.1531	John Wytbred	Wrangle
10.11.1531	Wyberton	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 402	18.	9.1531	Robert Fox	Fishtoft
11.11.1531	Sleaford [Lincoln <sup>1</sup> ]	16	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 406	24.	8.1531	Hugh Gull	Burton Pedwardine
13.11.1531	Caistor	20	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 280	3.10.1531	William Ledys	Nettleton	
14.11.1531	Grimby	12	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 403	10.	1.1530	William Wright	Wold Newton
14.11.1531	Grimby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 280v	23.	4.1531	Richard Parker	Grainsby
14.11.1531	Grimby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 280v	6.	6.1531	John Schort	Waltham
14.11.1531	Grimby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 281v	26.	9.1531	Robert John'	Hole in parish of Clee
17.11.1531	Lincoln	30	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 296	1.	9.1531	Thomas Marchand	Kirton in Holland
20.11.1531	Horncastle	18	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 377	11.	8.1531	Richard Cottes	Coningsby
20.11.1531	Horncastle	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 377v	29.	8.1531	Robert Northe	Brinkhill
21.11.1531	Partney	10	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 378v	26.	8.1531	Agnes Cakson	Addlethorpe
21.11.1531	Partney	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 379v	2.10.1531	John Nelson	Claythorpe	
21.11.1531	Partney	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 379	25.	8.1531	Edward Smyth	Claythorpe
21.11.1531	Partney	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 380	13.	7.1531	John Symson	Burgh le Marsh
22.11.1531	S.Thoresby	6	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 382	10.	9.1531	Roger Scharpneyff	Farforthe
23.11.1531	Lincoln	26	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 381	11.11.1531	Richard Clerk	Croxton	
24.11.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 369v	19.	9.1530	John Huddylstone	Rowston
25.11.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 297	20.	7.1531	Simon South	Nun Ormsby
1.12.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 281	17.11.1530	Catheryne	Burton	Hacconby
12.12.1531	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 350v	28.10.1531	Robert Gretham	Normanby le Wold	
1.1.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 360	18.10.1531	John Johnson	Beesby	
6.1.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 360v	3.12.1531	Richard Butler	Tetney	
9.1.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 361	14.12.1531	John Wray	Saxby All Saints	
17.1.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 391	7.	1.1531	Thomas Goose	East Kirkby
- 2.1532	Not given	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 276	12.10.1531	John Blackborne	Stainton Wadingham	
4.2.1532	Navenby	9	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 293v	4.	2.1531	John Strynger	Harston
5.2.1532	Caistor	29	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 286	7.12.1531	William Ferys	South Ferriby	
5.2.1532	Caistor	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 286	24.	1.1531	George Screvener	Great Limber
7.2.1532	East Rasen	7	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 286v	11.	8.1531	John Lance	Market Rasen

<sup>1</sup>. The Commissary appears to have returned to Lincoln between these Courts.

Date of Probate	Place of Court	Distance between Courts.	Source	Date of fol.	Will	Testator	Parish
9. 2.1532	Lincoln	13	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 287	18. 1.1531	Nicholas Smyth	Thorganby	
12. 2.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 290	9.12.1531	Robert Symson	Orby	
17. 2.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 290v	3. 2.1531	Parnell Cooke	Dry Doddington	
23. 2.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 287v	20. 5.1531	William Bucknall	Canwick	
7. 2.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 392	2. 1.1531	William Mitchel	North Elkington	
4. 3.1532	Grantham	22	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 282	9.12.1531	William Bothby	Honington	
4. 3.1532	Grantham	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 282v	19.11.1531	John Thorpe	Denton	
4. 3.1532	Grantham	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 282v	28.12.1531	Henry Sherman	Denton	
4. 3.1532	Grantham	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 283v	12. 1.1531	John Carter	Grantham	
6. 3.1532	Stamford	18	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 283v	20. 8.1531	John Curtes	Deeping St James	
6. 3.1532	Stamford	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 284	3.10.1531	Robert Derby	Thurlby St James	
7. 3.1532	Bourn	10	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 285v	29.11.1531	William Modde	Billingborough	
7. 3.1532	Bourn	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 284v	7.12.1531	Thomas Chapman	Billingborough	
7. 3.1532	Bourn	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 284v	20. 1.1531	Robert Wowsse	Aslackby	
8. 3.1532	Ancaster	18	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 285v	18.11.1531	Robert Rawe	Ancaster	
8. 3.1532	Ancaster	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 293	22.12.1531	John Alyn	Long Bennington	
8. 3.1532	Ancaster	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 292v	4. 2.1531	William Smyth	Dry Doddington	
9. 3.1532	Navenby	10	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 293v	4.11.1531	John Browne	Harmston	
9. 3.1532	Navenby	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 294	20. 1.1531	Thomas Harde	Billinghay	
15. 3.1532	Lincoln	9	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 294v	9.12.1531	John Herde	Billinghay	
19. 3.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 295v	8. 4.1531	John Longcastre	Lincoln	
22. 3.1532	Lincoln	-	LAO LCC Wills 1520/31 247	4.10.1531	Thomas Foster	Lincoln St Botolph	

APPENDIX B

The Fabric Fund of  
Lincoln Cathedral  
From 1484 to 1540

- B1 Summary of the Fabric Fund Accounts  
from 1484 to 1540
- B2 Transcript of the Account for the  
year 1484/5
- B3 Transcript of the Account for the  
year 1505/6
- B4 Transcript of the Account for the  
year 1531/2

Note :

In the following transcript of the Fabric Fund Accounts of Lincoln Cathedral fore-names and place-names have been modernised but surnames have been recorded as in the manuscript text.

Where the intention is unclear the manuscript text is reproduced and enclosed in square [] brackets. The Latin of unusual words or phrases has also been enclosed in square brackets together with the suggested translation.

The manuscript text is often heavily abbreviated and adulterated which has made it difficult in several cases to decide exactly what is meant. It seems probable that the scribe was writing from dictation and may well have not understood the Latin text which he was recording.

Many of the totals given in the text are inaccurate and this is indicated as follows : [sic]. A complete comparison of the totals recorded in the account and the actual totals for the year 1505/6 is given on page 331.



APPENDIX B1

Summary of the Fabric Fund Accounts of  
Lincoln Cathedral from 1484 to 1540

Accounting Year <sup>1</sup>	LAO D&C Bj/1/4 folio	Amount			Items Sold			Opening of Shrines			Total <sup>1</sup>		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1484/5	10v	22	14	0	5	6	2	6	1	6	34	1	8
1485/6	20	17	16	11	4	9	1 1/2	4	2	2	26	8	2
1486/7	30v	17	11	2	6	5	8 1/2	6	5	0	30	1	10 1/2
1487/8	50	26	4	6 1/2	7	17	10	8	0	0 1/2	42	3	3
1488/9	63v	14	18	2	9	6	7 1/2	5	13	9 1/2	27	18	7
1489/90	77v	13	17	3 1/2	8	8	11	6	4	3	30	10	5 1/2
1490/1	88v	13	12	3	4	2	0 1/2	6	10	8 1/2	24	5	0
1491/2	98v	11	0	7	5	6	5	5	10	4	21	17	4
1492/3	108	19	12	8 1/2	3	17	4 1/2	4	18	6	28	8	7
1493/4	123v	23	8	5	5	5	7	8	1	10	36	15	10
1494/5	138v	16	3	0	17	10	8	10	0	6	33	14	2
1495/6	151	24	4	0	5	6	9	8	1	1	37	11	10
1496/7	163	21	13	7	6	0	11	5	12	6	33	7	0
1497/8	176	27	3	0	2	18	3 1/2	7	15	6 1/2	37	16	10
1498/9	190	27	16	7 1/2	15	10		7	2	6	38	14	11 1/2
1499/1500	204	21	19	7	5	19	2	8	0	9	35	19	6
1500/1	215	57	4	2	5	1	2	8	14	6 1/2	70	19	10 1/2
1501/2	226	19	16	8	3	16	10	11	15	7	35	8	1
1502/3	240	23	15	1 1/2	9	0	7	6	19	8 1/2	39	15	5
1503/4	255	27	17	4	4	8	9	10	7	1 1/2	42	3	2 1/2
1504/5	271v	33	3	5	4	5	8	8	18	0	46	8	1
1505/6	292	32	17	8	6	4	0	8	17	9 1/2	47	19	5 1/2
1506/7	307v	22	3	11	5	3	3	5	12	8	32	19	10
1507/8	323v	24	2	6	4	9	1	6	6	3	34	15	5
1508/9	335	21	0	6	3	14	1	8	17	3	33	11	10
1509/10	344	24	10	8	7	3	2	7	1	3	37	15	1
1510/11	355	28	7	6	6	17	8	7	8	9 1/2	42	14	11 1/2
1511/12	362v	12	16	4	4	4	7	6	3	9 1/2	23	4	8 1/2
1512/13	372	19	14	10	3	12	4	4	3	7	27	10	9
1513/14	380v	21	1	8	4	7	7	7	8	2	32	17	5
1514/15	387v	12	14	10	5	10	7	5	16	3 1/2	23	16	3 1/2
1515/16	398v	20	12	2	5	19	10	8	10	0 1/2	35	2	0 1/2
1516/17	407	20	4	6	4	1	8	7	17	7	32	3	9
1517/18	417	16	0	4	3	19	2	9	3	8	29	3	2
1518/19	425	16	7	0	2	18	7	5	15	0 1/2	25	1	7 1/2
1519/20	Bj/5/19	The Account for this year is missing.											
1520/21		The Account for this year is missing.											
1521/22	46	32	1	6 1/2	Nil			3	10	8	34	12	2 1/2
1522/23	56	9	10	7	2	19	3	Nil			12	17	10
1523/24	65	13	2	8 1/2	1	12	10	2	2	10 1/2	16	18	5
1524/25	72v	17	5	10	1	8	9	3	6	7	13	2	10
1525/26	82	15	4	0	2	4	4 1/2	4	1	3	21	9	7 1/2
1526/27	93	16	16	6	2	8	8	4	4	4	23	9	6
1527/28	99v	15	17	3 1/2	25	10	7	3	0	10 1/2	44	8	9
1528/29	107v	14	10	2	6	9	11	5	14	3 1/2	26	4	4 1/2
1529/30	113v	13	9	6		15	5	5	5	8	19	10	7
1530/31	121v	15	5	11	24	4	4	6	1	0 1/2	45	11	3 1/2
1531/32	128	12	0	6	Nil			4	10	1	36	10	7
1532/33	234v	15	7	11	12		9	5	13	1	21	13	9
1533/34	92v	13	14	0 1/2	15	4		5	2	5	20	1	9 1/2
1534/35	142v	10	9	2 1/2	1	12	8	4	1	4	16	2	2 1/2
1535/36	148v	11	2	8	10	8		2	2	3	14	17	1
1536/37	153v	11	15	2 1/2	7	4		2	2	4 1/2	14	4	11
1537/38	161v	8	18	7 1/2	10	9		2	8	0	13	0	3
1538/39	161v	14	3	7 1/2	Nil			Nil			14	17	7
1539/40	172v	4	12	2 1/2	Nil			15	1		6	0	3 1/2

Notes overleaf.

### NOTES

1. The Accounting year commenced on 29 September and closed on 28 September. Totals have been given as in the manuscript except that Arabic rather than Roman numerals have been used.
2. This total includes Monetary Bequests and Items sold.
3. A sum of 15s has been included for items sold in the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon.
4. This folio is almost indecipherable and the totals have been deduced from internal evidence. The account includes a sum of £1 11s 8d 'to the throne'.
5. Includes a sum of £21 0s 7d described as 'Jewellery sold to Master Alenson' fol. 99.
6. The sum of £24 4s 4d is described as 'Things sold to Master Alanson' fol. 121.
7. Includes a sum of £20 described as 'Gift of Master Nicholas Bradburgh Chancellor'.
8. Incorrectly bound.
9. Includes a sum of £1 2s 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d described as 'moneys remaining from the account of the shrine of St. Hugh'.
10. Includes a sum of 12s 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d described as 'arrears'.
11. Includes a sum of 12s 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d described as 'arrears'.

APPENDIX B2

Lincoln Cathedral Fabric Fund Account  
for the year  
29 September 1484 to 28 September 1485

LAO D&C Bj/1/4

fol 1

Memorandum of the names of the Legatees and Legacies to the Fabric of the Cathedral Church of Blessed Mary of Lincoln Received through the hands of Sir William Gaske Chaplain from the Feast of Michael the Archangel in the year of Our Lord 1484 up to the Feast of St Michael the Archangel in the year of Our Lord 1485 that is to say through a complete and whole year.

Thomas	Symson	S Peter at Pleas	Lincoln	12d
William	Ruston		Hykeham	4d
Abraham	Norysch		Searby	6d
John	Croxton		Searby	6d
John	Welns		Kexby	4d
Johanna	Gaynsburgh		East Rasen	8d
John	Bowman		Hykeham	6d
Stephen	Hanley and Alice his wife		Barnetby	12d
John	Garwyn	St Paul	Lincoln	2s 0d
Dom Richard	Knott	Rector of	Clapole	3s 4d
John	Mason		Blankney	3s 4d
Peter	Rychardson		Welton	12d
John	Johnson		Hatton	2s 0d <sup>12</sup>
Robert	Wyesdale		Styrton	6d
John	Swanborow		Rowston	8d
John	Clarke and Margaret his wife		Hibaldstowe	18d
John	Nutt	S Mary Magdalene	Lincoln	12d

fol 1v

Sir Thomas	Wyntour lately Vicar of this Church			£ 3 0s 0d
William	Justonne		Hykeham	4d
Sir John	Reede late Vicar of this Church			12d
John	Crosby		Burton on Stather	20d
Sir Alan	Herryngge		Boston	12s 0d
Johanna	Grasby		Holton le Moor	12d
Isabella	Rodwell		Morton	4d
Alice	Thyrby		Washingborough	8d
Johanna	Webster		[Hawnby]	12d

Memorandum that I have accepted from Master Richard Clerk to the Commissary as appears in the names following :

William	Daddy		Laughton [Lowtq <sup>2</sup> ]	20d
Johanna	Pope		Hatton	6d
John	Wryght		Lissington	8d
William	Asshton		Willingham	4d
Henry	Mylner		Barrowby	6d
Agnes	Hornoy		[Boydby]	8d
Thomas	Arforde		Ferriby	2d
Thomas	Talzor		[Ephm <sup>2</sup> ]	8d
William	Ansonen		Bigby	2s 0d <sup>13</sup>
Thomas	Chat[ur]		Riby	8d
Elisabeth	Hycson		Barton	2d
Johanna	Launthorn		Bigby	12d
Johanna	Jekyll		Keelby	6d
John	Bankes		Ulceby	4d

<sup>12</sup>. Altered from 2d

<sup>13</sup>. Altered from 12d

fol 2

Richard	Athall	Ferriby	12d
Stephen	Upulby	Ferriby	4d
John	Cottes	Laceby	12d
Richard	Fernell	Skidbrooke	8d
The wife of	William Pyndar	Bilsby	6d
William	Marysone	ISlcunthorpe	12d
William	Waterlande	Croft	4d
Thomas	Sybsay	Burgh	4d
Ab'	Cayton	Wainfleet	4d
John	Roper	Burgh	4d
Isabella	Larke	Stickford	6d
Thomas	Water	same place	4d
Thomas	Hubberde	same place	4d
Thomas	Freman	Raithby	12d
John	Fresbury	Spilsby	2s 6d
Margaret	Culy	Tattershall	4d
Thomas	Pullen	Coningsby	4d
John	Simpson	Hagworthingham	2d
John	Altasone	Boston	12d
William	Spaldyng	same place	4d
John	Carlton	same place	6d
Robert	Agworthynquam	same place	4d
Agnus	Wolby	Wrangle	6d
Robert	Colyne	Freiston	6d

fol 2v

William	Lynsey	same place	6d
Sir Edmund	Burschy	Leake	6d
Alice	Hardy	Leverton	2d
Alice	Grenby	Leake	4d
John	Bowne	Leake	4d
John	Gyborn	Helpringham	12d
Robert	Bole	Ewerby	2d
Walter	Scothi	Kirkby	20d
Thomas	Botesone	Hole	4d
Thomas	Chapman	Roxholme	6d
Thomas	Quadryng'	Hole	4d
Richard	Scothy	Kirkby	12d
Alice	Smyth	Hacconby	6d
Richard	All'	Newton	8d
Richard	Lamberde	Morton	4d
Robert	Nycoil'	Ingoldsby	12d
Isabella	Plunden'	Sedgbrooke	2s 0d
Agnus	Asschwell	Sedgbrooke	8d
John	Dorham	Gonerby	8d
John	Clerke	Welby	3s 4d
John	Lytster	Hough	4d
Robert	Masse	Westburgh	4d
Robert	Scott	Carlton	4d
Robert	Baldware	Sutton	4d

fol 3

John	Crosley	Sutton	6d
Margaret	Appultaste	Weston	8d
Thomas	Elys	Spalding	6d
Emot[ita]	Burton	Pinchbeck	4d

Total £6 12s 8d [sic]

Memorandum...from the Feast of the Nativity to the Feast of Easter...

Richard	Burnall'	Cotes	12d
Johnanna	Topclyffe	Somerby next to Corringham	20d
Richard	Foster lately	Gainsborough	3s 4d
Isabella	Chambor	Faldingworth	3d <sup>14</sup>
Margaret	Dykes	St.Nicholas, Lincoln	3s 4d
William	Chapell'	Faldingworth	4d
Robert	Srauter	St.Cuthbert, Lincoln	12d
N	Champnay	Faldingworth	8d
John	Dryffelde	St.John Newport, Lincoln	8d
Alice	Greveys	Cranwell	20d
William	Dentone'	Suttberry	7d
Richard	Kendall'	Frodingham in Lindsey	12d

fol 3v

William	Salamone'	Waddington	12d
Thomas	Lidynstone'	Bishop Norton	8d
Isabella	Tybbone	West Rasen	8d
Alice	Tybbone	West Rasen	4d
Custann'	Balede	[leghtime' manre']	6d
Johanna	Baysby	Hacconby	12d
William	Maller	Boston	10s 0d
			Total 29s 9d [sic]

Memorandum...from the Feast of Easter to Pentecost...

John	Terra[s]	East Keal	6d
Thomas	Grantham	St.Martin Lincoln Merchant	£3 6s 8d
Richard	Fowlar	Nettleham	8d
Thomas	Simone' cousin	Tetney	4d
David and	Johanna Buttler	Wragby	12d
John	Arnalde	Saxilby	4d
John	Nortone'	Dunholme	12d
William	Adam	Dunholme	12d
John	Pygottsone'	Normanby	6d
Master Thomas	Jaksone lately Rector	of Fillingham	6s 8d

fol 4

Memorandum...from Pentecost to the Feast of St John the Baptist

William	Mericoke [&]	Scamblesby	16d
Johanna	his wife	Great Limber	6d
Robert	Rowth'		
William	Webster	Brampton	6d
and his wife			
Robert	Wryght and		
Johanna	his wife	Conisholme	8d
Meriona	Horyson'	Louth Park	<sup>15</sup>
Thomas	Frances	[Malton in the Marsh]	6d
William	Nobarde	Winteringham	12d
John	Mo[w]e and		
Elizabeth	his wife	Crowle	3s 4d
John	Stormy	Donington	4d
Walter	Hyll'	Carlton Scroop	4d
Robert	Jenkynsone'	[Aythyr]	20d
Robert	Bray	Stainton in Waddingham parish	4d
John	Tybbonsone'	Northorpe in Lindsey	4d
Thomas	Bustar	Bishops Norton	4d
William	Lyone' and		
his wife		Covenham	4d
William	Legattes	Stainton in Waddingham parish	4d
Richard	Bardall' and		
Emotta	his wife	Sacred Trinity Wigford	5s 0d
John	Frearby and		
Margaret	his wife	Grantham	12d
Richard	Plumtre	Hibaldstow	4d
William	Obsone' of Obsone' (sic)	Bracebridge	12d

<sup>14</sup>. Amended from 4d.

<sup>15</sup>. Amount not stated

Memorandum that I have received of Master Richard clerk  
to the Commissary as is shown by the following headings :

James	Fletchar	[West Allington]	16d
Ryc[hard]	Robynson'	Burgh'	12d
Sir Thomas	Humbyrstone'	Gouiceby	3s 4d

fol 4v			
John	Calfe	West Rasen	2s 0d
John	Mertene'	Osgodby	4d
John	Wyllamsone'	Saxby	12d
John	Dawbar	Lincoln	12d
John	Pantone'	Stallingborough	12d
Richard	Rycarde	Waltham	20d
Sir Thomas	Galsby	Somercotes	12d
William	Newcome'	Saltfleetby	12d
Walter	Flame	Wainfleet	12d
William	Hago'	Sibsey	12d
James	Whywode	Wadingworth	2s 0d
Thomas	Jacsone'	Tetford	8d
Johanna	Franke	Baumber	6d
Thomas	Attyrlay	Rowston	6d
Thomas	Skygges	Heckington	12d
Robert	Nycoll'	Kirkby	8d
The vicar of Horbling			12d
Agnes	Jacsone'	Grantham	6d
The wife of John Mylner		Panton	2s 0d
William	Penys	Dunston	12d
Robert	Skyrmour	Navenby [Nawnby]	12d
William	Alger	Sutton	6d
Richard	Hude	Gedney [Ednay]	4d
William	Brewster	Malton	4d
William	Calow	Hough	8d

fol 5			
The wife of John Wytt		Cowbit [Covytt]	12d
William	Payne	Spalding	12d
John	Perfy	Sutterton	8d
John	Blanknay	Gosberton	4d
William	Terry	Swineshead	4d
Richard	Fendyke	Donington	8d

Memorandum...from the Feast of St. John Baptist to Michaelmas

Robert	Shaynton and Catherine his wife <sup>14</sup>		12d
Elena	Mycher'	[Tattthorpp]	8d
John	Brygge	Conisholme	4d
Alice	Kyrkman	Hogsthorpe	12d
John	Cooke	[Petwardyn]	4d
Richard	Fysmare	Boston	12d
Simon	Agura	Ingoldmells in the Marsh	12d
Robert	Snaw	Boston	12d
William	Brond	Kirton in Holland	4d
William	Cupplydyke	Wells' in the Marsh	6d
John	Walker	Willoughby in the Marsh	20d
William	Smyth	Scarthoe	4d

fol 5v			
Emmota wife of John Kar and	Agnes		
the wife of the same man of	Salmonby		12d
Margaret	Rodroffe	Kirkby	4d
William	Wryght	Wrawby [the Raw of the Wold]	20d
John	Wod[re]by	Wrawby	12d
William	Offyschall'	Wold Newton	6d
Robert	Howytt	Normanby	6d
Eden	Page	Somercotes	4d
John	Below	Frodingham	12d
Alice	Bayldon	[Roxbe]	4d

.....  
14. Parish not given

John	Bywater	St. Paul [Lincoln]	12d
John	Gren	Farlesthorpe [Fresthorpe]	3s 4d
Margaret	Haul'	S Peter in Eastgate	8d
John	Morfutt	Huttoft in Lindsey	4d
William	Breys	Firsby	12d
Margere	Bararr	Scotton	4d
Margaret	Boryll'	Horncastle	6d
William	Robynson	Croxby	12d
Agnus	Walkar	Willoughby in the Marsh	4d
fol 6			
Margaret	Manbe	Claythorpe	13d
Richard	Belschay	[Howyston on the Hill	6d
Andrew	Anton	Boston	12d
Henry	Both	Killingholme	12d
Thomas	Bray and		
Agnus his wife		<sup>17</sup>	8d
Johanna daughter of aforesaid		<sup>17</sup>	12d
Robert	Drest	Caistor	4d
Johanna	Tyll'	Tetney	8d
Richard	Bayldon	[Roxbe]	6d
John	Pen	Blythburgh	6d
William	Harnas	Blythburgh [Blyborn]	4d
John	Wyllyrby	Hemswell	4d
John	Baysyn	Sausethorpe	12d
John	Pyndour	Toynton	6d
John	Mason and		
Agnus his daughter		Claxby	6d
William	Skyttyr and		
Margaret his wife		Goxhill [Gonsell']	3s 4d
Elena	Torksay	East Ferry in Lindsey	4d
fol 6v			
Elena	Cawinus	Waltham	12d
William	Styrttbaut	South Ormsby	4d
Agnes	Pycher	Mumby	4d
John	Pycher	same place	3d
Alice	Graffe and John Herson	<sup>17</sup>	10d
Elizabeth	Schekys	Mablethorpe	4d
Agnes	Wawkar and Esabella	Toynton	12d
William	Roper	Burton Stather	4d
Robert	Clare	Silk Willoughby	5d
Emma	Duram	Gonerby	8d
James	Stavely	Saltfleet Haven	20d
Robert	Saltmarsch	Scawby [Skaby]	8d
John	Marschall'	Lacey	4d
Adylyn	Tuke	Glenham	6d
Alice	Kylbeke	Sturton	4d
William	Garson	Beesby	4d
John	Merten'	Howden in the Moor	4d
John	Blykynsoppe	Belton	4d
fol 7			
John	Kye'	Asgarby	8d
Richard	Thorppe	Corringham	12d
Thomas	Mysterton	Grayingham	12d
William	Garrard and		
gnes his wife		Langton	12d
Thomas	Crosby and		
Alice his wife		the same place	4d
Agnes	Elys	Billingsborough	6d
William	Bambur	Asgarby	4d
Master Martin Juner lately			
Chancellor of the [Mother] Church			£3 6s 8d
Thomas	Webster	Stainton	8d
William	Jakson	Donington	6d
Walter	Hudson	Burgh le Marsh	12d
Agnes	Grysbe	[Kenall' fere] Kelfield	<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup>. Parish not given.

<sup>18</sup>. Amount not given.



William	West	Willingham	2s	0d
John	Ryse and			
Catherine	his wife	<sup>19</sup>	12d	
Johanne	Schadworth	Great Carlton	12d	
John	Harve	Somercotes	6d	
Edward	Wenslay	Coleby parish of Burton	3s	4d
Thomas	Smyth	Saxilby	4d	
Thomas	Warnar	Butterwick	8d	
Alice	<sup>20</sup>	Limber	6d	
Memorandum that I have received of the Clerk to the Commissioner			27s	2d

**Memorandum of the names of the Jewels bequeathed from the Feast of Michael the Archangel up to the Feast of the Nativity in the year of the Lord as above**

fol 7v

Master Thomas Jacsone late rector of Fillingham			One valuable set of 12 best amber beads laquered oveer [unum par preciosum de bast' de lamb' xij supra laqueatum]
Andrew	Leek	Louth	One set of jet [geett]
Isabell	Lille	Sacred Trinity	One valuable set of jet.
Richard	Fowlar	Nettleham	One dagger ferruled <sup>21</sup> with silver [vereide cum argento]
Isabell	Maras	[Qwytyne]	One set jet
Isabell	Kyrton	Louth	One piece [moile'] of silver and gilded [...de aurat']

**Memorandum...Feast of Nativity of the Lord up to the Feast of Easter...**

William	Kyrke	West Rasen	One measure of corn [Unus modius frumenti]
Elizabeth	Persone'	Nettleham	One set of jet
Margaret	Warde	Authorpe in the Marsh	One Agnus Dei <sup>22</sup>
Sibella	Welle'	Trusthorpe	One set of jet and one crucifix of silver
Isabella	Talzor	East Keal	A small valuable set of coral lacqued over with fifty [beads] [Unum parvum par preciosum de corallo cum quinquaginto[sic] supra laqueatum]
Agnus	Merlle'	Raithby	One valuable set of amber
Elizabeth	Frestone	Glanford Brigg	One very valuable staff of amber with three rings and one measure of silver [Unum par preciosum de bast'a de ambour cum tribus anulis et unum moiule de arganta]
Margaret	Warnar	<sup>19</sup>	One valuable set of amber with one ring of silver and of gilding
Johanna	Pace	[Barstone]	One ring of silver
William	Nobull' and		One valuable set of jet lacquered
and Alice	his wife	<sup>19</sup>	on the twelve.

<sup>19</sup>. Parish not named. <sup>20</sup>. Surname not given.

<sup>21</sup>. Ferrule, ferrel : A ring or cap of metal put round the end of a stick or tube to strengthen it. Little, W. et al. (Eds.) The Shorter Oxford Dictionary on Historical Principles (Ed. and Revised Unions, C. Oxford, 1933) p. 690. Perhaps the handle of the dagger was encircled with silver rings as a decoration.

<sup>22</sup>. A cake of wax stamped with the figure of the Lamb bearing a cross or flag and blessed by the Pope. LRS Vol. 10 p. 293.

fol 8

**Memorandum...from the Feast of Easter to the Feast of St John Baptist...**

Isabell	Grybby	Greenfield	One valuable piece of jet with four gaudes of silver
Walter his wife	Waltone	<sup>23</sup>	One belt of striped silk with silver [Una zona de ray <sup>7</sup> serico (harnizata cum argento)] Note: the three words in brackets ( ) have been added later and the first word [harnizata] crossed through.
George Elena his wife	Wylkynsone and wife	Broughton	One valuable set of jet with five gaudes of silver
Matilda	Argryppe	<sup>23</sup>	One ring of silver. One belt fitted with latton.
Peter	Holmworth' and		One valuable piece of jet
Elizabeth Thomas	his wife Butlar	<sup>23</sup> Glentham	One measure of brass
Marjorie Marjorie	Wstelar and Smyth	Limber	One valuable piece of jet with six gaudes of silver
Margaret	Kalthorpe	Legbourne	One valuable piece of jet with five jewels of gilding.
Elina	Grisby	Appleby	A valuable set of amber with two jewels.

**Memorandum...from the Feast of St John Baptist to Michaelmas...**

John Agnes his wife	Croxton and wife	Searby	Bread produced from twelve virgates of land. <sup>24</sup>
Agnes	Gybsone	Welton next Louth	One valuable piece of jet with two rings.
Henry	Blanchede	[Belsay]	Bread produced from two virgates of land. <sup>24</sup>
Agnas	Mason Widow	Claxby	A belt of silk fitted with tin [stann].
Katherine	Panzarmour and	Coningsby	One valuable piece of amber
Johanna John	Welwrhy Kendall' and	<sup>23</sup>	One ring of silver.
Elizabeth Margaret	his wife Marchande	Scotter [Skot <sup>7</sup> ]	One valuable set of coral with gaudes of silver.
Agnes	Raythby	Hainton	One measure of silver.
Elena	Propter	Normanby	One valuable set of amber with two rings of silver.
Margaret	Algate	Tumby	One valuable set of jet gauded with coral.
Mariona	Tupp	<sup>23</sup>	A ring of silver.

.....  
<sup>23</sup>. Parish not given. <sup>24</sup>. A virgate was about thirty acres.  
(see p. 224 Note 64).

fol 8v

Johanna Schnar	20		One valuable set of amber
Edmund Conell and Agnes his wife	20		One valuable set of jet with two rings.
Alice Schedse	Louth		One valuable set of amber of silver [sic].
Katherine Hyb [sic] and	Haltham		One valuable set of jet.
Agnes Hyb his wife Sibella Stole	Stapleford		One valuable set of jet with two jewels.
Margaret Kolake	Boston		One valuable set of amber with one ring and (with) one measure of silver.
Agnes Ingeth'	South Kelsey		One valuable set of amber.
Isabella Dowsse	Coleby		One valuable set of jet with ten jewels.
Johanna Fox	Burton Stather		One ring of silver plate [argentat']
Margaret Gettur	Crowle		One valuable set of amber with three jewels of silver.
Agnes Jacson	Killingholme		One valuable set of amber.
John Tyndall'	Long Leadenham		Bread produced from three virgates of land.
Elena Pekoke'	Haltham		One valuable set of jet and three jewels of silver.
Alice Fostar	Stainfield		One belt of blue silk fitted with ten studs [stod'] of silver,
Johanna Watsone	Toynton		One valuable set of jet.

**Sales made from the Feast of St Michael the Archangel up to the Feast of the Nativity of the Lord in the year of the Lord as above**

One valuable set of jet	10d
One ring of silver and of gilding	8d
One small valuable pair of jet with gaudes of silver	10d
One small valuable set of jet with ten small pieces [p(arti)cul'] of coral	6d
One small measure of silver	8d

fol 9

One ring of silver	3d
One valuable set of jet	4d
One ring [sic]	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
One belt fitted with silver	4s. 0d
One ring of silver	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
One valuable set of jet	12d

.....  
20. Parish not given.

**Sales from the Feast of the Nativity of the Lord to the Feast of Easter**

Two rings of silver	12d
One measure of silver	6d
One ring of silver	4d
One maple bowl [mirra]	3s 4d
One valuable pair of jet with two small jewels of silver	16d
One small measure [sic]	3d
One belt fitted with striped silk	7s 0d
One valuable pair of jet	9d
One valuable pair of jet	6d
One valuable pair of jet	9d
One belt with four purses suspended therefrom [Una zona ponderans iij <sup>or</sup> [quatuor] vut <sup>r</sup> [vultus] vendita]	6s 8d

**Sales made from the Feast of Easter to the Feast of the Nativity of St John the Baptist**

A belt of green colour fitted with silver	13s 6d
One valuable set of coral with gaudes of silver and of gilding with three jewels	42s 0d
One valuable set of jet	4d
One valuable set of jet gauded with coral	12d
One crucifix of silver and of gilding	10d
One Agnus Dei of silver <sup>22</sup>	12d
One valuable set of jet	8d

fol 9v

One ring of silver	9d
One small valuable [set] of jet with one crucifix of silver and gilding	8d
One valuable set of jet containing 12 lacquered	15d
One small valuable pair of coral with gaudes of jet	10d
One valuable set of amber with one valuable pair of amber	10d
One ring of silver	8d
Two rings of silver	4d
One ring [sic]	8d
One piece of linen comprising 4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ells [Unum linthiame continens quatuor ulnas cum di[midia] vendit[um]	2s 0d
1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ounces broken silver	4s 6d

**Sales made from the Feast of the Nativity of St John Baptist to St Nicholas in the year aforesaid**

One valuable set of amber	7d
One valuable set [sic]	3d
One valuable set of jet	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
One ring of silver	9d
One valuable set of jet	3d
One valuable set [sic]	4d
One valuable set of amber	3d
One valuable set of jet	10d
One valuable set of amber	5d
One valuable set of amber with two rings of silver	20d
One valuable set of amber	4d
One valuable set of amber	8d

fol 10

One ring of silver	12d
One valuable set of amber	2d
One ring	9d
One valuable set of amber	6d
One valuable set of amber	8d
One valuable set of amber	3d
One valuable set of amber	3d
One valuable set of jet with two jewels	12d
One ring of silver	2d
One ring of silver	4d
One belt fitted with silver	5s 0d
One valuable set of jet	10d
One belt of [mgra] silk <sup>24</sup>	7d
One valuable set of amber	2d
One valuable set of jet	3d
One valuable set of amber	3d
One valuable set of amber	4d
One valuable set of amber	7d
One valuable set of jet	8d
One ring	4d
One valuable set of jet	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
One valuable set of amber	4d
One valuable set of jet	8d
One ring with blue glass [vit(ro)]	8d
One ring	4d
One valuable set of jet with two rings	10d
One valuable set of jet with three jewels	12d
One valuable set of amber	17d

fol 10v

One ring of silver 5d

Total sales 106s 2d [sic]

This is the account of Sir William Gaske Keeper of the Red Chest of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln from the Feast of St Michael the Archangel in the year of the Lord One thousand four hundred and eighty four up to the Feast of St Michael the Archangel in the year of the Lord One thousand fourteen hundred and eighty five.

Arrears nil <sup>27</sup>	Sum of all the bequests	£ 22 14s 0d
	Sum of all things sold	106s 2d
	Sum of five openings	<u>£ 6 0s 18d</u>
	Sum total of everything	£ 34 0s 20d

Then he paid out to the Master of the Fabric by indenture £26 14s 10d and he owed £7. 6s.10d and from which has been allowed to him from the money charged over and above within the sum of the openings 5s and thus he owed £ 7. 0s.22d which he paid to the Masters of the Fabric on the Eleventh day of October and thus he has rendered account...quit.

.....  
<sup>24</sup>. Perhaps part of the vestments of a priest with the degree of Master [Magistra].

<sup>27</sup>. Note in margin.

APPENDIX B3

Lincoln Cathedral Fabric Fund Account  
for the year  
29 September 1505 to 28 September 1506

LAO D&C Bj/1/4

fol. 272

Memorandum of the names of the Legatees and Legacies to the Fabric of the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln Received through the hands of Sir William Gaske Chaplain from the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel in the year of Our Lord 1505 to the same Feast of St. Michael the Archangel 1506 viz. through one whole year.

Alice	Constable	Grimsby	3s 4d
Henry	Jonson	Merton	12d
The same on behalf of a certain man			
[by the]	rector of	Moorby	2s 0d
Sir Thomas	Schyrwyn	rector of Swallow	20d
Thomas	Capp and		
Johana	his wife	Carlton le Moorland	8d
Johanna	Drabull	Appleby	4d
Thomas	Patchytt and		
Isabella	his wife of same place		4d
Adam	Brayse	Nettleham	8d
Alexander	Nutt	Newstead	12d
Isabell	Lathys	Bradley	12d
Lady Johanna	lately wife of		
Robert	Dymoke knight	Kirkby	10s 0d
John	Wedryby	St. Benedict Lincoln	3s 4d
William	Goodryke	Kirkby next Bolingbroke	20d
William	Burne	South Willingham	20d
Richard	Ellys	St. Nichols Newport	12d
			Total 29s 8d

fol 272v

Thomas	Ganbyll Vicar	Osbournby	20d
Richard	Pye and		
Margaret	his wife	Beltoft	16d
John	Conam and		
Margret	his wife	Raudby	6d
Thomas	Wylerton and		
Beatrice	his wife	of the same place	8d
John	Patrichson and		
his wife Jo <sup>r</sup>		Donington	8d
Certain wife of him the name is not known			
Roger	Grainger	South Ormsby	12d
William	Warde	of the same place	8d
Thomas	Bayte	Thorganby	2s 0d
Thomas	Chetar	Newcotes	6d
Richard	Smythe	Hundleby	3s 4d
Memorandum that there was received and had of			
William Byller	the clerk of Master William Miller		12d
Alice	Clarke	Welton	2d
William	Dawson	Cameringham	4d
John	Buge and		
Cecilia	his wife	Washingborough	12d
Sir John	N[isic] from the mountains near Fillingham		12d
William	Townyshend	Reepham	4d
			Total 18s 8d [sic]

fol 273

John	Wynter	Reepham	8d
John	Brymbyll	Branston	4d
Tephana	Webster	Metheringham	4d
Robert	Ramby	Washingborough	4d
John	Ramby	of the same place	4d
John	Fenby	Louth	12d
John	Hubbylthorne	of the same place	20d
John	Madynwell	Winterton	10s 0d
Memorandum that at the Feast of the Nativity was			
received of Master Cowland Precentor of the Church			35s 0d
			Total 49s 8d

fol 273v

**Names of Jewels received during the same time that is to say :**

Agnes	Knight	Stainton Wadingham	One set of beads with two rings of silver.
Alice	Sympson	St.Peter at Arches	One set of silver and gold beads.
T his wife	Pachette and Iss[abell]	20	A brides veil or other head covering of linen clothe [unam flammeolam de panno lineo]
William	Harness	Saxby	One silk belt with silver.
Thomas	Pege	St.Botolph	One silver seal.
Johanne	Dewyll	St.Bavo	A silk belt with silver and a set of beads with certain jewels.
A certain woman		Silk Willoughby	One set of beads with three jewels of silver.
Master Thomas	Gambyll	vicar of Osbournby	One Agnes Dei <sup>20</sup> .
Master	Taylzour and	Matilda his wife	One set of beads with one moili.
Agnes	Sewell	Ingoldsby	One set of beads of jet with five small silver jewels.
Joshua	Brewar	Bardney	One set of beads of coral and amber with silver beads [oraculis]

fol 274

Elizabeth Robson the servant of George	Martyn	St.Margaret within the Close	One piece of amber with one silver ring
John Dawson and Margaret his wife		Cameringham	One silk belt with silver and one silver ring.
John Cona' and Margaret his wife		Ranby	One set of beads and one ring.
Master Chamber		St.Mark Evangelist	One item of coral with beads of silver and gold.
Master W Gybson still living		of Leicester	A set of twelve valuable jaspers chalcedons lacquered over i.e precious stones [unum par preciosum de jaspers et calcydans de xij <sup>21m</sup> super laqueatum]
William Henscha		Barton on Humber	One silver signet

**Sales made during the same time that is to say :**

One item of jet sold	4d
One small silk belt with silver and gold sold	3s 4d
One set of beads of silver sold	2s 0d
One item of jet sold	9d

Total 6s 5d

fol 274v

**Memorandum of the names of the Benefactors and bequests to the fabric of the Blessed Virgin Mary received from the Feast of the Nativity to Easter next following.**

John Ford Weaver	St.Rumbold	20d
Thomas Symson	Burton next Lincoln	4d
John Southey	Master of the	
Choristers	Sacred Trinity at the steps	20s 0d
Robert Bayle	Kirton in Lindsey	20s 0d
Thomas Bligh	St.Margaret	3s 4d
Richard Storenys and Alice his wife	St.Augustine	4d
John Walcotes	Walcot	20d
Thomas Trusse	Fiskerton	6d
John Bradley	Waddington	8d
John Browne	of the same place	4d
Matilda Tonson	Toft Newton	4d
Johanna Rychardson	Hagnaby	8d
James Turbank	Tealby	6d
Robert Awnay	Six Hill	12d
	Total	51s 4d

.....  
<sup>20</sup>. Parish not given.



fol 275

John	Barkwith	Sewerby	5s	0d
Margaret	Makyns	Carlton		4d
William	Thew	Ashby	2s	0d
John	Scotur	Branston		12d
<b>Memorandum received and had of the</b>				
<b>servant of Master Commissioner</b>				
Robert	Haynson	Butcher	Sleaford	4s 4d
Robert	Daiby		Skellingthorpe	6s 8d
Agnes	Pate		Timberland	8d
John	Nycolson		Navenby	4d
Robert	Pole		Laughton	8d
John	Pellett	the name of the town being unknown		12d
Iss[abel]	lately wife of Robert Dysnay	St Mary Magdalene	20s	4d
John	Preston		Saxilby	12d
Matilda	Gynke		Six Hill	6d
William	Hudson		St. Swithin	12d
Ellen	Clarke		Crowle	4d
Agnes	Wate		Tetford	8d
Michael	Johnson		St. Benedicts	12d
Richard	Hyll		Thurlby	20d
John	Maxam	the name of the town being unknown		12d
			Total	49s 6d

fol 275v

John	Robynson		Reepham	4d
John	Teylbe	the name of the town	being unknown	4d
Thomas	Rawnsby		Harmston	2s 0d
Margaret	Cortyng		Doddington Pygott	6d
Thomas	Jacson		Reepham	3s 4d
Agnes	Spenser		of the same place	4d
Robert	Lokkyng		Harmston	6d
Richard	Harryson		Waddington	12d
Henry	Hygdon	one time mayor of the township of North Kelsey	3s	4d
George	Wyderwyke		Bardney	12d
Sir Martin	Barett	Vicar of	Wainfleet	22d
Robert	Baret		Stickney	12d
Margaret	Wryght		Wold Newton	12d
Joanna	Sawer		2*	4d
Iss[abel]	Barytt	lately wife of Thomas Barrytt of Boston		8d
			Total	17s 4d [sic]

fol 276

**The names of Jewels received during the same time**

Alice	Stonnys	St. Augustines	One set of jet together with one ring.
Iss'	Cartwright	Greetwell	One small belt fitted with silver.
Robert	Smyth	St. Marks	One belt decorated with silver and enamelled.
Agnes	Burton	Terrington	One item of amber together with one ring.
Kat'	Bogull	St Peter in Eastgate	One belt decorated with silver.
Alice	Post	Messingham	Two rings of silver.
Joanna	Clarke	Welton	One belt decorated with silver and one item of jet.

.....  
 2\*. Parish not given.

fol 276v

John	Godwyn	the name of the town being unknown	One ring of silver.
William	Garnar	so	One item of jet with decoration of silver.
William	Symmys	so	Two arrows of silver and one of them of gold. One item of amber.
John	Pellytt	the name of the town being unknown	
Grace	Maltby	of London staying at the Cross Key Inn Holborn.	Two measures of silver and two rings of silver
Richard	Harcowrte	St Martin	A small chain of silver.
Agnes	Catys	St Mark	One item of jet.
Margaret	Townend	Rasen	One set of pieces of jet.
Joanna	Spenser	Reepham	One item of jet.
Memorandum that was received of Sir Robert Castyll			One item of beads decorated with silver and a ring of silver and gold
Alice	Jonson	Gainsborough	One ring of silver

fol 277

**Sales made for the same period that is to say in the first place :**

One small belt fitted with silver and gold	2s	6d
One ring of silver	3s	8d
One ring of silver		4d
One ring of silver		6d
One very valuable item of jet		8d
One very valuable item of jet		8d
One very valuable item of jet		6d
One very valuable item of jet		16d
One very valuable item of jet		6d
One ring of silver		4d
One very valuable item of jet		6d
		<hr/>
	11s	6d

fol 277v

**Memorandum...from the Feast of Easter to Pentecost...**

Ralph	Huddylstone	Merchant	St Mary le Wigford	10s	0d
Simon	Leverytt	Merchant	Grantham	10s	0d
John	Brughton		St.Cuthbert		12d
Sir David	Preston	Chaplain	Tattershall		22d
Catherine	Manby	lately wife of N. Manby			8d
William	Cobyn		Fulbeck		22d
Eleonor	Mansell		Binbrook		4d
Thomas	Maltby		Willingham	2s	0d
Henry	Warde		Fiskerton		12d
Sir John	Waltham	Canon of the Abbey of Barlings and Vicar of Swaton		5s	0d
Joyce	Turwhyte	Gentlewoman	St.Mary Magdalene	20s	0d
Master	Browne		Saltfleet Haven	2s	0d
John	Burrwyggham		St.Mary Magdalen		12d
					<hr/>
				Total	56s 4d [sic]

.....  
so. Parish not given.

fol 27B

John	Brokull'	Kirkby on Bain	4d
Agnes	Wylzanson	Saxby	6d
William	Hyll	Housham	4d
Robert	Myrzyl	Wainfleet	3s 4d
Christopher	Pocoke	Corby	12d
John	Thorpp	of same place	8d
Thomas	Jacson and Ann his wife	of same place	16d
Agnes	Edmond	Bolingbroke	12d
William	Harryson and Agnes his wife	Dunsby	9d
John	Warryffe and Agnes his wife	of same place	8d
John	Cokryll	of the same place	10d
Agnes	Roper	Fenton	12d
Master	Godsave	of same place	12d
John	Franke and Joanne his wife	Willoughby	4d
Agnes	Appull	Bolingbroke	8d
Master	Dean	Swaton	6d
John	Dalton	Kyme	4d
Edmund	Person	Scawby	4d
Iss'	Kyrke	Welbourn	8d
John	Crowys	of same place	4d

Total 15s 11d

fol 27Bv

John	Kyrke	Beeston	8d
Robert	Jacson	Spanby	18d
John	Langwath	Burton	6d
Richard	Con	Willingham	4d
Robert	Homy	Killingholme	4d
Thomas	Pell'	[Wylffurth]	6d
Cecilia	Kyme	Hykeham	4d
Laurence	Clarke	Bassingham	4d
Roger	Dayles	Hainton	4d
Thomas	Androw	Beeston	12d
Thomas	Lytstar	Kelstern	4d
Ann	Elward	Waddington	4d
Alice	Bend	[Hawsby]	4d
Joanna	Kyrton	Firsby	8d
Robert	Wattes	Hanworth	20d
Cecilia	Atterlay	Somersby	6d
Robert	Gronlay	Blankney	4d
Edmund	Bygleskyrke	Kirton	4d
John	Swallow	Croxby	6d

Total 10s 10d

fol 279

Robert	Carter	Barkworth	4d
John	Gudgham	Ewerby	13s 4d
John	Guddayll	Calcethorpe [Cawstropp]	8d
William	Bryg	Layton	4d
John	Smyth	Roughton	4d
Joan	Campyon	Middle Rasen	4d
Richard	Alen	Fillingham	4d
William	Ourtas	Houghton	10d
Alice	Sowth	North Blyton	8d
Richard	Smyth	Saxilby	4d
Robert	Opkyn and		
Joanna	his wife	Ingham	16d
John	Barnaby and		
Margaret	his wife	Barnaby	16d
John	Chapman Jnr Merchant	Louth	3s 4d
Robert	Thomasman	Burton	4d
Elizabeth	Lyttyll	Blyton	20d
			<hr/>
Total			25s 6d

fol 279v

**Jewels received for same period**

Emma	Myzzyll	Wainfleet	A very valuable piece of jet.
Agnes	Wardropp	St.Mary Magdalene	One very valuable piece of jet decorated with silver.
Agnes	Jacson	Corby	One napkin of twyll. <sup>31</sup> .
Agnes	Appull	Bolingbroke	One silver heart. [unum cor de argento]
Joanna	Hudchynson	Anwick	One valuable piece of jet with two silver pieces
Alice	Smyth	Heighington	One valuable piece of amber.
Margaret	Crosby	Tickhill	A valuable piece of amber.
Matilda	Gudham	Ewerby	One fitted belt.
Margaret	Berton	Tattershall	One silver ring.
Richard	Hartall	Brompton	One silver cup.
Agnes	Bawdwyn	Partney	One valuable piece of amber.
Agnes	Fryssell	Boston	One valuable piece of amber decorated with silver.
Beatrix	Wylkynson	North Coates	One valuable piece of jet

.....

<sup>31</sup>. Twill : Fabric woven in such a way that it has a surface of parallel ridges.

fol. 280

Sales made during the same time

One valuable piece of jet	7d
Two small pieces of jet	10d
One valuable piece of jet	4d
Two pieces of jet	12d
Two pieces of jet	12d
One ring of silver	8d
One valuable piece of jet	6d
One valuable piece of jet	4d
One valuable piece of jet	5d
One valuable piece of jet	18d
One valuable piece of jet	8d
One valuable piece of jet	<u>6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d</u>

Total 8s 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d [sic]

fol 280v

Memorandum of items bequeathed...from  
Pentecost to St John Baptist...

Edward	Brown goldsmith lately		
mayor of Lincoln	bequeathed to the fabric	32	
John	Lawghton and		
Agnes his wife	Hibaldstow	20d	
Sir John Faux	Rector of Welby	3s	4d
W	Transall and		
Elez[abeth] his wife	Crowle	8d	
Thomas	Burght Barnetby	8d	
Robert	Wysdale and		
Alice his wife	Stow	6d	
Gilbert	Fyschar Merchant	3s	4d
Leonard	Cune	8d	
Simon	Lincoln Merchant	6s	8d
Elez'	Gregg Widow	Place unknown	12d
Richard	Wylzamson	Semperingham	<u>12d</u>

Total 19s 6d

fol 281

John	Qwhyte	Semperingham	4d
Robert	Qwhyberd	Semperingham	6d
William	Cowland	Semperingham	4d
William	Smyth	Six Hill	12d
Robert	Chaterton	Clixby	12d
Catherine	Tutt	Burgh-le-Marsh	3s 4d
William	Rychardson	Hawerby	8d
John	Parson and		
Joanna his wife		Ingoldmells	13d
Elez'	Qust	Ingoldmells	6d
Matthew	Kyrke	Freiston	4d
William	Loves	Ingoldmells	4d
John	Dean	Burgh-le-Marsh	20d
Richard	Gyppe	Waltham	8d
John	Pyce	Nocton	12d
John	Ranald	Cockerington	12d
Richard	Anderson	Boston	4d
Michael	Pert	Bishopthorpe	4d
Joanna	Newcom	Ingoldmells	13d
Elez'	Newcom	Ingoldmells	<u>13d</u>

Total 16s 7d

.....  
32. No amount is given in the account but in Brown's will dated 10 February 1505 he bequeathed 40s. to the 'moder churche warke of Lincoln'. LRS Vol. 5 p. 25.

fol 281v

Agnes	Grene	Moorbyn	4d
Elezabeth]	Haggas	[Wester Kyrke]	4d
Thomas	Wawdiggham	Winterton	2s 0d
Margaret	Gydson	Bucknal	6d
Agnes	Halys	Rauceby	4d
William	Cadnay and		
Elefsabeth]	his wife	Rauceby	6d
John	Ledby	Fulletby	4d
T.	Warm and		
John his brother		[Cheryngton]	12d
William	Vincent'	Waltham	8d
Thomas	Marschall'	Horsington	4d
Johanna	Jennynson	Sleaford	12d
Johanna	Jastom	Timberland	12d
Robert	Dyconson	Middle Cotes	6d
Margaret	Colson	Stickney	7d
Sir Thomas	Farand Vicar	Farlesthорpe	20d
Agnes	Jonson	Tealby	4d
William	Hem and		
Margaret his wife		Friskney	12d
Richard	Holray	Hogsthorpe	9d

Total 13s 2d

fol 282

Robert	Panneston	Louth	8d
John	Wylson	Tatershall	4d
Emma	Rokray	Tatershall	8d
Richard	Hedon and		
Agnes his wife		Tatershall	8d
Robert	Heldyr	Harrington	4d
Margaret	Hubberd	Keal	12d
Robert	Kar	Tetford	4d
John	Reyd	Boston	12d
Richard	Thekar	Firsby	4d
Johanna	Kytyng	Sutton	6d
Margaret	Woodthorpp	[Meryng]	8d
Robert	Pyre	Utterby	8d
Johanna	Dean'	Louth	12d
John	Redhead	Ashby	4d
Richard	Fyall	Alvingham	4d
Agnes	Balay	Blyborough	18d
Richard	Garrott	South Habrough	4d
Johanna	West	Nettleham	13d
Memorandum received by the hand of			
Master John Grantham			16d

Total 13s 0d [sic]

fol 282v

William	Wright	Fillingham	4d
Thomas	Hedmere	Utterby	3s 4d
Roger	Rome	Cammeringham	4d
Sir Ralph	Rome	Cammeringham	9d
Agnes	Smyth	Halton	8d
William	Gudwell	Stickford	4d
Jo[hn]	Kyrk and		
Agnes his wife		Corringham	12d
William	Hegur	Toynon	3s 4d
Robert	Nuttoke	Welton by Louth	6d
Thomas	Ure	Heighington	12d
Thomas	Rokby	Strubby	12d
Sir Henry	Tomlynson	Priest and Cantor	
of the Lord of Thorrock[?] of Gainsborough			3s 4d

15s 3d [sic]

fol 283

**Jewels Received for the same time**

Johanna Burrow still living	Holton	One silver ring
John Clarke	St Peter Wigford	One precious piece of jet with two rings of silver
Sir Robert Howsom Cantor of that church		One precious piece of amber with silver beads
Sir Robert Rowsse	ss	One crucifix of silver
John Boston	Bolingbroke	One precious piece of jet
Emere Baxstar	Springthorpe	One ring of silver
Thomas lately son of Patric Clarke	St Paul	One Agnus Dei <sup>34</sup>
A certain woman	ss	One red hat [rubrum capit] and a precious piece of jade
Johanna Stowyn	Stixwold	One ring of silver

fol 283v

Symon Colyn and Agnes his wife	North Kelsey	One precious piece of jet with two rings of silver and one measure [?].
Issabel West	Utterby	One precious piece of jet
Agnes Smyth	Ulceby	One precious piece of
Eliez. Schepard	[Frowutter]	One ring of silver
Agnes Smyth	Holton	One precious piece of jet and one ring
Sir Henry Tomlynson Cantor	Gainsborough	One silver spoon [cocliar]
Matilda Samson	Caenby	One measure of linen cloth
Issabel Wytar	Mumby	One valuable piece of jet
Margaret Buke	Waithe	One valuable piece of jet
Juliana Jacson	Halton	One precious piece of jet
John Carter	Halton	One precious piece of jet
Alice Keloke	Maltby le Marsh	One precious piece of coral [corall <sup>35</sup> ] together with beads of silver and gold.
Alice Blakee	Maltby le Marsh	One valuable piece of jet

fol 284

**Sales made for the same period**

One seal of silver	2s 4d
One valuable piece of jet	4d
One precious piece of jet with three small jewels	20d
One valuable piece of amber	7d
Two small and valuable pieces of jet	7d
One measure of silver	16d
One precious piece of jet	8d
One precious piece of jet with beads of silver and gold	4s 0d
One precious piece of jet	8d
One valuable piece of jet	5d
	<hr/>
Total	12s 7d

.....  
<sup>33</sup>. Parish not given.

<sup>34</sup>. See Note 22.

fol 284v

Bequests from St John Baptist to Michaelmas

Richard Grene	Notary	Northampton	40s	0d
Thomas Waron		[Kyslyngbere] in same county		6d
Robert Taylzour		Firsby		12d
John Ledys		Glentham		4d
T. Hart and				
Margaret his wife		Kirmington		8d
John Skegnes		Ingoldmells		10d
Agnes Tur		Ingoldmells		6d
Richard Burn		Sutton		8d
Richard Hambulton		Sutton		12d
W. Coke		Wainfleet All Saints		6d
Matilda Papman		Osbourneby		4d
Robert Fyge		Osbourneby		4d

Total 46s 8d

fol 285

Alice Palett		Bottesford		4d
John] Marco' and Margaret				
his wife both still living		Dembleby		12d
Nicholas Wawker		Wyton		12d
Richard Baynton		Wyton		12d
John Burrow		Semperingham		4d
Eleanor Brewar		Friskney		4d
William Dukkyll		Messingham		6d
John Peppyr		Mumby		12d
John Roys		Driby		4d
Richard Jakson		Barton on Humber		6d
Thomas Grene and				
Alice his wife		Hogsthorpe	2s	4d
Mariona On'		Swineshead		4d
Thomas Madyson		Maltby le Marsh		20d
Thomas Estburn		Ashby next Partney		8d
Richard Wode and				
Alice his wife		Grainthorpe	2s	0d
John Wode		Grainthorpe		12d
Thomas Batson		Haxey		4d
John Clay		Stickford		12d
John Kentt		Keal		12d

Total 17s 2d [sic]

fol 285v

William Maders		Dwston		6d
William Traves		Spalding		4d
Elez[abeth] Wylkynson		Tathwell		8d
John Pygull		Bennington		6d
Elen. Butter		West Keal		4d
Robert Lawghton		Strubby		6d
Richard Qwhyte		Hareby		12d
Thomas Wytton and				
Alice his wife		Lusby		8d
Catarina Wytton daughter of same		of same place		6d
Christopher Grasynd				
Eliz[abeth] his wife		[Qwhykhampton]		8d
John Welles		[Howsby]		4d
John Wylkynson		North Coates		12d
John Croft		Mavis Enderby		6d
John Greg and				
Margaret his wife		Bigby		12d
John Marschall		Brinkhill		4d
Richard Watton		Willoughby		4d
Isabella] Goslyng		Thornton		6d
Albinus Wryght		Stickney		6d

Total 12s 0d [sic]



fol 286

Thomas	Grene	Easton	12d
Thomas	Marchand and		
William his	son	Tetney	4d
Symon	Rawlynson	Croft	4d
Henry	Colbe	Clee	4d
John	Watson	Clee	4d
Thomas	Est	Harrington	6d
John	Wryght	Candlesby	8d
Margaret	Tavernar	Candlesby	8d
Robert	Byschoff	Firsby	12d
Robert	Lentyn	Gonerby	4d
John	Claymond	Frampton	5s 0d
Richard	Bell	Lessingham	4d
Elez[abeth]	Typplyng	Somercotes St Peter	6d
Agnes	Spykyng	Bilsby	4d
Elen'	Marschall	Bilsby	6d
John	Mathew	Cumberworth	4d
Alice	Wyddowson	[@whytyng]	4d
John	Baynton	[@whytyng]	6d
William	Steyll	Donington	4d
Ralph	Wodfeyld	Hallington	4d

Total 13s 4d [sic]

fol 286v

John	Godderd	Mumby	4d
Elez[abeth]	Coke	Saxby	6d
Robert	Cotyngnam	Bonby	12d
Henry	Kylborn and		
Iss[abel]	his wife	Haceby	8d
Mariona	Baytt	Folkingham	4d
Robert	Byrtlott	Thorganby	4d
Issabell	Tupholme	Haceby	6d
John	Pech' and		
Alice his wife		Tetney	6d
John	Coke	Aswarby	4d
Catherine	Jonson	Mablethorpe	4d
John	Thorpp'	Liddington	3s 4d
Sir John	Mathew	Kelstern	12d
Henry	Horncliff	Horncastle	8d
John	Osburne	Revesby [Reysbe]	8d
John	Elvys	Grainthorpe	4d
William	Bradpull	Grainthorpe	4d
Robert	Warde and		
Elen' his wife		Bennington	4d
Thomas	Brasby	Walcot	4d
John	Rokclyffe	Hammeringham	12d
Thomas	Jonson	Osbournby	20d
Thomas	Underwode	Asterby	12d

Total 15s 6d

fol 287

Richard	Cowper	South Willingham	6d
Robert	Stochytt	Newton	6d
John	Hewytt	South Kelsey	7d
John	Urre	Place unknown	6d
Alice	Bele	Tetford	4d
Robert	Smyth	Bloxholme	4d
Agnes	Elston	Little Limber	4d
Henry	Walesby	Humberstone	6d
John	Burrell	Panton	4d
Elena	Appylgarth	Hemingby	4d
John	Colme and		
Agnes his wife		Morton	12d
William	Trowar and		
Margaret his wife		Morton	8d
William	Goshawke	Humberstone	6d
Agnes	Schefeyld	Marston	12d
Hugh	Ropar	Marston	8d
Henry	Coppland and		
Thomas	Eilys	Billingsborough	2s 0d
Robert	Tyndall	[Hoxam]	4d
William	Hudson	Louth	12d
William	Breton	[Braxton]	6d
Roger	Rawe	Caistor	4d
Robert	Bakar	Moorby	4d
John	Symson	Metheringham	12d

Total 13s 7d

fol 287v

John	Frankyng	Croxton	6d
John	BrynkylI and		
Agnes his wife		Halton	4d
Matilda	Dave	Collingham	4d
Robert	Kyrke	Glentworth	6d
Sir Richard	Fyla Priest	Cantor Louth	3s 4d
Stephen	Devyson	Conisholme	10d
Elez[abeth]	Chapman	Withcall	8d
Richard	Cowper	Habrough	12d
Elez[abeth]	Hardy	Holton-le-Moor	4d
John	Clarke	Welton	4d
Robert	Lamkyn Carpenter	Louth	12d
William	Hardy	[Feyster]	4d
Margaret	Wylson	Bracebridge	4d
John	Robynson and		
Agnes his wife		Bracebridge	8d
Alice	Elward	Waddingham	4d
John	Bole	Ewerby	12d
William	Asgyrbe	Asgarby	6s 8d
Robert	Barre	Donington	2s 0d
Thomas	Wylkynson	South Ormsby	4d
William	Grave	Ludbrough	4d
Robert	Schalffleytt	South Ormsby	12d
Robert	Smyth and		
Joanna his wife		Wrangle	8d
Catherine	Hardgate	Cowbit	4d

Total 23s 2d

fol 288

Margaret	Martyn	Cowbit	4d
Richard	Blys	Stainfield	20d
John	Savege	Scredington	12d
<b>Memorandum received of the</b>			
<b>Sacristan of the Abbot of Crowland</b>			4s 0d
Robert	Smyth	Little Limber	12d
Richard	Clarke	Washingborough	8d
Richard	Gray	Willoughby	8d
Agnes	Rattyll	Burton	3s 4d
Henry	Adam	Harlaxton	12d
Hugh	Welles	Skillingthorpe	3s 4d
Robert	Skelton and		
Joanna his wife		Crowle	12d
John	Stevynson and		
Joanna his wife		Crowle	10d
William	Watson and		
Alice his wife		Stoke next Grantham	8d
Richard	More and		
Margaret his wife		Steeping	3s 0d
William	Crett and		
Catherine his wife		Legbourne	2s 0d
William	Hykson and		
Alice his wife		Blankney	6d
Sir William	Androw	Wrangle	8d
A certain Cantor of Grantham whose name is not known			2s 6d
Robert	Welles Miller	St. Botolph	12d
Margaret	Lon	Hundleby	8d
Margaret	Grene	Helpringham	12d
John	Hudchynson	Allington	4d
			<hr/>
Total			31s 2d

fol 288v

Elizabeth	Lyttyll	Blyton	20d
<b>Memorandum that was received through the hand of George Martyn</b>			
Margaret	Fayvll	Washingborough	4d
Thomas	Northe	Reston	16d
Dane Agnes	Godeman	Vowess Nocton	12d
<b>Memorandum that on 5th August I received of Master William Gybson of Leicester for the work of the Mother Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln £3. 13s 6d and there has been given for masonry work</b>			
			£3 12s 6d
and thus there is a remainder to himself of 12d			
Sir Richard	Cottfurgh	Vicar of Minting	12d
Thomas	Swyne	Fulstow	12d
John	Emsall Senior	Appleyby	12d
Joanna	Kayde	Ludborough	12d
Agnes	Kayde	Ludborough	12d
Joanna	Waschinglay	Alford	4d
			<hr/>
Total			£ 4 2s 6d

Grand Total £32 17s 8d [sic]

**Jewels received for that same period**

Issfabell]	Page	Goxhill	One valuable piece of jet
Agnes	Foster	Trusthorpe	One valuable piece of jet
Joanna	Ranald	Somercotes	One valuable piece of amber
Margaret	Godryke	East Kirkby	One valuable piece of jet with one ring
Joanna	Jonson	Grainthorpe	One valuable piece of jet with beads of silver
Mariona	Baytt	Folkingham	One very valuable piece of amber
Issfabell]	Kylborn	Haceby	One ring of silver

fol 289v

Agnus	Jonson	Beaulieu	One ribbon[dele reban] of silk
Agnus	Awnay	East Terrington	One valuable piece of jet with three rings of silver
Johanna	Thekar	Saltfleet Haven	One valuable piece of jet
William	Awfurth	[Qwythhowse]	One ring of silver
Margaret	Trowar	Morton	One valuable piece of jet with a ring
Margaret	Howytt	Bardney	One valuable piece of jet
Elez[abeth]	Whallay	Waddingworth	One valuable piece of of best amber [bastre awmbour]
Margaret	Grave	Truswell	One valuable piece of jet with beads of silver
John	Skymar	39	One valuable piece of jet with three jewels
Iss[abell]	Croft	Boston	One ring of silver
Elena'	Fleschowre	Bucknal	One belt fitted with silver
Margaret	Bennyt	North Coates	One ring of silver
John	Bur	Binbrook	One valuable piece of jet.
Johanna	Hornar	Cowbit	Two rings of silver
Margaret	Myels	Wrawby	One valuable piece of jet with one ring
Thomas	Penny	Alford	One Agnes Dieu <sup>22</sup>
Robert	Warde and		
Elena' his wife		Benniworth	One measure of silver
Alice	Suath	Huttoft	One valuable piece of amber.
Johanna	Stepe	Huttoft	One valuable piece of jet with two measures of silver and four silver pennies.
Alice	Hansard Gentlewoman		One belt fitted with
and widow.	Still living	Coates	silver.
Eme'	Halyday	Scrivelsby	One valuable piece of jet with five jewels of silver.

fol 290

Memorandum that on the 29 day of August I received and had by the hand of Master Peter the clerk of Master Commissioner one belt fitted with silver and enamelled and one valuable piece of jet with beads of silver and three rings. And one valuable measure and one leather thong [eddyr tong']

Item there being present a certain man whose name was not known			One belt fitted with silver
T	Lakig'	St Marks	One valuable piece of jet with twelve [beads] over lacquered.
John	Wylson	Kirton Lindsey	One set of jet with four jewels of silver
Johanna	Loy	39	One valuable piece of jet with two rings of silver

.....  
39. Parish not given.

John	Alford and	Claypole	One belt fitted with silver
Margaret	his daughter		One set of jet with one crucifix
Agnes	Hudchynson	Metheringham	One valuable piece of coral with beads of silver
Sir William Rysom	Vicar of	St Mary le Wigford	One belt fitted with silver
Agnes	Warde	All Saints	One belt fitted with silver
Margaret	Curtas	Binbrook	One valuable piece of jet with beads of silver
Dame Agnes	Gudmay	Nocton	One valuable piece of best amber with beads of silver and two rings of silver.

Item there being present a certain person whose name was not known

fol 290v

**Sales made during the same period**

One valuable piece of coral with beads of silver and gold	6s	8d
One deal of ribbon		3d
One piece of jet		5d
One piece of jet		4d
Two small pairs of pieces of jet		7d
One valuable piece		4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d
One valuable piece of jet		3d
One valuable piece of jet		4d
One valuable piece of jet with beads of silver	2s	8d
One ring of silver		5d
One valuable piece of jet		10d
One valuable piece of jet		9d
One valuable piece of jet		12d
One measure of silver		8d
One valuable piece of jet		11d
One valuable piece of jet		10d
One valuable piece of jet		5d
		<hr/>
Total	17s	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> d

fol 291

One ring of silver		4d
One valuable piece of jet		6d
One ring of silver		9d
One valuable piece of jet		4d
Two rings of silver and one measure of silver		16d
One ring of silver		8d
One valuable piece of jet		18d
One small image of St George		5d
One Agnes Dei <sup>22</sup>		20d
One Agnes Dei <sup>22</sup>		14d
Two rings of silver		10d
One belt fitted with silver and gold	12s	8d
One gold ring		20d
One measure and one ring of silver		9d
One valuable piece of jet with certain small pieces of coral		12d
One valuable piece of jet		7d
One valuable piece of coral with beads of silver and gold with three jewels		20d
One valuable piece of jet		10d
One valuable piece of jet		4d
One valuable piece of jet with beads of silver and four measures [moil']	6s	8d
One belt of silk fitted [harnsated] with silver	6s	8d
		<hr/>
Total	57s	4d [sic]

All jewels sold £ 6 4s 0d

'This is the account of William Gaske keeper of the Red Chest in the Church of Lincoln from the Feast of St Michael the Archangel 1505 to the Feast of St Michael the Archangel 1506 that is to say for one complete year. The Account is quit as appears below that is to say I have received £32 17s 8d by way of bequests to the fabric and £ 6 4s 0d by way of jewels bequeathed to the same church and this year there were sold by this accountant and £8.17s.9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d by way of five openings of this year which remain within the keeping of the Master of the Fabric. Total £ 47.19s 5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d

Thus it is calculated that there was paid into the hands of the Masters of the Fabric for various purposes this year as is shown by an Indenture between the Masters of the Fabric and this accountant, the above account here is agreed and examined £45.18s.7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d

The total £45 18s 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d and there was debited 40s 10d which was set aside to him in regard and in consideration of two audits in return for his diligence and in this year 10s and he still owes 30s 10d which he is paying into the hands of the Masters of the Fabric on the 20 October in the year aforesaid and this he has received and is quit'.

.....

COMPARISON BETWEEN TOTALS GIVEN IN THE ABOVE ACCOUNT AND THE ACTUAL TOTALS

BEQUESTS					ITEMS SOLD								
folio	Total in the Account			Actual Totals			folio	Total in the Account			Actual Totals		
	£	s	d	£	s	d		£	s	d	£	s	d
272	1	9	8	1	9	8	273v		16	5		16	5
272v		18	8		16	6	277		11	6		11	6
273	2	9	8	2	9	8	277v	2	16	4	2	16	8
274v	2	11	4	2	11	4	280		8	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>		8	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
275	2	9	6	2	9	6	284		12	7		12	7
275v		17	4		17	6	290v		17	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>		17	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
277		11	6		11	6	291	2	17	4	2	3	2
277v	2	16	4	2	16	8							
278		15	11		15	11	Total	6	4	0	8	6	4
278v		10	10		10	10							
279	1	5	6	1	5	6							
281		16	7		16	7							
281v		13	2		13	2							
282		13	0		13	1							
282v		15	3		15	11							
284v	2	6	8	2	6	8							
285		17	2		16	8							
285v		12	0		10	2							
286		13	4		14	0							
286v		15	6		15	6							
287		13	7		13	7							
287v	1	3	2	1	3	2							
288	1	11	2	1	11	2							
288v	4	2	6	4	2	6							
Total	32	17	8	32	6	9							

TOTAL OF THE ACCOUNT				
Folio	Amount recorded in the Account			Actual Totals
	£	s	d	£ s d
291				
Bequests	32	17	8	32 17 8
Items sold	6	4	0	6 4 0
'Openings'	8	17	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	8 17 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Total	47	19	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	49 10 11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>

APPENDIX B4

Lincoln Cathedral Fabric Fund  
Account for the year  
29 September 1531 to 28 September 1532

LAD D&C Bj/5/19  
fol 122

Memorandum of the names of the Legatees and Legacies to the Fabric of the Church of Blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln Received through the hands of Thomas Chamberlen Chaplain from the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel in the year of Our Lord 1531 to the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lord first following.

Margaret	Bennyngwrothe	Burton	12d	-
Nicholas	Godfray	Horsington	4d	-
Thomas	Darwyng	Harwyke	4d	-
John	Welles	Fillingham	22d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 165 <sup>36</sup>
John	Schophyn	Greatwell	8d	-
Elizabeth	Bray	Welton	4d	-
Henry	Baxter	Caythorpe	6d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 71
William	Wryght	Wold Newton	6d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 94
Robert	Nobyll	Glentworth	4d	-
Thomas	Mason	Lincoln	4d	-
Elizabeth	Stare	Worlaby	4d	-
James	Clarke	Louth	12d	-
Alice	Pachytt	Rothewell	10s 0d	-
John	Grege	Scredington	2s 0d	-

Total 19s 4d [sic]

fol 122v

Memorandum...from the Feast of the Nativity to the Feast of Easter.

Sir Thomas	Calydudum vicar of	Hathern	3s 4d	-
Thomas	Chapman	Fiskerton	6d	-
Abraham	Sele	Stowe	6d	-
John	Ponderson	St. Mark Lincoln	8d	-
William	Buknall	Canwick	12d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 137
Robert	Kelstron	Kettesby	2s 8d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 11
Thomas	Exton	Empingham	4d	-
John	Benett	Kirkby	12d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 160
Agnes	Phylepe	Witham	4d	-
Thomas	Howle	Crosby	12d	-
Master William	Mylyu'	Coventry	12d	-

Total 12s 4d

.....

<sup>36</sup>. Wherever it has been possible to trace a surviving will the source has been included in this Account.



fol 123

Memorandum...from Easter to Pentecost...

William	Way	Cockerington	2s	0d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 144.
William	Hawllys	Boultham					
John	Aly	Allington	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 145.	
John	Skamonde	Scrivelisby	3s	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 142.
Thomas	Pereson	Marston	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 139.	
Robert	Rydder	Boston	4d	LRS	Vol. 10	p. 106.	
Margaret	Sheffelde	S Elkington	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 132.	
Richard	Burton	W Torrington	6d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 152.	
Robert	Foster	Goulceby	2d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 149.	
Oliver	Toynnton	Lissington	6d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 160.	
Brian	Beche	Thorganby	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 154.	
Richard	Kyrke	Claypool	6d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 141.	
Agnes	Styll	Marston	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 142.	
Richard	Ray	Grantham	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 140.	
William	Wilson	Denton	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 64.	
William	Brelsforthe	Harlaxton	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 111.	
William	Ketchyn	Little Ponton	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 122.	
Richard	Bocher	Witham	2s	0d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 120.
John	Atwyk	Horbling	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 222.	

fol 123v

Thomas	Knowllys	Barton-on-Humber	2s	0d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 145. <sup>37</sup>
Robert	Bathe	Pinchbeck	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 144.	
John	Whytebred	Wyberton	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 150.	
Stephen	Woodhouse	Boston	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 161.	
Richard	Shallocke	Boston	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 162.	
Robert	Foxe	Fishtoft	6d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 163.	
John	Walnott	Fishtoft	4d				
Simon	Jakson	Fishtoft	4d				
John	Westmelles	Fishtoft	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 179.	
John	Storkes	Donington	1d				
John	Williamson	Fishtoft	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 163.	
Richard	Benne	Freiston	2d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 140.	
Sir Robert	Borall	Fishtoft	6d	LRS	Vol. 10	p. 24.	
Hugh	Gull	Burton Pedwardine	10d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 156. <sup>38</sup>	
William	Gybson	Dorrington	4d				
Richard	Stokes	Elsham	4d				
William	Leeys	Nettleton	10d				
Robert	Johnson	Clee	5d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 165. <sup>39</sup>	
John	Kelle	Irby	6d				
John	Shorte	Waltham	2d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 140. <sup>40</sup>	
Richard	Pennall	South Reston	10d				
Thomas	Marchand	Kirton	2d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 159.	
Joanna	Smythe	Tattershall	2d				
John	Flayn	Wood Enderby	4d				
Richard	Cotes	Coningsby	5d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 152. <sup>41</sup>	
Sir Robert	Nowthen						
	Rector of	Brinkhill	5d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 158. <sup>42</sup>	
Edward	Smythe	Belleau	4d				
John	Symson	Burgh-le-Marsh	3d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 147.	
Richard	Ryby	Gayton	4d				
Robert	Walche	West Keal	6d				
Richard	Putryll	Farlesthorne	10d				

Total 17s 7d [sic]

- .....
- 37. The bequest was for 3s.
  - 38. The bequest was for 16d.
  - 39. The bequest was for 8d.
  - 40. The bequest was for 4d.
  - 41. The bequest was for 8d.
  - 42. The bequest was for 8d.

fol. 124.

Rose	Bullock	Waimfleet	8d
Master John	Donham		7d LRS Vol. 24 p. 68. <sup>43</sup>
	Chantry priest	Driby	
Robert	Wykham	Kirkby	7d <sup>44</sup>
Helen	Wykham	Kirkby	4d
Elizabeth	Shyryffe	Brattleby	12d
Margaret	Upton	<sup>45</sup>	22d
Allen	Skrubham	S Botolph Lincoln	4d
Nicholas	Pharkar	<sup>45</sup>	4d
Alice	Haldyng	Asterby	4d
Joan	Johnson	Kyme	8d
Thomas	Chantre	Middle Rasen	12d
Nicholas	Geneson	Lincoln	4d
Thomas	Herode	Laughton	20d
Robert	Lee	Stainfield	4d
Thomas	Thymbulby	Boothby	12d
Alice	Hamonde	Haughton	4d
Joanna	Laulay	Spridlington	4d
William	Ledes	Stallingborough	4d
Margaret	Rodes	Risethorpe	4d
Thomas	Halyday	Thimbleby	4d
Andrea	Taler	Kirton	4d
William	Howson	Louth	4d
Jacob	Semper	Branston	4d
William	Eston	Branston	4d
William	Swyfte	Blyton	8d
Robert	Cobcrofte	Blyton	4d
William	Wytyngnam	<sup>45</sup>	4d

Total 15s 2d [sic]

#### Jewels Bequeathed

Agnes	Welles	City of London	one ring of silver
Alice	Kelum	Minting	one set of 'peces of gag'
Johanna	Hogge	Gaudby	one set of peces of amber
William	Burley	Harlaxton	'le george of silver'

.....

<sup>43</sup>. Original entry was 6d but this has been corrected to 7d later in different ink. The bequest shown in the will was for 12d.

<sup>44</sup>. Original entry was 12d but this has been amended later.

<sup>45</sup>. Parish not given.

fol. 124v.

Memorandum...from Pentecost to the Feast of St. John Baptist

Robert Gretham	Normanby	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 177.
Richard Buller vicar	Tetney	20d	-	-	-
John Wray	Saxby	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 191.
Thomas Goose	East Kirkby	6d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 198.
George Skryvenar	Limber	6d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 198.
Richard Yorke	Bonby	2d	-	-	-
William Ferys	Ferriby	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 188.
John Lance	East Rasen	2d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 153.
William Mychyll	North Elkington	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 198.
Nicholas Smyth	Thorganby	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 203.
Robert Sympson	Orby	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 190.
William Botheby	Honington	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 188.
Henry Sherman	Denton	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 195.
John Thorpe	Denton	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 184.
John Carter	Grantham	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 201. <sup>46</sup>
Sir John Adam	Grantham	12d	-	-	-
John Curtys	Deeping	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 154. <sup>47</sup>
Robert Derbye	Thurlby	2d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 166.
Robert Rowse	Aslackby	2d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 205. <sup>48</sup>
Robert Avaray	Beckingham	8d	-	-	-
Robert Wardon	Bennington	12d	-	-	-
William Smyth	Doddington	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 209.
Robert Raywe	Ancaster	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 184.
John Browne	Harmston	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 178.

Total 12s 8d [sic]

.....  
<sup>46</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 8d

<sup>47</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 4d

<sup>48</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 4d

fol 125

John	Stayner	Harmston	4d	-	
Thomas	Herde	Billinghay	12d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 204.
John	Herde	Billinghay	8d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 189.
Thomas	Foster	Lincoln	3s 4d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 167.
Emma	Marchande	Wigtoft	n <sup>11</sup>	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 179. <sup>47</sup>
Thomas	Knyght	Swineshead	8d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 205.
Johanna	Grene	Wrangle	8d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 204.
William	Toolyn	Leverton	4d	-	
Thomas	Mylum	Bennington	8d	-	
John	Barkeworth	Leverton	4d	-	
John	Bull	Swineshead	4d	-	
Thomas	Stanlay	Boston	2d	-	
John	Grubbyn	Boston	n <sup>11</sup> 50	-	
Johanna	Dawston	Fishtoft	2d	-	
John	Rabdyk	Fishtoft	2d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 225. <sup>51</sup>
John	Wytwenge	Boston	6d	-	
Richard	Grante	Boston	12d	-	
Richard	Quykrell	Boston	n <sup>11</sup>	LRS	Vol. 10 p. 114. <sup>52</sup>
John	Pykryng	Wyberton	2d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 158.
Agnes	Howson	Boston	4d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 150.
James	Rowe	Boston	4d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 164.
Richard	Passemer	Sutterton	4d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 200.
Johanna	Brone	Boston	8d	-	
Robert	Clunay	Spalding	8d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 171.
William	Massyngberde	Bratoft	2d	-	
William	Panton	Swineshead	4d	-	
Henry	Bardnay	Bicker	4d	-	
Simon	Porcher	Holbeach	2d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 196.
John	Barro	Holbeach	2d	-	
Robert	Honynggham	Gosberton	2d	-	
John	Whytt	Moulton	4d	-	
Richard	Ketylby	Spalding	4d	-	
Thomas	Wynter	Whaplode	2d	-	
Catherine	Ferrer	Sutton	6d	-	
Simon	Boulton	Spalding	12d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 215. <sup>53</sup>
Roger	Wadox	Pinchbeck	2d	-	
Richard	Chele	Quadring	2d	LRS	Vol. 24 p. 227.

Total 16s 10d

.....  
<sup>47</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 2d. Perhaps the money was not available when the Will was proved and the entry, which appears to be an abbreviation for 'nihil liberatum', was made.

<sup>50</sup>. This will has not been preserved and the amount of the bequest is, therefore, unknown.

<sup>51</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 4d.

<sup>52</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 4d and the occupation of the testator was given as notary.

<sup>53</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 4d.

fol 125v.

William	Benlay	Swineshead	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 181.
William	Stepyng	Holbeach	4d	-	-	-
Alice	Horslay	Spalding	4d	-	-	-
Laurence	Albayn	Donington	1d	-	-	-
Richard	Orton	Donington	1d	-	-	-
Nicholas	Pearson	Tydd S Mary	6d	-	-	-
Thomas	Brone	Bicker	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 224.
Laurence	Sowter	Sutton, Long	2d	LRS	Vol. 10	p. 115.
Richard	Kyng	Tydd S Mary	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 115.
William	Remy	Fosdyke	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 194.
Robert	Wyborne	Fosdyke	2d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 141.
Hugh	Showe	Boston	12d	LRS	Vol. 10	p. 189. <sup>54</sup>
William	Hochyngson	Burton	6d	-	-	-
William	Olyver	Winthorpe	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 183.
Robert	Halle	Croft	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 193.
Alice	Westren	Sausthorpe	4d	-	-	-
Richard	Skegneys	Addlethorpe	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 186.
Robert	Ayer	Kirkby on Bain	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 203.
William	Leche	Fulletby	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 209.
William	Gaunce	Theddlethorpe	20d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 219.
John	Carter	Theddlethorpe	16d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 170.
Sir Thomas	Heywarde	Alford	2s 0d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 213.
Nicholas	Ellers	Theddlethorpe	2d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 134.
Margaret	Clay	Ulceby	4d	-	-	-
Michael	Smythe	Ulceby	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 201.
William	Archar	Cockerington	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 222.
John	Meenes	Somercotes S Peter	6d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 148.
John	Rasyng	Somercotes S Mary	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 178.
John	Carter	Yarborough	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 169.
John	Goodryk	Somercotes S Mary	4d	-	-	-
Richard	Herberstowe	Gayton le Wold	6d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 217.
Henry	Bullen	Grimoldby	6d	-	-	-
John	Matby	Great Carlton	6d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 179. <sup>55</sup>
John	Rayns	Donington on Bain	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 226.
Thomas	Vyncent	Waltham	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 169.
Edmund	Tyesdale	Tetney	4d	-	-	-

fol. 126

Margaret	Tofte	South Ferriby	20d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 216.
Rowland	Smythe	Ulceby	2d	-	-	-
Robert	Musgrawe	Caythorpe	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 138.
John	Coke	Barrow-on-Humber	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 183. <sup>56</sup>
Robert	Howdon	Kelsey S Mary	4d	-	-	-
Jenet	Mawteby	Langton by Wragby	8d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 228. <sup>57</sup>
Richard	Alcoke	Claypole	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 201.
William	Thorneley	Hough on the Hill	12d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 215.
Jenet	Wryght	Norton Disney	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 221.
John	Pynson	Fulletby	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 216. <sup>58</sup>
John	Palmer	Roughton	4d	-	-	-
William	Thomson	Minting	4d	-	-	-
John	Marshall	Hundleby	4d	-	-	-
Richard	Laverok	Hundleby	4d	-	-	-
John	Smyth	Hundleby	4d	-	-	-
Thomas	Wryght	Hundleby	12d	-	-	-
Robert	Tailor	Worlaby	4d	LRS	Vol. 24	p. 230. <sup>59</sup>

Total 19s 10d

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<sup>54</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 20d.  
<sup>55</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 12d.  
<sup>56</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 20d.  
<sup>57</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 12d.  
<sup>58</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 8d.  
<sup>59</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 6d.

fol. 126v

Memorandum...from the Feast of St John the Baptist to Michaelmas

Thomas	Styknay	Hathern	8d	-
Adam	Styknay	of same place	4d	-
Thomas	Dantt	of same place	12d	-
Agnes	Welles	Streton	4d	-
Johanna	Hammer	Osbourby	4d	-
Robert	Hawlay	Wadingham	4d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 91.
Joan	Bullok	Witham	4d	-
Thomas	Page	Kyme	4d	-
Isabel	Daylyson	East Barkwith	6d	-
Joan	Dalyson	of same place	4d	-
Baltizar	Duett	Temple Bruer	12d	-
Johanna	Eland	Great Stretton	6d	-
Joan	Abraham	Corringham	8d	-
Thomas	Glow	Belton	4d	-
John	Cowper	Cadney	4d	-
John	Mott	Thoresway	3s 0d	-
Sir Richard	Fox vicar	North Kelsey	16d	-
William	Baker	Salfleetby	3s 4d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 24.
Margaret	Stabylls	Claxby	8d	-
Thomas	Bussy	Sibsey	2d	-
Richard	Kyrgatt	Ingoldmells	8d	-
Alick	Kyrgatt	of same place	8d	-
Master William	Aston parson	Belton	12d	-

Total 43s 2d [sic]

fol 127

Thomas	Vynsant	Waltham	8d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 168.
Richard	Waykar	Bishops Norton	4d	-
Richard	Wyse	Louth	8d	-
John	Bennyngworth	Worlaby	2d	-
Robert	Sawer	Thorpe	10d	-
William	Pariter	Louth	4d	-
John	Clay	Kyme	4d	-
Ralph	W <sup>r</sup> [sic]	Croft	8d	-
William	Stevenson	North Kyme	2d	-
Robert	Sparke	Timberland	4s 4d	LRS Vol. 24 p. 63. <sup>oo</sup>
Thomas	Bennyngworth	Willingham	6s 8d	-
John	Hubbulday	Louth	4d	-
Robert	Torney	Yarwell	2d	-
Elizabeth	Gren	Braughton	2d	-
Robert	Renys	Panton	4d	-
John	Day	Linwood	5d	-
Agnes	Fyscher	Farringdon	4d	-
William	Seyten	Leicester	4d	-
Thomas	Polle	Grafton	4d	-
Richard	Hemlay	Lanford	2d	-
Alice	Gardinar	Croprey	4d	-
Richard	Wytlay	Lanford	2d	-
William	Collyns	Croprey	4d	-
William	Palmer	Winthorpe	12d	-
Catrina	Tuxford	<sup>41</sup>	4d	-
John	Wytwell	Boston	4d	-
Matthew	Fox	N [sic]	4d	-
Johanna	Pratt	Maltby le Marsh	12d	-
Richard	Chyges	Wainfleet	4d	-
John	Skone	Grimsby	2d	-
Thomas	Smart	of the same place	2d	-
Elen	Howseman	Somercotes S Peter	4d	-

Total 21s 7d [sic]

<sup>oo</sup>. The amount of the bequest was 3s 4d  
<sup>41</sup>. Parish not given.

fol. 127v

I Sir Thomas Chamberlayn on 7 September 1532 have received bequests from the Archdeaconry of Northampton that is to say from 24 November in the year of the Lord 1528 to the same day that is to say to the use of the fabric 57s 8d

I Thomas Chamberlayn received from Master Nicholas Bradebyge Chancellor of the Cathedral...to the use of the Fabric from his own gift £20.

fol. 128.

The total account of Thomas Chamberleyn chaplain Keeper of the Red Chest in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel in the year of the Lord One thousandth five hundred and first [sic] year up to the same feast of St. Michael in the One thousandeth and second [sic]<sup>42</sup> year of the Lord that is to say for one complete year.

Arrears none <sup>43</sup>	...for bequests this year	£ 12	0s	6d <sup>44</sup>
	...for Master Nicholas Bradebrige gift	£ 20	0s	0d
	...for things sold this year	£ 4	10s	1d <sup>45</sup>
	...for the throne this year	£	nil	
	Total	£ 36	10s	7d

Therefore he paid into the hands of the Masters of the] Fabric as appears by Indenture made between the aforesaid] Masters and the said Accountant ] £ 36 0s 7d  
and with regard to that given to himself 10s 0d  
The sum amount paid out and allocated £ 36 10s 7d  
and so it balances.

.....  
<sup>42</sup>. The date is clearly a mistake for 1531 and 1532. The headings are in a different and rather crude hand which suggests that the headings were written by an inexperienced scribe and the main text by the actual accountant.

<sup>43</sup>. This note is in the margin.

<sup>44</sup>. The actual total of the bequests including the £2 17s. 8d. received from the Archdeaconry of Northampton recorded above was £11 16s. 2d.

<sup>45</sup>. Details of these sales are not given in this account.

## APPENDIX C

### BEQUESTS FOR CHURCH BUILDING, MAINTENANCE, FURNISHING AND ORNAMENTATION IN MEDIEVAL LINCOLNSHIRE

In this Appendix bequests for church building, maintenance, furnishing and ornamentation are recorded. The procedure used is similar to that of Cattermole and Cotton in their gazetteer of Norfolk churches<sup>1</sup> which is explained as follows :

'The dates quoted for will bequests generally refer to the year in which the will was made rather than the year of probate. Most wills prior to 1500 are in Latin; it would appear that the verbs such as *fabricare*, *repare* and *aedificare* were used interchangeably, so that their significance depends upon the context (e.g. 'repairing' a new tower). Again, only the context can make it clear whether a bequest is to the general fabric fund of a church or for a particular campaign. Translation from the Latin has generally been literal. *Campanile* may be translated as tower or steeple without implying the presence of a spire, whilst *aisle* or *ele* may simply mean a chapel (as at Walsingham). Reference to the work (*opus*) of the church may imply building work although work of the chancel may often mean the upkeep of the services. A bequest to the body of the church is taken to refer to the nave (with or without aisles); reference to a vestibule can mean a porch or vestry again depending on context. A reference to covering or leading may well imply a new roof, whilst a new font, screen, or roof often accompanied a major building campaign.'

.....

<sup>1</sup>. Cattermole, P. and Cotton, S. 'Medieval Parish Church Building in Norfolk' in Norfolk Archaeology Vol. XXXVIII Part III (Norwich, 1983) p. 235.



Bequests for 'church work' or 'to the fabric' have only been included where they appear to have been made in support of a current building campaign rather than to a fund for the maintenance of the fabric.

There are very many bequests for the provision of ornaments, furnishing etc. and only the more interesting or significant have been included in this Appendix. The major bequests recorded in this Appendix are discussed in Chapter V.

I am grateful to Mr. John Wilford, FSA for advice on the liturgical terms used in this appendix.

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
ALFORD	20. 4.1529	Thomas Wyatt	Steeple 6s 8d*
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 125		
	18. 5.1530	William Cogyll	Steeple 6s 8d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 205		
ALGARKIRK	5. 5.1532	Robert Lyndeley	Steeple 6s 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 2		
	12.12.1533	Alice Hoode	Steeple 5d. Ornament of high altar 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 231v.		
ANWICK	2. 9.1416	William de Waltham	'my Antiphonary'
	AASR Vol. XLI p. 75		
	17. 6.1510	William Bystill	Stalls making 20s
	LRS Vol. 5 p.41		
ANWICK	4. 4.1532	John Knotte	Reparacions 8d Reparacions of high altar 2d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 261.		
ANWICK	5. 5.1536	John Parete	Reparacions of Bells 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 144v.		
ASGARBY	31. 3.1533	William Collyn	Repair of bells
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 166v.		
ASHBY	1. 7.1529	Thomas Panton	Bells 20d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 136.		
ASHBY PUERORUM	12. 5.1536	John Beke	Steeple 6s 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1534 &c. f. 1v.		
BARHOLME	22. 6.1530	Thomas Foldington	Repair of bells 8d
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 11.		
BARROWBY	11. 5.1532	John Burbeche	Repair of church 'my gret tymber'
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 46.		
BARTON-ON-HUMBER	1. 4.1528	George Portyngton	Repair of St. Ninian Chapel 16d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 73.		
BAUMBER	4. 5.1535	Richard Balderson	'buying of bell' 6s 8d.
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 52v.		
BELTON	14.12.1530	Thomas Thornton	12d for making of church cloth for weddings and church 'sekings'
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 85.		
BENNINGTON -IN-HOLLAND	10. 4.1530	William Fox	New tower
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 2.		
	16. 9.1530	John Shepperde	Repairs 3s 4d
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 48		
	2. 1.1534	William Wryght	Repairs 20s.
BENNINGTON -IN-HOLLAND	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 311v.		
	3. 5.1534	Richard Shepperde	Reparacions 6s 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 286v.		
BICKER	7. 4.1524	Margaret Jackson	Repair of chapel in church yard one cow.
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 130.		
	- 1535	Thomas Jakson	Reparacions of Lady Altar 4d
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 44v.		
BICKER	2. 9.1535	Margaret Johnson	Reparacions of Lady Altar 4d. Altar cloth and surplice
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 9.		
BILLINGBOROUGH	16.10.1532	Ralph Shotton	Repairing of Lady Altar 6d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 25v.		
BILLINGHAY	5. 2.1529	John Wylson	Reparacions 12d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 162.		
	24. 8. 1521	William Williamson	Vestment
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 212.		
	20. 1.1534	William Fysher	Repairs 4d
LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 276v.			

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
BILSBY	12. 4.1530	John White	Building of Church 12d
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 135v.	John Kelsey	Making of Steeple
	31. 4.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p.193.		
BIRTHORPE	30.11.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 82.	Thomas Gee	10s to buy Cross cloth.
BDLINGBROKE	14.11.1515	John Porter	Repair of bells 3s 0d.
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 68.	William Balet	Removing of font 6s 8d
	25. 2.1522	Thomas Vncle	Repair of bells 12d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 25. 12. 4.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 183.		
BOSTON St. Botolph	8.12.1489	Henry Smith	'To the werkes of the church of St. Botolph' 20s
	AASRP Vol. XLI p. 216.	Agnes Grosewell	'To the reparacion of the body of the said parish church...xiij' 'To the chauntry of Corpus Christi iij platers, iij dishes and iij sawcers of pewter'.
	16. 3.1489 AASRP Vol. XLI pp. 207/8.		Gilding of St. Anthony choir 26s 8d.
	19. 8.1527	John Leek	
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 40.	Roger Rowce	Reparacions of high altar 6d
	13. 4.1532	William Wughtaan	Gilding of St. Botolph
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 70. 7. 9.1532 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 20v.		
BOSTON St. John	29. 5.1478	William Cawood	'Reparacion of chapell of St. John Baptist in Southende' 40s
	AASRP Vol. XLI p. 180	Agnes Groswell	Repair of body of church 12d
	16. 3.1489 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 207.		
BOSTON Chapel of St. Michael in le Fenne <sup>2</sup> .	26. 3.1439 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 88.	Sir Ralph Rochefort	Repair of chapel...£10
BRANSTON	21. 9.1521	Robert Plankney	To the Church Markes 6s 8d
	LRS Vol. 12 p. 24.	Robert Raynton	To the church markes 12d
	23.11.1529	John Grymbalde	Repair of Lady Chapel 6d.
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 155. 29.10.1533 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 111.		
BRATOFT	26. 1.1529	Thomas Bosyer	To the church warke 6s 8d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 161	Thomas Gooite	Repair of High Altar 12d
	3. 7.1536 LAO LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 25v.		
BURGH-LE-MARSH	8. 2.1489	John Cracrofte	Repair of Bell 6s 8d
	LAO Reg. XIII f. 34.	Matilda Haldyn	Reparacion of the hygh alter 12d.
	24.11.1525	John Missynden	Reparacions 3s 4d
	LRS Vol. 12 p. 115.	Henry Hall	Reparacions 6s 8d
	12. 7.1529	Thomas Morrell	Reparacions 12d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 137.	Robert Carter	Reparacions 40s.
	20.12.1529	William Pyncrake	'Residue...to finish new quere'
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 157.	Thomas Temper	Silver and gilt Trinity choir
	21.12.1529		
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 158.		
	5.11.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 69. 17. 9.1534 LAO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 319v. 15.4.1535 LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 30v.		

<sup>2</sup>. 'Chapel founded before 1300 for the convenience of inhabitants'. Owen, D. M. 'Medieval Chapels in Lincolnshire' in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology Vol. 10 (Lincoln, 1975) p. 16.

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
CANDLESBY	21.12.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 158.	Thomas Morrell	Reparacions 12d
CASTLE CARLTON	11. 6.1465 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 103.	William Edyngton	New portus and new manuel <sup>3</sup>
CHERRY BURTON	1.10.1525 LRS Vol. 10 p. 17.	Margaret Sutton	New cope <sup>4</sup>
CLAYPOLE	15.12.1534 LAO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 10.	Henry Dykynson	'Towards the setting up of a herde upon the crosse at St. Helenys 6s 8d and it to remain in the executors hands unto the tyme yt they may set a markeman'.
	26. 3.1536 LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 105.	William Rynglove	Frontal High Altar and payntyng of same 3s
CONISHOLME	29.11.1535 LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 138.	Richard Woode	Reparacions 2s.
	27. 2.1528 LRS Vol. 10 p. 64.	John Langholm	Cope and vestments 8s 4d <sup>4</sup>
CORBY GLEN	28. 8.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 143.	Jane Armstrong	Reparacions of the church 40s
CORBY	1.11.1533 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 113.	Richard Holderness	Reparacions 6s 8d. Reparacions of bells 6d
COWBIT	27.11.1532 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 241v.	Martin Wryght	Remainder for repair of church
CROFT	9. 1.1517 LRS Vol. 5 p. 70.	John Longe	Mass book, chalice, vestment, altar cloth, towels <sup>5</sup>
	18.1.1534 LAO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 87d.	Agnes Halborne	Reparacions 20d
	6.11.1535 LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 119v.	Richard Hubbard	Reparacions 8d
	18. 1.1536 LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 119.	John Bawke	Repair of church 20d
	3. 7.1536 LAO LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 25v.	Thomas Goote	Reparacions 3s 4d
DONINGTON ON BAIN	22. 4.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 189.	Thomas Alysby	Painting of St. Andrew 3s 4d
DONINGTON-IN-HOLLAND	12. 6.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 132.	Robert Benyt	To the bying of a crosse to the churche 5 marks
DORRINGTON	16.10.1532 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 145.	Robert Parsons	Reparacions 10s
DOWSBY	18. 4.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 125.	Thomas Bothe	To the bells 12d
	27. 4.1532 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 261.	Robert Turner	Repairs 6d
DUNSTON	24.10.1532 LCC 1532/4 f. 214.	Robert Barker	Repairs 12d

<sup>3</sup>. Portus : Name used in England for the Breviary which contained the Psalms, Hymns, Lessons and Prayers.  
Manuel : Book containing the forms prescribed for the administration of the Sacraments.

<sup>4</sup>. Cope : Cloak used at certain times by a priest.

<sup>5</sup>. Mass Book : Usually called an Antiphony which is a book containing the forms prescribed for the administration of the Sacrament.

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
EAST KEAL	12. 5.1529	Thomas Burton	Church marke 10s
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 214.		
	9. 3.1533	John Tayller	Mass Book 4s New cross of copper and cross cloth 40s
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 101v.		
EAST RASEN	27. 3.1530	John Hurrokes	'20d to help maintain reparacions'
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 170.		
EDENHAM	15. 5.1528	Ralph Bucke	Bells seam barley
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 82.		
	30. 8.1530	William Goodhale	Repair of Bells 20d
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 41.		
EDLINGTON	4. 4.1533	Giles Smyrthwith	Building of Steeple £3 Candlesticks £2.
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 99.		
ENERBY	22. 3.1537	George Browne	Repair of bells 3s 4d
	LAO LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 12.		
FILLINGHAM	28. 5.1530	Thomas Lytyll	One quarter of malte
	LRS Vol. 12 p. 141.		
FISHTOFT	14. 6.1532	Thomas Spalding	Ornament price 26s 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 16.		
	10. 1.1533/4	John Rother	Reparacions of bell 3s 4d Silver pix 3s 4d*
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 133v.		
FLEET	16. 9.1529	William Dawsonne	Church work 3s 4d makinge of oure Ladie Redbourne chapel 6s makinge of the roundell 2s 8d <sup>7</sup>
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 146.		To the buying of one paire of organes <sup>8</sup>
	- 1534	Richard Mulson	'Making of cross in churchyard so much freestone, tyle and lyme as shall be necessary or elle so myche money to paye for ytt'
	LAO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 309.		
FOLKINGHAM	28. 6.1525	John Jobson	'One gret ston trough'
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 150.		
FREISTON	9. 5.1501	Richard Sylame	Making of Sepulchre 6s 8d
	LAO MF 2/23		
FRISKNEY	20. 5.1532	John Alcockson	Reparacions 12d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 49.		
FULBECK	20.11.1533	Alice Elstow	Repair of bells half seam barley
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 116v.		
FULSTON	8. 3.1530	John Swyne	'...and the resydewe to go to the reparacions of steeple'
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 166.		

\*. Pix, pyx : Receptacle containing the reserved Host.

7. Roundel : A circular panel usually decorated, in glass, stucco or carved and inlaid wood. Yarwood, D. *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* (London, 1985) p. 314.

8. A pair of organs : See p. 228

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
GEDNEY FEN	18. 9.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 50.	Thomas Wylson	Repair of bells, bellframe 40s Gilding of Trinity 5 marks
GELSTON	18. 2.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 164.	John Thomson	To the chapill of saynt Lenard 20d
GOLTHO	20. 8.1533 LRO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 178.	John Langton	Repair of chapel 12d
GONERBY	20. 3.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 117. 3. 3.1534 LRO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 274.	William Derham Robert Tylling	Flanders Chest*. Vestment f10
GOSBERTON	9. 5.1512 LRS Vol. 5 p. 47. 20. 4.1513 LRS Vol. 5 p. 52. 14.12.1521 LRS Vol. 5 p. 101. 16.12.1522 LRS Vol. 5 p. 114. 15. 4.1532 LRO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 71v. 26. 1.1533 LRO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 41v. 2. 4.1534 LRO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 289. 12. 4.1534 LRO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 316v. 18. 9.1534 LRO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 309v.	William Foster Richard Colle Richard Bane John Tempest Elizabeth Stokelay Godfrey Bolles Thomas Osse John Scherte John Potte	Reparacions of high altar 'Pareling' [apparelling] of the high altar 6d Reparacions 2d Repair of altars 4d Reparacions 6s 8d Reparacions Lady Altar 12d Repair of high altar 2d Repair of every other altar Repair of every altar 3d. Repair of every altar 2d.
GRAINTHORPE	15. 1.1508 LRS Vol. 5 p. 38. 17. 6.1527 LRS Vol. 12 p. 80.	John Blanchard Thomas Blanchard	One dish for a little bell <sup>10</sup> . '...gyltynge off the Rode lofte' 2s Bells 8d
GRANTHAM	11. 9.1419 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 67. 30.12.1464 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 102. 8. 7.1478 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 185. 8.11.1507 LRS Vol. 5 p. 33.	Alice Grene Richard Copeland Henry Curteys Amicia Leveryt	'...to the repair of the vestments and other things of the chantry of St. John Baptist' 40s. A missal Fabric of rood loft £20 Repair of chapel 3s 4d
GRAYINGHAM	4. 4.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 177.	Thomas Kendall	Steeple 20d
GREATFORD	3. 4.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 122.	Robert Dale	Bells two seams barley
GRIMSBY St. James	26. 8.1518 LRS Vol. 5 p. 76.	Thomas Kingston	Chalice, vestment, book, three altar cloths, corporax cloth, two cruets, candlesticks <sup>11</sup> .
GRIMSBY St. Mary	16. 6.1411 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 69.	Thomas de Grymsby	'One whole vestment'

\*. Flanders Chest : Chests of various types were used to store the church documents. This particular type was elaborately carved and many were imported from the Continent but some were carved locally in imitation of the imported variety. Tate. W. E. *The Parish Chest* (Cambridge, 1969) p. 39.

<sup>10</sup>. This may refer to a receptacle of pewter or silver which could be fashioned into a handbell to be rung at the elevation of the Host or rung before the priest taking the Sacrament to a sick person.

<sup>11</sup>. Corporax, corporal : A square piece of linen on which the receptacles containing the bread and wine would be placed and consecrated.

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
GUNBY St. Nicholas	20.11.1538 LRS Vol. 24 p. 78.	Thomas Moreland	Four bordes and 3s 4d to make a tabernacle
GUNBY St. Peter	21.12.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 158.	Thomas Morrell	Reparacions 12d
HACCONBY	9. 2.1533 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 238v.	Thomas Clyff	Repair of bells 4s
HAGWORTHINGHAM	16. 1.1500 LAO MF 2/23 18. 2.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 164.	Richard Spert John Neyffe	Campanile repair 6s 8d Church warke 4d
HALTON HOLGATE	20. 9.1518 LRS Vol. 5 p. 77. 28. 1.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 106. 21.12.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 158. 12. 4.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 161. 26. 1.1530 LRS Vol. 12 p. 161.	John Crooke John Gell Thomas Morrell Thomas Rodley Thomas Bosyer	Ornaments of high altar 12d St. Catherine's altar painted cloth High awter...reparacion 8d To the bells 16d '...to the bellys' 20s. 'To the anornamentes of our Lady altar' 8d 'To the anornamentes of the rood' 12d 'Making of St George' 10s Church warke 12d
HARBOROUGH	29. 4.1486 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 210.	John Hathwick	'To the high altar one napkin in length iiij ells worth iijs iiijd...a stayned cloth to hang before the same altar...to the reparation and fabric... xiijs iiijd'
HATCLIFF	1. 7.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 136.	Thomas Panton	Payntyng of the crucifix, Mary and John 33s 4d
HECKINGTON	10. 6.1523 LRS Vol. 10 p. 10	Robert Jenkynson	'Residue to reparacions'
HELPRINGHAM	23. 9.1534 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 314.	Robert Fowler	Repair of bells 12d
HOGSTHORPE	15. 3.1511 LRS Vol. 5 p. 43. 3. 9.1521 LRS Vol. 5 p. 89. - 1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 62. - 1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 115.	Thomas Kirkham Robert Place Agnes Yong Richard Parysh	Making of choir 10 marks Making of stalls in northern part £4 Mending of steeple 6s 8d Reparacions of pyx*. Reparacions of pyx 12d*.
HOLBEACH	- 1534 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 314v.	John Lesse	£10 to buy blue cope of velvet and my name to be sowl thereon that I may be remembered in the yere afterward.
HORNCastle	25. 8.1520 LRS Vols. 5 p. 84. 14. 5.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 127. 30. 5.1536 LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 91.	Richard Clarke Robert Halgarth Richard Barbor	'Fine mantyll off ix yerdys of new cloth' The window that I caused to be made Church work 10s to the making of a cross. Reparacions of church 12d Reparacions of bells
HOUGH-ON -THE-HILL	18. 2.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 164.	John Thowson	To St Rumbold chapyll 12d
HOWSAM	12. 9.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 46.	Thomas Wryght	Building of chapel 6d
HUTTOFT	1.10.1534 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 325.	Richard Burton	Repairs three sheets
HYKEHAM, NORTH	6. 8.1527 LRS Vol. 10 p. 38.	Henry Halley	For repairs one cow and one acre sown

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
INGOLDSBY	9. 7.1532 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 53v.	Helen Howet	Reparacion of bells 4d
IRBY	21.12.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 158.	Thomas Morrell	Reparacions 12d
KIRMINGTON	16. 5.1522 LRS Vol. 5 p. 108.	George Hopkinson	Reparacions 20s.
KIRTON-IN HOLLAND	4. 4.1520 LRS Vol. 5 p. 83. 13. 1.1522 LRS Vol. 5 p. 103. 26.11.1524 LRS Vol. 5 p. 140. 14. 7.1527 LRS Vol. 10 p. 36. 7. 5.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 194. 7. 5.1530 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 191. 8.12.1532 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 6. 20. 1.1533 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 4. 12. 2.1533 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 167. 4. 5.1533 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 167v. 16.10.1535 LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 64. 16. 2.1536 LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 104v.	Robert Poolas William Fowler John Parleben Thomas Chambers Alan Barnabe Thomas Bele Agnes Hayland John Jakson Alice Clamonde Robert Brenton William Mann Roger Marser	Reparacions 40d Residue of money from sale of land to bell loft if daughter dies or marries £16 to go to repair of Aisle <sup>12</sup> 6s 8d for three years towards buying a cope Repair of Lady Altar Repair of church 3s 4d High altar and Lady altar each a towel Repairs 5s. Reparacions 2s 8d Repair of church 4d Vestment £3. Reparacions 3s 4d
LEADENHAM	8. 6.1527 LRS Vol. 10 p. 34. 7. 8.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 142. 8.10.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 150. 8.10.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 151. 15.10.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 151. 4.12.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 156. 27. 2.1535 LAO LCC Wills 1535/c. f. 89v.	John Fysher Thomas Olyuer John Bugge Robert Hogeson Ralph Landesdale Robert Kyrton Jeneyt Fox	Bells 8d Maintenance of the bells 6d To the use of the parish church 6d Upholdyng of the bells 3s 4d Bells 4d Landesdale Bells 8d Graile boke byng 3s 4d <sup>13</sup> . reparacions of the bellys 3s 4d Repair of bells
LEAKE	21.11.1521 LRS Vol. 5 p. 98. 14. 9.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 145. 18. 4.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 184. 5.11.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 70. 28.12.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 91. 20.12.1532 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 6. 16. 3.1533 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 180v.	John Alynson John Buschey Thomas Dykynson Richard Robertson Steven Hernes John Claymson Thomas Felde	New steeple 2s Church to have of lande 3s 4d Adornment of High Altar 8d Making of new steeple 12d Ornaments and gilding of our Lady 3s 4d Ornaments and gilding of high altar 8d Building of new steeple 6s Repair and building church 6s 8d Building of church 6s 8d to be paid in 3 payments within three quarters of yeare after my death

<sup>12</sup>. Contingencies such as this were often included in medieval wills. This particular bequest is included here to show that work was being carried out on one of the Aisles of the church.

<sup>13</sup>. Graile Book or Gradual : This was a book containing sentences (antiphons) which were sung immediately after the first lesson from the Old Testament.



Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
LEVERTON	10. 6.1528 LRS Vol. 10 p. 84.	Thomas Keecher	6s 8d to be payd in the yere 1532
	14. 9.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 145.	John Buschey	Ornamentes of the hygh alter 4d church markes 13s 4d resydue of money that remayns of the landes be disposyd in the church markes
	6.11.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 70.	Richard Robertson	Reparacions 3s 4d
	1. 5.1533 LAO LCC Willis 1532/4 f. 159v.	Maude Arthrowe	Building of kyrk 3s 4d
	15.11.1534 LAO LCC Willis 1532/4 f. 133.	Joan Tollyn	Reparacions 4d ornamentes high altar 4d
LINCOLN Cathedral	- 1382 LRS Vol. 5 p. 11.	Geoffrey le Scrope	'...one silver gilt image of the most high Trinity be wrought at my expense and placed in the midst of the high altar in the top-most niche...also my white silk cope with an 'orfray' of blue velvet with the likeness of the apostles in woven in gold...to the altar where mass of the Blessed Mary is celebrated one red chasuble with a great 'orfray' of gold with tunicles and dalmatics to the same chasuble belonging...' <sup>14</sup> .
	10. 5.1388 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 64.	Sir John de Multon	'To the fabric of the high altar...to make a picture 100 marks'.
	4. 1.1487 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 213.	William Sanden	A glass mirror in gold and silver
LINCOLN St. Benedict	7.11.1511 LRS Vol. 5 p. 44.	Joan Harby	Jesus altar mass book, chalice, vestment
	12.12.1527 LRS Vol. 10 p. 55.	John Haltun	'Edifying of the church and church works'
LINCOLN St. Cuthbert	- 1327 LRS Vol. 5 p. 5.	Avice de Crosseby	'...one very little leaden vessel to mend the eves or gutter of the church...'
LINCOLN St. John	20. 9.1511 LRS Vol. 5 p. 46.	William Robynson	A cross 5 marks
	30. 4.1522 LRS Vol. 5 p. 105.	John Fox	Making of rood loft 13s
LINCOLN St Mark	30. 6.1506 LRS Vol. 5 p. 28.	William of the Chambour.	Cross of Mary and John of silver and over gilted weighing lxxxij unces
LITTLE GRIMSBY	10. 5.1532 LRS Vol. 24 p. 230.	William Baker	Cross cloth 6s 8d
LONG SUTTON	- 1466 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 113.	Robert Walsham	'...house for keeping the jewels in built on the south side' 100s '...repair of St. Katherine' 20s
	17. 3.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 115.	Laurence Sowter	Reparacions of church 12d
LOUTH St. James	5. 9.1459 AASRP Vol. pp. 98/9.	John Louthe	Land for completion of Trinity Chapel
	10. 5.1532 LRS Vol. 24 p. 230.	William Baker	Reparacions 13s 4d
LUDBURGH	8. 3.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 166.	John Swyne	To the holy roode 4d
LUTTON	20. 3.1524 LRS Vol. 5 p. 127.	John Chilton	Residue of rents of land for reparacions

<sup>14</sup>. 'Orfray' : Orphrey (Latin) the trimming or ornamentation of a vestment.  
Chasuble : Undergarment worn by a priest when celebrating the Eucharist.  
Tunicle : Outer garment worn by a sub-deacon.  
Dalmatic : Over garment worn at High Mass by a deacon.

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor		Bequest
MARSHCHAPEL	2. 4.1530	John	Madyson	Pair of new organs 13s 4d <sup>1a</sup>
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 175. II. 4.1530	Walter	Proveste	New organs 2s <sup>1a</sup> .
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 185.			
METHERINGHAM	27. 3.1534	William	Chapell	Reparacions 12d
	LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 294.			
MININGSBY	26. 5.1529	Richerd	Herby	Making of a stone cross in churchyerde 3s 4d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 131.			
MINTING	29. 5.1534	Robert	Swaton	Repairs 6d
	LAD LCC Wills 1534&c f. 302v.			
MORTON	8.10.1534	Thomas	Bekyngham	Gilding of St. George two strikes of barley
	LAD LCC Wills 1534&c f. 5.			
MOULTON	29. 7.1471	William	Hille	'Four images oon after me, another after Isabella my wife and two other after the saide William and Johanne with scriptours convenient ...the same stone to be laide halfe a yard in hight from the ggrounde' Antiphony 10 marks <sup>1a</sup> .
	AASRP Vol. XLI p. 187			
	14. 3.1476	Thomas	Prowett	
	AASRP Vol. XLI p. 192.			
	12.12.1487	Richard	Welby	'Aulter cloth of damask and a frontell of the same...'
	AASRP Vol. XLI p. 217.			
	4. 3.1513	Henry	Cullier	New stalls 3s 4d
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 5.			
	4. 9.1515	Emnot	Henrison	Gilding of Mary and John. Gilding of of image of Our Lady
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 67.			
	8. 6.1533	John	Blanke	Making of church roof 6s 8d, 3s4d at begining and 3s 4d when it mayd a nende of.
	LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 184.			
	10. 4.1534	Thomas	White	Repairs 20d
	LAD LCC Wills 1534&c f. 302v.			
	26. 9.1535	Thomas	Asteyn	Ornaments, books
	LAD LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 95.			
	15. 1.1537	William	Scarlet	Reparacions 3s 4d
	LAD LCC Wills 1538/40 f. 15.			
MUNBY	8. 2.1489	John	Cracrofte	Repair St. Leonards Chapel 12d
	LAD Reg. XXII f. 34.			
	- 1535	Simon	Halden	Bell maintenance 3s. 4d
	LAD LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 75.			
NORTH COATES	3. 3.1529	Richard	Panckyll	To the gyltyng of the rood lofte 8d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 166.			
NORTH RAUCEBY	4.12.1529	Thomas	Warde	To the church 20s
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 156.			
OSBOURNBY	20. 3.1529	William	Derham	Bells 12d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 117.			
PINCHBECK	5. 9.1514	Robert	Alphyn	If no heirs land etc to be sold and money given to church work
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 69.			
	17. 1.1525	John	Maners	Silver candlestick f8
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 144.			
	28. 5.1529	Thomas	Sale	To the church werke 3s 4d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 131.			
	18.2.1533	William	Alphyn	Repair of bell 20d
	LAD LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 241.			
QUADRING	2. 6.1526	Thomas	Rudde	'Amending of broken bell' 6s 8d
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 169.			

<sup>1a</sup>. See p. 228. <sup>1b</sup>. Antiphony : Liturgical book containing the choir office and Mass.

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
REEPHAM	29.12.1527 LRS Vol. 10 p. 58.	Thomas Skofyn	3s 4d towards seier over roode lofte
RIPPINGALE	8.11.1505 LRS Vol. 10 p. 3.	Mauncer Marayon	Repair of chapel of S Anne 10s
RINGESDON	8.11.1505 LRS Vol. 10 p. 3.	Mauncer Marayon	Repair of chapel 5 marks
ROWSTON	24.10.1532 LRO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 214.	Robert Barker	Repairs 3s 4d
SALTFLEET HAVEN	5. 3.1534 LRO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 14.	William Synton	Repair of St Catherines Chapel 4d Repair of chapel of the cross of the sands 6d <sup>17</sup> .
SALTFLEETBY All Saints	21.12.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 150.	Thomas Morrell	Reparacions 12d
SALTFLEETBY St. Peter	16.10.1535 LRO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 142.	Margaret Thornton	Corporax, altar cloth, towel <sup>14</sup> .
SAPPERTON	17. 5.1527 LRS Vol. 10 p. 33.	William Basse	Repair of bells 3d
SCARTHOE	22. 9.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 56.	Margaret Houson	Sheet to make altar cloth
SCREMBY	21.12.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 158. 22.10.1532 LRO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 35.	Thomas Morrell Thomas Gregby	Reparacions 12d Buying of new cross for church
SEDEBROOKE	30. 6.1471 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 191.	William Porter	Executors to provide stone of marble
SEMPRINGHAM	30.11.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 82.	Thomas Gee	10s to buy cross cloth
SIBSEY	28.10.1521 LRS Vol. 5 p. 93.	John Slye	Reparacions of bell tower
SILK WILLOUGHBY	- 1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 68.	Richard Fowl	Gilding of sepulchre
SIX HILLS	2. 4.1530 LRS Vol. 10 p. 175. 15. 9.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 47.	John Madgson John Hommylton	6s 8d to be paid yerly while f4 has been paid from Shipcote Close Repair of bells 12d Repair of North altar 5s
SKEGNESS	21.12.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 158.	Thomas Morrell	Reparacions 12d
SKIDBROOKE	5. 3.1534 LRO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 14.	William Synton	Repair of cross in church garth 1000 tiles
SKILLINGTON	14. 9.1530 LRS Vol. 12 p. 137.	Thomas Combretton	Also to our Lady in Skyllington church 12d
SOUTH FERRIBY	1. 3.1534 LRO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 251v. 12. 5.1534 LRO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 279.	Richard Gryme John Gawdby	Repairs a quarter of barley Repairs a quarter of barley
SOUTH KELSEY	13. 5.1477 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 195.	Elizabeth Chittok	'...a bell called Sanctus Bell' and a vestment.
SOUTH RAUCEBY	4.12.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 156.	Thomas Warde	To the chapel 16d

<sup>17</sup>, 'Hermitage of Holy Cross on the Sand : founded 1411' Owen, D. M. 'Medieval Chapels' op. cit. p. 20.

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
SOUTH WILLINGHAM	14. 2.1532 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 97v.	John Wadeslay	Building of Steeple three quarters barley
SOUTH WITHAM	6. 5.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 126.	Christopher Basse	Making of steeple 13s 4d
SPALDING	9. 9.1473 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 188. 19. 9.1530 LRS Vol. 24 p. 51.	Emme Lambe Edmund Hobson	Ornament £3 Linen altar cloth, silver and gilt pix 8s 4d. 2 copes blue satin 57s 4d* 2 stoles 13s 4d mending of north wall of church yard
	20. 6.1532 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 161v.	Richard Trowthe	Reparacions 20d
SPILSBY	4. 2.1523 LRS Vol. 5 p. 15. 23. 5.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 130.	Robert Goodricke Alice Arnold	Bells 1/2 cwt. old metal Toward the buylding of the steple 3s 4d To the west window 3s 4d
STAMFORD All Hallows	17. 2.1488 AASRP Vol. p. 206.	William Browne	Curate to have best gown. Church to have 'vestment of fyne black veluet that is to say ijj coopis, a vestment, and ij tonacles, wt the albes and other thingis therto belonging, price lxvjli xiijs iiijd' Also...a vestment of white sylke for our Ladies chapell...price vjli' Also to the same chapell a course vestment price xxvjs viijd'
	25. 6.1489 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 202.	Margaret Browne	'...a palle for the fertour [shrine] of blak veluett'. '...ijj cusshins to the presbiterye wretin in theym 'O Mater dei'...
STAMFORD St Clements	25. 6.1489 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 202.	Margaret Browne	'a vestment of blak damaske, that is to say a cope a chesible and ij tonacles'.
STAMFORD St George	25. 6.1489 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 202.	Margaret Browne	'a palle of blak damsk' <sup>10</sup>
STAMFORD St Martin	25. 6.1489 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 202.	Margaret Browne	'a palle for the fertour of blak damask' <sup>10</sup>
STAMFORD St Mary	25. 6.1489 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 202.	Margaret Browne	'...a vestment of blak veluet, that is to say a cope a cheseble with ij tonacles'. <sup>14</sup>
STAMFORD St. Paul	10.10.1407 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 74. 25. 6.1407 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 74.	John Staunford Margaret Browne	'my psalter' '...a vestment of blak damask, that is to say a cope a chesible and ij tonacles'. <sup>14</sup>
STAMFORD St Peter	25. 6.1489 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 202.	Margaret Browne	'a palle for the fertour of blak damask' <sup>10</sup>
STAMFORD St Stephen	25. 6.1489 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 202.	Margaret Browne	'a vestment of blak damaske, that is to say a cope a cheseble and ij tonacles'. <sup>14</sup>
STICKFORD	16. 3.1533 LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 264v. 21. 5.1535 LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 125v.	William Jowytson John Slater	Vestment 23s 4d Reparacions
STIXWOLD	4. 1.1488 AASRP Vol. XLI p. 212.	William Sanden	Agnes Dei of gold with 'sepulchre stone'
SUTTERTON	5. 3.1529 LRS Vol. 10 p. 111.	Henry Percy	Adornment of altars 2d

<sup>10</sup>. Pall : Cloth covering a coffin at a funeral.  
Fertour (feretory) : A bier or coffin.

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
SUTTON St Edmund	31. 3.1489	Nicholas Hardy	Repair of chapel 6s 8d
	AASRP Vol. XLI p. 209.		
	10. 7.1535	John Pore	Repair of glass windows 3s 4d
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 122.		
SWATON	19.11.1532	Cecily Johnson	Linen sheet and best linen towel
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 200v.		
SWINESHEAD	12. 6.1529	Robert Benyt	To the church fyve markes to on ornament
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 132.		as the parysh thynkes most neyd of
	7.12.1532	Robert Bulle	Gilding of crucifix and Mary and John and eagle £4
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 225.		
TATTERSHALL	24. 4.1532	John Chapman	Maintenance of bells 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 98v.		
	2. 1.1535	Thomas Jakson	Reparacions 6s 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1534&c f. 12.		
TEALBY	19. 6.1529	Richard Talbot	A cope to be bought £3.*
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 135.		
THEDDLETHORPE All Saints	10. 1.1530	Thomas Ely	To the bells 2s to the same church 6s 8d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 159.		
THEDDLETHORPE St Helen	26. 3.1529	William Putteryll	The buyldyng of the stepill 12d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 118.		
	25. 9.1529	Richard Seyth	The buyldyng of the stepill 3s 4d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 148.		
	14. 8.1530	William Saule	Building of Steeple 6s.
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 37.		
	10. 1.1529/30	Thomas Ely	To the parische church 9s 6d
LRS Vol. 10 p. 159.			
THORPE St. Peter	25.12.1533	Simon Marcande	Building of Steeple 6s 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 266v.		
	6. 6.1535	John White	Building of steeple 12d
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 131.		
THORPE St. Peter	7. 8.1535	William Goodknape	Vestment £3. 6s. 8d
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 67.		
THURLBY	11.12.1533	Richard Lodysdale	Reparacion of bells 12d
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 113v.		
TIMBERLAND	8.10.1530	Robert Sparke	Reparacions 6s 8d
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 63.		
TOYNTON All Saints	10. 7.1523	John Gell	£10 to make two tabernacles
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 120.		
	12. 5.1529	Thomas Burton	Church markes of Duer Toynton 20d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 214.		
TUPHOLME	8. 3.1529	John Gray	To Myddyllrasen Tupholme church warke 2s 8d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 166.		
TYDD St Mary	3. 9.1471	Nicholas Odam	New chalice and chalice to be repaired.**
	AASRP Vol. XLI p. 190/1.		
UTTERBY	26. 7.1532	William Alcoke	Banner cloth a quarter of wheat
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 39.		

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 \*\*. Chalice : Container for the Sacramental wine used during the celebration of the Eucharist.

Church	Date of Will/Source	Benefactor	Bequest
WADDINGTON	11. 7.1535	Robert Baveray	Making of partition between holy choir and chancel 20d
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 62v.	Peter Langton	Reparacions 2s
	22.11.1535		
WAINFLEET	- 1535	Simon Lowdon	Reparacions 20s. Ornamentation 53s 4d.
	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 28		
WAINFLEET All Saints	26. 4.1532	William Hubbert	Reparacions 10s
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 168v.		
WAINFLEET St. Mary	12. 8.1534	John Dandyson	Reparacions of high altar 6d
	LAO LCC Wills 1534/4 f. 318		
WASHINGBOROUGH	13. 4.1534	John Barge	Pair of censers 10s
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 303		
WELBOURNE	29.10.1533	Agnes Webster	Reparacion of cross 3s
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 12v.		Making of canopy over high altar 12d
WELLINGORE	20. 2.1520	John Buk	I gif to the Church 6s 8d
	LRS Vol. 12 p. 15		
WESTBURGH	5. 9.1530	William Cooke	Reparacions 6s 8d
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 44		
WESTON	3. 5.1528	Richard Butson	House and land to be sold on death of son one part for repair of church
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 79		
WIGTOFT	19. 7.1527	Robert Lambeson	'If parishioners take down north Ile land to re-edifying'
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 37	Jenytt Yngil	'Kyrchyff to be corporax'**.
	22.11.1530		
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 79		
WILLINGHAM-BY-STON	6. 5.1532	Robert Bryg	Gilding of ymage of St. Paule 20s
	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 49.		
WILLINGHAM-BY-STON	22.10.1528	Margaret West	'I bequeth my howse which I dwelle in, with the garth, landes and medoes, with all otheer howses and appurtencances belongyng unto it, to the reparacions of the church of W and to the maynteyning of the steple' in return for masses and inclusion in bederoll.
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 99		
WINTHORPE	- 1529	Robert Broughton	To the bellys 4d
	LRS Vol. 10 p. 169		
WITHCALL	20.10.1522	Thomas Chapman	Chalice**.
	LRS Vol. 5 p. 112		
WRANGLE	28.12.1530	Steven Hernes	Reparacions 3s 4d
	LRS Vol. 24 p. 91	Jenytt Goott	Ornaments of high altar 2d
	21. 1.1535/6		
WYBERTON	LAO LCC Wills 1535/7 f. 105v.		
	25. 4.1476	Robert Browne	Land to be sold for repairs.
WYBERTON	AASRP Vol. XLI p. 179	James Washyngborough	Reparacions 4d reparacions of bells 6d If wife house to be sold ... for repair and maintenance of choir and the same to be done and furnished by the said vj yeres end.
	3. 4.1525		St. Anne cloth 2d and 3 yards
WYBERTON	LRS Vol. 10 p. 17		linen cloth
	16.10.1532	Margaret Rowforth	Buying of ornament 10s
WYBERTON	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 94v.		
	10. 6.1533	Joan Washyngborough	
WYBERTON	LAO LCC Wills 1532/4 f. 182		

APPENDIX D

PARTICIPANTS AND SUPPORTERS  
LINCOLNSHIRE RISING 1536

The sources from which this record of those implicated in the Lincolnshire Rising has been compiled are the volumes of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII and the lists of gentlemen compiled by Maddison, A. R. entitled 'Lincolnshire gentry during the Sixteenth Century' and published in AASRP Vol. XXII Pt. II pp. 188-192. Places of residence of gentlemen not included in this list have been extracted from Maddison, A. R. Lincolnshire Pedigrees (Lincoln, 1902)

GENTLEMEN

Name	Status	Residence	Source
Alcoke Lybeus	Gentleman	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> Vol. XI Nos. 842, 975.
Ancotts Alexander	Gentleman	Aisthorpe	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp.189,190.
Armyr William	Gentleman	Osgodby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Asfordby Andrew	Gentleman	Asserby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Atklyff John	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Augevine John	Gentleman	West Ashby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp.189,190.
Augevine John	Gentleman	Theddlethorpe	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp.189,190.
Ayscough William	Knight	Stallingborough	<u>L and P</u> Vol. XI No. 853.
Balding Robert	Gentleman	Winterton	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 188.
Bocher Arthur	Gentleman	Low Toynton	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Booth John	Gentleman	Killingholme	<u>L and P</u> Vol. XI No. 853.
Bulneby Godfrey	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Byllysbe Andrew	Knight	Bilsby	<u>L and P</u> Vol. XI No. 828(iii).
Byllysbe Anthony	Gentleman	Bilsby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Byllysbe Thomas	Gentleman	Bilsby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Carre Robert	Gentleman	Sleaford	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 969
Cave Robert	Gentleman	Not known	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 842(4).
Chapman John	Gentleman	Thorpe Hall	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 968.
Copuldyke John	Knight	Harrington	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(ii); <u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(viii).
Crowen Richard	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Curson Richard	Attorney	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 568.
R Curtis Anthony	Gentleman	Grimsby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Dale Thomas	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Dighton Robert	Gentleman	Sturton	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I 70(iv/viii).
Drope Thomas	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Drope William	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Dymoke Arthur	Gentleman	Scrivelsby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No.70(viii).
Dymoke Edward	Sherriff	Scrivelsby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No.70(x).
Dymoke Thomas	Gentleman	Carlton	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No.70(vii/viii).
Etton John	Gentleman	Firsby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 968.

.....  
R = Condemned but reprieved 6 March 1537. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(i).

Name	Status	Residence	Source
Fishbourne	Richard	Gentleman Stowe	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Fitzwilliam	George	Gentleman Skidbrooke	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp.189,192.
Fitzwilliam	John	Gentleman Skidbrooke	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp.189,192.
Forsett	Edward	Esquire Alford	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(ii).
Foster	George	Gentleman Boston	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Girlington	Nicholas	Gentleman Normanton	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 971.
Goodhand	Thomas	Gentleman Wold Newton	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp.189,191.
Grantham	Hugh	Gentleman Dunholme	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp.189/191.
Grantham	Vincent <sup>1</sup>	Alderman Lincoln	
Hastings	John	Gentleman Bilsby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp. 188/9.
Hamby	Edward	Gentleman Tathwell	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Hamby	William	Gentleman Brocklesby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp.189,190.
Hatcliffe	John	Esquire Grimsby	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 842(3), 975(3).
Hennage	John	Gentleman Hainton	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 188.
Huddiswell	George	Gentleman Horkstowe	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 853, 568; <u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I 70(vi), 734(3).
Hustwayte	Robert	Gentleman Grimsby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Ireby	Anthony	Gentleman Gosberton	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 188.
Johnson	Richard	Gentleman Bilsby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Kyme	John	Gentleman Friskney	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Kyme	Thomas	Gentleman Friskney	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Lambe	William	Gentleman Spalding	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Lynsey	Godfrey	Gentleman Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Lynsey	John	Gentleman Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Littlebury	Humphrey	Gentleman Hagworthingham	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 842(3).
Littlebury	Thomas	Gentleman Stainsby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(i2).
Maddison	Edward <sup>2</sup>	Knight Fonaby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(iii).
Maddison	John	Gentleman Fonaby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 857.
Marley	Thomas	Gentleman Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Massingberd	Augustin	Gentleman Bratoft	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 188.
Massingberd	Oswald	Gentleman Bratoft	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Mayhew	Thomas	Esquire Not known	<u>L and P</u> XI 842(3).
Meres	Vincent	Gentleman Great Carlton	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Merling	John	Gentleman Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Moigne	Simon	Gentleman North Willingham	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
+ Moigne	Thomas	Recorder North Willingham	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 822(ii);
Musenden	Humphrey	Gentleman Healing	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Musenden	Thomas	Knight Healing	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 188.
Murbery		Gentleman Girsby	<u>L and P</u> XI 853. <u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).

+ Executed at Lincoln 7 March 1537. L and P Vol XII Pt. I No. 581(i).

<sup>1</sup> Member of Parliament for Lincoln. <sup>2</sup> Member of Parliament for Hull.



Name	Status	Residence	Source
Packe James	Gentleman	Alford	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Pepper Thomas	Gentleman	Thoresby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp. 189, 192.
Portington Thomas	Esquire	Appleby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 853.
Pygotte Peter	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Quadring William	Gentleman	Irby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp. 189, 192.
Quadring Thomas	Gentleman	Irby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp. 189, 192.
Rigges Thomas	Gentleman	Stragglethorpe	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
St. Paul Matthew	Gentleman	Snarford	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Sampcote -	Gentleman	Not known	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 805, 828(vi).
Saundon William	Knight	Ashby (Partney)	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(viii).
Sarboroughe Christopher	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Saunderson Nicholas	Gentleman	Rearsby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70 (ii/viii).
Sheffield John	Gentleman	Croxby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Simson John	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Skerne Edmund	Gentleman	Waltham	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Skipwith John	Gentleman	South Ormsby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Skipwith William	Knight	South Ormsby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 188.
Smyth Rendal	Gentleman	Aby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Sokeshedd Thomas	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Stanlow William	Gentleman	Stickford	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp. 188, 191,
Stones George	Gentleman	Haltham	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I 70(iii/x).
Stones Thomas	Gentleman	Haltham	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Talbot Richard	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Thimbleby Arthur	Gentleman	Irnham	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Thimbleby John	Knight	Irnham	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 658.
Thimbleby Matthew	Gentleman	Irnham	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Thimbleby Richard	Gentleman	Irnham	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 658.
Tournay John	Gentleman	Caenby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Tyrwhitt Robert	Knight	Kettleby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 852.
Tyrwhitt Thomas	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Wastling John	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Webster John	Gentleman	Not known	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Willoughby William	Gentleman	Knaith	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(v).
Wright Thomas	Gentleman	Market Rasen	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.
Wymbish William	Gentleman	Woodthorpe	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II pp. 189, 192.
Wythernyke Oliver	Gentleman	Claxby	<u>AASRP</u> XXII Pt. II p. 189.

### CLERGY

Name	Status	Parish	Source
Beache	Thomas	Parson Welton	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 972.
Benson	Robert	Vicar Gayton	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 568.
Bromwight	Robert	Priest Nether Toynton	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(iii).
Browne	Robert	Vicar Hallington	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
+ Fisher	John	Priest Scartho	<u>L and P</u> XI XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
+ Grey	Ralph	Priest Croft	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
Hodgson	William	Dean of Grimsby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 853
+ Hutton	William	Vicar Cockerington	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
Johnson	William	Vicar Alford	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 972/3.
+ Kendall	Thomas	Vicar Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 843.
Kingeston	John	Vicar Tetney	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 974.
Langley	William	Priest Croft	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. II No. 212.
+ Leach	Nicholas	Parson Belchford	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(xi).
+ Lyon	John	Priest Biscathorpe	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
Maltby	Simon	Priest Farforth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
More	Thomas	Parson Caistor	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 972.
+ Retford	Thomas	Parson Snelland	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(ii).
Skerne	Robert	Priest Not known.	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
+ Smythe	William	Priest Donington	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
Stoner	Francis	Priest Willoughby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(iii).
Whaplode	John <sup>3</sup>	Priest Grimsby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975(iii).
Whitehouse	Thomas	Priest Not known	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975(iii).
+ Youll	Thomas	Priest Sotby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
?	-	Parson Belleau	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 968.
?	-	Parson Doddington	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 822(ii).
?	Edmund	Vicar Goltho	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
?	William	Priest Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 854.
?	-	Parson Manby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 972.
?	-	Dean of Rasen	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 853.
?	-	Vicar Saleby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975(4).
?	-	Parson Stewton	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 972.
?	-	Vicar Tetney	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975(4).
?	-	Vicar Thornton	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(x).

.....  
 + Executed in Lincolnshire 6/7 March 1537. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).

++ Executed at Tyburn 29 March 1537. See also Ward op. cit p. 32.

<sup>3</sup>. Former prior of the dissolved priory at Wellow.

## RELIGIOUS

Name	Status	Source
<b>BARLINGS ABBEY</b>		
++Mackerell	Matthew* Abbot	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(v).
+ Bradley	Thomas Sub-Prior	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
	Catton Richard Canon	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 805, 822(ii).
	Ersham William Canon	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(vi)
	Hersham William Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 805.
+ Hodgeson	James Monk	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
+ Holme	William Canon	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
	Kendall William Canon	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 805, 828(vi).
	Sadbar Henry Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 805.
	Thornbek Henry Cellerer	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(vi).
	Wartham James Canon	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(vi).
+ Wering	Richard Canon	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
	Whauton James Canon	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 805, 822(ii)

### BARDNEY ABBEY

	Ambrose John Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 822(ii).
	Conesbye William Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 822(ii).
+ Cowper	William Monk	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
+ Coy	William Monk	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
+ Francis	John Monk	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
	Gregory William Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 822(ii).
	Heron John Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 822(ii).
+ Jenkinson	Henry Monk	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
	Leighton Richard Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 822(ii).
+ Londysdale	Hugh Monk	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
	Mawre Thomas Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(vii).
+ Philip	Richard Monk	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
+ Tenaunte	John Monk	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).

### KIRKSTEAD ABBEY

+ Herryson	Richard Abbot	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
	Hocheson John Brother	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(x).
	Kyrbye Reynold Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(ix).
	Rypune William Monk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(x).
+ Swale	William Abbot	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
+ Wade	Reynold Monk	<u>L and P</u> XII PT I No. 581(ii).

### FORMER RELIGIOUS Louth Park Abbey.

++Morland William alias Burreby L and P XII Pt. I No. 380,481,734(3).

+ Executed at Lincoln 6 March 1537. L and P Vol XII Pt. I No. 581(i).

++ Executed at Tyburn 29 March 1537. See Ward op. cit. p. 32.

\*. Suffragan bishop of York and commissioned to act in the diocese of Lincoln. See LRS Vol. 12 p. xv.

**COMMONS**

Name	Status or Occupation	Parish	Source
Alcoke	Richard	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Alee	James	Spilsby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Aley	Hugh		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Allyn	Robert		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(viii).
Andrewson	-	Schoolmaster Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 568.
Ashby	William	Constable Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(i).
Ashen	William	Tailor Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Atkynson	James	Tailor	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Baget	John		<u>L and P</u> XII(I) 581(i).
Bailey	Robert	Mercer Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 968, 972.
Balderstene	William	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(ix).
R Baldyng	Robert	Cook Spilsby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Barker	John	Servant Kirkstead	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Barker	Roland	Shoemaker Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Barons	-	Thornton	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(x).
R Bawdre	Leonard		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Bawdyng	Robert	Cook Spilsby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(iii).
Becrofte	Bartholomew	Appleby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 805.
Bell	John	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 972.
Bellowe	-	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(iii)
Benet	Davy	Weaver Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 967
Benson	John	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70 (iii/xiii)
R Blacke	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Bowyer	Thomas	Tetney	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975(4).
Browne	John	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 853-4.
Browne	Robert	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 568
R Brumpton	Thomas	Burton	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I Nos. 581(i), and 593.
Burwell	Richard	Constable Potterhanworth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Bycrofte	Bartholomew	Appleby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(v)
Bywater	William	Thornton	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(x).
Cardemaker	Robert	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 972.
Cayn	John	Cobbler Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Chylde	Henry		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Clattercotes	Richard	Butcher Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 828(i), 975.
Cocke	John	Mablethorpe	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Colynson	William	Butcher Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
+ Cottenham	Robert	Spilsby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).

R : Condemned but reprieved. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(i).

+ : Executed in Lincolnshire 6/7 March 1537. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).

Name	Status or Occupation	Parish	Source
Croke		Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I 70(iii).
R Cursone	Richard	Clerk	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(iii).
Curtis	Leonard	Grimsby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 593.
Davyson	William	Weaver	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 828(ii(2)), 975.
R Dawson	James	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
R Dawson	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Day	Thomas	Bratoft	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Dey	William		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
R Dixon	Thomas	Labourer	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Dolman	Alexander	Spilsby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Dylcoke	Richard	Humberstone	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 972.
Eley	William		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 854.
Edmunds	Walter	Fulstowe	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 968.
+Fletcher	Barnard	Yeoman	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 734(3).
R Fletcher	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Fletcher	Richard	Farforth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Forman	Henry		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Forman	Robert	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(x)
R Foster	John	Boston	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Foster	Thomas	Yeoman	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 828(i), 854, 942.
Fysscher	Robert	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 972.
R Gaynesbrough	William	Labourer	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 842(4), 967. <u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Gibson	Robert	Keal	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 620, 852.
Goodhand	Charles	Kirmond	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 568
Goodhyppam		Butcher	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975
Gray	Arthur	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(iii)
R Grene	John	Spilsby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Grene	Ralph	Yeoman	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(i).
Hall		Langton	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975
R Hall	Robert	Bardney	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Harborowe	Thomas	Alvingham	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Harley	Thomas	Servant	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 805, 828(v)
R Harre	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Harrison	William	Shoemaker	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 827(1i,3), 975.
R Harrison	John	Smith	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Hauler	Robert		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 827(1i)
+ Herryson	William	Alford	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii)
Hert	William	Butcher	Louth

R : Condemned but reprieved. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(i).

+ : Executed in Lincolnshire 6/7 March 1537. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).

++ : Executed at Tyburn 29 March 1537. See Ward op. cit. p. 32.  
Hamilton A Chronicle of England p. 62.

Name	Status or Occupation	Parish	Source
Holme	John	Rand	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(ii).
R Holton	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Hopkinson	Robert	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 853.
R Hornclyff	Robert		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
+Huddiswell	George Yeoman	Horkstow	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(vi).
+ Hudson	Robert	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
R Hudson	William		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Hurte	William	Farforth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Hutchinson	William	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(ix).
Hutton	John	Cockerington	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Hutton	Leonard	Cockerington	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Hyrdman	Robert		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Ingleby	John	Grimoldby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 974.
Johnson	Robert Smith	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(3).
R Kell	Robert		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Kendall	William	Cockerington	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Keneston	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 842(4).
Kirton	Thomas	Scothorne	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 805.
Kychyng	Thomas	Maidenwell	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975(4).
Kydwall	Edward		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 853.
+ Kyme	Guy	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
Kynge	William Bailiff	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 828(i), 843, 968.
R Kyngson	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
R Kyngston	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I 581(i).
R Langley	William		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Lattercotts	Richard see Clattercotes	Richard	
+Leach	Robert Yeoman	Fulletby	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 843, 967.
Leach	William Yeoman	Fulletby	<u>L and P</u> XVIII Pt. I No. 26.
Levenyng		Barnetby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Ledes	Robert		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(xii).
+ Leeke	John	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
Lincoln	John	Hagnaby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(ix).
+Longbothon	William Barber	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 842(4).
Lovett		Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Lytulburye	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 828(ii), 975.
			<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(vii).

- .....
- R Condemned but reprieved. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
- + Executed in Lincolnshire 6/7 March 1537. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).
- ++ Executed at Tyburn 29 March 1537. See Ward op. cit. p. 32.
- Executed at York 1538 See p. 268.

Name	Status or Occupation	Parish	Source
Man	William	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 70(i).
+ Manby	Thomas	Labourer/ Victualler	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos.828(i), 842. <u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I 581(ii).
Maners	William	Taylor	Alvingham <u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Manrye	John		Scartho <u>L and P</u> XI No. 822(ii).
Markby	James		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Marshall	William		Horncastle <u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581(i).
Maundye	Thomas	Victualler	Louth <u>L and P</u> XI No. 842(4).
Medcalf	James		Markby <u>L and P</u> XI No. 967.
Mekylwhite	Richard		Horncastle <u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Melton	Nicholas	Shoemaker	Louth <u>L and P</u> XI Nos.828(i),842(4).
Merle	Thomas		Well <u>L and P</u> XI No. 967.
Merley	William	Constable	Yarborough <u>L and P</u> XI No. 853.
R Michel	Robert		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581(i).
Millisent	-		Louth <u>L and P</u> XI Nos.828(iii), 864.
Milton	Thomas		Louth <u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 70(i).
Mosson	John		Grimoldby <u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 974-5.
Mychell	Robert	Labourer	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 842(4),967.
Naxson	William		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 827(3).
Nele	Robert	Tanner	Louth <u>L and P</u> XI No. 967.
Nethertcotts	Richard	see Clattercotes	Richard
Neve	Richard		Horncastle <u>L and P</u> XI No. 822(ii).
+New	Robert	Saddler	Horncastle <u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I Nos. 734(3).
Nixon	William		<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 827(ii), 967.
Noble	John	Cordwainer	Louth <u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
+ Noble	Thomas		Louth <u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581(ii).
Norman	Robert	Roper	Louth <u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(i).
R Northcotes	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No.581(i).
+ Nycson	William	Alford	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No.581(ii).
Ogre	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 827(ii).
Overy	John	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 972.
Onyer	John	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 854.
Pack	James		Alford <u>L and P</u> XI No. 967.
Palmer	John		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 827(3).
Parker	John	Servant	Kirkstead <u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(vii/x).
R Parkynson	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No.581(i).
+ Parsons	William	Caistor	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No.581(ii)

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R : Condemned but reprieved L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(i).

+ : Executed at Lincoln on 6 March 1537. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(ii).

++ : Executed at Tyburn on 29 March 1537. See Ward op. cit. p. 32.

Name	Status or Occupation	Parish	Source
Passeley	William		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(ii)
Pennell	Edward	Horkestowe	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 853.
Pennell	Harry	Saxby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 853.
Persley	William	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 568.
+ Phillipson	Richard	Alford	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No.581(ii)
Plumer	John	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos.827((ii),975(8).
Plummer	Henry	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos.827(ii), 975(8).
Plummer	Walter	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975(8).
Pormorde	George Bailiff	Saleby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Ratheby	William	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 772.
Rede	John	Maidenwell	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos.853, 975.
Redmayn	Walter	Fulstowe	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos.975, 568.
R Richerdson	Edward	Thimbleby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No.581(i)
R Richerdson	Thomas	Thimbleby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No.581(i)
Rudde		Croxton	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975(5).
Saddelar	Robert	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 568, 972.
Saunderson	Henry Cordwainer	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos.828(i), 975.
R Sereaut	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581(i).
R Shene	John	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581,967.
Shomaker	Edmund	Market Rasen	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos.842(4),975(8).
Skrevyn	John	Cawthorpe	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Sleforde	Hugh		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No.581(i),975.
++Sothbye	Robert	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 70(iii)
Spencer	Robert	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 568, 972.
R Smyth	John	Nun Ormsby	
alias Piper			<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581(i).
R Smyth	Thomas Mercer	Spilsby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581(i).
+ Smythe	William Labourer	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581(ii).
R Smythson	John Sawyer	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581(i).
Sotheby	Robert Draper	Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 734.
R Sperling	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No. 581(i).
Spencer	Thomas	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 828(iii), 968.
Stacye	John Cobbler	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos.828(i),842(4),972..
Stalyne	John		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 842(4)
++Stanes	Bryan Labourer	Miningsby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt.I No.70(ix),734(3).

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R : Condemned but reprieved L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(i).

+ : Executed in Lincolnshire 6/7 March 1537. L and P Vol.XII Pt.I No.581(ii).

++ : Executed at Tyburn on 29 March 1537. See Ward op. cit. p. 32.



Name	Status or Occupation	Parish	Source
R Steele	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
R Stocker	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Style	-	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(iii).
R Tacy	John	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Taster	William		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Talbois	Thomas	Spilsby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Tayllor	John	Weaver Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
R Tayllor	William		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Tetney	Thomas	Partney	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Tharrold	Robert	Immingham	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Thew	John	Salmonby	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70 (vii/viii).
Thoby	Thomas	Alford	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 973.
R Toynnton	William	Hackthorn	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
++Trotter	Phillip	Mercer Horncastle	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 70(x/xii).
Trusse	Thomas	Fisher Kirkstead	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
+ Wade	John	Boston	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii)
Wade	Thomas	Farforth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Walker	John	Labourer Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII(I) 581(i).
Walker	William	Husbandman Manby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
R Walkyngton	Edmund		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Walleys	Robert	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(iii)
R Warde	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Wasshingley	Arthur	Alford	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 973, 975.
R Webster	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Welworthe	William	Farforth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
West	William	Louth	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 828(iii)
Whitehouse	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 975.
Williamson	Anthony	Saxby	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 853.
R Williamson	James	Cockerington	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Wilson	John	Lynwood	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 973.
R Wilson	John alias		
Unsent	Joken	Carpenter Louth	<u>L and P</u> XII No. 581(i).
+ Wilson	James	Alford	<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(ii)
Wilson	William	Milner Alford	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 967, 975.
Woodmansey	William	Serving-man Kettlesby	<u>L and P</u> XI Nos. 822(ii), 842(4).
R Worthy	William		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I. No. 581(i).
Wright	William	Serving-man Bardney	<u>L and P</u> XI No. 805.
R Wynter	Edmund		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
R Yardeburch	John		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
R Yarburch	Thomas		<u>L and P</u> XII Pt. I No. 581(i).
Yerber	John		<u>L and P</u> XI No. 842(4).

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R : Condemned but reprieved L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(i).

+ : Executed in Lincolnshire 6/7 March 1537. L and P Vol. XII Pt. I No. 581(i).

++ : Executed at Tyburn on 29 March 1537. See Ward op. cit. p. 32.

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- Register of Bishop John de Dalderby LAO Reg. III
- Register of Bishop John Russell LAO Reg. XXII
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