

GENDERING THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN WORLD



Barbara J. Harris

English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety, 1450-1550

Amsterdam
University
Press

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Gendering the Late Medieval and Early Modern World

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Cover image: Anne Boleyn Shelton (1556), Queen Anne Boleyn's aunt and donor of the stained-glass window at the east end of the south aisle of the church at Shelton, Norfolk. Used with permission of Mike Dixon, photographer.

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To my grandchildren, Isabel Caiden and Beckett J. Harris

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Abbreviations

Add'l Ms.	Additional Manuscript
BL	British Library
CCR	Calendar of Close Rolls
chap	chapter
CPR	Calendar of Patent Rolls
Ed.	Editor
ERO	Essex Record Office
esp.	especially
GEC	Cokayne, Complete Peerage
HEH	Huntington Library
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
Inq PM	Inquisitions Post Mortem
insc	inscription
intro	introduction by
L&P	Letters and Papers of Henry VIII
nd	no date
np	no publisher
NRO	Norfolk Record Office

NS	New Series
OS	Old Series
PRO	Public Record Office
pt	part
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
TE	Testamenta Eboracensia
TEAS	Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society
TNA	The National Archives
TV	Testamenta Vetusta
VCH	Victoria County History

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I also profited from the questions and suggestions Bennett and Herrup made after they read earlier versions of this project delivered as papers at the Anglo-American Conference and History of London Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research in London.

At home, the connection between my personal life and scholarly work is even closer. My husband Stanley Chojnacki has heard endlessly about *English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety* and the extraordinary women who grace its pages. He is a wise critic and an inexhaustible source of love and support. I doubt there is another historian of Renaissance Venice who is on such close terms with Anne, Lady Scrope (1498) or Margaret, Countess of Bath (1561). I still wonder at the good fortune that brought us, two historians of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century aristocratic women, together in a partnership that encompasses every aspect of our lives.

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As always, I owe the possibility of writing in my field to the resources of libraries on both sides of the Atlantic. I especially want to mention the British Library and the Institute of Historical Research in London, the Huntington Library in Pasadena, California, and the Davis and Wilson libraries at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Jessica Collins, archivist of the Clothworkers' Company, London, helped me to locate the

companies' records on Margaret, Countess of Kent, who figures throughout this book. The Monumental Brass Society deserves thanks for its generosity in allowing scholars to use its wonderful images without charge.

While I was writing this book, the fabric of *my* personal life was immeasurably enriched by the birth of my only son's children, Isabel Caiden and Beckett J. Harris. They are sources of unending joy to me. I dedicate this book to them in the hope that sometime in the future it will give them great pleasure to know how much they meant to me as I was writing it.

Preface

Dates appear in the Old Style, but the year is assumed to have begun on 1 January rather than on 25 March. For money, I have used the pre-decimal form in effect until 1971: 20 shillings equaled one pound; 12 pence equaled one shilling. A mark, which was a money of account and not a coin, was worth 13 shillings and 4 pence. Spelling and punctuation have been modernized, except in the case of personal proper names in epitaphs and on tablets and similar objects.

At a time when a laborer in the building trade earned less than £4 a year and a master mason less than £8, the minimum landed income of a nobleman was £1,000 a year and that of an average knight £200-£400 a year. These figures give some idea of the relative wealth of the aristocracy.

Throughout the book, I have called aristocratic women by the titles that they and their contemporaries used. In the case of noblewomen, they were known by their husbands' titles. Knights' wives were called 'Lady' during their husbands' lifetimes, a title that lapsed when their husbands died, because a knighthood was not hereditary. As widows, they were addressed using the honorific title 'Dame'. These are the usages in the women's wills, the only sources in which the great majority of them ever referred to themselves by name. The dates in parentheses after women's and men's names are either the year they died or the year they wrote their wills.

Legal terms, religious terms, terms referring to items of clothing and textiles, and other obscure terms are explained in the glossary.

The books and articles in the footnotes are listed in abbreviated form; the full details are available in the bibliography.

Introduction

English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety, 1450-1550 is the first comprehensive study of Yorkist and early Tudor aristocratic women's role in the flowering of religious art—architecture, sculpture, stained glass, engraving, textiles, and plate ornaments—that transformed English churches in the century before the break with Rome. They enlarged, restored, and decorated their parish churches and other favorite religious institutions; built tombs, stained-glass windows, chantry chapels, and altars; endowed almshouses and schools to perform works of charity and pray for their souls; and donated many priceless and luxurious textiles, jeweled objects, and plate to adorn the celebration of the Mass.¹ The vast majority of these women's projects were designated for the parish churches where their principal manors or castles were located, the parish being the community that formed the basis of their social, economic, and political position. As members of a community's leading family, these women expected and received the deference of the community's inhabitants, a high proportion of whom were their tenants and servants. In return, they built, restored, and beautified their parish churches, the sole public buildings in the majority of these communities, while their commissions were the only art most of their neighbors ever encountered.²

Whatever projects they commissioned, the religious purpose of their patronage was the same: to secure perpetual prayers for their souls and the souls of their closest kin. All the evidence indicates that members of the aristocracy continued to believe in the doctrine of Purgatory and to trust in the efficacy of prayers for the dead throughout the 1530s and into the 1540s. Only the intervention of the state interrupted and finally stopped their gifts, providing yet further confirmation of the revisionist argument that widespread, often active, support for the Church and religious status quo existed in the generation or two before Henry VIII's break with Rome.³ As we shall see, however, the tombs and buildings that aristocratic women built served equally important secular purposes. They consciously planned

1 A chantry was an endowment to pay for perpetual prayers for the soul of the donor and anyone else she specified. It consisted of an altar or chapel dedicated for that purpose and was located in a church designated by the donor; in some cases, it was a separate building.

2 Margaret Aston, *England's Iconoclasts, Volume 1: Laws Against Images*, 16.

3 See, for example, Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society Under the Tudors*; Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580*; Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath*; J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*.

their monuments, chapels, and additions to their parish churches to proclaim their and their families' status and wealth, and to represent their dominant position in their villages. In a culture that believed that the social and political hierarchy formed part of the divine order of creation, they saw no contradiction in projects that embodied both worldly and spiritual aspirations. On a more personal level, the women's commissions gave them a unique opportunity to define their identities by choosing where they wanted to be buried and with whom, and how they wanted to be described in their epitaphs and heraldic shields.

Although historians have written about the commissions and accomplishments of a handful of the wealthiest and most visible of these women—Alice de la Pole, Duchess of Suffolk (1475), Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond (1509), and Margaret Hungerford, Lady Botreaux and Hungerford (1478) come immediately to mind—they have not incorporated the broad achievement of aristocratic women as patrons of religious art into their accounts of Yorkist and early Tudor culture.⁴ *English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety* fills this gap in the historical record. It demonstrates that the daughters, wives, and widows of noblemen and knights were active participants in the movement that transformed and beautified the physical structure of English churches in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is a study of a specific aspect of these women's activities, not an account of their complete lives as individuals. Where such accounts exist, they have been included in the footnotes and bibliography.

When they initiated their artistic and architectural projects, Yorkist and early Tudor aristocratic women drew on the personal and material resources they had accumulated while they managed their households and estates, raised their children and arranged their marriages, and cultivated and exploited their families' patronage networks. As they faced death, they turned to projects that would speed them and their close kin on the pathway to heaven and maintain their presence in their parishes.⁵ Exercising the kind of agency that had characterized their achievements as wives, mothers,

4 Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*; Michael Hicks, "Chantry, Obits and Almshouses," 79-98; Michael Hicks, "The Piety of Margaret Lady Hungerford," 99-118; and Michael Hicks, "St. Katherine's Hospital, Heytesbury: Prehistory, Foundation, and Re-foundation, 1409-79," 119-32; all in Hicks, *Richard III and His Rivals*; Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, 72, 203-250; Jones, "Colleyweston—An Early Tudor Palace," in Williams, *England in the Fifteenth Century*, 129-41; Patricia Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster*.

5 Throughout *English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety*, my discussion of their roles and resources relies on my earlier work, *English Aristocratic Women 1450-1550*. Chapter 5 on widows is particularly relevant.

and widows, they took the initiative in selecting the sites of their tombs, chapels, almshouses and schools, decided whether and how to repair or add to their parish churches, participated in planning their projects, and chose the epitaphs and escutcheons that would identify them and their families on the monuments, windows, and buildings they had commissioned.⁶

English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety is also the first large-scale study of the subjectivity of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century aristocratic women, a dimension of the past largely invisible in written documents. In this book, subjectivity refers to women's outward expression of their identity and the actions they took as a consequence of it.⁷ They developed their identity in a social context in which their families and lineages, class, and activities as wives, mothers, and widows played the principal part. In a period before the appearance of journals and autobiographies and one in which writers rarely used letters for self-reflection, scholars have few ways of discovering how women identified themselves and how these identifications shaped their choices and actions. Although we lack documents of this kind, however, historians can find women's understanding of themselves reflected in their letters and wills, the most important primary sources used in this study. Furthermore, when aristocratic wives and widows built the tombs, chantries, almshouses, schools, and churches that form the subject of this book, their choices reflected conscious decisions about how they wanted to represent themselves, their families, and their religious beliefs. The projects they undertook in the late 1530s and 1540s gave them the opportunity to signify publicly, occasionally in opposition to their families, their response to the unprecedented religious revolution through which they were living.

For Yorkist and early Tudor aristocratic women, the process of defining themselves was particularly challenging because of the complexity of their families, the key social unit against which they identified themselves.⁸ Unlike their male kin, who belonged to their natal families throughout their lives, they joined one family after another as they married and remarried, in most cases retaining old ties as they established new ones. Well over 50 percent of the widows of peers and 80 percent of the widows of parliamentary knights remarried.⁹ As a result, the foundation of their identity remained fluid long after they were mature adults. It was only when aristocratic

6 On this understanding of female agency, see Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," 28-50.

7 James Daybell, *Women Letter-Writers in Tudor England*, 166-67.

8 On this point see, for example, *ibid.*, 159; Natalie Davis "Boundaries and the Sense of Self," 53-63.

9 Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, 162.

women contemplated dying and had to choose where and with whom they wanted to be buried that they had to signify—and perhaps even explicitly recognize for the first time—how they defined themselves. The identities the women claimed at this juncture determined the location and design of their tombs, chantries, almshouses, and schools and the churches they designated as recipients of their bequests.

Wherever and whatever they built, aristocratic women's constructions asserted their and their families' power in their parishes. Their tombs and chapels occupied space in their churches that had previously belonged to the congregation as a whole. They filled the nave, aisles, and chancels with tombs, altars and chapels in places that had previously served a communal purpose. Many of them actually blocked the entrances to their chapels with screens or locked gates, displaying their ownership in the clearest way possible. They also asserted their status by decorating the aisles, towers, and windows they constructed and the vestments and ornaments they donated with their family arms. In all these ways, they played a major part in the process that Andrew Martindale has called the intrusion of the laity into the sacred spaces of their churches.¹⁰

Parishes benefited from the fees that aristocratic women paid for the location of their tombs and chantries, the services of their chantry priests, and the ornaments and vestments they donated to the high altar, but whether their neighbors regarded the exchange as advantageous was irrelevant. Aristocratic women acted as senior members of families that owned most of the land in their community, were its largest employers, and the most effective source of patronage for its inhabitants. They or their families were also often patrons of the church itself, appointing the rector or vicar when the benefice fell vacant. For example, Dame Anne Bigod exercised this right at Settrington, Yorkshire, in 1475; Dame Agnes Cheyne at Chenies, Buckinghamshire, in 1485; and Dame Anne Danvers at Dauntsey, Wiltshire, in 1528.¹¹ In such circumstances, women encountered few if any obstacles when they undertook the commissions discussed in this book. Looking toward both heaven and earth, they sought to benefit their and their families'

10 Martindale, "Patrons and Minders," 143-78. Martindale ascribed this intrusion to an earlier period and actually claimed that it declined after the thirteenth century. However, most of his evidence came from cathedrals rather than parish churches, where more and more of the gentry and nobility were buried in the Later Middle Ages. On the latter point, Saul, "The Gentry and the Parish," 247-249.

11 *Testamenta Eboracensia, A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, III, #78, 226n for Bigod; BL, Add'l Ms, 5840, f. 24 for Cheyne; and Macnamara, *Memorials of the Danvers Family*, 262 for Danvers.

souls and to memorialize their high rank. In the process, they transformed the churches they patronized and contributed to one of the most fertile periods in English religious architecture.

Finally, focusing on the scale and timing of aristocratic women's religious patronage contributes to the ongoing debate about the origins of the English Reformation. Most historians of the period—myself included—accept the revisionist argument that widespread, often active, support for the Church and the religious status quo existed in the generation or two before Henry VIII's break with Rome. Although the evidence about epitaphs and chantries presented here supports that interpretation, it also suggests the need for a more nuanced interpretation of the significance of their patronage. Revisionist scholars have cited the ongoing building, expansion, and beautification of parishes all over England as evidence of their position that the laity continued to accept the theology of Purgatory in particular and the structure and theology of the Church in general.¹² However, as *English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety* demonstrates, the tombs and buildings aristocratic women constructed were not only statements of religious belief; they were equally important as symbols of and memorials to their status, lineage and wealth. In fact, many noble and knightly families took a proprietary attitude toward their parish churches and turned them into family mausoleums.¹³ While historians and art historians have long recognized the interpenetration of spiritual and secular concerns evident in the monuments and chapels that women and men built, their assessment has not led revisionists to articulate a more complex interpretation of the motives that fueled their activity.¹⁴

English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety is based on contemporary documents such as wills probated in the Prerogative Courts of Canterbury and York, cases in the Courts of Requests, Star Chamber and Chancery, royal grants, statutes, private bills, letters collected in the State Papers, and the Cotton and Harleian Collections at the British Library. In smaller numbers, it also includes marriage contracts, household and estate

12 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 131-32; Haigh, *English Reformations*, ch. 1. For a dissenting view, see Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk Before 1850*, 69-77.

13 M. G. Vale, "Piety, Charity and Literacy among the Yorkshire Gentry 1370-1480," 9-10; Saul, "Religious Sympathies of the Gentry in Gloucestershire 1200-1500," 103-104; Mark Knight, *Piety and Devotion among the Warwickshire Gentry, 1485-1547*, *Dugdale Occasional Papers*, No. 32; Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, 112-16; 125-27.

14 Among scholars focusing on particular monuments, see, for example, Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England*, 8-9; Nigel Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 15, 274; Norris, "Later Medieval Monumental Brasses," 184. Among historians of religion, Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*, 33-34, 286-293; Brown, *Popular Piety*, 254.

accounts, and inventories, many of which are preserved in family archives and local record offices.

Throughout the text, but particularly in chapters one and two on tombs and chantries, wills, both women's and men's, provide the bulk of the evidence for women's patronage. Where the data come from men's wills, I have depended almost exclusively on testaments in which husbands appointed their widows as their sole executors and that contained specific directions that they should build or complete their monuments or chantries. One hundred and sixty (26 percent) of 618 men with surviving wives who appointed their executors chose their widows as their sole executors. I have also used wills in which men appointed co-executors, but singled out their widows as their "principal" or "chief" executor, or instances in which the women probated their husbands' wills alone. Evidence also comes from women's wills which state clearly that the testators had begun or finished the construction of their and/or their husbands' monuments or chantries. Where they had undertaken but not completed these projects, they often directed their executors to do so. Finally, many inscriptions on the tombs themselves, on tablets mounted on the wall, on the walls of their chantry chapels, or on nearby stained-glass windows testify to women's patronage. With the exception of these cases, I have not assumed that women included among their husbands' co-executors commissioned or completed their tombs.

About half of the tombs mentioned in this book no longer exist, but antiquarians and local historians who visited churches in the period kept records of their existence. They reported important details about many monuments that have since disappeared or been severely damaged. The Cole Collection in the Additional Manuscripts at the British Library is particularly useful in this respect. Reference works such as the Victoria County Histories of England, the publications of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, and the exhaustive county surveys of the buildings of England begun by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner and continued by his colleagues supplement this information.

I have used numbers and percentages to give readers some idea of the frequency with which a particular phenomenon occurred. These figures are not intended as statistics in a contemporary sense. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources are far too varied, even when they are of the same type, to support such claims. The purpose of these numbers is to support the overall argument by suggesting orders of magnitude or the significance of specific examples cited. Readers should understand them as such.

For the purposes of this study, I have defined 'aristocratic women' as the daughters, wives, and widows of noblemen and knights. Because

primogeniture governed the descent of land and titles, the younger sons of noblemen were knights, not members of the nobility. On an economic level, the richest knights and poorest barons enjoyed a similar level of wealth. In political terms, knights and noblemen held the leading positions in central government, were the king's companions and foremost servants at court, and cooperated in governing the counties for the Crown. Knights were also more likely to serve as MPs than other members of the upper gentry. As a result, the daughters of noblemen and knights were more likely to marry knights or the heirs of knights than noblemen or their heirs, but the movement was not all in one direction. Some knights' daughters married noblemen or their heirs, some noblemen's daughters married knights or knights' heirs. All of them belonged to the aristocracy as defined here. While the wealth and status of the majority of their fathers and husbands came from land, a small number of the women's husbands or fathers were merchants and Lord Mayors of London who rose into the aristocracy through their marriages and purchases of land. Thus, of the 230 women whose patronage is discussed in this book, fifteen had husbands or fathers who were merchants and Lord Mayors. They represent one path of upward mobility in the period.

The majority, though not all, of the aristocratic women who commissioned the art and architecture and made the donations discussed in this book were widows in the final stage of familial and managerial careers that had begun when they married for the first time. They commissioned their own, their spouses', and their joint tombs, chapels, stained-glass windows, and other additions to their churches to elicit prayers for their souls and those of their close relatives and to preserve their memory. As patrons, they initiated projects that either they or their deceased spouses had envisaged before they died, playing more or less active roles in designing them or making decisions about particular details. Some finished projects their husbands had begun before they died and followed the men's directions. When they failed to complete them before their own deaths, they directed *their* executors to do so. All of these possibilities will be documented in the text that follows.

The longevity of aristocratic widows meant that they had ample time to plan—and often to oversee the completion of—the projects they patronized: in a group of 351 couples where the death dates of both the male testators and their widows are known, 63 percent outlived their first husbands by more than ten years; 37 percent, by more than twenty.¹⁵ These long widowhoods gave them the time and the opportunity to accumulate the large incomes

15 The figures in this paragraph are based on original research published in Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, 15-16, 127-29.

and huge amount of luxury goods that enabled them to undertake the building and make the donations of vestments and ritual objects that form the subject of this book. In addition to their jointures and dowers, 466 (75.4 percent) of 618 knights and noblemen who predeceased their wives left them considerable additional income and goods, regardless of whether they appointed them as their executors. While only a minority included additional land among these extra bequests, they left their widows money, clothing, jewels, and plate, often in enormous quantities, as well as household goods and livestock. Women also collected income from land their husbands designated to support their younger sons and provide dowries for their daughters. Although most of this land and the land they held as jointures or dowers descended to their husbands' heirs when they died, widows could usually bequeath much, if not all, of their movable property in their wills. Wealthy, independent, and long-lived aristocratic women were thus able to play an important role in the expensive and wide-ranging investment in English churches that peaked in the first decade of the sixteenth century.¹⁶

English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety is divided into seven chapters. The first four chapters discuss the monuments, chapels and other structures, sculptures, and stained glass that aristocratic women commissioned for their favorite churches. With a few exceptions, their parish churches were the recipients of this largesse. The fifth chapter discusses women's endowment and building of hospitals, almshouses and schools, most of which were located in and benefited their parishes. Although the charters for these institutions almost always contained provisions for prayers for their souls, they represented a broader vision of the women's responsibility to do good works for their communities. Chapter six focuses on the multiple ways in which aristocratic women used their religious patronage to define themselves for posterity, revealing the complexity of their motives and synthesizing material from previous chapters. Throughout the book, this analysis makes clear that aristocratic women saw their religious and secular impulses as compatible and mutually reinforcing, rather than dichotomous. *English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety* ends with an epilogue that traces the fate of the buildings and art aristocratic women commissioned, revealing patterns of both survival and loss.

16 For example, Haigh, *English Reformations*, 29, 34-35; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 131-34; Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath*, 77; Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk*, 69.

1 Tombs: Honoring the Dead

Before Sir Thomas Barnardiston of Kedington, Suffolk and Great Cotes, Lincolnshire, died in 1503, he named his wife Elizabeth his sole executor and assigned her responsibility for arranging his funeral and building his tomb. Since the will itself has not survived and we know these facts from a subsequent Chancery case, we do not know where Sir Thomas asked to be buried.¹ Nonetheless, Elizabeth was probably following his directions when she chose Great Cotes, Lincolnshire, where they had lived until around 1500, for his final resting place, rather than Kedington, Suffolk, to which they had recently moved. His tomb there was marked by a large brass showing a picture of the Resurrection, portraits of Sir Thomas and Elizabeth with inscription scrolls coming out of their mouths, and representations of their fifteen children.² Sir Thomas's scroll read, "Jesus, have pity on me"; and Elizabeth's, "Your will be done."³ The inscription under the picture begged viewers for to pray for them: "In the worship of the Resurrection of Our Lord and the Blessed Sepulcher and for the soul of Sir Thomas Bernardiston Knight and Dame Elisabeth his wife and of your charity, say a Pater Noster [and] six credos. Ye shall have a hundred days of pardon to your name..."⁴ A second inscription around the margins of the brass also asked for prayers.⁵ The brass was exceptionally elaborate. Relatively few brasses contained images in addition to the effigies being commemorated or had scrolls with prayers coming from the mouths of the deceased. Nor did they usually beg for specific prayers from onlookers and promise a specific reduction in the time the latter would spend in Purgatory in return.

When Elizabeth Barnardiston herself died in 1526, she asked to be buried at Walsingham Priory and appointed the prior as her sole executor. In the event, however, she was interred at Kedington. A stone tomb chest there has effigies of her and her husband. A tablet facing the monument states

1 TNA, C1/279/44 (1504-1509).

2 Almack, "Kedington *alias* Ketton, and the Barnardiston Family," 131 and note; Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire. Buildings*, 254; Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London: T. Harper, 1631), 733; *Handbook for Travellers in Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire*, 154.

3 *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, 287. The notes described the brass as being located on the pavement in the chancel, partly covered by the altar, and much damaged. There is no indication as to when the damage occurred.

4 HEH, Esdaile Papers, Box 17, Turnbull, *SS Peter and Paul Kedington*.

5 *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, 287.

Figure 1 Monument of Sir Thomas Barnardiston (1503) and his widow, Dame Elizabeth (d. 1526). Church at Kedington, Suffolk. Photograph by the author, 2003.



explicitly that he was buried in Lincolnshire and she under the Kedington monument.⁶ Since the inscription left the date of Elizabeth's death blank, she probably had it built during her lifetime.⁷ In the next generation, Anne Barnardiston, the widow of Elizabeth's son and heir, another Sir Thomas, built their joint tomb close to his parents' monument on the right side of the high altar. The two women began a tradition in which the Barnardistons virtually transformed the small church into a family mausoleum. The last Barnardiston to be buried in the church vault died in 1837. The church itself is filled with Barnardiston tombs.⁸

Elizabeth Barnardiston was one of scores, probably hundreds, of aristocratic widows who constructed their and their husbands' tombs, most often in their parish churches. Tomb-building formed their most frequent contribution to the expensive, wide-ranging investment in English parish churches that peaked in the first decade of the sixteenth century.⁹ Altogether, 196 of them—the great majority of them widows—commissioned 223 funerary monuments. Most of the evidence comes from their wills or the wills of their husbands, the majority of whom appointed their wives as their sole or co-executors.¹⁰ Of the 196 women, 49 held titles; the others were the wives, widows, or daughters of knights. Almost all of them designated parish churches as the location of the tombs they commissioned. Six were buried in cathedrals; only 32 chose religious institutions.

The monuments that these aristocratic women ordered and paid for displayed the wealth, status, lineage, and piety of the elite to which they belonged. Their responsibility for administering their husbands' estates and the wealth they controlled during their long widowhoods

6 TNA, Prob11/22/10 (1526). The author visited Kedington in June 2003 and took a photograph of the church and tomb, which is included among the illustrations in this book. Turnbull, *SS Peter and Paul, Kedington*, 26 for the tablet.

7 At some point, the year 1520 was carved in incorrectly; Elizabeth Barnardiston actually died in 1526. The date was not filled in when Weever visited the church in the seventeenth century.

8 TNA, Prob11/43/26, Anne Barnardiston (1560); Almack, "Kediston alias Ketton and the Barnardiston Family," 157.

9 E.g., Haigh, *English Reformations*, 29, 34-35; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 131-34; Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, 77; Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk Before 1850*, 69; Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, 2nd edition, 211-13.

10 The figure comes from the wills of 309 women and 763 men. Of the latter, 523 had surviving wives. They appointed 403 (77 percent) of them as the executors or overseers of their wills. In 147 of the cases, the women were sole executors or "principals" among the co-executors. As tomb-builders, I have counted only widows who commissioned their own tombs or their husbands' tombs in their capacity as principal or sole executors, or as co-executors who probated the men's wills alone. In a few instances, evidence exists outside of wills that indicates widows were responsible for constructing their husbands' monuments.

provided them with the authority and means to construct them; and their commitment to ensuring their and their husbands' salvation and to memorializing their families' social position and wealth impelled them to do so.

Collectively, the commissions of these women made a significant contribution to English art in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They created many of the most visible and appealing material remains of the period. As Brian Kemp has noted, "monuments in general, and effigies in particular, are of the greatest importance in the history of English sculpture. Without the survival of medieval effigies and such ancillary figures as weepers, angels and saints ... our knowledge of sculptural skills in the middle ages would be sadly impoverished." He singled out seven tombs that elite women commissioned as outstanding examples of surviving Gothic monuments: those of Thomas West, eighth Lord de la Warr (1525) at Broadwater, Sussex; Sir Richard Knightley (1534) at Fawsley, Northamptonshire; Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland (1543) at Bottesford, Leicestershire; Sir Fulke Grevill (1559) at Alcester, Warwickshire; Sir Thomas Giffard (1560) at Brewood, Staffordshire; Francis, Earl of Huntingdon (1560) at Ashby-de-la Zouche, Leicestershire; and Sir William Petre (1572) at Ingatestone, Essex.¹¹ In comparison to literary scholars' considerable research on women's patronage of manuscripts and books, historians have neglected aristocratic women's activity as patrons of tombs.¹² Nonetheless, evidence indicates that they commissioned many of the late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century monuments surviving in English parish churches today. The purpose of this chapter is to fill that lacuna.

The role women played in the projects they patronized was far from passive: in addition to providing the funds needed to construct them, many of their wills included detailed directions about the design and location of the tombs they were commissioning.¹³ Four wills quoted here provide a

11 Kemp, *English Church*, 13, 59, 64.

12 E.g., Meale, "Manuscripts and Early Audience of the Middle English *Prose Merlin*," 92-111; Meale, *Women and Literature in Britain*; Gibson, *Theatre of Devotion*, 82-83; Erler, *Women, Reading and Piety*; Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*; Hicks, "Chantry, Obits and Almshouses," 79-98; Hicks, "The Piety of Margaret Lady Hungerford," 99-118; Hicks, "St. Katherine's Hospital, Heytesbury," 119-32; Jones and Underwood, *The King's Mother*, 72, 203-31, 232-250; Jones, "Colleyweston—An Early Tudor Palace," 129-41, 129-41; Coulstock, *Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster*.

13 According to Catherine King, women's role in commissioning tombs, chapels, and hospitals was much more restricted in Renaissance Italy than Yorkist and early Tudor England. *Renaissance Women, passim*.

sample of this material. Jane Talbot (1505), widow of Sir Humphrey, asked to be buried at the Minories in London under a

convenient stone ... in the which stone I will the pictures of a dead corpse in his winding sheet with scutcheons of the arms of the said Sir Humphrey and of me with a title and writing underneath desiring all good Christian people to pray for the souls of my husband which died and restith buried at St. Katherine's mount and also for my soul which is buried under the said stone.¹⁴

In the same year, Katherine Grey Lewkenor, widow of Sir Thomas Grey and Richard Lewkenor the Elder (1503) wanted her executors to make a stone tomb for her and

there to set pictures of my two husbands and my picture in a winding sheet between them both with two scutcheons of their arms and mine ... at every end of the same stone with their honor and scripture thereto according. And a plate to be set in the wall over my tomb and therein my arms and such scripture as [to] mine executors and friends seem best ... shewing what I was.¹⁵

The brass her executors had made recorded her lineage, marriages, and positions at court as she had wished, and included a request for compassion for her and her second husband's souls.¹⁶ In 1535, Jane Norton referred to the "bargain" she had made "with one Alan, a mason of Bersted, Kent, to make her tomb at Faversham".¹⁷ She planned to be buried there with her second husband, Sir John Norton. However, he chose instead to be interred with his first wife at Middleton, Kent. She then decided to be buried with her first husband, Sir Richard Fitzlewis at West Horndon, Essex. There she commissioned an elegant brass with images of herself, Fitzlewis and his three other wives.¹⁸ Five years later, Jane Skargill (c. 1547) instructed her executors to build an alabaster tomb for her and her husband in the chancel

14 TNA, Prob11/14/38 (1505).

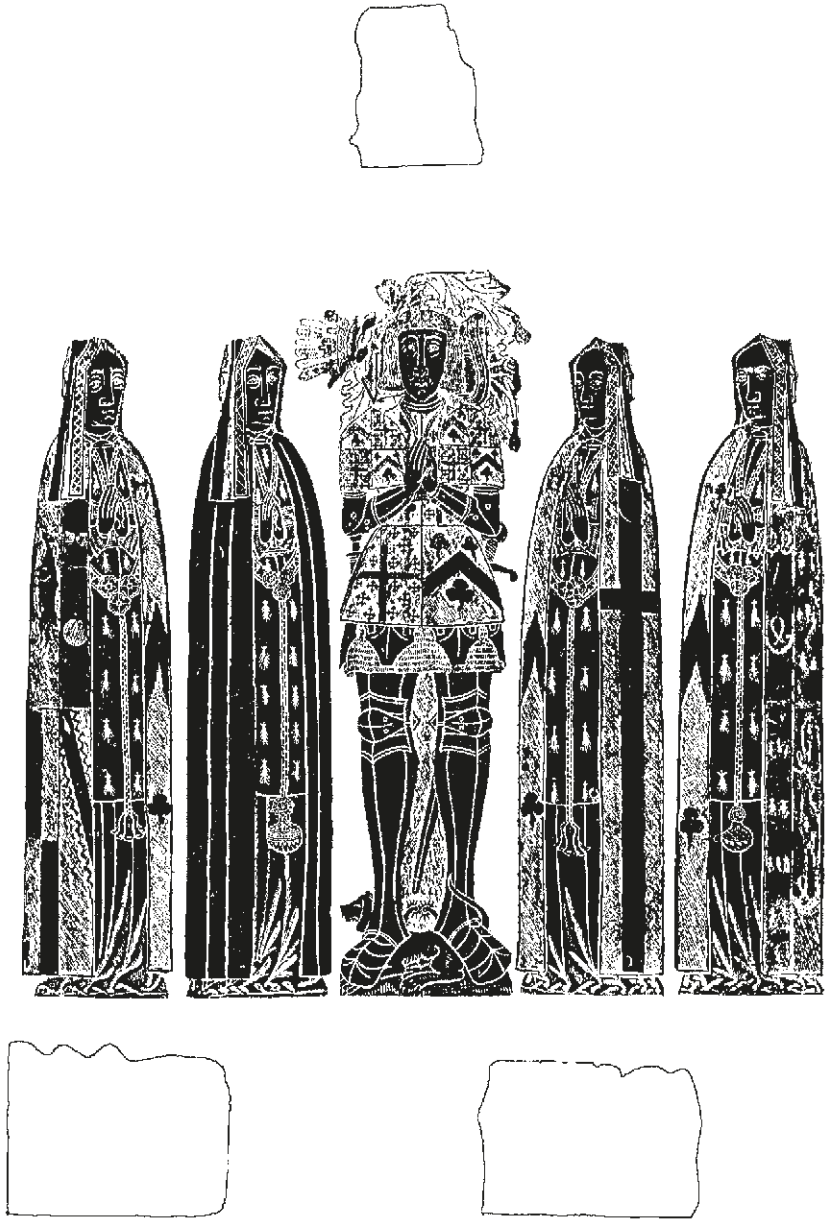
15 TNA, Prob11/14/34 (1505).

16 HEH, *East Grinstead and its Parish Church*, 4th ed. (1938).

17 TNA, Prob11/25/26 (1535).

18 TNA, Prob11/25/12 (1534). When the church of West Horndon was destroyed, the tomb was moved to Ingrave. RCHM, *Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Essex*, 4, 78. Dame Norton, a coexecutor of Fitzlewis's will, accepted probate alone.

Figure 2 Sir Richard Fitzlewis (1528) and his four wives*. Church at West Horndon, Essex. Commissioned by his fourth wife, Jane, née Hornby Norton Fitzlewis. Permission of the Monumental Brass Society, UK.



choir of the parish church at Whitkirk, “in fashion like to the one erected within the College of Macclesfield.”¹⁹

The four wills cited above were not unusual. Whatever the case for testators in other classes, the wives and widows of noblemen and knights exercised considerable agency when they planned and financed their and their husbands’ monuments. In addition to naming the churches in which they wanted them to be constructed, a majority—127 of the 196—stated explicitly *where* in the church they wanted their tombs to be located.²⁰ Elizabeth Fitzwilliam’s 1548 will underscored the importance that aristocratic women attached to the location of their monuments. Having chosen St Paul’s Cathedral, London, rather than her parish church for her burial site, she worried about the location of her tomb being “mete and convenient.” She noted in her will that her executors “have before this time by my commandment viewed and seen [the possibilities for that purpose] and presumably discussed them with her.”²¹ Of the 127 women who selected a site for a tomb, virtually all chose the chancel, an arch between the chancel and a chapel adjacent to it, or the chapel itself. These locations were all at the east end of the church. They believed that proximity to the performance of the Mass would benefit the souls of those they commemorated and reduce their time in Purgatory.

Of the testators who designated the chancel as their desired location, seventeen also requested that their monuments be used as Easter sepulchers. Easter sepulchers combined altars that represented Christ’s tomb with the donors’ monuments. Located at the north wall of the chancel or under an arch between the chancel and an adjacent chapel, they were the setting for the central dramatic ritual marking the holiday. On Good Friday, the priest placed the host on the tomb functioning as an altar and covered it. A candle burned in front of it and members of the congregation kept vigil at the altar until Easter morning. The cover on the host was then removed and Mass celebrated in honor of the Resurrection. In order to accommodate the performance, donors had to forgo placing effigies on the flat tops of the monuments. In return, they expected the deceased to benefit from the performance of the Eucharist on their tombs on the holiest day of

19 *Testamenta Leodiensia*. 178 n.

20 This information comes from directions in their wills or those of their deceased husbands; the Victoria County Histories and Royal Commission on Historical Monuments; and antiquarians and local historians.

21 TNA, Prob11/32/15 (1548). There is no evidence indicating whether Elizabeth Fitzwilliams was buried at St Paul’s or not.

the year.²² In 1499, for example, Eleanor Townshend, widow of Sir Roger, ordered a monument for herself and her husband that would be located near the high altar before an image of the Virgin and used as an Easter sepulcher. The tomb was duly built at the north wall of the chancel.²³ As late as 1542, Anne Barnardiston followed her husband's directions and constructed his tomb at Kedington as an Easter sepulcher. It was later removed as superstitious.²⁴

With the exception of those who wanted to be buried in religious houses and cathedrals, knights, noblemen, and their wives and widows faced few obstacles when they chose the location of their tombs. Although priests were legally responsible for and therefore controlled the chancels of their churches, in practice the clergy's dependence on the local noble or knightly family facilitated implementation of their wishes. In many cases, in fact, these families held the advowson of their parishes and treated the priests they appointed as their clients. In 1474, for instance, Sir Robert Wingfield and his wife Anne, Lady Scrope, appointed the rector of their church in East Harling, Norfolk. She was subsequently buried there.²⁵ Sir Thomas Danvers (1502) held the advowson of the church at Waterstoke, Oxfordshire, where he appointed Robert White rector the year before his death in 1502. His widow Sybil Danvers (1511) subsequently finished the work he had begun on the chancel and built their tombs in the north or St Anne's aisle.²⁶ In 1533, Sir Edmund Knyvett and his wife Jane, Lady Berners, appointed the priest at Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk. They were subsequently buried there in a chapel adjoining the chancel. Eleven years later, Lady Berners, by then a widow, appointed the priest's successor.²⁷

Even when they did not select their parish clergy, members of the aristocracy were a major source of the funds that were needed to maintain parish churches. Isabell Sapcote (1494) was buried in the chapel of Our Lady at Burley, Rutland. In her will she bequeathed 20 marks for "edifying

22 Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulcher in England*; French, *People of the Parish*, 187-89; French, *Good Women of the Parish*, 189; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 115; Finch, *Church Monuments*, 74-75; Heales, "Easter Sepulchers," 264-303.

23 Blomefield, *Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, VII, 132, 148. In 1868, her descendant, Lord Townshend, placed the tomb in the north corner of the chancel in the church he built, after fire destroyed the old one. Durham, *The Townshends of Raynham*, 13.

24 TNA, Prob11/29/11; Turnbull, *SSt. Peter and Paul, Kedington*, 26

25 Blomefield, *Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, I, 220.

26 "Parishes: Waterstock," VCH, *History of the County of Oxford*, Vol. 7, 223, 227-28. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=63779>.

27 *Ibid.*, 3:106.

and building” the church, as well as 200 marks for building her chantry.²⁸ Elizabeth Barnardiston (1526), with whom this chapter began, paid for a new roof covered with lead for the church at Kedington.²⁹ Her contemporary, Elizabeth Clifford (1525), funded the south porch of the church at Aspenden, Hertfordshire, which displayed the arms of both her husbands, Sir Ralph Jocelyn and Sir Robert Clifford, on it. She was buried there with Sir Robert, in a chapel adjacent to the chancel on the south side of the church.³⁰

The high fees they paid for their burials provided congregations and their priests with yet another financial incentive to accede to elite women’s wishes. At St Mary-at-Hill, London, the cost of being buried in the chapels of St Katherine and St Stephen was 13s 4d. The cost decreased to 10s for burial between the doors of the chapels and the transepts; west of the transepts it was only 6s 8d.³¹ In practice, however, aristocratic women gave their churches far more to secure burials in the places they desired, although their wills do not list burial fees as a separate item. For example, Katherine Harcourt left £20 for the costs of her funeral and burial before the “chief” image of St Mary at Rewley Abbey in Oxfordshire in 1489.³² Four years later, Elizabeth Delamere bequeathed £3 6s 8d to Syon for her burial and prayers there.³³ And in 1538, Alice Clere bestowed £20 for alms and her burial near her husband in the chancel at Ormesby, Norfolk.³⁴

Throughout the Yorkist and early Tudor period, most monuments for members of the aristocracy took the form of tomb chests with images or effigies of and inscriptions for the deceased, his or her spouse(s) and their children. Their actual bodies were buried in vaults beneath the tombs.³⁵ From about 1350, craftsmen from the Midlands working in alabaster dominated production of this kind of tomb. They constructed the tomb chests and carved the effigies placed on top of them, as well as the shields and other figures on

28 TNA, Prob11/10/12.

29 Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 733.

30 RCHM, *Historical Monuments in Herefordshire*, 4.

31 *The Medieval Records of a London City Church (St. Mary at Hill) A.D. 1420-1559*, transcribed and edited by Henry Littlehales, 319.

32 TNA, Prob11/ 8/17.

33 TNA, Prob11/10/10 (1493).

34 TNA, Prob11/24/5 (1529), Sir Robert Clere; TNA, E40/12173 (1538), Dame Alice Clere.

35 The recent discovery of Blanche Mortimer’s body in a coffin inside her tomb in St Bartholomew’s Church, Much Marcie, Herefordshire, raises the question of whether other coffins were inside tombs instead of in vaults below them, as is widely believed; *Daily Mail*, 29 January, 2014. The Windsor Guide also reported the discovery of a skeleton believed to be Edward IV’s in 1789, when the chapel was being restored, but the wording does not clarify whether it was in his monument or the vault underneath; *The Windsor Guide* (c. 1811), 68.

the sides. Craftsmen who constructed alabaster monuments also designed brasses with engraved figures and epitaphs when they were commissioned to do so.³⁶ During the sixteenth century, tomb production in London and its environs increased. In the City and Southwark, foreign craftsman established firms that used raw material from other parts of the country.³⁷

The most expensive tombs had marble or alabaster effigies resting on marble or alabaster slabs. In addition, the sides of many tombs contained sculpted figures that represented the deceased couple's children. In 58 instances in which aristocratic women indicated the material to be used for their tombs and/or sculpted effigies, they overwhelmingly chose alabaster or marble.³⁸ At least 42 of them had marble or alabaster effigies. Jonathan Finch has estimated that raised tombs with two alabaster effigies cost £40 between 1465 and 1538.³⁹ In 1460, Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, one of the most lavish builders of the period, paid £34 6s 8d for Purbeck marble for her husband's tomb, as well as the craftsman's fee for constructing it.⁴⁰ In 1525, Sir Adrian Fortescue's first wife, Anne Neville (1518), daughter of John Neville, Marquess of Montague, was moved from Pyrton, Shirbourne, Berkshire, where she was first buried, to Bisham Abbey, so that she could lie with members of her natal family. Her marble tomb at Bisham cost £8 and the pictures, writing, and gilt arms an additional £3 6s 8d.⁴¹ Eleanor, Countess of Rutland, paid Richard Parker £20 for her husband's tomb in 1543. It had alabaster effigies of the couple, but it is unclear whether the sum included the cost of the alabaster as well as the cost of construction.⁴² Five years later, Elizabeth Fitzwilliams left £10 for her monument, but stated explicitly that she had already purchased the marble for building it.⁴³

36 Gardner, *Alabaster Tombs* xv, 2; Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, 218; Crossley, *English Church Monuments*, 4, 6, 26; Esdaile, *English Church Monuments*, 45, 51; Baggs, "Sixteenth Century Terracotta Tombs," 296-301; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 42-43, 69, 77-79. In establishing the context for his major concern, monuments after the Reformation, Llewellyn provides a great deal of information on the pre-Reformation period. The whole thrust of his argument emphasizes continuity between the two periods.

37 Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 60; Esdaile, *English Church Monuments*, 45.

38 Fourteen chose alabaster; twelve marble; seven other materials, most often Caen stone. Alabaster refers to two types of calcium. Marble is a form of rock that is characterized by an array of color, due to the presence of impurities. Unlike alabaster, marble can be polished heavily. Alabaster is usually white, while marble comes in white, gray, green, black, pink, and green. Alabaster is slightly translucent and was cheaper than marble.

39 Finch, *Church Monuments*, 38.

40 Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, 191.

41 BL, Add'l Ms. 25,460, f. 405.

42 HMC, *Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland*, IV, 340-41.

43 TNA, Prob11/32/15 (1548).

Alternatively, effigies engraved into brass sheets were set into indentations in the marble, alabaster, or stone slab on top of the monument. Brasses evolved from monumental effigies, of which they were linear or graphic abstractions. Sculpted and brass effigies often came from the same workshops. The brass sheets were produced on the Continent and imported into England from the Low Countries, usually through East Anglian ports. As a result, brass memorials were common in the eastern counties, whereas marble, alabaster, and stone effigies and inscriptions dominated in the Midlands, the location of most of the alabaster quarries. In Norfolk, only four stone effigies of knights have survived from the period 1450-1549, as compared to 265 brasses.⁴⁴

Brass effigies were much less expensive than sculpted figures. According to one survey of 40 bequests for brass memorials between 1465 and 1538, 27 ranged in cost from £1 to £2 13s 4d and sixteen cost less than £1 13s 4d.⁴⁵ Forty-four aristocratic women ordered brasses for tombs they commissioned. Of these women, Elizabeth, Lady Scrope of Masham and Upsall, is the only one to have included the cost in her will. She bequeathed £10 for a tomb with images of herself, her first husband Thomas, Lord Scrope, and her only daughter Alice, their arms, and “scripture making mention what we were.”⁴⁶

However prominent they may have been on funerary monuments, most authorities agree that the sculpted and engraved effigies were not portraits in the modern sense.⁴⁷ Rather, they interpreted the images as idealized figures in the prime of life, as they would appear at the Resurrection.⁴⁸ Surviving contracts indicate that patrons had little to say about the images they ordered.⁴⁹ Nonetheless, exceptions to this generalization certainly existed. Alfred Fryer thinks that the head of Sir Richard Choke (1483) at Long Ashton, Somersetshire, was a portrait. His widow and co-executor, Margaret (1484), who ordered a memorial stained-glass window showing her and her husband’s images in her will, may well have taken the lead in commissioning the effigy. The effigies of Sir Alexander Culpepper (1540) and

44 Finch, *Church Monuments*, 37, 51.

45 Trivick, *Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses*, 98.

46 TNA, Prob 11/20/19 (1514); Lady Scrope’s directions and the size of her bequest make clear she was paying for a brass rather than sculpted effigies. She bequeathed twice that amount, £20 apiece, for the tombs of her second husband, Sir Henry Wentworth, and her father, John Nevill, Marquess of Montague.

47 Saul, *Cobham Monuments*, 227-28; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 35-42; Macklin, *Brasses of England*, 2. For a dissenting view, see Trivick, *Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses*, 17.

48 Bertram, “Iconography of Brasses,” 62-63.

49 Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 20, 31-32, 118; Norris, “Analysis of Style in Monumental Brasses,” 103-51.

his wife Constance (1541) at Goudhurst, Kent, and of Sir Richard Knightley (1534) and his wife Jane (1550) at Fawsley, Northampton, may also be exceptions to the rule.⁵⁰ In both these cases, the women were their husbands' sole executors and responsible for their tombs. The handful of men shown with beards—Sir Thomas Cokayne (1537), William, Lord Parr of Horton (1547), and John, Earl of Bedford (1555)—may also be portraits, or at least more realistic representations than the standard idealized figures.⁵¹ Finally, when the tomb of Sir Richard Croft (1509) and his wife at Croft Castle, Herefordshire, was restored and their skulls discovered, the bone structure of their skulls corresponded precisely to the stone faces of their effigies.⁵² These examples suggest that scholars should be open to the possibility that the general consensus requires revision.

With these few exceptions, the majority of effigies conformed to conventions that determined their pose, shape, and setting.⁵³ Perhaps this conformity to traditional styles explains why testators ignored them in their directions for the monuments. Sculpted effigies were recumbent with their hands in an attitude of prayer, the husband on the right and the wife on the left. Sir Henry Grey and his first wife, Emma, and William Fitzwilliam, Earl of Southampton (1534) and his wife Mabel are among the few couples holding hands.⁵⁴ While the majority of brass figures were shown in this pose, some brass engravers innovated by introducing figures kneeling at prayer desks. The two forms frequently came from the same workshops.⁵⁵ Couples at prayer desks often faced each other, with their children behind them.⁵⁶ The brass that Elizabeth Barnardiston, with whom this chapter began, commissioned at Great Cotes, Lincolnshire, showed her and her husband (1503) with their fifteen children behind them.⁵⁷ The brass of Jane, Lady Bray (1539) at Eaton Bray, Hertfordshire, depicts her kneeling before a prayer book with her

50 <http://gen.culpepper.com/archives/uk/places/goudhurst.htm> on the Culpeppers; *VCH, Northampton*, 1, 416 on the Knightleys; on Choke, Fryer, "Monumental Effigies made by Bristol Craftsmen (1240-1540)," 22. Choke's will is Prob11/10/21 (1483); his widow's will is Prob11/7/9 (1483). The copy of Sir Richard's will in the NRA does not indicate when it was probated. It is listed in a later volume than his wife's, although both their wills were written in 1483. Hers was probated in 1484.

51 Bridges, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, I, 370; Powell, *Collections*, 1, f. 184; Sadler, *The Ancient Family of Cokayne and their Monuments in Ashbourne Church*.

52 Fair, *Companion to the English Parish Church*, 173.

53 Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 50-60.

54 Blomefield, *Topographical History of... Norfolk*, 5, 91 (Grey); the date of Grey's death is unknown; BL, Add'l Ms. 11, 425, Epitaphs by John Clements, f. 30 (Fitzwilliam).

55 Rogers, "Brasses in their Art Historical Context," 147-48.

56 Houlbrooke, *Death Religion, and the Family*, 345.

57 Almack, "Kedington alias Ketton and the Barnardiston Family," 131.

son and ten daughters.⁵⁸ Toward the end of our period, the brass for Lady Elizabeth Bouchier (1548), daughter of the first Earl of Bath, represents her kneeling in prayer before a prayer desk with an open book.⁵⁹ Whether recumbent or kneeling, these effigies expressed the deceased person's confidence in his or her eventual resurrection, contrasted the earthly body, liable to corruption, with its eternal form, and elicited prayers from those who viewed them. The effigies blurred the boundary between life and death, perpetuating the deceased person's physical presence in the church, albeit in a different form. The costumes and armor of the effigies also reminded the congregation of their high status. However, these costumes and armor failed to reflect changes in fashion in the century before the Reformation and therefore cannot be used as accurate evidence of the tombs' dates.⁶⁰ Nonetheless, they reinforced all the features of the effigies that represented their place in the social hierarchy.⁶¹

In contrast to the lack of instructions about effigies, female patrons were very specific in their directions regarding two other features of their monuments: the inscriptions and heraldic shields. These were the most personal elements on tombs and the ones most likely to reflect the wishes of the donor. Epitaphs combined both spiritual and secular purposes: they began and/or ended with pleas for mercy from God and/or prayers from those viewing their tombs. They also identified the deceased, recording their names, the dates of their deaths, their spouses, and in some cases their fathers and mothers. When widows ordered tombs for their deceased husbands and themselves, the date of their death was left blank and in many cases never filled in.⁶²

Before the break with Rome, the most important function of the inscription was intercessory; that is, to elicit prayers to reduce the time the deceased spent in Purgatory. Whether in English or Latin, the prayers were formulaic with relatively few variations. In Latin, the texts began "orate pro anima" and concluded "cuius aimae propicietur dies"; in English, they opened with the request, "of your charity pray for the soul of" and concluded "on whose soul may Jesus have mercy." When epitaphs omitted these pleas for prayers, a request often appeared on a nearby tablet or stained-glass

58 Hamilton, *Blue Guide, Churches and Chapels of Southern England*, 65-66.

59 Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies ... of Devonshire*, 67.

60 Blair and Ramsey, *English Medieval Industries*, 37; Fair, *Companion to the English Parish Church*, 57; Binski, *Medieval Death*, 93-94.

61 Blair and Ramsey, *English Medieval Industries*, 35-50.

62 Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 118, 275; Badham, "Status and Salvation," 413-40.

window.⁶³ Alternatively, epitaphs simply asked for God's mercy on the soul of the deceased. Because iconoclasts, thieves, and financially-strapped parishes removed brasses from many monuments or walls, far fewer epitaphs have survived than tombs. Furthermore, in some cases, Elizabethan and early Stuart antiquarians, the main source for Tudor inscriptions, omitted the request for prayers in order to avoid accusations of popery and further destruction.⁶⁴ Forty epitaphs remaining on tombs women commissioned before 1535 or recorded by reliable antiquaries prove this point; 32 of them included requests for prayers.⁶⁵

The simplest and most common epitaph on tomb chests was a brief inscription carved into the sides of the chest just under the slab on top. The limitations imposed by the size of the chest meant that the inscription had to be relatively short. Epitaphs of this kind identified those buried under the tomb, recorded the dates of their deaths, and requested prayers to be said for their souls. The inscription ordered for Anthony Fettiplace's tomb by his widow and sole executor is typical. It reads, "of your charity pray for the soul of Anthony Fetyplace, esq., which deceased the 23rd day of december in the year of our lord god 1510. On whose soul jesus have mercy."⁶⁶ Dorothy Ferrers commissioned a tomb at Tamworth, Warwickshire, for herself and her deceased husband with the epitaph, "Here lies the body of John Ferrers knight and Dame Dorothy his wife, which John died the 16th day of the month of July in the year of our lord 1512 and the same Dame Dorothy died ____ day of the month ____ of the year of our lord 15 ____ . On whose souls may God have mercy. Amen." The date of Dorothy's death was never filled in, although her descendants lived at Tamworth until the late seventeenth century.⁶⁷

Windows or tablets mounted on the wall occasionally expanded on the information carved into the monuments. At Kedington, an adjacent tablet records:

This is the monument of Sir Thomas Barnardiston, knight, being buried in Co[t]ys in the County of Lincolnshire, and of Dame Elizabeth his wife buried under this tomb; which Sir Thomas by his last will gave certain lands in the town called Brokholes, of the yearly value of 7 marks toward

63 Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 98-100; Finch, *Church Monuments*, 69.

64 Lindley, "Disrespect for the Dead?," 55.

65 In addition, epitaphs have disappeared on 32 tombs built by women who endowed chantries, which indicates their confidence in prayers for their souls.

66 Norris, ed., *Portfolio Plates*, #277. Fettiplace's widow was Mary née Fortescue. Fettiplace was the second of her three husbands.

67 Palmer, *Town and Castle of Tamworth*, 90-91.

the maintenance of a chantry in the church: and the said Dame Elizabeth after his death obtained license to amortise the said chantry [at Kedington] perpetually, and made the possessions thereof to the yearly value of 12 marks, and besides builded the church roof new, and covered it with lead. Which Dame Elizabeth died the ____ day of ____ anno domini 1520 [sic; should be 1526].⁶⁸

Inscriptions on the tombs of heiresses were often more comprehensive about the woman's lineage, underscoring how important their descent was both to their marital family and themselves. At Brington, Northamptonshire, the inscription for Sir John and Lady Isabel Spencer contained unusually detailed information about her parents, reporting that she was the daughter and coheir of Walter Graunt of Snitterfield and the heir of her mother, the daughter and heir of Humphrey Ruding of Wich in the county of Worcester. Even more unusually, the epitaph included the names of their offspring and the husbands of their daughters. Isabel asked to be buried in her natal parish with her mother, rather than at Brington.⁶⁹ At Fawsley, Northamptonshire, the inscription on the earliest Knightley tomb reads simply, "Pray for the souls of Richard Knightley and Joan his wife which Richard died the 8th days of Dec in the year of our lord 1534 and which Joan died ____ day of the month ____ in the year of our lord 1550." But the expansive dedication of the high window elaborates upon this considerably:

Pray for the good state of Richard Knightley knight and Joan his wife, daughter and heir of Henry Skineerdon and Margaret his wife, which said Margaret was sister and heir of Thomas Harwedon, esq., which Thomas was brother and heir of Richard Harwedon, esq., who made the window at the same time as the roof.

As in the case of the monument at Brington, the unusual detail about Joan Knightley's descent was almost certainly included because she was an heiress whose property had added considerably to her husband's landed estate.⁷⁰

Brass inscriptions provided more opportunities for long texts than those in stone. In some cases, they were set into the top surface of the tomb

68 Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 733-34.

69 TNA, Prob11/40/32 (1558); VCH, *Northampton*, 1, 414. It is not clear whether her request was carried out, or whether she was buried with her husband under the monument with her effigy at Brington.

70 Bridges, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, 2, 69.

chest, usually with images of the deceased and his or her family. The most elaborate—the brass that Elizabeth Barnardiston commissioned for her husband at Great Cotes, for example, described at the beginning of this chapter—had scrolls coming from the mouths of the donors' portraits with petitions written on them.⁷¹ Elizabeth Tame, Sir Edmund's second wife, widow, and sole executor, constructed an elaborate group of brass memorials in the Lady Chapel at the east end of the north aisle at Fairford, Gloucestershire, the location of the chantry her husband had endowed.⁷² A large slab of blue Purbeck marble in the floor at the foot of the altar steps marks the vault where Sir Edmund (1534) was buried.⁷³ The brass set into the marble depicts Sir Edmund between his two wives (Agnes née Greville and Elizabeth née Tyringham), standing with their hands joined in prayer. Edmund and Agnes's two sons and three daughters are shown beneath them. A border of brass around the slab entreats viewers to pray for them:

Of your charity pray for the soul of Sir Edmund Tame knight here under buried which deceased the first day of October in the year of our lord god 1533 and for the soul of Mistress Agnes his first wife which deceased the 25 day of July the year of our lord 1506 [and] the prosperity of Dame Elizabeth his last wife. [On whose souls] and all Christian souls Jesu have mercy. Amen.⁷⁴

The prayer for Elizabeth and the omission of the date of her death confirm that she was alive when the brass was made.

A second brass on the north wall of the chapel portrays Sir Edmund kneeling before a prayer desk with one son behind him, his shield above him, and his two wives facing him on their knees. His first wife, Agnes, has their three daughters behind her. A shield above Sir Edmund shows Tame impaling Greville and another over Elizabeth with Tame impaling Tyringham. The scroll from Sir Edmund's mouth reads, "Jesus, lord that made us"; another from Agnes's, "with thy blood us bought"; and the third from Elizabeth's mouth, "Forgive us our trespass". Above them at the center of the brass is a picture of the Trinity. An inscription beneath the figures records, "Here lies Edmund Tame knight, and Agnes and Elizabeth his wives, which Edmund

71 See above, pages 1-2, and Pevsner and Harris, *Lincolnshire*, 254.

72 TNA, Prob11/25/17; Sir Edmund called her the person "whom I trust above all other to see this my last will to be performed."

73 Farmer, *Fairford Church*, 19; HEH, Esdaile Papers, Box 15.

74 *Ibid.*, 19; Davis, *Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire*, 141-43.

died on the 1st day of October 1534, and in the 26th year of the reign of King Henry VIII, on whose souls may God have mercy.”⁷⁵

A minority of the female aristocratic tomb builders—36 (18 percent) of the 196 studied here—included their parent’s or parents’ names in their epitaphs. All but two of these names were on brasses, rather than carved into a table tomb.⁷⁶ Twenty-three of the women were heiresses, but only two of these women mentioned their mothers as well as their fathers, underscoring that even women defined their descent in terms of the male line. In the first of these exceptions, Jane, Lady Bray, who commissioned the brass, inherited land from both of her parents, each of whom were heirs:

Under this tomb lieth buried the right honorable Jane Lady Bray sometime wife of Sir Edmund Bray knight lord Bray and daughter and heir of Richard Halliwell esquire and Anne his wife the which Richard was son and heir of Sir John Halliwell of Devonshire and the said Anne was daughter and heir of Sir John Norbury knight.⁷⁷

In the other, a mother, Thomasine Hopton, commissioned a monument for her daughter, who was living with her at Yoxford, Suffolk, when she died in childbirth.⁷⁸ In addition, two heiresses named the relative from whom they had inherited their property rather than their parents. Thomasine Clopton’s epitaph at Long Melford, Suffolk, stated, “Here lieth Thomasine Clopton, late the wife of Sir William Clopton, aunt and one of the heirs of Elizabeth Raynsford daughter of Edward Knyvet, late of Essex.”⁷⁹ The inscription on the brass of Maud Willoughby, Lady Cromwell at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, read, “Here lies the noble lady Matilda formerly Lady Willoughby, the wife of Robert Lord Willoughby, knight, and cousin and sole heir of the illustrious Lord Ralph, formerly Lord Cromwell, knight.”⁸⁰ Margaret Molyneux Bulkeley, who was closely attached to her natal family and proud of its status, was

75 Farmer, *Fairford Church*, 19-20, 144-45. Impalement on a shield means dividing it in half to show two complete coats of arms. The husband is on the dexter side, i.e., on the left from the viewer’s perspective. Fair, *Companion to the English Parish Church*, 276.

76 The exceptions were the monuments for Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam, his wife Lucy, and his parents at Tickhill, Yorkshire, and Sir John Talbot of Grafton and his wife at Bromsgrove, Worcester.

77 Trivick, *Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses*, plate 254.

78 Her daughter was the offspring of her first marriage to William Sidney, Esq., and the wife of William Tendring, Esq. The image represented her in a shroud with her belly showing. Cotman, *Engravings of Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 2, 13, plate 17; Stone, *Sculpture in Britain*, 213-16, on effigies in shrouds or shown as cadavers.

79 Duffy, *Chorography of Suffolk*, 97.

80 *Monumental Brass Society, Portfolio Plates*, #198; BL, Harleian 6829, f. 184.

buried in the Molyneux family church at Sefton, Lancashire. Her epitaph carefully noted that she was the daughter of Sir Richard (1459) as well as the wife of two esquires, William Dutton and William Buckley.⁸¹

Even fewer noblemen or knights—only twelve (10 percent) of 119—who constructed tombs for their wives included the woman's parent(s) in the inscriptions they ordered. Five of the wives memorialized in this way were heiresses, which may well account for the inclusion of their fathers' names. In two instances—the monument of Elizabeth, Lady Fitzwalter, first wife of Henry, heir of Robert, Earl of Sussex, and that of Lady Elizabeth Greville, wife of Sir Fulke—the inscriptions included the names of the women's mothers as well. Lady Fitzwalter was a daughter of the second Duke of Norfolk and his second wife Agnes, and Lady Greville was the granddaughter of two members of the nobility: Robert Willoughby, Lord Broke, and Elizabeth, a coheir of the Lord Beauchamps of Powick.⁸² In both these instances, the women's lineage enhanced their husbands' status and was undoubtedly recorded for that reason. In the other cases, no obvious explanation exists for the inclusion of their wives' parent or parents. One can speculate that they were motivated by affection for their deceased spouses or in-laws, or appreciation of the financial or political benefits of their marriages, factors that none of them mentioned in their testaments.

What the comparison does reveal is that despite the overriding definition of the family as patrilineal, aristocratic women and men conceived of their families in more bilateral terms than the law or contemporary ideology would suggest. This outlook made sense in a society that permitted women to inherit land ahead of their uncles or male cousins, in contrast to societies that excluded women from inheriting land altogether. It also reflected the fact that in everyday life families functioned horizontally as well as vertically.⁸³

Even more than epitaphs, the heraldic shields carved on monuments emphasized the status of the husband and/or wife's family and the continuity of their lineage from the past through the present to the future. As we saw above, both Katherine Grey Lewkenor and Elizabeth Scrope, Lady Scrope of Masham and Upsall, directed their executors to include their arms on their monuments.⁸⁴ Elizabeth Goring (1555) concluded her elaborate directives about the monument she was commissioning for herself and her husband

81 Wall, *St. Helen's, Sephton*, 60-61, 73; *History of the Chantries Within the County Palatine of Lancaster*, 110.

82 BL, Sloan Ms. 3836, f. 12 for Lady Fitzwalter, and Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, I, 770 for Lady Grevill.

83 Harris, "Regional and Family Networks: The Hidden Role of Sisters and Sisters-in-law."

84 See above, pages 29 and 35.

by reminding her executors to have both their arms engraved on the tomb.⁸⁵ Twelve years later, Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury and second wife of the fourth earl, told her executors “that within one year next after my decease there be a tomb made over me with a flat stone of marble, having the picture of me with mine arms graven thereon.”⁸⁶

Knights first displayed coats of arms on the banners they used to identify themselves in battle and tournaments. Heralds, who first appeared in connection with tournaments, were expected to recognize the combatants and know their characters and histories. Over time, heralds also gained control over the issuance and verification of arms, which acquired legal status as evidence of a family’s lineage and titles. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, Richard III organized the heralds into the College of Arms.⁸⁷

By the fourteenth century, aristocratic funeral monuments included the escutcheons—the shields used to display coats of arms—of those they commemorated.⁸⁸ The participation of heralds in funeral processions demonstrated the high status of the deceased and royal approval of the position they had claimed in the social order.⁸⁹ The herald carried the banners with the arms of the person being buried. Ultimately, they were hung over his or her tomb, ensuring that the escutcheons carved on their tombs accurately documented their families’ lineage. The Reformation brought no change to the central role of shields in aristocratic monuments.

The authority of heraldic shields and arms was regarded so highly that it was accepted as legal evidence. In the late fourteenth century, one of the earliest heraldic lawsuits—that between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor over their right to use disputed arms—was decided on the basis of evidence in glass, paintings, and the coats of arms in thirteen different churches.⁹⁰ In 1408, the brass of Sir Hugh Hastings at Elsing was used as evidence in a case in the Court of Chivalry between Sir Edward Hastings and Reginald, Lord Grey of Ruthyn, about the right to bear the Hastings arms.⁹¹ Women did not commission the Scrope or the Hastings monuments. But Elizabeth Talbot, widow and chief executor of Sir John Talbot of Albrighton (1549), built a monument with his escutcheon that became the major proof used to settle a dispute about the lands and title

85 TNA, Prob11/42A/21.

86 *North Country Wills*, 2, 49.

87 Wagner, *Herald and Heraldry*, 3-4, 25, 65; Wagner, *Heralds of England*, 106.

88 *British Heraldry from Its Origins to c. 1800*, eds. Richard Marks and Ann Payne, 13.

89 Houlbrook, *Death, Religion and Family*, 258-59; Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 25.

90 Rosenthal, *Telling Tales*, 63-74.

91 Binski, *Medieval Death*, 104-05.

of the Shrewsbury earldom three centuries later in 1857-58, demonstrating how important women's attention to the shields on the tombs they constructed was.⁹²

Although heraldic shields celebrated the patriarchal family, women were well versed in their significance.⁹³ Katherine Grey and Elizabeth, Lady Scrope of Masham and Upsall, both of whom, as we have already seen, were particularly concerned about memorializing their status, gave explicit instructions about the inclusion of their arms on their monuments. As Sir Robert Clifford's widow, Elizabeth Clifford included both their shields on the brasses on his tomb at Aspenden, Hertfordshire.⁹⁴ Elizabeth Goring's 1555 will concluded with her elaborate directives about the monument she wanted built for herself and her husband, by reminding her executors that they should have both of their arms engraved on the tomb.⁹⁵ That same year, Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland, ordered her executors to commission a stone over her grave "as the heralds shall think mete, with the whole arms of [my] father and mother."⁹⁶

Altogether, 100 women, just over half of the aristocratic women who commissioned tombs, included their arms or badge and/or that of their spouse on them. The monuments in this group still exist or were recorded by heralds or antiquaries before they were destroyed or severely damaged. Seven of the women—Elizabeth Clifford, Lady Anne Grey (Clement), Elizabeth Holles, Jane Fitzlewis Norton, Elizabeth Goring, Bridget, Lady Marney, and Elizabeth Verney—were shown in tabards or mantles bearing their shields. Three others—Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, Margaret Byron Harcourt, and Katherine, Lady Hastings, were wearing the garter.⁹⁷ Of the 100 women, 23 were noblewomen and 77 the wives or widows of knights. Thirty-two of them, about a third, were heirs, a high percentage when we consider that less than 20 percent of aristocratic women were heiresses during this period.⁹⁸ They may have been more concerned about preserving their family's heraldic devices than their non-inheriting contemporaries.

92 Monumental Brass Society, *Transactions*, 2:338; HEH, Esdaile Papers, Box 10, *Short Notes on Bromsgrove Parish Church* (reprint 1935), no pagination but would be page 4.

93 Tolley, "Visual Culture," 173.

94 *Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Hertfordshire* (London: HSMO, 1910), 40-41.

95 TNA, Prob11/42A/21.

96 TNA, Prob11/37/26, Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland (1555).

97 Jane Norton, who chose to be buried with her first husband, Sir Richard Fitzlewis, commissioned a brass with images of his four wives, three of whom wore heraldic mantles. Monumental Brass Society, Brass of the Month, September 2003. <http://www.mbs-brasses.co.uk/page94.html>.

98 Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, 20.

Katherine Harcourt, Lady Katherine Grey, and Elizabeth Verney probably included their arms on their monuments because of their high birth. They were the daughters of Sir Thomas de la Pole, a younger son of the second Earl of Suffolk, Thomas Lord Scales, and Edmund, Lord Bray, respectively. The image on Elizabeth Verney's brass showed her wearing a tabard with her father's arms and those of the Whittingtons. Sir Robert Whittington, her husband's great-grandfather, had built the mausoleum at the monastery at Ashridge, where he, his son-in-law Sir John, and his Verney descendants were originally buried.⁹⁹ Lady Grey's monument included an unusually long epitaph detailing her lineage as well as her arms and her service as a lady-in-waiting to Henry VII's wife.¹⁰⁰

In comparison, only a small number of knights and noblemen included women's arms on the monuments they commissioned. The tombs were either for wives who had predeceased them and with whom they expected to be buried, or joint tombs for themselves and their surviving spouses. Of a group of 119 noblemen and knights, only 29 included the women's arms. Of these 29 women, four were heiresses: Catherine Peverell, daughter and coheir of Thomas, and wife of Walter, the first Lord Hungerford; Mary Bourchier, daughter and coheir of John, the second Lord Berners, and first wife of Alexander Unton; Joan Drury, daughter and heir of Henry of Ickworth; and Katherine Broughton, sister and coheir of John, Esq., and wife of William, Lord Howard of Effingham. On her brass, Katherine wore a robe ornamented with her coat of arms. High rank seems to have been the other reason why men included their deceased wives' arms on tombs they built for them. In addition to being an heiress, for example, Unton's first wife, the daughter of a baron, was of much higher birth than her spouse. The noble rank of both George, Earl of Shrewsbury, and his first wife, Anne, daughter of William, Lord Hastings, was duly displayed in the arms on the monuments he commissioned for them at St Peter's church in Sheffield.¹⁰¹ Sir Thomas St Leger almost certainly included the arms of his wife Anne, Duchess of Exeter and sister of Edward IV, in the brass identifying their monument at St Katherine by the Tower, because of her high—indeed, royal—rank.¹⁰² Elizabeth Knevet (1518), daughter of Sir William (1515) of Buckenham Castle and a great-niece

99 Andrews, *Sidelights on Memorial Brasses in Hertfordshire*, 6. After the Dissolution, the monuments were moved to Albury, Hertfordshire.

100 HEH, *East Grinstead and its Parish Church*; TNA, Prob11/14/34 (1505); significantly, she used the name of her first husband, a knight, rather than that of her second, who was only an esquire. As the daughter of a nobleman, she often referred to herself as Lady Grey.

101 TNA, Prob11/26/13, George, Earl of Shrewsbury (1539).

102 Dingley, *History from Marble*, 115-16.

of the third Duke of Buckingham, was shown in her tabard in the brass on her tomb at Eastington, Gloucestershire. The duke was probably responsible for her monument: he was lord of the manor of Eastington and one of the two men in charge of her dowry, according to her father's will. The tabard displayed her connection to the ducal family.¹⁰³ Sir Nicholas Carew probated his father's will and probably commissioned its brass, which showed an image of his mother with a mantle, with her arms over her gown.¹⁰⁴

The relatively small number of noblemen and knights who included their wives' arms on the monuments they commissioned indicates the lack of importance they attached to their wives' lineages, unless they were heiresses or of unusually high rank. Since the men belonged to only one family, both before and after marriage, a single shield could adequately display their descent and individual identity. By contrast, aristocratic women moved physically and legally from one family to another as they married and remarried, accumulating multiple identities through the course of their lives. Many of them maintained active and warm relationships with their natal kin when they moved from one marital home to another. In addition, their fathers and brothers functioned as their major source of support if they experienced difficulties in their marriages, or in acquiring their dowers or jointures when they were widowed.¹⁰⁵ In such circumstances, they were acutely aware that their identities were not the same as their husbands', and included their personal shields as well as those of their spouses to demonstrate their awareness on the monuments they commissioned.

In 1536, the Crown issued Ten Articles that initiated a program of doctrinal reform, with potential implications for aristocratic monuments. Although the articles cast doubt on the doctrine of Purgatory, prayers for the dead were permitted as an act of charity. The articles thus allowed those who still believed in Purgatory to include the conventional prayers for the dead on the tombs they commissioned without compromising their beliefs.¹⁰⁶ Eleven of 38 tombs (29 percent) that aristocratic women built after 1536

103 TNA, Prob11/18/18, Sir William Knevet (1516); VCH, Gloucestershire, 10, 135-83; Davis, *Monumental Brasses of Gloucestershire*, 117-19.

104 Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies*, 77.

105 Harris, *Aristocratic Women*, 175-92.

106 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 393. The Calvinist Prayer Book of 1552, which omitted all prayers for the dead, including the Office of the Dead and the Eucharist, formed the basis for the Elizabethan burial service; but it never expressly forbade prayers for the dead. The Elizabethan Primer of 1559 contained intercessory prayers. Woodward, *Theatre of Death*, 42, 53, 56.

contained the customary petitions. In 1543, for example, the inscription on the tomb that Eleanor, Countess of Rutland, built for her husband read:

Here lieth the body of Thomas Manners earl of Rutland, lord of Hamlake, Trusbut and Belyer and knight of the most honorable order of the garter, who deceased the 20th day of September at 4 of the clock at the afternoon the year of our lord 1543; and the body of the Lady Eleanor countess his wife, daughter of Sir William Paston of Norfolk knight, who died the _____ day of _____ in the year of our lord 15_____, whose souls Jesus pardon. Amen.¹⁰⁷

Two years later, Bridget Willoughby constructed a monument for her and husband with the epitaph, “Pray for the soul of Thomas Willoughby Knight, one of the justices of the King’s Bench, son of Christopher Willoughby Knight and Lord Willoughby in the county of Suffolk and Bridget, wife of the foresaid Thomas Willoughby, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Read Knight ... which Thomas died 28 Sept. 1545.”¹⁰⁸ Nor did these requests disappear during the period of Edwardian reform.¹⁰⁹ In 1550, Jane Knightley constructed a tomb for herself and her husband at Upton, Northampton, that included the inscription, “Pray for the soul of Richard Knightley esq. which died the 30th day of the month of March in the year of our Lord 1534 and for the soul of Jane, his wife, who died _____.”¹¹⁰ That same year, Frances Peyton commissioned the tomb for her husband Sir Robert Peyton at Isleham, Cambridgeshire, with the epitaph, “Pray for the soul of Sir Robert Peyton knight, the son of Sir Robert Peyton knight, which married Frances, the daughter and heir of Francis Hasilden esq. dec’d, which Sir Robert dec’d the 5th day of August the year of our lord 1550, whose soul God pardon.”¹¹¹ Even after Queen Elizabeth’s accession, a small number of epitaphs included traditional petitions for prayers.¹¹² Thus, the inscription on Mary Fitton’s tomb (c. 1566) requested prayers for her soul, while the inscription on John

107 BL, Additional Ms. 71,474, 74d; in the end, the countess was not buried with her husband, but at St Leonard Shoreditch, London, where she was living at the time of her death.

108 Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 1631 ed., 326.

109 E.g., Sir Robert Peyton, Prob11/33/27 (1550); Prob11/32/40, Sir John Talbot of Albrighton (1550), Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 30.

110 Hartshorne, *Recumbent Monumental Effigies in Northamptonshire*, 98.

111 Monumental Inscriptions, ed. Palmer, 88; From Cole ms. Sept 27, 1776, BL. Add'l Ms 5859, 24.

112 E.g., Monument of Sir Thomas Giffard, d. 1560, at Brewwood, Staffordshire; Jeavons, *Effigies of Staffordshire*, 21; Guildhall Ms. 2480; Jewers, *Monumental Inscriptions and Armorial Bearings*, vol. 1, f. 310, 319.

Scudamore's monument (1571) at Holme Lacey, Herefordshire, specifically asked onlookers to say a *pater noster* and *ave* for him.¹¹³ Three additional widows—Margaret, Lady Grey, Katherine Babington and Anne Petre—built chantries after 1536.¹¹⁴ David Hickman's study of epitaphs in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire documents the continuation of requests for such prayers through the 1560s, when they appeared on 30 percent of the tombs. In that decade, the Reformers finally won the battle to end saying prayers for the dead.¹¹⁵

Other tombs built after 1536 omitted petitions for traditional prayers, but expressed hope for Jesus' mercy in words consistent with Protestant theology. Sir William Goring (1555), a gentleman of Edward VI's Privy Chamber, and his wife chose epitaphs of this kind. In his will, Sir William directed his executors to place the following prayer over his tomb:

O God forget my sins and impute them not unto me
 But forgive me for thy dear son Jesus Christ's sake
 And indict me according unto thy inscrutable mercy
 For if we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves
 And there is no truth in us.

When his widow, who was not one of his executors, wrote her will in 1558, Goring's tomb had not yet been built. She therefore asked their son Henry to join with her executors, "to make one decent tomb for my said late husband and me within one quarter of a year next after my death." She continued:

And my mind is to have my said husband's picture in brass to lie upon the tomb and his picture and mine also to be set in the back of the tomb in brass with certain penitent scriptures written over the heads of the said

113 Crossley, "Post-Reformation Effigies and Monuments in Cheshire," 108; Madden and Nichols, "Sepulchral Memorials of the Scudamore," 256. Scudamore was a recusant, although a later member of the family conformed. Ian Atherton, "Scudamore Family (per. 1500-1820)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition, www.oxforddnb.com.libTNAxy.lib.unc.edu/view/article/71878?docPos=1.

114 Katherine Babington (d. 1546), *North Country Wills*, #77,102, Sir Anthony Babington (d. 1536 or 1537); will probated 1538; Anne Petre (d. 1582) built the tomb and chapel of her first husband, John Tyrell, Esq., of Heron (d. 1540) in the parish church in East Thorndon. Although his monument is gone, the chapel was known as the "Petre Chantry", suggesting that his widow, who was married to Sir William Petre by 1542, built it. Brown, *Tyrells of England*, 122; Margaret, Lady Grey, Prob11/28/20 (1540).

115 Hickman, "Wise & Religious Epitaphs," 117; Lindley, "'Disrespect for the Dead?'" 72; Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory*, 106.

pictures knowing ourselves sinners and humbling ourselves wholly unto the mercy of god promised to all faithful and penitent persons by his son Jesus Christ our only redeemer and Savior, with pictures of every one of our six sons and two daughters to be set also in brass on the back of the said tomb. And furthermore both our arms to be graven on the said tomb as my executors shall best devise.¹¹⁶

Two years later, Ursula Giffard concluded the epitaph on a monument for herself and her husband, Sir Thomas (1560), with the phrase “on whose souls Jesus have mercy.”¹¹⁷

Yet another strategy used after 1536 was to omit requests for prayers or mercy entirely, and to include instead an inscription that featured extended biographies of the deceased. In the context of evidence about the persistence of the belief in prayers for the dead, this style may well reflect an accommodation with reality rather than a change in the tomb-builders’ convictions. A desire for a lasting memorial on earth replaced the traditional concern for the welfare of the souls of the deceased.¹¹⁸ Barbara Cokayne, widow of Sir Thomas (1537), constructed a tomb of this kind for her husband just as changes in the Reformation were beginning.¹¹⁹ Two decades later, the biographical verse that Elizabeth Drury commissioned for Sir William Drury (1557) focused explicitly on his earthly reputation, asserting confidently that “he yet doth live, and shall do still, in the hearts of them that knew him,” without any reference to the afterlife.¹²⁰ The epitaph of Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury (1567) at Erith, Kent, focused entirely on her life on earth, recording her ancestry, her marriages, and her children. It emphasized her noble status by beginning with her second husband George, the fourth earl, Lord Steward to both Henry VII and Henry VIII. Unusually, the information that she was an heiress came last.¹²¹ By the 1560s, omitting prayers was the standard practice altogether. In their place, inscriptions like the Countess of Shrewsbury’s celebrated the status and lives of those they memorialized.

116 TNA, Prob11/37/38 for Sir William’s will; Sussex Wills, vol. 2, 233, for Elizabeth’s.

117 Jeavons, “Church Monuments of Derbyshire, Part 1,” 84; Jeavons, “Monumental Effigies of Staffordshire, Part 1,” 21.

118 Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 271-72; Harding, *The Dead and the Living*, 157; Rex, “Monumental Brasses and the Reformation,” 377-79.

119 Monumental Brass Society, *Transactions*, 3 (1987-99), 211.

120 TNA, Prob11/40/16 (1557); author recorded at Hawstead, 23 June 2003.

121 Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 1631 edition, 335, recorded the inscription, which is no longer visible; her son Sir Henry Compton, created Lord Compton, 1572, was her sole executor; Prob11/49/21.

John Weever reflected the new reality when he published his *Ancient Funeral Monuments* in 1631, asserting that a key function of tombs was to display the rank of the deceased.¹²²

This chapter has demonstrated that significant numbers of aristocratic women played an important, active, and hitherto underappreciated role in creating tombs in late medieval and early Tudor churches. Looking both to this world and the next, the monuments they commissioned remain an important component of England's architectural and artistic heritage. Like the men of their class, they chose the location, materials, epitaphs, and arms on the tombs to memorialize their and their families' social status and wealth. Their preferences and directions were much the same as those of their fathers and husbands, resulting in the construction of monuments that reflected the outlook of their class, rather than their gender.

On the spiritual side, the tombs they commissioned from the mid-1530s onward support the revisionist view of slow religious reform imposed by the government. Until then, their tombs and chantries demonstrated their belief in the existence of Purgatory and faith in the efficacy of prayers for their souls. The money they poured into their churches for monuments, and the chapels and aisles in which they were located, leave no doubt about their confidence in the Church. Their response to the articles of 1536 demonstrates that the majority of them continued to believe in prayers for the dead. The epitaphs on their tombs indicate that few of them moved in a decidedly reformed direction before the Elizabethan period, although they stopped endowing chantries because they no longer trusted the government to respect their foundations. Until the 1560s, there was little change in the monuments aristocratic women built for themselves and their spouses. Rather, they continued to take care of the dead in this world and the next much as their mothers and grandmothers had done before the break with Rome.

122 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, 286-87; Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, chapter III.

2 Chantries: The Quest for Perpetual Prayers

The bidding prayer on Sir Thomas Barnardiston's monument at Great Cotes, Lincolnshire, was an elaborate version of the simple request for prayers that appeared on virtually every tomb in pre-Reformation England. Nonetheless, it did not satisfy the Barnardistons' desire for perpetual prayers. His widow therefore undertook to found a chantry, funded by land worth 7 marks per annum, which her husband had bequeathed for that purpose. A chantry was an endowment to support perpetual Masses for the soul of its founder and any other persons she named. Although prayers could be funded for a specific period of time, only perpetual chantries in the form of specially-built altars or chapels became part of the fabric of the churches in which they were located.¹ These chantries, which were founded and/or built by aristocratic women, form the subject of this chapter.

Endowments for everlasting prayers first became popular in the thirteenth century. By 1300, they had become the "ultimate personal strategy for intercession." From this time onward, founding chantries was the best possible provision for the afterlife, for those who could afford it. The efficacy of this strategy depended on the doctrine of Purgatory, which provided a coherent means of dealing with sin, and the increasing importance of the Mass as a means for reducing the amount of time a soul remained there. The more Masses that were said, the shorter the time.²

Eamon Duffy has underscored the "overwhelming preoccupation" of the clergy and laity alike with shortening their stay in Purgatory and the "supreme efficacy of the Mass" in relieving its pains, while Jonathan Hughes has called the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "the age of the perpetual chantry."³ Although half of all chantries were founded between 1425 and 1500, Jonathan Finch has found that in Norfolk, the fate of the soul in Purgatory remained a major concern of worshippers until at least the beginning of the 1520s.⁴

1 Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry*, 3, 6, 220.

2 Roffey, *Chantry Chapels and Medieval Strategies*, 16-19, 51-2; 54, 59, 64; Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 5; Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 6-9, 11.

3 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 301; chapters 9 and 10 for an extended discussion of Purgatory and the impact of the desire for intercessory Masses; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 39.

4 Biver and Howard, "Chantry Chapels in England," 3; Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk*, 71.

Aristocratic women continued to establish chantries right through the period of Henrician reform.⁵

This chapter focuses on chantries commissioned and constructed with the women's funds and according to their directions. The results of their endowments rivaled those of men of their class. Although all chantries were relatively expensive, they varied considerably in their size and splendor; the number of priests they supported; and the detail of the services they prescribed. This diversity reflected differences in the status, wealth, and ambition of their founders, something highlighted in the discussion below.

Elizabeth Barnardiston was one of 71 aristocratic women who founded chantries between 1450 and 1540. Six of them—Cecily Grey, Marchioness of Dorset; Katherine Hastings, Lady Hastings; Margaret, Lady Hungerford; Elizabeth Scrope, Lady Scrope of Masham and Upsall; Anne Harling Scrope, Lady Scrope; and Joan, Lady Welles and Willoughby—built more than one. In 54 instances, the women initiated the projects, although in some cases, they died before the endowments had been established and directed their executors to complete them in their wills. Thus, Margaret Choke endowed a chantry at Long Ashton, Somerset, for prayers for herself and her two deceased husbands, Sir Richard Choke and William Gifford.⁶ Elizabeth Clere, widow of Sir Robert, founded a chantry to pray for him, her, and her parents at St George's altar in Norwich Cathedral.⁷ Margaret Bulkeley, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux, established a chantry for prayers for herself and her two deceased husbands, John Dutton, Esq., and William Bulkeley, Esq., at Sefton, Lancashire. A brass inscription in St Helen's Church stated clearly that she "founded here a perpetual chantry, and established and endowed it with rents and lands sufficing for one chaplain to celebrate for ever."⁸

In all but three of the remaining instances, the chantries were the joint projects of women and/or their deceased husbands: sometimes the men died before the endowment and construction was completed, and sometimes they directed their widows to found them in their wills. In most cases, there is no way of knowing whether the couple initially planned the chantries together. For example, Sir John Sapcotes asked that his widow and sole executor "see and cause that my chapel at my said place at Allynton be finished according to the work there begun and to [enhance] it according

5 Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 58-59, on the continued foundation of chantries.

6 TNA, Prob11/7/9 (1483).

7 *The Visitation of Norfolk in the Year 1563*, II, 316.

8 Wall, "St Helen's Church, Sephton," 60.

to her discretion and wisdom.⁹ Sir George Speke directed his widow and sole executor, Elizabeth, to establish the chantry he had endowed at East Downlish, Somerset, “in a new aisle there that I will be made.”¹⁰ Richard Middleton, Esq., asked his wife Maud, who had married him after the death of her first husband, Sir Thomas Green, to found a perpetual chantry for him (i.e., Middleton) at Norton Davey, Northamptonshire. She secured a license to do so in 1496. In 1548, when the chantry was dissolved, it was still known as “Maud’s chantry.”¹¹

The last three chantries were more unusual. The Fray Chantry at St Bartholomew the Little, London, was the joint project of Agnes Say (1478) and her daughter, Margaret Leynham (1482).¹² Anne Manners, Lady Ros, built the second with her father in St George’s Chapel at Windsor.¹³ And, in the last case, Jane Guildford, who was living at the Hospital of the Gaunts, Gloucestershire, completed the chapel dedicated to her father-in-law, Sir Robert Poyntz, there.¹⁴

The figure of 71 almost certainly falls short of the actual number of elite women who commissioned chantries. In two well-documented cases, men took credit for almshouses that women had founded as perpetual chantries. The chantry connected to the almshouse at Childrey, Berkshire, was known incorrectly as the Almshouse of William Fettiplace, although a brass in the church says clearly that he established it with his wife Elizabeth. When William wrote his will in 1526, however, he stated that he wanted the almshouse to bear only his name.¹⁵ In fact, Fettiplace was a fourth son without any land of his own. His wife, on the other hand, was an heiress, a widow, and a rich woman when they married. The land he gave to the chantry and its associated almshouse and school almost certainly came from her or from land he had purchased with income from her property. When she died in 1516, she did not have a will, because women were denied this right under common law. Nonetheless, the previous year she had settled Rampayne, her chief manor in Childrey, the manor of Early Bartholomew

9 TNA, Prob11/12/21 (1501).

10 TNA, Prob1/22/29 (1528).

11 Robert Halstead [pseudonym of Henry Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough], *Succinct Genealogies of the House of Green That Were Lords of Drayton* (1685), X, II, 74; CPR, Henry VII, II, 74; CCR, Henry VII, 2, #512, 197-98, 20 Dec. 1503; her will.

12 TNA, Prob11/6/33, Agnes Say; Prob11/7/6, Leynham; Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 161; CPR, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, III, 1475-85, 260 (page/number of item).

13 In her will, she refers to “my chantry.” TNA, Prob11/22/16 (1526).

14 Erler, *Widows in Retirement*, 65; VCH, *Gloucester*, 2, 118.

15 BL, Additional Manuscript, 42,763, f. 37d.

in Sonning, and numerous other pieces of property on her husband and their heirs, almost certainly with some understanding about what he would do with them.¹⁶

In another instance, in 1544 Elizabeth Holles provided for the establishment of a chantry and almshouse in her parish, St Helen's Bishopsgate, London, in her will. One of her executors, her cousin Andrew Judd, carried out her wishes, but added a small endowment of his own and then named the whole institution after himself. In the seventeenth century, her descendant, Gervase Holles, protested against Judd's fraud, but the name of the almshouse was never changed. The almshouse, which moved to a new site in 1729, survived until 1895. Nonetheless, throughout its life, the alms folk continued to pray at St Helen's Bishopsgate as Dame Holles had intended.¹⁷

The Edwardian commissioners and subsequent historians sometimes also attributed chantries founded by women to their husbands. In 1548, for example, the chantry commissioner attributed the foundation at Newland, Gloucester, to Robert Greydnour, although his widow, Joan, actually established it after he died.¹⁸ In a recent work, Simon Roffey states that Sir Anthony Babington's heir, Thomas, probably built the chantry at Kingston-on-Soar, Nottingham. However, his stepmother Katherine stated clearly in her 1538 will that she had begun the chapel and had asked her executor, her son John, not her stepson Thomas, to finish it and to construct a tomb for her and her husband under the arch between the chancel and the chapel. The remains of their monument survive in the church.¹⁹

Perpetual chantries that became part of the fabric of the church could take a number of forms. In the simplest case, the benefactor built a special altar for her prayers in one of the existing chapels in the church. The most popular choice was the Lady Chapel on the north side of the chancel. Elizabeth, Lady Bergavenny, Isabel Sapcote, and Margaret Hungerford selected this option.²⁰ Another option was to locate the altars in the aisles of the church and enclose them with richly-decorated stone structures in the Gothic or

16 <http://www.berkshirehistory.com/bios/wfettiplace.html>; Keyser, "An Architectural Account of the Churches of Sparsholt and Childrey"; TNA, PRO, Early Chancery Proceedings, Bundle 310, no. 45; VCH, *County of Berkshire*, 2, 276, for purchase of land after his wife's death that he included in his gift to the school.

17 TNA, Prob11/30/5 (1544); *Memorials of the Holles family*, 25; "Charities of the Skinners' Company," 327-343; *Annals of St. Helen's Bishopsgate*, 249-55.

18 Maclean, "Notes on the Greydnour Chapel and Chantry," 123.

19 *North Country Wills*, #77,102; probated 1538.

20 TNA, Prob11/12/8, Bergavenny (1500); Prob11/10/12, Sapcoate (1494); Prob11/24/4, Hungerford (1531).

Perpendicular styles.²¹ These were known as stone-cage altars, because the donors literally caged an area of the church for their private services. The wealthiest women built separate chapels at the end of the aisles near the chancel in their parish churches or in separate buildings in the grounds. A chapel built specifically for Masses for the founder and her family was the preferred form for those who could afford it.²² The founder's tomb was almost always situated in the chapel in a highly visible place, in order to evoke her presence in the mind of the officiating priest and any laity viewing the services performed for her.²³ K. L. Wood-Legh claims that the "great majority" of founders also provided a house for their chaplains.²⁴ Agnes Leigh, widow and sole executor of Sir John of Godshill, Hampshire, certainly did so.²⁵ Sir Robert Broughton (1479) and his wife Anne jointly built a chantry and a chaplain's house at Denston, Suffolk, in memory of her father, John Denston.²⁶ The chantry Joan Barre founded in Newland, Gloucestershire, for her first husband had a residence known as Blackbrook for the priest.²⁷

More than a third of the aristocratic women discussed in this chapter—26 of the 71—constructed new chapels for their services and tombs. Many of them functioned as family mausoleums for centuries. Thus, Sir Edmund Bedingfield and his wife Margaret were buried in the chapel she commissioned at Oxborough after his death. It contains numerous Bedingfield monuments, the last one dating from 1704.²⁸ At Kedington, Suffolk, where Elizabeth Barnardiston established her chantry, the whole church functioned as a Barnardiston mausoleum until the eighteenth century, when the family died out. More than twenty members of the family were buried there. It became known as the Westminster Abbey of Suffolk.²⁹

21 A stone-cage altar was a structure that contained endowed altars enclosed by a masonry superstructure. Roffey, *Chantry Chapels*, 70; Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 63-64, 67-9.

22 Roffey, *Chantry Chapels*, 17, 70-71, 94; Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 11; Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, 37-38.

23 Roffey, *Medieval Chantry Chapel*, 105.

24 Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, 235-36; Orme, *Education in the West of England*, 160, 177.

25 TNA, Prob11/21/18, Sir John Leigh (1522).

26 Richmond, *Paston Family ... Fastolf's Will*, 162 and notes 201 and 202; CPR, Edward IV and Henry VI, 1467-77, 484-5.

27 VCH, *Gloucestershire*, V, 224, 228.

28 www.google.com/images?client=firefox-a&rls=org.mozilla:en-US:official&channel=s&hl=en&q=oxborough+church+norfolk&um=1&ie=UTF-8&source=og&sa=N&tab=wi&biw=994&bih=549; Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage*, III, 152.

29 Jenkins, *England's Thousand Best Churches*, 654; Cautley, *Suffolk Churches*, 304; Cokayne, *Complete Baronetage*, III, 272-74.

Building a chapel or altar required endowing it with land and then constructing it. The primary purpose of the endowments was to pay the annual stipend of the chantry priest or priests. Most donors provided a sum of between £6 13s 4d and £12 for each priest they planned to support; These were standard stipends for beneficed clergy. Less information survives about the actual cost of building chapels. The outlay for the Beauchamp Chapel at Warwick, a masterpiece of late Gothic architecture, was £2,400.³⁰ Regrettably, no information exists about the total cost of the chapel for Alice, Duchess of Suffolk at Ewelme, or Margaret Lady Hungerford's chapel at Salisbury Cathedral, both lavish constructions, that may have cost similar amounts.³¹ The chapels considered here came nowhere close to them in expense. For example, Margaret Capell's chantry at St. Bartholomew at the Exchange cost £260.³² Anne Cobham (1453) and her husband Sir Reginald (1446) founded a college at Lingfield, Surrey, with lands worth £40. They intended to support six chaplains and four clerks and provide alms for thirteen poor people. After Sir Reginald's death, his widow endowed it with two more manors. In 1535, the College was valued at £75.³³ In 1511, long before she died, Elizabeth Reed (1511) gave land worth £12 11s to the Goldsmiths' Company and 100 marks in money, to maintain a priest at an annual stipend of 10 marks at St John's Zachery church. Her deceased husband, Sir Bartholomew, had been a member of the Goldsmiths' Company; as his executor, she was carrying out one of the provisions of his will. He wanted one of his tenements in London to be used to restore a chantry at St John's, which had been founded "of old time" by one Master Lichfield.³⁴ Two decades later, Dame Elizabeth indicated in her will that she had carried out his wishes, referring "to the chapel of our Lady, behind the pew where I commonly sit in the said church, at which altar the chantry priest founded by Master Thomas Lichefield and by my late husband and me useth to sing mass."³⁵

30 <http://www.britainexpress.com/counties/warwickshire/churches/Warwick-St-Mary.htm> The executors of Beauchamp's will spent over £2400, an enormous sum in those days, creating a Gothic-style masterpiece that took over twenty years to complete; Roffey, *Chantry Chapels*, color plate #7, 100.

31 Roffey, *Chantry Chapel*, color plate #19, 106, Duchess of Suffolk's chantry; Margaret Lady Hungerford's chantry was pulled down in the eighteenth century.

32 Jordan, *Charities of London*, 299-300.

33 Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England*, 142-43 and 143n; VCH, *County of Surrey*, II, 127-28.

34 McMurray, *The Records of Two City Parishes*; 226; TNA, Prob11/14/40, Sir Bartholomew Reed (1505); his widow probated the will with his other executors.

35 TNA, Prob11/24/22-23, Elizabeth Reed (1531); Charity Commissioners, *Endowed Charities (County of London)*, VI, 118. The Goldsmith's Company was distributing 7s 6d to the poor from this charity in 1901.

Isabel Speke (1537), sole executor of her husband, Sir George, established a chantry at Dowlish Wake, Somerset, with a stipend of £6, bread, wine, and wax soon after his death in 1528. By 1532, her endowment was supporting two stipendiary priests.³⁶ Katherine Courteney, Countess of Devonshire (1527), endowed three priests with land worth £120 at Tiverton, Devon, where she was buried.³⁷

As the example of Cobham College at Lingfield indicates, the income of the chantry was often used for expenses in addition to the salary of the priests. Alianore Stafford's foundation in memory of her husband, Sir Humphrey (1450), at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, in 1478 provides another example. The original endowment of £6 13s 4d was apparently meant to support a priest who taught school and a chantry priest. But when the chantry was dissolved during Edward VI's reign, it was funding a stipend of £7 for the priest and a stipend of £6 13s 4d for the chantry priest. In addition, 6s 8d was given to the poor and 6s for lamps in the church. The remainder of the income was used for charitable deeds that benefited the parish.³⁸ Maud Middleton's chantry at Norton Davey, Northampton, was also used for charitable purposes as well as the salaries of a priest. Initially endowed with land valued at £20 in Henry VII's reign, the income had fallen to £10 17s 9d by the time the chantry was dissolved in 1546. The priest's salary was £8 3s 7d. In addition, £1 12s 6d was given to the poor, 4s was allotted for mending highways, 14s 6d for rent, and 3s 2d for paying the king's fifteenth when it was collected.³⁹

In addition, furnishing chapels and chantry altars entailed major expenses for clerical vestments, the plate, and other liturgical items necessary for conducting the Mass; mass books; and items such as candles that needed to be replaced regularly.⁴⁰ Many widows donated objects for this purpose in their testaments. Once again, Margaret, Lady Hungerford (1478), outshone her contemporaries with her gift, maintaining that she spent £201 furnishing her chapel with an enormous amount of silver and gilt plate, nine sets of vestments, mass books, and "all other things necessary to the said chapel."⁴¹ Her contemporary, Joan Barre, was not able to match Lady Hungerford's legacy, but her gifts to her and her husbands'

36 TNA, Prob11/22/29 (1528), his will; Prob11/22/39 (1537; 1538), 38, her will; VCH, *County of Somerset*, IV, 152.

37 For her will, see *Archaeological Journal*, X (1953), 53-58.

38 VCH, *County of Worcester*, III, 30-31.

39 Halstead, *Succinct Genealogies of the House of Green*, x.

40 Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 11.

41 Hoare, *Modern Wiltshire*, 1, book 2, 102.

chantries were still lavish. She bequeathed two pairs of vestments and a single vestment—all made of luxury fabrics—and two copes for the chantry priest at Clehonger, Hereford, where her second husband was buried. Her gift to the chantry at Newland, where she planned to be buried with her first husband, included two sets of costly vestments, another vestment with a matching cope, two altar cloths, two linen towels, a carpet to place before the altar, a silver gilt cross and crucifix, a censor of silver, a copper gilt pax, and a special crucifix to stand on the altar on high holidays.⁴² Soon after the turn of the sixteenth century, Katherine, Lady Hastings (1504), gave the Hastings Chapel at Ashby de la Zouch a set of vestments, a little gilt chalice, seven surplices, a printed mass book and a printed porteous. Margaret Capell (1516) made a lavish donation to the chantry that her husband had commissioned and that she had completed at St Bartholomew the Exchange, London. It included vestments and a cope of fine cloth for the deacon and subdeacon, a crimson damask altar cloth, books, and “such other ornaments as shall be thought necessary and required to the said chapel.” Her bequest was the last one on that scale before legacies of this kind stopped altogether.⁴³

Women played an active role in planning the chantries they funded. Maud, Lady Dacre (1509), referred to herself as the “foundress of this chantry” in her will, which was enrolled on the Close Rolls in 1503. It was always known as Maud’s chantry.⁴⁴ In her testament, Elizabeth Biconyll (1504) said explicitly, “This is my last testament to bear witness that as to the performing of my said last husband’s last will, I have truly performed it according to every article as well as mortifying the lands to the Abbot and Convent of Glastonbury as in all other articles in the same.” Both Sir John and Elizabeth were buried there.⁴⁵ Anne Danvers (1531) referred specifically to “the chapel new made by me” at Thatcham, Berkshire, where both she and her husband were buried.⁴⁶

The process of founding and building a chantry chapel was complicated and sometimes contentious. The first step was to secure—that is, to negotiate and pay for—a license from the Crown to endow it with land. In effect, the license was an exemption from the Statutes of Mortmain (1279 and 1290) that forbade gifts of land to the church. The fine or cost of the license was

42 TNA, Prob11/17/16 (1484).

43 TNA, Prob11/19/12 (1516).

44 CCR, Henry VII, vol. 2, 512.

45 TNA Prob11/14/3 (1504).

46 TNA, Prob11/24/4 (1531); VCH, *County of Berkshire*, III, 316.

substantial, often several times the estimated income of the property to be used for the endowment. In 1476, for example, Alianore Stafford paid 40 marks for a license to endow her chantry with 10 marks per annum.⁴⁷ Margaret, Lady Hungerford, paid £168 13s 4e to alienate land worth 40 marks per annum for her chantry at Salisbury Cathedral.⁴⁸ Frequently, securing royal assent also required agreeing to include the king and royal family among the recipients of the prayers. Thus, the beneficiaries of Alianora Stafford's, Anne St Leger's and Margaret Bulkeley's chantries all included the king and queen.⁴⁹ Once the license was received, the endowment had to be established legally. An alternative to purchasing a license in mortmain was to enfeoff land for the endowment.⁵⁰ Only then could the founder make such practical arrangements as naming the beneficiaries of the chantry and appointing a priest to perform Masses at specific times. To ensure that the chantry continued after the founder's death, she also had to indicate how the endowment was to be administered in perpetuity.

Whichever procedure she chose, a widow might face opposition from her husband's heirs, since endowing the chantry would permanently reduce his inheritance. Despite her good intentions, for example, Elisabeth Barnardiston had great difficulty carrying out her husband's wishes to establish a chantry, because his heir, another Thomas, refused to endow the land designated for the purpose.⁵¹ Eventually, she sued him in Chancery and secured a license from the Crown to found it in 1517.⁵² While the issue remained unsettled, she provided prayers for herself and her husband by investing the considerable sum of 100 marks for an obit at Kedington.⁵³

Furthermore, in cases in which a husband had bequeathed land for a chantry when he died, his widow had to decide whether or not to carry out his wishes. Even when a wife planned to carry out her husband's directions, as the majority did, she had often not done so before she herself died. Thus, at her death in 1511, Maud Roos had not established the chantry that her husband had endowed at West Greenstead, Sussex, seven years

47 CPR, Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III, 1476-1485, 11.

48 Hoare, *Modern Wiltshire*, 102; Hicks, "Chantries, Obits, and Almshouses," 89.

49 CPR, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, 1476-1485, 11 (Stafford); L&P, III (1), 160 (St Leger); Wall, "St. Helen's Sephton," 61 (Bulkeley).

50 Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, 46-51; Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 36.

51 TNA, C1/279/55 (1504-1509).

52 *Letters and Papers ... Henry VIII*, II (2), 3149.

53 BL, Harleian Ms. 7034.

earlier. In her will, she directed her executors to correct her negligence by endowing an obit twice a year at some “honest abbey or priory” with £80 she had received for selling one of her manors.⁵⁴ When Margaret Bedingfield died in 1513, she asked her executors to build the chapel her husband had provided for in his will over a decade earlier.⁵⁵ On the other hand, Margaret Capell carried out her husband’s plans for a chantry chapel at St Bartholomew Exchange, London. He had directed his co-executors, his wife and son, to use his goods “for the making and garnishing of as much of the said chapel and my tomb there as shall be requisite and needful ... as John Wade mason has devised and drawn a plate therefore.” When Margaret died seven years later, the chapel was completed but still lacked liturgical vestments, altar cloths, and plate for performing the Mass, all of which she supplied munificently in her will as we have seen. In addition, she bequeathed her house and tenement on Thames Street in London with all its appurtenances to pay the salary of the priest. The property included two shops.⁵⁶

After completing the necessary legal arrangements, the founder had to choose her chantry’s location and then commission and oversee its construction. Many aristocratic women supervised the process from beginning to end. Probably the best-documented example is Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, who built chantries at Wingfield, Suffolk, and Ewelme, Oxfordshire.⁵⁷ But she was not the only such woman. Anne [née Harling], Lady Scrope (1498), a childless heiress, built an elaborate tomb for her first husband, Sir William Chamberlain, in her native parish at Harling and founded a chantry chapel adjacent to it on the north side of the chancel.⁵⁸ Almost twenty years later, she commissioned stained glass for the east window that included portraits of Chamberlain and her second husband, Sir Robert Wingfield.⁵⁹ When Wingfield died in 1480, she buried him at Rushworth, Norfolk, constructing a new chapel for his monument in the church and endowing a chantry with a grammar school attached to it.⁶⁰ Isabel Newton (1498), a contemporary of

54 VCH, *County of Sussex*, VI (pt.2), 100-102; TNA, Prob11/14/15, Sir Henry (1504); TNA, Prob11/17/21, Dame Maud (1511).

55 TNA, Prob11/11/7 (1496), Sir Edmund Bedingfield; Blomefield, *History of the County of Norfolk*, 6, 186, Margaret Bedingfield’s will (1513).

56 TNA, Prob11/18/3, Sir William Capell (d. 1515); TNA, Prob11/19/2, Dame Margaret Capell (1516). Margaret wrote her will the year after her husband died, but it was not probated until 1522.

57 Goodall, *God’s House at Ewelme*; TNA, Prob11/18/13.

58 Blomefield, *History of the County of Norfolk*, 1, 331; Graves, *Form and Fabric of Belief*, 76-77.

59 Blomefield, *History of the County of Norfolk*, 1, 331; Pevsner, *Norfolk*, 2, 320.

60 Bennet, “S. John Evangelist of Rushworth,” 279, 297.

Lady Scrope's, was so committed to completing the chapel where she and her husband were to be buried that she arranged her election as a churchwarden at Yatton, Somerset, to oversee its completion. Whether the chapel was a joint project or not is unclear. Although Sir John did not mention it in his will, he left the residue of his estate to his widow, whom he appointed his sole executor, "to dispose for the wealth and ease of my soul at her will and discretion." She completed the chapel before her death, referring to it as the "new chapel of St. John the Evangelist" in her will. The couple's altar tomb at Yatton has survived, although the images and tracery that once filled its decorated niches have disappeared.⁶¹

Some widows who were strongly attached to more than one church or wanted to memorialize a family member buried apart from their intended resting place endowed more than one chantry. Anne Lady Scrope (1498) founded three chantries: at East Harling, where she was buried with her first husband, Sir William Chamberlain, and at Rushworth, where she buried her second husband, Sir Robert Wingfield. She also endowed one at Thetford for her third husband, John Lord Scrope, whom she also outlived.⁶² Katherine Lady Hastings (1503) endowed and built three chantries during her long widowhood. The first was a tomb and chantry at St George's Chapel, Windsor, built for her husband after his murder in 1483. He had bequeathed 100 marks for that purpose. She herself chose interment at St Helen's Church in Ashby de la Zouche, Lecestershire, which Lord Hastings had rebuilt decades earlier. She founded a second chantry there on the north side of the choir that functioned as a Hastings family mausoleum until the end of the seventeenth century. Her third chantry was at the College of Newark in Leicester, an institution her husband had patronized.⁶³ Another noblewoman, Joan Hastings, Lady Welles and Willoughby, founded six chantries: three at the Grey Friars, London, where she wanted to be buried with her second husband, Lord Welles and Willoughby; one at Clerkenwell, where her first husband, Richard Pigot, was buried; the fifth at North Allerton, Yorkshire, where her father had founded a chantry; and the last at the Charterhouse at Mount Grace, also in Yorkshire.⁶⁴

Many donors specified the prayers they wanted their chantry priests to recite. They ranged from simple annual cycles to complicated weekly and

61 French, *People of the Parish*, 87; Rutter, *Delineations ... of Somerset* (London: 1829), 7; TNA, Prob11/11/23 Isabel Newton (1498); Prob11/8/8, Sir John Newton (1487).

62 Bennet, "College of S. John Evangelist of Rushworth," 367.

63 HEH, Hastings Collection, Box 4, folder 12; HAP Box 5 (3), m.2-5; Ashmole, *Antiquities of Berkshire*, 3, 124; VCH, *County of Leicestershire*, IV, 48-51; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, VI, 373-74.

64 *North Country Wills*, #51, 74 (1505).

annual Masses. Cumulatively, their directions reveal both the women's piety and their extensive knowledge of prayers for the dead and the wide variety of Masses. Elizabeth Donne's (1507) chantry paid for daily prayers for herself and her husband plus an annual obit. Dorothy Ferrers (1532) directed her priest to sing an obit with the whole choir and a solemn dirige on the evening of every 11 July. The next morning, he was to perform a requiem mass and pray for her, her husband, her parents and all Christians. In addition, another priest was to sing a daily Mass for her.⁶⁵ Other endowments included more detailed instructions or required more elaborate cycles of prayer. In 1500, Joan, Viscountess Lisle, established an obit for herself and her deceased second husband, Sir Robert Drope, at St Michael's Cornhill, their parish church in London. She specified carefully that it was to consist of a Placebo and Dirige overnight and a requiem mass the next day. The churchwardens were to pay the warden and at least three members of Drope's Livery Company, the Drapers, to attend the services and host a "recreation" of spice bread and wine at the Drapers' Hall afterwards.⁶⁶ Margaret Capell required her priest to sing a daily Mass with plain song and to follow it with the psalm *De Profundis* with the usual orisons and collets for her, her husband, her parents, her children, and her friends. In addition, the priest was to observe each of their obits with a Placebo and Dirige by note and a requiem mass. Her will also contained detailed instructions about the ringing of bells and burning of candles during the obits and the distribution of spice bread and ale following them.⁶⁷

Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, and Margaret, Lady Hungerford, left the most elaborate instructions in the statutes for their chantries. Lady Hungerford's endowment supported two chaplains whom she ordered to observe matins and vespers and to say a Placebo and Dirige daily. Following vespers, she instructed them to genuflect and recite prayers set out in the statutes before the images of Christ and the Virgin. In addition, she required each chaplain to celebrate particular Masses once a day, according to a schedule included in the foundation charter.⁶⁸

The aristocratic women's chantry chapels constituted a major enhancement to the fabric of their churches. Cecily Grey, Marchioness of Dorset, built the only important additions to the original church at Ottery St Mary: the

65 BL, Additional Manuscript 28,174, f. 464, 466 and 468; Palmer, *History and Antiquities of the Collegiate Church of Tamworth*, 222-23.

66 TNA, Prob11/12/10 (1500).

67 TNA, Prob11/19/2 (1516).

68 *Hungerford Cartulary*, Part Two, 109, #1429; Somerset Record Office DD/SAS/H/348/1; Goodall, *God's House*, 232-37.

Dorset Aisle, which is famous for its fan vaulting, and the north porch. She decorated both with the symbols and arms of her second husband, Henry Lord Stafford.⁶⁹ She also built a chantry at St Dubrius's church in Porlock, Somersetshire. Her great-grandfather, John Lord Harrington (1418), had endowed it decades earlier. The chapel, located in the middle bay of the south aisle, is still notable for its canopied monument commemorating Harrington and his wife.⁷⁰

Katherine Babington's chantry at Kingston-on-Soar, Nottinghamshire, was the glory of her parish church. Her will, which makes her personal involvement in the construction abundantly clear, carefully instructed her executor to finish the chapel "which I have begun, and that he cause to be made our tomb of alabaster stone over my husband and me in the arch between the chancel and the said chapel." Sir Nikolaus Pevsner described it as "the most remarkable chantry in the county."⁷¹

Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, and Margaret, Lady Hungerford, constructed the most expensive chantry chapels of the period. The Chapel of St John at Ewelme, where the duchess and her parents were buried, still survives; its sumptuous decoration and furnishings are unrivaled. The altar was set beneath the east window on a dais of two steps. The roof was decorated with angels and has the sacred monogram, IHS, on the beams. The whole scheme celebrated the Name of Jesus at least 40 years before the Feast was generally accepted, while the angel roof reflected the importance the duchess attached to the role played by angels in the liturgy.⁷²

The duchess also carried out major renovations at the de la Pole family church, St Andrew's, in Wingfield, Suffolk. Many members of the family were buried there. She extended the chancel and the adjacent Lady Chapel on its south side by 14 feet. She also added an arch between the chancel and chapel in the new section and moved the monument for her husband's grandparents, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, and his wife Katherine, to it. The churches at Ewelme and Wingfield resemble each other architecturally and reflect the duchess's concern with genealogy.⁷³

69 Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 163.

70 Ibid, 173; Halliday, *Monument and Effigies in Porlock Church*, 8-12; 19-20; GEC, *Complete Peerage*, VI, 318 and note i. The monument was later moved to the chancel, where it is currently located.

71 *North Country Wills 1338-1558*, #77,102 (1537); Pevsner, *Nottinghamshire*, 155; Roffey, *Chantry Chapel*, Color Plate #17, 104.

72 Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, chapter 8.

73 Goodall, *Ibid.*, 58-59, 63-64; photos of St Michael's Wingfield, 51-59; photos of St Mary's Ewelme, 73, 75-6, 111, 113.

Unfortunately, Lady Hungerford's chantry at Salisbury Cathedral, located on the north side of the Lady Chapel with windows on its eastern and northern sides, was completely removed in 1789.⁷⁴ An archway and a door opened into it from the Lady Chapel, which was behind the choir. Her husband's tomb was located under a rich canopy, while hers was located in the middle of the chapel. It displayed eight of her family shields and bore the inscription, "the altar of this chapel was consecrated in honor of our lord Jesus Christ and the most holy Virgin Mary ... Margaret Lady Hungerford and Botreaux who [built] this chape[l] ... 1460 ... [the] month of October, the 14th day." A mural between the archway and the door showed Death talking to a young man with an open coffin between them; over the door, there was a picture of a man in parliamentary robes or academic dress. An energetic bidding prayer appeared beneath it:

Ye that purport in this chapel to pray, call to mind the soul of the noble knight Robert Lord Hungerford, who lived righteously and was friend to the blessed Lady Mother and Christ Jesus and to the noble church, who ordered this chapel to be founded perpetually. On whose soul Jesus have mercy. Died 18 May 1459.

Paintings of St Christopher carrying the Christ Child, the Annunciation, and another of Death conversing with a young man decorated the west wall.⁷⁵

Many patrons divided the chapels they built from rest of the church with screens or gates that displayed their ownership in the clearest way possible. In design, they were much like the rood screens that divided the nave of churches from the chancel and high altar. The doors in the screens were almost always locked, except during services, in order to protect them from vandalism and theft.⁷⁶ Thus, a screen partitioned the chapel on the north side of the chancel from the rest of the church at Norton, Northamptonshire. Maud Green Middleton (née Throckmorton) was originally buried there with her first husband, Sir Thomas Green (1462).⁷⁷ Katherine, Lady Hastings,

74 Jackson, "Inventory of Chantry Furniture, 1872, Hungerford Chapel," 334. Lord Hungerford's tomb was rebuilt from fragments and moved to its present location on the north side of the Trinity Chapel.

75 Symonds, *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, 131-32; Jackson, "The Hungerford Chapels in Salisbury Cathedral," 83-99; see also Hicks, "Piety of Margaret, Lady Hungerford," 107-109. For this description, I have depended primarily on Symonds and Jackson. Both quotations come from Symonds's account of his visit to the cathedral during the Civil War.

76 Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 11.

77 Halstead, *Succinct Genealogies of the House of Green*, x-xi.

divided the chapel she built at Ashby de la Zouche from the rest of the church with a beautiful carved screen.⁷⁸ Sir Randall Brereton (1530) and his wife Eleanor's chapel at Malpas, Lancashire, was enclosed with an oak screen carved with the inscription, "Pray good people for the prosperous estate of Sir Randolph Brereton, of this work edificator with his wife Dame Eleanor, after this life transitory to obtain eternal felicity. Amen; Amen."⁷⁹ This kind of privatization of parish churches survived for centuries. Indeed, at Norbury, Derbyshire, Sir Ralph Fitzherbert and his wife Elizabeth's tomb, located at the east end of the north aisle, was divided from the rest of the church by a carved oak screen that remained in place until 1841.⁸⁰

Founders could also place their tombs so that they obstructed the view into their chantries. In these cases, the tomb functioned like a screen, partially blocking the view into the chapel. This was apparently true of Elizabeth Uvedale's (1488) tomb, which was described as "elevated in the old arch" near her perpetual chantry.⁸¹ At East Harling, the tomb of Sir William Chamberlain and Anne, Lady Scrope (1498), in the arch between the chancel and St Anne's chantry chapel, restricted the view into the chapel except from the chancel itself.⁸² At the same time, the arch permitted worshippers in the chapel to see the cross and elevation of the host during the Mass. Anne Leigh (1515) placed her husband's tomb in the arch between the chancel and their chapel. It asserted their ownership of one of the most sacred spaces in the church and partially blocked the view into it. This location had two other advantages: the priest performing the Mass in the chapel could see the high altar and the monument itself was visible from both the chancel and the chapel.⁸³ At Yatton, squints restricted visibility into the Newton's chantry, allowing visual access only to a small group of individuals at the back of the chapel.⁸⁴

As we have seen, in addition to designing their chantries, aristocratic women were lavish in bequeathing expensive vestments and precious ritual

78 *Handbook for Travellers in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Staffordshire*, 122

79 Omerod and Helsbury, *County Palatine and City of Chester*; for photo see: www.google.com/images?um=1&hl=en&client=firefox-a&rls=org.mozilla%3Aen-US%3Aofficial&channel=s&biw=994&bih=549&tbs=isch%3A1&sa=1&q=screen%2C+malpas+church+cheshire&btnG=Search&aq=f&aqi=&aql=&oq=&gs_rfai=

80 Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, III, 327.

81 Granville, *Notices of the Family of Uvedale*, 93.

82 Graves, *Form and Fabric of Belief*, 77; Graves dates the construction of the tomb and chantry to the period between 1450 and 1462.

83 Roffey, *Medieval Chantry Chapel*, 106; Dame Anne was her husband's sole executor. He specifically asked her to build his chantry in his will. TNA, Prob11/21/18 (1522).

84 *Ibid.*, 110, 114; French, *People of the Parish*, 87; *Somerset Medieval Wills*, 1383-1500, 374.

objects for their priests to use during Mass. The women often underscored their personal ties to their donations by choosing textiles and plate marked with their family arms, or objects and vestments that they had used in private chapels in their manors and castles. The objects reminded everyone who observed services in their chapels of their family's wealth, high status, and piety. The goods also had a special symbolic religious significance. As scholars in a variety of fields have argued, objects carry the residue, memory, and social relations of their previous owners. When they are given away, they incorporate the recipients into new networks of obligation.⁸⁵ Thus, the objects aristocratic women donated to their chantries functioned as their material surrogates, representing them at the altar and bringing them into proximity, even contact, with the divine. They also retained some of the characteristics of what Annette Wiener has called "inalienable possessions," preserving in death the "hegemonic dominance" that the women had exercised in their parishes while they were alive.⁸⁶

Three women—Alice, Duchess of Suffolk (1475), Margaret, Lady Hungerford (1476), and Margaret Capell (1516)—left what can only be described as princely gifts to their chapels. Lady Hungerford spent £201—enough for a knightly family to live on for a year—on luxury textiles and precious ornaments for her chantry. Lady Hungerford included several sets of altar cloths and matching vestments made of the costliest fabrics and embroidered in silk, gold, and silver. Two of them displayed Lord Hungerford's arms. The chapel plate included a pair of silver double gilt candlesticks bearing the Hungerford, Botreaux, and Beaumont arms; a silver candlestick with gilt borders with the Courteney, Peverell, Hungerford, Botreaux, and Beaumont arms; three silver candlesticks (one gilt); three pairs of cruets (one gilt); a silver and gilt pax-board with an image of Our Lady; an ivory pax-board with an image of our Lord; and a third pax-board of mother of pearl; a silver bell; two mass books with the obits of long lists of her Botreaux, Hungerford, and Beaumont kin; an antiphoner; a book with the legends of the saints; a service book according to the Sarum use; three corporas cases containing corporasses; two carpets; a baudkin cushion and a worsted cushion; two cushions of cloth of gold; and three linen curtains to cover the images in the chapel during Lent.⁸⁷ The list of costly chapel goods that Alice, Duchess

85 Stallybrass, "Worn Worlds," 289-90, 310-11; Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," 13; Davis, "Boundaries and the Sense of Self," 62.

86 Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*, 150.

87 Hoare, *History of Modern Wiltshire*, I, pt. 2 on Heytesbury, 102; Jackson, "Inventory of Chantry Furniture," 334-339.

of Suffolk, brought from Wingfield to Ewelme in 1465 was even longer and included even more liturgical books.⁸⁸

Dame Capell's bequest demonstrates that donations on this scale were not limited to noblewomen nor to the fifteenth century. The daughter of a leading Cornish knight and widow of a Lord Mayor of London, she made a lavish bequest to the chantry her that husband had endowed at St Bartholomew the Exchange in London and that she built after his death.⁸⁹ In size and value, it rivaled the donations of the Duchess of Suffolk and Lady Hungerford to their chantries and included vestments, altar cloths, chapel plate, and all the ornaments required for services. Dame Capell herself embroidered an altar cloth of crimson damask "with Jesus above and Mary beneath with the great letters I have of mine own [making] of fine gold and silk, garnished with the crowns I have made ready, also of gold." She told her executors "to pay for the making and garnishing of the said altar cloth and our arms." The plate she donated included her best silver chalice and paten, two silver cruets, a silver bell parcel gilt, two silver candlesticks, a silver censor, and two silver basins. She also contributed her "great mass book of parchment ... written with texte hand" and "another mass book, printed, which they daily now say mass upon." Dame Capell was clearly worried that the parish would misappropriate her chapel and the goods she had donated to it. She therefore gave a suit of vestments and cope of cloth of gold for a priest, deacon and subdeacon, "upon condition that our chantry be there kept." She expressly forbade any of the objects she had left to her chapel to be used elsewhere in the church.⁹⁰

The only other elite woman whose gift to her chapel even approached those we have just discussed was Joan Barre, a fifteenth-century widow from a somewhat more modest status within the elite. She was the heiress of a gentleman, Thomas Rigge or Rugge, and married twice. Her first husband, Robert Greyndour, was an esquire from a knightly family who died without being knighted himself; her second was Sir John de la Barre.⁹¹ After Greyndour's death, she built a chantry in the parish church of Newland in the Forest of Dean, near his principal manor at Clearwell, and asked to be buried there with him four decades later. Referring to the chantry as "mine

88 Goodall, *God's House*, 286-87.

89 Her father was Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne; her husband, Sir William Capell (d. 1516). She wrote her will in 1515; added to it in 1520; and died in 1522; TNA, Prob11/19/2.

90 TNA, Prob11/19/12, Margaret Capell (1516).

91 [http://www.girders.net/Bar/Barre,%20Sir%20John,%20\(d.1483\).doc](http://www.girders.net/Bar/Barre,%20Sir%20John,%20(d.1483).doc). Barre was on the commissions of the peace for Hertfordshire and Gloucestershire, the sheriff of Hertfordshire, and an MP for Hertfordshire.

own chapel” she bequeathed it vestments, altar cloths, church plate, and a carpet “of the best” to lie before the altar. One of the sets of vestments and two altar cloths were embroidered in gold. Like Margaret Capell, she forbade the use of the vestments and liturgical objects outside her chapel.⁹²

Other aristocratic women enriched their chantries with vestments, altar cloths, chapel plate, and other ornaments in smaller numbers of equally precious objects. They came from all over England and from every status and level of wealth within the nobility and knightly class.⁹³ Margaret, Lady Beauchamp, who was buried in the chapel her husband had built in the Dominican Friars’ church in Worcester, carefully directed her executors to have an alabaster tablet made with an image of the birth of Our Lord and the three kings and another with an image of St John the Evangelist, and to mount them on the wall over her body.⁹⁴ Further east in the North Midlands, Katherine Babington left her chantry at Kingston on Soar, Nottingham, three silver cups to be made into a chalice.⁹⁵ Moving north to Yorkshire, Jane, Lady Hastings of Willoughby and Welles, donated a vestment to the altar of Our Lady in her father’s chapel at North Allerton.⁹⁶ In East Anglia, Elizabeth Darcy (1506) left a black satin vestment to her chapel at Maldon, Essex, and Anne, Lady Scrope (1498), gave two vestments with her and her husbands’ arms to her chapel at East Harling, Norfolk.⁹⁷ Along the south coast, Elizabeth, Countess of Arundel (1455), bequeathed a silver gilt cross to the family chapel in the collegiate church of Arundel, Sussex, while Jane, Lady Dynham, left a Lent suit of white linen cloth, vestments, and an altar cloth to the side altars in the chapel where her husband was buried at Nutwell, Devon.⁹⁸ And finally, in London, Elizabeth Reed bequeathed her “best” altar cloth and white damask vestments to the chapel of Our Lady at St John Zachery.⁹⁹

Margaret Capell and Joan Barre were not the only women who worried that the chapel goods and vestments they left their chantries would be misappropriated or not cared for after their deaths. Elizabeth Biconyll

92 TNA, Prob11/7/16, Dame Joan Barre (1485).

93 Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 51, says that the majority of the founders of chantries left them chapel goods.

94 TNA, Prob11/8/13, Margaret, Lady Beauchamp (1488).

95 *North Country Wills*, #78, 103.

96 *Ibid*, #53, 73-74.

97 TNA, Prob11/15/18, Elizabeth Darcy (probated 1506); TE, IV, #75 (1498), Anne, Lady Scrope (1498).

98 Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 133; Eleanor, Countess of Arundel (1455); TNA, Prob11/11/10, Lady Jane Dynham (1489).

99 TNA, Prob11/24/22-23 (1531).

bequeathed £10 to the chapel of Glastonbury, “late builded by my husband Sir John Byconell and me, for the maintenance of the ornaments of the same.”¹⁰⁰ Isabel Speke left 10 shillings to repair the ornaments in the Stockwell or Leigh Chantry at Lambeth.¹⁰¹ These legacies underscored the women’s proprietary sense of responsibility for chantries that they or their deceased spouses had built.

Although the importance of chantries in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century churches is beyond doubt, historians have debated whether they represented a movement by the upper classes to withdraw from the parish into more private forms of worship. Those who answer the question in the affirmative see the proliferation of chantries as part of an impulse that also led to the spread of private chapels in manors or castles that enabled the nobility and gentry to attend Mass without going to the parish church at all.¹⁰² It is hard to argue against the fact that chantry chapels at the east end of the aisle or stone-cage altars surrounded by elaborate enclosures in aisles and transepts privatized space that had previously belonged to the congregation as a whole.¹⁰³ Founders often used them as private pews as well as the site of their tombs. Elizabeth Reed’s will indicates, for example, that her pew was in front of the chantry altar her husband had founded at St John Zachary, London.¹⁰⁴ Many chapel builders intruded even further into the most sacred space in the church by opening the wall between their chapels and the chancel with an arch that gave them direct access to the high altar. Wherever they were located, chantry chapels were locked when not in use, providing unquestionable evidence of their ownership. The family arms and badges that decorated their chapels and tombs and the epitaphs reciting their owners’ parentage and lineage reinforced the message. The services were also personalized, since chantry priests prayed specifically for the donors and their closest kin, establishing their privileged position in the sacred economy.

At the same time, members of the parish did benefit from the private chapels and altars in their churches. Since priests could say only one Mass

100 TNA, Prob11/14/3, Dame Elizabeth Biconyll (1504).

101 TNA, Prob11/22/13, Dame Isabel Leigh (1526).

102 Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 11-12; Richmond, “Religion and the Fifteenth-Century English Gentleman,” 198-99; Carpenter, “The Religion of the Gentry,” 63; Saul, “Gentry and the Parish,” 246-47.

103 For this point of view, see Roffey, *Chantry Chapels*, 58-59; Biver and Howard, “Chantry Chapels in England,” 1-9; Saul, “The Gentry and the Parish,” 245-49; Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 15-16; Carpenter, “Religion of the Gentry,” 63.

104 TNA, Prob11/24/22-23 (1531).

a day, the chantry priests made additional services available. Worshippers could see Masses performed in private chantries through the upper part of the screens and gates that closed them to the public, just as they could see the high altar through the rood screens that separated the nave of the church from the chancel. Since donors gave precise instructions about the specific Masses they wanted their chaplains to perform, the congregation benefited from access to a greater variety of services.¹⁰⁵ According to Andrew Brown, chantry priests were also usually required to assist the parish priest at services. He also notes that they often helped to teach school and to preach in the parish.¹⁰⁶ Indeed, some donors required them to do so. For example, Margaret Capell directed her chaplain “to be helping and present at all other divine services to be sung within the parish church of St. Bartholomew,” while Margaret Bulkeley wanted her priest to help sing matins and evensong daily and other services on feast days. Alianora Stafford stipulated that her chaplain should assist the vicar at his “special request.”¹⁰⁷ At busy times of the year, such as Easter, they helped the vicar or rector to hear confessions.¹⁰⁸ Many of the founders appointed churchwardens and other leading members of the community to administer their chapels and chantries, an arrangement that added to the parish’s income. Even the poor benefited, because almost all endowments provided for the distribution of alms.¹⁰⁹ Thus, the parish did profit from the foundation of chantries in its churches, although their benefit to the community was a by-product of the primary desire of wealthy donors for private Masses conducted in spaces they owned.¹¹⁰

105 Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, 46.

106 TNA, Prob11/19/2, Capell (1516); *Chantries within the County Palatine of Lancaster*, 110; Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England*, 106-107.

107 Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*, 272.

108 For this point of view, see also Roffey, *Chantry Chapels*, 18-20, 99, 102-105; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 139, 301-02, 329; Roffey, *Medieval Chantry Chapel: An Archaeology*, 52-53, 82-89.

109 E.g., Great Britain, *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry VII, II, 512, Maud Throgmorton Green Middleton; TNA, Prob11/12/10, Joan, Viscountess Lisle (1500); John Stow said the parishioners wrongly gave up Lisle’s property as a chantry, Stow, *Survey of London*, I, 197.

110 For scholars who emphasize the public and communal functions of the chantry, see Roffey, *The Medieval Chantry Chapel*, 41, 52-3, 82-4; 96-99, 157-63. Roffey’s analysis is in many ways the most nuanced and recognizes the dual function of chantries.

3 Building for the Congregation: Roofs, Aisles, and Stained Glass

Aristocratic women commissioned chapels and tombs in their parish churches to secure prayers for their souls and to create permanent memorials of their wealth and status. But they were also cognizant of their responsibilities to the communities they and their families dominated. In addition to projects for their personal benefit, they therefore funded repairs and additions to the naves, aisles, roofs, and chancels of their parish churches, projects that benefited their villages as a whole. The women's marriages, single or multiple, their residences, their birthplaces, and their connections to manors they inherited or held as part of their jointures all influenced their legacies to their churches. The specificity of their gifts indicates that they thought about them carefully and had considerable knowledge of the institutions they were benefitting. Their bequests also demonstrate the breadth of their landownership: many of them had ties to more than one parish and many of them to more than one county. As a result, they often extended this kind of patronage to churches outside the parish in which their chief residences were located.

Many of the women's gifts were relatively small legacies for repairs to the church in which they were to be buried. These bequests were in addition to those that testators routinely gave to their parishes for forgotten tithes and for candles and torches for their funerals. Thus, Isabella Sapcote (1494) left 20 marks for "edifying and building" the church in Burley, Rutland, and Elizabeth Fineux (1539) bequeathed £5 or £6 to her church at Herne, Kent. Both women planned to be buried in the churches and had lived in the parish, although neither of their deceased husbands was interred there.¹ Widows made different choices when they married more than once. Margaret, Countess of Kent (1541), planned to be buried with the earl, her third spouse, at White Friars, London, but left ten shillings for repairs at St Anne's within Aldwych Gate, London, the burial place of her first husband.² Dorothy Hungerford (1559) donated 40 shillings to repair the church of East Shefford, Berkshire, where she hoped to lie with her first husband, John Fettiplace (1524), although she was living in Down Ampney, Gloucestershire, which had

1 TNA, Prob11/10/12 (1494; Sapcote); *TV*, II, 686 (1539) Fineux.

2 TNA, Prob11/28/20 (1540).

belonged to her deceased second husband, Sir Anthony Hungerford (1558).³ Katherine Harcourt (1488) chose not to be buried with either of her husbands. Instead she bequeathed £10 for “the making of the choir in the church of Rewley,” which she selected as her burial place.⁴ Some women also made small gifts to churches other than those where they expected to be interred. Margaret, Lady Hungerford, donated 20 shillings to repair the chapel at Little Cheverell, where one of her ancestors was buried. In addition, she gave an unspecified amount to the Grey Friars of Bridgewater for repairs in return for a daily Mass for her mother.⁵ Elizabeth Fitzherbert (1491 or 1496), sole heir of John Marshall of Upton, Leicestershire, left small sums for the fabric of five churches in addition to that at Norbury, Derbyshire, where she planned to lie beside her husband. At least one of the churches—that at Sibbeston, Warwickshire—was connected to a manor she had inherited.⁶ Thomasine Percival (1512) paid for construction at three churches. In addition to a new tower for St Stephen’s in Launceston, Cornwall, near her birth-place in that county, she bequeathed 20 marks to pave the Grey Friars’ church within Newgate, London, and 20 marks to St Martin’s Outwich, which was also in the city. She herself was a parishioner at St Mary Woolnoth, a third City church, and asked to be buried there with her husband in a tomb he had built.⁷ Another woman with London connections, Elizabeth Reed (1533), widow of a knighted goldsmith, belonged to the parish of St John Zachery in the City. But she was particularly worried about the church at Shepperton, the manor of which her husband had left her. She bequeathed it 5 marks to repair and maintain the piles of the church, “for the defense of the church against the surrounding of the water of [the] Thames”, as well as 20 shillings to repair the west window and “make it defensible with wire against the wind.” Her bequest indicates her personal knowledge about and concern for the church.⁸

Often relatively small gifts were specifically donated for rebuilding or repairing churches’ roofs, towers, and steeples, all of which were vulnerable to damage and deterioration. Elizabeth Uvedale Clere (1477) left £10 toward “making” the steeple at Ormesby, Norfolk. Elizabeth Cornwall contributed

3 BL, Add'l Ms. 42,763, f. 78 (formerly 143).

4 TNA, Prob11/18/17; her first husband Sir Miles Stapleton was buried at Ingham, Norfolk, *Chorography of Norfolk*, 118; her second, Sir Richard Harcourt, at Abingdon Abbey; Cotman, *Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk*, I, 22.

5 Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Margaret, Lady Hungerford’s will, 1476, transcribed for me by Dr Lorena Haycock in 2010.

6 Camm, *Forgotten Shrines*, 18-19.

7 TNA, Prob11/17/28 (1512).

8 TNA, Prob11/24/22 (1531).

£30 for the erection and leading of the tower at Burford, Shropshire, her husband's parish church, but not the place in which she expected to be buried.⁹ Toward the end of the period, Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford (1537), built the steeple at Tilbury-Juxta-Clare, although she wanted to be interred at Wivenhoe with her first husband, Viscount Beaumont.¹⁰

The legacies for building and repairs discussed above were relatively small compared to the sums that some of the wealthiest or most pious women spent building entire churches or making major additions to them. Joan Fiennes (1457) referred to "my new church" at St Bartholomew's hospital in West Smithfield in her will. She was probably referring to the chapel in which she expected to be buried.¹¹ Joan Grey, Viscountess Lisle (1500), lived in St Michael's Cornhill, London, in a house and tenement her second husband, Sir Robert Drope, bequeathed to her. Her largest legacy to a church went to St Michael's, which she gave £90 for a new rood loft and 13s 4d a year for repairs and to the church in general. She also remembered two other London churches, St Bartholomew in West Smithfield and Syon, with £5 each for repairs. Lady Lisle also had extensive property outside London. Her third husband, Edward, Viscount Lisle, left her Drayton Bassett, Staffordshire, and all his purchased land in Warwickshire, but she does not seem to have been particularly attached to it, giving only £5 to one of the Warwickshire churches. Her will does not indicate why she singled out this particular church. She was much more generous to the church at her birthplace of Nutley, Hampshire, where she donated £20 for repairs and the poor.¹² Jane Huddleston (1518) was living at the monastery of Hailes when she wrote her will. She had begun work on the construction (or reconstruction) of the aisles of the Abbey church and instructed her executors, who included the abbot, to complete them in the same style as the nave.¹³ Elizabeth Clifford (1526) commissioned the south porch at Aspenden, Hertfordshire, which bears the shields of her natal family, the Barleys, and of both her husbands, Sir Ralph Jocelyn (1478), a Lord Mayor of London, and Sir Robert Clifford (1508), third son of Thomas Lord Clifford. She wanted to be buried with Clifford in the south-east corner of the south aisle.¹⁴ Some husbands and

9 Blomefield, *Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, 2d. ed., IX (2), 236 for Clere; Erler, "Widows in Retirement," 54 and TNA, Prob11/8/23 for Cornwall.

10 TNA, Prob11/27/11 (1537). Elizabeth Barnardiston built a roof for her church at Kedington, Suffolk. See chapter 1, page 23.

11 TNA, Prob11/4/19 (pr. 1458).

12 TNA, Prob11/12/10 (1501).

13 TNA, Prob11/19/18 (1518).

14 Andrews, "Sidelights on Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches," 197.

wives planned and executed large-scale projects of this kind together. Margaret Courtney (1487) recorded carefully that she and her husband, Sir William of Powderham (1485), had built the body of their church and the new aisle “at our own cost and charge,” except for a contribution of 8d from the parishioners.¹⁵

Widows also commissioned and supervised large-scale projects as executors of their husbands’ wills. Thus, Sir Ralph Shelton (1498) began reconstruction of the parish church at Shelton, but had not completed it when he died. He directed his co-executors, who included his wife Margaret, to “make up completely the church of Shelton aforesaid, in masonry, timber, iron, and lead, according to the form as I have begun it.”¹⁶ Two years later, when Margaret wrote her testament, she asked to be “buried in the chancel of the church of Shelton by the principal image of our Lady, in a tomb and sepulcher that I have prepared in the same intent.”¹⁷ Sir John Byconyll (1500) directed his executors to “perform” the chancel and porch at North Perrot, Somersetshire, and to give it three “convenient” bells. When she died four years later, his widow Elizabeth stated firmly that she had “truly performed” his testament “according to every article,” including amortizing land to Glastonbury Abbey, where they were both buried.¹⁸ Likewise, Sir Thomas Danvers (1502) directed his widow and sole executor, Sybil (1511), to finish the aisle dedicated to St Anne at their parish church in Waterstock, Oxfordshire, “in as goodly haste as it may be”, and to cover it with lead. He also wanted his widow to build an entirely new chancel, “as I have begun and as my wife knoweth my mind.”¹⁹ She evidently finished the aisle because she asked to be buried in it in her will. In 1688, Anthony Wood reported that glass in the church showed painted figures of Danvers and his two wives, with images of Saints Barbara and Anne and the Trinity over them.²⁰ In all these cases, the wording of the widows’ wills indicates that they had taken the lead in fulfilling their husbands’ wishes.

Two noblewomen and heiresses, Cecily, Marchioness of Dorset and Countess of Wiltshire (1529) and Anne, Lady Scrope (1498), were among the most lavish church-builders outside the royal family. Lady Dorset, heir to both the Bonville and Harington baronies, married Thomas Grey,

15 Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies and Monumental and Memorial Sculpture of Devonshire*, I, 67.

16 TNA, Prob11/11/33 (1498).

17 *Visitation of Norfolk in the Year 1563*, II, 396.

18 TNA, Prob11/13/5 (Sir John; 1500); Prob11/14/13 (Dame Elizabeth, 1504).

19 TNA, Prob11/13/10.

20 VCH, *A History of the County of Oxford*, VII, 229-30. The glass no longer exists.

Marquess of Dorset (1501), Elizabeth Woodville's son by her first marriage. The marriage brought her into the inner circle of Edward IV's court. After Dorset's death in 1503, she married the much younger Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, although she outlived him, too.

Lady Dorset was associated with three major projects in the West Country. The earliest was establishing a chantry at Porlock, Somerset that her great-great-grandfather, John, second Lord Harrington (1418), had endowed shortly before his death. Although Harrington's widow survived him by more than half a century, dying only in 1471, she never carried out his wishes. Finally, in 1476 the Crown issued the necessary license for a chantry to provide prayers for Cecily, her husband, and her Harrington and Bonville ancestors. The endowment was a large one and supported two chaplains, a clerk, and two poor men to pray for them. It also paid for the construction of a chapel in the south aisle that was separated from the nave by timber screens. The charter named the marchioness and her heirs as patrons of the foundation. Lady Dorset also built a canopy over her great-great-grandfather's tomb, which had been built decades earlier. The canopy is of a much later style than the monument itself.²¹

Decades later, after her marriage to the Earl of Wiltshire, Lady Dorset built aisles and porches at two other West Country churches, Axminster in Dorset and Ottery St Mary in Devon. The marchioness owned the manor of Uphay in Axminster as well as other estates in the vicinity. Her aisle extended the whole length of the north side of the church and included a chantry at the eastern end. The adjoining porch had an upper story with a small room with a chimney. The parapet was decorated with roses, foliage, and the knots and badges of the Harrington and Stafford families. The porch displayed Stafford knots.²²

Lady Dorset also constructed the Dorset Aisle at Ottery St Mary, Devon, during her second marriage. Here her aisle ran the full length of the nave from the north transept to the west front and was much wider than the adjoining aisle. The wall of the latter was taken down and replaced with an arcade of five arches. The Dorset Aisle had fan vaulting and Stafford knots on the stonework. As at Axminster, the adjoining porch displayed Stafford arms above the door.²³

21 CPR, 1467-77, 476; Chadwyck-Healey, *The History of the Part of West Somerset*, 484; Halliday, *Porlock Church, Somerset*, 8-19.

22 Davidson, *Axminster Church*, 58-63.

23 Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 163; Brooks, "Medieval Churches and their Restoration," 84; Cooper, ed., *The Exeter Area*, Royal Archaeological Institute, *Supplement to the Archeological Journal*, 147 (1990).

Anne, Lady Scrope, undertook major improvements at her church at East Harling, Norfolk, which was attached to her natal family's chief manor and where her parents were buried. She and her first husband, Sir William Chamberlain (1462), also chose East Harling for their final resting place. They were jointly responsible for the rebuilding of the church that included new arcades, the clerestory of the nave, a hammer beam roof, new windows, and two chapels on the north side of the chancel.²⁴ One of the latter was dedicated to St Anne, Lady Anne's patron saint. Both chapels had private doors for the use of their patrons. In 1445, the couple also endowed a chantry in a chapel dedicated to the Virgin that Lady Anne's father, Sir Robert, had rebuilt on the east end of the south aisle. Known as Harling's chapel, their gift supported one priest with a salary of 9 marks per annum.²⁵ Lady Scrope completed much of the work after Chamberlain's death in 1465. The couple built the tower together in c. 1449, but the bells were not put up until three years after Chamberlain died. His widow buried him under an open archway between St Anne's chapel and the chancel. Building apparently continued during her third marriage to John, Lord Scrope (1498), since the window in the rood loft has Scrope shields.²⁶

Lady Scrope was also a builder on a smaller scale in the church at Rushworth, Norfolk. Her Gonville ancestors had founded the college at Cambridge University to which the church was connected in the fourteenth century, and her mother Joan Gonville was buried there. Lady Scrope constructed the Wingfield chantry chapel on the south side of the chancel for the tomb of her second husband, Sir Robert Wingfield (1480), and endowed it with a manor to support a priest to say specified prayers for him.²⁷

As we have seen, the art that aristocratic women contributed to their churches and chantries consisted primarily of architecture and sculpture. The major exception was the painted or stained glass with which they filled the windows they commissioned.²⁸ The glass that has survived is particularly useful for studying the donors, because it was all custom-ordered and reflected the donors' instructions about the subject matter, saints, and other holy images to be included, as well as any written text. The texts were comparable in specificity to epitaphs that appeared on tombs.²⁹

24 Graves, *Form and Fabric of Belief*, BAR British Series 311,76.

25 Blomefield, *History of the County of Norfolk*, I, 326.

26 Graves, *Form and Fabric of Belief*, 76.

27 Bennett, "College of St. John ... Rushworth, 277, 294-95, 307, 367-71; in the seventeenth century, Rushworth began to be called Rushford.

28 Sarah Crewe, *Stained Glass in England c. 1180-c. 1540* (London: HMSO, 1987), 9.

29 Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages*, 61-63; Blair and Ramsey, eds. *English Medieval Industries*, 282-83.

Unfortunately, few of the windows aristocratic women commissioned have survived intact. In some cases, the glass is completely or almost completely gone, including most of the glass in Alice, Duchess of Suffolk's, chapel, at Ewelme, and the windows at the College of Tattershall, Lincolnshire, where Maud Stanhope, Lady Willoughby, was the second founder.³⁰ In others, the windows we see today have been constructed out of surviving panes from glass that was originally in different places in the church.

On the other hand, the greatest wave of destruction of glass did not occur until the Civil War. Tudor iconoclasts were more tolerant of imagery in windows than the radical Protestants of the mid-seventeenth century, because it did not attract the same level of devotion as sculptural figures of the saints. Furthermore, when glass was destroyed, it had to be replaced immediately, and the expense was an added inducement to preserving it.³¹ Therefore, the decades between the iconoclasm of the Edwardian period and the outbreak of the Civil War gave heralds and antiquarians horrified by the destruction that had already occurred an opportunity to record and describe the glass discussed in this chapter.

Because so few windows have survived intact, it is difficult to make generalizations with confidence. However, like all of the art aristocratic women commissioned, the stained glass combined religious and secular themes, although the balance between them varied considerably. Most, if not all, windows included portraits of the donor and her spouse or spouses. For example, the east window in the south aisle at St Mary, Shelton, Norfolk, contains images of Sir John Shelton (1539) and his wife, Dame Anne Boleyn Shelton (1556), facing each other in prayer. Many images of donors carried scrolls addressed to their favorite saints or the Trinity asking for prayers, much as they did on brasses. Windows almost always displayed the donor's family arms, which identified them and underscored their status. Many also had epitaphs that served the same dual function as they did on tombs—identifying the deceased and her family and asking for prayers. The largest paintings were religious and most often featured the Virgin and Child, the Coronation of the Virgin, or Christ Enthroned. A few had smaller panes narrating the life of the Virgin and Christ or memorializing a whole series of saints.³² Donors could individualize their designs by including their

30 Marks, "Glazing of the Collegiate Church ... Tattershall (Lincs), 138; Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, 65-67.

31 Marks, *Medieval Stained Glass of Northampton*, xl-xli.

32 The window at East Harling is an example of the former; St Peter Hungate of the latter.

favorite, frequently obscure, saints, as we shall see below. The windows demonstrate how local and personal the practice of religion was.

I have identified 32 aristocratic women who built or intended to build stained-glass windows in addition to those who contributed to the collective project at Long Melford, which is discussed below. In a few cases, the only record we have is a legacy in a will, and there is no way of knowing whether the testator's executors carried out her wishes or not. In 1486, for example, Agnes Scott, left 20s to paint the image of St John the Baptist at Brabourne, Kent.³³ In her 1493 will, Katherine Hawte bequeathed 6s 8d to paint the image of Our Lady at Aldermanbury Church, London, where her husband had been buried the year before.³⁴ Margaret Choke (1483) ordered a window for the church at Long Ashton, Somerset, which was to include images of her and her husband's arms and St Sunday and St Gregory. Her directions to her executors were quite specific: she wanted the window to have three lights (i.e., panes), to be glazed like the windows beneath it, and to include her and her husband's arms beneath the images.³⁵ Anne Danvers (1539) built a window of four lights at Dauntsey, her inheritance, in addition to the monument and brasses she constructed for herself and her husband. The window included an image of Sir John (1515) kneeling in armor below his coat of arms. A scroll from his mouth begged "sancta Dei genitrix semper virgo Maria, ora pro nobis." His wife was kneeling and wearing her coat of arms over her clothes. Her scroll asked God to intercede for them.³⁶ Although most of the windows that widows commissioned were in the churches where they were buried, this was not always the case. William and Margaret Catesby contributed armorial glass spread over four windows in the church of their manor at Lapworth, Warwickshire, although they arranged to be buried at Ashby Ledgers, Northamptonshire, their chief manor.³⁷ As in so many cases, little of the glass remains.

A number of the inscriptions on the windows that women commissioned paid an unusual degree of attention to their parents. In 1518, long before either of them died, Sir Richard Knightley (1534) and his wife Joan (1550) ordered a window for the church at Fawsley, Northamptonshire. It contained a lengthy bidding prayer, which recorded that Joan was the daughter and heir of Henry Skinnerdon and Margaret, his wife, who was herself the sister and

33 TNA, Prob11/18/15 (1486).

34 TNA, Prob11/9/21 (1492; husband's will); Prob11/10/4 (1493).

35 French, *People of the Parish*, 104; TNA, Prob11/7/9 (1483). Reiss, *St. Sunday*.

36 Macnamara, *Memorials of the Danvers Family*, 251-2, 269-71; Kite, *Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire*, 53-54.

37 *Catesby Family and their Brasses at Ashby St. Ledgers*, ed. Bertram, 65.

heir of Thomas Harrowdon, Esq. Lady Knightley's genealogy was important, because she had brought a significant amount of land to the Knightley family.³⁸ Margaret Bulkeley (1528) donated a window to St Helen's church in Sefton, Lancashire, that was finally built in 1543 by the executor of *her* executor. The inscription read,

Of your charity pray for the soul of Margaret Bulkeley, daughter of Richard Molyneux knight and wife unto John Dutton and William Bulkeley esq., whose goodness caused this window to be made of the will of Sir Robert Parkynson, executor of the said Margaret, of the year of our lord 1543. Which said Margaret deceased the 21st day of February the year of our lord 1517 [sic 1528]. On whose soul Jesus have mercy. Amen.

As the author of the inscription, she included her father's name as well as those of both her husbands. The delay in constructing the window illustrates how tenuous the fulfillment of such legacies could be. This was Margaret's second commission to the church: she had founded a chantry there during her lifetime.³⁹

In other cases, our only records are fragmentary epitaphs recorded by antiquarians, decades or centuries after the glass was installed. In the seventeenth century, Roger Dodsworth's notes from churches in Yorkshire included the epitaph, "Pray for ____Townley, his wife, who has made this window in the year of our lord 1523", under a window that displayed the arms of Nevills of Liversedge and Townleys of Birstall. Ellen Townley, daughter of Sir John and wife of Sir Robert Nevill of Liversedge, Yorkshire, had commissioned the window.⁴⁰ Malyn Carew probably ordered the west window of the church at Beddington, Surrey, after the death of her husband, Sir Richard. The inscription begs viewers to "pray for the souls of Sir Richard Carew knight and Dame Malyn his wife, which Richard deceased the 23rd of May 1520 and the said Malyn died the ____day of ____."⁴¹ Sir Richard and Malyn's elaborate tomb is located in a chapel on the south side of the chancel that functioned as a family mausoleum.⁴²

38 Bridges, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, 2, 69.

39 Wall, "St. Helen's Church, Sephton," 61. Horley, Sefton, 18-19. Her father, Sir Richard, died in 1453 fighting for the Lancastrians.

40 Dodsworth, "Yorkshire Church notes, 1619-1631," 56. She was still alive in 1542, when she probated her husband's will. *Testamenta Eboracensia*, VI, CVI, #126 (155).

41 BL, Lansdown 874, f. 38d, recorded by Nicholas Charles, 1610.

42 VCH, *County of Surrey*, IV, 177;

Records exist of other windows that were subsequently destroyed entirely or have survived only in fragments. Very little of the glass at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, still exists. Richard Marks believes the church had one of the most impressive displays of glass-painting in the period. Fragments have been divided between the east window at Tattershall, St Martin's Church at Stamford Baron, Burghley House in Northamptonshire, and the chapel at Warwick Castle. Nothing remains of the window in the church at Stottesden, Shropshire, that Sir Thomas Blount and his wife Anne donated in 1517. The original included their arms and images of themselves and their twenty children.⁴³ Sir Edward Bensted's widow and co-executor, Joyce, evidently commissioned the window he ordered for the south side of the church at Herfordingly, Hertfordshire, where he wanted to be buried beside his deceased children. In addition to his arms and images of himself, his widows, and his children, he wanted the window to have images of Saints Alban and Amphibalus. Only fragments exist today.⁴⁴

The seventeenth-century antiquarian Anthony Wood recorded the glass at Waterstoke, Oxford, commissioned by Thomas Danvers (1501) and his two wives for the nave (rebuilt 1480) and north aisle (1501). In his will, Sir Thomas directed his widow and sole executor, Sybil (1511), to complete the aisle and chancel that he had begun. She evidently finished the aisle and asked to be buried there. The windows contained the couple's images under pictures of St Barbara, St Anne, and the Trinity. The glass also contained inscriptions to various members of the Danvers family and their wives. The chancel window contained the arms of the Bruly, Quartermaine, and Danvers families. Almost none of the glass survived successive restorations.⁴⁵ In the mid-seventeenth century, the window that Dorothy Ferrers commissioned at Tamworth, Warwickshire, was destroyed and only fragments survive. Fortunately, William Dugdale recorded it in his *Book of Monuments*. It showed images of Dorothy wearing a tabard over her robe, with her three daughters behind her and her husband with five sons behind him.⁴⁶

In a particularly disappointing instance, because it had survived into the nineteenth century, Edward Goate, Esq., and his wife Mary Barnardiston

43 Blakeway, "Notes on Kinlet," *Shropshire Archaeological and Natural Historical Society, Transactions*, Series 3, VIII (1908), 122.

44 TNA, Prob11/19/25 (1520); Marks, *Stained Glass in England During the Middle Ages*, 6. St Alban, a Roman soldier, was the first British Christian martyr. Amphibalus was the Christian priest who sheltered and converted him. Sir Edward's will was probated in 1519. It is unlikely that his widow's co-executor, a clerk of the royal exchequer, was active in carrying out this part of his testament.

45 VCH, *County of Oxford*, VII, 228-229. Prob11/13/10 (Sir Thomas' will); Prob11/17/2 (Sybil's will).

46 BL, Add'l Ms. 71474, f. 53-54; Palmer, *Town and Castle of Tamworth*, 278-79.

moved Elizabeth Barnardiston's window at Kedington to their manor, Brent Leigh Hall. No trace of it exists today. The original included Sir Thomas kneeling in full armor with their seven sons behind him. Another panel showed Elizabeth with her arms and seven daughters behind her. The inscription read, "Pray for the soul of Thomas Barnardiston knight and Elizabeth his wife, who made this window."⁴⁷

Despite all the destruction and damage since the Yorkist and early Tudor periods, a few churches still retain significant portions of their stained glass, although in many cases it has been rearranged over the centuries. Early sixteenth-century glass remains in the east and south aisle windows in the church at Shelton, Norfolk. Most of it is secular. It includes many small donor figures, including the image of Anne Boleyn Shelton, the queen's aunt, displayed on the jacket of this book.⁴⁸ Anne Shelton did not marry her husband, Sir John, until 1512, after both his parents were deceased. Unlike the older couple, they spent much of their time at court and showed little interest in completing their work on the church. In fact, they never even finished Sir Ralph's tomb. After Sir John died, his widow returned to Norfolk and resided at the nunnery at Carrow. The inscription on his monument states clearly that she placed the brass on it. She was therefore probably responsible for the glass that contains images of her in-laws, her husband, and herself, and both their shields.⁴⁹

Some of the best-preserved glass of the period has survived at the Spencers' church at Great Brington, Northampton. Sir John Spencer (1522) had bequeathed £60 to construct the roof, walks, and windows of the chancel, where he expected to be buried.⁵⁰ Although he did not include his widow, Dame Isabel (1558), among his executors, she may well have undertaken or at least participated in the project, since the inscription in the chancel window named them both as "patrons of the church."⁵¹ At the least, she had considerable influence over Sir John's executors: the tablet at the foot of his monument carefully recorded the names of both her parents, an unusual

47 *Handbook for Travelers in Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire*, revised by Richard John King, 154.

48 Armstrong, "Notes on the Church and Family of Shelton," *Norfolk Archaeology*, 12 (1895), 240-41; David King, the leading authority on Norfolk glass, considers the figures of Anne and her husband on the south aisle window to be the highest quality glass in the Church today. www.norfolkstainedglass.co.uk/Shelton/home.shtm.

49 Blomefield, *County of Norfolk*, 5, 266, for inscription; Dashwood, *Visitation of Norfolk*, 2, 345; 398 for Anne Shelton's will; Finch, "Fragments of Ambition," 93-94 for date of marriage.

50 TNA, Prob11/20/24 (1522).

51 BL, Lansdowne 874, f. 70d.

feature of contemporary epitaphs. Their son and heir, Sir William (1532), directed his executors to complete the glass in the north chapel, where he expected to be buried. The inscription in its east window asks onlookers to “pray for the good estate of William Spencer knight and Susan his wife the year of our lord 1526.” The date suggests that Sir William and his wife commissioned the window six years before his death, although it was not finished when he died.⁵²

Much of the glass that Anne, Lady Scrope, installed at East Harling, Norfolk, between 1463 and 1480 has survived. The east chancel window, which she probably built during her second marriage to Sir Robert Wingfield (1480), was preserved, because it was removed during periods of danger and then reinstalled. The first removal and reinstallation took place to save the window from Cromwell’s troops, the last to preserve it during World War II. It shows images of both Sir William Chamberlain and Wingfield, but only fragments of the image of Lady Scrope survive.⁵³ There is an inscription above and below the figure of the noblewoman. The one above implores God the “father in heaven [to] have pity on us”, and the one below prays for her “good state and life.”⁵⁴ In addition, the glass shows fifteen scenes from the Life of the Virgin with Angels. The window in the Harling Chapel at the east end of the south aisle includes pictures of Lady Scrope’s parents, Sir Robert Harling and his wife, Joan Gonville, as well as portraits of Lady Anne and Chamberlain. This window contains a bidding prayer for the two couples.⁵⁵ Although East Harling was the focus of Lady Scrope’s largest projects, she also bequeathed money for glass at eight priories and friaries, none of which has survived, but the bequests give some idea of her status and landownership throughout Norfolk.⁵⁶

Another heiress, Constance Ferrers (1551), constructed an east window that remains in her native parish Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire. The co-heir of Nicholas Brome, she lived and then was buried at Baddesley Clinton with her husband, Sir Edward (1535). William Dugdale visited the church in the mid-seventeenth century and reported on it in detail. The upper part of the window contained portraits of the couple with their three sons and six daughters, all kneeling, with scrolls containing the inscriptions “St. George pray for us” and “St. Katherine, pray for us.” Underneath them was the standard bidding

52 TNA, Prob11/24/16.

53 Graves, *Form and Fabric of Belief*, 76.

54 Woodforde, “Medieval Glass in East Harling Church,” 256 and 256, note 4.

55 Woodforde, *Norwich School of Glass Painting in the Fifteenth Century*, 41-43; Crewe, *Stained Glass in England*, 37; www.norfolkstainedglass.co.uk/East_Harling/home.shtm.

56 *Testamenta Eboracensia*, LIII (1868), 150.

prayer, "Pray for the soul of Edward Ferrers knight and dame Constance." In the lower part of the window were pictures of the couple with her father, kneeling before a crucifix. A scroll from Sir Edward's mouth proclaims his love for the crucifix. An open book on a prayer desk before him reads, "God is my light and my salvation." The window also contains a series of family shields.⁵⁷

The stained glass discussed in this chapter thus far was the result of single aristocratic women's or couples' commissions. However, some of the most famous surviving glass from the late fifteenth century formed part of a collective project at Long Melford, Suffolk. John Clopton (1494) was the principal restorer of the church, but he received considerable assistance for the project from the Martyn family, the other leading family in the parish. However, inscriptions on the glass and in surviving records make clear that they did not bear the cost of the windows alone. Rather, members of Clopton's large network of family, friends, and political connections contributed to the restoration by paying for stained-glass windows with their portraits on the north side of the nave. More than a dozen East Anglian aristocratic women were among them. They included five of the highest-ranking women in the region: Elizabeth Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk (1508); Elizabeth de la Pole, Duchess of Suffolk (1503); Elizabeth Howard, Countess of Surrey (1497); Elizabeth Howard de Vere, Countess of Oxford (1475); and Elizabeth Fitzwalter (1485), first wife of John, Lord Dynham (1501), a royal minister and courtier during Henry VII's reign. While the bidding prayers under many of the images demonstrate their piety, what is most notable is how many of the women were widows of Lancastrians who died fighting or plotting against the Yorkists. The women's decision to fund windows at Long Melford was thus a celebration of their continued loyalty to the Lancastrian network in East Anglia. Long Melford itself was completed in 1484, the year before the final triumph of the Lancastrians with the accession of Henry VII.⁵⁸

57 VCH, *History of Warwickshire*, IV, 17; Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 2nd ed., II, 973.
58 Parker, *History of Long Melford* is the most useful secondary source on the church and windows. See also Knott, *Holy Trinity Church Long Melford* and Dymond and Paine, *Spoil of Melford Church*. The women were Agnes Fray (1479), wife of Thomas Baldington, Sir John Fray, John, Lord Wenlock, and Sir John Say; her daughters by Fray, Margaret Leynham (1482), wife of Sir John, and Elizabeth Waldegrave (1478), wife of Sir Thomas and then Sir William Say; Elizabeth, Duchess of Norfolk (1506 or 1507); Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford (d. 1472); Lady Anne Percy (1522), daughter of the Earl of Northumberland and wife successively of Sir Thomas Hungerford, Lawrence Raynsforth; and Sir Hugh Vaughan; Elizabeth Raynsforth (by 1469), Sir Lawrence's first wife; Elizabeth Clifford (d. 1526), wife of Ralph Josselin, Lord Mayor of London, and then Sir Robert Clifford; Anne Darcy Montgomery (1498), widow of John, and her sisters Eleanor Tyrell, wife of Sir William of Heron, and Margaret Tyrell, wife of Sir William of Gipping; John Clopton's wife Alice was also one of Anne Montgomery's sisters; Philippa Montgomery (before

Unfortunately, many of the windows were destroyed during outbursts of iconoclasm in the sixteenth century and during the Civil War in the mid-seventeenth century. Although there are no records of the windows when they were first built, Rev. Nathaniel Bisbie, rector of Long Melford from 1660 to 1689, who was deprived of his benefice for refusing to swear allegiance to William III, carefully recorded those that remained.⁵⁹

John Clopton himself had been a staunch Lancastrian until his arrest in 1462 for being implicated in continued activity on behalf of Queen Margret. Unlike the twelfth Earl of Oxford, the earl's son heir Aubrey, Sir John Montgomery, Sir William Tyrell, and Sir Thomas Tuddenham, who were also arrested at this time, Clopton escaped with his life and remained politically inactive thereafter. Nonetheless, he was a close associate of the thirteenth Earl of Oxford, frequently serving as his feoffee, and appointed the earl as supervisor of his will.⁶⁰ The portrait of the twelfth earl's widow Elizabeth, whom Richard III harried to her death in 1475, appears in one of the windows.⁶¹ Another included a picture of Lady Anne Percy, whose father, the third Earl of Northumberland, had died fighting for Henry VI at Towton in 1461. Her first husband, Sir Thomas Hungerford, also a Lancastrian, was executed for conspiring with the Earl of Warwick to restore Henry in 1469. At Long Melford, she appears with her second husband, Lawrence Raynsford (1490), and his first wife.⁶² Elizabeth Clifford (1526), daughter-in-law of Thomas, eighth Lord Clifford, who died fighting for the Lancastrians at St Albans in 1455, donated a window with her image. It was placed between that of her first husband, Ralph Josselin (1478), a Lord Mayor of London, and her second husband, Sir Robert Clifford (1508), Lord Clifford's third son.⁶³ Agnes, Lady Wenlock, whose husband, John, Lord Wenlock, died at Tewkesbury on the Lancastrian side in 1471, paid for a window with pictures of herself and her two daughters by her second husband, Sir John Fray (1461). Her marriage to Wenlock was short and produced no children.⁶⁴

1485), wife of Sir Thomas; and Elizabeth née Tilney, Countess of Surrey (1497); from 1514, she was the Duchess of Norfolk. We do not have dates for the construction of individual windows, some of which were probably commissioned or constructed before the completion of the church in 1484.

59 Parker, *Long Melford*, includes a transcription of Bisbie's notes on the women's images on pages 53-59.

60 Ross, John de Vere, 230-31.

61 Hicks, "Last Days of the Countess of Oxford," 76-95; Parker, Melford Church, 54.

62 Parker, *Long Melford*, 55-56.

63 Ibid, 56-67. BL, Add'l Ms. 17,458, Powell Collections, f. 136 on Sir Robert.

64 Parker, *Long Melford*, 56; Lady Wenlock married for a fourth time a few years after Wenlock's death. Both she and her fourth husband, Sir John Say, died in 1478. TNA, Probn11/6/33 (her will); Probn11/6/35 (his will).

Many of the other women with Lancastrian connections were related to Clopton and each other through the Darcy and Tyrell families of Essex. John Clopton's wife Alice was the daughter of Sir Robert Darcy of Malden (1449). Two of her sisters married men executed in 1462 with the Earl of Oxford: Margaret's husband Sir William Tyrell of Gipping and Anne's husband, Sir John Montgomery. A third sister's husband, another Sir William Tyrell, died following Henry VI at Barnet in 1471.⁶⁵

As we have seen, only a small number of stained-glass windows that aristocratic women donated to their parish churches survived the iconoclasm of the Tudor and Stuart periods and the neglect, thoughtless renovation, and bombs that took their toll in the centuries that followed. Fortunately, the porches, towers, and aisles they constructed in stone proved to be more durable. They remain an important part of England's architectural inheritance and form a permanent record of their donors' piety and status. The structures also demonstrate that however concerned aristocratic women may have been with their own salvation, and however removed socially from their neighbors and tenants, they played a significant role in constructing, enlarging, and maintaining the churches that were the focal point of life outside the home for all the members of their parishes.

65 Parker, *Long Melford*, 57. The Darcy-Tyrell connection continued in the next generation: Sir Robert Darcy's son, another Sir Robert (1469), married Elizabeth Tyrell, daughter of Sir Thomas of East Heron (1476) and a younger son, John, Tyrell's daughter Anne. None of them appear in the Long Melford windows.

4 Adorning the Liturgy: Luxury Fabrics and Chapel Plate

A brass inscription on the wall of St Swithin's church in East Grinstead, Sussex, records Katherine Grey Lewkenor's death in 1505 and praises her and her husband Richard for having "endowed, founded, [and] adorned" the church "to the laud and honor of God, with divers ornaments and images and an almshouse of 6 persons."¹ The almshouse was clearly the work of the couple, but Katherine seems to have been responsible for the ornaments referred to in the inscription. In her will, she bequeathed a silver bowl and ewer to be made into a cross for the church, and all her silk gowns to churches in the vicinity for conversion into clerical vestments.²

Katherine Lewkenor was one of 82 aristocratic Yorkist and early Tudor widows whose religious bequests included fabric and vestments, plate, jewels, or prayer books. Like her, they often made gifts of this kind to more than one church, a choice reflecting the fact that they and their families owned land in many parishes and often in more than one county. Almost all of these legacies were intended for use during performance of the Mass at the church's high altar or in the women's chantry chapels.³ Only nine of the women gave vestments or ritual objects exclusively to their chantries. The others either gave material goods to the high altar or to both the high altar and their chantries. Their identification with the vestments and objects they donated to the high altar brought them as close as possible to the miracle performed during the Mass.

Before the break with Rome led to the gradual confiscation and prohibition of such gifts, the widows of knights and noblemen bestowed what must have seemed to be an unending stream of expensive fabrics, silver and gold plate, and jewels to the churches they patronized. As early as 1537, however, the dissolution of the smaller monasteries evidently proved sufficiently alarming to cause a dramatic decline in the number of legacies of this kind. Of the 54 women who donated vestments to churches between 1450 and

1 Dame Katherine ordered the inscription to be placed on the wall over the tomb. The tomb has long since disappeared. TNA, Prob11/14/34, Kathryn Grey Lewkenor (1505); *East Grinstead and Its Parish Church*, 3rd ed. (1934); on the history of the almshouse see also Folger Shakespeare Library, Folger Z. c. 35 (2), Richard Lewkenor, Esq. (1503), and Hills, *History of East Grinstead*.

2 See the glossary for definitions of the items and fabrics mentioned in this chapter.

3 This finding supports Judy Ford's conclusion in her study of four communities in Kent, "Art and Identity in the Parish Communities of Late Medieval Kent," 226-27.

1550, for example, only four did so after 1537. Similarly, they gave only five of 38 liturgical objects for the performance of the Mass after that date. The steep decline almost certainly reflects a change in their religious beliefs less than a justifiable fear that the Crown would confiscate their gifts as it had the liturgical objects of the dissolved monasteries.

The cost and destination of the aristocratic widows' bequests distinguished them from ordinary members of their churches. According to the division of responsibility between the clergy and the laity, the lay congregation was responsible for maintaining, decorating, and furnishing the nave of their parish churches, while the clergy were responsible for the chancel and high altar.⁴ But elite women ignored this division of responsibility and bestowed a huge number of vestments and liturgical objects on the high altars of their churches, purposefully intruding into an area ordinarily off-limits to the laity, particularly to women. Their bequests formed one dimension of the larger process that Andrew Martindale has called the intrusion of the secular into the sacred spaces of the churches.⁵

Even in a context in which the monuments, chantries, insignia, and memorial tablets of knightly and noble families occupied more and more space in their churches, the luxury goods that aristocratic women bequeathed to the high altar and officiating priests bore a special significance. As scholars in a variety of fields have argued, objects carry the residue, memory, and social relations of their previous owners. When they are given away, they incorporate the recipients into new networks of obligation.⁶ Employed during the celebration of the Mass, the women's gifts functioned as material surrogates for their donors and brought them into proximity, even contact, with the divine. In this case, the clergy were expected to pray for aristocratic women's souls in return for their bequests. Their gifts represented them at the altar and reminded the officiating priests of their obligation. At the same time, they retained some of the characteristics of what Annette Wiener

4 On community expenditure on their parish churches, see, for example, Scarisbrick, *Reformation and the English People*, 2; Fleming, "Charity, Faith, and the Gentry of Kent 1422-1529," 35-58; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 10-12; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 131-205; Saul, "The Gentry and the Parish," 243-60; French, *Good Women of the Parish*, 41-44.

5 Martindale, "Patrons and Minders," 143-78. Martindale ascribed this intrusion to an earlier period and claimed that it declined after the thirteenth century. However, most of his evidence came from cathedrals rather than the parish churches, where more and more of the gentry and nobility were buried in the Late Middle Ages. On the latter point, see Saul, "The Gentry and the Parish," 247-249.

6 Stallybrass, "Worn Worlds: Clothes and Identity on the Renaissance Stage," 289-90, 310-11; Appadurai, "Commodities and the Politics of Value," 13; Davis, "Boundaries & the Sense of Self," 62.

has called “inalienable possessions,” preserving in death the “hegemonic dominance” the women had exercised in their parishes while they were alive.⁷

The women’s donations to their chantries had a somewhat different resonance, because the chapels already separated them from the rest of the congregation. As we have seen, many founders of chapels blocked the view into them by placing tombs in front of their altars, or by erecting screens and locked gates that functioned like the rood screens between the nave and chancel of the church.⁸ In addition, many chapels had separate entrances, so that members of the family that endowed them could enter privately to hear services by priests who wore vestments they had donated and who administered the sacrament with chapel plate and ritual objects they had provided. The chapels provided them with the luxurious and private environment in their parish churches that characterized their daily lives.

Some scholars identify legacies of personal items particularly with women, whether the recipients were churches or members of the laity.⁹ Kristin Burkholder’s study of 500 English wills from the period 1327-1487 certainly supports this hypothesis.¹⁰ However, a comparison between the wills of the widows studied here and their deceased spouses points in a different direction. The women were more likely than their male kin to leave vestments, plate, jewels, and books for the performance of the Mass, but the difference was not overwhelming. One hundred and fifty-six (19.6 percent) of the men left such objects to their churches, compared to 82 (26.5 percent) of the women.¹¹ Even this difference can be explained by the fact that men often left all their movables to their widows, who were then free to bequeath them in *their* wills. Enriching their families’ parish churches was thus one of the tasks that women performed for their families as well as themselves. Katherine Ashley’s study of over 500 early sixteenth-century wills that included testators from a much broader cross-section of the social hierarchy also raises doubts about the generalization that women were more likely than men to bequeath material goods to their churches.¹²

Of the precious objects that aristocratic widows bequeathed to churches for the celebration of the Mass, the most frequent donations were vestments,

7 Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions*, 150.

8 See chapter 2, pages 64-65 for evidence of this practice.

9 Howell, “Fixing Movables”, 3-45; French, *Good Women of the Parish*, chap. 1; Maria Hayward, “Reflections on Gender and Status Distinctions,” *Gender and History*, 14 (Nov. 2002), 415; Scarisbrick, *Reformation and the English People*, 3; Davis, “Boundaries and the Sense of Self,” 62.

10 Burkholder, “Threads Bared: Dress and Textiles in Late Medieval English Wills,” Table 9.4, 136.

11 The percentages are based on 763 male wills and 309 female wills.

12 Ashley, “Material and Symbolic Gift-Giving: Clothes in English and French Wills,” 138-40.

individually or in sets, or apparel or fabric to be made into them. Vestments were the garments priests wore when they conducted Mass. Testators often referred to them as suits of vestments. Suits consisted of an alb, a long white garment that fell from the shoulders to the ankles and had long sleeves; the stole, a long cloth worn around the neck; the cincture, a thick cord with tassels to secure these garments at the waist; and a chasuble, an outer garment worn over the alb and stole. Testators also often bequeathed a cope, a mantle or cloak worn by a priest of any rank. The garments were made of velvet, damask, cloth of gold, and silk, and were frequently embroidered with gold and silver thread. A few testators bequeathed surplices, a white linen garment worn by clergy of any rank, acolytes, and choristers.

Fifty-four (66 percent) of the 82 women studied in this chapter bequeathed such garments, or fabric to be made into them, to their churches, sometimes leaving them to a favorite church, sometimes spreading them among a number of recipients. For example, Margaret Brown (1489) gave vestments to ten different churches in Stamford, Lincolnshire, where she lived and was buried.¹³ Isabel Sapcote (1493) directed her executors to make twenty vestments for poor churches in the neighborhood of her manor at Burley, Rutland.¹⁴ Maud Parr left vestments to three churches, probably in villages where she owned property.¹⁵ Three women—Margaret Capell, Margaret Markham, and Katherine Lewkenor—bequeathed vestments in bulk to an indeterminate number of churches.¹⁶ Altogether, the women gave 227 vestments to 178 different churches. As a result, although parishes were required to have only one set of vestments, they often had many more.¹⁷

The price of the vestments bequeathed varied considerably. In 1526, Katherine, Lady Berkeley left £20 to purchase a suit of vestments for the church at Dartford where she wanted to be buried.¹⁸ The most expensive legacy of this kind was the complete set of vestments and cope of black or tawny velvet costing 40 marks that Elizabeth Holles left to St Helen's Bishopsgate in 1544.¹⁹ By contrast, Anne Heydon bequeathed vestments costing 20s to St Peter Hungate, Norwich.²⁰

13 TNA, Prob11/8/29.

14 TNA, Prob11/10/12.

15 *North Country Wills*, #68, 93 (1529).

16 TNA, Prob11/19/12 (Capell, 1516); Prob11/14/34 (Lewkenor 1505); Prob11/16/21 (Markham).

17 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, 133-34; functioning churches would already have had at least one set.

18 TNA, Prob11/22/10.

19 TNA, Prob11/30/45.

20 TNA, Prob11/25/28 (1539).

The majority of aristocratic women who bequeathed vestments chose churches where they, their deceased husbands, or their natal kin were or planned to be buried, or to churches associated with their manors. Anne, Lady Scrope (1498) gave vestments to the church at East Harling where she and her first husband were buried; to Rushworth College, which she had founded and where she buried her second husband; and to the monastery at Thetford, the burial place of her third husband. She also remembered the White Friars at Cambridge, of which she was a founder; the Austin Friars at Lincoln, where her ancestor, Sir Thomas Tuddenham, was buried; and Gonville College, Cambridge, which her maternal ancestors had founded. In addition, she donated vestments to seven churches connected to manors she owned.²¹

Few widows were wealthy enough to remember as many churches as Lady Scrope, but she was certainly not alone in spreading her legacies around. Margaret Capell (1516) was most generous to the chapel at St Bartholomew the Little, where she was to be buried with her husband in their chantry. However, she also gave vestments to the church where her husband's parents were buried; the church where she was christened; a church attached to the Capells' manor at Little Hadham, Hertfordshire; Basing Church in Hampshire, which her daughter's marital family owned; and every church of which she was a patron, although she did not specify their number.²² Margaret Heron (1531) gave a tawny velvet gown to be remade into a vestment and cope for her parish church in Hackney, London; tawny damask that she had "bought of late" for a cope for the church at Canfield, Essex; and 40s for a cope for a third church in Hertfordshire.²³ Relatively few women continued to donate priestly garments to their churches after the break with Rome, but Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford, bequeathed vestments to her chantry and the high altar at Wivenhoe in 1537.²⁴ Two years later, Anne Boleyn's great-aunt, Anne Heydon, left vestments to St Luke's chapel at Norwich cathedral, where she expected to be buried, and to St Peter Hungate in the same city.²⁵ The last gift of this kind was the expensive suit of vestments that Elizabeth Holles gave to St Helen's Bishopsgate in 1544.²⁶

21 *TE*, IV, #75 (149-151).

22 TNA, Prob11/19/12 (1516).

23 TNA, Prob11/24/19 (1531).

24 TNA, Prob11/27/11 (1537).

25 TNA, Prob11/25/28(1539); she was the daughter of Geoffrey Boleyn, the queen's great-grandfather.

26 TNA, Prob11/30/5.

Figure 3 Ecclesiastical embroidery, Elizabeth Scrope Beaumont de Vere (1539), widow of fourteenth Earl of Oxford*. Once an enriched vestment belonging to her private chapel. She may have bequeathed it to Wivenhoe, the Essex church where she was buried. Reg. No. T. 138-1909. Permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.



Figure 4 Westmorland altar cloth*. Figures of Ralph, the fourth Earl of Westmorland (1549) and his wife Catherine Stafford, daughter of the third Duke of Buckingham (1555). Textiles store, museum no. 35-1888. Permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.



What is most noteworthy is not the aristocratic women's choice of the churches to receive their vestments, but the fact that they had so many to bequeath. Their ownership of the sacred garments was a consequence of the withdrawal of increasing numbers of the nobility and gentry from worship in their parish churches to private chapels in their castles and manors.²⁷ Elizabeth Bruyn stated explicitly that the vestments she bequeathed to her church came from the chapel in her manor.²⁸ Many testators described the vestments they were bequeathing with the first person pronoun.²⁹ Still others bequeathed garments embroidered with their and their husbands' arms.³⁰ Thus the women identified with and would be identified with the vestments they were bequeathing to their parishes. In return, they expected to receive special benefits from Masses performed by the priests who wore them.

Some of the testators actually gave their own gowns—even more personal items—to their churches to be altered into sacred garments. The vestments that Katherine Grey Lewkenor directed her executors to give to churches in the vicinity of her manor at East Grinstead, Sussex, were to be made from her silk gowns and furs. The gift would perpetuate her dominance in the neighborhood and benefit her soul, through her symbolic presence at

27 Saul, "The Gentry and the Parish," 246-47.

28 TNA, Prob11/6/2 (1470).

29 See, for example, TNA, Prob11/7/9, Margaret Choke (1483); Prob11/11/18, Thomasine Hopton (1497); Prob11/19/32, Anne Bourchier (1519); and Prob11/24/22-23, Elizabeth Reed (1531).

30 TV, I:358, Elizabeth Neville, Lady Latimer (1480); TNA, Prob11/7/16, Jane Barre (1484); TE, IV, #35, 149, Anne, Lady Scrope (1498), TNA, Prob11/19/12, Margaret Capell (1516).

Figure 5 Altar frontal, St Catherine*. Made for the Neville family; possibly made for Catherine Stafford (1555). Museum no. 36-1888. Permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.



Masses in congregations where she was already well known.³¹ Maud Parr, Queen Katherine Parr's mother, directed her executors to have all her apparel made into vestments or other ornaments for three of her favorite churches.³²

³¹ TNA, Prob11/14/34, Kathryn Grey Lewkenor (1505).

³² Maud Parr (1529), *Wills from Doctors Common*, 17.

In a particularly personal gesture, Agnes Cheyne (1488) designated her wedding gown for this purpose.³³ All in all, 21 of the 54 women—more than a third—who gave vestments to their churches donated gowns to be made into the sacred garments. As Kathleen Ashley has put it, “fabrics that had clothed and ornamented the body of the worshipper were now to be converted into the fabric of the church itself.”³⁴

In contrast to Katherine Lewkenor and Maud Parr, very few women included all their gowns in these bequests. Thus, Elizabeth Bruyn gave her black silk gown to be made into a chasuble for the Lady Chapel in the church where she was to be buried and left the remainder to her married daughter.³⁵ Elizabeth Clifford wanted her black velvet gown made into a vestment to match the cope that her parish church at Aspenden, Hertfordshire, already owned, but she also bequeathed a frontlet of gold to her niece Eleanor and a nightgown to her sister.³⁶ And finally, to give one last example, Elizabeth Speke donated two expensive gowns—one of black damask with grey fur and the other of violet satin—to the parish church of White Lackington, where the Spekes’ chief manor was located, and a black satin gown with fur to Exeter Cathedral, where she was to be buried with her husband. In addition, she gave her daughter by her first marriage, Elizabeth Colshill, a tawny gown trimmed with black velvet; her sister Alice a violet gown with fur; and a gown apiece to two other women whose relationship to her she did not specify.³⁷

While dressing the clergy was the most frequent purpose of aristocratic women’s bequests of movable goods to churches, twenty of them—a smaller but still notable number—attached considerable importance to adorning the high altars in their churches and the altars in their chantries. In 1504, for example, Christian Hungerford left an altar cloth and a girdle of green harnessed with silver and enamel to the chapel of Our Lady in the cathedral at Cirencester. She left another to the altar in St Katherine’s Chapel in the same cathedral.³⁸ Jane Huddleston’s munificent gift to the altar of St Nicholas

33 TNA, Prob11/8/15.

34 Ashley, “Material and Symbolic Gift-Giving,” 145.

35 TNA, Prob11/6/2 (1470).

36 TNA, Prob11/ 22/9, Elizabeth Clifford (1526).

37 TNA, Prob11/1917 (1518).

38 TNA, Prob11/14/16. A girdle was a narrow cord, band, or chain that followed the waistline; it was often made of silver, gold, or decorated with jewels, and was used to support items such as purses or small prayer books with precious covers. Another London widow, Isabel Mannyngham (d.1521), also left a girdle to the altar in the chapel where she was to be buried at Christ Church, London. TNA, Prob11/20/10.

in the chapel at Hailes monastery, where she was to be buried, included a cloth of purple damask embroidered with Our Lady, St George, and St Martin; two fringed silk curtains; a corporas case of cloth of gold and pearls; two linen altar cloths; and a “crucifix standing on the altar in her chamber.” The crucifix was a particularly personal item.³⁹ On the eve of the break with Rome, Elizabeth Reed (1531), who was buried in the church of St John Zachary, London, gave her best altar cloth to the chapel of Our Lady “behind the pew where I commonly sit in the said church.”⁴⁰ As late as 1539, Anne Heydon gave St Peter Hungate, Norwich, a carpet with her and her husband’s arms to lie before the high altar, in addition to the vestments noted above.⁴¹

Even more than altar cloths, carpets, and girdles, aristocratic women—33 of the 82 studied in this chapter—lavished silver and gilt chalices, crosses, candlesticks, and other ritual items necessary to perform the Mass on their churches, in the clear expectation that their generosity would be rewarded with a reduction of the amount of time their souls would spend in Purgatory. Elizabeth Bigod (1503) wanted a pyx made from her gold chain for the altar at Croxton monastery, engraved with the words “Pray for the soul of Elizabeth Bigod.”⁴² Alice Parker, Lady Morley (1518), bequeathed her best gilt chalice to the parish church at Hingham, where she asked to be entombed, and a pyx for the sacrament to the church attached to her manor at Great Hallingbury Morley.⁴³ Katherine Babington (1540) provided three silver chalices for the chapel she built at Kingston, Nottingham.⁴⁴ Gifts of gold, silver, and silver gilt objects displayed the donors’ wealth even more plainly than vestments and gowns, embodying the mixture of secular and sacred motives characteristic of so much of the women’s religious patronage. Unfortunately, very few of the gold and silver ritual objects survived the confiscations of the 1530s and 1540s. The Bedingfield cup at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which dates from 1518-1519, is a rare exception. It almost certainly survived because the Bedingfieds, who remained Catholic, used it in a private chapel.

39 TNA, Prob11/19/18.

40 TNA, Prob11/24/22-23. A corporal was a white linen cloth laid on the altar for the host and the chalice during the celebration of the Mass. When not in use, the corporal was kept in a case that was often richly decorated or made of expensive fabric.

41 TNA, Prob11/25/28.

42 TNA, Prob11/13/23. A pyx was a container for wafers used in the Eucharist. Small pyxes could be used to carry the wafer to the sick.

43 TNA, Prob11/19/15.

44 *North Country Wills*, #77, 103. In his survey of Nottinghamshire, Pevsner claimed that “it was most remarkable chantry in the county.” *Nottinghamshire. Buildings of England*, 155.

Figure 6 Bedingfield cup*. Hallmark 1518-19. Silver and gilt. Probably in private chapel. Museum no. M76 1947. Permission of the Victoria and Albert Museum.



Nineteen women donated prayer books—the final item that the clergy needed to recite the Mass—to their parishes and favorite religious houses. In many cases, the books formed part of larger gifts. For instance, Joan Boynton (1489) gave a mass book as well as a vestment and chalice to the friars of Yarm, Yorkshire. She lived at the friary, where she had a private oratory, during the last years of a long life.⁴⁵ Joyce Percy (1519) added a mass book to her gift of a black velvet vestment to the chapel of Aldborough in the same county.⁴⁶ By the early sixteenth century, some of the mass books were printed rather than in manuscript form. Two of the earliest bequests of printed mass books occurred in 1504, when both Katherine Lady Hastings and Elizabeth Biconyll noted that the mass books they were bequeathing were printed.⁴⁷ Margaret Capell (1516), Elizabeth Reed (1531), and Anne

45 TE, 4:9 (13-14).

46 *North Country Wills*, #78 (105).

47 HEH, Huntingdon, HAP, Box 5 (3), Hastings; TNA, Prob11/14/3, Biconyll.

Heydon (1539) also donated printed mass books to their churches.⁴⁸ In addition three women—Joan Barre (1484), Katherine Lady Hastings (1504), and Elizabeth Biconyll (1504)—bequeathed porteouses to their churches.⁴⁹

Margaret, Lady Hungerford's (1472) extensive legacy to her chantry at Salisbury Cathedral included an antiphoner, a book of the Legends of the Saints, three mass books, and a Syon service book.⁵⁰ Lady Hungerford had a close connection to Syon, where Edward IV had imprisoned her after the Lincolnshire Rebellion in 1470. She was eventually admitted as a sister there.⁵¹ In her will, she asked to have her heart taken out of her body and buried at the convent. She also gave the house £40 for building there. She was not the only aristocratic woman with a connection to Syon; Jane Fowler (1505) left a "great book that is of the service of their religion" to the abbess, while Anne Bouchier (1519) gave a prayer book to one of the sisters.⁵² Anne Danvers (1531) donated a bible—an English Old Testament, in fact—to her confessor at Syon. It contained an extensive memorandum stating that she intended "thereby not only the honor, laud and praise to almighty god, but also that she the more tenderly may be committed unto the mercy of our lord god by the holy merits of master confessor and his brethren aforesaid."⁵³ Her bequest is evidence of the circulation of English bibles among otherwise orthodox lay people before the break with Rome. It is the only legacy of a bible in the wills considered here.

Many aristocratic women who bequeathed objects to represent them during the celebration of the Mass amplified the effect of their gifts by donating them to chantries that they or their families had founded. Twenty-one of the women—a little over a quarter of the 82 women studied here—did so. In these cases, their endowments paid the annual stipend of the priests who would be wearing the garments and using the ornaments they donated to the altars, reinforcing consciousness of their presence.

Four women—Alice, Duchess of Suffolk (1475), Margaret, Lady Hungerford (1476), Anne, Lady Scrope (1498) and Margaret Capell (1516)—left princely gifts to their chapels. Lady Hungerford spent £201—enough for a knightly family to live on for a year—on luxury textiles, liturgical objects, and

48 TNA, Prob11/19/12 (Capell); Prob11/24/22-23 (Reed) and Prob11/25/28 (Heydon).

49 A porteous or breviary contained the Divine Office for each day that clerics in religious orders were to recite. An antiphoner was the musical part of the breviary. HEH, Huntington HAP, Hastings; TNA, Prob11/7/16, Barre; Prob11/14/3 Biconyll.

50 Jackson, *Inventory of Chantry Furniture*, 334-39.

51 Hicks, *Piety of Margaret Lady Hungerford*, 105-106.

52 *Some Oxfordshire Wills*, 84 (Fowler); TNA, Prob11/19/32, Anne Bouchier.

53 Catalogue of the Library of Syon, Isleworth, ed. Mary Bateson (Cambridge: 1898), xv.

ornaments for her chantry.⁵⁴ The list of costly chapel goods that Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, brought from Wingfield to Ewelme in 1465 was still longer and included even more liturgical books.⁵⁵

Anne, Lady Scrope, gave the high altar at East Harling, where she was eventually buried with her first husband, two russet velvet altar cloths, a frontal embroidered with her and her two husbands' arms, and two silk curtains of the same color; she gave her chantry two sets of vestments, one for holy days and one for other days, two altar cloths with her arms, a chalice, and a mass book. She also bequeathed the chapel at Rushworth, where she had buried Sir Robert Wingfield, her second husband, a frontal of white damask, "like to the suit of the vestment I gave," embroidered with her and her husbands' arms in the middle and her parents' at each corner; two matching altar cloths; and two silk curtains for the altar.⁵⁶

The only non-noble woman whose donation to her chapel matched those of the three noblewomen discussed here was Margaret Capell, the daughter of a leading Cornish knight and widow of Sir William, a Lord Mayor of London. Her bequest demonstrates that chapel legacies on this scale were not limited to noblewomen or to the fifteenth century. She bestowed her lavish gift on the chantry that her husband had endowed at St Bartholomew the Little, London, which she completed after his death.⁵⁷ It included vestments, altar cloths, chapel plate, and all the objects required for services. Dame Capell herself embroidered an altar cloth of crimson damask, "with Jesus above and Mary beneath with the great letters I have of mine own [making] of fine gold and silk, garnished with the crowns I have made ready, also of gold." She told her executors "to pay for the making and garnishing of the said altar cloth and our arms." The gift preserved her personal connection to the altar. The plate she donated included her best silver chalice and paten, two silver cruets, a silver bell parcel gilt, two silver candlesticks, a silver censor, and two silver basins. She also contributed her "great mass book of parchment ... written with texte hand" and "another mass book, printed, which they daily now say mass upon." Dame Capell was clearly worried that the parish

54 "Inventory of Chantry Furniture, A.D. 1472, Hungerford Chapel, Salisbury Cathedral," transcription by the Rev. Canon Jackson, *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, XI (1869), 334-39; Michael Hicks, "The Piety of Margaret, Lady Hungerford," in *Richard III and His Rivals*, 109-110.

55 Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, 286-87.

56 TE, IV, #75, 149 (1498).

57 Her father was Sir Thomas Arundell of Lanherne; her husband Sir William Capell (1516); she wrote her will in 1515; added to it in 1520; and died in 1522, TNA, Prob11/19/2. On the foundation of the chapel, see above ???

would misappropriate the goods donated to her chapel. She therefore gave a suit of vestments and cope of cloth of gold for the parish priest, deacon and subdeacon, “upon condition that our chantry be there kept.” She expressly forbade any of its objects to be used elsewhere in the church.⁵⁸

Joan Barre’s (1487) gift to her chapel was similar to those discussed above. She was the heiress of a gentleman, Thomas Rigge or Rugge, and married twice. Her first husband, Robert Greyndour, was an esquire from a knightly family who died without being knighted himself, her second, Sir John de la Barre.⁵⁹ After Greyndour’s death, she built a chantry in the parish church of Newland in the Forest of Dean, near his principal manor at Clearwell, and asked to be buried there with him four decades later. Referring to the chantry as “mine own chapel”, she bequeathed it vestments, altar cloths, church plate, and a carpet “of the best” to lie before the altar. One of the sets of vestments and two altar cloths were embroidered in gold. Like Margaret Capell, she forbade the use of the vestments and liturgical objects outside her chapel.⁶⁰

Although they were not on the scale of the legacies discussed above, many aristocratic widows enriched their chapels with vestments, altar cloths, chapel plate, and other precious objects. They came from all over England and from every status and level of wealth within the nobility and knightly class.⁶¹ Margaret, Lady Beauchamp of Powick (1488), who was buried in the chapel her husband had built in the Dominican Friars’ church in Worcester, carefully directed her executors to have an alabaster tablet made with an image of the birth of Our Lord and the three kings and another with an image of St John the Evangelist, and to mount them on the wall over her body.⁶² Farther east in the North Midlands, Katherine Babington (1537) left her chantry at Kingston on Soar, Nottingham, three silver cups to be made into a chalice.⁶³ Moving north to Yorkshire, Jane, Lady Hastings of Willoughby and Welles (1505), donated a vestment to the altar of Our Lady in her father’s chapel at North Allerton.⁶⁴ In East Anglia, Elizabeth

58 TNA, Prob11/19/12, Dame Margaret Capell (1516).

59 [http://www.girders.net/Bar/Barre,%20Sir%20John,%20\(d.1483\).doc](http://www.girders.net/Bar/Barre,%20Sir%20John,%20(d.1483).doc). Barre was on the commissions of the peace for Hertfordshire and Gloucestershire; sheriff of Hertfordshire; and an MP for Hertfordshire.

60 TNA, Prob11/7/16, Joan Barre.

61 Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 51, suggests that the majority of the founders of chantries left them chapel goods.

62 TNA, Prob11/8/13, Margaret, Lady Beauchamp of Powick (1488).

63 *North Country Wills*, #78, 103.

64 *Ibid*, #53, 73-74.

Darcy (1506) left a black satin vestment to her chapel at Maldon, Essex.⁶⁵ In the south, Elizabeth, Countess of Arundel (1455), bequeathed a silver gilt cross to the family chapel in the collegiate church of Arundel, Sussex. Jane, Lady Dynham, asked her executors to perform her husband's "bequests and ordinances in his testament as touching to the chapel of Nutwell" Devon. She herself left the chapel a Lent suit of white linen cloth, vestments, and an altar cloth for its side altars.⁶⁶

Margaret Capell and Joan Barre were not the only women who worried that the chapel goods and vestments they left to their chantries would be misappropriated or damaged after their deaths. Elizabeth Biconyll (1504) left £10 "to the chapel of Glastonbury 'late builded' by my husband Sir John Byconell and me for the maintenance of the ornaments of the same."⁶⁷ Isabel Leigh bequeathed 10 shillings to repair the ornaments in the Stockwell or Leigh Chantry at Lambeth.⁶⁸ These legacies underscored the women's proprietary sense of responsibility for chantries they or their deceased spouses had built.

On a more general level, the legacies discussed in this chapter functioned as the finishing touches to the large-scale projects aristocratic women commissioned, such as building tombs, stained-glass windows, chapels, aisles, and porches at their parish churches and favorite religious institutions. But the vestments, gowns, and ritual items they donated were personal in a way that building projects were not. As we have seen, many of them had been used in the donors' private chapels, were embroidered with their and their families' arms, or were made from their clothing. As such, they functioned as material surrogates for their owners and transmitted their presence symbolically to the high altar. Whether the women were conscious of it or not, their gifts represented a double act of transgression: defying the boundary between the laity and the clergy and between women and men. In death, they were able to participate in the central rite of their faith, a desire they could not fulfill during their lives.

65 TNA, Prob11/15/18, Elizabeth Darcy (probated 1506).

66 Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 133; Eleanor, Countess of Arundel (1455); TNA, Prob11/11/10, Lady Jane Dynham (1498).

67 TNA, Prob11/14/3, Dame Elizabeth Biconyll (1504).

68 TNA, Prob11/22/13, Dame Isabel Leigh (1526).

5 Almshouses and Schools: Prayers and Service to the Community

Although aristocratic women spent fortunes building chapels and altars to shorten the amount of the time they and their close kin would spend in Purgatory, they were always aware that the beloved of Christ were the poor and underprivileged rather than the rich and powerful like themselves. The ideal strategy for dealing with the problem of Purgatory was thus to create institutions—schools and almshouses—that included the prayers of the poor as well as those of the clergy.¹ Foundations of this kind fulfilled a dual function as chantries and educational or charitable establishments. The importance that the women attached to the prayers of its members is evident from their foundation statutes, which are notable for the specificity of the prayers they required the almsmen and students to recite on a daily or annual basis. Their detailed instructions also demonstrate, once again, their knowledge of the Church's rituals and services. Although they may well have consulted their chaplains or other clergy about the liturgy, the final choice was clearly theirs. At the same time, their schools and almshouses proclaimed their role as members of the leading families in their parishes in an even more imposing way than their chapels, aisles, altars, and material gifts to churches. Their foundations were another example of the way in which both spiritual and secular motives inspired their patronage.

Establishing schools and almshouses required much larger endowments than even the most elaborate chantries. Thus, it is not surprising that a large proportion of the eighteen Yorkist and early Tudor aristocratic women who founded such institutions were heiresses and/or childless. In a period when only 12 percent of the daughters of noblemen and 7 percent of the daughters of parliamentary knights were heiresses, thirteen of the eighteen female founders of almshouses and schools studied here had inherited land.² After their husbands died, they controlled their property and could use it to

¹ Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, 8, 32, 176-78. In a discussion at a recent North American Conference of British Studies, a distinction was drawn between almshouses and hospitals. The former were permanent residences and the latter temporary shelters for the sick. However, the nomenclature was not observed in the period under consideration here. Margaret, Lady Hungerford's hospital at Heytesbury was actually a permanent residence for twelve poor women and men.

² Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, 22.

endow institutions that would glorify and benefit them and their families in perpetuity. In addition, eight of the eighteen founders were childless, again a high percentage at a time when 91 percent of the wives of noblemen and knights bore at least one surviving child. For these women, using their inheritances to establish schools and almshouses may have satisfied the impulse for nurturing they could not fulfill by caring for their own children.³ Indeed, Anne, Lady Scrope (1498), a childless heiress, wanted five of the children at the school she founded in Rushworth, Norfolk, to be known as Dame Anne's children.⁴

Given the expense, it is also notable that none of the widows of knights or noblemen endowed colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, in contrast to Queens' College Cambridge, founded by Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Woodville, and Christ's and St John's Colleges, founded by Henry VII's mother, Margaret Beaufort, also at Cambridge. The cost of building and endowing such colleges was well beyond their means. Instead, they endowed institutions in parishes where they and their families lived and owned land, in order to perpetuate their memory among their tenants and neighbors. Many of their foundations or their successor institutions survived into the twenty-first century, and continued to care for and educate the poor even as the state took over these functions.

Of the women who founded almshouses and schools, Margaret, Lady Hungerford (d. 1478), and Alice, Duchess of Suffolk (1475), provided the largest endowments for their institutions. Lady Hungerford's almshouse at Heytesbury supported a priest or warden and thirteen poor residents, twelve of whom were men. The number thirteen was frequent among larger almshouses to commemorate Jesus and the twelve apostles. Lady Margaret apparently included a woman as the thirteenth resident for practical reasons: her statutes provided that she was "to be sister housewife, doing the washing and attending the sick."⁵ The gross revenues for the hospital from the endowment were between £51 and £60 per annum. They paid for the residents' room, board, fuel, and clothes; the warden's stipend of £10; 20s for the warden's servant; the salary of a grammar school teacher; fees for the warden and parish priests for observing the obits of Lady Hungerford, her husband, her parents, and her-in-laws; the stipend of the Chancellor of the Cathedral of Salisbury, who supervised the hospital; the fee of the

3 *Ibid.*, 99.

4 Bennet, "College of S. John Evangelist of Rushworth," 298.

5 *The Hungerford Cartulary*, Part Two: A Calendar of the Hobhouse Cartulary of the Hungerford Family, #1437, 113-115 for her ordinances.

steward, who collected rents and oversaw the manors supporting the hospital; and assorted other miscellaneous payments.⁶ Now known as St John's Hospital, Lady Hungerford's hospital continues to house the poor, although her buildings were destroyed in 1765 and rebuilt in 1766-67. The grammar school had ceased to function by the time James I issued a new charter for the hospital in 1610.⁷

Alice de la Pole, Duchess of Suffolk, commissioned an incomparable set of buildings for her almshouse and school at Ewelme, Oxfordshire. An annual income of £64 supported two chaplains and thirteen almsmen. One of the priests was master of the house and the other taught grammar. They each received annual wages of £10 and had separate houses. The almsmen received 40s 8d apiece.⁸ A covered staircase connected the almshouse to the church, where the duchess had built its chapel.⁹ The almshouse is still functioning and remains one of the masterpieces of fifteenth-century architecture.¹⁰ The school, a separate brick building in the fifteenth century, is now also connected to the other buildings in the complex. Today, a sizeable portion of the endowment is used for educational purposes.¹¹

None of the other founders of almshouses and schools could match the endowments of the Duchess of Suffolk and Margaret, Lady Hungerford. The school and almshouse that William and Elizabeth Fettiplace founded at Childrey, for example, had an income of £25 9s 8d per annum. It supported three almsmen and a chantry priest, who was also master of a free grammar school. Their investment was administered by Queens' College. This choice ensured the survival of their foundation when chantries were dissolved during Edward VI's reign.¹²

6 Hicks, "Chantries, Obits and Almshouses," 86-88; VCH, *Wiltshire*, III, 337; Jackson, "Ancient Statutes of Heytesbury Almshouse," 289-308.

7 VCH, *A History of the County of Wiltshire*, III, 338.

8 Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, 231; photograph of one of the priest's houses, 101.

9 Ibid., 84, photograph of the stairway.

10 Ibid., photograph of the schoolhouse from the north 1941, 40-41; color plates of almshouse quadrangle and schoolhouse, following page 109.

11 www.ewelme.net/trust/; in December 2003, the gross income of the endowment was £125,176 and the expenditure £98,170; about a third was used for educational purposes. The huge increase in the income since the fifteenth century reflects the enormous rise in the value of the land that the duchess originally donated for her foundations. Ewelme is near Oxford and within commuting distance of London.

12 BL, Add'l Ms., 42,763; a pamphlet on the Fettiplace charity is inserted after f. 146; see 6-15 of the pamphlet; VCH, *Berkshire*, IV, 279 and 272 for a drawing of the school; Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Papers by Command, Charities: Berkshire, Lancashire*, November 1905 to 11 August 1905, Vol. C, Accounts and Papers, LCVII, 12-13.

Many almshouses did not include a school, which made them less expensive to found and maintain. When Sir Ralph Shelton died in 1498, for instance, he enfeoffed land worth £20 per annum to pay two priests to sing for him with annual stipends of £5 apiece and to support four poor men and two poor women to live in a house near the churchyard in Shelton. Two years later, his widow Margaret added some land she had purchased to “augment” her husband’s gift.¹³ Another couple, Richard Lewkenor the Elder, Esq., and his wife, Katherine Grey, founded an almshouse at East Grinstead, Sussex. The inscription on Katherine’s tomb in the church at East Grinstead records that it was founded for three poor men. Lewkenor donated the land to be used as its site and included detailed directions for its organization. He wanted it to have a kitchen, a hall, and a garden that the almsmen could use in common. In addition, each of them was to have his own room and a quarterly stipend of 13s 4d. Although his widow was not his sole executor, Lewkenor specifically directed her to “ordain and build” it and instructed his feoffees to take over only after her death. In the event, she did not complete the almshouse before she herself died in 1505. She instructed her executors to carry out her husband’s directions.¹⁴ The houses were still occupied in 1835.¹⁵ On the other side of England, in Cheshire, Sir Randall Brereton (1530) empowered his wife Eleanor to found an almshouse at Malpas for five people. Eight years before, the couple had built their tomb with outstanding naturalistic effigies in a chapel at the east end of the south aisle of their church.¹⁶ As late as 1538, Margaret Grey, Countess of Kent, established an almshouse at the White Friars, London, for seven poor women. She arranged for the Clothworkers’ Company to administer it after her death, an astute choice that insured its survival into the twentieth century.¹⁷

Widows who were adults during Henry VIII’s reign but lived for decades past the Edwardian reforms also founded almshouses. In the case of Frances

13 *Visitation of Norfolk in the Year 1563*, II, 395-96; the probated copies of their wills are TNA, Prob11/11 for Sir Ralph and Norfolk Record Office, Register Cage, f. 99 for Margaret.

14 Folger Z.c. 35 (2), Richard Lewkenor, Esq. (1503); TNA, Prob11/ 14/34 (1505), Katherine Grey; Lewkenor’s wife, the daughter of Thomas Lord Scales, used the surname of her higher-ranking husband, Sir Thomas Grey; Hills, *History of East Grinstead*, 122 for the inscription.

15 Wallace, *History of East Grinstead*, 133.

16 Cheshire Historical Towns Survey, 5; Glynne, “Notes on the Churches of Cheshire,” 38; Omerod and Helsbuy, *County of Chester*, 2, 221-247; “Malpas—Manchester,” *Topographical Dictionary*, 221-47.

17 TNA, Prob11/28/20 (1540); *The Clothworkers’ Charity Manual*; Communication from Jessica Collins, Archivist, Clothworkers’ Hall, 1 May 2009; “Report on the Charities of the Clothworkers’ Company: Part 1,” City of London Livery Companies Commission, Report 4 (1884), 572-509; Clothworkers’ Deeds and Wills, 51-61, Clothworkers’ Archives, London.

Peyton (1582), the land she used for her foundation originally belonged to the family's chantry at Isleham. Her husband, Sir Robert (1550), had purchased it in 1548 from a Londoner who had acquired it the previous year. Their son, another Robert, inherited the land and subsequently sold it to his mother. She used it to endow and build an almshouse, known as Peyton's hospital, for four men and one woman.¹⁸ The accommodation was rebuilt and improved numerous times over the centuries. In 2011, a local newspaper advertised a vacancy in the hospital: it consisted of a semi-detached cottage built in 1996, with central heating, a sitting room, kitchen, bedroom and bathroom.¹⁹

A Tudor woman who lived even longer, Bridget Russell, Countess of Bedford (1601), founded almshouses at Watford, Hertfordshire, with her third husband, Francis, the second earl (1585). During Mary's reign, the countess had gone into exile with her first husband, Sir Richard Morison (1556), and returned a widow after Elizabeth's accession. Soon thereafter she married Henry, second Earl of Rutland (1563), and then in 1566 Francis, Earl of Bedford. Five years before Bedford's death, the couple established the almshouse at Watford for eight poor women. Three years later, the countess's son, Charles Morison, Esq., endowed the inmates with £20 and sixteen loads of firewood per annum.²⁰

Schools were much less expensive to establish than almshouses, because their endowments had to support only a priest and schoolmaster or a single priest who did the teaching. Jane Huddleston's (1519) bequest of 100 marks to found an almshouse at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, was insufficient to support thirteen men as she intended. Instead her executors, who included Richard Kidderminster, the Abbot of Winchcombe, established a school at the abbey with an annual income of £20. The schoolmaster's salary was 10 marks per annum plus a gown or 2s.²¹

The statutes of many of the schools underscore their founders' high standards. At Anne, Lady Scrope's college at Rushworth, Norfolk, for example, the statutes required that one of the fellows "always be well studied and learned in grammar able to teach grammar."²² Joan Bradbury founded a grammar school as the executor of her brother, John Leche. She specified that the master should be a priest able to teach "grammar, good manners

18 VCH, *Cambridge*, 448, 456; Cambridge Record Office R52/7 (P98/25); her will TNA, Prob 11/64/14 (1581).

19 *Isleham Informer*, Issue 48, December 2011, 19.

20 VCH, *Hertfordshire*, II, 464-69; TNA, PRO, Prob11/97/16 (1601), her will.

21 TNA, Prob11/19/18 (1518); Orme, *Education in the West of England 1066-1548*, 187-89.

22 Bennett, *College of Rushworth*, 369.

and literature." As her brother wished, the curriculum was to be like that of Eton and Winchester.²³ Thomasine Percival required that the master of her school at Week St Mary, Cornwall, should not only be a priest, but also a graduate of a university in grammar or the arts. She appointed John Andrew, a graduate of Winchester and New College, Oxford, as its first head.²⁴

Gloucestershire had two grammar schools founded by aristocratic women that have survived to the present day. Margery Bouchier's first husband, John Ferriby (1441), left £400, a large sum, to start a school at Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire. He appointed his widow, an heiress who had brought him considerable property, as his sole executor. She founded the school after her remarriage to Sir John Bouchier. The income of the endowment was 20 marks per annum. When the chantry commissioners visited it in 1548, the schoolmaster was receiving a stipend of between £10 and £12 per annum. The commissioners permitted the school, which taught between 60 and 80 students, to continue. It was still in operation and highly praised in 1864.²⁵ In 1965, it merged with Moreton Modern Secondary School and became a comprehensive school.

Another heiress, Joan Barre (1485), founded a school attached to a chantry in honor of her first husband, Robert Greyndour, Esq. (d. 1443). Two years after his death, she purchased a license to endow it with land worth £12 per annum. The original statutes provided for a priest with a chaplain serving under him. The school charged fees, which made it possible to cover the costs, including the priest's stipend of £12. Nonetheless, the institution proved too expensive and in 1454, after her marriage to Sir John Barre (1483), Dame Barre revised the statutes to eliminate the clerk.²⁶

In some cases, founders built schoolhouses for their institutions; in others, the children were taught in the schoolmaster's or priest's house. A schoolhouse was never built for Anne Worsley's (1557) school at Godshill, Hampshire. Instead, the chantry priest taught the children at his residence.²⁷ Similarly, the chaplain and clerk's house near Newland church served as the schoolhouse for Joan Barre's foundation.²⁸ In contrast, Thomasine Percival built a new house for her school at Week St Mary, Cornwall, to provide lodgings for the master and students. She was one of the few to do so, with the exception of

23 Sutton, "Lady John Bradbury (d. 1530)," *Medieval London Widows*, 228-29.

24 Davies, "Dame Thomasine Percyvale," 177-78.

25 Orme, *Education in the West of England*, 125-127.

26 Ibid, 154-61; VCH, *Gloucester*, V, 224, 228.

27 VCH, *Hampshire*, V, 170-77.

28 Orme, *Education in the West Country*, 160.

Eton and Winchester.²⁹ At Lady Scrope's school at Rushworth, the children lived in the almshouse to which it was connected. And finally, Alice, Duchess of Suffolk's buildings at Ewelme included a large red brick school and a house for the grammar master. Originally, the school was a separate two-story building, but it was subsequently connected to the rest of the complex.³⁰

In addition to their role as schools and almshouses, the statutes of these endowments made their function as chantries clear. The wardens of the almshouses and masters of the schools were always priests. The statutes regulating their duties and those of the alms folk and schoolchildren were remarkably like those of chantries. They focused on a daily Mass for the benefit of the founder, a cycle of prayers during the traditional liturgical hours, and specific directions for obits. While the priests performed Masses and led the prayers, the beneficiaries of the endowments were expected to attend the services.

The detailed statutes of Margaret Lady Hungerford's hospital at Heytesbury are a good example of the pattern of prayers that were ubiquitous in almshouses. They required the poor men to recite three Aves, three Pater Nosters, and a Credo for Walter Lord Hungerford, his wife Katherine, Robert Lord Hungerford, Margaret Lady Hungerford, and their other close kin when they arose in the morning, and then again before they went to bed at night. Sometime during the day, "at their leisure", they were to say three psalters three times, 50 Aves, fifteen Paternosters, and three Credos. Lady Hungerford even specified which psalter she wanted them to recite. The statutes also obliged the almsmen who were sufficiently learned to go to the chapel before noon to recite the Matins of Our Lady, fifteen psalms and lessons, and one psalter of Our Lady, and to return in the afternoon to say a Placebo and Dirige with a commendation. Finally, after supper, all the poor men were to go to the chapel together to recite the De Profundis. Those who were unable to meet these requirements should say three Paternosters, three Aves, and a Credo instead. Then, in English, all the men were to pray, "God have mercy on the souls of the noble knight Walter sometime Lord Hungerford, Katherine his wife, and that noble knight Robert late Lord Hungerford and Margaret his wife, our founders." Lady Hungerford instructed the master of the hospital to teach the unlearned almsmen to recite the Ave, Pater Noster, Credo, and psalter of Our Lady.³¹ Originally the residents wore

29 Ibid, 178; Hull, "The Endowment and Foundation of a Grammar School at Week St. Mary," 22 and 22, n. 18.

30 Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, 99-108.

31 Somerset Record Office DD/SAS/H/348/1, Charter Giving Land to the Almshouse, #1436, 114; Jackson, "Ancient Statutes of Heytesbury Almshouse," 299-301. The original buildings burned down around 1769 and were rebuilt.

white on formal occasions, but by the nineteenth century the uniform had changed to a scarlet cloak with the blue letters "IHS" on a badge.³²

The Duchess of Suffolk issued equally detailed statutes for her almshouse at Ewelme. They required the almsmen to attend Mass daily and then to recite a set of prescribed prayers in the duchess's chapel in the church. Afterwards they were to gather around the tomb of her parents to recite another set of prayers, repeating the cycle again after compline with the addition of the *De Profundis*. The members of the community were also to keep the obits of the duchess, her husband, and her parents with a *Placebo* and *Dirige* with *Commendations* and a requiem mass. There were further requirements for prayers in the church at two and six o'clock. In addition, the duchess expected the master of the almshouse to celebrate evensong and remain in the church until compline. The duchess required the almsmen to wear a hood and tabard, on which a red cross was sewn.³³

Founders of almshouses issued statutes with similar requirements as late as the 1530s. Thus, Margaret, Countess of Kent, issued regulations for her almshouse at the White Friars in London in 1538, following the pattern of her fifteenth-century predecessors. Her case is especially interesting, because her almshouse was for seven women, rather than the usual men. She expected the women to attend a Mass of Our Lady and compline or evensong every day. She also required them to attend the requiem masses, diriges, and obits celebrated each year for the countess and her deceased husband, Richard, Earl of Kent (d. 1524). After the services were completed, the women were to remain around their patron's tomb and say *De Profundis*, a *Pater Noster*, "an Ave with a collet usual to the same or else such prayers as the women can say for the souls aforesaid."³⁴

The founders of schools connected to chantries also obliged the priests and students to pray for them and their close kin. Joan Barre required the priest and scholars at her school at Newland, Gloucestershire, to attend services for her and her first husband, presumably daily, and to perform obits for them annually. It seems that the requirements for boys studying grammar (i.e., Latin) were different from those for the boys who were learning only to read English. The latter were expected to learn how to recite matins and the psalter.³⁵ The statutes for Anne, Lady Scrope's College at Rushworth, Norfolk, stipulated that

32 "Hospitals: St John and St Katherine, Heytesbury," VCH, *Wiltshire*, III, 339.

33 Goodall, *God's House*, 233-37, 239-40.

34 Clothworkers' Company Archive, CL/A/4/4, Book of Deeds and Wills, 16th century, ff. 60, 63-64.

35 Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 78; VCH, *Country of Gloucester*, V, 228.

the children should assist at daily church services. Lady Scrope established a regular succession of Masses and orisons for the priests, with certain prayers specifically for her and other benefactors of the college. The priests were also to observe two obits each year in the chancel of the church, one on the day of Lady Scrope's death and one on the day after the nativity of the Virgin, which was also the day her second husband had died.³⁶ At Thomasine Percival's school in Week St Mary, Cornwall, the statutes required the schoolmaster and his students to attend a daily Mass, morning and evening prayers for the founder and her kin, and an obit on 19 April. The statutes carefully listed the prayers to be said at matins and evensong, specifying those that the priest was to say and those that the students were to recite with him.³⁷

When Edward VI's government appointed commissioners to implement the Act for the Dissolution of Chantries, the institutions discussed in this chapter potentially fell under their purview. However, the law specifically exempted hospitals, many of whose endowments were not vested in churches in any case.³⁸ Eight of the eleven almshouses founded by aristocratic women benefited from the exemption, including the Duchess of Suffolk's almshouse at Ewelme and Lady Hungerford's hospital at Heytesbury.³⁹ In 1548, the chantry commissioners ruled that the Fettiplace school and almshouse did not fall under the chantry act because its lands were held by Queens' College, and that it could continue as long as the college stopped saying prayers prohibited by the statute. The college fulfilled its role in the survival of the school by keeping the original building in repair. In 1732, the founders' descendent, Sir George Fettiplace, guaranteed its long-term existence with a huge gift—£4,000 in bank stock and £1,000 in stock of the East India Company—that effectively re-founded the school. He explicitly underlined the continuity with his ancestor's foundation with a tablet stating that his building was for the use of the William Fettiplace School. The almshouse was rebuilt in 1867 and continues to provide housing for three almshouses, who may have their wives with them.⁴⁰

36 Bennet, "College of S. John Evangelist of Rushworth," 368-71.

37 Orme, *Education in the West Country*, 177; Hull, "Grammar School at Week St. Mary," 22, 25, 44-45, 49-51; plates 2 and 3 for photos of the schoolhouse.

38 Guy, *Tudor England*, 205. The act also exempted colleges and chapels that served a pastoral function.

39 VCH, Wiltshire, III, 347-40.

40 BL, Add'l Ms., 42,763; a pamphlet on the Fettiplace charity is inserted after f. 146; see 6-15 of the pamphlet; VCH, *Berkshire*, IV, 279 and 272 for a drawing of the school; Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Papers by Command, Charities: Berkshire, Lancashire*, November 1905 to 11 August 1905, Vol. C, Accounts and Papers, LCVII, 12-13.

Like the Fettiplaces' foundation, Eleanor Brereton's hospital at Malpas, Cheshire, and Maud, Lady Cromwell's almshouse at Tattershall, Lincolnshire, were exempt from the chantries act. With the help of additional gifts in later centuries, they both continued to provide housing for the aged and poor up to the present. Two descendants of the Breretons played a crucial role in ensuring the hospital's continuation. Sir Thomas Brereton added to the endowment during the reign of Charles I and a distant connection through marriage, Hugh Cholmondeley, Earl of Cholmondeley, rebuilt the almshouse for six widows in 1721. The almshouse still exists, but has been restored so many times that little of the original fabric remains.⁴¹ At Tattershall, two gifts from nineteenth-century benefactors increased the support for residents of the almshouse. Today, it is home to ten poor families chosen by the Earl of Fortescue.⁴² The Bedford almshouses at Watford, founded long after the confiscations of the Edwardian period, received additional gifts in subsequent centuries that enabled it to survive. The Earls of Essex, having combined the legacies, pay the residents their stipend and an additional sum as a substitute for the firewood.⁴³

In addition, two London Livery Companies who were trustees of almshouses developed a vested interest in them and preserved them for centuries. Like Queens' College, the companies were secular corporations with considerable political influence. In the capable hands of the Clothworkers' Company, the almshouse that Margaret, Countess of Kent, founded remained in operation until the 1960s. Originally located at the White Friars on Fleet Street in the city, the Clothworkers moved it to Islington and rebuilt it there in 1770. The company rebuilt it for a second time on an adjoining site it owned in 1852-53, and added three almshouses and a porter's lodge in 1870. Only two years later, however, the company demolished four of the almshouses to provide an adequate site for the erection of the Church of St James the Apostle. In 1971, the company finally sold the site to the London Diocesan Fund. Nonetheless, the company continued to use the countess's endowment to support the poor, merging her gift into their Consolidated Charity for the Needy.⁴⁴

The Skinners were even more conscientious in administering Elizabeth Holles's almshouses at St Helen's Bishopsgate. The original endowment

41 Lewis, *Topographical Dictionary of England*, 7th ed., III, 221; as Lewis noted, the almshouse subsequently received other large gifts.

42 White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Lincolnshire and the City and Diocese of Lincoln*, 2nd ed., 763. (CHK PAGES)

43 VCH, *Hertford*, II, 464-69. The countess's Morison granddaughter married Arthur Capell, first Lord Capell. Their son was the first Earl of Essex.

44 *The Clothworkers' Charity Manual* (London: privately printed, 1991), 86; Communication from Jessica Collins, Archivist, Clothworkers' Company, 1 May 2009.

provided £10 per annum to support six almsmen or women. In 1730, however, the Court of Assistants added £24 from its own funds to the income, and in 1792 another £54 12s. In 1884, The City of London Liveries Company Commission reported that the company was spending over £217 per annum on the almshouse. In addition to weekly payments to each of the almsmen, they paid for coal, gas, water, repairs, nursing for the sick, and donations on festivals. In 1891, the Company created the Skinners' Consolidated Almshouse and Pension Charities Scheme. As a result, it leased the almshouse at St Helen's and sold another that it administered at Mile End. The Skinners then constructed new Almshouses at Palmer's Green, Middlesex, which still function today.⁴⁵

A similar proportion (six of eight) of the schools founded by aristocratic women also survived the Dissolution. By and large the commissioners were well disposed towards them, as well as responsive to communities that spoke on their behalf. They reported, for example, that Joan Barre's school at Newland, Gloucestershire, had a "good store" of scholars, "to the great commodity of the country thereabouts." They also praised the current schoolmaster as honest and learned. Despite their good opinion, Dame Joan's foundation survived only until the mid-1550s; another patron revived in 1578.⁴⁶

Thomasine Percival's school at Week St Mary posed a more difficult problem. The chantry certificate of 1546 indicated that it was "a great comfort to all the country there for that they that list may set their children to board there and have them taught freely." Two years later, the commissioners described the school as well-endowed and functioning well. They also praised the schoolmaster as "a man well learned and a great setter forth of God's word." Nonetheless, they said the school was "in great decay for lack of convenient relief for the scholars", because it was located in a "desolate" part of the country. At the suggestion of some of the residents of the town, they transferred and merged it with the school at Launceston, a larger town only seven miles away, which they described as "a very meet place" for the foundation.⁴⁷

A number of other schools evolved smoothly into distinguished institutions, often with the help of additional gifts. A charter from Edward VI, which was confirmed by Queen Mary, preserved Eleanor Stafford's institution

45 City of London Livery Companies Commission, Report and Appendix, IV, Part 1, *Report on the Charities of the Skinners' Company* (London: 1884), 339-40; Wadmore, *Worshipful Company of Skinners*, 252-58..

46 Orme, *Education in the West of England*, 154-65; Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 84; for the subsequent history of the school see VCH, *Gloucester*, V, 228.

47 Hull, "Grammar School at Week St. Mary," 31-33; Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, Part. 1, 116-18; Part 2, 25-26 (on Week St Mary), 35 (on the Borough of Launceston).

at Bromsgrove, Worcester, as a free grammar school. Sir Thomas Cookes endowed and “virtually refounded” it in 1693. He also stipulated that its graduates should receive preference for scholarships at Worcester College, Oxford. Today, Bromsgrove is one of the leading private schools in England.⁴⁸ Margery Bourchier’s school at Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire, also had an illustrious future. The fact that the school retained its land when chantries were dissolved played an important role in its survival. In 1864, the commission appointed to inquire into schools praised it highly. The present school still retains its fifteenth-century foundation; its governors and trustees are the descendants of the original governors, with all their powers and endowments.⁴⁹

At Godshill, Hampshire, Anne Worsley (1557) endowed a school with 20 marks that survived for centuries. It met in the house that had formerly belonged to the chantry priest. In 1615, her descendant Sir Richard Worsley purchased the building and gave it to trustees with an increased endowment. The school was apparently popular with the residents of the town, who endowed it further in the same period. Two centuries later, Lord Yarborough rebuilt the school on its present site. In the twentieth century, it became a council school, The Isle of Wight Education Committee currently leases the building from the trustees.⁵⁰

The high proportion of almshouses and schools established by aristocratic women that survived the dissolution of the chantries is consistent with the findings of recent scholarship. Even a historian as critical of the Edwardian reforms as J. J. Scarisbrick noted that “on the whole”, chantry schools and hospitals survived.⁵¹ As their founders had intended, their institutions made a long-term contribution to their communities. However, it is worth remembering that for the women themselves the secular function of their schools and almshouses was always secondary to their religious purpose—that of funding prayers that would shorten the time they and their closest kin would spend in Purgatory—and their desire to perpetuate the high status of their lineages and descendants. Their spiritual and earthly motives thus converged to create the distinctive character of early modern English culture and society.

48 VCH, *Worcester*, III, 19-33; Sambrook, “Sir Thomas Cookes, second baronet (*hap.* 1648, *d.* 1701),” *Oxford DNB*, Oxford, 2004.

49 Orme, *Education in the West of England*, 126-127; Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, *Inquiry into Schools*, Vol. XXVIII, Pt. 12, 50-53.

50 TNA, PRO, Prob11/49/6; VCH, *County of Hampshire*, 170-77.

51 Scarisbrick, *Reformation and the English People*, 113. See also Guy, *Tudor England*, 205; Haigh, *English Reformations*, 171; Kreider, *English Chantries*, 205-07.

6 Defining Themselves

In 1558, Mary Neville, Lady Dacre, commissioned Hans Eworth, a leading Flemish painter resident in England, to paint her portrait. The occasion was almost certainly to record the success of her long campaign to secure restoration of the Dacre titles for her surviving son Gregory. The titles had forfeited to the Crown in 1541 when her husband, Thomas, Lord Dacre, was executed for murder.

Seated in an armchair at her desk, Lady Dacre dominates the picture spatially and expressively. The contrast with the small portrait of her husband in the background could not be more striking and underscores her triumph in rescuing their children from the consequences of his crime. Dacre's rich black gown and dark fur mantle signify her status as a respectable, wealthy widow, the embroidered sleeves and collar of her chemise providing the only contrast to the dark colors. She is wearing minimal jewelry: rings and a simple chain necklace barely visible at the opening of her collar. To indicate her piety, she is holding an open prayer book in her left hand.

Challenging the image of Lady Dacre as a conventional devout widow, however, is the object she is holding in her other hand—a quill pen. The pen was in fact the weapon she had used to conduct her seventeen-year-long struggle for restoration of the Dacre titles. Eworth's portrait, the first of an English aristocratic woman writing or about to write, thus memorialized her success in deploying a skill long considered inappropriate for women.

Furthermore, in commissioning the portrait, Lady Dacre was as careful about what was omitted from the painting as about what it included. Most notably, it omits any reference to the fact that she had married twice after her first husband's execution and was the mother of six children by her third spouse. These facts would have undermined the image she was fashioning of herself as a devout noble widow dedicated to her first husband's memory and the future of their children.

The following year, Lady Dacre ordered another painting from Eworth, this time a joint portrait of herself and Gregory, the Dacre heir. Once again, she dominates the picture, presenting herself as serious and formidable, while Gregory appears to be something of a fop. Their contemporary, William Camden, described him as "a little crack-brained."¹ He died without heirs in 1593 and the Dacre title passed to his sister Margaret, who carried it to the Lennard family.²

1 "Hearne, Eworth and his Contemporaries," 68-69.

2 GEC, *Complete Peerage*, Pbk Rept, II, 11-12.

Figure 7 Mary, Lady Dacre (c. 1576), widow of Thomas, Lord Dacre of the South (executed 1533). Permission of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, Canada.



Eworth's portraits of Lady Dacre constitute a dramatic and almost unique example of an aristocratic women fashioning herself in paint. No evidence indicates, for example, that women commissioned any of the female portraits that Hans Holbein produced during his years at the English court. Rather,

Figure 8 Mary, Lady Dacre (c. 1576), widow of Thomas, Lord Dacre, and her son Gregory (1593). Permission of the National Portrait Gallery, London.



his paintings are of wives whose husbands ordered them as companion pieces to their own pictures.³

The only comparable portrait is not of an aristocratic woman at all, but of Alice Barnham, the wife of a leading citizen of London and member of the Drapers' Company, who served as both an alderman and sheriff. The painting, completed in 1557 by an unknown artist and identified by Lena Orlin, shows Mistress Barnham with her two children and a pen in her hand.⁴ Orlin has not found evidence indicating why Mistress Barnham commissioned it.

Although Lady Dacre's portraits were unique forms of female self-fashioning, she was not the only Yorkist or early Tudor aristocratic woman to define herself in art. This chapter will demonstrate to the contrary that between 1450 and 1550, scores of the wives and widows of knights and

3 A few drawings (as opposed to paintings) of women without their husbands have survived, but there is no way of knowing whether they were originally part of a pair. E.g., Lady Mewtas, 1536. Foister, *Holbein in England*, 177, #85; 179, #155, #156; 180, #140.

4 Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor England*, 17 for image of painting, 15-23 for identification of woman in portrait.

noblemen commissioned tombs and stained glass, whose location, effigies and painted images, epitaphs, and heraldry fashioned and recorded the identities by which they wanted to be remembered. In combination with their wills, the tombs, stained glass, and private chapels they built constitute underutilized sources for studying their subjectivity.

My analysis challenges the implications of the extended, often heated, debate among literary critics about the nature and history of the self and subjectivity before 1600. Whether intentionally or not, an influential group of early modern literary scholars questioned whether one can legitimately talk about these dimensions of the human personality in the pre-Elizabethan period, by tracing their accounts of the origin of the subject or self to Elizabethan and early Stuart drama. Their analysis connected a developed sense of self and subjectivity—what Catherine Belsey has called the autonomous subject of liberal humanism—with a particular cultural and political moment, implying that it had not previously existed.⁵ Many of them also used late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century writers as the point of departure for their discussions about the origin of the female subject.⁶

Without denying that significant cultural and ideological changes in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries did affect the way that English women and men understood themselves, literary scholars as diverse as David Aers, Stephen Greenblatt, and Meghan Matchinske have argued to the contrary that the sense of the self and subjectivity—defined as the project of shaping one's life to express and conform to that self—did not suddenly spring forth in the age of Shakespeare.⁷ Historian Natalie Davis also dissented from an analysis that causally connects individualism and subjectivity. In contrast, she maintained that in sixteenth-century France, subjectivity emerged from people's sense of themselves in relationship to God, their patrons, their families, and their lineages. Davis considered the most important of these groups to be the patriarchal family. More than any other social unit, the family stimulated those within its boundaries toward

5 Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy*, ix, introduction, 149, 192; Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy*, lviii-lxii.

6 Miller, *Changing the Subject*, chapter 1, esp. pp. 1-6. Miller's book does not include a bibliography, but the extensive notes to chapter 1 support this point. The clear implication of Findley and Hobby, "Seventeenth Century Women's Autobiography," 11-36, is that female subjectivity developed in the seventeenth century, although the authors do not focus specifically on this subject.

7 Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, esp. introduction; Aers, "Whisper in the Ear of Early Modernists," 177-202; Matchinske, *Writing, Gender and State in Early Modern England*. See also Hanson, *Discovering the Subject*, 1-20; Wilcox, "Birth Day of My Selfe," 155-56, 167, 176; and Low, *Aspects of Subjectivity*.

self-discovery, self-presentation, and strategies for achieving some personal autonomy and self-expression.⁸ The trajectory Davis outlined represents a significant revision of the theory that traces the evolution of the self to the emergence of autonomous individualism and is far more pertinent to the period considered here.

Drawing on Davis' analysis, this chapter defines the subjectivity of aristocratic Yorkist and early Tudor women as the product of their ongoing struggle to shape their identities *and* exercise some measure of autonomy within the confines of an intensely patriarchal society. Of the institutions that constrained them, their families and lineages, reinforced by the common law, were undoubtedly the most powerful. Furthermore, a woman's understanding of her identity changed with her changing position, as she married and remarried. Thus, Margaret Bouchier, Countess of Bath's, sense of herself altered significantly as she evolved from being the daughter of a mere gentlemen to being the wife of a London merchant and millionaire, to the wife of a member of Henry VIII's privy chamber, and finally to the wife of a peer of the realm.⁹ The evidence used here draws on a rich body of textual and material evidence—wills, tombs, stained glass, and epitaphs—to demonstrate that aristocratic Yorkist and early Tudor women had sufficient personal and material resources to fashion their identities.

Most of the women who embodied their identities in stone, marble, and glass were widows. They transformed the final task facing them—arranging the disposition of their bodies and the care of their souls after their deaths—into an opportunity to proclaim and memorialize the identities by which they wanted to be remembered. Their directions for the construction of their tombs, stained-glass windows, chapels, and almshouses involved careful, self-conscious decisions about the churches in which they wished to be buried and with whom; where their monuments and chapels were to be located; how their tombs and stained glass were to be designed; and how they were to be identified in the epitaphs and heraldic shields engraved on their monuments or mounted on tablets on adjacent walls. Some wives—most often heiresses or women in second marriages—also engaged in activity of this kind. When their projects were completed, they expressed the women's subjectivity in material and forms that they expected to last for generations.

The women's most important statement about the identities they chose for themselves and by which they wanted to be remembered appeared in their wills, which almost always contained directions about where they

8 Davis "Boundaries and the Sense of Self," 53-63.

9 See Appendix 1 for details.

Figure 9 Monument of Sir Thomas Kitson (1540), John, second Earl of Bath (1561) and Margaret Donnington Kitson Long Bourchier, Countess of Bath (1561). Hengrave, Suffolk. Photograph by the author, 2003.



wanted to be interred and with whom. Two hundred twenty-six of the 309 women's wills (73 percent) used in this project contain such directives, which were almost always a statement about their family identity. In this respect, they were very much like the wills of men of their class. For men, however, the decision was relatively simple, because they remained members of one family—their natal family—throughout their lives. In contrast, elite women collected families as they moved through their life cycles. At a minimum, they had two: that into which they were born and that into which they married. Since many of them married more than once, they accumulated more than one marital family. Two of the women in the group studied here actually married four times. The wills of remarried widows indicate that they often maintained ties to all of their husbands' families *and* their natal kin throughout their lives. But when they decided where and with whom they chose to be buried, they made a public statement about the family with which they wanted to be identified forever.

The importance of marriage in shaping aristocratic women's lives meant that in the 226 cases in which aristocratic widows indicated where they wanted to be buried, three-quarters chose the same tomb or church as one of their husbands, most often in the parish church where his principal estate was located.¹⁰ In about two-thirds of these cases, the women had been married only once and their decisions were relatively clear-cut. But eight of the widows who married only once were heiresses who departed from the norm, highlighting the only factor that could compete with marriage in shaping the identity of aristocratic widows. Six of the heiresses were buried with their spouses in the women's natal parishes. In these couples, the wife was the major source of the couples' wealth and they lived on an estate the woman had inherited.¹¹ Two other heiresses were buried with their husbands in chantry chapels that the women's fathers had built.

The other widows in the group of 226 who requested burial with their husbands were married more than once. They had to indicate, therefore, the

10 This number is extracted from the 309 female wills that provide basic data for this project; it includes both women who built tombs and women who did not.

11 TNA, Prob 11/14/5, Sir William Danvers (1504); Prob 11/24/4, Dame Anne Danvers (1531); Prob 11/25/29 Sir Edward Ferrers (1535) and Prob 11/34/29, Dame Constance Ferrers (1551); Prob 11/30/40, Sir Thomas Willoughby (1544) and Prob 11/40/37, Dame Bridget Reade Willoughby (1558); Prob 11/31/6 and Bridges, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, 1, 370, William Parr, Lord Parr of Horton (d. 1547) and Mary, Lady Parr (d. 1555); NRO, Knyvett-Wilson Papers, KNY 435 371X9, Sir Edmund Kyvett (d. 1539) and Jane Bouchier Knyvett, Lady Berners (1562); G. H. Boden, *The History of Tong Church, College & Castle*, 2nd rev. ed. (Wolverhampton, nd) and Bindoff, *House of Commons*, III, 373, Sir Thomas Stanley (1576) and Dame Margaret Vernon Stanley (1565).

spouse with whom they wanted to be most closely identified. A number of factors influenced their decisions: they tended to favor first husbands, the husbands with whom they had their first children or first sons, their highest-ranking spouse, and men with whom they had relatively long marriages. They rarely alluded to emotional factors. Of 65 women in this group, 25 chose burial with their first husbands. In 21 of these cases, the men were also the fathers of their first children, clearly a factor of overwhelming importance.

The 40 remaining women asked to be buried with their second, third, or fourth husbands. Many of their choices seem to be based on the same factors that influenced women who chose burial with their first husbands. However, the comparative rank of their husbands also affected their decisions: over a quarter of the remarried women requested burial with their highest-ranking spouse. Only two widows of noblemen chose burial with a non-noble husband. In both of these cases, the men they preferred were the fathers of their only children. Since widows, in contrast to first-time brides, were almost always free to select their husbands when they remarried, the comparatively high number of women who chose burial with their second, third, or fourth spouses may reflect greater emotional attachment to them, although evidence on this subject is virtually non-existent. In one case, Dame Agnes Say made it clear that she wanted to be buried with the second of her four husbands, Sir John Fray, the father of her two favorite daughters.¹²

The final group of widows, about a quarter of the 226, wanted to be buried apart from all their husbands. Fourteen of them selected churches associated with their deceased spouses or marital families, often in parishes where they were living on dower property. Their choice was a matter of convenience. Thus, Dame Jane Fitzwilliam asked to be buried in the London parish where she was living on property her third husband had bequeathed her. He was buried a considerable distance away, in Northamptonshire.¹³

Thirteen others were heiresses who identified most strongly with their lineages and desired to be buried in their natal parishes or with the kin from whom they had inherited. Elizabeth, Lady Fitzwarren, and Maud, Lady Willoughby, were both buried with relatives—a brother and uncle, respectively—from whom they had inherited their property, although each of them had married three times.¹⁴

12 TNA, Prob 11/6/33 (1478). She had no sons.

13 TNA, Prob 11/25/33 (Sir William's will); Prob 11/29/10 (Dame Jane's will); Bridges, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire*, ii, 516.

14 *The Grey Friars of London*, 74; GEC IV, 381 (Fitzwarren, 1516); TNA: Prob 11/11/17 (1497); GEC, XII (pt. 2), 664 (Willoughby).

Five non-inheriting women also preferred to be buried with their natal kin, often explicitly expressing pride in their lineage. Elizabeth Neville, Lady Latimer, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, understandably chose burial in the magnificent chapel her father had built in St Mary's, Warwick.¹⁵ Lady Anne Grey preferred burial in her natal parish of Albury, Hertfordshire, to burial with either of her husbands, instructing her executors to construct a tomb "declaring a memorial of the stock that I came of."¹⁶ She expressed pride in her natal family, although both of her husbands came from a higher rank than her father.¹⁷

Only sixteen women who chose burial apart from any of their husbands selected religious houses for their final resting places. The small number—sixteen in a group of 226—stems from a number of convergent factors. The first is the overwhelming importance that the aristocracy attached to their parish churches as symbols of their and their families' political, economic, and social status.¹⁸ It also reflects the declining importance of monasticism in Yorkist and early Tudor piety.¹⁹ In addition, some women were not interred in the religious houses of their choice due to a shortage of space. For example, Elizabeth Barnardiston was not buried at Walsingham as she desired, even though she was living there when she wrote her will and appointed the prior as her sole executor. Instead, she was laid to rest in her parish church at Kedington.²⁰

The location that the women chose for their tombs formed the foundation of the image they fashioned of themselves for posterity. With the exception of those who sought burial in religious houses, all of their choices connected them to one of their families. Their next task was to purchase a site within the church and direct the design of their monuments. This process involved selecting the materials to be used for the tombs and effigies, deciding which heraldic shields to include on their monuments, and choosing the wording of their epitaphs. Commissioning stained-glass windows involved similar choices. In making their decisions, aristocratic widows almost always chose the most expensive design and best locations they could afford. Throughout, they looked to the future and the past, representing themselves as they wanted to be remembered and enhancing the reputation of their ancestors and descendants.

15 TV, I, 358 (1480).

16 TNA, Prob11/40/19 (1557).

17 See Appendix 1.

18 Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk Before 1850*, 63.

19 Harris, "New Look at the Reformation," 89-113.

20 TNA, Prob 11/22/10; Almack, "Kedington *alias* Ketton, and the Barnardiston Family," 131 n.; visit by author, June 2003.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the vast majority of people were buried in churchyards. Interment inside churches was a privilege for which the nobility and gentry paid. Their bodies were entombed in vaults beneath their monuments, which stood on a site they had purchased. From a spiritual point of view, the closer the tomb was to the high altar, the more desirable its location, because the souls of the deceased benefited from proximity to the Eucharist.²¹ Unless their families had already built chapels or their husbands were already buried in the churches they had selected, widows sought locations in the chancel of the church or at the east end of the north and south aisles. Since the cost of the site depended on how close it was to the high altar, their tombs functioned as a perpetual reminder of their wealth.²² In 1519, for example, Dame Anne Sulyard Bouchier asked to be buried with her first husband, Sir John Sulyard, at Wetherden “in the south aisle adjoining to the chancel ... before an image of St. Anne standing at the south end of the said aisle”.²³ Elizabeth Barnardiston’s tomb at Kedington, where the church has no aisles, is immediately adjacent to the right side of the chancel.²⁴ The importance that members of the aristocracy attached to the location of their tombs was exemplified in Dame Elizabeth Fitzwilliams’s 1548 will. Having chosen St Paul’s Cathedral, London, rather than her parish church as her burial site, Dame Elizabeth was worried about the location of her tomb being “mete and convenient.” Her will noted that her executors “have before this time by my commandment viewed and seen [the possibilities] for that purpose” and presumably discussed the results of their visit with her.²⁵

An even more expensive option was for the women to construct a separate chapel or chantry for their tombs and/or their husbands. Once again, they located them as close as possible to the high altar. The east end of the north and south aisles alongside the chancel was a favorite choice. Dame Margaret Bedingfield (1513) founded the chapel bearing her family name, where she was subsequently buried, at the east end of the south aisle in her parish church at Oxborough, Norfolk. Initially, the chapel opened from the chancel, making it as close as possible to the high altar.²⁶ Lady Anne Danvers (1531) erected a chantry at the east end of the southern aisle in her church at

21 Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 148.

22 Ibid, 146-49; Harding, *Dead and the Living*, 172.

23 TNA, Prob 11/19/32.

24 Author’s visit to church, June 2003.

25 TNA: PRO, Prob11/32/15 (1548); no evidence exists as to whether she was buried in the Cathedral or not.

26 Pevsner, *North-West and South Norfolk*, 582.

Thatcham, Berkshire. She and her husband, Sir William (1502), were buried under an archway between the chapel and the chancel.²⁷

After they had purchased a site for their tombs, aristocratic widows hired craftsmen to build them according to a design on which they agreed. Most monuments took the form of tomb chests with images and inscriptions. The images varied: effigies of stone or marble; figures engraved in brass tablets; or carvings cut into the stone itself. The most expensive tombs had marble effigies resting on marble slabs. In addition, the sides frequently contained sculpted figures that represented the deceased couple's children. Alternatively, effigies engraved into brass sheets, a less expensive alternative, were set into indentations in the marble or stone slab on top of the monument.

However prominent they were on funerary monuments and however important they seem to modern viewers, the sculpted and engraved effigies were not portraits in the modern sense.²⁸ Rather, they represent the deceased as they expected to appear at the Resurrection.²⁹ Patrons had little to say about the effigies they were ordering.³⁰ They were much more specific about two other personal features of monuments: their inscriptions and heraldic shields. Women's wills often contain detailed instructions about the shields, epitaphs, or both. Here they engaged in two types of conscious self-fashioning.

Escutcheons or shields showing the family arms were as essential an element of aristocratic tombs as the effigies. They were unique to each individual: a married or widowed woman's arms were not the same as either her father's or husband's. Like effigies, they were sculpted or engraved depending on the material used to construct the tomb. Escutcheons identified the deceased, represented her lineage, and proclaimed her status. By the late fifteenth century, heralds of the royal household had a monopoly over the granting and verification of arms.³¹ They also controlled the funerals of armorial families, thus ensuring that the shields displayed on tombs were correct. As a result, the courts considered the shields on tombs reliable evidence for determining someone's lineage and rank.³² As we saw in chapter

27 TNA, Prob11/24/4 (Lady Danver's will); Ashmole, *Antiquities of Berkshire*, 2, 322.

28 Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England*, 227-28; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 35-42; Macklin, *Brasses of England*, 2. For a dissenting view, see Trivick, *Craft & Design of Monumental Brasses*, 17.

29 Fr. Jerome Bertram, "Iconography of Brasses," 62-63.

30 Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 20, 31-32, 118; Malcolm Norris, "The Analysis of Style in Monumental Brasses," 103-51.

31 Marks, *British Heraldry from its Origins*, 44.

32 Lindley, "Disrespect for the Dead?," 68.

1, after Sir John Talbot of Albrighton died in 1549, his second wife and widow Elizabeth built a monument with his escutcheon that became the major piece of evidence used to settle a dispute about the lands and title of the Shrewsbury earldom in 1857-1858.³³

While the Crown had a monopoly on the design of heraldic shields, women could decide which family arms to display on their monuments. For example, Margaret Mautby Paston stated explicitly in her will that she wanted the four corners of her tomb at Mautby to display her and her husband's arms and three sets of arms representing different branches of her natal family. In addition, she wanted the Mautby arms displayed alone in the center of the tomb over the motto, "In God is my trust."³⁴ Thomasine Hopton (d.1498) put up her arms on the south aisle of Yoxford church, where she lived in her dower house, and where she buried two of her daughters. She herself was interred with her husband in his family's parish church at Blythborough, as she had requested.³⁵

Women were explicit about connecting their arms with their high status. Lady Katherine Grey (1505) directed her executors to

make a tomb over me with a stone and therein to be set pictures of my two husbands after their honor and my picture in a winding sheet between them both, with two scutcheons of their arms and mine jointly together at every end of the same stone, with a scripture thereto accordingly. And a plate to be set in the wall over my tomb and therein mine arms and such scripture as to mine executors and friends seem best and convenient to be made, shewing what I was.³⁶

Elizabeth Scrope, Lady Scrope of Masham and Upsall (1518), directed her executors to "lay a stone over my grave with three images, the one of my lord and husband, another of me, and the third of my said daughter Alice, with our arms on the said stone, and scripture making mention what we were."³⁷ In most cases, the women's choice of arms centered on their marital families, but, as Margaret Paston's directions indicate, natal families dominated some women's understanding of their identity and how they wanted to be remembered.

33 Monumental Brass Society Transactions 2:238; *Short Notes on Bromsgrove Parish Church*, 4.

34 "Margaret Paston's Will," 160-61.

35 Richmond, *Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Fastolf's Will*, 44, 74, 124, 129-30; Cotman, *Engravings of the Sepulchral Brasses in Norfolk and Suffolk II*, 13; plate 17.

36 TNA, Prob11/14/34.

37 TV, I, 588-89.

Epitaphs were an even more personal feature of their monuments. They served both religious and secular purposes: identifying the person or couple being commemorated, recording the family's ownership of the monument, and asking God to have mercy on their souls or begging for the prayers of onlookers.³⁸ The simplest and most common form for tomb chests was an inscription carved into the sides of the chest, just under the slab on top. Such inscriptions tended to be short and formulaic. Thus, the Knightley tomb at Fawsley, Northamptonshire, read simply, "Pray for the souls of Richard Knightley and Joan his wife which Richard died the 8th day of December in the year of our lord 1534 and which Joan died _____day of the month _____in the year of our lord 1550."

Tombs with brass inscriptions provided more opportunity for long texts than those in stone. They implored those who read them to pray for their souls, emphasized the high birth and status of the deceased, and occasionally included long personal descriptions of the deceased. In most cases, they were set in the top surface of the tomb chest, usually with pictures of the deceased and his or her family, but a few were mounted on tablets on an adjacent wall. Scrolls coming out of the effigies' mouths and the choice of saints portrayed were the result of specific directives. The brass that Dame Elizabeth Stathum ordered for her husband's marble tomb at Morley, Derbyshire, is a good example. It shows Sir Thomas standing between his two wives with scrolls coming out of their mouths. His scroll reads, "Saint Christopher pray for us," and points to a figure of the saint with Jesus on his shoulder. His first wife, Thomasine, stands on his left (from the viewer's perspective) and directs the same words to the Virgin, who is shown on a throne with Jesus on her lap. Elizabeth, the patron of the tomb, stands on her husband's right and directs the same prayer to St Anne, who is shown with a small figure of the Virgin.³⁹

Lady Anne Danvers' (1539) commissions at Dauntsey, Wiltshire, asserted herself as an individual, her pride in her heritage, and her wealth as well as her desire for salvation. Dissatisfied with the conventional tomb with brass effigies and a simple epitaph that she had commissioned for herself and her husband after he died, she constructed a second canopied tomb for herself alone in the chancel of her parish church. It enclosed a brass showing her kneeling at a prayer desk with her petition, "Lord have mercy on me." Underneath the image, a long epitaph dwelled on the vanity of worldly possessions, talent, and high rank, recorded her

38 Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments*, 118, 275.

39 Macklin, *The Brasses of England*, 191.

Figure 10 Monument of Sir Richard Knightley (1534) and his widow Jane Skennard Knightly (1550). Church at Fawsley, Northamptonshire. Permission of “Walwyn, www.-professor-mortiarty.com”.



Figure 11 Sir Thomas Stathum (1470) and his two wives*. Church at Morley, Derbyshire Commissioned by his widow and second wife, Elizabeth Permission of the Monumental Brass Society, UK.



marriage and her position as her father's heir, and concluded with her hopes for her soul.⁴⁰

Above the tomb, she constructed a window that displayed an image of and prayer to the Virgin, as well as pictures of St Dorothy and her name saint, St Anne. It also portrayed her husband kneeling in armor under his coat of arms and a scroll asking the Virgin to pray for them. A similar picture showed Dame Anne wearing her coat of arms on her dress with a scroll petitioning Mary to intercede to God for them.⁴¹ Despite her deprecation of worldly possessions, Anne Danvers spent a fortune portraying her high status and publicly testifying to her faith.

As these epitaphs and windows illustrate, aristocratic women's bodies and souls constituted equally important elements of the identities they sought to immortalize. On one hand, at least until the break with Rome, they represented themselves in traditional pious terms, petitioning for prayers for their souls and those of their nearest kin. On the other, the souls for which they petitioned were not generic Christian souls, but rather the souls of members of distinguished lineages, memorialized in costly tombs located in the most prominent places in their churches. From their perspective no contradiction existed between their earthly and immortal selves.

Although the spiritual aspirations expressed in the women's epitaphs were unquestionably orthodox—indeed, they had to be in order to be included in their tombs—within those limits, aristocratic women could make choices that expressed their religious views more personally than conventional requests for mercy and/or prayers. In her will, for example, Margaret, Lady Beauchamp, included careful directions about the tablets she wanted on the wall near her tomb: "I will that there be made a tablet of the birth of our lord and the three kings to be set upon the wall over my body when it be buried. Also an image of alabaster three quarters of a yard in length of St. John the Evangelist with the chalice in his hand to be set over me in likewise."⁴² The elaborate program of Dame Anne Danvers' tomb and window is an outstanding example of a widow constructing her secular and spiritual identity.

Dame Anne Danvers was not the only woman to include her favorite saints on her monuments. Margaret Choke included images of St Sunday

40 Kite, *Monumental Brasses of Wiltshire*, 53-54. "Here lieth Dame Anne Lady Dauntsey; To Sir John Danvers spouse in conjunction; To Sir John Dauntsey by line descension; Cosyn and heir, whose heritage highly fastly be firm'd in Christ his mansion."

41 Macnamara, *Memorials of the Danvers Family*, 251.

42 TNA, Prob11/8/13 (1488).

and St Gregory as well as conventional pictures of her and her husband with their arms on the window she constructed at Long Ashton, Somersetshire.⁴³ Sybil Danvers (1511) paid for pictures of St Anne, the Trinity, and St Barbara on the church windows at Waterstoke, Oxford, and Dame Constance Ferrers included prayers to Saints Katherine and George on the window she constructed at Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire.⁴⁴

Wills provide additional evidence of the ways in which orthodox aristocratic women shaped their religious identities. Virtually all their testaments began conventionally by commending their souls to God, the Virgin, and the whole company of saints, but many of them also defined their religious persona with more idiosyncratic statements. Dame Elizabeth Cutte noted, for example, her “special devotion” to Saints Elizabeth, Paul, Anthony and John the Baptist and appealed to them for intercession, as well as to Mary.⁴⁵ Others specified the particular Masses they wanted sung for them instead of leaving the choice to their priests or executors. Dame Elizabeth Brown (1487) requested that thirteen trentals of St Gregory be sung for her and her parents.⁴⁶ Dame Anne Arundell (1508) paid for a Mass to be sung for her and her close kin at Scala Celi in Rome.⁴⁷ Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford’s, requests included 50 Masses of the Trinity, 50 of the Holy Ghost, 50 of the Five Wounds, and 50 requiem masses.⁴⁸

Long before the break with Rome and the spread of reform, a few women—less than a dozen in the group studied here—required their executors to avoid the “pomp and pride of the world” when they arranged their funerals. In 1480 Anne, Duchess of Buckingham, ordered her executors “as soon in as secret wise as they goodly and conveniently may ... [to] carry and lay my said body in the said college church [of Pleshy], setting all pomp and pride of the world apart.”⁴⁹ Dame Margery Waldegrave (1540) wanted to be buried with “no pompous burial nor no month’s mind”, and directed that there should be “no common assembly of poor people nor common dole nor dinner to be kept.”⁵⁰ These women and those who expressed similar

43 *Somerset Medieval Wills 1383-1500*, 245.

44 VCH, *Oxford*, VII, 229; VCH, *Warwick*, IV, 17. (?)

45 TNA, Prob11/21/20 (1523).

46 TNA, Prob11/8/12 (1487): Davis, *Paston Letters and Papers*, 210.

47 TNA, Prob11/20/10 (1508).

48 Lewes, “Last Will of Elizabeth, Widow of John de Veer, Thirteenth Earl of Oxford,” 10.

49 TNA, Prob11/7/2 (1480).

50 TNA, Prob11/28/6, Dame Margery Waldegrave.

wishes consciously rejected elaborate ceremonies that flaunted their class position and wealth.⁵¹

On the other hand, it is unclear how modest they actually wanted their funerals to be. Dame Katherine Bray (1508) wrote explicitly, “And as touching the funeral obsequies and ceremonial business about my body, I will that in my burying...all things be done in soberness and temperance ... as it may be most to the honor of god and profit to my soul ... all worldly pomp and superstitious vanity clear set aside.” Having said that, she left £100—enough to support a minor gentry family for a year—to pay for her funeral.⁵²

After the break with Rome, aristocratic widows’ ability to define themselves through their religious choices expanded dramatically. As late as 1560, however, most of those studied for this project continued to repeat orthodox Catholic formulae in their wills and to build tombs with traditional effigies and prayers. Only a small group took advantage of the opportunity to refashion themselves spiritually and openly espouse reform. They replaced the traditional commendation to God, the Virgin, and the whole company of saints with invocations reflecting belief in justification by faith alone. The prayer opening Dame Bridget Willoughby’s 1558 will was typical: “I bequeath my soul to Almighty God my maker, believing assuredly to be saved only by the merits of Christ’s passion, who suffered death upon the cross to redeem me and all the world from everlasting death and damnation.”⁵³ Dame Anne Brooke, who described herself as “a sinful wretch”, asked “forgiveness, mercy, and grace of my naughty life ... trusting to his [i.e. God’s] great goodness and mercy through the worthy merits of the bitter passion of our most loving and benign savior Jesus Christ, not only to have remission of my sins, but also undoubtedly to have the everlasting life.”⁵⁴ Dame Jane Calthorpe (1549), yet another convert to reform, included an overtly Protestant epitaph, a quotation from the “Order of Burial of the Dead” in the Book of Common Prayer, on her memorial brass.⁵⁵

51 TNA, Prob11/4/11, Anne Holland, Duchess of Exeter (1456); Prob11/7/6, Dame Margaret Leynham (1482); Prob11/20/10, Dame Isabell Manningham, 1521; Prob11/28/28, Dame Susan Fettiplace Kingston (1540); *Collectanea Topographica and Genealogica*, vol. vi, 374. Katherine, Countess of Northumberland (1542); Prob11/34/7, Anne, Countess of Derby (1550); Prob11/37/26, Jane, Duchess of Northumberland (1554).

52 TNA, Prob11/15/32.

53 TNA, Prob11/40/37.

54 TNA, Prob11/32/1 (1547); for other examples, see Prob11/33/29, Dame Margery Seymour (d. 1549); Prob11/28/20, Margaret, Countess of Kent (d. 1540); Prob11/39/40, Dame Mary Fitton (d. 1553).

55 Finch, *Church Monuments*, 77; her will is at the Norfolk Country Record Office, NCC Corant 9; she died in 1549.

Cumulatively, then, the evidence of tombs and stained-glass windows demonstrates that aristocratic widows took advantage of the resources and relationships they acquired during their long lives to define themselves and represent their chosen identities on their final monuments. They made decisions and acted upon them in the context of institutional structures—most importantly, those of the law, family and church—that both constrained them and created the internal contradictions and spaces that gave them a measure of autonomy and the power of self-definition. In a highly patriarchal society, they were both subjected *and* the subjects of their own lives.

7 Epilogue: Destruction and Survival

Throughout the introductory discourse to his *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, John Weever bewailed the destruction that befell the English church during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Of all the damage, “the foulest and most inhumane” in his view was the violation of funeral monuments. He noted in despair that even Elizabeth I’s proclamation against the “breaking or defacing of monuments of antiquity ... for memory, and not for superstition” did not stem the fury of the “willful sectaries”, who continued to destroy and deface them.¹

Weever is one of the best known of the Elizabethan and early Stuart antiquarians who, along with John Stowe, William Camden, and William Dugdale, dedicated themselves to stemming the tide of destruction that swept the English church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.² In their fear that time and religious change would further the destruction of tombs, windows, and whole buildings, they recorded as many epitaphs and arms as they could. Conservative by temperament and often by religious conviction as well, they idealized the pre-Reformation church and the sense of community they associated with it. They were also committed to the social hierarchy embodied in the monuments they sought to preserve. Dugdale, appointed a herald in 1640, had an additional motive. Convinced that war between king and parliament was imminent, he undertook an emergency tour of England with a skilled arms painter, William Sedgwick, to record the epitaphs and arms on tombs, painted glass, and sculptural ornaments that formed the basis of the heralds’ work.³

The impact of government-sponsored attacks on whole categories of religious institutions—monasteries, colleges, and chantries—and, in the Edwardian period, on religious imagery in general, is hard to overestimate.⁴ Little could be done to save monuments located in religious houses slated for destruction. Few efforts to purchase the monasteries in which they were located from the Crown succeeded. In 1536, for example, Thomas West, Lord de la Warr, wrote to Cromwell on behalf of Boxgrove Priory, where

1 John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 52-54.

2 See Margaret Aston, *England’s Iconoclasts, Volume 1: Laws Against Images* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) and Graham Parry, *Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* for general accounts of the subject.

3 Whittemore, “Sir William Dugdale’s Book of Draughts,” 23.

4 For an overview of iconoclasm from the 1530s to the outbreak of the Civil War, see Aston, “Iconoclasm in England: Official and Clandestine”, 167-192.

his ancestors were interred and in which he had already built a chapel for his own burial.⁵ When his petition failed, he constructed another tomb at Broadwater, Sussex, where his stepmother had built a monument for his father (1525) and where she asked to be buried in her will (1536).⁶ Sir Simon Harcourt's petition for the preservation of Runton Priory in Staffordshire also failed, as did his request to purchase the land and church after it was dissolved.⁷ Henry VIII was not even willing to save the priory at Pleshy, where his grandmother, Margaret Beaufort, had buried her second husband.⁸

The best that most families could do was to move the tombs of their ancestors to parish churches of which they were patrons. After the Dissolution, for example, the Fitzwilliams moved their ancestors' monuments from the Augustinian priory at Tickill, Yorkshire, to the parish church. These included the tomb that Dame Lucy Neville Fitzwilliam Brown had built there for her first husband, Sir Thomas (1498).⁹ The family of the first and second earls of Rutland transferred their tombs from Belvoir Priory to Bottesford Church, where they are still preserved.¹⁰ Arthur, Lord Lisle, moved his first wife's tomb from Titchfield Abbey, probably to the parish church.¹¹

With few exceptions, therefore, the monuments aristocratic women had constructed for themselves or their husbands in religious houses all over England disappeared. The effect was particularly devastating in London, where the friaries were popular burial sites throughout the Yorkist and early Tudor periods. More than two dozen tombs the women had commissioned were demolished. Although the White Friars had been dissolved by the time Margaret, Countess of Kent, wrote her will in 1540, the church was still standing and she asked to be buried there with her husband "if it be suffered." Their tomb disappeared when Edward VI's government pulled the church down less than a decade later.¹² Ten monuments at the Black Friars, including those of Katherine Parr's parents, were demolished.¹³

5 *VCH, A History of the County of Sussex*, II, 60; *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*. IX, #530.

6 NRA, PRO, Prob11/25/41, Eleanor, Lady de la Warr (1536).

7 Ellis, *Original Letters Illustrative of English History, 1074-1525*, Third Series, III, 18-19.

8 Gough, *History and Antiquities of Pleshy*, 163-64.

9 Roger Dodsworth, "Yorkshire Church Notes, 1619-1631," 108.

10 Lady Victoria Manners, "Rutland Monuments in Bottesford Church," 269. The first earl's widow commissioned and paid for his tomb. I do not know who was responsible for the second earl's tomb.

11 *The Lisle Letters*, V, 1-2, #1086, #1090, 20.

12 TNA, Prob11/28/20 (1540); Walter Thornbury, *Old and New London*, I, 182-99.

13 *North Country Wills, 1338-1558*, ed. J. W. Clay, Surtees Society, CXVI (1908), #67, 87; #68, 91 (Sir Thomas and Dame Maud Parr); Stow, *Survey of London*, 1, 341, William Courteney, Earl

Perhaps most shocking in the scale of destruction was the demolition of the monuments at Grey Friars, the most important series of secular monuments in England outside Westminster Abbey. In 1547, they were pulled down and one of the aldermen, Sir Martin Bowes, sold the material for £50.¹⁴ At least a dozen tombs commissioned by women disappeared.¹⁵

The Minories or church of the Sisters of St Clare, the most fashionable religious house for women in the City, suffered a similar fate. In the last decade of the fifteenth century and first two decades of the sixteenth, it was the residence of a whole cluster of women connected to Elizabeth Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk (1507), who were buried there after their deaths. In addition to the duchess herself, they included her daughter Anne, child bride of Richard III (1481); the duchess's sister-in-law, Dame Jane Talbot (1505); her gentlewoman servant, Anne Montgomery (1498); and two other members of the duchess's household, Margaret, Duchess of Suffolk, and Anne Montgomery's niece, Mary Tyrell. The Minories became the parish church of The Holy Trinity after the Dissolution, but the tombs disappeared when the parishioners renovated it in 1568.¹⁶

The toll on the tombs that aristocratic women commissioned in religious houses outside London was just as devastating and covered every area of the country. Their tombs disappeared in York, where Dame Agnes Stapleton (1448) was buried with her husband Sir Brian in the Dominican Friars' church; in Canterbury, where Dame Sybil Scott (1527) requested burial in the church of the Observant Friars; in Chichester, where Dame Maud

of Devonshire (1511); NRA, PRO, Prob11/18/13 (1515), Dame Elizabeth Frowick and Prob11/18/2 (1512), Thomas Jakys (her 2nd husband) and Fisher, *Catalogue of Most of the Memorable Tombes*, 16; TNA, Prob11/27/1/ (1538), Dame Jane Guildford; TNA, Prob11/14/21 (1504; pr.1505), Katherine Strangeways; TNA, Prob11/20/19 (1514), Elizabeth, Lady Scrope of Masham and Upsall and TV, IV, #33 (1495), Thomas, Lord Scrope of Masham and Upsall; TNA, Prob11/8/12, Dame Elizabeth Brown (1487).

¹⁴ Lindley, "Disrespect for the Dead?", 69.

¹⁵ *North Country Wills, 1338-1558*, #46, 65, Elizabeth Sothill; *Bedfordshire Wills Proved in the PCC, 32:43* (1498) and NRA, PRO, Prob11/20/10 (1521), Sir John and Isabel Manningham (1498; 1521); *The Grey Friars of London* (1503), 77; Sir Thomas Lucy (1525), 108; Alianore, Duchess of Buckingham (1530), 77; Dame Elizabeth Sapcotes (1516), 74; Sir John Sothill (1494), 107; Dame Elizabeth Uvedale (1488), 108; Henry (1506) and Joan Sothhill, 98; Dame Elizabeth Sothill (1507) who was buried there with her son; Walter Lord Mounjtoy, commissioned by his second wife, Anne, Duchess of Buckingham; (1474), 88; Elizabeth, Lady Fitzwarren (1516), 73-74.

¹⁶ Tomlinson, *A History of the Minories*, 241. The Minoreesses were Sisters of the Order of St Clare or Franciscan nuns. BL., Lansdowne 201, f. 19 in pencil pagination; Carlin, Holy Trinity Minories, Abbey of St Clare, 1293/4-1539 in *Historical Gazetteer of London Before the Great Fire*, St Botolph, 4-5; NRA, PRO, Prob11/14/38, Jane Talbot (1505); Prob11/15/25, Elizabeth Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk (1506); Prob11/18/6, Margaret, Duchess of Suffolk (1515).

Roos wanted to be buried in the Grey Friars church; in Norwich, where Dame Eleanor Wyndham ordered her executors to bury her in the Austin Friars Church; and in Worcester, where John Lord Beauchamp and his wife Margaret were buried in the Black Friars.¹⁷ The list could go on, but its geographical spread and the popularity of the friars' churches are evident and need no belaboring.

The dissolution of the chantries followed from the transformation of the Mass into the Lord's Supper, and caused the outbreak of another round of iconoclasm and confiscation in Edward VI's reign. The chantries in monasteries had already disappeared along with their monuments. The situation was quite different for the majority of aristocratic women's chantry foundations, which were located in their parish churches. The land that supported their priests and services was confiscated and their priests no longer held their services, but many of their chapels and the tombs located in them survived, because the families of the women who had founded them were still the largest landowners in the parish and continued to be patrons of the church. The magnificent tombs of Sir Reginald Cobham and his second wife Anne née Bardolf remain at Lingfield, Surrey, despite the confiscation of their rich and well-endowed chantry.¹⁸ At Tamworth, Warwickshire, the tomb of Sir John Ferrers and his wife Dame Dorothy, with its elaborate effigies, was moved without damage from the choir to its present position under the tower.¹⁹ The elegant stone monument of Sir Richard and Dame Margaret Choke at Long Ashton, Somerset, still stands in the north chapel, although reformers defaced the panel of the crucifixion in a recess in the wall over it.²⁰ The chantry commissioners also seized the luxurious fabrics, vestments, crucifixes, and chapel plate that the founders of the chantries and their families had donated to celebrate Mass at their altars. In addition, the commissioners' visits often coincided with an accelerating attack on religious images.²¹ Thus, even when they survived, tombs and chantry chapels were surrounded by a very different physical environment and atmosphere.

17 *North Country Wills*, #27 (1448), Dame Agnes Stapleton and Sir Brian; TNA, Prob11/23/1 (1527), Dame Sybil Scott; TNA, Prob11/17/21 (1511), Dame Maud Roos; TNA, Prob11/15/1, Dame Eleanor Wyndham; Margaret, Lady Beauchamp, VCH, *A History of the County of Worcester*, II, 68 and TNA Prob11/11/10 (1487).

18 Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory, Cobham Family and Their Monuments, 1300-1500*, 176-79.

19 Palmer, *History of the Town and Castle of Tamworth*. 300, 307; Pevsner and Wedgwood, *Warwickshire*, 277.

20 Fryer, "Monumental Effigies made by Bristol Craftsmen (1240-1540)," *Archaeologia*, Pt. 8, 68 (1922), Pt. 8, 52; Collinson, *History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, II, 300.

21 Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location," 68.

The government occasionally permitted chantry owners to purchase the land with which they had endowed their foundations and use it for other purposes. Dame Anne Worsley (d. 1557) turned the chantry that her father, Sir John Leigh (d. 1522), had founded at Godshill on the Isle of Wight into a free school. Her will records that she bought land worth 20 marks a year from the existing chantry and used it for the new foundation.²² The conversion of the Peyton chantry at Isleham, Cambridgeshire, took three decades. In 1547, the Crown sold the confiscated chantry land to a Londoner, who resold it to Sir Robert Peyton the following year. When Sir Robert died in 1550, he bequeathed the land to his son and heir, also named Robert, who sold it in turn to his mother, Dame Frances, the older Sir Robert's widow. In 1579, she used the land as well as some other property to endow five almshouses, four for men and one for a woman.²³ Thanks to their action and the continued interest of their families, both the Worsley and Peyton tombs are still standing in their respective churches.²⁴

Without the support and advocacy of the family that founded the chantry or of the parish as a whole, chantries and their tombs rarely survived. Thus, Joan Grey, Viscountess Lisle, built a monument for herself and her second husband at St Michael's Cornhill in the first decade of the sixteenth century, and endowed the church with property known as "Lady Lisle's Land" to keep her anniversary, fund repairs to the church, and distribute £3 annually to the poor. According to Stow, the parish "wronged itself" during Edward VI's reign by surrendering the property to the Crown without a struggle. By the time he was writing, the viscountess's monument had disappeared.²⁵

Chantries associated with schools or almshouses had a better chance of avoiding confiscation, although their endowments could no longer fund prohibited religious rituals. The monuments associated with these chantries also frequently escaped destruction.²⁶ In 1548, for example, the chantry commissioners in Essex ruled that Elizabeth and William Fettiplace's chantry did not fall within the scope of the act, because Queens' College received the revenues and then distributed them to the almshouse and school they had founded as part of their chantry. The Fettiplaces' monuments survived in

22 TNA, Prob11/49/6 (1557); VCH, *A History of the County of Hampshire*, V, 176.

23 VCH, *The County of Cambridge*, X, 489-49; 457-57. Her foundation still exists, having been rebuilt in 1842 and again in the 1990s.

24 Jenkins, *England's Thousand Best Churches*, 259-60; Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 68.

25 TNA, Prob11/12/10 (1500); Stow, *Survey of London*, 196.

26 See chapter 5 for more detail about the survival of these institutions into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

the parish church at Childrey, while their almshouse continued to function into the nineteenth century and was rebuilt in 1867.²⁷ On the other side of England, in Malpas, Cheshire, Sir Randall and Dame Eleanor Brereton's school and almshouse also escaped dissolution and the alabaster monument associated with their chantry remained standing in the parish church. A third example exists at Bromsgrove, Worcester, where Sir Humphrey and Dame Alianora Stafford's tomb still stands because it was built in connection with a school. The Stafford's monument in the parish church was originally located in a small arch between the chancel and north chapel, but is now west of the organ. Katherine Esdaile, who spent decades visiting tombs throughout England in the first half of the twentieth century, thought it was the most important tomb in the church when she visited it in the 1920s.²⁸ As we saw in chapter 5, the leading London Livery Companies, who often served as the trustees of almshouses and chantries founded in the City, were also frequently successful in protecting them against confiscation and ensuring their existence for centuries. For example, the Clothworkers administered Dame Anne Packington's charitable bequest, which she funded with 60 acres of land in Islington. She directed that her gift be used for annual alms, sermons, and the education of poor children in the parish of St Botolph's, Aldersgate, where she expected to be buried, and for annual alms and sermons in the parish of St Dunstan's-in-the-West, where her father, Henry Dacres, was interred. In addition, the guild administered the almshouses that she had founded at Whitefriars. Subsequently the company moved them to Islington and used them as residences for widows of poor members of the company. They were still in operation as late as 1829.²⁹ The company maintained Packington's trust until 1937, when its property, principally in Islington, was apportioned between the company and the City Parochial Foundation. Dame Packington's monument itself survived at St Boloph's Aldersgate Church in the City. Another company, The Skinners, were trustees of Dame Elizabeth Holles's almshouse at St. Helen's Bishopsgate.

27 VCH, *A History of the County of Berkshire*, II 2, 93, IV, 279; Humphrey, *Churches and Chapels of Southern England. Blue Guide*, 84

28 VCH, *A History of the County of Worcester*, vol. 3, 19-33; Bromsgrove School, article in Wikipedia; www.worc.ox.ac.uk/About-Worcester/History-of-the-College; HEH, "Short Notes on Bromsgrove Parish Church"; HEH, Esdaile Papers, Box 10, 4 (1926).

29 TNA, PRO, Prob11/34/30, Sir John Packington (1551); VCH, Worcester, 3:157; Stow, *Survey of London*, vol. 1, 310; Bradley and Pevsner, *London 1: The City of London*, 207, 216; Commission for Inquiring Concerning Charities, *Endowed Charities of the City of London*, 23-25; *London Encyclopaedia*, 437-38; Guildhall, Manuscript 2480, Jewers, *Monumental Inscriptions and Armorial Bearings*, vol. 1, ff. 310, 319; vol. 2, 434, 442; *Clothworkers' Charity Manual*, 104. See http://www.churchmonumentsociety.org/London_1.html for a photograph of her monument.

They operated the almshouse until the late nineteenth century, when the Company merged the endowment with that of an institution they operated at Mile End. In 2007, the Company built a large, modern facility for the combined institutions at Palmer's Green, Middlesex, which received an award for its outstanding design.³⁰

The confiscation of church goods during the Edwardian period was not limited to chantries. In 1547 and 1549, the government ordered the bishops to draw up inventories of the plate and vestments in all the churches in their dioceses.³¹ In the same period, the government began to remove religious imagery from churches in London and then from churches all over the country.³² Diarmaid Macculloch has described the "gleeful destructiveness" of images, relics, and stained glass during the Royal Visitation that followed.³³ Anticipating seizures of their goods, many parishes sold their church plate, jewels, and the brass inscriptions and effigies on their monuments. In an effort to profit from what they correctly saw as inevitable loss, they participated in the ongoing dispersal of their goods and stripping of their monuments, many of which aristocratic women had donated.³⁴ To varying degrees, those who participated in the sales and purchases were influenced by sympathy with radical reform, an effort to preempt government confiscations, or the need to raise funds for church repairs.

When the chantry commissioners questioned the leading members of the parish about the sales, their response was almost always that they needed the money for repairs or that the goods were stolen. At St Andrew Holborn, for example, sales occurred on three different occasions. In 1537, just as the dissolution of the monasteries was getting under way, two churchwardens sold plate worth £34. Thomas Bentley, a churchwarden in the 1580s who compiled the records of the church, claimed they did so without the consent of the parish and were fined for their misdeed, but the timing of their theft raises questions about his explanation. Then, twelve years later, just after Edward VI's government seized all the parish land "given for the maintenance of any superstition", one of the wardens took 100 "weight" of old copper and

30 For details, see chapter 3, 12-13 (correct in printed version).

31 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 455-56 and notes 16 and 17.

32 Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location," 68.

33 Macculloch, *The Boy King Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation*, 70-71. Although sales and the removal of church monuments had occurred before the Reformation, as Philip Lindley has pointed out, nothing compared to the scale of destruction during the Tudor period. "Disrespect for the Dead?," 56.

34 Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, 141-42.

brass off tombs in the church and sold it for 36s “to the use of the church”. A smaller sale in 1559 yielded 7s 6d.³⁵

The kind of damage done to the monuments and the dispersal of church goods at St Andrew’s was repeated all over England for decades and recorded with anger and regret by Elizabethan and early Stuart antiquarians. In 1547-48, the churchwardens at Long Melford sold 349 lbs of brass items, which almost certainly included brass lifted from tombs. They also sold their stained and white cloths, their largest alabaster images, and gilt images and other “gear”.³⁶ That same year, the churchwardens at Thame, Oxford, sold their great gilt cross in London for £22 4s and a parcel of gilt plate including two chalices and a pyx for £14 12s 6d.³⁷

During Elizabeth’s reign, the tombs of the Courteney family, including the monument of Edward IV’s daughter, Katherine, Countess of Devon (1527), disappeared from their chapel in the churchyard at Tiverton.³⁸ In 1577, the churchwardens at Long Melford paid two shillings to a glazier from Sudbury “for defacing of the sentences and images in the glass windows”.³⁹ In the early seventeenth century, when John Weever visited the church at East Horndon, Essex, he reported that the inscriptions of many members of the Tyrell family were “torn or worn out, and their sepulchers, like all the rest, foulie defaced.” He chastised their descendants sharply: “These Tyrells (methinks) having been gentlemen for so many revolutions of years of exemplary note and principal regard in this country might have preserved these houses of rest for their ancestors, from such violation. But the monuments are answerable to the church, both ruinous.” When the church was restored in the early twentieth century, the workers discovered pieces of the tomb of Sir Thomas Tyrell and his wife Anne beneath the floor of the chantry on the north side of the chancel where they were originally buried.

35 Atkinson and Atkinson, “Thomas Bentley (c.1543x6–1585)”, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Thomas Bentley, “Thomas Bentley’s Book, Some Monuments of Antiquities Worthy Memory, Collected ... 1584,” xiii, xiv-xv, xxi.

36 Dymond and Paine, *The Spoil of Melford Church*, 38.

37 Lee, *The History, Description and Antiquities of the Prebendal Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary*.

38 Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies ... of Devonshire*, 105. In her will, the countess directed her executors to bury her there. She referred to the chapel as “lately builded,” but whether she had commissioned it or not is unclear. Her will is reprinted in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. 10 (1853), 53-58; quote is on 54. The already dilapidated building was almost completely demolished during the Civil War.

39 Woodforde, *Norwich School of Glass Painting*, 75, 78. He destroyed only the windows he could reach, so that the clerestory windows remained. Subsequently, they were moved down to windows in the nave, where they are now on display.

The brass with Anne's effigy was hanging on the chantry wall, while part of the original inscription was preserved in the rectory.⁴⁰

At Maldon in the same county, where many members of the Darcy family were buried, John Norden reported that their tombs were still there in 1594 without making any comment about their condition. But four decades later, when Weever visited, they were "shamefully defaced."⁴¹ Weever also recorded that "not many years since," a monument to George Stanley, Lord Strange, and his wife Joan had stood in the north wall of the church at Hillingdon, Middlesex, but it had apparently disappeared before his visit.⁴² During the Civil War, Richard Symonds found only "vestiges of [the] interesting brasses" in the Darrell Chapel at Ramsbury, Wiltshire, where Sir Edward Darrell's widow and sole executor Alice buried him around 1530. Although many tombs remain in the chapel, none of them can be identified today.⁴³ In this and dozens of other cases, it is impossible to tell whether the damage was the result of deliberate iconoclasm, sales, or neglect.⁴⁴

The Civil War brought yet a third wave of destruction to the fabric of parish churches all over England. In fact, it was the threat of war that impelled William Dugdale to make his hurried journey to record as many monument inscriptions and stained-glass windows as possible before it began. As a royal herald, he was particularly apprehensive about the fate of the windows, because most contained the shields and insignia of their patrons. As it turned out, his anxiety was more than justified. Any restraint about demolishing stained glass that had existed during the Tudor period disappeared during the Civil War. It was probably at this time, for example, that the glass with images of the Ferrers family at Tamworth, Warwickshire, was destroyed.⁴⁵ A letter from Sir Thomas Kynvett to his wife Katherine in 1644 shows that he shared Dugdale's concern about the heraldic information in their church at Ashwellthorpe: "I wish Mr Gallyerd would cause the church wardens to take down the superstitious thing in the windows according to this ordinance, and preserve the coats of arms by virtue of the same command, or else perhaps they may suffer together by violence."⁴⁶ In a few cases, the

40 Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 658; King, "Ancient Wills," 79 n.

41 Norden, *Speculi Britanniae Pars*, IX (1840), 22; Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 609.

42 Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 406.

43 Symonds, *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army*, 153, footnote b; VCH, *County of Wiltshire*, XII, 44. The damage at Ramsbury apparently occurred before Symonds's visit.

44 See, for example, *Medieval Records of a London City Church; Churchwardens' Accounts of the Town of Ludlow*.

45 Palmer, *Town and Castle of Tamworth*, 278.

46 Quoted in *Journal of William Dowsing*, 363.

local gentry family removed glass from their parish church before it was destroyed and reinstalled it after the restoration. This precaution saved the great East Window at East Harling, Norfolk.⁴⁷

The best-documented iconoclasm of the period took place in East Anglia, where William Dowsing received a commission from the Earl of Manchester to visit the seven counties in the Eastern Association (Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, and Lincolnshire) to remove superstitious objects. Dowsing himself actually visited only two counties, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire; his deputies did most of the work in Suffolk. Not a single glass window survived intact in the churches they visited.⁴⁸ Of the brass inscriptions on monuments in Essex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Suffolk, 50 percent were destroyed during the war.

In addition to deliberate damage during the Civil War, many tombs were destroyed during the seventeenth century by natural disasters or neglect. At Astley, Warwickshire, the steeple fell down in c. 1600 and smashed the tombs of members of the Grey family. The church was pulled down and rebuilt in 1608. According to Dugdale, there were four tombs with nine effigies extant at that time, but little care was taken of them:

It was resolved that the monuments should be set up again in the Church ... howbeit, this good intention afterwards cooled, and the statues of the Marquess and his Lady were cast into the Belfrey, that of the woman having a coronet on her head; and those of the other thrown into an old outhouse amongst lime & rubbish; all which I myself have seen.

Of these, only three have survived. They include the badly mutilated effigy of Cecily, Marchioness of Dorset (1529), from the monument she had commissioned for herself and her first husband.⁴⁹ In 1618, Robert Reyce noted that the Clopton monuments at Long Melford were “much defaced and worn out.”⁵⁰ Lightning struck the church at Withyam, Sussex, in 1663 and completely destroyed the Sackville monuments that dated back to the 1520s.⁵¹ Two decades later, the steeple of the church at Wye, Kent, fell down and destroyed the north chancel, where members of the Kemp family were

47 Walker, “Dowsing in Cambridgeshire” in *The Journal of William Dowsing*, 113, 366.

48 Walker, *Journal of William Dowsing*, 27.

49 William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 2nd ed., orig. published 1651, I, 117; VCH, *County of Warwickshire*, 15-22;

50 Reyce, *Suffolk in the XVIIth Century, the Breviary of Suffolk*, 214.

51 *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, III, 295-96.

buried.⁵² In 1697, the church at Shingay, Cambridgeshire, was pulled down and Sir Richard Long's monument was moved to Hengrave, Suffolk where his widow, Margaret, Countess of Bath, was buried.⁵³ Parishes also removed or covered brasses in the floors of their churches to provide room for new pews.⁵⁴ In 1630, St Dunstan's-in-the-West in London did just that in order to provide "more commodious seating" for members of the congregation.⁵⁵ The worst disaster in the seventeenth century was, of course, the Great Fire of London in 1666, which took a terrible toll on the City's churches. It destroyed 86 of its 97 parish churches, including seven of the nine churches in the City where aristocratic women had built monuments.⁵⁶ One of the two remaining churches, St Bartholomew the Great, fell into disrepair in the eighteenth century and was used for secular purposes that included dividing the Lady's Chapel into houses.⁵⁷

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a new wave of destruction began as parishes modernized their churches or moved into new buildings, leaving their monuments behind. Secular authorities engaged in urban renewal, which had a terrible effect on historic buildings and monuments. Nigel Lewellyn, a leading authority on early modern funeral monuments, considers the Victorians even more destructive than early modern religious fanatics; but the Victorians were only continuing the work of their eighteenth-century predecessors.⁵⁸ One of the most heart-breaking losses took place at Salisbury Cathedral, where the magnificent chantry of Margaret, Lady Hungerford, was pulled down in 1787. But her chapel and tomb were hardly the only victims of the Georgian passion for modernization and renovation.⁵⁹ In 1738, the chapel at Eyethorpe, Buckinghamshire, was demolished and the material used to construct a bridge

52 Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of... Kent*, 2nd edition, VII, 363.

53 Long was the countess's second husband. Shimield, "On Shengay and Its Preceptory," 138-39, 143, 145; Shimield used BL, Add Ms. 5810, fol. 121b by William Cole, Cambridge Antiquary, 1714-92; Pevsner, Cambridgeshire, 477; author's visit to Hengrave Church, 25 June 2003; tomb chest with identification of Sir Richard Long and Lady Margaret Kitson on end facing viewer; on top of canopy over tomb of Margaret and her third husband, the Earl of Bath.

54 Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts*, chapter xiv on history of pews.

55 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, 294; Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, vol. 1, 117.

56 The churches were St Bartholomew by the Exchange, St Botolph Aldgate, St John Zachery; St Lawrence Jewry, St Michael Cornhill, St Paul's Cathedral, St Thomas the Apostle.

57 Webb, *The records of St. Bartholomew's priory [and] St. Bartholomew the Great*, 332-367.

58 Nigel Lewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 4-5, 18; Hickman, "Reforming Remembrance," 109-124 emphasizes the damage done in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

59 Jackson, "Inventory of Chantry Furniture, Inventory of Chantry Furniture, 1872, Hungerford Chapel," 334.

over the Thames.⁶⁰ When the parish of St Leonard's Shoreditch, London, pulled down its church in 1735 and moved to a new building, it destroyed the elaborate monument over the joint tomb of Eleanor, Countess of Rutland (1551), her daughter-in-law, Margaret, wife of the second Earl of Rutland (1560), Katherine, Countess of Westmorland (1556), and other members of their family.⁶¹ Sir Thomas Danvers' monument at Waterstoke, Oxfordshire, disappeared when the parish rebuilt its church in the second half of the century.⁶² The brass for Sir Richard Fitzlewis and his four wives suffered severe damage when the church at West Horndon, Essex, where it was originally located, was torn down and it was moved to Ingrave. Only the five main figures and two groups of children below their feet survived. An indent of religious imagery over their heads, perhaps a depiction of the Trinity, remains, while the inscription is completely gone.⁶³ William Cole, who visited churches in Cambridgeshire in the 1740s, found that brasses were still being destroyed.⁶⁴ At Lanwade, the brasses were damaged before Cole's visit, although the glass was almost completely intact.⁶⁵ Trevor Cooper concluded that in Essex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Suffolk, 50 percent of the brass inscriptions on monuments were destroyed during the Civil War and a further 30 percent in the subsequent century.⁶⁶

Stained glass also continued to suffer, often from neglect. Right before the end of the century, the stained-glass portrait of Ralph Jocelyn at Aspenden, Hertfordshire, was damaged when it was moved from its original position in the south bay of the chancel window.⁶⁷ The windows at Long Melford fell into serious disrepair and were only saved through the efforts of Richard Almack, one of the churchwardens in the 1820s and 1830s.⁶⁸

Renovation and rebuilding continued to damage tombs and brasses during the Victorian period, though occasionally monuments were saved by being moved from churches that were being torn down, or improvements led to the discovery of brasses that had been lost centuries before. When the church at Umberleigh, Devon, was destroyed in 1818, for example, the tomb Honor Lady Lisle had built for her first husband, Sir John Basset, was

60 Monumental Brass Society, *Transactions*, 2 (1892-97), 338.

61 London County Council, *Survey of London, VIII, The Parish of St. Leonard's Shoreditch*, 97.

62 Macnamara, *Memorials of the Danvers Family*, 165.

63 RCHM, "An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Essex," IV, 78; Elliot, "Fitzlewis of West Horndon and the Brasses at Ingrave," 43, 45.

64 Walker, "Dowsing in Cambridgeshire", 35; *Monumental Inscriptions ... from Cambridgeshire*, 99; BL, Add'l Ms. 5802, 50-55; 5823, 45-46; 5848.

65 *Ibid.*, 44.

66 *Journal of William Dowsing*, 408.

67 Gerish, "Aspenden Church," 20-21.

68 Woodforde, *Norwich School*, 75-76.

moved to Atherington.⁶⁹ In 1850, renovators found the brass of Sir Thomas Stathum (1459) and his wife Elizabeth under seats in the north aisle in Morley, Derbyshire. It is now on the pavement under the tower near the north wall.⁷⁰ In 1872, the parish of Ashburton, Derbyshire, placed a tablet with the long poem memorializing Sir Thomas Cokayne (1537) over the monument his wife Barbara had built for them and their children. The original tablet had disappeared, but Ashmole had recorded the poem in 1662.⁷¹

On the other hand, the Victorians were as likely to destroy or damage their monuments as to preserve them. Around 1800 thieves tore up and stole the Calthorpe brasses at Ingham, Norfolk, although the indents on the gravestones remained visible. When the chancel roof collapsed in the middle of the century, however, the indents of the lost brasses were broken and thrown out.⁷² Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's (537) brass at Norbury, Derbyshire, was in perfect condition until it was moved from the nave to the chancel in 1842. Now his head and the images of his sons are missing.⁷³ The stained glass at Long Melford continued to be damaged despite the efforts of Richard Almack in the 1820s and 1830s. The late nineteenth-century historian of the church, Sir William Parker, wrote incredulously that toward the middle of the century treasures of art were thrown out "as old rubbish", and that during repairs scaffold-poles were used to push out "dirty old glass" so that it could be replaced with clear white glazing.⁷⁴ Copies were made of the tomb of Sir Thomas Ferrers and his wife Anne at Tamworth in 1841, but the monument itself was removed during alterations to the church in 1869-70.⁷⁵

In 1873, the parish of St Martin's Outwich in London was merged with that of St Helen's Bishopsgate. The next year, St Martin's was torn down. The monuments were moved to the Chapel of the Holy Ghost at St Helen's, which became a mortuary chapel for St Martin's.⁷⁶ During the renovation of

69 *Lisle Letters*, vol. 1, 699.

70 Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, IV, 327-28.

71 Monumental Brass Society, *Transactions*, 3 (1987-99), 21. Although Dame Barbara was only one of his executors, Sir Thomas specifically asked her to build his tomb in his will. TNA, Prob11/27/4 (1537).

72 Badham, "Beautiful Remains of Antiquity ... Ingham, Norfolk," 7-10. Because of their fame, there is a visual record of the brasses that survived until the end of the eighteenth century. The earliest visitors were Robert Kemp in c. 1575 and the anonymous chorographer of Norfolk, c. 1605.

73 Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire*, III, 239; Bowyer, *Ancient Parish of Norbury* (Ashbourne, Derbyshire: Henstock, 1953), 92.

74 Parker, *History of Long Melford*, 61.

75 BL, Add'l Ms. 28,176, Palmer, *Collections for a History of Tamworth*, vol. 3, f. 16; Palmer, *History and Antiquities of ... Tamworth*, 93-4.

76 *Registers of St. Martin Outwich, London*, vi.

the church at Upton, Buckinghamshire, the brasses of the Bulstrode family were damaged when they were moved and re-erected vertically in the south aisle. The brass of Agnes (1459) kneeling in a shroud is all that remains of the large memorial to her, her husband William, and their eleven children. The brass of Edward Bulstrode (1517) and his three wives was also injured. The image of Mary, his first wife, has disappeared completely. Although the brass includes an image of his third wife, Margaret, she was actually buried at Hedgerley. Her brass somehow survived being moved from the north side of the chancel to the westernmost bay of the south chancel arcade when that church was replaced with a new building in 1852.⁷⁷

By the twentieth century, the great wave of renovation and rebuilding that had proved so costly for church monuments was over; but the Blitzkrieg during World War II destroyed numerous churches that had survived the iconoclasts or renovators of the previous centuries. Although the Blitzkrieg was most dramatic in London, it destroyed churches in surprisingly rural areas, because German planes dropped bombs they had not used as they headed back to the Continent. Miraculously, St Helen's Bishopsgate, the only pre-Reformation church with a tomb built by an aristocratic woman that had survived the Great Fire, once again escaped destruction. But the twelfth-century church at Little Horkesley, Essex, where Bridget, Lady Marney (1549), had built her monument, was struck by a landmine and completely destroyed in 1940. Although her table tomb disappeared in the blast, restorers were able to piece together her brass, which has been reinstalled in its damaged state in the new church.⁷⁸ Enemy action in Essex also destroyed the remaining medieval stained glass at the Tyrells' church at East Horndon and severely weakened the whole structure.⁷⁹ That same year, two parachute land mines blew out the windows of the church at Goudhurst, Kent. Miraculously, the tomb with oak effigies that Dame Constance Culpepper had constructed there for herself and her husband survived.⁸⁰ Four years later, the church at Little Chart, Kent, filled with Darrell tombs as late as 1790, was completely destroyed.⁸¹

Since the end of World War II, there have been no large-scale disasters affecting churches all over England. Nonetheless, destruction still continues

77 Baker, "Upton Church and the Bulstrode Brasses," 105-108. A rubbing was made of the large memorial to William, Agnes, and their children in 1819 before it was damaged.

78 VCH, *History of the Country of Essex*, X, 239-41. The new church was completed in 1958.

79 Starr, *East Horndon Church: A History and Guide*, 4.

80 <http://gen.culpepper.com/archives/uk/places/goudhurst2.htm>, 2.

81 Philipot, *Somerset Herald*, "A Book of Church Notes," 28; Parsons, *Monuments and Glass of One Hundred Churches, Chiefly in Eastern Kent* (Canterbury: np, 1794), 146.

on a piecemeal basis. In 1948, the tower and spire of the church at Oxborough, Norfolk, collapsed, destroying most of the church, but fortunately missing the Bedingfield Chapel, which Dame Margaret had built for her and her husband's tomb in the early sixteenth century. Perhaps the most discouraging loss was caused by a terrorist bomb at St Helen's Bishopsgate in 1992. St Helen's was one of the few remaining Tudor churches still standing in London and the only one that contained a tomb built by an aristocratic woman, Dame Elizabeth Holles (1554). All that remains of it today is a piece of the brass from the tomb with Dame Holles's effigy, which is now mounted on a wall.⁸² The other great loss in recent years was the theft of Dame Anne Danver's brass from the church at Dauntsey, Wiltshire, in the same year that St Helen's was bombed.

The melancholy history of the church at East Horndon, Essex, where the Tyrells were buried, continued, giving some idea of the ongoing threat to buildings in rural areas. After surviving World War II with a weakened structure and the loss of its medieval glass, a tramp set the tower on fire and thieves stole four bells. On account of further vandalism, the font and surviving monuments were removed to museums or other churches for safekeeping. The vault containing the remains of the Tyrells was permanently sealed in 1970 to protect it from theft and vandalism.⁸³ Crimes such as these explain why so many parish churches are locked today, however frustrating this may be for scholars and tourists.

Nonetheless, to conclude on a happier note, despite all the iconoclasm, war, vandalism, theft, neglect, and demolition recounted in this chapter, 43 percent (97) of the 223 monuments or brasses that 196 Yorkist and early Tudor aristocratic women commissioned have survived.⁸⁴ Along with the stained glass, aisles, chapels, and porches they added to their churches and their almshouses, the remains of their patronage constitute a significant portion of England's late medieval and early Tudor architectural heritage. The division between the portion of their work that has survived and the

82 Holles, *Memorials of the Holles family, 1493-1656*, 21. When the author visited St Helen's in July 2004, there was a brass on the south wall of a woman with two ermines on her tabard, although no words remained on the brass itself. The arms of the Dukes of Newcastle, who were descended from the Holles family, show the same animals, which strongly suggests that the brass is hers. The bomb also severely damaged St Andrew Undershaft.

83 Starr, *East Horndon Church*, 4.

84 There is no comparable figure for all the building in churches in the period. The closest figure is for the period between 1530 and 1630. Nigel Llewellyn estimated that about 75 percent of the monuments built in that period are still in existence. Llewellyn, *Funeral Monuments in Post-Reformation England*, 6-7.

portion that has disappeared is emblematic of the tension that has existed since the Elizabethan period between those committed to preserving the past and those willing to obliterate it to achieve ends they considered more important. Today, the line of preservers and traditionalists, which stretches from John Stowe, John Weever, and William Dugdale to the English Heritage Society and the Redundant Churches fund, is in the ascendancy, and holds out the promise that the buildings and monuments discussed in this volume will not suffer further damage.

Conclusion

Between 1450 and 1550, aristocratic English women played a significant role in rebuilding and beautifying churches that were a major feature of religious life in the period. They commissioned, paid for, and supervised the construction of tombs, altars, chapels, new aisles, porches, and stained-glass windows in their parish churches and other favorite religious institutions. They also donated luxurious vestments and gold and silver crosses and plate to enrich the spectacle of the Mass. In addition, though in smaller numbers, they built and endowed almshouses and schools that served both charitable and religious purposes.

These findings introduce to the historical record a female aristocratic contribution to culture that has not previously been recognized aside from a handful of exceptional cases. While their achievement is unquestionable, assessing it in the context of the period raises two questions: how did their commissions compare to those of their husbands? And were aristocratic Englishwomen unique, or did elite women in other European countries engage in similar patronage?

Aristocratic women were as active as the men of their class in patronizing the enlargement, restoration, and beautification of their parish churches and other religious institutions. The only area where numbers exist to support this conclusion is that of tomb-building. The evidence, which comes from 763 men's and 309 women's wills, indicates that gentlewomen and noble women, the majority of whom were widows, commissioned monuments as often as their husbands in their role as the men's sole executors, co-executors, or overseers.¹ Of the 763 male testators, 523 male testators had surviving wives; and 403, or 77 percent, of them appointed their wives as their sole executors (139), co-executors (249), or overseers (15). Of the sole or principal executors and overseers, 163 commissioned monuments for themselves and/or their husbands. In most of these cases, the women expected to be buried with the men after their own deaths. The majority of the other widows who commissioned tombs were co-executors who probated their husbands' wills alone. A small number commissioned their own monuments without reference to their spouses. Finally, local historical sources contain evidence of monuments not mentioned in wills. Altogether, these sources indicate that 196 aristocratic women built monuments for themselves and/or their spouses.

1 Often the surviving widow was a second or even third wife.

In comparison, 192 men commissioned tombs in their wills. This number is relatively small compared to the 794 men's wills used in this study, because 523 of them predeceased their wives and commissioned their widows to build their monuments alone or with their co-executors. A small number built or commissioned tombs while their wives were alive. Of the 192 male tomb-builders, 108 commissioned monuments for wives who had predeceased them and did not have the legal right to make wills or name their executors. Sir John Say (1478), William Fettiplace (1529), and Sir William Kingston (1540) all fell into this category.² In most of these cases, the men expected to be buried with their first wives. Kingston's second wife, who survived him, asked to be buried with him and her predecessor.³ Some men who predeceased their wives—such as Sir William Capell (1515) and Sir Alexander Culpepper (1541)—built monuments for themselves before their deaths in which they expected their widows to join them; the women usually complied.⁴ George Catesby (1505) and Sir George Throckmorton (1533) also built memorials for themselves and their widows, but the women did not leave testaments, and there is no way of knowing whether they chose to be buried with their late husbands.⁵ Sir John Biconyll and his only wife Elizabeth jointly built their monument at Glastonbury Abbey.⁶

The small number of men with living wives and the large number with deceased spouses who built tombs indicates that both men and women assumed that their surviving spouses would build their monuments. That assumption accounts for the large number of widows who constructed their and their husbands' tombs. In some cases, the women followed their husbands' directions, although they were the actual commissioners of the monuments. In 1502, for example, Sir Thomas Danvers appointed his wife Sybil his sole executor and instructed her to finish the aisle and chancel of their church at Waterstock, Oxford, "according as I have begun and as my wife knoweth my mind." His monument in the chancel was destroyed when the church was rebuilt in the second half of the eighteenth century.⁷

The evidence for the construction of chantry chapels, almshouses or hospitals and schools is more scattered than the evidence for tombs, because

2 TNA, Prob11/6/35, Sir John Say; Prob11/28/32 Sir William Kingston; BL, Add'l Ms. 42,764, f. 150, William Fettiplace; Davis, *Monumental Brasses*, 217 on Kingston.

3 TNA, Prob11/32/22 (1548).

4 TNA, Prob11/18/3 (Sir William Capell, 1515); Prob11/19/2 Margaret Capell (1516); Prob11/28/30, Sir Alexander Culpepper (1541); Prob11/ 29/12 (1542), Constance Culpepper (1542).

5 TNA, Prob11/15/6, George Catesby (1505); Prob11/36/22, Sir George Throckmorton (1533).

6 TNA, Prob11/13/5, Sir John Biconyll (1500); Prob11/14/3 (1504), Elizabeth Biconyll.

7 TNA, Prob11/13/10, McNamara, *Danvers family*, 171.

it did not routinely appear in wills. Nonetheless, it supports the conclusion that both aristocratic women and men commissioned and funded these relatively expensive institutions, which required endowments to function in perpetuity. Extant documents contain records of 47 aristocratic men and 42 aristocratic women who founded chantry chapels, almost always in the churches where they wished to be buried. Fourteen couples founded chantries jointly. In practice, this usually meant that the men provided the funds for the chapels in their wills and their widows built them after the men had died. For example, Sir Peter Arderne left land to endow a chantry at Latton, Essex, where he was to be buried, and asked his wife and executors to found and build it.⁸ They evidently carried out his instructions.⁹ A comparison between almshouses and schools that aristocratic men and women founded yields similar results. Eight men, thirteen women and nine couples endowed almshouses or hospitals and schools. Schools were often combined with almshouses, because the priest in charge of them could do the teaching.

What is perhaps most surprising is that aristocratic women controlled enough property to endow as many chapels and philanthropic institutions as their spouses. It is also notable that many couples embarked upon these projects together, confirming the partnership that often developed among aristocratic couples. But whether they acted alone or not, upper-class women and men founded chantry chapels, almshouses, and schools for the same combination of reasons: to preserve their memories, to secure prayers for their souls, and to celebrate in perpetuity their and their families' wealth and lineage.

Comparing the activity of aristocratic women and men in commissioning monuments provides an important context—one defined by gender—for assessing women's activity. Comparing their activity to that of women on the Continent places their achievement in a broader European context. The most information that we have comes from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy. It indicates that many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century noble and patrician Italian women commissioned art and religious objects for their churches, although I have not seen a systematic study comparable to the present one.¹⁰

8 TNA, Prob11/15/19 (1467).

9 RCHM, Essex, Central and South West, II, 146; VCH, Essex, 8, 186-95; see chapter 2 for other examples of widows who continued to build chantries that their husbands had begun.

10 E.g., King, *Renaissance Women Patrons*, *passim*; McIver, *Women, Art and Architecture in Northern Italy, 1520-1580*, *passim*; Tomas, *The Medici Women*, *passim*; and Reiss and Wilkins, *Beyond Isabella*, *passim*. To my surprise, I have not been able to find comparable information about noble or patrician women in France, Germany, or any other Western European country. Queen Isabella of Spain and Catherine d'Medici of France are exceptions, but I have consciously omitted members of the royal family from this study, because their resources and perhaps even

From Mantua, the home of Isabella d'Este, the most famous female patron of art in the period, south to Naples, where Donna Giulia Brancaccio del Glivoli built her husband's tomb at San Domenico, elite secular women commissioned monuments, altarpieces, and chapels to memorialize themselves and their families and to secure prayers for their souls. Their work is still extant in Verona, Bologna, Foligno, Venice, Padua, Florence, Isola, Perugia, Parma, Piacenza, and Rome. They patronized religious architecture, painting, and sculpture in republics and in hereditary dynastic states. Their activity is perhaps most surprising in Venice and Florence, given the widespread assumption that women were more restricted in republican regimes than in dynastic states.

The contrast between Italian women's commissions and those of Yorkist and early Tudor English women is one of style, not content. In both places, women built chapels and tombs, decorated them with sculpture and frescoes, and donated luxury vestments and objects to adorn the Mass. In Italy, however, where Renaissance architecture, sculpture, and painting had already triumphed, the most common commission among noble and patrician women was an altarpiece, often a triptych, painted by a noted artist, an art form that did not exist in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century England. The other contrast was that, unlike their English peers, Italian noble and patrician women often directed their patronage and donations to convents. Many of them had female relatives in the communities they favored and/or retired to them themselves.¹¹

However different the artistic styles of the chapels, tombs, art, and expensive ritual objects they commissioned, both aristocratic Italian and English women were inspired by the same motives: to initiate a gift exchange rooted in the doctrine of Purgatory. In return for their donations, they expected prayers for their souls and the souls of kin named in their bequests. They were equally concerned with memorializing their families' wealth, lineage, and power in permanent form, as the epitaphs and heraldic shields on the buildings and monuments they constructed indicate. In England, they commissioned a significant portion of the chapels, tombs, and stained glass built in the Yorkist and early Tudor periods, but the Italian example indicates their achievement was not unique in a European context.

their dynastic motive were different from those of the women discussed in this book. Bilkinkoff, *Avilla of Saint Teresa*, 39-49, has written about five women who founded new religious houses in Avilla. Their projects often included the construction of their tombs. A large-scale project would almost certainly find similar activities all over Spain and parallels to the commissioning of religious art and architecture in Italy and England.

11 The situation in England, where very few aristocratic women became nuns, was quite different. Harris, "A New Look at the Reformation," 89-113.

The English women's accomplishment highlights a neglected aspect of their contribution to late medieval and early Tudor English religious art and architecture. Their patronage drew them out of their manor houses and into the most important communal space in their local communities, reminding us once again of the narrowness of the view that places them almost exclusively inside their great households. They were responsible for creating the churches that remain such an important and beloved part of England's artistic and cultural heritage.

Appendix 1

Patrons of the Fabric of the Church

The women are listed under the names and titles used in their wills. Unless otherwise indicated, they were the sole executors of the spouses whose tombs they built.

f=father

h=husband

jt=joint

pr=probated

*=heir or coheir of father

inscr=inscription

All of the Prob11/ wills are at the National Archives in Kew.

For printed material, I have used shortened titles; the full references can be found in the bibliography.

The date in parentheses is either the date of the person's will or his/her death date, where no will exists.

1. *Mary Allington (1540); heir Sir Richard Gardener (1489); h. Sir Giles Allington (1522)

Her tomb, Westley Waterless, Cambs

Left church velvet cope with orphrey embroidered with gold; silver gilt chalice; cushion to lay cross on; diaper linen for various purposes

His will Prob11/22/4 (1513; pr. 1526)

Her will Prob11/28/30 (1537; pr. 1541)

2. Katherine Arderne, f. ____ Bohun; h. Sir Peter Arderne (1467)

Jt. tomb and chantry, Latton, Essex

His will Prob11/5/19 (1467); widow co-executor, but he specifically asked her to found chantry

No will for her

VCH, County of Essex, VIII, 193
 RCHM, Essex, Central & SW, II, 146

3. Anne, Lady Audley (1498); f. Sir Thomas Echingham (1444); 1st h. John Rogers; 2nd h. John Touchet, Lord Audley (1491)

To be buried in chapel of Our Lady, Bermondsey Monastery under the tower there

Vestments to Bermondsey Abbey and parish church of Bryanston, Dorset

Her will Prob11/11/23 (1497; pr. 1498)

4. Elizabeth Audley (1542); f. Chedworth; 1st h. Thomas Blake; 2nd h. Sir John (1527)

Jt. tomb, Swaffham, Norfolk
 10s for repairs of church at Holmhall

His will Prob11/24/15 (1527)
 Her will Prob11/29/1 (1541)
 Blomefield, *County of Norfolk*, VI, 210

5. Katherine Babington (1537); f. Sir John Ferrers of Tamworth; h. Sir Anthony Babington (1536)

Jt. tomb and chantry chapel, Kingston-on-Soar, Nottingham

Chalice for their new chapel

His will, *North Country Wills*, #76 (1536; pr. 1536)
 Her will, *North Country Wills*, #77 (1537; pr. 1538)

6. Anne Barnardiston (1560); f. Thomas Lucas of Little Saxham, Suffolk; h. Sir Thomas (1542)

Jt. tomb, Kedington, Suffolk

20s for repairs at Kedington, Suffolk

His will Prob11/29/11 (1542; pr. 1542)
 Her will Prob11/43/26 (1559; pr. 1560)

7. Elizabeth Barnardiston (1526); f. George Newport of Brent Pelham, Herts.;
h. Sir Thomas Barnardiston (1503); built 2

His tomb, Great Cotes, Lincs.
Her tomb, Kedington, Suffolk
Jt. Chantry, Kedington, Suffolk
Roof, Kedington
Window, Kedington

Her will Prob11/22/10 (1526, pr.1526)
License to endow chantry, L&P, II (pt. 1), 3149 (1517)
Handbook for Travellers in Essex...,154

8. *Joan Barre; heir Thomas Rigge; 1st h. Robert Greyndour, Esq. (1443); 2nd
h. Sir John Barre (1483)

Jt. tomb and chantry for her and Greyndour at Newland, Gloucestershire
School with chantry

Vestments, church plate, a crucifix etc., to her chantry at Newland

Vestments to parish church of Clehunger, Herefordshire, where Sir John
was buried

Her will Prob11/7/16 (1484; pr. 1485)
VCH, *County of Gloucestershire*, V, 224, 228

9. Margaret, Lady Beauchamp of Powick; f. Edward Ferrers, Lord Ferrers of
Chartley (1435); h. John, Lord Beauchamp of Powick

Jt tomb, Friars Preacher, Worcester
Explicit directions about tablets to be set over tomb

Vestments to Friars Preacher

His will Prob11/7/13 (1475)
Her will Prob11/8/3/13 (1487; pr. 1487)

10. Margaret Bedingfield (1513); f. Sir John Scott (1485); h. Sir Edmund (1496)
Built her tomb, Oxborough, Norf
Chantry

His will Prob11/11/7 (1496)

Her will Blomefield, *History of the County of Norfolk*, 6, 186 (1807)

11. Katherine Berkeley (1526); f. Sir William Berkeley of Stoke Giffard (1501);

h. Sir Maurice Berkeley of Yate (1523)

To be buried in chapel of Our Lady, monastery at Dartford; £14 for tomb

Ordered tomb for mother at Black Friars, Bristol

Vestments to Dartford and Black Friars, Bristol

Her will Prob11/22/10 (1526)

His will Prob11/21/14 (1520)

12. Elizabeth Biconyll (1504); f. Sir Richard Choke (1483); 1st h John St Maur,

Esq. (1485); 2nd h. Sir John Biconyll (1501)

Jt. chantry chapel and tomb, Glastonbury, Soms

£20 toward Lady Chapel at Glastonbury

Her will Prob11/14/13 (1504)

His will Prob11/13/5 (1501)

13. Anne Blount; f. Sir Richard Croft (1509); h. Sir Thomas Blount (1525)

Window at Stottesden, Shropshire, 1517

Blakeway, Notes on Kinlet, 122: Sir Thomas, heir of Sir Humph; benefactor of the church of Stottesden; his arms and those of his wife were in the window with inscription, "Pray for Sir Thos Blount and Dame Anne his wife which made this window in the year 1517."

14. *Anne Bouchier; heir John Andrews, Esq. (1456); 1st h Sir John Sulyard, CJCP; 2nd h. Sir Thomas Bouchier the Elder (1491)

Her tomb at Wetherden, Suffolk

Her will Prob11/19/32 (1519; pr. 1520)

Sulyard's will Prob11/8/21 (1487; pr. 1488)

Bouchier's will Prob11/9/1 (1491; pr. 1499)

Vestments to parish church of Wetherden and to chapel of St Blaise in south aisle

15. Elizabeth Bouchier, Lady Bath; f. Sir Henry Wentworth (1499); 1st h. Roger Darcy, Esq. (1508); 2nd h. Sir Thomas Wyndham; 3rd h. John, first Earl of Bath
 Buried first husband at All Hallows, Maldon
 She was the administrator of his will, C1/136/
 She was buried with him; Chancellor, *Ancient Sepulchral Monuments*, 158

Her image at Norwich Cathedral on tomb of her second husband with his first wife; in his will, Sir Thomas said there should be room for her in tomb, "if my wife will be buried there."

Earl of Bath's will probated to her; he was buried at Braunton (Bampton), Devon, in tomb with image of first wife; he probably built tomb

Inscription in window at Bampton: "Pray for the soul of John _____ knight, and Elizabeth, Dame Fitzwarren his wife, who had this window made"

Darcy's will, "Ancient Wills (5)," *Transactions of Essex Archaeological Society*. vol. 5 (1869), 11)

Wyndham's will Prob11/21/3 (written 1521; codicil 1522)

Bath's will Prob11/28/30, 1535; she was co-executor but will probated to her

16. *Elizabeth Bouchier, Lady Fitzwarren (1516);, f. Sir John Dinham (1457); m. Joan Arches, f. Sir Richard; sister and coheir of John Lord Dinham; 1st h. Fulke Bouchier, Lord Fitzwarren (1479); 2nd Sir John Sapcote (1501); 3rd h. Sir Thomas Brandon (1510)

Her tomb, Grey Friars London, near brother at her request

Chantry for Sapcotes, at Elton, Hunts

Tomb for Fitzwarren at Bampton

Grey Friars Register, ed. Kingsford, 74

VCH, Huntingdon, III, 155

Fitzwarren's will Prob11/7/1 (1480); she was sole executor

Sapcote's will Prob11/21/21 (1501); she was sole executor

Brandon's will Prob11/16/29 (1510)

No extant will for her

17. Elizabeth Bourchier (1498); f. John Chichele; 1st h. John Kerille; 2nd h. Sir Ralph Asshton; 3rd h. Sir John Bourchier, son of first Earl of Essex (1495)

Jt. tomb, Beeleigh Abbey, Essex

VCH, *County of Essex*, II, 175.

Her will Prob11/11/32 (1498; pr. 1498)

His will Prob11/10/27 (1495; pr. 1495)

18. Elizabeth Bouchier (1548); f. John, first Earl of Bath (1540); h. Edward Chichester, Esq. (1522)

Her tomb, Braunton, Devon

Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Effigies in Devon*, 87

19. *Isabel Bourchier, Countess of Devon (1488); f. Sir John Barre (1483); 1st h. Humphrey Stafford, Earl of Devon (1469); 2nd h. Sir Thomas Bourchier (1491)

Jt. tomb and chantry at Ware, Hertfordshire

Bourchier must have built these; she predeceased him; not originally buried at Ware

Gough, vol. 2 (2), 153; value of chantry that Thomas (1448) and wife built: £8

She and Sir Thomas may also have built north aisle, but glazed by different benefactors

40s for repairs at parish church of Mary at Hill, London

Bourchier's will Prob11/9/1 (1491)

Her will Prob11/19/32 (1519)

20. Isabel Bourchier (1500); f. Sir William Bourchier, brother Henry, first Earl of Essex (1474)

Her will Prob11/12/22 (1500)

Wanted to be buried with sister Cecily, Lady Ferrers, at Whittington College, London

21. *Margaret Bouchier, Countess of Bath; f. John Donnington (1544); 1st h. Sir Thomas Kitson (1540); 2nd h. Sir Richard Long (1546); 3rd h. John Bouchier, Earl of Bath (1560); built 3

Three husbands' tombs and her own; all at Hengrave, Suffolk, except for Long's; Long's was subsequently moved there

Kitson's will Prob11/29/30 (1540; nuncupative)

Long's will Prob11/31/18 (pr. 1546)

Bath's will Prob11/44/12 (1561; pr. 1561)

Her will Prob11/45/5 (1561; pr. 1562)

22. *Margery Bouchier (1475); f. Sir Richard Berners (1412); 1st h. John Ferriby; 2nd Sir John Berners, later 1st Lord Berners (1474)

She and Ferriby founded school, Chipping Camden, Glos

Orme, *Education in the West of England*, 126-27

23. Joan Bradbury (1530); f. Dennis Leche; 1st h. Thomas Bodley, tailor (1491); 2nd h. Thomas Bradbury, mercer (1510)

Buried with 2nd h. in their parish church, St Stephen's Coleman

She endowed chantry there

She inherited house on Catte Street; gave it to Mercers so that they would be trustees of her chantry

Some property survived dissolution; known as Lady Bradbury's estate in Covent Garden

Founded school at Saffron Walden; still exists and known as Dame Bradbury's school

Bradbury's will Prob11/16/26 (1510)

Her will Prob11/23/17 (1530)

24. Elizabeth Brandon (1497); f. Sir Robert Wingfield (1454); h. Sir William Brandon (1491)

Jt. tomb, Wangford, Suffolk

Left manor to found chantry

Her will Prob11/1/9 (1496)

His will Prob11/9/7; appointed her principal executor (1491)

25. *Jane Bray, Lady Bray (1558); f. Sir Richard Halliwell (c. 1506); 1st h. Edmund Lord Bray (1539); 2nd h. Sir Urian Brereton (1578); built 3

Tombs of Edmund Lord Bray and John, Lord Bray at Chelsea Old Church, London

She was buried at Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire

No will for her

Edmund, Lord Bray, Prob11/28/4 (1539; pr. 1540)

John, Lord Bray, her son & heir, Prob11/39/49 (1557)

GEC, II, 287

Trivick, *Craft and Design of Monumental Brasses*, plate 254

26. Eleanor Brereton; f. Sir Piers Dutton of Hatton (by 1502); h. Sir Randall Brereton (1530)

Wife to find priest and found almshouse and school

Chantry chapel and tomb dated 1522, Malpas, Cheshire

His will Prob11/23/26 (1530)

Glynne, *Notes on the Churches of Cheshire*, 38

27. Elizabeth Bridges, Lady Chandos (1560); f. Edmund Grey, Lord Grey of Wilton (1511); h. John Bridges, Lord Chandos of Sudley; built 2

Built both their tombs; in different places

Her will Prob11/57/5 (1559; pr. 1560)

Lord Chandos's will Prob11/39/16 (1556; pr. 1557)

Excluded wife as executor, but included her with executors to bury him at Sudley, Gloucs.

Machyn, *Diary*, 133 on him.

Stow and Motley, *Survey of London*, 684 on her; she was buried in St Faith's, St Paul

28. Anne Brooke (1548); f. William Ledes; h. Sir Richard (1529)

Jt. tomb, but wills do not specify location

His will Prob11/23/3 (1529)

Her will Prob11/32/1 (1548)

29. Lady Anne Broughton (1481); f. John Denston; h. John (1479)
 Chantry at Denston, Suffolk
 She was heir of Denston; she and husband carried out her father's wishes

 Richmond, *Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century, Fastolf's Will*, 162 and
 note 201
 CPR, Ed IV, 1467-77, 484

 His will Prob11/8/18 (1479)
30. Elizabeth Brown; f. William Paston; 1st h. Robert Poynings, Esq. (1461);
 2nd h. Sir George (1483)
 Her tomb at Black Friars, Ludgate; Sir George buried there

 Repairs at church of Dorking, Surrey, 20s
 Repair of steeple at St Albans, Woodstreet, London, 20s

 Her will Prob11/8/12 (1487; pr. 1487)
31. *Lady Lucy Brown (1531); coh. John Nevill, Marquess of Montague (1471);
 1st h. Sir Thomas Fitzwilliam (1495); 2nd h. Sir Anthony Brown (1506)

 Her will Prob11/25/15 (1531; pr. 1534)
 Brown's will Prob11/15/15 (1506)
 British Listed Buildings, South Yorkshire
 Inscription Dodsworth, Yorkshire Church Notes, 107; recorded 1620
 VCH, *County of York*, 3, 280-81
 Routh, *Medieval Effigial Alabaster Tombs in Yorkshire*, 123

 Jt. tomb with Sir Thomas in Austin Friars, Tickhill; moved to St Mary's
 Church, Tickhill, Yorkshire
32. Margaret Bulkeley (1528); f. Sir Richard Molyneux (1459); 1st h. John
 Dutton, Esq. (1473); 2nd h. William Bulkeley, Esq.
 Brass to her beneath window in south aisle
 Her chantry at altar of Our Lady
 Window in south aisle of church

 Wall, *St Helen's, Sephton*, 60-61; 73
History of the Chantries Within the County Palatine of Lancaster, 110

33. Maud Bulstrode (1531); h. Sir William Bulstrode (1527)

Jt. tomb, Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire

Chantry in parish church of St Sepulchers, London

His will Prob11/22/22 (pr. 1527)

Her will Prob11/24/11 (pr. 1531)

34. *Alice, Lady Burgh (1558); coh. f. William London, Esq.; 1st h. Edmund Rookwood; 2nd h. Sir Thomas Bedingfield (1539); 3rd h. Thomas Lord, Burgh (1549)

To be buried at Euston with Rookwood; Burgh also buried there

Bedingfield's will Prob11/26/13; she was sole executor

Lord Burgh's will Prob11/33/27; she was co-executor but probated alone

Lady Burgh's will Prob11/42/34

No will for Rookwood

35. Jane Calthorpe (1550); f. John Blennerhasset; h. Sir Philip Calthorpe (1549)

Her tomb St Martin in the Plain, Norwich

Gave church a velvet carpet and silver cup

Blomefield, IV, 373

Inscription says she died in 1550

His will Prob11/35/6 (1549)

Her will Norfolk Record Office, NCC Corant 9 (1550)

36. Margaret Capell (1522); f. Sir John Arundell of Lanherne (1473); h. Sir William Capell (1516)

Jt. chantry chapel and tomb; both left to executors to finish; at St Bartholomew Exchange, London

Her will Prob11/19/2 (1516; pr. 1522)

His will Prob11/18/13 (1515; pr. 1516)

37. Margaret Carew (1525); f. William Chedworth; h. Sir William (1501)

Jt. tomb, Bury St Edmund's, Suffolk

His will Prob11/12/11 (1501)

38. Margaret Catesby (1495); f. William de la Zouch (1468); h. Sir William (1484)

Jt tomb at Ashby St Legers
Stained-glass work of couple

Husband's will Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwicks.*, II, 789 (1485);
Prob11/7/15
Marks, *Stained Glass of Northamptonshire*, 10
Catesby Family & Their Brasses at Ashby St Ledgers, 65

39. Jane Arundell Chamond (1552); f. Sir Thomas Grenville (1513); 1st h. Sir John Arundell of Trerice (1511); 2nd h. Sir John Chamond (1544)

Wanted to be buried in St Andrews, Stratton, Cornwall, in south aisle
between two husbands

Her will *Collectanea Topographica & Genealogica*, 4: 172-174 (reprint of
will)

40. *Agnes Cheyne (1484); f. Sir William Lexham (1499-1500); 1st h. Sir John Cheyne (1468); 2nd h. Sir Edmund Molyneaux (1484)

She was heir of Chenies, Bucks; passed from her to her great-niece Anne,
d. and heir Guy Sapcote. Latter's third husband was John Russell, Earl of
Bedford.

Tomb and inscription, Chenies, Bucks.

Her will Add'l Ms. 5840 (1494), f. 19d (new pagination); Prob11/8/15
VCH, Buckinghamshire, III, 200 for death dates of husbands

41. Agnes Cheyne (1488); f. Sir John Young (1466); 1st h. Robert Sherrington;
2nd h. Robert Molyneux; 3rd h. William Cheyne, Esq.

Sir John Young was a grocer and an alderman and Mayor of London, 1466
To be buried with father; at St Michael's Church Pater Noster in the Vintry,
called otherwise Whittington College

Bequeathed her wedding gown of silk to church to be made into vestment
for church for the laud and praising of God

Walbrooke Ward

Her will Prob11/8/209 in new pagination (1488)

42. *Anne Cheyney (1562); f. Sir John Broughton (1518); h. Sir Thomas (1558)
Died on Monday, 18 May, at her manor of Todyngton, Bedfordshire;
Bedfordshire; buried in the parish church on 27 May 1562

She was d. of Anne Sapcotes Jerningham Russell

Husband's will Huntington Library EL 11,064: Prob11/42B/1
No PCC will for her

43. Margaret Choke (1483); 1st h. William Gifford; 2nd h. Sir Richard (1483)
Jt. chantry chapel, Long Ashton, Somerset; she left bequest to finish
chapel and commissioned window

Bequeathed a gown, kirtle, profession ring, and coverlet to lay before
altar to church

Her will Prob11/7/9 (1483; pr. 1484)
Choke's will Prob11/7/21 (1483; pr. 1483)
Harleian 433, f. 34d, license
French, *People of the Parish*, 104
Woodforde, *Stained Glass in Somerset*, 193, n.

44. Alice Clere (1538); f. Sir William Boleyn of Blickling (1505); h. Sir Robert
(1529)

To be buried in Ormesby church with husband

His will Prob11/24/5 (1529)
Her will TNA, PRO, E40/12173
Coexecutor of husb's will; she probated

45. *Elizabeth Clere (1477); f. Sir Thomas Uvedale (1474); h. Sir Robert (1446)
Jt. tomb in Norwich Cathedral
Chantry
£10 to build steeple at Ormesby

Her will, Dashwood, II, 315-16 (1477; 1492); two wills
His will, Dashwood, II, 314 (1446; nuncupative), she was sole executor

46. Elizabeth Clifford (1526); f. William Barley; 1st h. Sir Ralph Jocelyn (1478);
2nd h. Sir Robert (1508)

Buried with Clifford, Aspenden, Herts.

South Porch

Window in South chapel

Vestments for church

Carpet for Easter Sepulcher

Clifford's will Prob11/15/35 (1508; 1508)

Her will Prob11/22/9 (1525; 1526)

Andrews, *Brasses in Hertfordshire Churches*, 197

Jackson, *Notes on Aspenden*, 60

47. Agnes Clifton (1506); f. Sir Robert Constable of Flamborough (1488); 1st h.
Sir Walter Griffith (1481); 2nd h. Sir Gervase Clifton (1491); built 2

Clifton's tomb, Clifton, Notts

Added funds to Griffith's chantry

Jt. tomb with Griffith, Burton Agnes, Yorks

£10 for works at Burton Agnes

Clifton's will TE, 4, #31 (1491; pr. 1491)

Griffith's will TE, 3, #106 (1481; pr. 1481)

Her will TE, 4, #138 (1506; pr. 1506)

BL, Harleian 6829, f. 31

48. Isabel or Elizabeth Clifton (1457); f. Herbert alias Finch; 1st h. Wm Scott,
Esq. (1433); 2nd h. Sir Gervase Clifton (1450)

She built tomb with images of both husbands at Brabourne, Kent

Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments*, 270

Scott, *Scott Monuments in Brabourne Church*, 261-64

49. Anne Cobham (1472); f. Humphrey, first Duke of Buckingham (1460); 1st
h. Aubrey de Vere (1461); 2nd h. Sir Thomas Cobham (1471)

Jt. tomb, Lingfield, Surrey

His will Prob11/6/2 (1471; pr. 1471)

Her will Prob11/6/5 (pr. 1472)

Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory*, 180

50. *Anne Cobham (1454); coheir of f. Thomas, Lord Bardolf (1408; he was executed and lands forfeited); 1st h. Sir William Clifford; 2nd h. Sir Reginald Cobham (1446)

Jt. tomb and college or chantry, Lingfield Surrey

Added £40 per annum to husband's endowment

His will TV, I, 246 (1445)

CPR, 1446-1552, V, 240-41

Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory* 178

51. Barbara Cokayne (after 1538); f. John Fitzherbert (c. 1502); 1st h. Sir Thomas (1537); 2nd h. Vincent Lawe

Jt. tomb with Sir Thomas, Ashbourne, Derbys

His will Prob11/27/4 (1537)

Cokayne's co-executor, but he specifically asked that his tomb "be made by my wife and my executors."

52. *Elizabeth Cornwall (1489); coh., f. Sir Rowland Lenthall (1450); h. Sir Thomas Cornwall (1472)

40s for east end of St Mark's Church (i.e., Gaunts' hospital) in Bristol where she retired

£30 for erection and leading of tower at Burford parish church, her husband's parish, where Cornwalls were buried

Her will Prob11/8/23 (1489)

Erlor, "Widows in Retirement," 54

53. Katherine Courteney (1527), Countess of Devon; f. Edward IV; h. William, Earl of Devonshire (1511)

Tomb and chantry, Tiverton, Devon

Her will (1527) *Archaeological Journal*, 10 (1853), 53-57

54. Margaret Courteney (1487); f. William Lord Bonville (1461); h. Sir William of Powderham (1485)

Tomb for self and husband

Jointly built new aisle and body of the church with him

Asked to be buried there

Her will dated July 1487
 Rogers, *Ancient Sepulchral Brasses*, I, 66-67

55. Eleanor Croft; f. Sir Edward or Sir John Cornwall; h. Sir Richard Croft (1509)
 Joint tomb in Croft church, Hereford
 Built small chapel for tomb

His will Prob11/16/22
 She co-executor with son; both probated

56. Maud or Mabel Dacre, Lady Dacre (1508); f. Sir Thomas Parr (1464); h.
 Humphrey, Lord Dacre (1485)
 Jt tomb at Lanercost Priory, Cumb.
 Chantry there known as Maud's chantry

CCR, Henry VII, 2, #512, 197-98, 20 Dec. 1503; her will

- 57.*Lady Margaret Danby (1531); f. Thomas Scrope, fifth Lord Scrope of
 Masham and Upsall, coh. brother Geoffrey (1517); h. Sir Christopher Danby
 (1518)

Stained glass, middle choir, Leeds Church
 "Pray for the soul of Christopher Danby, Knight, and Lady Margery his
 wife, and their sons and daughters, who had this window made in the
 year of our lord 1521" Dodworth's Church Notes, 58

His will TE, 5:73 (86)

58. *Anne Danvers (1531); heir John Pury (1474); h. Sir William Danvers (1504)
 Jt. tomb in chantry chapel at Thatcham, Berks.

Her will Prob11/24/4 (1531; pr. 1532)
 His will Prob11/14/5 (1504; pr. 1504)

59. *Anne Danvers (1539); f. John Stradling (1471); heir of brother Edward;
 h. Sir John (1514); built 2
 Jt. tomb and separate monument for self, Dauntsey, Wilts.
 Window above tomb

His will Prob11/18/4 (1514; pr. 1514); she was principal executor

Her will Prob11/28/1 (1539; pr. 1539))

Macnamara, *Danvers Family*, 251-52

60. Sybil Danvers (1511); f. William Fowler; 1st h. Robert Brecknoke (1458) 2nd

h. Sir Thomas (1502)

Jt. tomb, Waterstock, Oxfordshire

Jt. project: St Anne's aisle, window

Stained-glass window

His will Prob11/13/10 (1502; pr. 1502)

Her will Prob11/17/2 (1511; pr. 1511)

VCH, *County of Oxfordshire*, VII, 223, 227-28

61. Anne Darrell, née Isaac; h. Sir John Darrell of Little Chart (1509)

Commissioned alabaster tomb; new inscription on north wall in Darrell Chapel

Church destroyed August 1944 in WWII

His will Prob11/16/24 (1509)

She probated with son James

62. Elizabeth Delabeare; f. William Norreys; h. Sir Richard (1513)

Jt. tomb, Hereford Cathedral

His will Prob11/18/2 (1513; pr. 1514)

63. Elizabeth De La Mere, 1494; h. Sir Thomas (1483)

Husband participated in Buckingham's rebellion and then executed, 1483

She was to be buried at Syon

Included gifts to White Friars in Fleet Street; Black Friars within Ludgate;

Grey Friars within Newgate for prayers

Her will Prob11/10/10 (1494)

64. Jane Denny (1553); f. Sir Philip Champernowne (1545); h. Sir Anthony (1549)

His tomb; probably jt., Cheshunt, Hertfordshire

His will Prob11/32/27 (1545; pr. 1549)
Her will Prob11/36/11 (1553)

65. Elizabeth Denys (1574); 1st h. Nicholas Stathum; 2nd h. Sir Maurice Denys (1563)

Nicholas Stathum a mercer

Sir Maurice Denys a lawyer; MP for Malmesbury Wiltshire; Treasurer of Calais

He left wife his house in Clerkenwell for her own use and manor of Siston for life

Denys sold some property in Clerkenwell to Edward Lord North in 1547

She wanted to be buried at Soton (i.e. Sutton) at home, "in the chapel where I was wont to sit"

To the building of "my parish church of Clerkenwell when it is in hand to be made an end of ten pounds. And to the church at Sutton at home to repair it with all as need shall be fifteen pounds"

Denys' will Prob11/48/1 (1562)
Her will Prob11/56/4 (1572)

66. Elizabeth Donne (1507); f. Sir Leonard Hastings (1455); h. Sir John Donne (1504)

Jt. tomb; chantry, St George's Chapel, Windsor

His will Prob11/13/10 (1504), sole exec
Her will Prob11/15/32 (1507; pr. 1507)

67. *Elizabeth Drury (1558); coheir of f. Henry Soteshill (1506); h. Sir William (1557)

Jt. tomb, Hawstead, Suffolk

His will Prob11/40/16 (1557; pr. 1558)
Her will Prob11/57/42 (1575; pr. 1558)

68. *Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland (1555); f. Sir Edward Guildford (1534); h. John, Duke of Northumberland (1553)

Her tomb, Chelsea Old Church, London

Her will Prob11/37/26 (1554; pr. 1555)

69. *Joan/Jane Dynham, Lady Dynham; heir of Sir Richard Arches (1417);
h. Sir John Dynham (1458)

He was buried in Black Friars, Exeter; we do not have his will

She was probably his executor, since in her will she orders her executors to pay his debts and carry out his provisions for the Chapel of Nutwell

To be buried with husband in Black Friars, Exeter

Executors to build new altar in front of their tomb

Plate to Black Friars and White Friars, Exeter; vestments to chapel at Nutwell

Her will Prob11/11/10 (1497)

70. Katherine Edgecombe (1553); f. Sir John St John; 1st h. Sir Griffith Rice (1521); 2nd h. Sir Piers (1539)

Built Edgecombe's tomb; possibly at Calstock, Cornwall

Her will Prob11/36/22 (1553; pr. 1553)

His Prob11/27/30 (1531; pr. 1539)

71. Elizabeth Elmys/Elmes (1511); h. Richard Elmys/Elmes

Both buried at Henley upon Thames, parish church, Oxon.

Established chantry in church where she was buried, for as long as funds remained from land left for that purpose, and profits of selling plate lasted

Her will Prob11/17/1 (1511)

72. Mary Englefield (1546); f. Sir John Fortescue; 1st h. John Stonor (1498); 2nd h. Sir Anthony Fettiplace (1510); 3rd h. Sir Thomas (1513)

Jt. tomb with Fettiplace, Swinbrooke, Berks.

Her will Prob11/31/22 (1545; pr. 1546)

Fettiplace's will Bl, Add'l Ms. 42,764; f. 86d-87 (pr. 1511)

Englefield's will Prob11/17/33 (1513; pr. 1513)

73. *Emmote Fermour (1501); d. & h. Simkin Harvey; 1st h. Henry Wenman (Wainman); 2nd h. Thomas Ricardis alias Fermour (1485)

Buried Witney, Oxfordshire; marble stone with two wives
Emmote probably built; she was his sole executor

His will *Some Oxfordshire Wills*, 37 (1485)

Her will *Some Oxfordshire Wills*, 70; Prob11/12/22 (1501)

74. *Constance Ferrers (1551); coh. Nicholas Brome, Esq. (1517); h. Sir Edward (1535)

Jt. tomb, Baddesley Clinton, Warwicks.
Stained-glass window

His will Prob11/25/29 (1535; pr. 1535)

Her will Prob11/34/29 (1551; pr. 1551)

VCH, *County of Warwickshire*, IV, 17

Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, II, 973

75. Dorothy Ferrers (1532); f. William Harper; h. Sir John (1513)

Jt. tomb and chantry that she endowed, Tamworth, Staffs
zod to maintain canopy and body of church

His will Prob11/17/23 (1513; pr. 1513)

Her will BL, Add'l Ms. 28,174, f. 464, 466, deeds (1532)

Palmer, *History of Tamworth*, 83, 90-91(online)

76. *Elizabeth Fettiplace (1516); f. Thomas Waldron (1480); 1st h. John Kentwood; 2nd h. William Fettiplace (1529)

Fettiplaces buried at Childrey

Joint founders of chantry there

When Ashmole visited church in early 18th century, complete epitaph still there

His will Prob11/17/23 (1529)

BL, Add'l Ms. 42,763, f. 37, 39d; 42,764 f. 8

BL, Add'l Ms. 42,764, has informative pamphlet about the chantry inserted after f. 145

VCH, Berkshire, 2, 93; Berkshire, 4, 276, 279

77. Jane Fiennes, Lady Clinton (1457); d. Sir Ralph Mignall; 1st h. John Staunton; 2nd h. Sir Thomas (1415)

Tomb, St Bartholomew the Less, London

Refers to “my new church” at St Bartholomew; probably means chantry chapel

Gave a vestment to church of Hertishoren

Her will Prob11/4/19 (1457)

78. *Joan Fiennes, Lady Dacre of the South (1485); heir of grandfather, Thomas, sixth Lord Dacre (1458); f. Sir Thomas Dacre (1448); h. Sir Richard Fiennes (1483)

Jt. tomb at Hurstmonceaux

His will BL, Add'l Ms. 5485, ff. 119-21.

Her will Prob11/7/24 (1485)

79. Elizabeth Fineux (1539); f. Sir John Paston (1504); 1st h. William Clere (1501); 2nd h. Sir John Fineux (1526)

Her tomb at Herne, Kent

£5 for building church where buried

His will Prob11/22/1 (1525; pr. 1526)

Her will TV, II, 686 (1539)

80. Eleanor Fitzalan, Countess of Arundel (1455); f. Sir John Berkeley; 1st h. John, Earl of Arundel (1421); 2nd h. Sir Richard Poynings (c. 1430); 3rd h. Walter, Lord Hungerford (1449)

Jt. tomb with earl and chantry, Arundel, Sussex

Her will Prob11/4/3 (1455)

Poynings will Prob11/3/14 (1439)

Hungerford's will *Testamenta Vetusta*, I, 257

81. Benedicta Fitzherbert (1531); f. John Bradbourne; h. Sir John Fitzherbert (1517; pr. 1531) of Norbury; older brother of Sir Anthony (1538)

Husband accused her of lewdness; separated from her

His will quoted in Rev. L. J. Bowyer, *The Ancient Parish of Norbury* 88

Cox, *Notes on the Churches of Derbyshire* (Chesterfield: W. Edmunds, 1877), III, 239

His tomb is at Norbury, in the south chapel to the west of the tower

Bowyer, 86, 88

She built her own tomb at Norbury with an incised slab

82. *Elizabeth Fitzherbert (1491); heir of John Marshall; h. Sir Ralph Fitzherbert (1483)

Jt. tomb, Norbury, Derbyshire

Various sums for fabric of churches in Yoxhall, Sibison Diffield, Colwich, and Rocester

His will (1483) *Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 19, 94-100

Her will (1491), *ibid*, 20, 32-39

Rev. Reginald H. C. Fitzherbert had access to and printed the wills in private hands of Mr. Basil Fitzherbert

Camm, *Forgotten Shrines*, 18-19

83. *Jane Fitzwilliam; coh. Sir John Ormond (1541); 1st h. Sir Thomas Denham (1521); 2nd h. Sir Edward Grevill (1528); 3rd h. Sir William Fitzwilliam the Elder (1534); built 2

Her tomb, St Thomas the Apostle, London

Denham's tomb at Eyethorpe, Bucks.

To church of Waddesdon, vestment

Her will Prob11/29/10f (1541; pr. 1542);

Sir Thomas Denham Prob11/19/25 (1519; pr. 1521)

Sir Edward Grevill, Prob11/23/11 (1528; pr. 1529)

Sir William Fitzwilliam, Prob11/25/17 & 33 (1534; pr. 1534)

84. Elizabeth Fitzwilliams (1548); f. Sir Thomas Barnardiston (1503); h. Sir George (1536)

Her tomb in London

Her will Prob11/32/15 (1548; pr. 1548)

He died 1536; inscription at Mablethorpe, Lincs.

85. Alice Fogge (after 1512); f. Sir William Hawte (1462); h. Sir John (1490)
 Husband founded Ashford College
 She gave land Ashford College to found chantry, 1512

His will Prob11/7/15 or 18 (1490)

Her will Prob11/12/2

Hussey, *Kent Obits*, 8-9

Halstead, *History of the County of Kent*, VII, 526-45

86. *Jane Fowler 1505); f. John Danvers (1448); heir of grandfather Sir William Bruly (1395); h. Richard, Chancellor of Duchy of Lancashire (1478)
 Her tomb, Syon
 He buried in St Romwald Church, Prebendary, Buckinghamshire

Her will Prob11/14/28 (1505; pr. 1505)

His will Prob11/6/32 (1477)

87. *Elizabeth Frowick (1455); coh. William Ashe; h. Sir Thomas of Old Fold (1448)
 Jt. chantry at South Mimms, Middlesex, 1448

His will Prob11/1/13 (1446; pr. 1448)

Her will Prob11/4/4 (1455; pr. 1455)

Gough, *Monumental Sepulchers*, II (2), 153

Cameron, "Brasses of Middlesex, Part 23," 229

88. Elizabeth Frowick (1515); f. John Barnefelde (by 1482); 1st h. Sir Thomas Frowick (1506); 2nd h. Thomas Jakys
 Jt. tomb with Jakys; chantry altar; Blackfriars, London

Chalice, cope and vestment to Wellysburgh church

Her will Prob11/18/13 (1515; pr. 1515)

Frowick's will Prob11/15/15 (1505)

Jakys will Prob11/18/2 (1512; pr. 1514)

89. Joan Frowyck (1500); f. Richard Sturgeon (c. 1456); Sir Thomas of Gunnersbury (it1485)
 Husband a mercer; MP for Middlesex 1447, 1450-1; 1460; 1467-8

House in parish of St Thomas Apostle where she lived; in will says it her parish

She lived at in Ipres Inn; left to son Thomas with two adjoining tenements

According to her will, she seems to have had other property in London
 Asked to be buried in Ealing church, Middlesex; husband buried there;
 coexecutor of his will

Her will Prob11/12/2 (1500)

His will Prob/11/7/15 (1485); she was his coexecutor; probated

90. Ursula Giffard (1581); f. Sir Robert Throckmorton (1518/19); h. Sir Thomas (1560)

Jt. tomb, Brewood, Staffs.

His will Prob11/43/36 (1559; pr. 1560)

Wrottesley, Giffards, 125

91. Katherine Gordon; f. George Gordon, second Earl of Huntley; 1st h. Perkin Warbeck; 2nd James Strangeways (1516); 3rd Sir Matthew Craddock (1531); 4th Christopher Asshton, Esq.

Tomb for Strangeways, Southwark Cathedral, London

Jt. chantry with Strangeways

Her will Prob11/27/10 (1537; 1537)

Strangeways' will Prob11/18/26 (1516)

Craddock's will Prob11/24/7 (1531)

Asshton survived her; built her tomb

92. *Elizabeth Goring (1558); f. John Covert (1558); h. Sir William (1558)

Jt. tomb, Burton, Sussex

Her will Prob11/42A/21 (1558)

His will Prob11/37/38 (1553; pr. 1555)

93. Isabel Gresham; f. John Warsop; 1st h. Taverson; 2nd h. Sir Richard (1549)

Left mansion and five tenements to distribute alms and coal

Built her own tomb; Gresham was buried with first wife; excluded her from his executors

His will Prob11/32/31 (1549)
 Her will Prob11/48/16 (1565; pr. 1565)

94. Katherine Gresley (1572); f. Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley (1553); h. Sir George (1548)

Jt. tomb, Gresley, Staffs.

His will Prob11/32/8 (1548)
 Her will probated at Litchfield; reference in Madden, *Gresleys of Drakelow*, 66 (1572)

95. Lady Anne Grey; f. William Barlee (1521); 1st h. Lord John Grey (1523); 2nd h. Sir Richard Clement (1538)

Her tomb, Albury, Hertfordshire

Her will Prob11/40/19 (1557; 1558)
 Clement's will Prob11/27/23 (1538)

96. Lady Anne Grey (1559); f. Sir Edward Jerningham; 1st h. Lord Edward Grey (1517); 2nd h. Henry Barlee (1529); 3rd h. Sir Robert Drury; 4th h., Sir Edward Walsingham; built 2

She was buried with 1st h., Lord Edward Grey

Jt. tomb, St Clement's London

Buried Drury with 1st wife at Bury St Edmund's, Suffolk

Her will Prob11/42B/17 (1558; pr. 1558)
 Drury's Will Prob11/25/32 (1531; pr. 1536), she was overseer
 Walsingham's Will Prob11/33/35 (1550; pr. 1550), she was overseer

97. *Cecily Grey, Marchioness of Dorset (1530); f. William Bonville, Lord Harrington (1460); 1st h. Thomas, Marquess of Dorset (1521); 2nd h. Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire (1523)

Jt. tomb with Dorset, Astley, Warwicks.

Dorset Aisle, Ottery St Mary, Devon

Chantry at Porlock, Somerset; originally endowed by great-grandfather; also canopy over his tomb

North Aisle and chantry at Axminster, Devon

Dorset's will Prob11/13/7 (pr. 1501)
 Her will Prob11/23/22 (1527; pr. 1530)

Cook, *Chantries*, 163
Davidson, Axminster, 58-63

98. Joan Grey, Viscountess Lisle; 1st h. John Treguran; 2nd h. Robert Drope (1485); 3rd h., Edward, Viscount Lisle (1492); built 2
Jt. tomb with Drope, St Michael's Cornhill, London
Tomb of 3rd h., Astley, Warwicks.
Chantry at Astley for 3rd h.

£90 for new making of rood loft at St Michael's, church of Drapers Company; 13s 4d per annum for repairs of same and of church in general
£5 for repairs and works at parish church of Chelchite (?)
£5 for repairs and works at Syon
£6 for repairs and new building at St Bartholomew, Smithfield
£20 for repairs, works and poor at Nutley, Hampshire
£5 for repairs and works at Rewley Monastery near Oxford, £5
Gave her house in St Michael's Cornhill to church in return for prayers

Treguran's will Prob11/5/29 (1489)
Drope's will Prob11/8/4 (1485, pr. 1485)
Lisle's will Prob11/9/13 (1492, pr. 1492)
Her will Prob11/12/10 (1501, pr. 1501)

99. Margaret Grey, Countess of Kent (1540); f. James Fynche; 1st h. Oliver Curteys (1504); 2nd h. John Dawes (1514); 3rd h. Richard, Earl of Kent (1523); built 2
Probably built tomb of 1st h; jt. tomb with 3rd h.
No will for earl, but she asked to be buried with him at White Friars, London

Bequeathed 10s money to repair body of the church of St Anne within Aldwichgate where Curteys buried; she was sole executor

Her will Prob11/28/20 (1540)
On Curteys, McMurray, *Records of Two City Parishes*, 205
Curteys will Prob11/14/6 (1504)
Dawes will Prob11/18/4 (1514)

100. Beatrice Lady Greystock (1505); f. Hatcliffe; 1st h. Ralph Lord Greystock (1487); 2nd h. Robert Constable, serjeant at law (1501)
Jt. tomb with Constable, Sancton, Yorks.

Constable's will TE, 4, #100 (1501; pr. 1502)

Greystock's will TE, 4, #14 (1487; pr. 1487)

Her will TE, 4, #133 (1505; pr. 1505)

101. Elizabeth Greystock (1509); f. Sir Robert Tailboys; 1st h. Sir John Vavasour (1506); 2nd h. Sir John Greystock

Her tomb, St Helen's Bishopsgate, London

Vavasour's will Prob11/15/16 (pr. 1506)

Her will Prob11/16/16 (1502; pr. 1509)

Plate to St Helen's, Thornham Convent, Our Lady of Lincoln

102. Lady Jane Guildford (1538); f. William Vaux (1471); 1st h. Sir Richard (1506); 2nd h. Sir Anthony Poyntz (1533)

Her tomb at Blackfriars, London

May have finished Jesus Chapel at the Gaunts' Hospital in Bristol that her father-in-law, Sir Robert Poyntz started; she was living at hospital in 1535

Guildford's will Prob11/17/28 (1506; pr. 1508)

Her will Prob11/27/21 (pr. 1538)

Poyntz's will Prob11/19/28 (1520)

PRO, SP1/96, f. 93

Erler, *Widows in Retirement*, p 65

103. Philippa Hampden (1579); f. John Willford; 1st h. Sir John Hampden (1554); 2nd h. Sir Thomas Smith (1577)

Jt. tomb, Great Hampden, Bucks., with both wives (1553)

Hampden's will Prob11/37/11 (1553; pr. 1554)

Her will Prob11/61/30 (1579)

Smith's Will Prob11/59/31 (1577)

104. Katherine Harcourt (1488); f. Sir Thomas de la Pole; 1st h. Sir Miles Stapleton (1466); 2nd h. Sir Robert Harcourt (1486)

£10 to make choir at Rewley Abbey

Pair of vestments made of her garments to abbess and convent of Godstow

She was buried with Stapleton at Ingham, Norfolk

Sir Robert's will Prob11/7/27 (1486; pr. 1486)
 Her will Prob11/18/17 (1488; pr. 1489)
 Stapleton's will Prob11/8/16 (1466)

Badham, "Beautiful Remains...", 27

105. Margaret Byron Harcourt; f. Sir John (1450); 1st h. Sir Wm Atherton (1450);
 2nd h. Sir Robert Harcourt (1470)
 She was still alive in 1484

Do not have wills

Jt. tomb in Harcourt Chapel, Stanton Harcourt; both have effigies

106. Anne Hastings, Countess of Huntingdon (after 1544); f. Henry Stafford,
 Duke of Buckingham (1483); 1st h. Sir Walter Herbert (1507); 2nd h. George,
 Earl of Huntingdon (1544)

Jt. tomb with 2nd husband at Stoke Pogis, Bucks.

She probably built their tomb, since the earl was buried where she held
 dower rather than where he directed

His will HEH, Hastings Collection, Box 7, 16 (roll; 1538)
 GEC, 6, 655

107. *Joan Hastings (1505); f. William Romondbye; 1st h. Richard Pigot, sergeant-
 at-law (1483); 2nd h. Robert Lord Hastings of Welles & Willoughby (1503)

Jt. tomb with Hastings, Grey Friars, London

Five chantries

Silver and gilt cross to Grey Friars

Pigot's will TE 3, #115 (1483; pr. 1484)
 Hasting's will North Country Wills, #51 (1502; pr. 1503)
 Her will North Country Wills, #52 (1505; pr. 1505)

108. Katherine Lady Hastings; f. Richard, Earl of Salisbury; h. William Lord
 Hastings (1483); built 2

Her tomb, Ashby de la Zouche

Chantry at Windsor

Vestments and gilded chalice to Ashby de la Zouche

His will HEH, Hastings Collection, HAP Box 4, folder 12 (1481; pr. 1483)

His tomb, St George's Chapel, Windsor

Her will HAP Box 4, folder 12 (1503; pr. 1504)

109. Katherine Hastings; f. Sir John Aske (1497); h. Sir John (1504)

Her will TE, 3.275n (1507)

Asked brother to put stone on her tomb at Acton or Aughton

Vestments to Our Lady in four different churches

110. Katherine Hawte (1493); f. Thomas Boston; to be buried with father; 1st

h. Walter Writtle (1473); 2nd h. John Green (1486); 3rd h. Sir Richard (1493)

Her tomb with father, St Pancras, London

Stained glass at St Mary Aldermanbury Church, London

Sir Richard's will Prob11/9/21 (1493; pr. 1493)

Her will Prob11/9/21 (1493)

111. *Anne Herbert, Countess of Pembroke (1588); f. George Talbot, Earl of

Shrewsbury; heir of mother Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury (1567); h.

William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke

Her tomb at Erith with mother

Husband's will 11/52/15 (1570)

Her will 11/72/54 (1588)

112. Margaret Heron (1532); h. Sir John (1525)

Jt. tomb, Hackney, London

Vestments for Hackney parish church; church of Gelson, Herts.

Jewel for my Lady of Walsingham

His will Prob11/ 21/22 (1520; pr. 1525)

Her will Prob11/24/19 (1531; pr. 1532)

113. Mary Heveningham (1571); d. Sir John Shelton (1539); 1st h. Sir Anthony

(1558); 2nd h. Philip Appleyard (1571 or after)

Jt. tomb, Hevingham, Suffolk

Hevingham's will Dashwood, II, 398 (1557; pr. 1558)

114. Anne Heydon (1510); f. Sir Geoffrey Boleyn (1509); h. Sir Henry
Buried Cathedral of Norwich

His will Prob11/14/23 (1503)

Her will Prob11/16/28 (1510)

115. Elizabeth Hill (1501); h. Sir Thomas, grocer (1485)
He a Lord Mayor; buried in Mercers Chapel, formerly St. Thomas of Acre,
Stow, I, 273
She gave £10 when built kitchens and other "houses of office adjoining"
the Guildhall

She asked to be buried beside husband at St Thomas

She established perpetual prayers at St Martin's Outwich

Her will Prob11/12/23 (1501)

CCR, Henry VII, 76 (1501); Prob11/11/2

116. Elizabeth Holles (1544); f. John Scopeham; h. Sir William (1542)
Jt. tomb, St Helen's Bishopsgate, London
Founder of almshouses with chantry

Vestments; silver and gilt chalice to St Helen's

Her will Prob11/30/4 (1544)

His will Prob11/29/14 (1542)

She co-executor, but probate to her

117. *Thomasine Hopton (1498); d. John Barrington; 1st h. William Lunsford
(1445); 2nd h. William Sidney, MP (1449); 3rd h. John Hopton (1478)

Her dower house at Yoxford, had belonged to Hopton

Built tomb for daughter Thomasine Tendering (1485), who died in child-
birth at Yoxford

Built tomb for daughter Elizabeth Knevet (1471), who was also buried at
Yoxford

Purple vestment to Blythborough; altar cloth and money to buy a cope
for Much Stanway, Essex

Prob11/11/18 asked to be buried with John Hopton at Blythborough
He had built tomb and chantry there

118. Agnes Howard, Duchess of Norfolk (1545); f. Hugh Tilney (1491); h. Thomas, second Duke of Norfolk (1524)

Her tomb at Lambeth; his may be at Framlingham; at Thetford until
Dissolution

His will Prob11/ 21/23 (1524)

Wife coexecutor, but probated

Her will Prob11/30/40 (1542; pr. 1545)

119. Dorothy Howard (1530); f. Thomas Troyes; 1st h. Sir William Uvedale (1529); 2nd h. Edmund, Lord Howard (1539)

Jt. tomb with Sir William at Wykeham, Hamps.

Under name "Dorothy Howard", asked to be buried with Sir William

Uvedale's will Prob11/23/4 (1528; pr. 1529)

Her will Prob11/23/22 (1530; pr. 1530)

120. *Dame Jane Huddleston (1519); f. Sir Miles Stapleton (1466); 1st h. Christopher Harcourt (1477); 2nd h. Sir John (1512)

Jt. tomb, Hailes Monastery, Glos.

Finish aisles of church at Hailes Monastery

Chantry at Winchcombe Monastery

Left 100 marks to found almshouse; used to found school; income £20

Vestments, church plate to Hailes; crucifix, mass book

Huddleston's will Prob11/17/21 (1512)

Her will Prob11/19/19 (1518; pr. 1519)

Orme, *Education in the West of England*, 187-88

121. Christian Hungerford (1504); f. John Hall; h. Sir Thomas

Buried with husband at Cirencester Abbey in Lady Chapel

Her will Prob11/14/16 (1504)

122. Dorothy Hungerford (1560); f. Sir John Danvers (1515); 1st h. John Fettiplace the elder (1524); 2nd h. Sir Anthony Hungerford (1558)

Jt. tomb with Fettiplace, East Shefford, Berkshire

40s for repair of church at East Shefford

Fettiplace will Prob11/21/28 (1524; p4 1524)

Hungerford will Prob11/ 42a/4 (1558; pr. 1558)

Her will Prob11/43/12 (1560)

123. *Margaret, Lady Hungerford (1476); f. William, Lord Botreaux (1462); h. Robert, Lord Hungerford (1459); built 2

Built both their tombs and chantry, Salisbury Cathedral, Wilts.

Hospital at Heytesbury, Wilts.

20s to repair chapel of Little Cheverell

20 marks to Friars of Fisherton

Huge bequest of vestments and chapel plate to chapel at Salisbury Cathedral

His will Prob11/4/17 (1459; pr. 1459)

Her will HEH, Hastings Collection, HAP, Box 4, folder 3 (1476; pr. 1476)

Rev. J. E. Jackson, "Inventory of Chantry Furniture, 1872, Hungerford Chapel," *The Wiltshire Archaeological and History Magazine*, 11 (1869), 334-339

124. Margaret Hungerford (1531); f. Edward Blount; h. Sir John (1524)

Jt. tomb, Cirencester Abbey

Chantry; left £120 to found at Cirencester

Vestment and piece of gilt to parish church

His will Prob11/21/25 91524; pr. 1524)

Her will Prob11/24/4 (1527; pr. 1531)

125. *Margery Hungerford (1486); f. Edward Burnell (1484); h. Sir Edward of Down Ampney (1484)

Donated ornaments necessary to perform services, a missal, and jewels to Down Ampney parish church

Her will Prob11/7/3 (1486)

126. *Isabel Johnson (1551); f. Thomas Lindley; 1st h. Brian Palmes, sergeant at law (1528); 2nd h. Sir Thomas (1546); built 2

All buried at Ottley, her inheritance

Palmes' will TE, 5, #192 (1528; pr. 1529)

Johnson's will TE, 6, #162 (1542; pr. 1546)

Her will TE, 6, #230 (1550; pr. 1551)

127. *Eleanor Kempe (1560); f. Robert Brown of Betchworth Castle; 1st h. Thomas Fogge; 2nd h. Sir William Kempe (1538)

Prob11/27/29 (1539); husband's will; asked to be buried with his parents at Wye

Prob11/43/59 (1560); she asked to be buried at the Savoy in London

128. *Mary Jerningham Kingston (1548); f. Richard Scrope of Bentley, younger son of Henry Lord Scrope; 1st h. Sir Edward Jerningham (1515); 2nd h. Sir William Kingston (1541); built 2

Kingston's tomb, Painswick, Glos.

Jerningham buried with first wife at Somerleyton

Jerningham, Prob11/18/4 (1512; pr. 1515)

Kingston's will Prob11/28/32 (1539; pr. 1541)

Her will Prob11/32/22 (1548)

129. Susan Kingston (1540); f. Richard Fettiplace of East Shefford (1522); h. John Kingston (1514)

He was buried in Childrey, Berkshire

Tomb for both of them at Childrey

She was actually buried at Shalston, Bucks.; though brass at Childrey shows her with husband

Kingston's will BL, Add'l Ms. 42,764, f. 150 (formerly 296)

Her will BL, Add'l Ms. 42,763, 41 (formerly 77)

130. *Jane Skennard Knightley (1550); heir of Henry Skennard; h. Sir Richard (1534)

Jt. tomb, Fawsley, Northants.

Jt. nave clerestory window

Made roof at same time

His will Prob 11/25/23 (1529; pr. 1535), probated his will

Marks, *Medieval Stained Glass of Northampton*, 65

Bridges, *History of Northamptonshire*, II, 69

131. Jane Spencer Knightley (1560); f. Sir John; h. Sir Richard
Jt. Tomb, Upton, Northants.

His will Prob11/28/8 (1538; pr. 1540)

132. *Jane Knyvett, Lady Berners (1561); heir John Bouchier, Lord Berners;
h. Sir Edmund (1539)

Jt. Tomb, Ashwellthorpe, Norfolk, her inheritance

Her will NRO, Knyvett-Wilson Papers, KNY 435 37X9 (1560; pr. 1561)

His will 11/34/30

133. Agnes Leigh (1525), h. Sir John (1524)

Jt. tomb, Godshill, Hampshire

Chantry

His will Prob11/21/18 (1522; pr. 1524)

Her will Prob 11/21/34 (1525; pr. 1525)

134. Isabel Leigh (1527); f. Otwell Worsley (1524); h. Sir John Leigh of Stockwell
(1523)

Jt. tomb, Lambeth, London

40s to repair ornaments of Leigh chantry

His will Prob11/21/15 (1523; pr. 1523)

Her will Prob11/22/18 (1526; pr. 1527)

135. Katherine Grey Lewkenor (1505); f. Thomas Lord Scales; 1st h. Sir Thomas
Grey; 2nd h. Richard Lewkenor the Elder, Esq. (1503)

Jt. tomb, chantry, and almshouse, East Grinstead, Sussex

Her silver basin and ewer to parish of East Grinstead to be made into
cross at expense of parish

All her silk gowns and furs to be given to churches "here about" to make
vestments

Her will TNA, PRO, Prob11/14/34 (1505; pr. 1505)

Lewkenor's will, Folger Library, Z. c. 35 (2) (1503)

136. Margaret Leynham (1482); f. Sir John Fray (1461); h. Sir John (1461)
 Chantry for mother at St Bartholomew the Less; mother Agnes Say (1478)
 Fray was her mother's 2nd husband

Both buried at Charterhouse

Her great carpet for Charterhouse was to be spread before the high altar
 to the honor and worship of God

Leynham's will Prob 11/6/37 (1478; pr. 1478)

Her will Prob 11/7/6 (1482; pr. 1482)

CPR, Ed. IV, Ed V, Rich III, III, 1475-85, 1482, 260

137. Mary Lisle (1524); h. Sir John (1524)
 Jt. tomb, Thruyton, Hampshire

His will Prob 11/21/19 (1520; pr. 1524)

Her will Prob 11/21/127 (1524; pr. 1524)

138. *Alice Lovell [Parker], Lady Morley; f. William Lord Morley (1475); 1st h. Sir
 William Parker (1510); 2nd h. Sir Edward Howard, son of Duke of Norfolk (1512)

She was coheir of her brother Henry, not her father

GEC, IX, 220-21

She asked to be buried at Hingham; left £26 13s 4d for this purpose

She was buried in chancel, Blomefield 2, 222-45

Her will Prob 11/19/15 (1518)

Howard's will Prob 11/17/18 (1512)

Widow was his sole executor; commissioned tomb for her second husband
 in Brittany for £20

139. Isabel Lovell (1509); f. Thomas Manners, Lord Ros (1467); h. Sir Thomas (1524)
 First wife Eleanor, was d. of Geoffrey Ratcliffe

Sir Thomas spent £11 on glass for the clerestory windows and for carvings
 of badges and coats of arms in the church, and in 1531 his widow spent
 £3 on a window there

He was buried at Holywell, Middlesex
VCH, *History of the County of Middlesex*, vol. 5, 245-9

140. Elizabeth Catesby Lucy; f. Sir Richard Empson (1510); 1st h. George Catesby (1504); 2nd h. Sir Thomas Lucy (1525)

Catesby's will Prob11/15/6 (1504); she was co-executor; she and others probated

Catesby ordered a memorial stone for him and his widow at Ashby St Legers; we do not know if she chose to be buried there

Sir Thomas Lucy's will Prob11/23/38 (1525); she was co-executor; probated through procurator

141. Margaret Lutterell (1580); f. Sir Thomas Wyndham; h. Sir Andrew (1538)
Stained glass, East Quantock, Soms.

Jt. tomb at East Quantock

His will Prob11/27/19 (1537)

She was his sole executor and probated the will

Her will Prob11/66/74 (1580)

VCH, *County of Somerset*, v. 122

142. Anne Manners, Lady Roos; f. Sir Thomas Leger (1483); Leger m. sister of Edward IV; h. George, Lord Ros

Jt. tomb and chantry at Windsor

His will Prob11/17/24 (1513)

Her will Prob11/22/16 (1525; pr. 1526)

143. Eleanor Manners, Lady Rutland (1551); f. Sir William Paston (1554); h. Thomas, Earl of Rutland (1543)

His will North Country Wills, Surtees Society v. 116, 184-90 (1543)

Add'l Ms. 71,474, 74d

The epitaph on Rutland's tomb said he and his wife were buried there, but she was actually buried at St Leonard's, Shoreditch, London

Machyn, Diary, p. 343-4: Parish of Shoreditch, 4 kneeling effigies on monument; Eleanor, 1st ctess o Rutland, 1551; Katherine, Countess of Westmorland, wife of Ralph, 1555; Margaret, wife of 2d earl of Rutland,

1560; Lady Katherine Constable, 1591, granddaughter of the 1st countess; illust in Ellis, Shoreditch, p. 56; Nichols, Leicestershire, 2, plate xii, p. 343: Kath, countess of Westmoreland, died at Holywell, the house of her son-in-law, earl o Rutland; 1555; buried at Shoreditch

Strype ed o Stow, vol. 2, book 4, 51f (St Leonard's, Shoreditch):

"This monument is erected in memory that within this church do lie buried the bodies of the Right Honorable and Noble Ladies, Lady Katherine Stafford, daughter to Edward, duke of Buckingham, and wife to Ralph, earl of Westmorland, who died 1553. Lady Alianore, daughter to Sir William Paston, knight, and wife to the Right Honorable Lord Thomas, earl of Rutland, buried 1551. Lady Margaret Nevill, daughter to Ralph, earl of Westmorland, and wife to Henry, earl of Rutland, who d. 1560. And the lady Katherine Nevill, wife to Sir John Constable of Holderness, knight, and daughter to Henry, earl of Westmorland. And Lady Anne Manners, daughter to Thomas, earl of Rutland. Which Katherine died the seven and twentieth day of March, anno domini 1591."

Founded by Lady Adeline Nevill at the direction of her sister Katherine Constable in Feb. 1591.

Also recorded in Lansdowne 874, f. 67

145. Margaret Vernon Coffin Manners (1550); f. Sir Richard Dymoke; 1st h. Richard Vernon (1517); 2nd h. Sir William Coffin (1537); 3rd h. Sir Richard Manners (1551)

Buried with first husband at Tong, Derbyshire; we do not know if she built tomb

Coffin's tomb at Standon, Hertfordshire, which she commissioned

Coffin's will Prob11/27/27 (1537; pr. 1538)

Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 1, 667

L&P, XIV (pt. 2), #650.

146. Isabel Manningham (1521), h. Sir John (1498)

Jt. tomb, Christ Church Priory, London

He chose place of burial there before he died

Sheriff of Bedfordshire, 1457

His will Prob11/11/29 (1498)

Her will Prob11/20/10 (1521)

147. Bridget Marney, Lady Marney (1549); f. Sir William Waldgrave; 1st h. William Fyndern (1524); 2nd h. John Lord Marney (1524)

Jt. tomb with 1st h., Little Horksley, Essex; images of both husbands on brass

To repair body of church of Little Horkesley, 3s 4d

To repair Trinity Chapel in same church, 3s 4d

To repair Lady Chapel in same church, 3s 4d

Marney's will Prob 11/21/35 (1525)

Her will Prob 11/33/11 (1549)

148. Joan Robinson Middleton; h. Sir William Middleton (1553)

Jt. tomb, Ilkeley, Yorks.

Wife sole executor

His will TE: 6, #224, 290 (1549; pr. 1553) TE, 6: #224, 290 (1549; pr. 1553)

149. Matilda [alias Maud] Middleton (1496); f. John Throgmorton; 1st h. Sir Thomas Green (1468); 2nd h. Richard Middleton, Esq. (1489)

Found chantry for Middleton with lands to value of £8 per annum

Buried with Green at Norton's Green, Northants.

Inscription

CPR, Henry VII, II, 74 (1496)

Halstead, *Succinct Genealogical Proofs of the House of Greene*, x-xi

150. Isobel Morley, Lady Morley (1467); f. Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk;

h. Thomas Lord Morley (1435)

Jt. Tomb, Hingham, Norfolk

40s for repair of church

Add'l Ms. 34, 122A; account of Lady Morley

Her will (1466-67), Blomefield, *Topographical History of Norfolk*, II, 430

151. Elizabeth Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk (1507); f. John, first Earl of Shrewsbury (1453); h. John Mowbray, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1476)

To monks of Thetford, altar cloth, suit of vestments, two silver basins

Husband buried there

Her tomb, Minories, London

Her will Prob11/15/25 (1506; pr. 1507)

152. Eleanor (Helen, Ellen) Nevill (1529); d. Sir Richard Townley (1482); h. Sir Robert of Liversedge (1542)

Jt. tomb at Birstall, Yorkshire

South aisle window

Dodsworth's Church Notes, 56: south aisle epitaph under window that has arms of Nevill of Liversedge and Townley: "Pray for _____ Townley, his wife, who had this window made in the year of our lord 1523."

His will TE, 6:126 (155)

She was sole executor

153. *Elizabeth Neville, Lady Latimer (1480); coh. Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (1439); 1st h. George, Lord Latimer (1469); 2nd h. Thomas Wake, Esq. (1476); built 2

Her tomb, Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick

Endowed chantry

Vestments to Beauchamp chapel and Wells

1st h. buried at Wells, Yorks

Her will TV, 1, 357-61 (1480; pr. 1480)

GEC, Complete Peerage, VII, 480.

154. Elizabeth Nevill, Lady Bergavenny (1499); 1st h. Sir Robert Bassett (c. 1480); 2nd h. Richard Naylor (1483); 3rd h. John Stokker; 4th h. George, Lord Bergavenny (1492)

Buried with Naylor, St Martin's Outwich, London

Founded a perpetual chantry there

Stokker's will Prob11/5/4 (1464)

Naylor's will Prob11/7/7 (1483)

Coexecuted will with Naylor son

Bergavenny's will TV, 2:406 (1492)

Her will Prob11/12/8 (1499; pr. 1500)
Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. Strype, I, vi, 117

155. Isabel Newton (1498): f. Thomas Cheddar; h. Sir John (1488)
Jt. tomb & chantry, Yatton, Soms
South porch of church

His will Prob11/8/8 (1487; 1488)
Her will Prob11/11/23 (1498; 1498)

156. Margaret, Lady North (1574); f. Richard Butler; 1st h. Andrew Francis (1542); 2nd h. Robert Chertsey (1555); 3rd h. David Brooke, chief baron of the Exchequer (1558); 4th h. Edward North, Lord North (1563)
Jt. tomb with Chertsey, St Lawrence Jewry, London

Her will Prob11/57/49 (1474; pr. 1475)
Francis's will Prob11/29/16 (pr. 1542)
Chertsey's will Prob 11/37/33 (1553; 1555)
Brooke's will Prob11/43/10 (1558)
Lord North's will Prob11/48/71563lor 1564)

She was sole executor of first three husbands; North excluded her

157. Jane Norton, f. Hornby (1536); 1st h. Sir Richard Fitzlewis (1529); 2nd h. Sir John Norton (1534); built 2

Jt. tomb with Fitzlewis at West Horndon, Essex
20s for high altar and reparations at West Horndon

Also built tomb at Faversham, Kent
Originally expected to be buried there with Norton, but he chose to be buried elsewhere with first wife

Fitzlewis's will Prob11/23/13 (1527; pr. 1529)
She probated, though she was a co-executor
Norton's will Prob11/25/2 (1534; pr. 1534); she was overseer
Her will Prob 11/265/26 (1535; pr. 1535)

158. Alice Ogard (1460); 1st h. Hugh Cokesey; 2nd h. Sir Andrew Ogard (1454)
Jt. Tomb, Wymondham Abbey

Blomefield, II, 525; listed jt. tomb of Sir Andrew with first wife, Margaret Clifton, but Alice also buried there.

His will Prob11/4/2/ (1454)
She was principal executor and supervisor

159. Anne Packington (1563); f. Henry Dacres; h. Sir John (1551)
Her tomb in St Botolph's Aldersgate
Almshouses

His will Prob11/34/30 (1551; pr. 1551)
Her will Prob11/47/10 (1563; 1563)

160. *Mary, Lady Parr (1555); f. Sir William Salisbury; h. William Lord Parr of Horton

She inherited Horton
Jt tomb, Horton, Northants.

His will Prob11/31/6 (1546; pr. 1548)
She was co-executor, but probated

161. *Maud Parr (1529); f. Sir Thomas Green; h. Sir Thomas Parr (1517)
Jt. tomb, Black Friars, London
Stained glass in chantry chapel where buried
Her apparel to be made into vestments for three named parish churches

James, *Feminine Dynamic in English Art*, 14-15

His will *North Country Wills*, #67 (1517; pr. 1518)
Her will *North Country Wills*, #68 (1529; 1531)

162. *Margaret Mautby Paston (1484); f. John Mautby ; h. John Paston I (1466)

Husband buried at Bromholme as requested in will

She buried at Mautby, her inheritance
She was involved in building her tomb; south aisle of church at Mautby

Detailed directions in her will

She and husband also rebuilt nave and transepts of St Peter Hungate, Norwich

Richmond, *Fastoff's Will*, 44; 176-77

Harris, *English Aristocratic Women*, 153

Blomefield, vol. 11, 226-28.

Gardiner, VI, 46-7 (1904 edition)

163. Thomasine Bonaventure Percival (1512); f. John Bonaventure; 1st h. Henry Galle (1466); 2nd h. Thomas Barnaby (1467); 3rd h. Sir John (1503)

Husband built joint tomb and chantry at St Mary Wolnoth

She founded chantry and grammar school at Week St Mary, Cornwall, her birthplace

40 marks to rebuilt tower of St Mary Weeks

20 marks for new tower at Launceston

20 marks for building at St Martin's Outwich, London

20 marks for paving Grey Friars Church within Newgate

Sir John's will Prob11/13/23 (1503)

Her will Prob17/17/28 (1512; pr. 1513)

CPR, Henry VII, vol. II, 604

London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates, 1548, 87

Wills Proved in the Court of Hustings, II, 605, 618

Deed Cornwall Country Record Office, pressmark AD.405

Orme, *Education in the West of England*, 174-77

Hull, "Grammar School at Week St Mary," 21-54

Davies, "Thomasine Percyvale," 185-200

164. Joyce Percy (1520); d. Norman Washbourne; 1st h. Sir Robert Percy of Scoton, Yorkshire (1485); 2nd h. John Holmes of Aldborough, Yorkshire

Her bequests to church of Aldborough; probably lived there as widow

Left 10 marks to build rood loft there

Also black velvet, crimson and cloth of gold to Lady Chapel

Agnus of gold to Our Lady of the Chapel

Also vestment to friars of Westwood, Beverley

Her will North Country Wills, #78 (104)

165. *Katherine Percy, Countess of Northumberland (1542); f. Sir Robert Spencer (c. 1510); h. Henry, fifth Earl of Northumberland (1527)

To be buried with husband at Beverley monastery

Will *Collectanea Topographica and Genealogica*, vi, 374

166. Mary Percy, Countess of Northumberland (1572); f. George, Earl of Shrewsbury (1538); h. Henry, sixth Earl of Northumberland (1537)

Chantry at York Cathedral

Certificates of the...Chantries...in the County of York, 21

Chantry at York Cathedral for one priest; net worth £4 16s

167. Anne Petre (1582); f. Sir William Brown, Lord Mayor of London (1514);

1st h. John Tyrell (1540); 2nd h. Sir William Petre (1572)

She built Tyrell's tomb and chantry, East Horndon, Essex

She was buried with Petre at Ingatestone; she probated will; she probably built monument

Tyrell's will ERO, D/DP F294 (1540)

Petre's will Prob11/55/1 (1571; pr. 1574)

Her will Prob11/64/15 (1582)

Brown, *Tyrells of England*, 122

168. *Frances Peyton (1581); f. Francis Hasildon; h. Sir Robert (1550)

Jt. tomb Isleham, Cambs

Founded almshouses

£6 for repairs at Isleham parish church

His will Prob11/33/27 (1550; pr. 1550)

Her will Prob1164/14 (1581; pr. 1582)

VCH, Cambridgeshire, X, 448-449, 456

169. Agnes Philpot; h. Sir Peter (1542)

His will Prob11/29/6 (1542)

She was sole executor

170. Elizabeth Philpot (1508); h. Sir John (1492)

Jt. Tomb, St Mary Overys

Vestment to parish church of Twyford; chalice to parish of Compton,
where husband had wanted to be buried

His will Prob11/13/17 (1491; pr. 1502)
Coexecutor, but she probated

Her will Prob11/16/13 (1508; pr. 1509)

171. Honor Plantagenet, Lady Lisle (1566); f. Sir Thomas Grenville (1513); 1st h.
John Bassett (1529); 2nd h. Arthur Plantagenet, Lord Lisle (1542)
Bassett's monument at Umberleigh, Devon; moved to Atherington 1818
She commissioned it; *Lisle Letters*, I, #79; II, #239 (224); III, #516
There is a brass of her there

She was buried at Illogan, Cornwall; grandson Arthur probably took
charge

172.*Alice de la Pole, Duchess of Suffolk (1475); f. Sir Thomas Chaucer (1434);
h. William, Duke of Suffolk (1450) ; built 2

Her tomb at Ewelme; his tomb at Kingston on Hull
Remodelled De la Pole family church and chantry at Wingfield, Suffolk
Chantry, almshouse, school at Ewelme
Chantry at Kingston where husband buried

Goodall, *God' House*, 11, 55, 175, 190-91

173. Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury (1541); f. George, Duke of Clarence
(1483); h. Sir Richard Pole
Built tomb and chantry at Priory Church of Tower of London after execu-
tion (1541)

Cook, *Medieval Chantries*, 146-47
Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, XI, 402, n. a.

174. Isabel Poynings (1528); f. Sir John Scott (1485); h. Sir Edward (1524)
Her tomb, Brabourne, Kent

His will Prob11/20/21 (1521; pr. 1521)
Her will TV, II, 634 (1528)

175. *Sybil Quartermaine (1483); d. of Nicholas Englefield (1415); h. Sir Richard (1477)

Both buried in chapel in Thame Church

Richard founded chantry of St Christopher in church

Couple founded almshouse for six poor men in connection with guild of St Christopher; connected to husband's chantry; spared during dissolution of chantries

VCH, Oxford, 7, 199-219

176. Elizabeth Reed (1531); h. Sir Bartholomew (1505)

Her tomb in St John Zachery, London; Easter Sepulcher

May have built his tomb at Charterhouse

Endowed chantry says founded by chaplain named Litchfield, her husband and self

Repair the west window of church at Shepton with wire against the wind
5 marks for the old church works of St Paul's

20 shillings for repairs of parish church of St Kath Coleman

£10 for building church of Crutched Friars near Tower

Left her best altar cloth and other vestments to chapel of Our Lady near her pew

£5 for "some jewel" and her best mass book to Charterhouse where husband buried

Printed mass book and vestment to Weybridge church

His will Prob11/14/40 (1505; pr. 1505)

Her will Prob11/24/223 (1531; pr. 1533)

Murray, *Two City Parishes*, 225-26

177. Katherine Reed (1498); f. Walter Reed; 1st h. John Gaynsford the younger; 2nd h. Sir Edmund (1487)

Jt. tomb with Reed, Boarstall, Bucks

Reed's will Prob11/8/23 (1487; pr. 1489); she was co-executor, but administration committed to her

Her will Prob11/1124 (1498; pr. 1498)

178. Margery, Lady Roos (1478); f. Philip, Lord Despenser; 1st h. John Lod Roos (1420); 2nd h. Sir Roger Wentworth (1452)

Her tomb, Grey Friars, Chichester
Window in chapel
6s 8d for repairs of church at Combes

Her will Prob11/6/33 (1478; pr. 1479)
Rutton, *Wentworth Family*, 4

179. Maud Roos (1512); 1st h. Richard George; 2nd h. J Harberd; 3rd h. Sir Henry (1504)

Perpetual prayers in abbey of executors' choosing, according to Roos's will
To be buried at Grey Friars, Chichester

Roos' will Prob11/14/15 (1504)
She was sole executor
Her will Prob11/17/21 (1511; pr. 1512)

180. *Anne Russell, Countess of Bedford; heir Sir Guy Sapcote (1479); 1st h. John Broughton (1518); 2nd h. Sir Richard Jerningham (1526); 3rd h. John, Earl of Bedford (1555)

Jt. tomb with Russell, Chenies, Bucks.
Chapel at Chenies

John Broughton Prob11/19/17
Jerningham's will Prob11/22/9 (1525)
Bedford's will Prob11/38/5 (1555; pr. 1556)
Her will Prob11/42A/42 (1558; pr. 1589)

181. Bridget Russell, Countess of Bedford; f. John Lord Hussey (1537); 1st h. Sir Richard Morison (1557); 2nd h. Henry Earl of Rutland (1563) 3rd h. Francis, Earl of Bedford (1585)

She and Bedford founded almshouses in Watford, Herefordshire
She built Essex Chapel at Watford, 1595-96
Put arms in glass windows at Watford church, 1598

BL, Lansdowne 874, f. 64 (pencil pagination)
Morison's will Prob11/39/28 (1550; pr. 1557)

Her will Prob11/97/16 (1599)
 Bedford's will Prob11/69/45 (1585)
 VCH, *County of Hertford*, II, 453, 466-67

182. Elizabeth St John (1503); f. Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton (1459); 1st h. Sir John Bigod (1461); 2nd h. Henry Rochfort (1470); 3rd h. Oliver (1497)
 Jt. tomb with St John, Stoke, Lincs.
 Also brass to 2nd h. Henry Rochfort

His will Oliver St John, Prob11/11/13 (1497)
 Her will Prob11/13/23 (1503)
 Inscription refers to her as Dame Elizabeth Bigod
 Holles, *Lincolnshire Church Notes*, 204n.

Vestment and gold chain to Croxton Monastery
 Gown for vestment to friars in Grantham

183. *Anne St Leger (1530); f. Thomas Butler, seventh Earl of Ormond; 1st h. Ambrose Griseacre; 2nd h. Sir James (1509)
 Her tomb and probably his, Monkleigh, Devon
 Chantry

His will Prob11/16/29 (1510)
 Her will Prob11/24/21 (1530)
 L&P, III (1), 160

184. *Elizabeth Sapcote (1516); f. Sir John Dinham; coh. of brother John Lord Dinham; 1st h. Fulke Bouchier, Lord Fitzwarren (1479); 2nd h. Sir John Sapcotes (1501); 3rd h. Sir Thomas Brandon (1510)

Fitzwarren will Prob11/7/1 (1480)
 Sapcote will Prob11/21/21 (1501)
 Brandon will Prob11/16/29 (1510)

She buried at Grey Friars with brother from whom she inherited

185. *Isabel Sapcote (1493); coh. John Plessington; 1st h. Sir John Francis; 2nd h. Sir Richard (1477)
 Her tomb, Burley, Rutland
 Founded chantry at Burley

Money to buy twenty vestments for poorest churches near Burley
 One of her gowns to make vestments to church with illegible name
 Cloth for corporas cloths to be distributed by executors
 Pyx to prior of Launde

Husband buried elsewhere

Her will Prob11/10/12 (1493; pr. 1494)

186. Agnes Say (1478); f. John Danvers; 1st h. Thomas Baldington (1435); 2nd
 h. Sir John Fray; 3rd h. John Lord Wenlock (1471); 4th h. Sir John Say
 Jt. tomb with Fray, St Bartholomew the Less, London
 Chantry
 Stained glass

Fray's will Prob11/4/23 (1457; pr. 1461)

Say's will Prob11/6/35 (1478)

Her will Prob11/6/33 (1478; pr. 1478)

Parker, *History of Long Melford*, 47, 56

187. Elizabeth Say (1473); f. Lawrence Cheney; 1st h. Sir Frederick Tilney
 (1445); 2nd h. Sir John; predeceased husband
 Jt. tomb for self and husband, though predeceased him; Broxbourne,
 Herts

Sir John's will Prob11/6/35 (1478)

See inscription, Andrews, "Sidelights on Brasses," 114.

Macnamara, *Danvers Family*, 147

188. Agnes Scott (1488); f. William Beaufitz; h. Sir John (1485)

Jt. tomb, Brabourne, Kent

Stained glass at Brabourne

Velvet gown to Brabourne; also to churches of Orlestone and Horton, Kent

His will Prob11/7/17 (1485)

Her will Prob11/8/15 (1486; pr. 1488)

189. Sybil Scott (1527); f. Sir Thomas Lewkenor; h. Sir William (1524); ordered
 his tomb

She built her tomb; probably his, Brabourne, Kent

His tomb Prob11/21/29 (1524; pr. 1526)

Her tomb Prob11/23/1 (1527; pr. 1529)

190. *Anne Harling, Lady Scrope; f. Sir Robert Harling; 1st h. Sir William Chamberlain (1462); 2nd h. Sir Robert Wingfield (1481); 3rd h. John Lord Scrope (1498); built 2

Jt. tomb with Chamberlain, East Harling, Norfolk; also Wingfield's tomb, Rushworth (now Rushford), Norfolk

Chantries at East Harling, Rushworth, Thetford, Norfolk

Stained glass at East Harling

Major rebuilding of East Harling with Sir William Chamberlain 1450-62

Added clerestory and large perpendicular windows to aisles

Lord Scrope's will Prob11/11/26 (1494; pr. 1498)

Her will TE, IV, #75 (1498; pr. 1498)

She was sole executor of Chamberlain's and Wingfield's wills

Bennett, *College of Rushworth*, 367 (#101); 368 (#103); 297-298

Blomefield, I, 326-31

Woodforde, *Norwich School of Glass Painting*, 37, 41-43

Crewe, *Stained Glass in England*, 37

Graves, *Form and Fabric*, 77-78

For her extensive gifts of vestments, altar cloths, church plate and jewels to the parish church of East Harling, other Norfolk churches, and religious houses, see her will

191. *Elizabeth, Lady Scrope of Masham & Upsall; 1st h. Thomas, Lord Scrope (1492); 2nd h. Sir Henry Wentworth (1501); built 2

Built jt. tomb with Scrope, Black Friars, London; Wentworth's tomb at Newton Abbey, Lincs.

Three chantries (mentioned in will, but location not specified)

Lord Scrope's will TE, IV, #33, 72-74 (1492; pr. 1495)

Prob11/12/20 (1499; pr. 1501)

Her will Prob11/20/19 (1514; pr. 1521)

192. Anne Shelton (1557); f. Sir William Boleyn; h. Sir John (1539); built 2

Her tomb, Carrow Nunnery

His tomb, Shelton, Norfolk; evidence that she built in brass inscription

Her will Dashwood, II, 398 (1556; pr. 1557)
Blomefield, V, 266

193. Margaret Shelton (1500); f. Robert Clere (by 1448); h. Sir Ralph (1499)
Jt. tomb, Shelton, Norfolk
She was to finish husband's building projects; never completed but certainly worked on them
Contributed to husband's almshouse

His will Prob11/11/33 (1497; pr. 1499); wife executor of testament but not lands
Her will NRO, Reg. Cage, f. 99 (1499; pr. 1500)

194. Margaret Shelton; f. Hen Parker, Lord Morley (1556); h. Sir John (1559)
Jt. tomb, Shelton, Norf

His will Prob11/42A/37 (1558; 1559)

195. Jane Skargill; f. Christopher Conyers; h. Sir Robert (1530)
Jt. tomb, Whitechurch, Yorks.
Founded chantry with husband

Her will *Testamenta Leodiensia*, 178 and note
Dodsworth, *Yorkshire Church Notes*, 28

196. *Elizabeth Speke (1518); 1st h. John Colshill; 2nd h. Sir John Speke (1518)
Commissioned tomb in chantry that husband had constructed at Exeter Cathedral (Orme, 30)

Vestments to parish church of White Lackington and Pokington
Girdle harnesses with silver and gilt to chapel where buried in Exeter Cathedral
Seven yards of satin to Grey Friars in Exeter

His will Prob11/19/9 (1518)
Her will Prob11/19/17 (1518)

197. Isabel Speke (1538); h. Sir George (1528)
Jt. tomb East Downlish, Soms.

Chantry; VCH, Somerset, IV, 15
Gown for cope to East Downlish, church

His will Prob11/22/29 (1528; pr. 1528)

Her tomb Prob11/22/39 (1537; 1538)

198. Isabel Spencer (1558); f. Sir Walter Graunt; h. Sir John (1522)

Sir John Spencer, £60 “to the making of the chancel roof with the lead, wall, and windows and my arms to be set in the windows”

Nicholas Charles recorded inscription in window: “pray for the souls of Sir John Spencer and his wife Lady Isabel, patrons of chancel, who made this chapel which John died 28 May 1521”

Chancel window: “Pray for the souls of John Spencer knight and Dame Isabell his wife, patrons of this church, which said chancel they caused to be made, which said John died the 18th days of May in the year of our lord 1521.”

North chapel window: “Pray for the good state of William Spencer knight and his wife Susan, 1526”

It is thought that Sir John’s widow finished the chapel by time his heir Sir William died (1526); Isabel lived until 1558

Richard Marks, *The Medieval Stained Glass of Northampton*, 83

Sir John’s tomb had both his effigy and his wife’s, but she asked to be buried elsewhere

His will Prob11/20/24 (1522)

Her will Prob11/40/32 (1558)

199. Alianora Stafford (after 1478); f. Aylesbury; h. Sir Humphrey (1450); 2nd wife

Chantry

CPR, Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III, 1476-1485, 11

Short Notes on Bromsgrove Parish Church, reprinted 1936,

HEH, Esdaile Papers, Box 10

VCH, County of Worcester, III, 19-33

Pevsner, Worcestershire, 193

Eleanor built eastern end of north aisle with chantry that endowed 1478

Husband Sir Humphrey (1450) and Eleanor in chapel; alabaster; originally beneath arch between chapel and chancel

Humphrey's will Prob11/4/21 (1450)

200. Anne Stafford, Duchess of Buckingham (1480); f. Ralph, first Earl of Westmorland and 2nd wife, Joan Beaufort, d. John, of Gaunt; 1st h. Humphrey, first Duke of Buckingham (1460); 2nd h. Walter, first Lord Mountjoy (1474)

Her tomb, Pleshy, Essex

Jt. Chantry with Buckingham, Pleshy, Essex

Her will Prob11/7/2 (pr. 1480)

Buckingham's will Prob11/4/21

Mountjoy's will Prob11/6/18 (1474)

VCH, County of Essex, II, 194

201. *Joan Stanley, Lady Le Strange; f. John, Lord Strange (1514); h. George Stanley, Lord Strange (1521)

Father's and mother's tomb, and hers; Hillingdon, Middlesex

Her will Prob11/17/21 (1513; 1514)

202. *Agnes Stapleton; f. Sir John Godard; h. Sir Brian (1417)

Her tomb, Dominican church, York; with husband

Her will, *North Country Wills*, 48-49 (1448; pr. 1448).

203. Joan Stapleton (1553), f. Thomas Bassett; h. Sir Brian

Jt. tomb, Burton Joyce, Yorks.

His will TE, 6, #172 (1545; pr. 1550)

Her will Foster, *Yorkshire Pedigrees*, West Riding (1553)

204. Jane de la Pole Stonor (1494); f. William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (1450); h. Thomas Stonor (1474)

Her tomb, Henley on Thames, Oxon.

Her will Prob11/10/16 (1493; 1494)

205. Margaret Vernon Coffin Manners (1550); f. Sir Richard Dymoke; 1st h. Richard Vernon (1517); 2nd h. Sir William Coffin (1537); 3rd h. Sir Richard Manners (1551)

Buried with first husband at Tong, Derbyshire; we do not know if she built tomb

She did commission Coffin's tomb at Standon, Hertfordshire

Coffin's will Prob11/27/27 (1537; pr. 1538)

Bindoff, *House of Commons*, 1, 667

L&P, XIV (pt. 2), #650.

206. Agnes Stourton, Lady Stourton; f. John Fauntleroy; h. Edward Lord Stourton (1536)

Jt. tomb, Stourton Candle, Soms.

His will Prob11/25/31 (1535; pr. 1536)

GEC, *Complete Peerage*, XII (1), 305

She probably built tomb; sole executor and buried with him

207. Jane Strangeways (1502); f. Sir Richard Aston; 1st h. Roger Dutton, Esq.; 2nd h. Sir Richard Strangeways (1487)

Chantry and tomb at Dominican Friars, York

Her will TE IV, #97; 187-189 (1500; pr. 1502)

208. Katherine Strangeways (1505); f. Fillol; h. Henry Strangeways (1504); built 2

Her tomb, Blackfriars London; brother buried there

His tomb Abbotsbury, Dorset

His will Prob11/14/8, she probated, though co-executor

Her will Prob/11/14/21 (1504; pr. 1505)

209. Elizabeth Talbot (1559); f. Walter Wrottesley; h. Sir John of Albrighton and Grafton (1549)

Jt. tomb with effigies of both wives, Bromsgrove, Worc.

Prob11/32/40 (1549)

Widow chief executor

210. Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (1567); f. Sir Richard Walden (1539); h. George, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, 2nd wife (1539)

Her tomb, Erith, Kent

His will Prob11/26/13 (1537; pr. 1539)

Her will Prob11/49/21 (1567; pr. 1567)

211. Jane Talbot (1505); f. Sir John Champernon; h. of Sir Humphrey (1494)

Her tomb, Minories, Kent

Chantry

His will Prob11/10/20 (1492; 1494)

Her will Prob11/14/38 (1505; pr. 1505)

212. Elizabeth Tame, 2nd wife (1545); f. Tyringham; h. Sir Edmund (1534)

Jt. tomb, Fairford, Glos., with Sir Edmund and two wives

Built by Elizabeth; her eyes open in effigy; shows she was still alive when effigy built

His will Prob11/25/17 (1532; pr. 1534)

Her will Prob11/30/45 (1545; pr. 1545)

213. Katherine Tame (1560); f. Denys; 1st h. Sir Edmund (1544); 2nd h. Sir Walter Bucker; 3rd h. Roger Lygen, Esq.; built 2

Tame's tomb, Rendcome, Glos.

Jt. tomb with Lygen, Fairford, Glos.

Sir Edmund's will Prob11/30/17 (1544; pr. 1544)

Farmer, *Fairford Church*, 20

Holt, *Tames of Fairford*, 38-39

214. Eleanor Townshend (1499); f. William Lunsford; h. Sir Roger (1493)

Jt. tomb, Raynham, Norfolk

Blomefield, *County of Norfolk*, VII, 132, 148

Finch, *Church Monuments of Norfolk*, 75

His will Prob11/10/2

Her will (1499; pr. 1500):

216. Anne Tyrell; f. Sir William Marney; h. of Sir Thomas of East Horndon (1476)
 Jt. tomb, East Hornden, Essex
 Chantry for her

His will Prob11/6/31 (1476)
 King, "Ancient Wills," 79 n

216. Anne Tyrell; f. Sir John Arundell Lanherne (1473); h. Sir James, executed
 1502

Woodforde, Norfolk Churches, 106, chapel at Gipping, Suffolk

W. H. Sewell, "Sir James Tyrell's Chapel at Gipping, Suffolk," *Archaeological Journal*, volume 28 (March 1871), p. 27

East Window, upper light, woman with long flowing hair, reading book;
 may also be portrait of Sir James

www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-280524-chapel-of-st-nicholas-gippin
 Listed Buildings Site

Pevsner, Suffolk, 229. Inscription "Pray for Sir James Tyrell and Dame
 Ann his wife"; not on monument

217. Beatrix Tyrell (1512/13); 1st h. John Sutton, mercer; 2nd h. Sir Thomas of
 East Horndon (1512)

Tyrell's will Prob11/17/21 (1512-13)

Sutton's will Prob11/6/1 (1478)

Her will Prob11/17/18 (1513); she was buried at Bow Church, London with
 first husband

218. Dorothy Uvedale; f. Thomas Troyes; 1st h. Sir William Uvedate (1528);
 2nd h. Edmund Lord Howard

Buried with first husband at Wykeham, Hampshire

Uvedale's will Prob11/23/4

She was sole executor; probated will

219. Elizabeth Uvedale; f. Sir Henry Norbury; 1st h. William Sidney; 2nd h.
 Sir Thomas (1474); built 2

Her tomb, Grey Friars, London

She was buried there with first husband; she endowed a chantry and an altar there

Uvedale's tomb at Wykemam, Hampshire

Uvedale's will Prob11/6/16 (1474), widow probated with another executor
Her will Prob11/8/15 (1487; 1487)

Bequest to Grey Friars: gown to be made into cope and chasuble; silver gilt chalice; two silver cruets
Gown for cope or chasuble or some other ornament to Wykham, where Uvedale buried

220. Agnes Vavasour (1551); f. Sir William Calverley; h. John Vavasour, Esq.
To be buried in Weston, Lincolnshire
Says she was husband's sole executor

Her will Testamenta Leodensia, 254

221. Elizabeth Vavasour (1509); f. Sir Robert Tailboys; 1st h. Sir John Vavsour (1506); 2nd h. Sir John Greystock
Strype calls her Elizabeth Greystock

Gold tablet to Our Lady of Lincoln
Silver and gold piece with cover to Thornham Convent

Vavasour's will Prob11/15/16 (pr. 1506); buried at Austin Friars
Her will Prob11/16/16 (1509); buried at St Helen's Bishopsgate

222. Elizabeth de Vere, Countess of Oxford; 1st h. William, Viscount Beaumont (1507); 2nd h. John, Earl of Oxford (1513)

Jt. tomb with Beaumont, Wivenhoe, Essex
Built steeple at Tilbury-Juxta-Clare
Large bequest of vestments, chalice, altar cloths to Wivenhoe

Oxford's will Prob11/17/11 (1508; pr. 1514)
Her will Prob11/27/11 (1537; pr. 1537)
Ward, "Elizabeth Beaumont...", 12

223. Anne Verney (1558); f. Sir William Danvers; h. Richard Verney (1527)
 Stained glass in chapel at Compton Verney, Warwickshire
 The chapel was demolished in 1772; the glass is now in the Market Hall
 Museum, Warwick

She probably built tomb, since it records her death date
 Brass shows her as taller than husband

Verney's will Prob11/22/27
 Pevsner, Warwickshire, 240

224. Eleanor Verney; f. Sir Geoffrey Pole; h. Sir Ralph "the courtier" (1528)
 Jt. tomb, King's Langley, Hertfordshire

Sir Ralph, Inq. P.M. 29 Henry VIII, no. 50
 RCMH, Hertfordshire, 134

225. *Elizabeth Verney; f. Edmund, Lord Bray; coh. brother; h. 4th Sir Ralph
 (1546)

Jt. tomb Albury, Herts
 His will Verney Papers, 53 (1546; pr. 1546)
 RCHM, Hertfordshire, 31

226. Eleanor West, Lady de la Warr (1536); f. Sir Roger Copley; h. Thomas,
 8th Lord (1526)

She was his third wife
 Jt. tomb at Broadwater Sussex

His will Prob11/22/2 (1525; pr. 1526)
 Her will Prob11/25/41 (1536; pr. 1536)

227. Anne Weston (1548); f. Olivers; h. Sir Richard (1542)
 Jt. tomb, Guildford, Surrey

His will Prob11/29/13 (1541; pr. 1542)
 Co-executor, but probated husband's will alone
 Her will Prob11/32/19 (1548; pr. 1548)

228. *Bridget Willoughby (1558); f. Sir Robert Read; h. Sir Thomas (1545)
 Jt. tomb, Chedington, Kent
 In chapel that her father built

His will Prob11/30/40 (1544; pr. 1545)

Her will Prob11/40/37 (1558)

229. *Maud Willoughby, Lady Cromwell (1497); f. Sir Richard Stanhope; 1st
 h. Robert, Lord Willoughby of Eresby (1452); 2nd h. Sir Thomas Nevill (1460);
 3rd h. Sir Gervase Clifton (1471)
 Tomb, chantry at Tattershall

Willoughby's will Prob11/5/2 (1452)

Her will Prob11/11/17 (1497; pr. 1497)

Marks, Tattershall College, 16-28

HMC, Dudley Ms., #17, 176; #219, 184

230. Ursula Wooton (1553); f. Dymoke; 1st h. Sir John Rudston (1531); 2nd h.
 Sir Edward Wooton (1551)

Wooton's will Prob11/34/33 (1551)

Her will Prob11/37/3 (1553)

She asked to be buried with second husband at Boughton Malherbe, Kent
 Wooton had built monument there for himself and 1st wife

She co-executor of 1st husband's will; probated with nephew

Buried at St Michael Cornhill

231. Anne Worsley; f. Sir John Leigh of More, Dorset; wid. of Sir James (1538)
 Jt. tomb, school, Godshill, Hampshire

His will Prob11/27/22 (1538; 1538)

Her will Prob11/49/6 (1557)

VCH, *County of Hampshire*, V, 170-77

231 women

Appendix 2

Patrons of Tombs

(2) indicates that the woman built two different tombs. For more information on the women, see Appendix 1.

Dates have been added only in cases where there are two women of the same name in the period. Occasionally, women are listed by the name they used rather than their last husband's surname.

Material of tomb and sculpted or brass effigies where known; Caen stone is a yellowish limestone.

Mary Allington	
Katherine Arderne, brass	
Anne, Lady Audley	
Elizabeth Audley, brass	
Katherine Babington, alabaster	
Anne Barnardiston, Easter sepulcher	
Elizabeth Barnardiston, stone	(2)
Joan Barre, brass	
Margaret Bedingfield, terracotta	
Katherine, Lady Berkeley	(2)
Elizabeth Biconyll, brass	
Anne Sulyard Bouchier, brass	
Elizabeth Bouchier, Lady Bath, widow of 1 st earl	
Elizabeth Bouchier, widow of Sir John	
Elisabeth Bouchier (daughter of John, Earl of Bath), brass	
Elisabeth Bouchier, Lady Fitzwarren	
Isabel Bouchier, Countess of Devon	
Isabel Bouchier	
Margaret Bouchier, Countess of Bath, sculpted	(3)
Joan Bradbury	
Elizabeth Brandon	
Jane Bray, Lady Bray	(3)
Eleanor Brereton, white alabaster	
Elisabeth Bridges, Lady Chandos	(2)
Anne Brooke, widow of Sir Richard	

Anne Broughton
 Elizabeth Brown
 Lady Lucy Fitzwilliam Brown (2)
 Margaret Bulkeley
 Maud Bulstrode
 Alice Burgh
 Jane Calthorpe; brass
 Margaret Capell
 Margaret Carew
 Margaret Catesby; brass
 Jane Chamond
 Agnes Cheyne (1494); brass
 Anne Cheyney (1562); brass
 Margaret Choke; stone
 Alice Clere; brass
 Elizabeth Clere; stone with brass
 Elizabeth Clifford; Purbeck with brass
 Agnes Griffiths Clifton; alabaster (2)
 Isabel Clifton; brass (2)
 Anne Cobham (1453); alabaster
 Anne Cobham (1472); marble
 Barbara Cokayne; marble
 Katherine, Countess of Devon; gilded effigy
 Margaret Courteney; brass
 Eleanor Croft; stone
 Mable or Maud, Lady Dacre (1508)
 Margaret Danby
 Anne Danvers (1531); brass
 Anne Danvers (1539); brass
 Sybil Danvers; grey marble, brass
 Anne Darrell; alabaster
 Elizabeth Delabear; brass
 Elizabeth Denys
 Jane Denny
 Elizabeth Donne
 Elizabeth Drury; Purbeck marble, brass
 Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland; brass
 Jane Dynham, Lady Dynham
 Katherine Edgecombe
 Mary Englefield

Emote Fermour; marble, brass
 Constance Ferrers
 Dorothy Ferrers; marble
 Jane Fiennes, Lady Clinton
 Elizabeth Fineux; brass
 Eleanor Fitzalan, Countess of Arundel; Purbeck marble
 Benedicta Fitzherbert
 Elizabeth Fitzherbert; alabaster
 Jane Fitzwilliam (2)
 Elizabeth Fitzwilliams; marble
 Joan Fowler; marble
 Elisabeth Frowick (1515)
 Ursula Giffard; alabaster
 Katherine Gordon
 Elizabeth Goring; brass
 Isabel Gresham
 Katherine Gresley
 Lady Anne Grey (Clement, 1557); alabaster
 Lady Anne Grey (Drury Walsingham, 1559)
 Cecily Grey, Marchioness of Dorset
 Lady Katherine Grey (Lewkenor); marble, brass
 Margaret Grey, Countess of Kent
 Beatrice, Lady Greystock
 Elizabeth Greystock
 Lady Jane Guildford
 Philippa Hampden; brasses
 Katherine Harcourt; alabaster, brass
 Anne Hastings, Countess of Huntington
 Joan, Lady Hastings of Welles and Willoughby
 Katherine Hastings, Lady Hastings
 Katherine Hawte
 Anne Herbert, Countess of Pembroke
 Margaret Heron
 Mary Heveningham
 Anne Heydon; marble
 Thomasine Hopton; brass of d. Thomasine; d. Eliz Knevet, marble (3)
 Agnes Howard, Duchess of Norfolk; brass (2)
 Dorothy Howard (2)
 Jane Huddleston
 Christian Hungerford

- Dorothy Hungerford; brasses, Purbeck marble
- Margaret, Lady Hungerford; marble (2)
- Margaret Hungerford (2)
- Isabel Johnson (2)
- Eleanor Kempe
- Mary Kingston; Purbeck marble
- Susan Kingston; brasses
- Jane Knightley (1550); alabaster
- Jane Knightley (1560); alabaster
- Jane Knyvett, Lady Berners
- Agnes or Anne Leigh; Caen stone, alabaster figures
- Isabel Leigh; marble, brass
- Margaret Leynham
- Mary Lisle; Purbeck marble, limestone effigies
- Elizabeth Catesby Lucy; stone
- Margaret Luttrell
- Anne Manners, Lady Ros; alabaster, brass on wall
- Eleanor Manners, Lady Rutland; alabaster
- Margaret Manners
- Isabel Mannyngham
- Bridget, Lady Marney
- Joan Middleton
- Maud Middleton
- Isobel Morley, Lady Morley; red sandstone, brass
- Elizabeth Nevill, Lady Latimer; marble, effigies of brass and gilt
- Ellen Nevill
- Isabel Newton; white marble
- Margaret, Lady North
- Jane Fitzlewis Norton; marble slab on top, brasses
- Alice Ogard
- Anne Packington
- Alice Lovell Parker, Lady Morley (2)
- Mary Parr, Lady Parr; alabaster, brasses
- Margaret Paston
- Elizabeth Pechey; brasses, stone slab
- Anne Petre (for 1st and 2nd husbands); alabaster for Petre (2)
- Frances Peyton
- Agnes Philpot
- Elizabeth Philpot
- Honor Plantagenet, Lady Lisle

- Alice de la Pole, Duchess of Suffolk; alabaster (2)
 Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury
 Isabel Poynings
 Elizabeth Reed; stone
 Katherine Reed
 Margery, Lady Roos
 Anne Russell, Countess of Bedford; alabaster
 Bridget Russell, Countess of Bedford
 Elizabeth St John; brass
 Anne St Leger; brass
 Elizabeth Sapcote (2)
 Isabel Sapcote (2)
 Agnes Say
 Elizabeth Say
 Agnes Scott; Caen stone
 Anne Scrope, Lady Scrope; Purbeck marble
 Elizabeth Scrope, Lady Scrope of Masham and Upsall (1518)
 Anne Shelton; brass (2)
 Margaret Shelton (1499)
 Margaret Shelton (h. Sir John, d. 1558)
 Jane Skargill; alabaster
 Elizabeth Speke (wid. of Sir Thos, d. 1551)
 Isabel Speke (wid. of Sir George); brass
 Isabel Spencer
 Anne, Duchess of Buckingham (2)
 Eleanor Stafford; alabaster
 Jane Stanley, Lady Le Strange (2)
 Joan Stapleton
 Jane de la Pole Stonor
 Agnes, Lady Stourton
 Jane Strangeways
 Katherine Strangeways
 Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (1567); marble
 Elizabeth Talbot (1559); alabaster
 Elizabeth Tame; Purbeck marble
 Katherine Tame (2)
 Eleanor Townshend; stone
 Anne Tyrell (c. 1476); brass
 Dorothy Uvedale
 Elizabeth Uvedale

Elizabeth Vavasour

Elizabeth de Vere, Countess of Oxford; brass

Anne Verney, wid. of Richard (1526); brasses

Eleanor Verney; Caen stone

Margaret Vernon; brass

Eleanor West, Lady la Warr; Caen stone

Anne Weston

Bridget Willoughby

Maud Willoughby, Lady Cromwell; brasses

Anne Worsley; alabaster figures, tomb Caen stone

Ursula Wotton

196 women built 223 tombs

Appendix 3

Location of Tombs in Churches

(2) indicates that the woman built two different tombs. For more information on these women, see Appendix 1.

Dates have been added only in cases where there are two women of the same name in the period. Occasionally, the women are listed by the name they used, rather than their last husband's surname.

Mary Allington	Chancel	
Katherine Arderne	Chancel	
Anne, Lady Audley	Lady Chapel	
Elizabeth Audley	Chancel	
Katherine Babington	Adjacent to chancel	
Anne Barnardiston	High altar	
Elizabeth Barnardiston	High altar	(2)
Dame Joan Barre	Chancel	
Margaret, Lady Beauchamp of Powick	North side of chancel	
Margaret Bedingfield	Adjacent to chapel	
Katherine Berkeley	Lady Chapel	(2)
Dame Elizabeth Biconyll	Lady Chapel	
Anne Bouchier	South aisle adjoining chancel	
Elizabeth Bouchier, Lady Bath		
Elizabeth Bouchier, widow of Sir John	Lady Chapel	
Elisabeth Bouchier (daughter of John, Earl of Bath)		
Elisabeth Bouchier, Lady Fitzwarren		
Isabel Bouchier, Countess of Devon	Chancel	
Isabel Bouchier		
Margaret Bouchier, Countess of Bath	High altar	(3)
Joan Bradbury	Lady Chapel	
Elizabeth Brandon		
Jane Bray, Lady Bray	Chancel	(3)
Elisabeth Bridges, Lady Chandos	Chancel	(2)
Eleanor Brereton	East end of north aisle; probably. Lady Chapel	

Anne Brooke, widow of Sir Richard	
Anne Broughton	
Elizabeth Brown	
Lady Lucy Fitzwilliam Brown	(2)
Margaret Bulkeley	Aisle adjacent to chancel
Maud Bulstrode	Aisle adjacent to chancel
Alice Burgh	
Jane Calthorpe	
Margaret Capell	Capell chapel on south side adjacent to chancel
Dame Margaret Carew	Chancel
Margaret Catesby	Chancel
Jane Chamond	South aisle adjacent to chancel
Agnes Cheyne (1494)	West wall of nave has brass
Anne Cheyney (1562)	East side of south transept
Margaret Choke	North or Lady Chapel adjacent to chancel
Alice Clere	Chancel before high altar
Elizabeth Clere	
Elizabeth Clifford	South chapel adjacent to chancel
Dame Agnes Clifton	Chantry closet of Our Lady; North aisle (2)
Isabel Clifton	South aisle adjacent to chancel
Anne Cobham (1453)	Chancel before high altar
Anne Cobham (1472)	Lady Chapel
Barbara Cokayne	Our Lady's Chapel
Eleanor Cornwall	
Katherine, Countess of Devon	
Margaret Courteney	
Eleanor Croft	North chapel adjacent to chancel
Mable or Maud, Lady Dacre (1508)	
Margaret Danby	
Anne Danvers (1531)	Between Chancel and South Chapel
Anne Danvers (1539)	Chancel
Dame Sybil Danvers	Chancel

Anne Darrell	Darrell Chapel adjacent to chancel
Elizabeth Delabear	
Elizabeth Denys	“Chapel where she went to sit”
Dame Jane Denny	
Dame Elizabeth Donne	
Dame Elizabeth Drury	Chancel
Jane Dudley, Duchess of Northumberland	South aisle adjacent to chancel
Jane Dynham, Lady Dynham	
Katherine Edgecombe	Edgecombe chapel
Mary Englefield	Chancel
Emote Fermour	Chancel before altar
Constance Ferrers	Arch on south side of chancel
Dorothy Ferrers	Arch between chancel and chantry
Jane Fiennes, Lady Clinton	
Elizabeth Fineux	Chancel
Eleanor Fitzalan, Countess of Arundel	Chapel of Our Lady
Benedicta Fitzherbert	South chapel to west of tower
Elizabeth Fitzherbert	Chancel
Jane Fitzwilliam	Both in chancel (2)
Elizabeth Fitzwilliams	
Joan Fowler	
Elisabeth Frowick (1515)	
Ursula Giffard	Chancel
Dame Katherine Gordon	Chancel
Dame Elizabeth Goring	North side of nave
Dame Isabel Gresham	
Dame Katherine Gresley	Chancel
Lady Anne Grey (Clement, 1557)	North wall of north aisle
Lady Anne Grey (Drury Walsingham 1559)	
Cecily Grey, Marchioness of Dorset	Chapel on south side of chancel
Joan Grey, Viscountess Lisle	Chancel (2)
Lady Katherine Grey (Lewkenor)	Chancel
Margaret Grey, Countess of Kent	
Beatrice, Lady Greystock	Chancel
Dame Elizabeth Greystock	Lady Chapel

Lady Jane Guildford		
Philippa Hampden	Chancel	
Katherine Harcourt		
Anne Hastings, Countess of Huntington	Hastings Chapel; south side chancel	
Joan, Lady Hastings of Welles and Willoughby		
Katherine Hastings, Lady Hastings	Lady Chapel	
Katherine Hawte		
Anne Herbert, Countess of Pembroke	Chancel	
Margaret Heron		
Dame Mary Heveningham	Chancel	
Anne Heydon		
Elizabeth Holles	North aisle	(2)
Thomasine Hopton	Chancel	
Agnes Howard, Duchess of Norfolk	East end of North Aisle	
Dame Jane Huddleston		
Dame Dorothy Hungerford	Chancel as Easter sepulcher	
Margaret, Lady Hungerford	Chapel near Lady Chapel; east end of church	
Margaret Hungerford	Lady Chapel	(2)
Isabel Johnson	Ladies choir	(2)
Eleanor Kempre		
Mary Kingston		
Susan Kingston		
Dame Jane Knightley (1550)		
Dame Jane Knightley (1560)		
Jane Knyvett, Lady Berners	Chapel adjoining chancel	
Dame Agnes or Anne Leigh	Arch between chancel and south chapel	
Dame Isabel Leigh		
Dame Margaret Leynham		
Dame Mary Lisle		
Elizabeth Catesby Lucy		
Dame Margaret Luttrell		
Anne Manners, Lady Ros		
Eleanor Manners, Lady Rutland		
Dame Margaret Manners		
Dame Isabel Mannyngham		
Bridget, Lady Marney		

Joan Middleton	Our Lady's Choir
Maud Middleton	
Isobel Morley, Lady Morley	Chancel
Elizabeth Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk	Nuns Choir
Elizabeth Nevill, Lady Latimer	
Ellen Nevill	South aisle
Isabel Newton	Chapel east of north transept
Margaret, Lady North	
Jane Fitzlewis Norton	Chancel
Dame Alice Ogard	
Dame Anne Packington	Chancel
Alice Lovell Parker, Lady Morley	Chancel (2)
Mary Parr, Lady Parr	Chancel
Anne Petre	Arch between chancel and south chapel
	Chapel of South Transept
Frances Peyton	
Agnes Philpot	
Elizabeth Philpot	Chancel
Honor Plantagenet, Lady Lisle	
Alice de la Pole, Duchess of Suffolk	Arch between chancel and south chapel (2)
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury	Chancel
Isabel Poynings	
Elizabeth Reed	Chancel
Katherine Reed	Chancel
Margery, Lady Roos	Chancel
Anne Russell, Countess of Bedford	North chapel, east end
Bridget Russell, Countess of Bedford	
Elizabeth St John	Chancel
Anne St Leger	Family chapel; east end, south aisle
Elizabeth Sapcote	
Isabel Sapcote	Our Lady Chapel
Agnes Say	
Elizabeth Say	Arch between chancel and south aisle
	Chancel
Agnes Scott	
Sybil Scott	
Anne Scrope, Lady Scrope	Arch between chancel and chapel of St Anne

Elizabeth Scrope, Lady Scrope of Masham and Upsall	
Anne Shelton	Chapel east end of church (2)
Margaret Shelton (1499)	Chancel
Margaret Shelton (h. Sir John, d. 1558)	
Jane Skargill	Chantry choir
Elizabeth Speke	Speke chapel; adjacent. to choir
Isabel Speke	Aisle that husband built
Isabel Spencer	Chancel
Anne, Duchess of Buckingham	(2)
Jane Stanley, Lady Le Strange	(2)
Joan Stapleton	Chancel
Jane de la Pole Stonor	
Agnes, Lady Stourton	
Jane Strangeways	Under lectern where friars preached
Katherine Strangeways	
Elizabeth Talbot, Countess of Shrewsbury (1567)	
Elizabeth Talbot (1559)	North aisle
Jane Talbot	
Elizabeth Tame	Our Lady Chapel
Katherine Tame	Our Lady Chapel
Eleanor Townshend	Chancel
Anne Tyrell (c. 1476)	Chapel at east end of church
Dorothy Howard Uvedale	
Elizabeth Uvedale	
Elizabeth Vavasour	Our Lady Chapel
Elizabeth de Vere, Countess of Oxford	
Eleanor Verney	North chapel; prob. Our Lady
Eleanor West, Lady la Warr	Chancel
Anne Weston	Weston family chapel; where vestry now is
Bridget Willoughby	North Chapel; probably Our Lady Chapel
Maud Willoughby	Lady Cromwell Chancel
Anne Worsley	Chancel

196 women built 223 tombs

Appendix 4

Choice of Burial Companion

Women married only once, 107

99 in husband's parish

8 in wife's natal parish or with her natal family elsewhere

Women married more than once, 64

With first husband, 25

With second or third husband, 39

Women buried apart from any of their husbands, 54

Heiresses in their natal parishes, 13

Dower property or other parishes belonging to husbands, 14

Non-inheriting women with natal kin, 5

Convents, 16

Reason for choice unknown, 6

Appendix 5

Women Who Commissioned Chantries

For information on these women, see Appendix 1

*=Joint Foundations

Katherine Arderne

*Elizabeth Barnardiston

Joan Barre

*Margaret Bedingfield

* Elizabeth Biconyll

*Isabel Bourchier, Countess of Devon

*Margery Berners Bourchier

Elizabeth Brandon

*Eleanor Brereton

Anne Broughton

Margaret Bulkeley; f Sir Richard Molyneux

*Margaret Capell

Margaret Choke

Elizabeth Clere

Agnes Clifton

*Anne Cobham (1453)

Katherine Courteney, Countess of Devonshire

Anne Danvers (1531)

Sybil Danvers

Elizabeth Donne

Dorothy Ferrers

Elizabeth Fettiplace

Eleanor, Countess of Arundel

Alice Fogge

Elizabeth Frowick

Elizabeth Frowick (1517)

*Katherine Gordon

Cecily, marchioness of Dorset (3)

Joan Grey, viscountess Lisle

Margaret Grey, countess of Kent

*Lady Jane Guildford (with father of second husband)

Joan Hastings, Lady Hastings of Welles and Willoughby (5)

Katherine Hastings, Lady Hastings
 Elizabeth Holles
 Jane Huddleston
 Margaret Hungerford, Lady Hungerford
 Margaret Hungerford
 Agnes Leigh
 Katherine Grey Lewkenor
 *Margaret Leynham (jointly with mother)
 *Anne Manners, Lady Roos (with father)
 *Maud Middleton
 Elizabeth Neville, Lady Latimer
 Elizabeth Neville, Lady Bergavenny
 Isabel Newton
 Mabel Parr
 Maud Parr, Lady Dacre
 Anne Petre
 Thomasine Percival
 Mary Percy, Countess of Northumberland
 Alice de la Pole, duchess of Suffolk
 Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury
 *Sybil Quartermaine
 Elizabeth Reed
 Maud Roos
 Anne, Countess of Bedford (chapel)
 Anne St. Leger
 *Isabel Sapcote
 Agnes Say
 *Anne Scrope, Lady Scrope
 *Margaret Shelton
 *Elizabeth Speke
 Alianora Stafford
 Anne Stafford, Duchess of Buckingham (1480)
 Jane Strangeways
 Jane Talbot
 Anne Tyrell
 Eliz Uvedale
 Anne Vernon
 Maud Willoughby, Lady Willoughby
 Anne Worsley

71 Chantries of which 17 were joint foundations

Appendix 6

Commissions of Stained-Glass Windows

For more information on these women, see Appendix 1.

*=joint project with husband

Dame Elizabeth Barnardiston

Dame Margaret Bulkley

*Dame Margaret Catesby

Dame Margaret Choke

Dame Elizabeth Clifford

Dame Anne Danvers of Dauntsey

*Dame Sybil Danvers

*Dame Margery Danby

*Dame Constance Ferrers

*Elizabeth Fettiplace

Dame Katherine Hawte

*Dame Joan Skennard Knightley

*Dame Margaret Lutterell

Dame Ellen Nevill

Dame Mabel Parr

Margery, Lady Roos

Bridget Russell, Countess of Bedford

Dame Agnes Say

Dame Agnes Scott

Anne Scrope, Lady Scrope

Dame Anne Shelton

*Dame Isabel Spencer

Dame Anne Verney

Maud Willoughby, Lady Cromwell

24 stained-glass windows

Appendix 7

Additions or Major Repairs to Churches

For more information on these women, see Appendix 1.

*=joint project with husband

Dame Elizabeth Barnardiston

Isabel Bouchier, Countess of Devon

Dame Elizabeth Clere

Dame Elizabeth Clifford

*Dame Margaret Courteney

Dame Sybil Danvers

Dame Elizabeth Fineux

Cecily Grey, Marchioness of Dorset

Margaret Grey, Countess of Kent

Lady Jane Guildford

Dame Katherine Harcourt

Dame Jane Huddleston

Dame Dorothy Hungerford

Margaret Hungerford, Lady Hungerford

Dame Jane or Joan Skennard Knightley

Margaret Paston

Dame Thomasine Percival

Alice de la Pole, Duchess of Suffolk

Anne Russell, Countess of Bedford

Dame Isabel Sapcote

Anne Scrope, Lady Scrope

Dame Jane Strangeways

Elizabeth Vere, Countess of Oxford

23 builders

Appendix 8

Bequests of Vestments

1453, CCR, 1447-54, Jane Fiennes, Lady Clinton

1464, Blomefield, Topographical History of Norfolk, II, 430, Isabel, Lady Morley

1466, TE, II, 284, Dame Maude Eure

1470, Prob11/6/2, Dame Elizabeth Bruyn

1470, Dugdale. 1:450, Jane, Lady Latimer

1472, HEH, Hastings Collection, HAP, Box 4, folder 3, Margaret Lady Hungerford

1480, TV, I, 359, Eliz Neville, Lady Latimer

1483, Prob11/7/9, Dame Margaret Choke

1484, Prob11/7/16, Dame Jane Barre

1486, Prob11/8/15, Dame Agnes Scott

1487, Prob11/8/15, Elizabeth Uvedale

1488, Prob11/8, Agnes Cheyne, wid. of William Cheyne, Esq.; d. of Sir J Younge, 6th Mayor of London

1488, Prob11/8/13, Margaret, Lady Beauchamp

1488, Prob11/8/17, Katherine Harcourt

1489, TE, vol. IV, no. 9, 14, Dame Joan Boynton (1486)

1489, Prob11/11/10, Lady Jane Dynham

- 1489, Prob11/8/29, Dame Margaret Brown
- 1489, Prob11/8/29, Dame Margaret Chamberlain
- 1493, Prob11/10/12, Isabel Sapcote
- 1494, Prob11/10/4, Katherine Hawte
- 1497, Prob11/11/18, Thomasine Hopton
- 1497, Prob11/11/23, Anne Lady Audley
- 1498, TE, IV, LXXV, p. 149, Anne Lady Scrope
- 1500, TE,4:97, 189, Jane Strangeways
- 1500, Prob11/12/10, Joan Viscountess Lisle
- 1500, Prob11/12/8, Elizabeth, Lady Bergavenny
- 1502, TE, IV, #113, Elizabeth Fitzwilliam
- 1503, Prob11/13/23, Dame Elizabeth St John, alias Eliz Bigod
- 1504, Huntingdon, HAP, Box 5 (3) Katherine, Lady Hastings
- 1505, North Ctry Wills, #52, 73, Lady Jane Hastings
- 1505, Prob11/14/34, Kathryn Grey Lewkenor
- 1506, Prob11/15/18, Elizabeth Darcy, wid. of Robert
- 1506, Prob11/15/25, Elizabeth Mowbray, d. of Norfolk
- 1507, TE, III, p.275n, Kath Hastings
- 1508, Prob11/16/13, Dame Elizabeth Philpott
- 1509, Prob11/16/21, Dame Margaret Markham

- 1516, Prob11/19/12, Dame Margaret Capell
- 1517, Prob11/19/7, Dame Edith Carewe
- 1517, TE, vol. 6, #2, p. 3, Dame Margaret Fairfax
- 1519, North Country Wills, #78, p. 105, Dame Joyce Percy
- 1519, Prob11/19/32, Dame Anne Bouchier
- 1526, Prob11/ 22/9, Elizabeth Clifford
- 1526, Prob11/22/10, Katherine, Lady Berkeley
- 1527, Prob11/24/4, Margaret Hungerford
- 1529, Prob11/19/17, Elizabeth Speke, wife of Sir John
- 1529, Wills from Doctors Common17, Maud Parr, 1529
- 1531, Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, 3 or NS 1:66, Margaret Heron
- 1531, Prob11/24/22-23, Dame Elizabeth Reed
- 1537, Prob11/28/30, Dame Mary Allington
- 1537, Prob11/27/16, Elizabeth Speke (wid. Sir Geo)
- 1537, Prob11/27/11, Elizabeth de Vere, Countess of Oxford, 1537
- 1539, Prob11/25/28, Dame Anne Heydon
- 1540, Prob11/29/10, Jane Fitzwilliam
- 1544, Prob11/30/5, Dame Elizabeth Holles

Appendix 9

Patrons of Almshouses or Schools

For more information on these women, see Appendix 1.

*=joint foundation with husband

Before 1540, with chantries

Dame Joan Barre (1485), school with chantry

*Dame Margery Bouchier

*Dame Eleanor Brereton (1522)

Dame Anne Cobham

*Elizabeth Fettiplace

*Dame Katherine Grey (1505)

Margaret Grey, Countess of Kent

Dame Elizabeth Holles

Dame Jane Huddleston

Margaret Hungerford, Lady Hungerford

Dame Thomasine Percival

Alice de la Pole, Duchess of Suffolk

*Sybil Quatermain

Margery, Lady Roos

Anne Scrope, Lady Scrope

Dame Margaret Shelton

*Dame Eleanor Stafford

Maud Willoughby, Lady Cromwell

Dame Anne Worsley

After 1540

Dame Isabel Gresham

Dame Anne Packington

Dame Frances Peyton

*Bridget Russell, Countess of Bedford

19 built before 1540

4 after 1540

Glossary

- alb—a long-sleeved linen vestment worn over the cassock and under the chasuble; white linen liturgical vestment with sleeves; worn by priests.
- advowson—the right to appoint a member of the clergy to a benefice in the church.
- amortize—to give land to the church; the donation required a license from the Crown to exempt one from the Statutes of Mortmain (see below).
- antiphoner—musical portions of breviary; ancestor of anthem books of cathedrals; hymn books in parish churches.
- attainder—conviction for treason or felony by parliament that entailed forfeiture of the condemned person's real and personal property, corruption of his blood so he could neither inherit or transmit property, and general revocation of all his civil rights.
- baudekin (bawdkyn)—a rich silken tissue, often with gilt thread and sometimes brocaded; originally made in Baghdad.
- biliment/habiliment—the decorative border worn with a French hood.
- breviary—an hour service; sometimes called a portus in England.
- brocade—a textile usually made from silk; the pattern is usually formed by the introduction of one or more supplementary wefts.
- buckram—a coarse linen or cotton cloth.
- cambric—a fine, lightweight linen cloth.
- camlet (chamlet)—Eastern luxury fabric of camel's hair and silk; in 16th century made of angora and silk, linen, or cotton.
- cassock—a long, loose coat, often buttoned down the front.
- ensor—container for burning incense.
- chasuble—the vestment worn by the priest while celebrating the Mass; it was cut away at the sides to allow the priest to raise his arms as he elevated the host.
- chemise—female undergarment, usually linen, knee-length and with short sleeves.
- cloth of gold or silver—a term used to cover silk fabrics produced in a range of weaves with a high percentage of metal thread.
- compline—last of the Canonical Hours observed before a religious community retired for the night; usually around 8:30 p.m.
- cope—an ecclesiastical vestment or cloak, semicircular in form, reaching from the shoulders nearly to the feet, and open at the front except at the top, where it was closed by a band or clasp. It was worn in processions and on some other occasions.

corporas and corporas case—the altar cloth on which the Eucharist rested during consecration and with which it was subsequently covered, and the case in which it was kept after the service

coverture—the common-law doctrine that a husband covered his wife's legal identity during their marriage, meaning that she possessed none of the legal rights normally allowed to all men or never-married women or widows; she could not, for example, write a will or make a binding contract.

cruet—small vessel used for wine in the celebration of the Eucharist.

damask—a monochrome figured cloth with a reversible pattern created by using contrasting faces on the weave; usually satin.

De Profundis—Psalm 129; a penitential psalm sung as part of vespers (evening prayer) and in commemorations of the dead.

dower: provision for widows under the common law; widows were entitled to the use (usufruct) of one-third of their husband's land; after their death, it passed to their husbands' heirs.

dowry: property given by the bride's family to her husband or father-in-law on her marriage; the bride had no legal rights to her dowry; also called her marriage portion; usually in the form of cash paid in installments over a period of years.

enfeoffment—see definition of the use below.

entail—estate limited to a person and the heirs of his/her body, or to certain classes of the heirs of his/her body; also called a fee tail or an estate in tail. As a verb, to settle property upon a person in fee tail. The most common entail was an entail in male tail, which limited inheritance to one's male descendants.

English hood: a hood with a wire under-structure that formed a pointed arch above the forehead.

execute: in legal terminology, to validate an act by performing the formalities required by the law.

farthingale—a framework with hoops of wood or whalebone worn under a woman's skirts to extend it.

French hood—a small bonnet, worn on the back of the head, with a decorative front band or border stretching from ear to ear.

frontal—a cloth, often of luxurious fabric, that covered the front of the high altar.

frontlet—a decorative band worn by women across the forehead with a bonnet or coif.

girdle—a cord or belt placed around the hips or waist, used to contain loose garments, often of silver, gold, or decorated with jewels; also used to hang items such as purses or small prayer books with precious covers.

- gown—a long loose outer garment, usually with long wide sleeves; a woman's dress.
- gradual—the musical portions of the Mass; also name for one of the principal elements.
- holland—a fine linen cloth.
- hood—a loose covering for the head, sometimes extending to the shoulders; hoods were often worn for formal mourning.
- jointure—land granted in joint tenancy to a husband and wife at the time of their marriage; the survivor continued to hold the land until his or her death; the husband received the income during the marriage; while the jointure supported the couple, its primary purpose was to provide for the wife in the event she was widowed. A woman continued to receive her jointure if she remarried.
- kirtle—initially a sleeved, long garment worn under a gown; a full kirtle was the bodice and skirt, a half-kirtle was just the skirt; from the 1540s, the kirtle usually consisted of just the skirt.
- knot—a heraldic knot (referred to in heraldry simply as a knot) is a design incorporating a knot. These knots can be used on shield and crests, badges, or as stand alone symbols of the families for whom they are named.
- lampas—a type of luxury fabric with a background weft (a “ground weave”) typically in taffeta with supplementary wefts (the “pattern wefts”) laid on top and forming a design, sometimes also with a “brocading weft”.
- Lampas—a luxury fabric; typically woven in silk, and often has gold and silver thread enrichment.
- lawn—a semi-transparent, very fine linen cloth.
- legenda—long lessons used at matins; they could be homilies or taken from the bible
- Legenda Sanctorum: Lives of the Saints.
- Legenda Aurea: most famous book of sacred legends of the Middle Ages; translated and printed by Caxton; known as the Golden Legend, it follows the order of the Christian year and contains legends of saints with appropriate discourses on the seasons and the principal articles of faith; it was intended for private reading and was not used in church services.
- mantle—a long gown with a train for ceremonial wear; a long outer garment, usually without sleeves, worn for mourning.
- manuale—an occasional service such as the services for Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, and Palm Sunday.
- mark—a unit of account that equaled two thirds of a pound sterling or 13s 4d; used very frequently in contracts and wills in the Yorkist and early

Tudor periods; 100 marks=£66 13s 4d; 300 marks=£100; 500 marks=£333 6s 8d; 1,000 marks=£666 13s 4d.

missal: text of the Mass

mortmain—literally dead hand; referred to a gift of land to the church, because the gift would last forever, since the church never died; the Statutes of Mortmain (1279 and 1290) forbade gifts of land to the church for this reason.

mortuary—gift to set off against tithes forgotten or offerings not paid in one's lifetime.

nightgown—a loose, lined gown worn by men and women either indoors for warmth or outdoors as an overgarment; usually lined with fur.

obit—the office for a dead person recited on the anniversary or other commemoration of a death; it recreated the funeral rites and included a bell man, candles, the Mass, the Dirige, and doles for the poor.

orison—a prayer.

orphrey—a band of woven or embroidered textile used to decorate vestments.

ouche: clasp, buckle, or brooch for holding together two sides of a garment.

partlet—for women, an infill for a low neckline; from the 1530s, made with a high collar.

paten—also called a diskos; a small plate, usually made of silver or gold, used to hold the Eucharistic bread that is to be consecrated. It is generally used during the service itself.

paxboard—small tablet representing the crucifixion or the Virgin, etc.; kissed by priest and worshippers during the Eucharist.

petticoat—an undergarment.

placard—an article of dress; sometimes richly embroidered; worn in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries beneath an open gown or coat; a stomacher or front section of a gown or kirtle.

Placebo and Dirige—portion of the office or service for the dead sung respectively at vespers and matin; known by their opening words.

powdered: decorated or ornamented with many spots, small figures, or heraldic devices; spangled.

porteous—a porteous or breviary contained the Divine Office for each day that clerics in religious orders were to recite.

primer—a book of private devotions rather than service book; mostly used by the laity; often called a book of hours; elementary school book for teaching children to read; these uses overlapped in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

processionale—the litanies and hymns sung in processions.

- psalter—book of psalms; particular version of the book of psalms especially arranged for devotional or liturgical use.
- pyx—a container for wafers used in the Eucharist. Small pyxes could be used to carry the wafer to the sick.
- russet—a coarse woolen cloth, usually brown or grey.
- sarsenet—thin, lightweight, plain silk, often used as a lining fabric; either a tabby or a twill.
- Sarum Use—the form of Roman Catholic ritual associated with the Diocese of Salisbury and used widely in the English Church before reform of the Church under Edward VI.
- satin—a fabric with a smooth, lustrous surface, characterized by long floating threads.
- say—a fine twill cloth, either all silk, all wool, or with a silk warp and a wool weft.
- scarlet—a fine quality woolen cloth; also a red color.
- single—unlined.
- smock—a female undergarment worn next to the skin, often embroidered on the collar.
- stomacher—ornamental covering for the chest, often covered with jewels, worn by women under the lacing of the bodice.
- square—a band of jewels decorating the square neckline of a woman's gown.
- tawny—orange brown.
- tissue—the most expensive form of cloth of gold or silver; in the sixteenth century, woven.
- use: an early form of the trust; the owner of the land conveyed legal title to (i.e., enfeoffed) persons known as feoffees for specific purposes designated in the deed of conveyance. The use separated legal ownership from receipt of the profit or benefit of the land. The common law did not recognize the use and therefore did not protect the beneficiaries of the use if the feoffees violated the terms of the feoffment. Chancery recognized and enforced the use as a matter of equity. The spread of the use in the fifteenth century thus led to a massive shift of litigation about real property from the common law courts to Chancery. The use permitted landowners to devise their land by will at their deaths, which was not possible under the common law. The trust developed out of the entail during the Elizabethan period.
- velvet—a silk cloth with a short pile.
- versicles—short verse in church service chanted by priest with response by congregation.

wardship: right of a feudal lord to custody of minor heirs (girls under fourteen; boys under 21). The lord also had the right to arrange his wards' marriages and to collect the profits of their lands during their minorities. In the case of boys, only the inheriting son became a ward; in the case of girls, since they inherited as co-heirs, they all became wards at the same time. In practice, since virtually all knights and nobles held at least some land as tenants-in-chief of the Crown, almost all aristocratic minor heirs became the king's wards. The major exception occurred when all of the landowner's property was enfeoffed. The Crown often sold its rights for profit.

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