

ST. SEPULCHRE'S, HOLBORN FRESH FACTS FROM WILLS

BY THE LATE
CHARLES ANGELL BRADFORD, F.S.A.

[Charles Angell Bradford was one of our most consistent contributors, and was a scholar and researcher of proved ability. He specialised in Elizabethan byways and was learned in the biographical lore of the Welsh Marches. He was engaged in correcting the proofs of this paper when he died on 6th February of this year. His passing is a sad loss to his friends.]

(I) DEDICATION.

SHORTLY before 1137 this church was bestowed by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, on Rahere the Prior of the Convent of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, a House of Austin, or Black, Canons, so called from the black cope and hood that formed their habit.

Rahere presented the church (*ecclesiam sancti sepulchri*) to Hagno the clerk, who so far as is known, was its first vicar, in 1137, "the second year moreover of the rule of King Stephen in England."¹

Dr. R. R. Sharpe, however, in his Calendar of Wills enrolled in the Court of Hustings, gave the first hint of what may have been an earlier dedication, or possibly an earlier church. He discovered in the Will of Geoffrey de Henham² (1278-29) a reference to the parish of St. Edmund-without-Newgate,³ and in that of John Rychemonde,⁴ a mention of the parish of St. Edmund Sepulchre-without-Newgate.

In Rychemonde's Inquisition post mortem⁵ the terms of his Will are repeated and confirm its accuracy.

Although a period of some three hundred years separates these documents there is other evidence forthcoming to buttress the tradition.

About 1392, Langland⁶ makes a definite reference to the parish in *Piers Plowman*. He speaks of the church, the clerk, the hangman of Tyburn, the abundant ale—for many brewers carried on business here—and to Cock Lane—then notorious for its houses of ill-fame,⁷ as, later on, for its ghost manipulated by "Scratching Fanny." He ends with a reference to the Saxon saints, St. Edmund and St. Edward, the latter of whom is said to have frequently visited the former's tomb and granted special privileges to the Abbey where it was enshrined.⁸

In that curious collection of antiquarian fragments published at Antwerp in 1502, and commonly known as *Richard Arnold's Chronicle*,⁹ there are "lists of London parochial churches" and the "patrons of the benefices of London," the former includes "Seint Edmond or Sepultur-without-Newgate," and the latter, "Edmond-without-Newgate called Sint Sepulcre, diocese of London, patron, prior of St. Bartilmeus, decis 10/-."

Saint Bartholomew's Convent lay but an arrowshot from its daughter church on the opposite side of Smithfield, and here again a reference to St. Edmund appears. In 1499, Sir John Longe, priest, desires in his Will to be buried in St. Bartholomew's Church without the chapel door of St. Edmund there, and also provides for a daily and weekly mass at the altar within the chapel of St. Edmund for the space of three years for the souls of himself and others named. Mr. E. A. Webb, the historian of the Convent, says that this is the only reference to St. Edmund's chapel in their records, and that they are unaware of the position it occupied in the church.¹⁰

The only other dedication to St. Edmund known in London is that of the church in Lombard Street.¹¹

The latest discovery about St. Edmund is contained in the Will of Henry Marshall,¹² proved in 1514. He says: "I bequeathe unto the tabernacle of Saint Edmund within the said church (of St. Sepulchre) at the High

Altar's end, towards the gilding of the same, three and fourpence." The prominent position occupied by this gilded and coloured canopy, containing most probably an image of the saint, proclaims the importance in which he was held by the local faithful.

If for the present the existence of an earlier church on the site now occupied by St. Sepulchre's must continue a matter of conjecture, may it not well be that during the wanderings of the relics of St. Edmund they found a temporary resting-place near Newgate, which, by the operation of "folk-memory," associated for centuries the name of the saint with the parish?

(2) THE FABRIC.

The maintenance of the fabric of such a great building as St. Sepulchre's—for it was reputed the largest church in the City—must always have been a heavy strain on the parishioners, who not infrequently leave small sums ear-marked for this purpose ranging in amount from 3s. 4d. to 20s.:—1470. John Wentworth leaves 20s. to the making of the vestry—"if so be the vestry is made there" (30 Godyn). It was duly erected, and in 1516 Christopher Norton directs his interment there (1 Maynwayng), and in 1531 Edmund Curweyne gives very detailed instructions for his burial in the vestry, "even there as the Vicar doth make him ready to mass," bequeathing to the churchwardens for the breaking of the ground and closing of the same 8s. 4d. (11 Thower).

In 1498 Rauf Edriche directs his burial in the churchyard "by the Cross there if it may be or else at the Porch on the north side." To the building of the new porch on the said north aisle he bequeaths the sum of 6s. 8d. (24 Horne).

In 1509 Symond Clifton leaves £40 to the work and reparation of the Steeple (20 Bennett): in 1537 Robert Bricket, while leaving money for the Steeple, adds the cautionary words "where most need should be thought" (5 Crumwell), and in 1473 John Lane, Ironmonger,

bequeaths 100s. to the workmanship of the battlements to be made on the south side of the church, to be paid by my wife piece-meal as the works go forthward (10 Wattys). In 1492 Simon Dane (whose Will, like many others at this time, is in Latin) leaves a small sum for the reparation and emendation of the "campanile," *anglice* bell-tower (5 Dogett).

(3) THE BELLS.

The bells and bell-ringers are often noticed. In 1557 John Bettes leaves 3s. 4d. for the reparation of the bells (Com. Court of Lond: Harpesfyld). In 1502 Henry Hede directs that the three parish clerks who attend his funeral and ring the bells shall have 8d. each (18 Blamyr), and in 1516 John Ryng is considerate enough to provide that after the dirge¹³ is over priests and clerks shall refresh themselves with drink to the value of 8d. (21 Holder). Indeed, bequests for the refreshment of the clergy and mourners are not uncommon. In 1513 Hugh Noble directed that on the day of his burial three dozen of bread and two barrels of beer were to be disposed of (23 Fetiplace): in 1546 William Squire bequeathed 20s. to the Brotherhood of Our Lady and St. Stephen "to make merry withall" at the time of his interment (9 Alen).

(4) THE HIGH ALTAR.

Bequests to the high altar are very numerous, and range in amount from 12d. to 26s. 8d. They are usually given on account of tithes or oblations negligently forgotten or "in discharge of the testator's soul." Now and then they are conditional on special benefits:—

1485. William Bowley gives his 13s. 4d., not only for tithes forgotten, but for the privilege of burial before the High Altar (14 Logge):

1488. Dame Margery Astley accompanies her gift of 13s. 4d. with the requirement that the Vicar or his deputy should pray especially for her soul (14 Milles):

1502. Henry Hede provides that four torches of 20 pounds weight each shall be placed by the High Altar at his burial, and gives 13s. 4d. as well "to the intent that the Vicar may have him and his soul more specially remembered among his devout meditations and prayers" (18 Blamyr):

1526. Philip Taillour gives 3s. 4d. to the High Altar for tithes and "for to be prayed for in the Bede Roll" (14 Porch):

1487-88. Dame Margery Benstede accompanies her gift of 13s. 4d. with the provision of "a coverlet to be under the priests' feet at the principal feasts in the church" (10 Milles).

(5) OUR LADY'S ALTAR.

This altar is not so frequently referred to as might be expected, but the following cases have been noted:—

1458. Thomas Stephan provides for torches at the altar of St. Mary at the time of his burial (13 Stokton):

1481. Matthew Dew, a chaplain of the church, directs his burial "in the Chapel of Our Lady before the middle of the altar there" (Commis. Court of Lond., 314 Wilde):

1508. Margaret Hede desires a torch be given to "Our Lady Altar" at her burial (2 Bennett):

1535. Richard Taillour leaves 13s. 4d. to the same (27 Hogen):

1545. Anthony Pony provides for an honest priest to pray for his father's and mother's souls at "the Altar of Our Lady Chapel in St. Sepulchre's Church for three years for the yearly sum of £6 13s. 4d." (37 Pynnyng):

(6) MINOR ALTARS.

In addition to the high altar and that of Our Lady, there were four additional altars in the nave, which are mentioned in the Wills of Henry Hede (1502) and Margaret his wife (1508) (18 Blamyr and 2 Bennett),

but they do not mention the names of the saints to whom they were dedicated. Other testators refer to these other altars by name. Thus, in 1487, Stephen Clampard (whose tomb in the church is commemorated by Stow)¹⁴ desired to be buried before the altar of the Holy Confessors there (*coram altari sanctorum confessorum ibi* (3 Milles), and Thomas Stroxworth, in 1492, directed his interment before the altar of the Blessed Apostles (*ante altari beatorum apostolorum*) (13 Dogett), which may perhaps mean the same thing.

In 1470, John Lane, the Elder, directed his interment in St. Sepulchre's Church "afore the altar of St. Katherine," and gave orders that his executors should provide an honest priest to say mass for his soul (and others named) at the said altar of St. Katherine for a whole year (31 Godyn):

In 1473, John Lane, Ironmonger, gave precise directions that his body should be buried "in the church of St. Sepulchre that is, afore the altar of St. Anne and St. Katherine founded in the said church," and allocated two tapers to the said altar of St. Anne and Katherine, and provided for an honest and convenient priest to sing at the said altar of St. Anne and St. Katherine for the space of five years (10 Wattys): and in 1511 Peter Hill expressed his desire to be buried "even against Corpus Christi Chapel door at the end of St. Anne's (? altar) going into Corpus Christi Chapel within the said church" (5 Fetiplace).

The Will of Robert Bricket is of especial interest, as it contains the only reference to "the altar of St. Erasmus¹⁵ on the north side of the said church" (1537. 5 Crumwell). This dedication is not easy to be explained until it is remembered that the Fleet River was of such breadth and depth that ten or twelve ships at once, with merchandise, were wont to discharge at Holborn Bridge, and that the landing-place below St. Sepulchre's Church was always busy with sailors unloading sea-borne coal.

The only reference to the altar of St. Loy¹⁶ occurs in the Will of Symond Clifton, a blacksmith (ferour) in 1509 (20 Bennett). It will be recalled that the greatest oath of the prioress in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* was "but by St. Loy." The testator desires to be buried before the image of St. Loy, near his late wife, and adds: "I will that I have an honest priest to sing for my soul (and others named) at the altar of St. Loy for the space of two years, the said priest at the end of his masses to say at the lavatory¹⁷ of every mass the psalm of *de profundis* with the collect convenient to the same."

Despite the importance of the Fraternity of St. Stephen its altar is seldom mentioned in these Wills:—

1458. Thomas Stephan, a scholar of Oxford, desires to be buried near the tomb of his father and provides for a torch at St. Stephen's altar (13 Stokton):

1481. Matthew Dew is described in a papal letter¹⁸ as perpetual chaplain at the altar of St. Stephen in St. Sepulchre's Church (Commis. Ct. of Lond. 314 Wilde):

1508. Margaret Hede provides for sixteen torches at her obsequies, one to be allocated to St. Stephen's altar (2 Bennett):

There are several references to the altar of the Fraternity of Corpus Christi, one of the two most popular gilds in the church:—

1488. Dame Margery Astley bequeaths towards a table (i.e. picture) of St. John Baptist afore the altar of Corpus Christi 20s. (14 Milles):

1489. Henry Huddleston makes a small bequest to the altar of the Fraternity (30 Milles):

1492. Maud Dane desires to be buried in their chapel and leaves a bequest to found a perpetual chantry of one priest to sing perpetually at the altar of the chapel (18 Dogett):

1508. Margaret Hede provides sixteen torches to be used at her obsequies, one to be placed at the altar of Corpus Christi (2 Bennett):

1540. Robert Fuller, the last prior of St. Bartholomew's Convent, willed to be buried in Corpus Christi Chapel and bequeathed £3 6s. 8d. to the Brotherhood for the maintenance of the services and for the ornament of their altar (12 Alenger).

The last of the altars to be mentioned by name is that of St. Thomas, to which two references have been found:—

1458. Thomas Stephan directed that one of the four torches provided at his interment should be placed at this altar (13 Stokton):

1491. William Turtyll directed his burial at the south side of this altar (7 Dogett).

(7) CHAPELS.

Within the church were several chapels variously named as follows:—Corpus Christi, St. George, St. John the Baptist, Our Lady, Our Lady and St. Stephen, and St. Stephen.

Corpus Christi Chapel is referred to in some dozen Wills as the place selected for the burial of the testator:—

1487. Elizabeth Wayte, a widow, desired this privilege and gave the Brethren and Sisters of the Fraternity 10s. to pray for her soul (6 Milles):

1492. Maud Dane, another widow, amongst other bequests, gave 6s. 8d. for her burial in the chapel beside her deceased husband (18 Dogett):

1494. John Long, a brewer, gave 10s. to the chapel, although he was buried near his deceased wife in the middle of the church (9 Vox):

1501. Elen Appleton, in return for her burial in the chapel "nigh the bodies of her husbands there resting," gave to the Fraternity "towards a new altar cloth, vestment or other thing for the same," 10s. (2 Blamyr):

1501. William Massett for burial in the chapel gave the Brotherhood 20s., and provided for an honest priest to sing for his soul in the said chapel for two whole

years, the said priest to have for his salary for said two years twenty marks (21 Moone):

1511. Peter Hyll directed his interment "even against Corpus Christi Chapel door at the end of St. Anne's going into the said chapel within the said church." For this he bestowed twenty pence on the Brotherhood (5 Fetiplace):

1514. Henry Marshall gave 3s. 4d. for the privilege of burial in St. Sepulchre's Church "before Corpus Christi Chapel and the quire door there as was appointed by me" (1 Holder):

1517. Robert Campion directed his interment in Corpus Christi Chapel, *under the Trinity*,¹⁹ a concession he valued at 13s. 4d. (36 Holder):

1517. John Norton gave twenty pence to be buried here (35 Holder):

1535. Richard Taillour, though buried in the Lady Chapel bequeathed 13s. 4d. to Corpus Christi Chapel (27 Hogen).

The name of St. George has not hitherto appeared in any account of the church, but it would appear that a chapel was erected in his honour about the time of the accession of Henry VIII. In 1511, Henry Waldram, a brewer, bequeaths 6s. 8d. "to the building of the chapel of St. George within the said church of St. Sepulchre" (2 Fetiplace):

1514. Henry Marshall leaves 3s. 4d. "to St. George founded within the same church" (1 Holder):

1517. William Mille provides for his burial in the parish church of St. Sepulchre "under the chapel of St. George in the same church" (32 Holder):

1517. Robert Campion, a grocer, bequeaths "unto St. George," 3s. 4d. (36 Holder).

The chapel of St. John the Baptist²⁰ is referred to in a Will enrolled in the Court of Hustings in 1443, so it may well be that when St. John is mentioned in later Wills the Baptist is intended, there being but a single reference to the Evangelist in the church.²¹ In 1470

John Wentworth directs his burial in the churchyard without the little door of St. John's Chapel under the upper step on the south side (30 Godyn):

1488. William Newport desires to be interred in the chapel of St. John "afore my sitting place there" (13 Milles):

1492. Simon Dane, a cooper, directs his burial in this chapel (5 Dogett).

Several Wills refer to the "Chapel of Our Lady and St. Stephen" as though it was one place, though others mention them separately, but it seems certain that there were definitely two chapels, perhaps on contiguous sites. In 1500, Joan Goyn, a widow, desires to be buried in the chapel of Our Lady and St. Stephen "where the bodies of William Mynte and John Goyn her husbands lie buried" (1 Moone), but it may be noted that in 1486 William Mynte willed to be buried in the *chancel* (23 Logge), and in 1491 John Goyn directed his burial in the *chapel of St. Mary* (4 Dogett). In 1510 Henry Clerk desired to be laid to rest in the chapel of Our Lady and St. Stephen (30 Bennett), and so did John Willes in 1534 (20 Hogan). In 1543 Thomas Parker directs his burial "in the church of St. Sepulchre on the left hand coming into the chapel of Our Lady and St. Stephen nigh by his wife Jane" (1 Pynnyng). Since the deceased lady left no directions about her place of interment, and the parish registers have been lost, it can only be gathered (as suggested above) that the two chapels were adjacent, and thus referred to as one.

To the "Chapel of Our Lady" there are many references, mainly, of course, in connection with burials (sometimes by the pew doors of the testators), but others are of greater interest:—

1470. John Lane, the Elder, leaves 20s. to "the new edification of the Chapel of Our Lady begun to be made within the said church" (31 Godyn):

1557. Sir William West, Kt. (whose funeral on

13th December, 1557, is described in Machyn's *Diary*²²), wills that he be buried in the Lady Chapel "next unto the High altar ende of St. Sepulchre's church" (45 Welles):

1546. Thomas Oldenall directed his burial in the chapel of Our Lady in the parish church of St. Pulcher, and left a legacy of "three corporas cases²³ of crimson satin to be made of the satin within his house to be given to the said chapel of Our Lady in said church of St. Pulcher" (7 Alen):

1549. John Twyford expressed his wish to be buried in the Lady Chapel "nigh by my pew with solemn dirge and the blessed communion according to the King's Majesty's proceeding²⁴" (5 Coode).

The chapel of St. Stephen is the last to be mentioned. It would seem to have been a fifteenth-century addition to the church:—

1424. Joan Delamare directs to be buried in the "Church of St. Sepulchre, viz., in the chapel of St. Stephen there" and leaves 6s. 8d. to the chapel (2 Luffenam):

1444. John Cerff leaves a similar sum to the fabric of the chapel and refers to its chaplain (28 Lufferman):

1444-45. John Mollesley, a drover of London, desires to be buried in the churchyard "at the West end of St. Stephen's chapel," and wills that in the west wall of that chapel at the east end of my grave a piece of brass shall be placed whereon shall be sculptured in the middle the images of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Anne her mother, St. Katherine, St. Margaret, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Ursula; on the left of the Trinity those of St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, St. Matthew the Apostle, St. Stephen, St. Luke, Evangelists, and St. Lawrence." He also gave the Fraternity of St. Stephen 20s., and 20s. to the fabric of the church. Masses were to be sung at his burial and until the twentieth day after, for which he gives 6s. 8d. to each chaplain attending

the same and to the parish clerk, if he attend, 3s. 4d. (30 Luffenam—in Latin):

1490. John Gervys desires to be laid in the chapel of St. Stephen where the bodies of his wives have been laid to rest (37 Milles):

1494. John Long, a brewer, gave £6 13s. 4d. "to help forward a 'coope'" (cope) to be had in the said church of St. Sepulchre, and also 20s. to St. Stephen's Chapel (9 Vox):

1526. Philip Taillour, a butcher, directed his interment in St. Stephen's Chapel and "at my burial all the priests and clerks [of St. Sepulchre's Church] to sing dirges and mass for my soul, on said day of burial a trental of masses" (14 Porch):

1557. John Bettes directed his burial in St. Stephen's Chapel (Commis. Ct. of Lond. Harpesfyld): and in

1561. Nicholas Edwards gave similar instructions, but wanted to be near his pew (Commis. Ct. of London. 57 Huick).

(8) LIGHTS AND IMAGES.

Bequests towards the maintenance of lights are not infrequently bestowed:—

1500. Thomas Goodale bequeaths 6s. 8d. to the Rood Light (3 Moone):

1501. William Appleton gives to the Rood Light two pounds of wax (2 Blamyr):

1531. Edmund Curweyne allocates a shilling to the same (11 Thower):

1533. John Goodwyn gives 3s. 4d. to its maintenance (7 Hogen):

1534. John Willes bequeaths the Rood Light fourpence (20 Hogen):

1540. Allain Rice gives 3s. 4d. for its maintenance (12 Alenger).

There was probably an image or picture of St. Christopher placed opposite to the south door of the church, for it was a current belief that those who

beheld his figure were, for that day, immune from various perils. In 1487-88 Dame Margery Benstede leaves 20d. to the Light of St. Christopher and a similar sum of the Light of St. Erasmus. She also leaves 3s. 4d. to the Light of St. John the Baptist and expresses a desire to be buried in St. Sepulchre's Church "afore the Resurrection²⁵ there" (10 Milles):

(9) FRATERNITIES.

The various Fraternities, Gilds or Brotherhoods,²⁶ as they are variously named, were a leading feature of mediæval church life and, in general, similar in constitution: that of St. Stephen²⁷ in the church of St. Sepulchre is fairly typical of the rest. It maintained a chaplain to celebrate continually, and a light to burn before their patron's altar: it paid 14d. a week to any member in poverty not through his own fault. Every brother had to be present at mass on St. Stephen's Day, and offer at least a farthing. On the Sunday following they ate together, each at his own expense, wearing "cowls of a suit." When a brother died tapers were provided for his requiem mass, and three trentals of masses sung and every brother was bound to be present at the Dirige on pain of a fine.²⁷ They were the recipients of very numerous bequests.

That of St. George was apparently of no great importance. It is mentioned in four Wills only:—

1517. William Mille leaves it 6s. 8d. (32 Holder):

1531. William Taylor, a tallow chandler, gives twenty pence (3 Thower):

1533. John Goodwyn, also a tallow chandler, bequeaths it 3s. 8d. (7 Hogen): and

1534. John Willes, a well-to-do merchant-tailor, spares them fourpence (20 Hogen).

The Fraternity of Corpus Christi at St. Sepulchre's Church was of great local influence, and much is known of its history and affairs.²⁸ It was probably founded just before the Battle of Bosworth Field. On 1st May,

1502, Queen Elizabeth,²⁹ the wife of Henry VII, bestowed upon the Brotherhood the sum of 5s., and many other donations, ranging from 8d. to as much as £3 6s. 8d. are recorded. A specially interesting bequest to it was made in 1481 by Matthew Dew, its chaplain, which indicates that the Christmas festival of the Boy Bishop³⁰ was duly celebrated in the church. He gave the Fraternity "a *mitre* and a cross with all other ornaments and arrangements pertaining to St. Nicholas Bishop, and wills that the Masters of the same Fraternity have it in their keeping and that the Churchwardens in no wise meddle with any of the same gear" (Commis. Ct. of Lond., 314 Wilde). Moreover, in the Inventory³¹ of Church Goods of 1552 is included "a *mitre* garnished with silver, pearl and stones." Other benefactions may be quoted:—

1486. Robert Forster, gentleman, bequeathed twenty shillings "*apud opus Fratrum Corporis Christi*" (26 Logge):

1487. Elizabeth Wayte, widow, gave the Gild 10s. "to pray for her soul" (6 Milles):

1501. William Appleton gave the Fraternity a torch of 18 pounds weight (2 Blamyr):

1502. Henry Hede, ironmonger, provided 16 torches for his funeral of which four were to go to the Brotherhood, and also gave them 40s. towards the maintenance of the Gild (18 Blamyr):

1509. Symond Clifton, blacksmith, gave 10s. to the Brotherhood "to pray for his soul" (2 Bennett):

1541. William Vaughan, clerk and doctor of law, bequeaths "to John Nicholas, the priest of the Fraternity of Corpus Christi in St. Sepulchre's Parish, London, a featherbed, bolster and blanket, a pair of sheets, a coverlet and a tester" (28 Alenger).

The Fraternity of St. Stephen at St. Sepulchre's Church is known to have been in existence, at least as early as 1392. It is referred to in a Will³² enrolled

in the Court of Hustings in 1447-48, and in that of John Mollesley in 1445 (P.C.C. 30 Luffenam).

The Fraternity of Our Lady and St. Stephen finds mention in many Wills for sums varying from 8d. to £3 6s. 8d.

1486. Robert Forster, gentleman, leaves to the Fraternity of the Blessed Mary and St. Stephen *the Martyr*³³ the sum of five marks (26 Logge):

1489. John at Wode, a grocer, directs that vestments and a mortuary cloth³⁴ should be made and delivered to the keeping of the Masters of the Fraternity of Our Lady and St. Stephen in the parish of St. Sepulchre, and used at the burying of the Brethren and Sisters of the same Fraternity (29 Milles):

1501. William Appleton leaves the Brotherhood of Our Lady and St. Stephen a torch of 18 pounds (2 Blamyr):

1502. Henry Hede directs that at his burial four torches, every one of twenty pounds weight shall go to the Brotherhood of Our Lady and St. Stephen (18 Blamyr):

1517. John Norton leaves 3s. 4d. to the Fraternity of Our Lady and St. Stephen "to the intent to be a brother and my wife a sister thereof and to be prayed for among them" (35 Holder):

1509. Symond Clifton, blacksmith, bequeaths to the Brotherhood "to pray for my soul, my great standing mazer³⁵ harnessed with silver and gilt with a great boss in the bottom" (20 Bennett):

1525. Thomas Rolle leaves 3s. 4d. to the "churchwardens of Our Lady and St. Stephen to be registered and made a Bede brother" (2 Porch):

1532. Thomas Ap Meredith ap Richard desires to be buried "in the Holy Ground of St. Sepulchre's Church, my son-in-law to purchase me to be accepted as a Bede brother³⁶ of the said church to obtain all such services and obsequies as all like Brethren and Sisters are wont to have" (14 Thower):

1547. Thomas Eyer provides for six new torches of twenty pounds weight apiece to be given to the Brotherhoods, i.e. "two to Corpus Christi and two to Our Lady and St. Stephen" (35 Alen).

The Fraternity of St. Mary, St. Stephen and St. Gabriel is mentioned once in the Will of Peter Hyll, enrolled in 1511 in the Court of Hustings,³⁷ and again in the proceedings of a suit in the Court of Requests in 1543.³⁸

(10) LOCATION OF GRAVE.

To many testators the place of their burial was a matter of considerable concern, though quite a number leave all the arrangements to the discretion of their executors:—

1492. Helen Monkey, a widow, desires to be buried "near my oratory" (*prope oratorium meum*) (11 Dogett): and

1493. Hugh Salmon, a brewer, makes a similar request (24 Dogett).

Some (as already shown) desire to be buried by their pew, several prefer the middle of the church, one would like to lie before the pulpit, another in front of a special altar. The churchyard is spoken of as "Holy turf," "Holy grave" or "Hallowed Ground." Several testators (in and after 1557) desire to be buried in the "green churchyard on the south side of the church." In 1498 Rauf Edriche wishes his body to lie in the churchyard "by the Cross there" (24 Horne). Very few references are made to tombs or gravestones³⁹:—

1404. Richard Brown, the Rector of Weston Turville, Bucks., desires to lie near the tomb of his father and mother in the church of St. Sepulchre, Holborn, and leaves for his burial there 6s. 8d. (7 Marche):

1537. Robert Bricket, a brewer, desires to be buried in the church "with a fair marble of four marks over my body" for which he leaves the sum of 20s. (5 Crumwell):

1547. Thomas Eyer directs his burial in the church, and gives for the breaking of ground and laying of tombstone 13s. 4d. (35 Alen):

1557. Sir William West, Kt., who had a house in Smithfield called "Olivaunts" left £4 "to help to make a tomb to set the sepulchre upon" (45 Willes).

There was, as already noticed, a sepulchre in the churchyard, and the Will of John Fenkyll, 1530, directs his burial "in the Holy Sepulchre in the church porch of the south door of the church" (25 Jankyn).

(11) BOOKS.

The only books named in these Wills are those of a religious character, except that in 1563, John Bysell, schoolmaster of London, "weak in body but strong in spirit," leaves his library and books to his scholar, George Dickens (Commis. Ct. of Lond., Huick, 120). In his Will, made in 1449 and proved in 1452, Walter Honyngton, the Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, directs that "my old breviary,⁴⁰ called 'Horffote' be for the perpetual use of the Vicar for the time being of that church and the other chaplains celebrating divine service, and also my breviary and my processionale⁴¹" (Commis. Ct. of Lond., 56 Sharp). In 1481, Matthew Dew, priest of St. Sepulchre's, directs that his great porteus⁴² called a cowcher "be tied with a chain in Our Lady Chapel in St. Sepulchre for priests and other men to say service therein: also that another porteus be given to Roberd Vintner, priest, to have and occupy it during his life so that the said Roberd give the same at time of death to some other priest and so from one to another for evermore receiving no money for the same but specially charging them to pray for my soul." He also bequeathed to the Brotherhood of Our Lady and St. Stephen a mass-book and a legend,⁴³ besides many vestments, "one red velvet powdered with flowers, with an alb, an amice, a stole and a fanon⁴⁴ to the same belonging; another of white silk with red orphreys⁴⁵ and all things

appertaining to the same and also to the said Brotherhood twenty pounds of silver and gold, a pyx-bread⁴⁶ of silver and gilt and enamel with a crucifix graven in the same: a pair of cruets of silver and gilt" (Commis: Ct. of Lond., 314 Wilde). In 1492, Maud Dane, late wife of Simon Dane, bequeathed towards the buying of a book to sing in the foresaid church at the discretion of her executors the sum of £10 (18 Dogett).

(12) CHANTRIES.

The church of St. Sepulchre was very richly endowed with chantries,⁴⁷ as witnessed by the Hustings and Canterbury Wills and various other documents, such as the Certificate of the Churchwardens, under the Act of Edward VI of 1547, for their confiscation.⁴⁸ The choice of a priest was generally left to the wife or the executors of the deceased, and their number might vary from one to five, to sing for various periods ranging from thirty days to twenty years. Some were "perpetual."

A charming innocence is manifested by the learned Strype,⁴⁹ in quoting the Will of William Benet, cooper, dated 5th September, 1492. He says that he "did will his executor to provide a *Canable* (that is, I suppose, a singing priest) to sing a twelvemonth next after his decease within the said parish church (of St. Sepulchre) at the altar of St. Thomas Altarmass." "Canable" should, of course, as Murray says, be conable, a phonetic reduction of "covenable": proper, due, convenient, competent. In 1473 John Lane directs his executors to "find four Friars Minor, Englishmen, being priests, and young virtuous men disposed towards their learning, to sing and say their masses for my soul of those of others named, for five years and as long after as it shall please my wife" (10 Wattys):

1502. Henry Hede entails on his executors the task of finding "a Reader of Divinity, being a priest of the University of Cambridge, to sing in the said University

for my soul and others named, and also for the soul of Dominus Richard Hede late Prior of Hereford⁵⁰ during a term of twenty years next following my decease" (18 Blamyr):

1492. Maud Dane, a widow whose husband had died but a few months before, gives directions for a perpetual chantry of one priest to be founded at said church (of St. Sepulchre) to sing perpetually at the altar of the chapel of Corpus Christi to pray for my husband and others named (18 Dogett):

1516. John Ryng directs his executors to find an "honest priest to sing for me, he to be of good conversation, a conyng priest to sing his prick-song.⁵¹ His salary to be £7 6s. 8d. a year so long as the money given will last" (21 Holder).

(13) FUNERAL SERVICES.

To quote the oft-repeated details of funeral rites would be but wearisome: a few short extracts suffice as typical of the great majority:—

1470. John Wentworth, gentleman, bequeaths to the Vicar "for to help say my dirges and my masses 8d. to every other priest of same church 6d. to every of the three clerks of the same 6d.: 8 torches to burn at dirige and mass and 8 poor men to hold them 4d. each: and also 4 tapers every taper weighing four pounds" (30 Godyn):

1473. John Lane, Cit. and ironmonger, directs his executors to "buy four covenable tapers of wax and six honest torches to burn about my body during all the time of my exequies: ten tapers and torches to be held by poor persons for my soul 8d. each: no other candlesticks to be ordeyned for to bear such tapers but only poor people as aforesaid: after exequies done I bequeath torches and tapers thus: one torch and two tapers to the altar of Our Lady, another torch and two tapers to the altar of St. Anne and St. Katherine, to serve for the worship of God and of His saints as long as they may endure and another torch to the High Altar to

serve at the elevation of the blessed blood and body of our Lord Jesus, and also in the visitation of poor people of the said parish with the blessed sacrament." He also directs his executors to find an honest and covenable priest to sing for his soul for the space of five years (10 Wattys):

1492. Elizabeth, late the wife of John Feres, John Foster and Alan Lommer, directs five trentals of masses, one at St. Bartholomew Spital, another at St. Sepulchre's Church, a third at the Black Friars of London, a fourth at the Grey Friars of London, "and I will that a priest sing daily till the 5th trental be done, that is to say, by the space of 30 days: six trentals to be done for me and my three husbands (named)" (12 Dogett):

1537. Robert Bricket directs an obit at St. Sepulchre's with Placebo⁵² and Dirige, mass on morrow with bells ringing, and desires the Company of Brewers to attend (5 Crumwell):

1551. Hugh Woodhouse, a careless Gallio, indifferent to ghostly assistance, relegated his future estate to the care of the kitchen staff! He gives 3s. 4d. "to my hostess' two maids, and an old woman to pray for my soul, to either of them 5s." (13 Bucke).

(14) MISCELLANEA.

While legacies for spiritual advantages were certainly much more numerous, the wants of the poor were not forgotten—a favourite form of benevolence consisting of loads of coal at seasonable times.

Public purposes, such as the mending of highways, were also remembered. In 1511, Henry Waldram, brewer, gives £10 to the making of a conduit at Holborn Cross⁵³ upon this condition, "if the said work of the same go forthward any time between the date hereof and Bartholomewtide come two years—and, if no workmen be set upon it, then I will that the said £10 shall be given to the poor householders of the parish" (2 Fetiplace).

The vicars of the parish are often mentioned by name, and, in addition, a large number of chaplains and other clerics now come into notice, but time and space forbid their inclusion here.

Occasionally the testators themselves possess a more than ordinary interest:—

1463. John Aleyne describes himself as “formerly a servant of the illustrious prince Lord Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester” (2 Godyn):

1480. John Werall was granted by King Edward IV “for his good services from his youth” the offices of Coroner and Attorney of the King in the King’s Bench (2 Logge):

1481. Matthew Dew was a protégé of the great Earl of Worcester, John Tiptoft. He became a papal chaplain and received from the Pope the special privilege of a portable altar (Commis. Ct. of Lond., 314 Wilde):

1487–88. Dame Margery Benstede was the widow of Sir John Benstede, Kt., when she married William Bowley, Esq., as her second husband. He committed the care of his daughter Elizabeth to Sir Richard Edgecombe, Kt., Chamberlain of the Exchequer and Controller of the Royal Household (10 Milles and 19 Logge):

1488. Dame Margery Astley was the wife of Sir John Astley made a Knight of the Garter by King Edward IV (14 Milles):

1500. Thomas Goodale⁵⁴ held the important post of Keeper of Newgate Prison and was evidently an official of some consequence (3 Moone):

1502. Henry Hede served as Sheriff of London in 1501, and was nominated for Alderman (18 Blamyr):

1518. Thomas Salter was a gentleman usher of the King’s Chamber and went oversea with the King’s grace into France, receiving various grants for his faithful services (5 Ayloff):

1522. John Verdon was a Page of the Buttery to Henry VIII (45 Maynwaryng):

1527. Sir William Bulstrode, Kt., was of the well-known Buckinghamshire family whose monumental brasses may still be seen in Hedgerley Church (22 Porch):

1540. Robert Fuller⁵⁵ was both the last Abbot of Waltham, Essex, and the last Prior of St. Bartholomew's Convent, Smithfield. Gorged with church property for his subservience to Cromwell, he died a few months after their suppression (12 Alenger):

1553. William Vaughan was Dean of the Collegiate Church of St. Mary Shrewsbury and held several other livings. By his Will he gave "to every parish church of mine where I am now parson 33s. 4d. to make them every one a chalice" (28 Alenger):

1543. William Shaw was a man of war whose arms were his chief asset. He bequeaths to his friends his horse and harness, his sword and buckler, his velvet doublet, his scarlet hosen, and, more precious than all, the "Taffeta jacket which was my Lord Dacres' of the South"—one of the victims of Henry VIII, hanged at Tyburn, and buried in St. Sepulchre's Church at the age of 26 (27 Spert):

1545. Anthony Poney leaves a "portugue of gold" to his overseer Sir Richard Lyster, Kt., the Chief Justice of the King's Bench (37 Pynnyng):

1545. Philip Walter described himself as "servant and yeoman of the Guard to King Henry VIII" (35 Pynnyng):

1546. Thomas Oldenall names as his overseers his brother John, Master Henry Brickett, chief clerk of the King's Most Honourable Spicery, Master John Grymsdyche, Attorney of the "Duchery," and Master Henry Jonys, servant to the Queen (7 Alen):

1556. Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York, directed by his Will that he should be buried in the church of the parish where he should die. As he deceased at the Master of Sempringham's Head-house in Cow Lane in the Parish of St. Sepulchre, he was probably⁵⁶ buried in the church (25 Ketchyn):

1556. Thomas Fowler was Water-Bailiff of Calais and Gentleman Usher to the King (10 Ketchyn):

1556. Adam Gascoigne described himself as "one of the four Ordinary Messengers⁵⁷ of Our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Most Honourable Council and Poste of the Courte" (14 Ketchyn):

1557-58. Sir William West, Kt.,⁵⁸ besides his house in Smithfield, possessed two other Capital mansions. Machyn⁵⁷ records under date of 25th May, 1556, the slaying by Lord Darcy's son of Master West, Esquire; "there were 40 men against Master West and his 8 men, beside Rotherham in Yorkshire" (45 Welles):

1561-62. John Witcombe was a member of the household of William Herbert, the great Earl of Pembroke, an Executor of the Will of Henry VIII (1 Streat).

To bring this paper to a conclusion it is interesting to quote the Will of William Warner, citizen and ironmonger of London, made in the reign of Edward VI, and dated 29th September, 1548 (15 Populwell). It exhibits him as a devout Roman Catholic, but tinged with Wycliffite views. The document begins with the customary formula:—"In the name of God, Amen. I bequeath my soul to Almighty God my Maker and Redeemer, and to the glorious Virgin Our Lady St. Mary and all the Holy Company of Heaven." He leaves provision for loads of coal to the poor of St. Sepulchre's where he desires to be buried: he forgives several debtors the sums they owe him and bequeaths £6 13s. 4d. to the repair of the Conduit at Holborn Bars. He gives "3s. 4d. to Raffé à Carter to pray for his soul, and *towards the trimming and painting of St. Sepulchre's Church in setting out of scriptures of God's Holy Word, £3.*" He finally directs that £6 13s. 4d. be distributed among honest preachers at certain times, as by the discretion of his Executors and Overseers should be thought mete, to preach the word of God sincerely in Hertfordshire (where he had property) and in the parish of St. Sepulchre.

NOTES.

1. E. A. Webb, *Records of St. Bartholomew, Smithfield*, Vol. I, 78 and 489; and Sir N. Moore, *St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, Vol. I, 26, 27.
2. *Hustings Wills*, Vol. I, 38—J. B. Mackinlay, "St. Edmund," p. 169, says that the second translation of the saint's body was in 1010. It was brought through Aldgate and remained in the Church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's for three years—for fear of the Danes.
3. Newgate is said by Stow to have been erected about the time of Henry I or Stephen, but later excavations prove that the original gate was of Roman construction, and that it was in all probability the main gate in the western wall (Harben, p. 432).
4. *Hustings Wills*, Vol. II, 696.
5. G. S. Fry, p. 188.
6. W. W. Skeet, Vol. 161, 451, and *Trans. St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.*, Vol. IX, Pt. 5, 92.
7. H. T. Riley, *Mems. of Lond.*, p. 535—Proclamation of 17. Richard II (1393).
8. J. B. Mackinlay, p. 389.
9. Francis Douce, (1811), pp. 77, 249. It contains such various matters as the "Ballad of the Nutbrown Maid," and recipes for making ink.
10. *St. Bartholomew's Priory Records*, pp. 538-39.
11. It is unknown when the church of St. Edmund was built. Kingsford says it is mentioned in a document of the fourteenth century which *may* however have followed one of the twelfth century. Harben asserts that it was given by Maud wife of Henry I, to the Austin Priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, which she had founded in 1108.
12. P.C.C. 1 Holder. Printed here for the first time, as are all the other P.C.C. Wills quoted here.
13. Dirge—originally *dirige*, the first word of the Latin antiphon "*Dirige, Domine, Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam*" (Psalm v. 8).
14. *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, Vol. II, pp. 34, 362.
15. The patron of sailors and of those afflicted with such pains as the saint endured when his bowels were wound out on a windlass—see S. Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, Vol. VI, pp. 20, 21. See also Wheatley, Vol. II, p. 52.
16. An abbreviation of St. Eloy (Eligius), the goldsmith bishop of Noyon, patron saint of workers in metal. There were many blacksmiths and armourers in this parish. For the Ordinances of the London Fraternity of St. Loy, see *Trans. London and Middlesex Archæol. Soc.*, Vol. IV, p. 32.
17. Lavatory—a place or vessel for washing near the altar: a piscina: also the ritual washing of the celebrants' hands at mass after the cleansing of the vessels following the Communion.
18. *Cal. of Entries in Papal Reg.*, Vol. II, p. 682.
19. An image of the Trinity is often referred to in accounts of ancient churches. The Trinity altar was usually placed against the west wall of the pulpitum.
20. Sharpe, Vol. II, p. 502. Will of John Staunton, brewer.

21. And here he is only named as one of a large number of saints to be engraved on a brass plate (see Will of John Mollesley, 1444-45 [P.C.C. Luffenam]).
22. *Camden Soc.*, pp. 161 and 362. After the funeral was over "there was a grett dener."
23. Corporas, or corporal, case—corporal being a cloth, usually of linen, upon which the consecrated elements are placed during the celebration of mass and with which the elements, or the remnants of them, are covered after the celebration (Murray).
24. The Proclamation of 8 Mch. 2 Edw. VI (1548) provided for the Communion being given *in both kinds* to all the King's subjects (see G. Burnet, *Hist. of Reformation*, ed. N. Pocock, 1865, Vol. II, p. 132-33).
25. This probably means the Easter Sepulchre.
26. The Fraternities of St. Katherine (1361), and of the Light of Mary (1349), mentioned in the *Hustings Wills* appear to have now become extinct. On the other hand, Dr. Sharpe does not mention the Guild of Corpus Christi, which was well known in the time of Henry Machyn. The rules of the Fraternity of St. Katherine are set out by Strype—see Stow's *Survey*, Vol. I, Bk. 3, p. 245.
27. *V.C.H. Lond.*, Vol. I, p. 214.
28. See Machyn's *Diary*; Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. VI, p. 560; Strype's *Eccles. Memls.*, Vol. III, (1), 190, etc., etc.
29. *Privy Purse Expenses of the Queen*, ed. Nicolas, p. 9.
30. See Machyn's *Diary*, pp. 75, 77, 121.
31. *Trans. St. Paul's Eccles. Soc.*, Vol. IX, Pt. 5, p. 107.
32. Vol. II, p. 514. It is also mentioned in the Calendars of Patent Rolls and in various Chancery proceedings.
33. And yet the chapel now goes by the name of St. Stephen *Harding!*
34. A pall to cover the coffin.
35. In 1341 Alice de Manefeld had a "cup of mazer" of value of 10s. stolen from her house in the Par. of St. Sep. on the Monday after the Feast of St. Hilary (City of Lond. Letter, Bk. F, p. 253).
36. The particular Fraternity intended is not expressed.
37. R. R. Sharpe, Vol. II, p. 616.
38. P.R.O. Ref. Req. Bundle 10, No. 153 (Alice Dacre against the Wardens of the Fraternity of Our Lady, St. Stephen and St. Gabriel).
39. The extraordinary brass memorial in St. Stephen's Chapel has already been described.
40. Breviary = the books containing the divine office for the day.
41. Processionale = an office-book containing litanies, hymns, etc., for use in religious processions.
42. Porteus = a portable breviary. The name is spelt in many ways.
43. Legend = a mediæval collection of saints' lives written by Jacobus de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, in the thirteenth century.
44. Fanon = an embroidered band attached to the left wrist of the officiating priest.

45. Orphrey = an ornamental band on a vestment often richly embroidered.
46. Pyxbread = the vessel in which the host or consecrated bread is reserved.
47. This connotes "an ecclesiastical benefice or endowment to provide for the singing or saying of masses for the founder's soul or the souls of others he may specify. The term also applied to a chapel provided by the donor in which the said masses were to be said."
48. At the Record Office—E.301/34, 13 and 14.
49. Stow's *Survey*, Vol. I, Bk. 3, p. 241.
50. The Benedictine Priory of St. Peter, St. Paul and St. Guthlac at Hereford is described in *Mon. Ang.*, Vol. III, p. 621. In the list of Priors there, the name of Richard Hede does not appear. It can now be added.
51. Prick-song = written music as apposed to *ex tempore* descant. Foxe (*Acts and Monuments*, Vol. VI, p. 441) repeats a current joke on the word—"mass in pike sauce! In prick-song I would say."
52. The name commonly given to Vespers in the Office for the Dead, from the first word of the first antiphon (*Placebo Domino in regione vivorum* (Psalm cxiv. 9)).
53. Several other bequests to this very desirable object have been noted.
54. For his night attack on St. Sepulchre's Church to capture a prisoner who had escaped from Newgate, see *Trans. Lond. & Middx. Archæol. Soc.*, N.S., Vol. VII, Pt. 3, p. 472.
55. The Convent was resuscitated by Queen Mary for Dominican Friars. In 1559 Machyn chronicles the expulsion of the "Frers blake."
56. About this there is some doubt—see Hunter's *Hist. of South Yorkshire*, Vol. II, p. 430.
57. His name is of frequent appearance in the State papers. He was constantly on horseback riding about the country on the royal business from 1529 till the time of his death.
58. Machyn's *Diary* has several references to Sir William West and the slaying of his son and heir, Lewis West, see pp. 107, 121, 161, 165, 349, 362. The Revd. Joseph Hunter prints a curious contemporary ballad referring to this tragedy (*Hist. of South Yorkshire*, Vol. II, pp. 173-176).