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Chapter Author(s): Christian Steer

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13. Souls of benefactors at Grey Friars church, London*

Christian Steer

John Barre alias Markeby, citizen and skinner of London, died on 20 July 1439. He was buried in the south aisle of the city's Franciscan church, where his grave was marked by a tomb slab and an inscription recording his name, craft and date of death. His was one of 682 monuments recorded in the register of the Grey Friars of London.¹ Markeby's will, sealed only twelve days before his death, left a quitrent of 5 marks to the rector of St. John Walbrook and the wardens of the Skinners' Fraternity of the Assumption of Our Lady, to endow a chaplain to celebrate at the altar of the Virgin Mary in the parish church of St. John's. But it was at Grey Friars church, where Markeby was buried, that an anniversary service, his annual obit, was to be celebrated in perpetuity, with *Placebo* and *Dirige* followed by requiem mass the next morning.² It was not unusual for a memorial service to be held by the grave, and studies of medieval London and elsewhere have demonstrated the importance of this relationship.³ But the role of the friaries in the commemoration of the dead, through the provision of anniversary and chantry services, has largely remained in the shadows.⁴

* I thank Nick Holder, Stephanie Hovland and Paul Simpson for their help in the preparation of this chapter. In the discussion which follows 'Grey Friars' has been adopted to describe the building and the term 'Greyfriars' to describe the brothers of the order.

¹ C. L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London* (Aberdeen, 1915), p. 126.

² LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/167 (59) and TNA, PROB 11/3, fos. 200–202v.

³ E.g. C. Steer, 'A community of the dead in late medieval London', *Medieval Prosopography: Special Issue 'Those who worked, those who fought, and those who prayed. In honor of Joel T. Rosenthal'*, xxxii (2018), 181–94, at pp. 190–1; C. Burgess, 'Obligations and strategy: managing memory in the later medieval parish', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Soc.*, xviii (2012), 289–310, at pp. 300–1; N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 120–9; J. M. Luxford, 'The collegiate church as mausoleum', in *The Late Medieval English College and its Context*, ed. C. Burgess and M. Heale (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 110–39, at pp. 115–6; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (London, 1992), pp. 327–30.

⁴ N. Holder, *The Friaries of Medieval London: From Foundation to Dissolution* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 293–304; J. Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London*

C. Steer, 'Souls of benefactors at Grey Friars church, London', in *Medieval Londoners: essays to mark the eightieth birthday of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. E. A. New and C. Steer (London, 2019), pp. 297–322. License: CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

The written evidence for burial at the Grey Friars by Newgate has revealed a necropolis of almost 1,000 graves in the church, its four chapels, the cloister and in the cemetery, and yet we know little on intercession by the friars.⁵ Chantries and obits celebrated by the mendicant orders came to an abrupt end in 1538 and were long gone by the time of the 1548 inspection by Edward VI's chantry commissioners. There are no chantry certificates and we are largely reliant on testamentary instructions. Some 220 wills, proved between 1258 and 1538, have been examined, which has revealed the popularity of gift-giving and benefaction to the city Grey Friars.⁶ The purpose of this chapter is twofold; to consider how those buried in the Franciscan church chose to be commemorated by anniversaries and chantries there; and to shed further light on the importance of this order with medieval Londoners. The surviving wills represent citizens of London who enjoyed the freedom of the city and those without citizenship, together with transitory residents, such as aliens from overseas and 'foreigns', that is, those from elsewhere in England who died while in the city. The latter, transient group were Londoners by abode rather than by freedom. Collectively, the instructions they made for their commemorations in their wills suggest how all types of Londoner chose to be remembered by the city's Franciscans. These instructions will be considered alongside a chantry agreement – the only one known to have survived – between William Cantelowe and John Kyry, warden of Grey Friars, which was ratified in 1460 on behalf of Thomas Gloucester (d. 1447) and his wife Anne. It is rare for such agreements to survive, and for the first time a translation is provided in the appendix to this chapter.⁷ Testamentary evidence has been used to reveal the identities of those who set up anniversary and chantry

1221–1539 (Münster, 2004), pp. 459–70. For celebrations in other Franciscan churches in late medieval England, see, e.g., M. Robson, 'The commemoration of the living and the dead at the Friars Minor of Cambridge', in *Commemoration in Medieval Cambridge*, ed. J. S. Lee and C. Steer (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 34–51.

⁵ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, *passim*. On the funerary monuments of Londoners in Grey Friars church, see C. Steer, 'The order of St. Francis in medieval London: urban benefactors and their tombs', in *Saints and Cults in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2015 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. S. Powell (Harlaxton Medieval Studies, n.s., xxvii, Donington, 2017), pp. 172–98.

⁶ The 220 surviving wills were enrolled in the hustings, commissary and archdeaconry courts of London, the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and the archbishop's court at Lambeth.

⁷ Only five others are known. For Austin Friars, see TNA, LR 14/488 (chantry agreement of Philip Bernard, vintner, 1418); LR 14/87 (chantry agreement of William, marquess Berkeley, 1491); LR 14/129 (chantry agreement of William Calley, draper, 1509); and LR 14/91 (chantry agreement of Nicholas Gerard, clothman of Wycombe, 1515). For Crutched Friars, see Chester Record Office DCG-x-132 (chantry agreement of Sir John Skevington, merchant tailor, 1516).

services at Grey Friars church. This evidence, when taken alongside the remarkable chantry agreement set up by William Cantelowe, sheds new light on the construction of memory and the ways in which the Franciscan friars cared for the souls of their benefactors in late medieval London.

Londoners and the Grey Friars

In the autumn of 1224 four Franciscan brothers, Richard of Ingworth, Richard of Devon, Henry of Treviso and Melioratus, arrived in the city of London.⁸ They stayed briefly with the Dominican brothers in Holborn before moving to a house given to them by a city sheriff, John Travers, in Cornhill. These poor men of Christ were welcomed by Londoners with open arms, and a year later the Franciscans established their London convent near Newgate in a property provided for them by John Iwyn, a mercer, who himself later joined their order. The aldermanic class were particularly supportive of the Franciscans, and in the decades which followed wealthy Londoners provided land and money with which to expand their Newgate site. William Joynier, for example, mayor in 1239, paid for the construction of their first chapel. This was evidently quite splendid, but not in keeping with the teachings of St. Francis. It incurred the displeasure of William of Nottingham, provincial minister between 1240 and 1254, who ordered the roof to be taken down and for the bosses in the cloister to be removed.⁹ And yet, as Hugh Lawrence has observed, 'the enthusiasm of patrons was not easy to resist' and Londoners continued to spend generously – even lavishly – on the expansion of the Franciscan convent.¹⁰ Building work on the new aqueduct had begun around 1250, paid for by members of the Basing family and by the London pepperer Henry Frowyk (d. 1286), who served as mayor in 1272–3.¹¹ Other aldermen were important patrons: the wealthy alderman Arnold FitzThedmar, for example, bequeathed a substantial legacy of £100 to the Franciscans in his will of 1274 which enabled the friars to enlarge their site.¹² The mayor Gregory Rokesle (d. 1291) paid for the new dormitory; alderman Bartholomew de Castro, who died before 1311,

⁸ Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses*, pp. 43–51.

⁹ E. Gurney Salter (trans.), *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany: Being the Chronicles of Brother Thomas of Eccleston and Brother Jordan of Giano* (London, 1926), p. 63.

¹⁰ C. H. Lawrence, *The Friars: the Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London, 1994), p. 53.

¹¹ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 48.

¹² Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses*, pp. 409–18; I. Stone, 'Arnold Fitz Thedmar: identity, politics and the city of London in the thirteenth century', *London Jour.*, xl (2015), 106–22.

financed the construction of the refectory, where an annual supper was to take place every St. Bartholomew's day (24 August).¹³ Both men were buried in Grey Friars church and commemorated as benefactors: Rokesle as '*valens burgensis, et quondam Maior Londonie*' [a worthy burgess, and former mayor of London] and Castro as a '*valens miles et civis Londonie: fecit Refectorium*' [a worthy knight and citizen of London: he made the refectory].¹⁴ The most important, and generous, of London patrons was Henry le Waleys, wealthy vintner, alderman, mayor of London and Bordeaux and a diplomat for Edward I, who at the end of the thirteenth century provided the money to begin construction of the nave.¹⁵

The popularity of the London Grey Friars was such that royal and aristocratic benefaction would match, if not exceed, civic funding during the first half of the fourteenth century.¹⁶ But contemporary Londoners remained as involved with the Grey Friars as their forebears had been. There were, for example, at least twenty-five Londoners who commissioned glazing in the church's thirty-six windows, ten of whom were from the elite, such as the aldermen Richard de Gloucester (d. 1323), Simon de Parys (d. 1324) and Walter Mordon (d. 1351), and a number of former mayors, among whom were Richard Betoyne (d. 1341), John Lovekyn (d. 1368) and Stephen Cavendish (d. 1372).¹⁷ The city companies, too, acted as collective donors: the Vintners, for example, provided one of the windows in the choir.¹⁸ Testamentary evidence reveals a little about gift-giving by other wealthy Londoners, such as the bequest of £20 provided by Guy Lambyn, fishmonger, in his will of 1361.¹⁹ Other Londoners left gifts in kind, such

¹³ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 34.

¹⁴ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 73 (Rokesle) and p. 85 (de Castro). The latter was not, in fact, accorded knighthood and de Castro was evidently referred as '*miles*' [knight] to mark his status as a patron of the Grey Friars.

¹⁵ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, pp. 34–5, 73 and 85; Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses*, pp. 419–22. On Waleys, see A. Crawford, *A History of the Vintners' Company* (London, 1977), pp. 39–41; and also F. Lachaud, 'Waleys, Henry le (d. 1302), merchant and mayor of London', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28460>> [accessed 19 Oct. 2018].

¹⁶ C. Steer, 'Royal and noble commemoration in the mendicant houses of London, c.1240–1540', in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. M. Barron and C. Burgess (Harlaxton Medieval Studies, n.s., xx, Donington, 2010), pp. 117–42, at pp. 127–30.

¹⁷ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, pp. 36–8, 165–9; Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses*, pp. 433–6.

¹⁸ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 68; Holder, *Friaries of Medieval London*, p. 8. In 1611 the heralds Sir Henry St. George and Nicholas Charles visited the former Grey Friars church (now Christ Church) and drew copies of the armorials they saw in the surviving medieval glass (BL, Lansdowne MS. 874, fos. 105v–106).

¹⁹ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/089 (186).

as the silver cup given by John Warener alias Walsyngham, armourer, in 1382 and the russet cloth bequeathed by the widow Alice Wodegate in 1388.²⁰ By the mid fourteenth century large-scale building work at Grey Friars had come to an end and a shift in fund-raising activities seems to have taken place thereafter.²¹ Testamentary evidence, moreover, suggests that individual Franciscan friars were popular among the laity: brother John Bavel, for example, received a legacy of 2s from Maud atte Stone, widow, in 1393 and eight years later the city grocer John Vaunde left 40s to Friar John Lees to pray for him.²² Bequests reveal the identity of friars who served as confessors and spiritual advisors to a number of testators: in 1413, for instance, Gaillard Denbidan, a merchant from Bordeaux, left 1 mark to Gerald de Crugiacha of the London Grey Friars to pray for him.²³ Other friars were particularly popular with testators: brother William Wolfe (d. 1466), for example, can be found in several wills of the 1450s, when the Franciscans enjoyed notable popularity.²⁴ In 1452, for example, he received three gold tablets and a silver cup from Joan Neumarche, widow, who appointed Wolfe to celebrate mass for her soul. She also named Dr. Wolfe as one of her executors.²⁵ Only four years later Elizabeth Rikill, a widow, left 40s to six priests of the Grey Friars who were to pray for her soul according to the instructions of William Wolfe. She also bequeathed a silver covered cup, called a 'flattecuppe', on which the arms of her late husband Thomas Rikill were displayed, to the warden of the Grey Friars to meet the cost of general repairs to the convent. She bequeathed another

²⁰ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/111 (117) (will of John Warener alias Walsyngham); CLA/023/DW/01/117 (44) (will of Alice Wodegate).

²¹ A noted exception was the Grey Friars library, paid for by Richard Whittington and constructed between 1411 and 1415 (Holder, *Friaries of Medieval London*, pp. 86–90). There are no surviving records for daily alms-giving to the friars, but an analysis of some 2,900 wills, proved between 1349 and 1500, revealed the sustained popularity of bequests to all the mendicant orders (Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses*, pp. 261–76). Professor Röhrkasten's analysis was based on the probate registers of the hustings, commissary and archdeaconry courts of London and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Röhrkasten provided a note of caution on the completeness of testamentary evidence (as *post-mortem* acts of charity) and reminded us of the tradition practised by London testators, who often provided a standard bequest, of varying value, to all four orders of mendicant friars. It is impossible to assess the monetary value of income derived from rents or gifts in kind such as those bequeathed by John Warener or Alice Wodegate (n. 20 above), but made in the lifetime of the donor.

²² LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/001, fos. 284v–285v (will of Maud atte Stone); DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, fo. 9r–v (will of John Vaunde).

²³ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, fos. 262v–263.

²⁴ Röhrkasten, *Mendicant Houses*, pp. 270–3, table 3. On Wolfe, see *BRUO (to A.D. 1500)*, iii. 2230.

²⁵ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, fo. 110r–v.

silver cup to William Wolfe, who, in return, was to pray for her soul.²⁶ The regard wealthy testators had for Friar Wolfe is revealed by the extract from the epitaph on his tombstone, copied into the Grey Friars register: *frater Willelmus Wolfe, doctor egregius, apud principes et nobiles magnificere acceptus* [brother William Wolfe, outstanding doctor, magnificently received among princes and nobles].²⁷ Other friars were also held in high esteem, as demonstrated by John Cutler (d. 1530), who served as warden at different times between 1505 and 1521. It was he who, in 1514, persuaded the city aldermen to resume their ancient role as 'patrons and founders' of London Grey Friars and to attend the annual procession to the church on St. Francis's day, 4 October.²⁸ Cutler was evidently a man of marked determination for, on 20 March 1517, he was once again before the court of aldermen procuring funds to settle a debt of £16 15s incurred in repaving the nave.²⁹ Five years earlier Dr. Cutler had witnessed the will of William Maryner, salter, who bequeathed the generous sum of £10 towards the repaving project in return for prayers by the friars 'among other their benefactors'.³⁰ Cutler was evidently a dynamic and engaging presence but also a friar trusted to serve as executor, supervisor and witness for at least six testators buried in London Grey Friars.³¹

Londoners remained steadfast supporters of the Franciscan order throughout the later middle ages. They paid for the construction of the church and its ancillary buildings and constantly supported the friars in different ways, through private legacies, bequests in return for prayers and intercession and by employing friars in the administration of their estates. The Franciscans remained popular with Londoners in life and in death and it was to them that many in the city came to entrust their commemorations.

²⁶ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, fo. 197.

²⁷ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 83.

²⁸ City of London repertories, LMA, COL/CA/01/01/002, fo. 185; see also LMA, *Letter Book M*, fo. 224. Cutler is discussed further in Steer, 'The order of St. Francis', pp. 177–9.

²⁹ LMA, COL/CA/01/01/003, fos. 13–14.

³⁰ TNA, PROB 11/12, fos. 56–57v.

³¹ As executor: LMA, DL/A/A/004/MS09531/009, fos. 8v–10 (will of Katherine Langley, vowess, 1511); as overseer: TNA, PROB 11/14, fos. 217v–218v (will of Joan Hastings, Lady Willoughby and Welles, 1505); LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, fo. 37r–v (will of Julian Maryner, widow, 1517); DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, fo. 181v (will of Robert White, grocer, 1521); and DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, fos. 177v–178 (will of Ralph Massy, gentleman, 1522); as witness: TNA, PROB 11/17, fos. 56–57v (will of William Maryner, salter, 1512); and LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, fos. 177v–178 (will of Ralph Massy, gentleman, 1522).

Anniversaries of the dead

The year's mind, or anniversary, was adaptable in duration and affordable in cost.³² At least twenty-two testators requested anniversaries to be celebrated by the Franciscans in their city church.³³ The earliest known obit was established by Thomas Cornton, a haberdasher of St. Mildred Poultry, who bequeathed 40s to the warden and convent for daily mass for one year, with a special observance on the day of his anniversary.³⁴ He died on 24 April 1410 and was buried in the north aisle.³⁵ Testators buried at the Grey Friars in the fifteenth century rarely specified the details of their obit, suggesting that they relied on other forms of agreement and probably on verbal arrangements with and trust in their executors. Neither Joan Neumarche (d. 1452) nor Joan Danvers (d. 1459), for example, set down the terms of their anniversaries, which were, presumably, left in the hands of their executors.³⁶ The arrangements drawn up by John Barre in 1439, however, were broadly typical of many such requests. He instructed that prayers were to be said

³² Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 327–8; C. Burgess, 'A service for the dead: the form and function of the anniversary in late medieval Bristol', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, cv (1987), 183–211.

³³ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, fos. 171–3 (will of Thomas Cornton, haberdasher, 1410); CLA/023/DW/01/167 (59) and TNA, PROB 11/3, fos. 200–202v (will of John Barre alias Markeby, skinner, 1439); TNA, C 270/32/21 (agreement made by William Cantelowe, mercer, 1460, on behalf of Thomas Gloucester, esquire (d. 1447)); LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, fo. 110r–v (will of Joan Neumarch, widow, 1452); TNA, PROB 11/4, fos. 82v–83v (will of Joan Danvers, widow, 1457, on behalf of her husband William, esquire (d. 1439)); PROB 11/7, fo. 62r–v (will of John Fernandes, brigandine maker, 1483); PROB 11/8, fos. 124–6 (will of Lady Elizabeth Uvedale, widow, 1488); LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, fo. 74 (will of Agnes Arnold, widow, 1490, on behalf of her husband John, brewer (d. 1470)); TNA, PROB 11/9, fos. 26v–27 (will of Robert Dauntsey, of Walden (Essex), 1491); PROB 11/9, fo. 227r–v (will of Roger Spencer, goldsmith, 1492); PROB 11/10, fos. 57v–58v (will of John Ryvers, skinner, 1493); PROB 11/12, fo. 161r–v (will of Margaret Yonge, widow, 1500); PROB 11/12, fos. 61v–62 (will of Richard Godfrey, salter, 1500); PROB 11/14, fo. 244 (will of Henry Southill, esquire, 1505); PROB 11/16, fos. 104–5 (will of John, Lord Dynham, 1509); PROB 11/16, fo. 231 (will of Thomas Pickering, gentleman, 1510); LMA, DL/A/A/004/MS09531/009, fo. 199v (will of Rowland Blount, esquire, 1509); TNA, PROB 11/20, fos. 15v–16 (will of John Tresawell, merchant tailor, 1520); LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/242 (10) (will of John Benett, merchant tailor, 1527, on behalf of Sir Stephen Jenyns, alderman (d. 1523)); DL/C/B/004/MS09171/010, fo. 79v–80 (will of Alice Baynton, widow, 1527); TNA, PROB 11/23, fos. 91v–92 (will of Stephen Lynne, haberdasher, 1529); and TNA, SC6 /HenVIII/2396, m. 62r–v (minister's accounts for the court of augmentations, 1540, payment of 70s due from the Drapers' Company for the obit of Hugh Acton at Grey Friars church).

³⁴ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, fos. 171–3.

³⁵ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, p. 121.

³⁶ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/005, fo. 110r–v (will of Joan Neumarche); TNA, PROB 11/4, fos. 82v–83v (will of Joan Danvers).

with *Placebo* and *Dirge* sung the night before his anniversary and mass of requiem celebrated the following morning. Two candles were to burn at the Grey Friars during the celebrations and, unusually, another two in his parish church of St. John Walbrook. He bequeathed 3s 4d to the Greyfriars for celebrating his memorial and a further 20d for the four candles. What is striking is that these arrangements were to be established after the death of Barre's widow, Alice, which suggests that she had been entrusted with the management of his obit during her lifetime.³⁷

Executors were attentive to these long-term foundations. After the death of John Wood on 28 October 1487 a daily mass was to be celebrated at the Grey Friars up until his month's mind.³⁸ John Wood was buried in the nave, where a tombstone included an inscription for Wood and three of his four wives, Agnes, Margaret and Edith.³⁹ He was attentive to his commemorative wellbeing. He left, among several generous bequests, £40 for a suit of vestments and a mortuary cloth, which were to be made within three years and kept by the Fraternity of Our Lady and St. Stephen at St. Sepulchre, his parish church. They were to include the Grocers' arms and Wood's merchant mark within the morse and inscribed '*Orate pro anima Johannis Woode*' [pray for the soul of John Wood]. The mortuary cloth was to be used at the burial of the brothers and sisters of the fraternity and brought to the Grey Friars once a year, where it was to be displayed on his hearse at his year's mind (anniversary). This is a striking example of co-operation between a parish and the Grey Friars. His two executors were his widow Edith and William Maryner, salter. Ten years later 'a devout lady' named Edith (her surname was not given), who 'had a particular devotion to the monastery and friars of the house of the Friars Minor', entered into an agreement with the warden Andrew Bavard and with the brethren for a twenty-year obit for herself and her late husband John and her parents John and Agnes. The obit was to take place 'when she [Edith] quits the light'.⁴⁰ It seems likely that Widow Edith was, in fact, the widow of John Wood and it was her intention to set up another anniversary service for them both and for her parents, which the friars were to celebrate after her death. Edith was dead by 1512, when the surviving executor Maryner drew up his own will. He went to some care to ensure the continuation of their memorial and left the remaining lease of Wood's property to Christopher Norton,

³⁷ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/167 (59) and TNA, PROB 11/3, fos. 200–202v.

³⁸ TNA, PROB 11/8, fo. 231r–v.

³⁹ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 112. In his will Wood referred to a fourth wife, Margaret, but evidently her name was not recorded on the inscription.

⁴⁰ BL, Harley Ch. 44 F 47, reprinted in Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 211. The above quotations are provided in translation from Latin.

grocer of St. Sepulchre. Norton was to maintain the Wood anniversary at Grey Friars every 28 October and to spend 40s, with 3s 4d set aside for the *Dirige* and requiem mass; 3s 4d on bread and ale; and 3s 4d to the masters and brethren of the Fraternity of Our Lady and St. Stephen, who were to be present at the memorial.⁴¹ The mortuary cloth commissioned by Wood would presumably have been laid out over his grave in the nave.

Anniversaries were not always established directly by the testator, and the case of Sir Stephen Jenyns, alderman, mayor and merchant tailor (d. 1523), is of interest. The exact circumstances surrounding the administration of the Jenyns estate are now lost, but somewhere between 1523 and 1527 his executors, John Nicholls alias Mitchell and John Kirton, both of whom were merchant tailors, enfeoffed John Benett, master of the Merchant Taylors' Company in 1528, with property in the city of London. Benett drew up his will on 24 January 1527 and bequeathed this estate to the master and wardens of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist of the Merchant Taylors' Company, who were to endow a perpetual chantry (discussed below) and an anniversary for Sir Stephen.⁴² The anniversary was to take place on 6 May with the exequies of *Placebo* and *Dirige* held in the evening before and a requiem mass the following morning. The warden of the Grey Friars was to receive 13s 4d. Benett inserted a clause whereby if the anniversary could not be performed on 6 May, it was to be celebrated within eight days and due notice of the new date given to the mayor, sheriff, the prior of the hospital of St. Mary within Cripplegate (better known as Elsingspital, that is, Elsing hospital) and to the master and wardens of the Merchant Taylors' Company, each of whom were to attend the year's mind. These city dignitaries were paid to attend the anniversary by the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist.⁴³ A further legacy of 6s 8d was paid to the prior of Elsingspital to attend the anniversary 'to see this my last will observed performed and kept'. The attention to detail by John Benett is striking. We know that the Merchant Taylors honoured the legacy, for in the ministers' accounts in the court of augmentations for the year ending September 1540 a payment of £4 was recorded 'from the Taylors of London for the anniversary of Sir Stephen

⁴¹ TNA, PROB 11/12, fos. 56–57v. William Maryner was evidently a man of some regard and administrative capabilities. He also set up a perpetual chantry for Robert Brown (d. 1483), innkeeper of St. Matthew Friday Street, in his own will and was instrumental in setting up the anniversary of Joan FitzLewes, widow, at the Minorities at Aldgate; on the FitzLewes commemorations, see J. Luxford, 'The testament of Joan FitzLewes: a source for the history of the abbey of Franciscan nuns without Aldgate' in this volume.

⁴² LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/242 (10).

⁴³ The sums are as follows: 6s 8d for the mayor; 3s 4d apiece to the sheriffs; 2s to the sword bearer; 3s 4d to the master of the Fraternity of St. John the Baptist; 20d to each of the wardens of the fraternity; and 8d to the clerk; and 8d to the beadle.

Genynnes'.⁴⁴ The Jenyns obit is revealing not only on the processes involved in founding a perpetual anniversary at London Grey Friars, but also the important role played by civic and company officials in their attendance at this ceremony.

Other testators set up anniversaries in Grey Friars church for shorter, but still long-lasting, periods. There are five known instances of twenty-year obits,⁴⁵ one for eight,⁴⁶ one for seven⁴⁷ and another for five years.⁴⁸ The arrangements made by Agnes Arnold in 1493 are notable. Her husband John, a brewer, had died in 1470 and was buried in the north aisle of the Grey Friars church close to the *pietà* that he had donated.⁴⁹ Agnes chose to be buried in the great cemetery of Old St. Paul's but set up a twenty-year chantry at Grey Friars church. This was to be maintained from her lease of a brewhouse called the Lamp, close to the friars' precinct. This lease was to run for a further twenty years and provide 6s 8d per annum, which was to be spent on the Arnold obit. The friars were to take 3s 4d, with the balance being distributed in alms to the poor. The bequest, over twenty years, came to £6 13s 4d (or 10 marks).⁵⁰

Anniversaries at Grey Friars church were set up by Londoners, their widows and executors, as well as those who were visiting the city. The Franciscans were well equipped to take care of these obits since they had a constant supply of priest-friars who passed through the London convent. The Franciscans were able to complement what was on offer in the city's 100 or so parish churches, the forty-five religious houses and the cathedral of Old St. Paul's. It seems clear that patrons, or the agent acting on their behalf, took a keen interest in making sure that the anniversary was properly established and that there was complete clarity about where and when the friars were to remember their benefactors.

Short-term chantries

The Franciscan friars were as popular with Londoners as they were with royal and noble benefactors. Their ministry appealed to all. An examination

⁴⁴ TNA, SC6 /HenVIII/2396 (m. 62r–v), fo. 62v.

⁴⁵ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, fo. 74 (will of Agnes Arnold); TNA, PROB 11/12, fo. 161r–v (will of Margaret Yonge); PROB 11/12, fos. 61v–2 (will of Richard Godfrey); PROB 11/16, fo. 231 (will of Thomas Pickering); and PROB 11/20, fos. 15v–16 (will of John Tresawell).

⁴⁶ TNA, PROB 11/23, fos. 91v–92 (will of Stephen Lynne).

⁴⁷ TNA, PROB 11/10, fos. 57v–58v (will of John Ryvers).

⁴⁸ TNA, PROB 11/9, fo. 227r–v (will of Roger Spencer).

⁴⁹ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/006, fo. 62v.

⁵⁰ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, fo. 74. This may have been the 'going rate' for in 1510 the Yorkshire squire, Thomas Pickering, set up his own 20-year anniversary at 6s 8d per annum to the friars (TNA, PROB 11/16, fo. 231).

of the wills consulted in this study has revealed thirteen testators who left arrangements in their wills for short-term chantries at London Grey Friars.⁵¹ Only one case has been identified from before 1450: Thomas Cornton, who, as well as arranging an anniversary celebration with the Greyfriars, bequeathed £2 for his one-year chantry.⁵²

Temporary chantry foundation seems to have flourished in the Grey Friars church from the 1490s, with no fewer than eleven known examples identified up to 1538.⁵³ The will sample is small, but this apparent increase in chantry endowment might suggest a re-energized popularity. The earliest instance is found in the will of Alice Barker, who died in 1490. She was widow of John Wetwang, brewer (d. 1463), and Philip Barker, whose date of death is unknown, and left a lump sum of £10 to the Grey Friars for her burial and exequies and for a ten-year chantry for herself and her late husbands. She set down that her executors, John Hothersall, notary and stationer, and William Briggs were to appoint the friar who was to celebrate for her soul and those of her former husbands. The friar-priest was to receive 26s 8d (paid at four times of the year) and was to celebrate mass daily and to recite the *De Profundis* at the first lavatory before the elevation.⁵⁴ Widow Barker stipulated that if there were any lapse in her daily mass then the friar would answer 'before god atte the day of dome'. She certainly was determined to get what she wanted.

Other arrangements are of equal note. Thurstan Hatfield (d. 1491), a former sergeant of the crown to Edward IV, was buried in the Apostles chapel close to the king's former treasurer, Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy (d. 1474), whom Hatfield referred to as his late master.⁵⁵ Hatfield set down

⁵¹ Thomas Cornton, haberdasher (d. 1410); Alexander Crayke, lawyer (d. 1465); Alice Barker, widow (d. 1490); Thurstan Hatfield, sergeant to the crown (d. 1491); Richard Hastings, Lord Willoughby and Welles (d. 1503); John Ryvers, gentleman (d. 1506); John, Lord Dynham (d. 1509); Thomas Pickering, gentleman (d. 1510); Edward Ashley, goldsmith (d. 1518); John Tresawell, merchant tailor (d. 1520); Nicholas White, skinner (d. 1521); Robert Brown, of Walsingham (Norf.) (d. 1527); and Stephen Lynne, haberdasher (d. 1527).

⁵² DL/C/B/004/MS09171/002, fos. 171–3.

⁵³ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/008, fos. 13v–14 (Alice Barker, widow, 1490); TNA, PROB 11/9, fos. 231v–232 (Thurstan Hatfield, sergeant to the crown, 1491); PROB 11/13, fo. 243r–v (Richard Hastings, Lord Willoughby and Welles, 1503); PROB 11/15, fo. 166r–v (John Ryvers, gentleman); PROB 11/16, fos. 104–5 (John, Lord Dynham, 1509); PROB 11/16, fo. 231 (Thomas Pickering, gentleman); PROB 11/19, fo. 59 (Edward Ashley, goldsmith, 1519); PROB 11/20, fos. 15v–16 (John Tresawell, merchant tailor, 1520); PROB 11/20, fo. 165 (Nicholas White, skinner, 1521); PROB 11/22, fo. 81 (Robert Brown, mercer, of Norfolk, 1526); and PROB 11/23, fos. 91v–92 (Stephen Lynne, haberdasher).

⁵⁴ From '*lavatorium*', washing place, in reference to the ritual hand-washing that takes place during the eucharist after the offertory of the mass and before the consecration.

⁵⁵ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 91.

that his chantry was to be celebrated by a Franciscan friar and was to last for a quarter of a year only, at a salary of £1 13s 4d.⁵⁶ This represents an unusually brief, short-term foundation. Hatfield's instructions for the friar are revealing in other ways, too. Once the friar had celebrated mass and recited the *De Profundis* he was 'to cast holy water upon my grave for my soule and all Christen soules ther buried'.⁵⁷ Hatfield was buried close to Lord Mountjoy and other members of the Blount family, who were to benefit from Hatfield's exequies. It is difficult to understand why this chantry was so brief: the legacies left by Hatfield suggest he enjoyed modest wealth. Nevertheless, this shows that the friars were adept at meeting the different commemorative needs of their patrons and were at ease in celebrating for whatever period was required. The recitation of the *De Profundis* at the grave was standard practice but the act of sprinkling holy water over the tomb is the only known instance of such practice at Grey Friars church.

Legacies to the Franciscans varied in value. The chantries set up by Edward Ashley, goldsmith, who died in 1518, and John Tresawell, merchant tailor, who died two years later, contrast sharply with comparable endowments set up in parish churches. Ashley left 100 marks to the Franciscans, who were to provide a friar who was to sing daily and to say a 'lowe dirige' once a week. This was to last for ten years and would have provided £6 13s 4d a year. Ashley also left an annual 10 marks (or £6 13s 4d) for a chaplain to celebrate in his parish church of St. Michael le Querne for five years.⁵⁸ Tresawell, on the other hand, left slightly less but set up his own chantry at Grey Friars for longer, seven years, at £3 6s 8d per annum out of a lump sum of £23 6s 8d.⁵⁹ The annuity would have been insufficient to meet the living costs for a parish chaplain for seven years, but the advantage of arranging this with the Franciscans meant that the testator could benefit from the resident friars at the convent, making them a cheaper alternative to a parish chaplain. But as Edward Ashley's arrangements make clear, the friars were also the happy recipients of larger sums to pay for commemorative aftercare.

There was a mixed approach to short-term chantry foundation for those buried in London Grey Friars. Some preferred to enjoy liturgical commemoration at their parish church; some set down the terms the Franciscans were to follow; but others did both. The adaptability of the friars to cater for different requests is evident, suggesting the flexibility of

⁵⁶ The annual equivalent would have been £6 13s 4d.

⁵⁷ TNA, PROB 11/9, fos. 231v–232. Hatfield also endowed a second temporary chantry in the parish church of Glossop (Derbyshire), which was to last for the more conventional one year.

⁵⁸ TNA, PROB 11/19, fo. 59.

⁵⁹ TNA, PROB 11/20, fos. 15v–16.

their commemorative portfolio, which could be adapted to the needs of different benefactors.

Perpetual chantries

Studies of the medieval chantry generally have focused on perpetual foundations established in parish churches. The evidence available from the 1548 chantry certificates, taken alongside testamentary evidence, churchwardens' accounts, foundation deeds preserved in municipal archives and mortmain licences recorded in the patent rolls, has revealed the process of foundation, management and maintenance and, at times, something about the chaplains who served past founders.⁶⁰ While founders would, as a matter of course, have taken great care in establishing these arrangements, only a few detailed foundation agreements survive – and, indeed, for those that were to be celebrated in the church of London Grey Friars, only one is known.⁶¹

Almost nothing survives for perpetual chantry foundation at Grey Friars church before the mid fifteenth century. In 1345 a London Franciscan, Thomas Heyroun, was nominated by Olive de Myngy of Norton Mandeville (Essex) to endow chantries from the proceeds of her estate. But the terms of her will are unclear and it is not known whether these were to be of perpetual or short-term duration or, indeed, whether they were to be established in the city of London or elsewhere.⁶² One of the city's wealthiest merchants, alderman and mayor Sir John Philipot (d. 1384), was buried in the Apostles

⁶⁰ The standard work on perpetual chantries remains K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965). More recently see, e.g., C. Steer, "'To syng and do dommeservyce': the chantry chaplains of St. Nicholas Shambles", in *The Urban Church: Essays in Honour of Clive Burgess: Proceedings of the 2017 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Harry and C. Steer (Harlaxton Medieval Studies, n.s., xxix, Donington, 2019), pp. 449–79; *The Medieval Chantry in England*, ed. J. M. Luxford and J. McNeill (Leeds, 2011), *passim*; C. Burgess, 'Shaping the parish: St. Mary at Hill, London, in the fifteenth century', in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. J. Bair and B. Golding (Oxford, 1996), pp. 246–86; R. B. Dobson, 'The foundation of perpetual chantries by the citizens of medieval York', in R. B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England* (London, 1996), pp. 253–66; C. Burgess, 'Strategies for eternity: perpetual chantry foundation in late medieval Bristol', in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England*, ed. C. Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 1–32; N. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370–1532* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 92–8; A. Kreider, *English Chantries: the Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); R. Hill, "'A chaunterie for souls': London chantries in the reign of Richard II", in *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack*, ed. C. M. Barron and F. R. H. Du Boulay (London, 1971), pp. 242–55.

⁶¹ On chantry agreements for other mendicant churches of London, see n. 7.

⁶² LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/072 (89).

chapel of the Grey Friars with his first wife, Joan.⁶³ He is the earliest known testator buried in their church who established chantry foundations, but he sited them elsewhere, at the priory of St. Pancras, Lewes (Sussex) and another at his manor chapel at Grange near Gillingham (Kent).⁶⁴ It is unknown whether he enjoyed similar commemoration at Grey Friars church.

At least six perpetual chantries were established in Grey Friars church in the fifteenth century.⁶⁵ Of these, we know most about the earliest of them from documentation generated as the result of a protracted foundation process. This was arranged in 1458 on behalf of Thomas Gloucester, esquire, who had died eleven years before, and his wife Anne. Gloucester relied on a nuncupative will of 31 January 1447 made only six days before he died on the feast of St. Agatha. He was receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall and cofferer to Henry VI.⁶⁶ He apparently was in charge of the king's strongboxes at the time of his death and, in a codicil to his will, requested that any debts owing to the king should be settled before all others. There were evidently delays in arranging this and, on 5 June 1448, Sir John Popham, treasurer, petitioned to recover debts of £585 14s 9d owed to the royal household and which Gloucester's executors, John Edward and Walter Gorsen, had not yet paid. Such was Sir John's concern that these debts be settled that the executors' agreement to meet their obligations was copied into the patent rolls.⁶⁷ The complexities in administering the Gloucester estate probably explain the delay in setting up his chantry in Grey Friars, where a priest was to celebrate for the testator and his wife at £6 13s 4d per annum.⁶⁸ Gloucester's executors were also to arrange a second foundation in the church of St. Nicholas, Gloucester (presumably Thomas's birthplace), where the chaplain was to celebrate daily. The celebrant was also to teach grammar to the local children, without charge; and for this

⁶³ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 91.

⁶⁴ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/118 (30).

⁶⁵ TNA, C 270/32/21 (chantry agreement between William Cantelowe, on behalf of Thomas Gloucester, esquire, and the London Grey Friars, 1460); TNA, PROB 11/6, fo. 41r-v (will of John Wardall, canon and doctor of law, 1472); PROB 11/8, fos. 124-6 (Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Uvedale, 1488); PROB 11/14, fos. 217v-218v (Joan, on behalf of her husband Richard Hastings, Lord Willoughby and Welles, 1505); LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, fo. 371r-v (Julian, widow of William Maryner, 1517; her chantry was limited to 200 years but for the purpose of this discussion is considered together with the perpetual foundations of London Grey Friars); and CLA/023/DW/01/242 (10) (John Benett, on behalf of Sir Stephen Jenyns, 1527).

⁶⁶ *CPR 1446-52*, pp. 134-5; *CPR 1452-61*, pp. 30-1.

⁶⁷ *CPR 1446-52*, pp. 134-5. Gorsen was possibly dead by 1452, for on 20 Dec. Edward was pardoned of any outstanding debts due from the Gloucester estate, excluding those relating to the duchy of Cornwall (*CPR 1452-61*, pp. 30-1).

⁶⁸ Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Stafford, fo. 1461r-v.

and for celebrating the daily mass the Gloucester estate was to pay him a yearly salary of 20 marks (£13 6s 8d). The school, however, was never established.⁶⁹ It was to be ten years before any agreement was made with the London Grey Friars but neither Edward nor Gorsen was involved: it was left to William Cantelowe, alderman, mercer and former sheriff (d. 1464), to act on Gloucester's behalf.⁷⁰ On 26 March 1458 an indenture was drawn up between Cantelowe and John Kyry, warden of the London Grey Friars.⁷¹ It was ratified by a notarial instrument two years later (see appendix).⁷² This contract is remarkable, for it reveals much on the day-to-day detail of chantry commemoration as practised by the friars on behalf of friends and benefactors.

The agreement was originally drafted on 26 March 1458. It was confirmed two years later, on 27 March 1460, when it was witnessed by thirty friars present in the chapter house. It is rare to find the names of the brethren at a particular moment and their inclusion reveals the size of their community in mid fifteenth-century London. Their presence was evidently required specifically to witness the agreement previously made between William Cantelowe and John Kyry. Thomas Radnor, provincial minister of the order, presided at this ceremony together with William Goddard senior, master and guardian, and Kyry, warden. William Cantelowe promised to provide a lump sum of £200 to pay for repairs to the church and towards the running costs of the convent. In return, the friars were to celebrate a daily mass in memory of Thomas Gloucester and his wife Anne and for Cantelowe and his own wives, Margaret and Elizabeth, their respective parents, children and benefactors. The mass was to be sung near the grave of

⁶⁹ N. Orme, 'Education in medieval Bristol and Gloucestershire', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.*, cxxii (2004), 9–27, at pp. 13–4.

⁷⁰ The two were close associates. See History of Parliament Trust, London, unpublished article on William Cantelowe for the 1422–61 section by M. Davies. I am grateful to the History of Parliament Trust for allowing me to see this article in draft. See also G. Holmes, 'Cantelowe, Sir William (d. 1464), merchant', in *ODNB* <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/52243>> [accessed 7 Dec. 2018].

⁷¹ TNA, E 40/11314, printed in Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, pp. 208–11.

⁷² TNA, C 270/32/21, printed in C. L. Kingsford, 'Additional material for the history of the Grey Friars, London', *Collectanea Franciscana II* (Manchester, 1922), pp. 61–149, at pp. 145–7. William Cantelowe also acted on behalf of his father-in-law, Laurence Pygot (d. 1450), wool merchant, and his wife Alice (d. 1453), of Dunstable (Beds.), and established their chantry at the Black Friars of Dunstable in 1460 (TNA, C 270/32/22). It is striking that a notarial instrument was used to confirm the earlier agreement, rather than an *inspeximus*, which perhaps reflects the international nature of the order and the need to have an agreement recognized across Europe. I thank Elizabeth New for this observation. See also J. L. Bolton, 'William Styfford (fl. 1437–1466): citizen and scrivener of London and notary imperial' in this volume.

Thomas and Anne Gloucester, which was located in the Lady chapel.⁷³ The only days when mass was not celebrated were the three days in '*ebdomada maiori*' [the greater week] before Easter Day, the *Triduum sacrum*, during which private masses were forbidden.⁷⁴ The agreement explained that it was the responsibility of the precentor of the London convent to assign on his '*tabula*' [board] the name of the friar appointed each week to celebrate at the Gloucester chantry. The appointed friar was to say, on bended knees, the *De Profundis*, either immediately before or after the mass, and to say before and after, in English, 'For the souls of Thomas Gloucester and Anne his consort and of William Cantelowe, of Margaret and Elizabeth his wives, of their parents, offspring and benefactors'. This was to be followed by the tract *Absolve Domine*. The friars were to say aloud the names of Thomas and Anne Gloucester and of William Cantelowe and his wives, Elizabeth and Margaret, every week in chapter in perpetuity. They were to be part of the friars' roll-call of benefactors. Their names were also to be read out at the feast of All Saints (1 November) when, so the agreement informs us, the number of friars present in the chapter house was at its highest and when the indenture between Cantelowe and the Franciscans was once again to be read out. This agreement was also to be copied into the friars' statute book.⁷⁵

This agreement is particularly instructive in two respects. First, it provides evidence about the performance of chantry obligations by the Franciscan friars and particularly for one noted benefactor, Thomas Gloucester and his wife Anne. They were referred to in the register as *principui benefactores huius conventus* [principal benefactors of this convent], doubtless reflective of the generous gift of £200 forthcoming through the agency of William Cantelowe.⁷⁶ The location of the chantry mass, close to where the Gloucesters were buried, is, perhaps, not surprising, given the dovetailed relationship between the anniversaries of the dead and their tombs. What is more striking is the role of the precentor as 'duty manager' in adding the name of the friar-priest appointed to each chantry mass on a '*tabula*' displayed within the convent. Significantly, we learn that such priests were assigned on a weekly basis, reflecting, perhaps, the peripatetic nature of the friars' vocation. The use of the vernacular in naming the patrons of the chantry, immediately before and after the psalm *De Profundis* was read out, is also notable and raises questions about the audience, presumably including visitors to the friary church along with friars, friends, family

⁷³ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 80.

⁷⁴ A. Fortescue, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (London, 1920), pp. 285–8, at p. 285. I am grateful to Jerome Bertram for his advice on this point.

⁷⁵ This is not known to have survived.

⁷⁶ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 80.

and other Londoners who were present at the chantry service. The level of attention to detail on the part of Cantelowe is revealed elsewhere when, for instance, he set down the precise posture of the celebrant when the *De Profundis* was said and that the ceremony was to conclude with *Absolve Domine*. This is a good example of the care taken by patrons, either for themselves or on behalf of others, when establishing chantries.

It is curious that William Cantelowe and John Kyry felt the need to ratify their earlier agreement two years and a day after their original indenture. It can be no coincidence that the provincial minister, master and guardian and thirty members of the brethren were all gathered in the chapter house of the Franciscan church. It is notable that the provincial minister of the order attached his seal of office to validate this agreement.⁷⁷ It is also notable that all future wardens and friars of the London house were to take an oath to observe the agreement and to guarantee the continued celebration of the Gloucester-Cantelowe chantry. This important agreement was to leave nothing to chance and this, too, is suggested by the choice of witnesses, all of whom were prominent Londoners: Geoffrey Felding, alderman of Farringdon Within (the ward in which the house of the Grey Friars was established); Thomas Urswyck, the recorder of the city; and Roger Tongue, the common clerk. This suggests that Cantelowe wanted the city, as a corporate body, to have a watching brief and to ensure the terms of the contract were observed.

The detailed arrangements for the Gloucester chantry are exceptional and nothing comparable is known for other perpetual foundations at Grey Friars. A similar agreement was evidently made between John Wardall, doctor of law and canon both of St. Paul's and of Lincoln cathedral (d. 1472), and the Franciscan brethren during his lifetime. He did not set up a chantry in his will, but he referred to its existence when he charged his executors with arranging an inscription close to his grave which was to record his chantry.⁷⁸ This memorial was to be placed in the wall close to the altar of Holy Cross at the east end of the nave and to record that the brothers of the house, present and future, were to celebrate this chantry in perpetuity.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ It was not unusual for the provincial minister to seal chantry agreements with notable benefactors (E. A. New, 'Speaking from the art: a reconsideration of mendicant seals in medieval England', in Harry and Steer, *The Urban Church*, pp. 222–37).

⁷⁸ TNA, PROB 11/6, fo. 41r–v; Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, pp. 106–7. On Wardall, see *BRUO (to A.D. 1500)*, iii. 1981.

⁷⁹ Such commemorative inscriptions were not uncommon and examples have survived, e.g., the chantry foundation of William Chapman, tailor and sheriff (d. 1446), formerly at St. Dunstan in the West and later used as a palimpsest brass for the inscription of Francis Style (d. 1646) at St. John the Baptist, Little Missenden (Bucks.) (D. C. Rutter, 'A palimpsest at Little Missenden, Bucks', *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Soc.*, viii (1) (1943), 34–6).

Not only did Wardall set up his chantry at an altar close to his grave, but he also arranged a permanent marker of its existence reminiscent of the efforts made by William Cantelowe a dozen years or so earlier. Wardall wanted any onlookers to know for whom the chantry had been established.

Lady Elizabeth Uvedale left her commemorations at the Grey Friars in the hands of her executors, who were to endow a mass for which she left £100. This was to be arranged immediately after her death.⁸⁰ She died on 21 June 1488 and was buried beneath a canopied tomb at the east end of the north aisle and close to Our Lady altar, where, according to the inscription, her chantry was celebrated.⁸¹ Lady Elizabeth's bequest of £100 was enough to invest in property to provide a reasonable income with which to support a chaplain at an annual salary of £6 13s 4d. The friars could not own property directly, however, and Lady Elizabeth's gift was probably in cash, similar to that provided by Cantelowe, to meet the running costs and repairs of the convent and in return for perpetual commemoration. It should also be borne in mind that the friars already had priests at each convent and the greater part of the 'salary' for the celebrants in the church of the London Franciscans would be welcome funds for the general works of the friary. The bequest of 15 marks (or £10) to employ three friars at the perpetual chantry for Richard Hastings, Lord Willoughby and Welles (d. 1503), set up by his widow Joan in 1505, would likewise have provided additional income for the convent.⁸² Mendicant chantries enabled patrons to enjoy the benefits of increased liturgical celebration from a larger body of priests than might be available in a parish church. Chantries established in mendicant churches could not, unlike their counterparts in the parish, rely on the same chaplain and instead benefited from an extensive clerical workforce which, for some, was an attractive alternative.

The Hastings chantry was to be celebrated at the altar in the Apostles chapel close to the grave of Lord Willoughby and Welles, where his widow later joined him. They were commemorated by sculptured alabaster effigies placed on a *tumba elevata*, a raised tomb, immediately before the altar.⁸³ A third widow set up a long-term chantry at Grey Friars which was to last for 200 years. Julian Maryner was widow of the wealthy salter, William Maryner,

⁸⁰ TNA, PROB 11/8, fos. 124–6 (Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Uvedale, 1488).

⁸¹ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, pp. 107–8.

⁸² TNA, PROB 11/14, fos. 217v–128v. Her husband Lord Willoughby and Welles had established a 10-year chantry in his own will of 1503 which was to be celebrated at the altar close to where he was buried and for which he left £20 (TNA, PROB 11/13, fo. 243r–v). His widow provided a perpetual arrangement.

⁸³ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, p. 77.

who died in 1512.⁸⁴ She outlived him by five years and in her will bequeathed a legacy of £66 13s 4d to the warden of the Franciscan convent, who was to arrange daily for a friar to celebrate for her soul and for her late husband's at an altar to be chosen by her executor, John Skevington, merchant tailor of London.⁸⁵ This bequest would be an annual equivalent of 7s 8d and was insufficient for a perpetual chaplain in one of the city's parish churches. The Franciscans provided an alternative means of commemoration through one-off, and generous, large scale payments – presumably to help with running costs – in return for which they undertook to provide permanent, or in the case of Widow Maryner long-term, chantry celebration. It was an arrangement which suited wealthy donors. The chosen friar at the Maryner chantry was to recite the *De Profundis* at the first lavatory, followed by her name and the names of her former husbands. Julian Maryner is the only patron who did not specify the altar where her chantry was to be celebrated, probably because her husband's tomb, in the centre of the north aisle, was not adjacent to any specific altar.

The final instance of perpetual chantry foundation at London Grey Friars is Sir Stephen Jenyns, merchant tailor, mayor and alderman of London. He died in 1523 and was buried under a sculptured effigy in the chapel of St. Francis.⁸⁶ His chantry was organized by John Benett, also a merchant tailor and evidently acting as a feoffee on behalf of the Jenyns estate, who set down the terms of the endowment in his own will of 1527.⁸⁷ The chantry was to be managed by the Merchant Taylors' Company, which was to arrange with the warden of Grey Friars the appointment of a friar who was to celebrate daily, between six and nine o'clock in the morning, at the altar of St. Francis – close to where Sir Stephen was buried – and a requiem mass was to be held once a week. The friar was to say before the first lavatory, and 'in audience' of those in attendance, the names of Sir Stephen, his wives Margaret, Joan and Margaret and all Christian souls, followed by the *De Profundis*. The Grey Friars were paid £2 13s 4d yearly to celebrate the chantry. The Merchant Taylors' Company was to provide the chantry with bread, wine, wax, chalice and vestments and bore responsibility for the furnishings. At the end of every day, eight young friars, one of whom was to be a priest, were to go, in perpetuity, to the hearse over Sir Stephen's

⁸⁴ Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, p. 119. On Maryner see above and Luxford, 'The testament of Joan FitzLewes' in this volume.

⁸⁵ LMA, DL/C/B/004/MS09171/009, fos. 37r–v. Her husbands were William Boynton, Robert Lynne, John Blowboll and William Maryner.

⁸⁶ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, p. 94; discussed further in Steer, 'The order of St. Francis', pp. 185–90.

⁸⁷ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/242 (10) and above.

tomb and say the *De Profundis*.⁸⁸ The Merchant Taylors' Company was to pay the warden of the Grey Friars a further 20s for this. During the winter months the friars were to receive an extra 2s to provide for a taper to stand on the hearse when it was darker. Prayers at the tomb are well known – for example, at the York Grey Friars – and it is not surprising to find such practice in the London church.⁸⁹ But it is rare to find such details as the role to be taken by eight young friars, all but one of whom were evidently students, who were to gather at the tomb to recite *De Profundis* after the end of the day's liturgy.

John Benett, like others before him, adopted a 'belt and braces' approach when it came to securing the long-term celebration of Sir Stephen's soul, adding, 'Also I wille that the said Wardeyne of the Gray ffreers and his successoures shalle once in the yere for ever publisse and cause to be redde this my present last wille soo that it may be hadde in a perpetuall memory'.⁹⁰ John Benett set out to secure the commemorations which his friend Sir Stephen had wanted; to this end he went into extraordinary detail in his own will to provide surety from beyond the grave so that those involved in the chantry – be it in managing the estate or celebrating the service or paying the correct fees – did so according to Sir Stephen's wishes.

Perpetual chantries established at Grey Friars reveal the care and attention to detail that patrons and executors lavished on them. The proximity of the tomb monument to the altar where the chantry was to be celebrated is notable, and this surely reflects the exceptional wealth of the benefactors concerned. Those who could afford to endow a permanent chantry could also afford to buy a grave close to an altar of their choice. It is not always clear from the Grey Friars register whether the scribe copied down details of chantries from inscriptions by the tomb or read about them in the statute book. The example of John Wardall, however, suggests that a separate inscription did, in fact, exist alongside the monument near to the grave.⁹¹ The responsibilities of the friars themselves are also striking: the

⁸⁸ I thank Nigel Morgan for his comments on this daily ceremony held at the Jenyns tomb.

⁸⁹ Cf. M. Robson, who noted that every Friday the Franciscans at York gathered at the grave of Sir Brian Rocliff, where they sang the antiphon *Jhesu* ('The Grey Friars in York, c.1450–1540', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, ed. J. G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 109–19, at p.116). This was also emphasized by Luxford, 'The collegiate church as mausoleum', pp. 115–6; and in C. Burgess, 'Fotheringhay church: college and community', in *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. H. Kleineke and C. Steer (Harlaxton Medieval Studies, n.s., xxiii, Donington, 2013), pp. 347–66, at pp. 362–3.

⁹⁰ LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/242 (10).

⁹¹ Cf. the tomb monuments for Joan FitzLewes at the Minories discussed by J. Luxford in his chapter in this volume.

oath sworn by future friars to abide by the terms of chantry agreements, the weekly duty roster for each chantry, the short-term appointment of friars at particular foundations, the times when they were to recite the *De Profundis*, the naming of the patrons and benefactors of the chantry and location of the mass are clearly specified. It is also notable that chantries set up in the friaries were cheaper than their counterparts in the parish and, more often than not, required less capital for long-term celebrations.

Conclusion

The convent of the Grey Friars remained a centre of commemoration until its surrender in 1538. Their remarkable tombscape, with 682 monuments to the dead, attests to a steady popularity. This chapter has demonstrated that tomb-monuments played an important role in the celebration of the chantry, as well as the anniversary, of past benefactors who lay buried within the walls of the Franciscan church. Testamentary evidence suggests that anniversary and chantry foundations increased from c.1450. It was from this date that benefactors found a way of establishing their commemorations with the London Grey Friars through cash payments rather than endowed property. Such arrangements required assurance. Testators and representatives of the dead took their responsibilities seriously: names were read out weekly in the chapter house; contracts were made and copied into the statute books; legal agreements, in the form of wills, would be read out; memorial plates (separate but complementary to the tomb monument) were set up; and the names of benefactors were recited daily with the *De Profundis*. There could be little doubt to future audiences about the identity of the patron. The sprinkling of holy water over the tomb and the gathering of friars at particular times of the day, week, month or year emphasized the close relationship between the remains of the dead and the celebration at their grave. Chantry founders, in almost all cases, chose to be buried next to the altar where their mass was to be celebrated. To meet these desires the Franciscan friars were able to provide a flexible workforce which could be adroitly managed. It was clear to Londoners, both rich and not so rich, that their souls would be safely lodged in the care of the Franciscans.

Appendix

Translation of a notarial instrument made on 27 March 1460 certifying the agreement between William Cantelowe, mercer and alderman of London, and the Grey Friars convent concerning the endowment of a perpetual chantry for Thomas Gloucester and his wife Anne, and William Cantelowe and his wives, Margaret and Elizabeth.⁹²

In the translation which follows paragraph numbers and punctuation have been inserted for ease of reference.

1. In the name of God, Amen. By the present public instrument let it be evidently clear that in the one thousandth four hundredth and sixtieth year of our Lord, in the eighth indiction, in the second year of the pontificate of our most holy father and lord in Christ the Lord by divine providence Pope Pius
2. on the twenty-seventh day of the month of March in the Chapter House of the community of the Friars Minor of the city of London, in the presence of myself, notary public below written, and of the witnesses below written, personally appointed venerable and devout men, brothers Thomas Radnor, Minister Provincial of the aforesaid order, William Goddard, the then master and custodian, John Kyry, warden of the same community, William Wolff, Stephen Raaff, professors in sacred theology, John Boosgawyn, John Weston, William Goddard, James Wale, John Hood, William Carpentir, William Sergiant, Robert Yooll, Herman de Colonia, Anthony de Colonia, John Gulle, John Litley, Andrew Bavard, William Smyth, Henry Whithede, Thomas Pattyn, John Eversham, William Roser, John Egliston, John Pede, Robert Brown, John Stanley, William Kemys, John Nicholas, John Billyk, Thomas Bolton, William Jonson and John Gylle, friars of the aforesaid order assembled in chapter for the purpose
3. as they declared, below written and holding their chapter or assembly, publicly stated and acknowledged, collectively and singly alike, that they had received and had from the noble William Cantelowe, mercer, citizen and alderman of London, there then present before them, two hundred pounds in sterling as alms for the repair work of their conventual church and in support of other burdens incumbent

⁹² TNA, C 270/32/21. An abbreviated transcript of the original Latin agreement is printed in Kingsford, 'Additional material for the history of the Grey Friars', pp. 145–7.

upon them and in return for so many great gratuitous benefactions, by genuinely and spontaneously unanimous consent assembled as reported above in chapter, they pledged on their own and their successors' behalf for all future times that one Mass daily should be specifically celebrated and dedicated in their conventual church aforesaid for the souls of Thomas Gloucester esquire and of Anne his consort, and for the souls of the aforesaid William Cantelowe and of Margaret and Elizabeth his wives, their parents, offspring and benefactors, and for the most part in that part of the aforesaid church where the bodies of the aforesaid Thomas and Anne rest interred, exceptions being three days in the Great Week which is immediately before Easter Day

4. and that the anniversary day of the same Thomas, Anne, William, Margaret and Elizabeth will be observed with the Offices of the Dead and sung Mass every year once most holy, as the community of the aforesaid convent of friars is accustomed to do for outstanding benefactors, about the feast of St. Agatha the Virgin [5 February] each year in perpetuity
5. and that all and each of the rest of the things they will do and observe and cause to be observed, that are contained and specified in certain indentures composed concerning and regarding the foregoing and in pursuance of them, sealed with the seals of the said Provincial and the common [seal] of the community of the aforesaid house and of the aforementioned William Cantelowe; the which same indenture was then and there read and publicly proclaimed to the same, the content of which follows in these words: "This indenture made between brother John Kyry, warden, and the other masters and brothers of the community of Friars Minor in the city of London on the one part and the honourable William Cantelowe, citizen, mercer and alderman of the said city on the other part, bears witness that we the aforesaid brother John Kyry, warden, and the other masters and brothers have received and had from the aforesaid William two hundred pounds in sterling as alms for the repair work of our aforesaid church, or our other necessities, fully disbursed and delivered,
6. and so being mindful of so many great gratuitous benefactions so piously gifted and bestowed on us and bound by the law of gratitude to reciprocate, by our genuinely and spontaneously unanimous consent, as much as assent, being assembled in chapter for the purpose we, on our priestly honour, with the supporting consent and approval as to permission of the reverend father brother Thomas Radnor, Provincial

Minister of our order in England, firmly promise, ordain, determine and pledge, on behalf of ourselves and our successors for all future times everlasting, that one Mass daily without interruption should be celebrated and dedicated for the souls of Thomas Gloucester esquire and of Anne his consort and for the souls of the said William and of Margaret and Elizabeth his wives, and for their parents, offspring and benefactors in our church aforesaid and for the most part in that part of the church where the bodies of the aforesaid Thomas and Anne rest interred, exceptions being three days in the Great Week which is immediately before Easter day,

7. adding and in manner and form likewise determining, that any future brother precentor of our order and house aforesaid shall be in perpetuity bound on his obedience through these presents weekly to assign on his duty board one suitable friar for the particular celebration as prescribed at Mass daily that week and any brother so assigned shall be bound under the sanction for disobedience to carry out the said directive or assignment, and should he not carry it out the community aforesaid shall nonetheless be bound in accordance with what is aforewritten.
8. Moreover the friar so assigned shall be bound under the sanction for disobedience immediately before the said Mass, or immediately after the same, to say on bended knees the *De Profundis* publicly and openly first of all announcing in the vernacular in the following form 'For the souls of Thomas Gloucester and Anne his consort and of William Cantelowe, of Margaret and Elizabeth his wives, of their parents, offspring and benefactors the *De Profundis*' and in this way shall he complete the said psalm together with the prayer *Absolve* [*Domine*]. Moreover, we pledge and in good faith promise that the names of the aforesaid Thomas Gloucester, and of Anne his consort, and of the said William Cantelow, of Margaret and Elizabeth his wives, must in perpetuity be recommended in authoritative utterance in our local chapter once every week.
9. Also, we promise that the anniversary of the death of the same shall be observed every year in perpetuity, about the feast of Saint Agatha the Virgin [5 February], with the Office of the Dead and sung Mass, as the said community is accustomed regarding outstanding benefactors.
10. And to create for the brethren for future times an ever fresh reminder, the warden or president, for the time being, shall once every year be

obliged, on his redemptive obedience, about the feast of All Saints, when the number of friars in the said community will have reached its greatest, in the friary chapter distinctly and publicly to read aloud himself, or through another brother, the contents here of the present indenture, and to enjoin upon the brethren the duties aforesaid.

- II. And for the greater assurance of the foregoing, we the aforesaid warden and masters and the community, in good faith and form prescribed, promise that for the completion and fulfilment of the aforewritten, that all and each of the foregoing may in perpetuity actually be implemented, [we] have made a statute thereon binding on oath in our written statute books whereby any friar in future, and especially a warden, to be admitted amongst us shall promise, among the other undertakings, in good faith to observe and as far as in him lies to fulfil the said statute.
12. In witness of which matter, the aforesaid brother John Kyry and the friars assembled in chapter attached their common seal and William Cantelowe reciprocally his seal to these indentures. Given in London in the chapter house of the same community on the twenty-sixth day of the month of March in the one thousandth four hundredth [and] fifty-eighth year of our Lord and thirty-sixth year of King Henry the sixth after the conquest of England. And I brother Thomas Radnor Minister Provincial aforesaid, holding all and each of the foregoing as ratified and acceptable, nay, giving this matter, before it was arranged, my express consent and support that it should be ordered in the manner aforesaid, by my authority I authorize, approve and ratify by the presents all and each of the things completed in the manner and form aforesaid. In witness of which thing I have affixed to the presents the seal of my office on the day and in the year above said. After the reading and expounding of which same indenture the aforementioned brothers Thomas Radnor, William Goddard, John Kyry and the other fellow friars named with those above, being asked all and each specifically by name, promised on their plighted good faith faithfully to observe and in all things fulfil, and to cause in the future to be observed and fulfilled, all and each of the things prescribed and contained in the aforesaid indenture as far as they affect and concern them; and thus did each of the same then swear and promise in that same place.
13. All and each of these things were arranged, as they are above written and recorded, in the year of our Lord, the indiction, the pontificate, the month, on the day and in the place aforesaid, there being present

then and in that same place the noble Geoffrey Felding, alderman of the ward in Farringdon Within where the house of the friars aforesaid is situated, John Aleyn, doctor of laws, Thomas Urswyck, recorder of the city of London, Roger Tonge, common clerk of the same city of London, and other witnesses to the foregoing especially invited and requested. And I Robert Kent, bachelor in law, of the diocese of Canterbury, by apostolic authority notary public, being present together with the aforesaid witnesses, attended the aforesaid acknowledgement, pledge, promise and reading of the indenture and all and each of the other premises while they were being arranged and made in the manner thus prescribed in the year of our Lord, the indiction, the pontificate, the month, on the day and in the place aforesaid; and that all and each of them were thus done I saw and heard, caused to be written down by another, published and reduced to this public form, and I have signed it with my customary mark and name and with my own hand I have subscribed myself here, having been asked and required, as assurance and witness of all the foregoing.