MANAGING CHANGE IN THE ENGLISH REFORMATION: THE 1548 DISSOLUTION OF THE CHANTRIES AND CLERGY OF THE MIDLAND COUNTY SURVEYS

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Abstract (not to exceed 200 words - any continuation sheets must contain the author's full name and full title of the thesis/dissertation):

The English Reformation was undeniably a period of change; this thesis seeks to consider how that change was managed by those who were responsible for its realisation and by individuals it affected directly, principally during the reign of Edward VI. It also considers how the methodology adopted contributes to the historiography of the period and where else it might be applied. Central to this study is the 1548 Dissolution of the Chantries, the related activities of the Court of Augmentations and the careers of clerics from five Midland counties for whom this meant lost employment. In addition to the quantitative analysis of original documentation from the Court, counties and dioceses, the modern understanding of change management for organisations and individuals has been drawn upon to extrapolate and consider further the Reformation experience. The conclusions show how clerical lives and careers were or were not continued, while emphasising that continuation requires an enabling psychological management of change which must not be overlooked.   The evidence for the state demonstrates that its realisation of its immediate aims contained enough of formal change management requirements for success, up to a point, while adding to the longer-term formation of the state in ways unimagined.

For my Mother, Claire and Max

Acknowledgements

Contents

ABBREVIATIONS

Documents and Locations

APC	Dasent, John R, ed, *Acts of the Privy Council*, new series, Vol 1 and Vol 2 (London: HMSO 1890-1930)
C&Y	Canterbury and York Society
CCC	Corpus Christi College
CCEd	The Clergy of the Church of England Database
CPR	Brodie, R.H. ed, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls,* Edward VI, 1547-1553, 5 Volumes 1924-1929 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1924-29)
EconHR	*Economic History Review*
EHR	*The English Historical Review*
FiF	Forward in Faith
GLO	Gloucestershire
GRO	Gloucester Record Office
HCA	Hereford Cathedral Archives
HER	Herefordshire
HRO	Hereford Record Office
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
L&P	*Letters and Papers (Foreign and Domestic*) Henry VIII Vols 10, 12 and 20
LRO	Lichfield Record Office
MH	*Midland History*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
SCA	Shakespeare Centre Library and Archives
SH	*Southern History*
SHR	Shropshire
Salop	Shropshire (alternative form of county name, can sometimes refer to the county town of Shrewsbury)
SR	*Statutes of the Realm printed by the command of his Majesty King George III* (1817)
TBGAS	*Transaction of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*
TNA	The National Archives
TSANHS	*Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*
TWAS	*Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*
TWhS	*Transactions of the Woolhope Society*
VCH	*Victoria County History*
WAR	Warwickshire
WaRO	Warwick Record Office
WHS	Worcestershire Historical Society
WOR	Worcestershire
WRO	Worcester Record Office

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>Money:</u>

£1 (one pound) sterling	= 20 shillings (s) or 240 pence (d)
1 shilling	= 12 pence (d)
1 mark	= 160 pence (d) or 13s 4d, that is two-thirds of £1
1 noble	= 80 pence (d) or 6s 8d, that is one-third of £1
£sd	= pounds (£) shillings (s) pence (d)

Introduction

'Everybody went to church in those days and liked it', T. H. White [1]

'For all except the most recent phases of the history of a minority of the world's peoples, religion has been embedded in the core of human life, material as well as spiritual', Eugene Genovese [2]

1.   THE ENGLISH REFORMATION - WHO AND WHY

Did the English Reformation happen because Thomas Cromwell, seeing political possibilities in the new religious ideas now abroad, applied these to resolving Henry VIII's marital difficulties? After all, Henry VIII wanted a son and, despairing of his now middle-aged wife, Katherine, had found a likely fruitful replacement in Anne Boleyn. Well, maybe and then again maybe not: as historians of the period have noted, matters are rather more complicated than that. But how complicated? And where do we look to understand these complications and their ramifications? And, given the eminent historians who have looked already, what more can an interested student expect to add?   The answer for this student has been found in the careers of the priests whose places were dissolved along with purgatory in 1548. Why? Because, essential though they are to its story, the English Reformation affected many more than the celebrities mentioned above, and it is well not only to remember this but also to consider what 'Reformation' meant and how it was achieved.

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[1] T. H. White, *The Sword in the Stone, Book 1 of the Once and Future King,* (London: Harper Collins, 1996), p. 37.
[2] Eugene Genovese, quoted by Roland Robertson, *Meaning and Change* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978) p. 258.

2.   REMOVING 'POPISH PURGATORY'

One thing Reformation meant was the removal of purgatory from the doctrinal structure. For traditional believers, this was a deprivation that exposed all souls to a relentless afterlife, forever in Hell. For those of the new faith, it confirmed release from a corrupt church and signified a salvation vested in faith in God's grace, which neither money nor charitable acts could buy.

In two sermons preached on 9 June 1536, Bishop Hugh Latimer of Worcester condemned in pithy phrases the doctrine of purgatory and the resources spent on the relief of its resident souls. Purgatory, said Latimer, 'hath burned away so many of our pence'; it absorbed more money from 'dead men's gifts and tributes' than emperors in taxes from the living.[3] In January 1548, Latimer was still reminding his listeners that 'purgatory pickpurse ….popish purgatory' was the devil's work, along with the dressing of images in 'gay garnish' while disregarding care for the naked, poor and impotent.[4]   But now, together with Archbishop Cranmer and fellow evangelicals, Latimer had high hopes, 'a very good hope', that the new king, Edward VI, 'being by the help of good governance of his most honorable counsellors, trained and brought up in learning, and knowledge of God's word', would bring in a new order reforming the church and the kingdom.[5]

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[3] Bishop Hugh Latimer, *The sermon that the reuerende father in Christ, Hugh Latimer, Byshop of Worcester, made to the clergie, in the co [n]uocatio [n],* (STC (2nd ed.) 15286. London: Thomas Berthelet, 1537) pp. 2-29.
[4] Sermon of Bishop Hugh Latimer, Preached in the Shrouds at St. Paul's Church in London, on the 18th day of Jan. 1548. *Library of the Old English Prose Writers*, Vol VII Latimer's Sermons, (Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co, 1832) pp. 3-35.
[5] Latimer, Sermon of 18 January 1548.

As the first anniversary of Edward's accession to the throne approached, the activities of church and state were certainly heading that way. In December 1547, Parliament had passed 'An Act, whereby Colleges, Chauntreys, Free Chapels, &c. be in the King's Majesty's Hands, with the Possessions of the same'.[6] This authorised the final step in the dissolution of the infrastructure built around purgatory, removing it and its works from the kingdom's religious life. These 'Colleges, Chauntreys, Free Chapels, &c' had been threatened two years earlier by Henry VIII's Chantry Dissolution Act but it was the government of Edward VI that took the final step, removing institutions that were long-established features of traditional religion. [7] It is the implementation of this Act that provides the core of this thesis: the surveys that were carried out county by county to identify and record in detail all foundations memorialising the dead, the monetary value of the underlying endowments and, crucially, the names and personal details of priests wholly or partially supported by them. Responsibility for the county surveys lay with the Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the Crown and it is material that the Court's officers assembled, readily accessible at the National Archives in Kew, which has formed the core research documentation for this thesis. Collectively referred to as the 'chantry certificates', they have in the past caught the eye of church and local historians and a number have been published either as independent volumes or in the journals of regional history groups.[8] As a single focus for academic research however these

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[6] An Act, whereby Colleges, Chauntreys, Free Chapels, *&c*. be in the King's Majesty's Hands, with the Possessions of the same. 24 December 1547, *Journal of the House of Lords: volume 1: 1509-1577* (1802), p. 313.

[7] An Act for the Dissolution of Colleges, Chauntries, and Free Chapels, at the King's Majesty's Pleasure. 24 December 1545, *Journal of the House of Lords* Vol 1*,* p. 282.

[8] A representative list of these useful transcriptions includes the following, W. G. Clarke-Maxwell, 'Chantries of St Leonard's, Bridgnorth', *TSANHS,* fourth series, Vol 8, (1920-21); Basil Cozens-Hardy ed. 'Chantries in the Duchy of Lancaster in Norfolk, 1548' *Norfolk Archaeology*, 29 (1946); Rose Graham ed. 'Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire', *Oxford Record Series,* Vol 1 (1919); Evan D. Jones,

documents have appeared in the historiography of the English Reformation only once, in Alan Kreider's 1979 study *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution.*[9] Kreider addresses the actions of Henry VIII and Edward VI in the context the Acts of 1545 and 1547, while tracing the background to chantry and memorial services in historical terms and the attacks on the doctrine of purgatory of the 1530s and 1540s. Using the survey evidence, Kreider also examines the additional provisions made by the founders of memorials (for example schools and gifts to the poor) and the employment conditions of the priests. As he states in his introduction, Kreider does not look beyond this point in the lives of the priests concerned, leaving this open for another student at another date: thirty years later, this present thesis takes up this opportunity.

3. HISTORIOGRAPHY – PAST AND PRESENT

3.1 Perspectives on Reformation

In the historiography of the English Reformation, the names that still stand out and attract attention, falling on either side of the divide of 'whiggish' history versus revisionist, have been A G Dickens, G R Elton, and their antagonists Christopher

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ed, 'Survey of South Wales Chantries 1546' *Archaeologia Cambrensis* Vol 89 (1934); C J Kitching ed, *London And Middlesex Chantry Certificates 1548,* London Record Society Vol 16 (1980);
Sir John Maclean, ed. 'Chantry Certificates of Gloucestershire', in *TBGAS* Vol 7-8 (1883-4); William Page ed, *The Certificates of the Commissioners Appointed to Survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals, etc in the County of York*, Surtees Society, Vols. 90-91 (1892-93); F. R. Raines, ed. *A History of the Chantries within the County Palatine of Lancaster,* Chetham Society, original series, Vols 59-60 (1862); L S Snell, *The Chantry Certificates For Devon And The City Of Exeter* (Exeter: Printed by James Townsend and Sons 1960). A. Hamilton Thompson ed 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates', *TSANHS*, 3rd Series Vol 10 (1910); A. Hamilton Thompson ed 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates-Notes and Appendices', *TSANHS*, 4th Series Vol 1 (1911); A. Hamilton Thompson ed 'The Certificates of the Chantry Commissioners of the College of Southwell in 1546 and 1548', *TTS* 15 (1911); A. Hamilton Thompson ed 'The Chantry Certificate Rolls for the County of Nottingham' *TTS* 16 (1912) 17 (1913) 18 (1914).
[9] Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge USA and London: Harvard University Press, 1979).

Haigh, J J Scarisbrick and Eamon Duffy.[10] Dickens' theological account of a national congregation eager for change was matched by Elton's political focus and his perception that reformed ideas addressed demands of state as these emerged under Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell. Cromwell's implementation of both God's word and the English Reformation was positive and necessary for the nation to progress: a 'modern' beginning from which the only way was up, to Elizabeth and beyond, apart from the blip which was the reign of Mary Tudor.

In opposition, Haigh, Scarisbrick and Duffy's differing studies sought to show that nationwide support for the existing religious view was the reality on the eve of the Reformation: the traditional church was far from redundant or unloved. The first quotation cited above, 'everybody went to church in those days and liked it', is part of T. H. White's fictional evocation of life in a medieval community but sums up the belief underlying the revisionist assessment.[11] From this viewpoint, the English Reformation had to have been imposed from above.

The strength of these key studies, and others which have followed, has been to confirm the period's complexity.[12] The evidence for genuine belief in the old ways

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[10] A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: Batsford, 1964); G. R. Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962); Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1975); J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd1985); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

[11] See above, n. 1.

[12] While Scarisbrick and Duffy took the whole nation as the platform for their discussions, sitting chronologically between these two and the preceding Dickens and Elton, had come Christopher Haigh's work on Lancashire and how its Tudor inhabitants had resisted and rebelled against the introduction of religious change. This approach, of applying a more closely defined focus, has resulted in a long list of exemplary studies which highlight the varied responses within and between different communities: counties, urban and rural populations, or the parishes or elites of individual towns and cities. For example, Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Suffolk And The Tudors: Politics And Religion In An English County 1500-1600* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986); Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion Of The People: Popular Religion And The English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge

throws into higher relief the questions of how and why Protestantism gained the ground that it did and why the English Reformation achieved the form that it did under Elizabeth.

Interest in answering these questions does not abate and has led to studies which have expanded the field of research in both breadth and depth. As an illustration of just how Reformation research and discussion has persisted and extended, the subjects addressed in Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie's 'The Beginnings of English Protestantism' form a handy guide.[13] In this single book of essays one finds conversion, martyrdom, gender, authority, printing and propaganda, the problems of confessional allegiance and issues of protestant doctrine. 'Once', say the editors in their opening sentence, 'the English Reformation made sense' but now the complex pedigree of a Reformation by Duffy out of Dickens demands careful examination.[14]

From these essays, that by Peter Marshall can be cited as having a particular relevance here. Though he is wary of analysis that reduces the individual's experience by attempts to 'psychologise' conversion, Marshall is prepared to mix sociology and history when he describes a conversion as a fine compound of 'social,

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University Press 1989); Beat A. Kümin *The Shaping Of A Community: The Rise and Reformation Of The English Parish, c.1400-1560* (Aldershot: Scolar Press 1996); Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation And The Laity- Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1997); John Craig and Patrick Collinson, eds. *The Reformation In English Towns, 1500-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998) Robert Tittler, *The Reformation and the towns in England: politics and political culture, c.1540-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon 1998), Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village,* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2001); Michael, L Zell, ed, *Early Modern Kent, 1540-1640,* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000).

[13] Peter Marshall and Alec Ryrie eds. *The Beginnings of English Protestantism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[14] Marshall and Ryrie eds. *Beginnings of English Protestantism,* Introduction, p. 1.

cultural and theological pigments'.[15] He emphasises the symbiotic relationship of external experience and internal intellectual ideas. Others who contributed to this collection, Shagan, Rex, Wabuda, Collinson, King and Pettegree, in addition to the editors themselves, are leading academics that have continued to probe the issues of this defining period of English history.[16] Of these, Ethan Shagan has followed one particular route in work outside this volume of essays: an examination of politics in the popular sphere. Here, Shagan applied the term 'collaboration' to describe the response of the general population to Protestant reforms and 'compromise' when considering the reaction of otherwise devout Catholics.[17] In another work, examining popular religion, Christopher Marsh employed 'the compliance conundrum' in considering the move away from traditional religion. As with Marshall's examination of conversion, Shagan and Marsh recognise the complex mix of events, societal pressures and intellectual ideas that inform individual choices and can result in both belief and/or conformity. There is also the difficulty of disentangling these two and understanding how and why choices are made. Earlier than these two, Robert Whiting in his work on popular religion in the South-West of England ascribed conformity less to faith than to 'a sense of duty, xenophobia, a desire for moral freedom, financial calculation, or even physical fear'.[18] Norman Jones' study, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation,* considers the latter in terms of response over time

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[15] Peter Marshall, 'Evangelical Conversion in the reign of Henry VIII' in Marshall and Ryrie eds. *Beginnings of English Protestantism*, pp. 14-37.

[16] A selective list of works would be Richard Rex. *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Susan Wabuda, *Preaching During The English Reformation, (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2002); John N King, *Voices of the English Reformation, (*Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2005); Patrick Collinson *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: religious and cultural change in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1988).

[17] Ethan H Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) and his article, 'Confronting compromise: the schism and its legacy in mid-Tudor England', in Shagan ed. *Catholics and the "Protestant" Nation: religious politics and identity in early modern England,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005) pp. 49-68.

[18] Robert Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of The People: Popular religion and the English Reformation,* Introduction, page 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p. 259.

to changes which came in fits and starts: erratic under Henry VIII, Edward's more consistent programme interrupted by his death, Mary's efforts in the name of the old faith and then Elizabeth's quasi-Edwardine approach.[19] Jones observes the way in which Tudor subjects learned religious flexibility, how they learned to live with the diversity of ideas abroad and, in fact, 'reconstructed their culture'.[20]

3.2   Perspectives on Institutions

In addition, however, to the different overarching perspectives above there are three discrete institutions important to this study that have in themselves been the subject of important research over the years. This research, in its focus on these particular areas has added to our appreciation (if not a complete understanding) of the contextual complexity of the background to the English Reformation.

The first of these elements is that body already mentioned as having the responsibility for carrying out the chantry surveys – the Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the King's Crown. This, as is discussed in succeeding chapters, was the creation of Thomas Cromwell and it outlived him by some thirteen years, continuing the role he assigned to it as the Reformation's key administrative support. As such, in the historiography of the period, it inevitably figured in much of the analysis of Cromwell's career by Elton and in his consideration of the development of the Tudor state and its practical operation.[21]   Augmentations also appears in S H Lehmberg's account of the life and career of Sir Walter Mildmay who, as one of its two General

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[19] Norman Jones, *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation,* (Oxford: Blackwell Publisher Ltd, 2002).
[20] Norman Jones, *Religion and Cultural Adaptation,* p. 6.
[21] G R Elton, *The Tudor Revolution in Government,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

Surveyors in 1548, shared the responsibility for formally awarding continuation of employment or (more usually) pensions to the priests of the dissolved foundations.[22] Mildmay rose to become Chancellor of England under Elizabeth, an ascent prefigured by a much more well known, not to say notorious Tudor office-holder, Sir Richard Rich who was Augmentation's first Chancellor.   Recognition of the significance of the Court, of its status and that of the men who led and oversaw its operations has earned it not only a supporting role in the biographies of Kings and famous men but a history in its own right, W C Richardson's *The History of the Court of Augmentations – 1536-1554.*[23] Published in 1961, this is the only comprehensive account of Augmentations as yet written and takes us from the Court's creation by Cromwell to its dissolution under Mary.   Within this period Augmentations, as will be seen later in this present work, was both the agent of change and the recipient as its remit and authority expanded. The headings of three of Richardson's chapters highlight the facets of the Court's responsibilities 'The Augmentations as an Administrative Agency', '….. as a Financial Department', '…. as a Court of Law' and may also hint at the amount of material which resulted from its activities.   Other historians have considered particular aspects of the Court's operation or, of necessity, given it mention in wider analyses of government finance: A G Dickens, as long ago as 1940, on its payment (or not) of ex-religious and clerical pensions, F C Dietz as part of his overview of public finance under the first four Tudors (2nd Edition published in 1964) and J D Alsop in examining the structure of finance between 1509-1558 (1986).[24]   In

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[22] S E Lehmberg, *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964).

[23] W C, Richardson, ed, *The Report of The Royal Commission of 1552,* Archives of British History and Culture Vol 4-5, (1974).

[24] Dickens, Arrears, Dietz, F C, *English Government Finance, 1485-1558* 2nd Edition (London: Cass, 1964) Alsop J D, 'The Structure of Early Tudor Finance, 1509-1558' in Coleman, Christopher and Starkey, David eds, *Revolutions Reassessed: Revisions in The History of Tudor Government and Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) pp.135-162.

more recent years the extensive surviving documentation of Augmentations has been part of ongoing research by Peter Cunich. His 1999 article continues and extends the discourse that surrounds ideas of revolution, crises and management in state finance in the years from 1534 to 1547.[25] Cunich places Augmentations very much at the heart of these matters, using close analysis of the material to consider the reality that underlay the 'administrative panic among Henry VIII's treasurers' and prefaced the financial and structural re-organisation at the end of this reign and into the next.[26] This present thesis also keeps Augmentations at the heart of the matter, considering its place in the wider context of the aims and objectives of regimes of Reformation, specifically here the dissolution of intercessory services.

Where Augmentations merits attention as an organisation of importance within central government, then two forms of local organisation are of equal merit for examination supporting as they did many of the practices which evangelicals were anxious to reform: the intercessory chantry and the guild or fraternity. These foundations, supported by endowments of personal capital both 'moveable and immoveable', were the targets of the surveys because of their association with the 'superstitious' doctrine of purgatory as well as the underlying financial investments but their place in parish life was multifaceted and the historiography examining this equally so. Though the interest in chantries and guilds is not new, much of the recent work has grown out of (or perhaps alongside) an increasing interest in the development of the parish in the late medieval and early modern period. 'The parish was a highly complex organism' note Steve Hindle and Beat Kümin in their recent

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[25] Peter Cunich, 'Revolution and Crisis in English State Finance, 1534-47' in W M Ormrod, M M Bonney and R J Bonney, eds, *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth: Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130-1830* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1999) pp. 110-137.
[26] Cunich, 'Revolution and Crisis', p.137.

collaborative article on spatial dynamics and parish politics which takes much further the discussion on what a parish was and how it functioned.[27] Adopting their concept of spatial dynamics and imagining this as a firm but ultimately malleable material within which the constituent parts of the parish are set, - parts physical and metaphysical - we can begin to examine the play of internal and external influences on the community (or communities) and individuals. Considering the concept in this way allows us to think of movement, of negotiation and the exchange of one culture for another all elements that will be discussed in this thesis.[28] Embedded in this matrix of space and politics (and time) and negotiating their way through were the men and institutions which are the subject of this present thesis and other work which has sought to recover them needs to be referred to here.

Katherine Wood-Legh's *Perpetual Chantries in Britain,* published in 1965, is the classic work in the historiography; describing the historic background and development of the chantry as an institution, Wood-Legh also has something to say about the men who manned them: their qualifications, duties and conditions of employment. The rehabilitation of this group of clergy from their reputation for dereliction of duty began with this work. Since that date the work of others, particularly that of Clive Burgess, has revealed more of the place of chantries and similar foundations in the religious life of the late medieval parish. Burgess's work on London and Bristol, using the personal evidence of wills and the public evidence of management accounts of parishes and local foundations, has further developed the

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[27]Steve Hindle and Beat Kümin, 'The Spatial Dynamics of Parish Politics: Topographies of Tension in English Communities, c1350-1640', in Beat Kümin ed., *Political Space In Pre-Industrial Europe,* (Farnham: Ashgate 2009) pp. 151-173.
[28] The topographical results of this movement are shown in the diagrams of the pre-and post-Reformation parish, its church and relationships on Earth, in Heaven and with Hell, see Hindle and Kümin, 'Spatial Dynamics', figures 8.1 and 8.2, pp.162-163.

complex narrative of these 'strategies for eternity' and their importance for individuals and their localities.[29] Chantries and services (masses, anniversaries and obits) offered practical support to the dead in the relief of their souls in purgatory and practical support to the parish as they increased the services of priests to the living parishioners. Similarly so the gifts of lights, lamps, vestments and other spiritually significant objects which embellished the physical space of the church and the aesthetic experience of church going: we can also see that they could also embellish the status of the donors in life and death. In his article, 'Time and Place: the late Medieval Parish in Perspective', published in 2006, Burgess extends his ideas into a discussion of the medieval perception of salvation, a condition which the supporting liturgy, imagery and charitable works enabled all to attain. It is Burgess's argument that this activity was designed for both 'personal and national benefit' and the parish and its memorial gifts and foundations worked together, to achieve it; appreciation of this significant aspect of Burgess's work heightens not only our understanding of what these institutions and activities meant to the people and parish but what it might mean to lose them, an important subject for this present thesis.[30]

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[29] Clive Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity: Perpetual Chantry Foundations in Late Medieval Bristol' in Harper-Bill, Christopher, ed., *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1991), pp. 1-32. Burgess's list of influential work includes ' "For the Increase of Divine Service" - Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Vol 36 No 1, (1985) pp.46-65; ' "By Quick and By Dead": Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol' in *The English Historical Review,* Vol 405, (1987) pp.837-858; 'A Service for the dead: the form and function of the Anniversary in late medieval Bristol' in *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* Vol 105 (1987) pp.183-211; *The Reformation Records of All Saint's, Bristol Part 1 - The All Saint's Church Book,* Bristol Record Society Vol.46, (1995); 'Shaping the Parish: St Mary At Hill, London, in the fifteenth century' in John Blair and Brian Golding, eds, *The Cloister and the World: essays in medieval history in honour of Barbara Harvey,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) pp.246-286; *The Reformation Records of All Saint's, Bristol Part 2 - The Churchwarden Accounts,* Bristol Record Society Vol 53, (2000); 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol' in *The English Historical Review,* 117, No.471 (2002) pp.306-332; *The Reformation Records of All Saint's, Bristol Part 3 - All Saints' Wills, Halleway Chantry Records, All Saint's Deeds*, Bristol Record Series, (2004).
[30] Clive Burgess, 'Time and Place: the late Medieval Parish in Perspective' in Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy, eds, *The Parish in Later Medieval England*, Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium, (Donnington: Shaun Tyas 2006) pp. 1-28.

If chantries and other intercessory services where frequently initiated by the faith and focus of an individual, guilds were, as their alternative title of 'fraternity' confirms a group activity: membership mattered, and as with the parish congregation as a whole, this membership consisted of the living and the dead.[31] In return for donations, joining fees and annual subscriptions, members enjoyed an annual feast and the spiritual support of priests employed by the guild. Guild priests attended the sick beds and funerals of members, the costs of funerals were covered and in daily masses members were remembered and prayed for; relief of souls in purgatory was a major service provision of these organisations. But, there was more to guild fraternities than that, they had responsibilities: they had money and property to manage, an involvement with the parish church and frequently a significant involvement in the management of the parish which could mean that in reality they were the town council. The Guild of the Holy Cross in Stratford on Avon, Warwickshire, is a famous case in point; its growth in wealth and local influence over the centuries of its existence had turned it into the town's management body with an extensive property portfolio and as a provider of local services - at the dissolution it kept a clock (annually paying Oliver Baker, its custodian, 13s 4d), employed also four priests and a fifth who was the 'grammar priest' of the guild's school.[32] Similar bodies could be found throughout the kingdom, not all were as significant as in Stratford, many were small but they added to parish life and influenced local management regimes. Ken Farnhill's work on the relationships between guilds and their communities in East Anglia has highlighted the complexities inherent in achieving an understanding of

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[31] As shown, for example, in the register of Stratford on Avon's Guild of the Holy Cross, Mairi MacDonald, ed., *The register of the Guild of the Holy Cross, St Mary and St John the Baptist, Stratford-upon-Avon,* The Dugdale Society, vol. 42 (2007).

[32] TNA E301/53 and 57, Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire, cert 20. This organisation eventually formed the core of the subsequent town corporation with a charter granted at the very end of Edward VI's reign in June 1553, the grammar school, which was created at the same time, carried (still does) Edward's name and had its most famous pupil in William Shakespeare.

how these groups operated.[33] These complexities face us on all fronts; from the internal organisation of each guild and the opportunities they offered to individuals to acquire roles and status to the practical management of funds and property and, extending outwards, to the relationship of guilds, one with another, and with other parish officials given that they occupied the same 'space', be that parish or church or both. In one market town, Swaffham, Farnhill observes that churchwardens apparently (though sources are sparse) stood aside from involvement in the activities of the guilds that managed the provision of lights and lamps in the church whereas in the rural villages of Bardwell and Cratfield the evidence is of an overlapping of responsibilities.[34] These case studies add to and support work by Burgess and Kümin on the influence of voluntary religious bodies on regimes of parish management and the different experiences of urban and rural communities, but they are also a very effective illustration of the realities of the spatial politics discussed by Hindle and Kümin and what they identify in their article's sub-title as 'the topographies of tension'.[35] Individually and together these writers and their studies have endeavoured to recover the medieval and early modern parish with their interweaving lives of the mundane and the religious.

But, unavoidably, into the historiography of the parish creeps that of the centre: Cunich's work on Augmentations led him to a discussion of the dissolution of

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[33] Ken Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia c1470-1550* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001).

[34] Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community* pp. 102-126 (Swaffham) and pp. 127-152 (Bardwell and Cratfield).

[35] Clive Burgess and Beat Kümin, 'Penitential Bequests and Parish Regimes in Late Medieval England' in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Vol 44 No. 4, (1993) pp. 610-630; Hindle and Kümin, 'Spatial Dynamics', p.151; Hindle has also written on the history of the social and political relationships of parish communities, see Fox, Griffiths and Hindle, eds, *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1996); Hindle, *The State and Social Change in Early Modern England, c1550-1640* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 2000); Hindle, *The Birthpangs of Welfare: Poor Relief in Seventeenth Century Warwickshire,* The Dugdale Society Occasional Papers, no. 40, (2000).

the chantries and the way in which this impacted on parishes.[36] By removing the intercessory services, the priests and obits, lights and lamps, by acquiring the property that underwrote them, Cunich describes the government of Edward VI adding to its finances and preparing the way for further religious reform by creating a 'parish environment stripped of its old certainties'.[37]   These words and those of all the historians cited here continue to encourage our fascination with this period of volatility, confusion, apprehension and excitement where curiosity about the new learning was also dangerous and where some level of participation in Reformation and change unavoidable: do any satisfy us that we fully understand what happened, what it felt like to be in the middle of it? In the same article on the dissolution, Cunich asks what might have been the psychological consequences of this loss of certainty and also muses on what happened to the men removed from their posts, it is hoped that this present thesis will go someway to addressing those questions or at least have something to add to the debate.[38]

4.   THESIS CONTEXT AND APPROACH

We know 'the past is another country' and the cultural divide great but the importance of religion, the way in which it permeated both the physical and psychological aspects of life is now alien to most of us. As historians, there is the need to beware of over-empathising, of over-sympathising when we read of the agony of martyrs or the prosaic concerns of churchwardens as they took down, put up, took down again, altars and images and whitewashed their churches. We have to be

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[36] Peter Cunich, 'The Dissolution of the Chantries, in Patrick Collinson and John Craig, eds, *The Reformation in English Towns,* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1998) pp. 159-174.
[37] Cunich, 'Dissolution of the Chantries', p.173.
[38] Cunich, 'Dissolution of the Chantries', pp. 169, 171.

objective but, laudable as this is, there is also something here to be wary of; that is reducing and rationalising away our ancestors' experience. The ideal is to identify tools and methodologies that allow us to review and analyse objectively the phenomena of cultural change whilst not forgetting the humanity of those involved and affected. The search for analytical tools and perspectives to enable questions to be asked and answers attempted is not new to historians. Students of history study the approaches presented by the fields of sociology, anthropology, and philosophy and become familiar with a list of names: Durkheim, Marx, Freud, Weber, Geertz and Foucault. The aims and objectives of the University of Birmingham's own historical methods course state that its focus 'is on the application of the ideas to historical practice now and then' enabling students 'to assess the relevance and utility of the different theoretical approaches to their own research'.[39]

In the case of this thesis, it is more recent methodological developments that have provided the relevance and utility it demands. Two of these though having roots in the older disciplines cited in the previous paragraph, do not immediately come to mind when considering ways of examining historical material, related as they are to change management and bereavement. These approaches suggested themselves because key aspects of this study demand differing perspectives: firstly the theoretical, strategic framework within which organisational change is managed and implemented and, secondly, the ways in which the demands of change are managed internally by individuals and groups. A third approach, the practice of prosopography, is more familiar historical territory and is intended to deliver evidence and understanding of the place in history of a given group.

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[39] University of Birmingham, 'Historical Methods' module description, from website, www.historycultures.bham.ac.uk consulted 7.4.l 2009.

Out of this background comes this study which has at its heart a discussion of the implementation of Reformation activities, and the consequences for one part of the population – the priests whose livelihoods were sharply suppressed in 1548. Chantries, colleges, fraternities, guilds and other endowed services had provided masses for the dead. Few of these services had formal, contractual pastoral responsibilities: they, together with obits, lights and lamps similarly endowed by the laity, were designed to support and promote the remembrance of the dead and assist their exit from purgatory. As such, once purgatory itself was removed from the spiritual framework, these services were redundant. Though all clergy had their working lives affected, 'purgatory priests' did so directly because the places that employed them could no longer exist.

Memorial institutions of all types, from tapers and lights to those employing a priest, could be found in all counties: Kreider, in what he calls a 'cursory totalling' of twenty counties, identified 2,182 institutions which could have supported a priest, a figure which is an indication in itself of the need to set practical boundaries to research demanding the compilation and analysis of significant amounts of data. [40] Furthermore, the greater objective of this study is, as far as possible, to trace the careers of as many as possible within this sector of the clerical population, to consider their experience and examine this in the context of the strategic changes being implemented around them: thus, the chosen group has to be manageable while numerically large enough to provide sufficient worthwhile information. Familiarity with the transcriptions of the chantry certificates for Gloucestershire and Shropshire

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[40] Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 14.

and aware of their potential for further research, encouraged a decision to undertake a larger study this time working with the original documents for these two counties and to bring in three others of the West Midlands: Herefordshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire, a neat geographic block for which the survey certificates and related clerical pension documents provide 427 names (423 men and four choir boys) and 443 foundations with which to work. A study of this size allows analysis and comparison of the types of memorial foundations to be found within and between these counties but, more importantly, grants the chance to examine the priests employed to serve them: ages, education, stipends and duties. It also allows for comparison with other studies of late medieval and Tudor clergy and, with the occasional expressions of personal opinion to be found in the certificates, to consider local relationships.

This is relevant historiographically, as these 'chantry' priests (a collective adopted from the most well known form of memorial service), were once castigated by one High Anglican historian as the 'pests in the parish'.[41] This description is disputed in Wood-Legh's history of foundations and their priests; she 'found nothing to support this view'.[42] Though, as will be seen, some as ever behaved better than others the evidence overall is of priests who were frequently long serving and given good reports by their parishioners. While they are obviously 'people', such men are not the main concern of Whiting, Shagan and Marsh's 'popular' studies, but the same conundrum of collaboration, conformity (or not) arises, perhaps even more pointedly. The situation of clergy in general including chantry priests up to the beginning of the Reformation has been addressed elsewhere. Notable in this field is the work of

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[41] Canon H Maynard Smith, *Pre-Reformation England,* p. 82, (London: Macmillan, 1938) cited in Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, p. 272.
[42] K L Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* pp. 271-272.

Robert Swanson, particularly *Church and Society in Late Medieval England,* also Peter Heath in *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of The Reformation,* and Tim Cooper's account of clergy in Coventry and Lichfield diocese, *The Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy.*[43] Peter Marshall's work on *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation,* and Martha Skeeters' *Community and Clergy,* are further examples of studies that, from differing perspectives, (Skeeters' focus being a single location – Bristol) have attempted to look at the clerical experience at the point of the Reformation itself.[44] These and others have fed into this study to flesh out the statistics that inevitably result from data comparison of the type undertaken here.

5.   DATABASE AND THESIS STRUCTURE

Such research as this demands a database and Microsoft Access has been used to manage the data gathered here. A number of tables were set up to hold all the relevant details for, as follows: individuals, ordinations, taxation, employment, 1548 certificate post, post-Dissolution pensions, wills, bequests, inventories and, last but far from least, a notes table. Data was fed into these tables via input forms and extracted and analysed using queries and Excel spreadsheets, enabling comparison between, for example and not an inclusive list, individuals, counties, the forms of service being held, where the best salaries were paid and how many were ex-religious. But, important as these comparisons are, they are not what make these men and their experience live. That comes from narrative, anecdote and a methodological approach

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[43] Robert N Swanson, Church *and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Peter Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of The Reformation* (London: Routledge & Keegan Paul Limited, 1969); Tim Cooper, *The Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy,* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999).
[44] Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) and Martha Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c1530-1579,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

designed to examine the various experiences of change: the implementation management to achieve a particular objective (in this case, Reformation – a cultural change) and the internal, often subliminal, processes through which individuals achieve their own change management, coming to terms with it or not. Henry Saunders, schoolmaster and chantry priest in King's Norton, Worcestershire, assigned to continue in the school, received his stipend of £10 annually until 1554, when he became Rector of Oldberrow, where he lived until his death in 1570. A regular pattern in the statistics, so a smooth transition from one regime to another, from one faith to another? Apparently so but extremely unlikely: look at his will, made in 1566 and unchanged at his death, and there is no attempt to hide his determined allegiance to the traditional faith, he calls on the Blessed Virgin St Mary and all the holy company of heaven and wishes for burial by 'some honest priest if he may be found'. Look a little deeper and it seems that he was deprived of his rectory in 1561, but continued to live locally and requested burial in the church: presumably he was amongst friends. Saunders' clerical career path was not unique for this period, just as the decisions he had to make regarding his faith and behaviour were not unique to his profession: many of his neighbours would have shared them. Thus, though the methodological approaches adopted here reflect on the actions of rulers and state officers and the responses of one set of individuals, they have equal validity for wider Tudor society.

Chapter one discusses in detail the methodological approach; it explains why it was felt to be an appropriate framework through which to consider the evidence surrounding a specific section of the Reformation clerical population. It argues that there is a resonance with modern ideas of response to change, particularly those of the

sociologist Peter Marris and the work of Colin Murray Parkes and Elizabeth Kubler-Ross; three influential writers of research regarding ways individuals, of necessity, recreate viable frames of reference when faced with life-changing ideas or circumstances: creations that may or may not lead to an easy accommodation.[45] It is a psychological view, perhaps, but not one which seeks to undermine or reduce the experiences of the men and women who feared for their lives and souls in the face of the religious change. To amplify the discussion, this chapter also introduces a modern analogy which allows further examination of the human response to major cultural change – the comments and experiences of the priests and congregations in today's Church of England unable to accept the ordination of women: for some a too far-reaching cultural change.

Overall, this chapter proposes a new perspective: a mixed approach which in its consideration of this period of unique, historically significant change implementation, reflects on what this experience meant for the individuals identified here and, by implication, their fellow subjects. The Genovese quotation cited above is relevant here as a warning that all subjects, clerical or lay, were affected by the theological and liturgical changes which constituted the English Reformation: changes which, in Robert Whiting's words, amounted to 'increasingly destructive assaults'.[46] Such 'assaults' affected the relationship between priests and parishioners, living and dead, an understanding of God, faith and salvation, and the definition and relative standing of earth, heaven and hell.

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[45] For example, Peter Marris, *Loss and Change* (London: Routledge, 1993), Colin Murray Parkes, 'Bereavement as a Psycho-social Transition: Processors of Adaptation to Change', Chapter 6, pp. 91-101, in M S Stroebe, W Stroebe and R O Hanson eds. *Handbook of Bereavement*: *Theory, Research And Intervention,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, *On Death and Dying*, (London: Tavistock 1970), Elisabeth Kubler-Ross and David Kessler *On Grief and Grieving* (New York: Scribner, 2005).

[46] Robert Whiting, *Blind Devotion,* Introduction, p. 1.

Chapter two takes as its focus government-level reformation activity. It considers the actions of King and Privy Council, Parliament and Church, and the state's implementation arm, the Court of Augmentations, illustrating a complexity fuelled by the mix of evangelical endeavour and state management. Its principal themes are central political affairs and the macro-level of change, with some reference to survey and related material to aid discussion on the ideology behind the political decisions. Chapter three turns to the micro-level with assessments of the certificates that the surveys of 1548 produced. It discusses the quality of this source and quantifies the evidence, acknowledging the issues on completeness and accuracy but emphasising its importance. Not only does this material allow county comparisons, and tell us of the priests and services under examination, it is also testimony to the requirements of parish management and the capability and concerns of churchwardens and parish officials.

Chapters four, five and six follow the careers of the clergy chronologically. Chapter four attempts to bring clerics named in the chosen surveys into closer focus: to identify and follow them from ordination onwards, through their careers up to the posts which brought them to the attention of the Augmentations' commissioners. This exercise enables further quantification of evidence including ordinations, titles and employment, all of which is important but the possible sterility of statistics requires leavening; the informed use of anecdote and narrative is critical here and must be brought into play if the humanity of the story is not to be lost. This is a pattern which is followed in the two succeeding chapters. Chapter five follows the clerics into the new world, into employment or as pensioners: what jobs did they get,

where did they go, how did they collect their pensions, what else might they have done, who were their friends, can we tell anything about confessional allegiance? Henry Saunders' story illustrates this but he has fellows who will be met with throughout. Where found, the answers to these questions feed into chapter six which considers the end of their lives. Though reliant on the survival of wills for detailed personal information, this chapter includes other evidence for dates of death and reflects on the psychological consequences of major cultural change such as that experienced by the men in this study. Where wills have survived, the value of preamble evidence for clerical testators is considered and what this might or might not have to say about their faith, also patterns of giving (what and to whom) are examined as is the evidence for wives and children.

Throughout chapters two to six, the evidence is filtered through the framework of the methodological approach outlined in chapter one. The thesis closes with a conclusion that explicitly refers back to chapter one and the perspective it outlined. It discusses what has been examined, learned, concluded and where else this approach might be of value. Ultimately, it makes no grand claims for the men who appear in this study, but it does seek to take the arguments further by bringing in other aspects of the cultural and individual change management processes so that we might consider what coming to terms with the events of Reformation meant for them, belying any lingering ideas on its apparent simplicity.

Two further comments by Peter Marshall will help to state the case for the approach underlying this thesis: they are both telling and relevant: 'statistical evidence can only take us so far, and its meanings are seldom self-evident' and again, 'any

weighing of evidence must be qualitative and interpretative, not crudely numerical'.[47]

That has been the intention of this study and it is hoped that in this it has added something to our understanding of what it meant to experience the English Reformation.

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[47] Marshall, 'Anticlericalism Revested? Expressions of Discontent in Early Tudor England', in Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy eds. *The Parish in Late Medieval England,* Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 14, (Donnington: Shaun Tyas 2006) pp. 371, 378.

Chapter One

<u>Implementing The Reformation
A Change Management Experience?</u>

1. <u>THE REFORMATION CONTEXT</u>

The cultural changes of the years of the English Reformation produced amongst its general population every equal and opposite emotion, stress, action and reaction that humanity is heir to: hope and despair, enthusiasm, acceptance, rejection, fear, violence, both physical and linguistic, state and popular, artistic creativity alongside iconoclasm and destruction.   In his work on the state and social change, Hindle makes the comment that in the sixteenth century 'social and economic change was relatively slow incremental and difficult to grasp'; that same observation could not be made of the structural ecclesiastical and religious change under discussion here.[1] The objective of this study is, as already introduced, to examine the experience of one part of that general population who, working in the church of this period, began their careers under one ecclesiastical rule and ended them under another. In the course of their lives internal and external negotiation was required in order to accommodate the new framework in which they found themselves, as the old culture was exchanged for the new. But much of the twisting and turning of religious change can be described as happening on the surface, it was visual as images were taken down, lights and lamps went out and it was audible as the liturgy changed, King replaced Pope in prayers and St Thomas Becket was persona non grata.   But surface events, the hearing and seeing experience, is not the same as superficial, the changes cut deep and brought drama and anguish enough; the speed with which the population

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[1] Hindle, *The State and Social Change, c1550-1640,* p.38.

at large, and the priests here in particular, had to respond, had re-define their view of their world and their place within it, made demands which one part of the methodological approached outlined in the Introduction is designed to address. The context of this study, though, is the strategic change being implemented that forced England's subjects to move with it and 'strategic change and implementation' imply something else. Here there might be detected evidence of slow change or certainly a contribution to a longer-term development, that of the formation of the state, a concept extended by the change management methodology adopted here. Though the principal work on state formation begins only in 1550 its author, Michael Braddick, makes the point in his conclusion that 'analysis could, clearly, be extended both forwards and backwards'.[2] It is the contention here that evidence of the activities Braddick regards as the springs for state formation in the later period can be found in the earlier decades of the Reformation. This chapter discusses in full the methodologies already introduced, their relevance to the subject and context of this thesis.

2.   **CHANGE MANAGEMENT – METHODOLOGY**

The concept and practice of Change Management has become familiar in the last twenty years in the context of organisations making cultural changes in order to achieve certain goals. It is recognised as a concept difficult to realise successfully, with no implementation ever likely to follow completely a coherent, consistent path or achieve all the goals, imagined at the outset. Change management methodology can be applied as either a planning strategy ahead of implementation or an analytical tool

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[2] Michael J Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England c1550-1700,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.436-437.

to examine outcomes and consequences. Thus, whole journals are devoted to discussing change programmes, strategies, applications, consequences, success and failure (*Journal of Change Management*, *Journal of Organisational Change*, and others) and searching the University of Birmingham's library catalogue produces a list of 527 titles devoted to the subject. Using the evidence and experience of past events, writers in the field hope to influence those seeking to introduce change. While we are most likely to associate it with business objectives, corporate visions and the demands of information technology, the introduction of any change into any group, however that group is defined, both initiates and demands management and has consequences for its members. It is the contention here that the practice of change management has been implicit for somewhat longer than the concept's own objective existence; that its theories can be considered to have a wider application than that of the business world; it is not anachronistic to consider the events of this particular part of the sixteenth century in the light of this set of theories nor does it rob them of meaning.

Early modern historians are not entirely unfamiliar with this territory: for example, Andrew Pettegree's analysis of the means of conversion in the opening chapter of *Reformation and The Culture of Persuasion*.[3] Here, Pettegree proposes a schema he defines as a 'tiered hierarchy of commitment' with which to frame a discussion of individual reactions to the evangelical experience before a firm commitment to the new faith is achieved.[4] The four tiers proposed by Pettegree rise through awareness, identification, and understanding to activism. Though he does not claim its language, what Pettegree is describing would be recognisable to those whose

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[3] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
[4] Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion,* figure 1.1, p. 6.

business is in the communication of ideas. Peter Doyle, in his work *Marketing Management and Strategy* discusses a hierarchy of effectiveness for a communication plan, which though having five stages, matches Pettegree's closely. Doyle's schema steps through awareness, interest, comprehension, attitude and action, encompassing, as does Pettegree, a discussion on the mix of media which can assist the progression of the message and its adoption or rejection by its audience.[5]

The purpose behind the employment of any methodology is to allow questions to be asked of the available evidence and credible answers arrived at which will at least throw some light on the events being scrutinised. Therefore, if the methodology discussed here is valid in identifying the cultural dimensions and activities that need to be addressed to achieve change, we should be able to find evidence of these same dimensions and activities when examining an organisation or society that has experienced major change. Questions suggested by the structure of a methodology can be considered against known evidence and the answers returned might reasonably be hoped to reveal hitherto unregarded aspects of this same evidence. This is what Pettegree is attempting in his approach to understanding conversion. He also makes the point that reformers made use of 'every medium of discourse and communication familiar to pre-industrial society': in counterpoint it is suggested here that Pettegree's schema makes implicit use of methodology familiar to our post-industrial society.[6] Furthermore, Pettegree also notes that reformers were aware of a 'double process of engagement' in that they had to address both the individual and the wider collective

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[5] Peter Doyle, '*Marketing Management and Strategy',* second edition (London: Prentice Hall Europe, 1998) pp. 254-255 figure.9.3. Others in this field apply a linear model of communication which moves from 'source' through 'encoding' (the use of symbols to enable awareness) through decoding (understanding) and receiving, see for example, Chris Fill, *Marketing Communications*, second edition (London: Prentice Hall, 1999) pp. 24-27.

[6] Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion* p. 8.

consciousness in their attempts to achieve their aims.[7]   This present study also hopes

to describe ways in which a related 'double process' operated, the processes by which

change is implemented by the state and individuals.   Furthermore, it is Braddick's

thesis that state formation grows from the response of activists and influential

officeholders who, given agency by the state react 'by designing and implementing

political innovations'.[8]   As we will see, design, implementation and innovation are

key aspects of the management of change under discussion here and crucial to the

political process of Reformation.

3.   **MANAGING CULTURAL CHANGE**

In researching the theoretical framework for this study, the approach that

provided most insight into the strategic developments underlying the implementation

of reformation change, was that designed to highlight and manage the demands

imposed by cultural change.   Paul Bate's work on the subject identifies cultural

change as the process of bringing an idea into life, giving it form, and goes on to

describe the strategies that are the means by which this process is organised.[9]   These

strategies demand leaders; leaders who progress the change process to fruition

through all its cultural dimensions.   A more detailed overview of this theoretical

background and its elements is necessary to provide the context for later discussion,

but it needs to be stated that this is very much the 'macro-level' of the theoretical

framework: this only allows us to consider the state and the higher activists of the

English Reformation.[10]   The more intimate consequences for participants and

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[7] Pettegree, *Culture of Persuasion,* p. 8.
[8] Braddick, *State Formation,* p.427.
[9] Paul Bate, *Strategies for Cultural Change,* (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1995).
[10] For the purpose of this discussion, all the definitions quoted are taken from Bate's work.

recipients of cultural change demand examination from a much closer and personal perspective, which will be discussed later.

3.1   Development Process For Cultural Change

This approach to cultural change is essentially an anthropological one, which sees organisations as 'social worlds' and equates 'culture' with both 'organisation' and 'strategy'.[11]   In any social world, its culture provides both its organisational and metaphysical structure and the means by which its members relate to one another. Therefore, what is perceived as a change in organisation will inevitably impinge on its culture; on its value systems, ideology, myths and stories all of which provide support, enabling members to interact and function within it.

There is a pattern to any change process, however that process is expressed. It is initiated by an idea or an accumulation of ideas that convince individuals that 'something' is wrong; 'something' needs to be different. These ideas metamorphose into an articulated form that is a trigger to action. Such triggers can range from the perception of a new vision (though rarely truly new) to the declaration that focus has been lost, that the culture/organisation has moved away from what made it 'good' or 'successful', a situation that must now be addressed or redressed.

From the point that these triggers coalesce into a decision for action, the change management process is in train. It will have created, informally or formally, one or more change leaders (a vicegerent, perhaps), it will demand a strategy (to gain

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[11] Bate, *Cultural Change* p. 9.

Parliamentary agreement, win public support, contain opposition) and supporting mechanisms and processes (bureaucracy, information gathering) and it will have consequences, not all anticipated. This sequence implies a deliberate structure to events, a hierarchical, stepped approach that suggests 'we do this, then this', which must not be taken too literally. However desirable such an ordered framework might be today, in modern organisations where such an approach is familiar, it is rarely as controlled as this implies (hence the need for studies such as Bate's cited here). Nevertheless, where major change is being pushed through, depending on the nature of the change, the same or similar elements will almost organically occur. Whether the target audience is a small group to enable a despot to get his way, remove a Pope or persuade a Parliament, leadership and advocacy will be needed to win over hearts and minds and, sometimes, bureaucratic innovation.

4.   KEY FEATURES OF CULTURAL CHANGE THEORY

4.1   Dimension and Leadership

Cultural change theory identifies five key dimensions that can be linked also to types of leadership, and it is necessary to say something about each of these dimensions and their relevance to the material under discussion here. They reflect aspects of cultural activity that both affect and are affected by change and range from the 'aesthetic' and 'political' through 'ethical', 'active' and 'formative'. [12] This order must be considered a literary artefact. It does not imply an inevitable hierarchy nor dictate an arranged, synchronised sequence of activities attractive though the latter

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[12] Bate, *Cultural Change* p. 245.

might be for those proposing a particular pathway for successful management. However envisaged, it is more likely that the need to address demands in one area will be imposed by the organic reaction to activities in another: the awareness encouraged by the stirrings in the 'aesthetic' dimension may require responses in the 'ethical' and/or the 'political' depending the nature, breadth and depth of the initiative being pursued.

This might appear a cold and inappropriate language through which to examine the religious and political mix which was the English Reformation but these cultural dimensions have distinctive characteristics and equally distinctive leaders who can be found as readily in the sixteenth century as in the twenty-first, as the following discussion will highlight.

To consider first the 'aesthetic' dimension. This is where shifts in thought, ideas, anxieties, movements and rebellions are initiated, and from which arise the creation, expression and communication of new ideas or systems of ideas. Bate describes aesthetic leaders as those actively 'disengaging people … from their familiar symbolic world' and quotes the work of J M Burns for whom aesthetic leaders are 'transforming', able to 'inspire others to passion, commitment, energy and excitement about a shared purpose'.[13] Martin Luther could justifiably be cited as the prime example of the Reformation's aesthetic and transforming leader but, in the context of the English Reformation, there are other candidates for this role. Thomas Bilney and (his convert) Hugh Latimer were men of influence whose qualities might well qualify them as transforming leaders for a home grown audience. But one

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[13] Bate, *Cultural Change* p. 246, the second quote cites J M Burns, *Leadership* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978).

cannot claim that recognition of these attributes, awarding the title of 'aesthetic' leader, would then lead on inevitably to the English Reformation and the demands of the other categories named above.

However, one can describe how the influence of such visionaries and the eventual adoption of a mix of radical, evangelical ideas combined with the demands of Henry VIII's 'great matter' (his divorce from Katherine of Aragon and his desire for an heir) crystallised into a need for action and intervention to see the matter through. For the arguments of state formation, into this space would step those able, and enabled by the authority of office, to meet these needs. Impelling, as events did, a demand for activities, agents and leadership in all the identified dimensions, applying the methodology allows the activities of other dimensions (and participants) to be examined.

Bate himself regards the 'aesthetic' and 'political' dimensions as those which provide the greatest challenge for seekers of cultural change: perhaps because this recognises that the new ideas, the threats to the old order, which arise through the first are likely to trigger responses which require controlling in the second. When the organisation undergoing change is a state and it is the cultural framework which underpins that state which is being shaken, then it is likely to be politics with a capital 'P' given that is through the actions in this arena that new forms and ideas are inscribed onto an existing cultural structure. Thus, the replacement of the Pope with the King and the promotion of the Royal Supremacy demonstrate the prosecution of new ideas (though this is not how they were sold) and the inscription of their requirements onto an existing cultural structure. But even if Bates is right and it is

these two dimensions which are the most challenging, in the context of this present work, the other three dimensions have as much to say about the management of reformation and how ultimately these changes came to touch more immediately upon the lives and careers of the priests whose names and details appear in the chantry surveys.

Addressing the ethical demands of introducing change describes the necessity to enlighten the audience, to justify and explain new ideas and meanings, to build a framework in which these and their outcome can be effectively adopted. Though for the English Reformation, selecting the ethical leader might lead one to Thomas Cranmer, there were others hard at work on this construction project. Luther's theological thought and written justification centred on the veracity of Scripture but other writers supporting Reformation advanced the ethical superstructure it demanded through the development of a historiography that looked back to the beginnings of the faith and the church. Men like Robert Barnes and John Bale drew on material from religious works, classical and contemporary writers through which could be traced the ways in which the true church and faith had been corrupted: how the truth of the New Testament and Christ's mission had been despoiled by the diversion to the Church of Rome and the papacy.[14] Ethical education, however, did not only have to address the perceived corruption of the church and its return to the way of truth. The activities of reform had the potential for danger, for individuals in terms of accusations of heresy and punishments and also for civil society: the action of Reformation, the actual introduction and imposition of change also had to be validated. Irena Backus in *Historical Method and Confessional Identity, 1378-1615* notes the contribution of

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[14] For discussions on this see, for example, F J Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (California: Huntingdon Library Publications, 1967).

Luther's colleague, Philip Melanchthon.[15] Backus describes Melanchthon's portrayal

of the Church 'as a fragile body attacked by many but always defended, more or less

imperfectly, by a few' as a 'doctrinal contribution of some importance'. In

Melanchthon's thesis, 'the few' at this date would be the reformers and the

Reformation itself validated as the latest in a line of events ordained by God 'to

further His glory'.[16] This interpretation also emphasises the point made earlier that

cultural change, or 'Reformation' as one might call it, may never be regarded as being

complete. The need to address and re-address issues will always arise.

But if the work cited above sought to provide the overarching ethical

framework for change to proceed, there was much that endeavoured to bring this

ethical dimension closer to the people and convert it into a way of life. These

endeavours materialise in what is identified in this methodology as the 'active'

dimension of change. Here are the actions that promote and implement the new moral

framework, expanding it into a structure of cultural practice. Relevant to this present

study, and indicative of how change was managed in successive reigns is the wording

of Royal Injunctions, issued to the clergy in the name of the monarch, and intended to

set out the moral frame of the realm.

In the case of Henry VIII, those issued in 1536 had the critical importance of

emphasising his headship of the church, being 'the first act of pure supremacy done

by the King'.[17] Henry's injunctions state that the clergy themselves must abide by

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[15] Irena Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity, 1378-1615* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) p. 338.

[16] Backus, *Historical Method and Confessional Identity,* p. 338.

[17] From Wriothesley, Chronicle 55 quoted by H Gee and W J Hardy eds. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the English Church* (London: Macmillan 1896) p. 269. Charles Wriothesley, (1508–1562), was a herald and chronicler during the reign of Henry VIII. He was cousin to Sir Thomas Wriothesley, secretary to the King and Lord Chancellor from 1544-1547. *ODNB.*

new laws 'made for the abolishing and extirpation of the Bishop of Rome's pretensed and usurped power within this realm'. In addition they must also cause these same laws 'to be observed and kept' by others. The means by which this observation is to be promoted and maintained is by the preaching of sermons (the directions for which invoke both action and ethic) which are 'purely and sincerely' to declare that the power of the Pope 'having no establishment nor ground by the law of God was of most just causes taken away and abolished' and to confirm the King's supremacy in the land to whom loyalty and obedience is owed 'above all other powers and potentates on earth'.[18]

After Henry's death and the preceding uneven years of reform, the intentions of his son Edward's government were made clear in the opening paragraph of the Royal Injunctions issued in the summer of 1547. The objectives of the new reign were to advance 'the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of idolatry and superstition throughout all his realms and dominions and to plant true religion to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities and abuses as to his duty pertaineth'.[19]   One of the activities that supported these objectives provides the focus for this study, the dissolution of the chantries. The corresponding activities of Edward's father, the monastic suppressions and the first Act for the dissolution of the chantries (1545), also addressed the 'action' dimension of cultural change but such activities and associated reform had to gain acceptance and eventually be regarded not as a new cultural phenomena or practice but the norm. The attempts to accomplish this objective fall into the final dimension of cultural change, the 'formative'.

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[18] The First Royal Injunctions of Henry VIII, 1536, in Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative*, p. 269-274.

[19] W H Frere and W M Kennedy eds. *Visitations Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation, Vol II 1536-1558* (London: Longman, Green & Co 1910) p. 114.

Activities in the 'formative' dimension attempt to turn the new into the everyday: the removal of the old, the acceptance of the new. Ideally, this will be done in ways that will ease and encourage transition but rarely is this smooth ride achieved. The fragmented acceptance of change strategies occurs principally because the reactions of individuals on the receiving end of the new direction are not 'strategically' predictable. Rulings which removed the Pope and saints' names from the daily prayers and services, abrogated saints' days, ordered the taking down of images, lights, lamps and altars, though described as a return to an older, purer, form of worship were also innovations, creating new forms of religious practice. The transfer of funds from 'improper' uses (clothing statues, supporting obits, prayers to relieve purgatory and pilgrimages) to 'proper' (aiding the poor, educating the young) restructured long-accustomed patterns of good deeds and parochial support (as tellingly described, for example, by the Vicar of Morebath in that parish's records).[20] A subtler example of formative practice may be Thomas Cranmer's persistence and 'steady liturgical work' during Henry's reign that produced results in the mid 1540s after the setbacks to reform following the fall of Thomas Cromwell. Cranmer gained royal acceptance for an English litany and a revised English primer, both coming into official use in 1545.[21] Overtly introduced for a specific occasion (prayers of intercession at a time of threatened war) the litany was the first authorised use of the English language for a church service. Cranmer drew on known texts, mainly the

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[20] Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press 2001).

[21] Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) pp. 51-2.

Sarum rite, to produce a processional that was likely to appear both strange and familiar while also being 'something of a revolution'.[22]

One can see how all these dimensions are demanded by a cultural change process and how one would want, in an ideal world, the interplay between them to be balanced for changes to be completed as effectively and smoothly as possible. But the way in which each of these dimensions of change is approached is also critical to the success of the changes being introduced: approach is the subject to be turned to next.

4.2   Strategy and Approach

If 'strategy' is the 'means', by which change is achieved, the 'approach' is the style by which it is managed and, for the purposes of this study, the definitions of strategy which are described as either 'conforming' and 'transforming' are the most relevant, each employing its own critical, but not exclusive, mix of rhetoric and practice.[23]

A conforming strategy uses the language of improvement and continuity rather than radical change. Change is introduced without the (apparent) intention of changing the whole culture, in Bate's phrase, 'motion but not movement'. Transforming strategies have both 'motion and movement' where the objective is to create a different culture, to convert a critical part of an old order into the new. This

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[22] This is Diarmaid MacCulloch's quotation of a comment by F A Brightman from the latter's 'Litany under Henry VIII', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 24 (1909) p. 103. Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*   (New Haven & London: Yale University Press 1996) pp. 328-332.

[23] Bate, *Cultural Change* pp. 33-34.

introduces both change and discontinuity and, by implication, more opportunities for alienation.

The object of Bate's work is to provide contemporary change leaders with these definitions to enable planned cultural change. However, my argument is that the phenomena described will materialise regardless of whether those leading and living the change recognise them or not. Also, interpretations of conforming and transforming change are subjective; both operate implicitly and explicitly. It demands considerable self-awareness on the part of leaders and organisations to recognise which strategy is being employed and, if that is the case for those at the head of the change, what chance is there for those lower down the scale or at the periphery of events? The personal perception of those affected by the change process will not automatically fall into line with what change leaders expect or want it to be. Cranmer's English Litany used known texts giving it, if required, a claim of continuity with the past and a part in a 'conforming' strategy of change. But in June 1545 the reaction amongst those given the first opportunity to hear and follow the new litany was that they 'did not like this innovation and refused to take part': a response which perhaps encouraged the Privy Council in August to declare that the English form should only be used 'upon the accustomed days and none otherwise'. [24] However, this conforming strategy gave way to the transforming since by October the King had issued an injunction that this litany should be sung 'in every parish church throughout England every Sunday and festival day, and none other'.[25] This account provides us with a simple story of far from simple events: the political context of evangelical reform, the strategic strands which make up cultural change management

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[24] MacCulloch citing PRO SP 1/203 f.86 and stating that he believes the location recorded as 'Milton in Kent' to be Milton-next-Sittingbourne, MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* p. 332.
[25] MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* p. 332.

and the response of some of those in receipt of the change, who instinctively recognise it not as 'conforming' but as a form of revolution.

4. 3   Aspects of Leadership

The combination of leadership dimension and strategic stance leads to a programmatic approach that will set the tone for all that follows. Bate describes a range of approaches: aggressive, corrosive, indoctrinative, conciliative and he examines their effectiveness with regard to various parameters.[26] However, it is not the intention nor is it practically possible to complete a 'blow-by-blow' comparative analysis of the English Reformation.   Though, 'selection is inevitable and arrangement essential', the intention is rather to show is that there is a valid, generic, theoretical framework which produces strong analogies for insights into events and consequences. [27]

As already stated, Bate has the specific objective of providing prospective change leaders with the tools to identify and implement the proposed cultural change. Given that Bate recognises the difficulties of creating a perfect fit between theory and reality when planning a future change programme, it has to be conceded that attempting to paste a similar perfect fit onto past events (from the hindsight of five hundred years) maybe considered a somewhat dubious exercise. The objective here is to turn this on its head: to suggest that the elements identified today as informing the concept of change management were being practised and were just as vulnerable to the foibles of its leaders and participants as now. The intention is to examine the

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[26] Bate, *Cultural Change,* p. 211 fig.12.1.
[27] A F Pollard, quoted by O'Day in Rosemary O'Day, *The Debate on the English Reformation* (London: Methuen, 1986) p. 103.

evidence of the implementation of the Reformation with a 'historical intelligence' whereby the activities relevant to this study can be considered. [28]

For example, as already discussed it is not difficult in the context of the Reformation as a whole to see Martin Luther as an (or possibly the) Aesthetic leader of the type described above nor, for the English situation, to perceive in Henry VIII a 'Political' leader with perhaps with a 'corrosive' approach, the latter marked by its key features of pragmatism, self-interest, and being demand-led.   However, there is no desire here to draw out or propose the identification of a single leader responsible for seeing the project through. Despite the dominance of the monarch, the English Reformation involved a variety of dimensions, each demanding a different leadership approach. Whatever central strategy there was arose from the political and religious ends as perceived and developed by the King and his statesmen, traditional and evangelical, clerical and lay, which rippled out into the wider world. Neither the statutes of 1529 nor Henry's becoming supreme head of the church had the declared objective of changing the existing framework of church or state nor did they seek to change the culture of which the church was an integral part. Expressed in language which justified change but which apparently did not seek to radically alter the culture within which it was embedded, we see being outlined a conforming strategy that ultimately became transformational.

The principal implementers of the early English Reformation, Henry VIII, Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer, were each aware in their own way that what they were working with was change, however it was justified. If both Cromwell and

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[28] This is not my phrase but one used by A D Nuttall in his work on William Shakespeare and an approach to understanding and describing the past. A D Nuttall, *Shakespeare the Thinker* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Cranmer always had evangelical agendas, it was Henry's desire for a son, a divorce and Anne Boleyn that was the catalyst. The worldviews they envisaged, together and separately, had to be managed, as did the ways in which these could be brought together successfully. When one considers the critical dimensions identified by Bate, if an evangelical Reformation needed anything it needed an Ethical leader, a 'bringer of knowledge and enlightenment' and in Thomas Cranmer it is undeniably true that Henry had one.[29] But when issues arose and events began to move forward, what was also demanded was a proactive organising mind and hand. In the wake of Wolsey's fall, Henry became aware of his skilled servant Thomas Cromwell and in him he had a manager well fitted to undertake the Action leadership role that would be demanded over the next ten years. To take Bate's words, 'Leaders in the first dimension (the Aesthetic) may "shake" the world, but these (the Action) leaders have the ability to "make" the world'.[30] Whatever one's view of him, who can deny that Thomas Cromwell 'made' the English Reformation in practical terms? Robert Palmer sees his hand in the statutes of 1529, Elton in almost everything else. [31]

In discussing the dynamics of English life as they changed between the late medieval and the post-1540 period, Palmer sees the developments as 'either a transformation or a revolution'. He warns of the dangers of considering them 'merely just evolutionary' - an approach that dissolves 'complex events into a simple

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[29] Bate, *Cultural Change,* p. 272.

[30] Bate, *Cultural Change,* p. 278.

[31] Palmer describes the statutes as 'highly offensive to the church, backed strongly by the King and almost certainly engineered by Thomas Cromwell'. Elton's view of Cromwell and his place in the period is well known and has been expressed in many works. Robert C Palmer, *Selling the Church: the English Parish in Law, Commerce and Religion 1350-1550,* (London: University of North Carolina Press, 2002) particularly p. 150; Elton, (amongst others) *The Tudor Revolution* (already mentioned above- Introduction, p. 4)*; Policy and police: the enforcement of the Reformation in the age of Thomas Cromwell* ((London; Cambridge University Press, 1972); Reform *and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977).

narrative'.[32]   In the context of the methodology proposed here, 'transformational' is the favoured conclusion.   Neither the rhetoric of 'revolution' nor Elton's description of Cromwell as the 'most remarkable revolutionary in England's history' is required nor even the subservient lackey of George Bernard's picture of Cromwell as 'very much the king's slave'.[33] In using this perspective, we do not need to look for or create either slaves or super-beings but consider the influence each of these players brought to that sphere for which they were responsible and within which they operated. This perspective allows us to step back and consider objectively the pragmatic and realistic demands of government and management while not denying the drivers of commitment, religion and spirituality their place in events: transforming change does not happen without commitment and passion.   Cromwell and Cranmer set out to develop an 'improved' framework of state and church: a commonwealth supported and governed by royal power and in the immediate instance, their own temperamental monarch.   The actions of both men contributed to the formation of the Tudor state; both as agents and promoters of change and as officeholders authorised by commission of the King.   Cromwell knew that, however it was justified, he was managing a reformation, a reformation that he, exploiting the capacity of the then state organisation, had to accomplish. After Cromwell's death Cranmer worked on. The reformed litany, his later homilies, injunctions and the Book of Common Prayer were the means by which the wider populace was to be brought into an altered spiritual, cultural, imaginative, world. Within this wider populace were the men whose careers were directly affected by the new thinking which the work of Cranmer

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[32] Palmer, *Selling the Church,* Introduction p. 4.
[33] Elton, 'England Under the Tudors' p. 127, quoted by Christopher Coleman in 'Professor Elton's Revolution', in Christopher Coleman and David Starkey eds. *Revolutions Reassessed: Revisions In The History Of Tudor Government And Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) p. 2; G W Bernard, from 'Elton's Cromwell' in G W Bernard, *Power and Politics in Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2000) p. 123.

was to bring into their everyday working environment, the priests in the parishes and within this greater group, the priests holding chantries and endowed services.

5. CULTURAL CHANGE – GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS

5.1 Prosopography

Definition 1: ' the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives', Lawrence Stone [34]

Definition 2: 'Prosopography is concerned with what the analysis of the sum of data about many individuals can tell us about the different types of connection between them'. Katherine Keats-Rohan [35]

As the focus of this study, the chosen selection of the clerics who held endowed services at the dissolution of 1548 form an artificial group (in the sense that its formation is mine not theirs) of 427 priests and choristers. The ideal would be to plot a complete 'cradle to grave' history for those identified, marking the key points of their personal lives, noting their colleagues, their clerical careers, both before and after dissolution, and being able to assess status, relationships and affiliations. This is an impossible objective, but enough information on careers, education, marriage, families and friends can be found to provide a prosopographical study allowing analysis of this 'group of actors'. As a result, a variety of statistics will be available which, if the right questions are asked, it is hoped will add meaningfully to our knowledge of the men who took up these posts, their activities after dissolution and their relationship to other Reformation events and experience.

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[34] Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography", *Daedalus* 100.1 (1971), pp 46–71. quoted by Dion Smyth in *History and Computing*, v10, p. 1, 2002. http/www.linacre.ox.ac./prosop last consulted 13.04.2005.
[35] Katherine Keats-Rohan, 'Biography, Identity and Names: Understanding the Pursuit of the Individual in Prosopography', p.141, published on the University of Oxford, Linacre College Prosopography Portal: http://prosopography.modhist.ox.ac.uk (last consulted 9.10.2010).

This group analysis, however, is still a partial picture. To complete the quotation above from Katherine Keats-Rohan, prosopographical analysis and its insights can inform us on the 'connections' between individuals: on 'how they operated within and upon the institutions – social, political, legal, economic, intellectual - of their time'.[36] Although practitioners of prosopography emphasise the collective nature of the methodology, they do acknowledge that at the centre of the study are individuals, 'the individuality of each actor is preserved' and '[prosopography is] still rooted in the core distinction between one individual and another'.[37]

It is important to bear this individuality in mind when focussing on collective data. Investigation and analysis at this level, involving as it does, very personal events, and occasionally almost direct contact in the form of letters and wills, enables us to imagine that we are close to understanding what the reality of life was for these men in this society. We can, after all, plot 'progress', that is movement along the path of their careers, apparently seeing choices and decisions, the demonstration of conformity or resistance to the cultural change being 'imposed' or 'introduced'. From this, tables of statistics can impose a structure of their own, showing that this many did this or that and, apparently, this will increase the sum of our knowledge of "happenings".

But, and it is an important 'but', this only takes us so far in understanding and extrapolating what it meant to be taken along by the powerful cultural changes that

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[36] Keats-Rohan, 'Biography, Identity and Names', p.141
[37] Keats-Rohan, 'Biography, Identity and Names', p.140 and Keats-Rohan, 'Progress Or Perversion? Current Issues In Prosopography: An Introduction' p.3, published on the University of Oxford, Linacre College Prosopography Portal: http://www.coelweb.co.uk (last consulted 9.10.2010).

were impacting the society's spiritual and cultural framework. To go beyond this, one has to consider how individuals internally manage change - a personal experience of negotiation that will vary depending on the individual's proximity to that change and whether they perceive the phenomena to be good or ill.

5.2   Bereavement And Change

Within the modern frame of 'change management', pragmatic handbooks often provide 'best practise' advice for change managers and facilitators. These are the practitioners who have to guide employees through the re-structure and/or redundancy process, by means of counselling which frequently utilises the language of bereavement and grief.

No matter how well the introduction of change is apparently handled, how thoroughly individuals are kept informed of plans and changes, the majority of those affected cannot stand back and take their redundancy objectively. It may be, as here, that a familiar role played for years in an established structure has gone or that their livelihood is threatened. Today the stress may be on the fact that it is the post not the person who is surplus to requirements, but almost inevitably the post-holder sees it as a personal indictment of their value to the organisation they have served. This is further exacerbated when the change that creates this position is anathema to those concerned. If this is the case today when, as we might express it, 'it's only a job', how much greater this sense of bereavement when it is the cultural fabric of the whole society which is being fractured, a 'whole society' which has continually been accustomed to interaction between all its members both living and dead and finds one

part of that society now removed.[38] In light of this, it is argued here, a more intense analytical framework is required which enables us to recognise and examine the affects of change on the members of the group highlighted in this thesis. Without it, the study is incomplete: consideration has to be given to how individuals redefine themselves and their worldview in order to be able to continue functioning.

This does not mean that all will conform to the demands of the new world, nor does it imply that those who do conform are adopting the wilful approach exemplified by the Vicar of Bray and his famous chorus proclaiming that he will keep his place regardless of the changing monarch.[39] There were many more ordinary incumbents who stayed in place: Morebath's Christopher Trychay, Thomas Botelar, Vicar of Much Wenlock in Shropshire and Robert Parkyn, curate of Adwick le Street - all three known from their personal records.[40] Chronicling the changes of the period as these impacted on life in their parishes, Trychay's accounts run from 1520 until 1574, Botelar's from 1538 to 1562 and Parkyn's between 1532 and 1555. Duffy's closing paragraph on Trychay concludes that the latter 'had almost certainly encouraged their [his parishioners] sons into rebellion, and, when the time came he had eased them into a slow and settled conformity'.[41] A G Dickens' reading of Parkyn's will of 1568 is that the curate 'had modified, or was concealing, his once violent conservatism

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[38] Duffy in particular writes of the active relationship of the community of the living with the dead maintained and promoted through memorial prayers that encouraged 'the natural and supernatural bonding between the living and the dead', Duffy, *Stripping The Altars,* pp. 303, 336, 348, 349 and elsewhere.

[39] Simon Aleyn/Allen, Vicar of Cookham and Bray, 1538 to 1565, is thought to have been the inspiration for the eighteenth century ballad of 'The Vicar of Bray' though the latter begins with the reign of Charles II. P H Ditchfield and William Page, eds. *A History of Berkshire* Vol 3 *VCH* (London: St Catherine's Press 1923).

[40] For Trychay, see Duffy, *Morebath;* for Botelar, see Leighton, The Register of Thomas Botelar, Vicar of Much Wenlock, 1538-1562, *TSNAHS*, Vol VI, (1883), pp, 93–132; for Parkyn, see 'Robert Parkyn's Narrative of the Reformation' in A G Dickens, *Reformation Studies,* (London: Hambledon Press, 1982) pp. 287-312.

[41] Duffy, *Morebath,* p. 190.

sufficiently to retain the living of Adwick'.[42] What did it cost these men to respond to reformation? What mechanisms allowed them to achieve a conformity which, Duffy concedes, 'was not always ignoble'?[43]

The lengthy discussion on change strategies above sought to show how those who become its leaders and promoters might manage the introduction of change; this present discussion is turning to the reactions and responses of those whom they are intending to lead. Christopher Marsh used the phrase 'the compliance conundrum', Ethan Shagan has written of 'collaboration': both are attempts to understand and describe how traditionalist beliefs were undone and the new Protestant forms accepted.[44] Underlying the events and contemporary opinions they both describe is the ability of individuals to respond to innovation and novelty in critical areas of their lives, innovations which might or might not be welcome and over which they have ultimately little control. Crises resulting in discontinuity and the breakdown of familiar assumptions can trigger a variety of responses, innovation, rebellion, excitement, recognition and despair, before a new equilibrium is reached. In mind here are the psychological effects that change, its new ideas and practises, losses and gains, demands to achieve its 'reformation'.

6.   <u>REACTIONS TO CHANGE – RE-DEFINITION, RE-INTEGRATION, RE-FORMATION</u>

'Oft doe we remember the former worlde in this place, and the difference that is now betweene this and that, which is suche, as no man that lyves not in hit can conceive but all worldly things are subject to change and alteration and therefore in the generall not to be wondred at …' letter of Gilbert Talbot, Earl

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[42] Dickens, *Reformation Studies*, p. 290.
[43] Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, p. 502.
[44] Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth Century England (London:* Macmillan Press 1998) as exemplified by the title of his chapter five, 'Conclusions: the Compliance Conundrum pp. 197-219; Ethan H Shagan, *Popular Politics.*

of Shrewsbury, 10th December 1610, to Sir John Scudamore of Herefordshire[45]

'the task of re-integration is essentially similar whether the structures of meaning fall apart from a personal loss, a predictable social context or, (loss) of an interpretable world'. Peter Marris, *'Loss and Change'* [46]

Gilbert Talbot was born in 1552 and probably shared the traditional religious views quietly managed, of his friend Scudamore, to whom he wrote the letter quoted above. It was written looking back through the reigns of Henry VIII's children from the perspective of that of James I, after the Gunpowder Plot and anti-Catholic reaction.   It might be said that such comments could be those of any middle-aged man looking back over his life at any time in history but it is not extravagant to think that those who shared the experience of these same years had as much right as any to comment on 'former worlds'. The parents and grandparents of Talbot and Scudamore (and others they grew up with) would have experienced the Reformation from its outset and had to make the transition from one world to another. This present discussion seeks to examine what encouraged that personal transition for them, their fellows and the clerics in this study.

Peter Marris in his analysis of bereavement, source of the second quote at the head of this section, investigated the management of personal loss. Though initially Marris's work addressed individual loss, the experience of widows and widowers, over time his research broadened to include work on social groups: African tribal groups responding to colonialism and its aftermath, and others dealing with slum clearance and the dissolution of neighbourhoods. He began to observe the mediation

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[45] Letter of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, 10th December 1610, to Sir John Scudamore of Herefordshire, cited by W J Tighe, 'Country into Court, court into country: John Scudamore of Holme Lacy (c1542-1623) and his circles' in Dale Hoak (ed) *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1995).
[46] Marris, *Loss and Change,* Introduction to the Second Edition, pvii (London: Routledge 1993).

of cultural loss; where a culture is fractured and its members have to address and accommodate (or not) a new social order. Marris describes this mediation as utilising the language of grief and the bereavement process and being applied by both individuals and social groups.

In order to function and interact within a given culture, participants have to be integrated and that culture has to have an accepted framework of meaning. A disruptive change to this meaning forces a process of re-integration which may also dictate that the personal world the participant/s inhabit has to be re-defined and they themselves 'reformed', exchanging one culture for another.

Marris's description of the physical response to bereavement draws attention to the swings and shifts in the process, and a cycle that can include loss of health, apathy, and anger, a feeling of unreality. Where the process of grieving does not reach resolution, Marris notes three, clinically observed, conditions: 'delayed,' (marked by determination to reorganise life and focus on tasks but likely to be broken down by later loss), 'inhibited', (complete denial where grief becomes transmuted into ill-health, physical or mental) and 'chronic', (a permanent state of grieving and depression). Overcoming loss, to achieve reintegration, involves being able to recognise what was important in what has been lost and accommodating it to the new reality.[47] Colin Murray Parkes in his investigation of this field described this process as that of 'psychosocial transition' (PST) and the development of a new identity.[48] Though, as with Marris, Murray Parkes began with bereavement he states that this process is 'not confined to bereavement' but can 'take place whenever we are faced

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[47] Marris, *Loss and Change,* pp. 27-34.
[48] Colin Murray Parkes 'Bereavement as a Psycho-social Transition', pp. 91-101.

with the need to make major changes to our assumptions about the world'.[49] Each of us, as individuals, makes assumptions of the world about us as we grow, we behave according to what we believe to be the real life in which we find ourselves: a major change in that reality forces us into a internal change process, a process we will each manage differently and with greater or lesser success, however 'success' may be defined.

As shown in the opening quotation, Marris observes that both the ability to manage change successfully and also to recover from loss, apply the same psychological rules: the need to re-establish continuity, to re-interpret a view of the world which must, despite alienation or estrangement, retain or regain its meaning. Murray Parkes supports this in his observations that new situations can only be addressed from the experience and assumptions of the old, presented with change we interpret the new in the light of the old: converting the dichotomy between the internal world as previously lived into a new accommodation.[50]

In its redrawing of the imaginative world, the removal of purgatory, saints and images, the efficacy of good works and the emphasis on faith alone, evangelical thought demanded such an accommodation; an accommodation perhaps portrayed by Peter Matheson's description of the creativity of the Reformation and its 'new allegories and metaphors of the divine and the human' which eventually 'subverted one cosmos while paving the way for another'.[51] In structural cultural terms this is also true of the objective, visible, reorganisation of the English Reformation, the

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[49] Colin Murray Parkes, *Bereavement, Studies of Grief in Adult Life*, (London: Penguin Books, 1996) pp. 90-91.
[50] Murray Parkes 'Bereavement as a Psycho-social Transition' pp. 96-97.
[51] Peter Matheson, *The Imaginative World of the Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) p. 6.

replacement of the Pope by the King, the suppression of the monasteries, the dissolution of the chantries and liturgical re-writing. In examining resistance to change and overcoming concomitant distress, Murray Parkes notes that ideally the comfort and support of those unaffected by change will provide to those directly affected 'a security that will enable them, little by little, to take in the reality of what has happened and make it real'.[52] However, in the period under discussion everyone was affected, to a greater or lesser extent, and the shared experience is just as likely to have been a source of support. As with his comments on the psychological consequences of the chantry dissolution (see Introduction, p.15) Cunich considered the aftermath for certain groups (those who figure in the 'greater' category) in articles firstly on the experiences of monks and nuns turned out from their houses and then that of the London Carthusians at the martyrdom of their Master as described by Maurice Chauncy, a member of the London house.[53] Cunich, though believing that we should still strive towards a 'more balanced and humane' understanding of the psychological experience of people in the past, notes the dangers inherent in the exercise.[54] He is right in this but the work of Marris and Murray Parkes allows us to consider both sympathetically and objectively what this experience might have meant. Furthermore, in his reference to the nuns who continued to live together although their former houses were no more, Cunich surely presents us with an example of those attempting to marry the old world and the new.[55]

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[52]Colin Murray Parkes, *Bereavement, Studies of Grief,* p. 93.

[53] Peter Cunich, 'Dissolution and De-Conversion: Institutional Change and Individual Response in the 1530s' in Joan Greatrex (ed) *The Vocation and Service to God and Neighbour*, (Turnhout [Belgium]: Brepols, 1998) and ' The Ex-Religious in Post-Dissolution Society: Symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder?' in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, James G Clark ed. (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2002) pp. 227-238; G W S Curtis (ed) and Maurice Chauncy, *The passion and martyrdom of the holy English Carthusian Fathers,* (London: Church Historical Society, 1935).

[54] Cunich, 'The Ex-Religious'. p. 238.

[55] Cunich refers to the nuns of Winchester St Mary's and those of Wherwell who stayed close by their former houses and maintained a communal lifestyle and Elizabeth Throckmorton who with two former

Organisational models of change variously describe the generic stages of reaction as following an 'emotional curve', as the reception of ideas and events invokes apparently contradictory responses, ranging from complacency or contentment with the status quo, denial, confusion, and an excited sense of renewal. Though the identification of this sequence and its development in diagram form derives from the work of Elizabeth Kübler-Ross with the terminally sick its insights have been consistently found to operate in other fields of psychological response.[56] Kübler-Ross's work both supports and corresponds with that of Marris and Murray Parkes and has been adopted by practitioners in their efforts to support individuals and groups through modern experiences of change management. Marsh in his speculations on compliance suggests a similarly conflicting set of emotional responses amongst the parishioners who were the receivers of reform: a primary 'sense of sadness' underscored with 'subsidiary feelings of liberation, excitement or simple curiosity'.[57] Such a mix of emotions might find a place in Pettegree's steps to conversion or Doyle's hierarchy of effectiveness as the awareness so triggered moves on to interest and comprehension. Furthermore, with the potential for complex emotional response in mind, it is critical to note that Marris has observed that 'change appears as fulfilment or loss to different people and to the same person at different times'.[58] Perhaps the loss of purgatory was a relief but the loss of a revered saint's image, such as that of St Sidwell in Morebath for which Elenor Nicoll's wedding ring

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nuns recreated the cloistered lifestyle in her family home at Coughton. A similar case is discussed in James Clark's article on St Alban's Abbey where, following its surrender, the monks remained living near to one another in the town and worshipped in what remained of the Abbey buildings. Cunich, 'The Ex-religious', p. 235; James G Clark, 'Reformation and Reaction at St Alban's Abbey 1530-1558', in *English Historical Review,* Vol 115, No.461 (April 2000), pp. 297-328.

[56] See for example - as cited in the Introduction, p. 13, fn. 27, Kübler-Ross, *On Death and Dying;* Kübler-Ross and Kessler *On Grief and Grieving.*

[57] Marsh, *Popular Religion,* p. 199.

[58] Marris, *Loss and Change,* p. 42.

was melted down to make a shoe in 1529, would be a source of regret.[59] More seriously, a sense of fulfilment in response to change under Edward VI would receive a blow with Mary's accession and her programme of change, which was a swift rewinding of reform.

It is awareness at both the operational and personal level that this combined framework seeks to provide: it does not seek to reduce or dilute the spiritual experience or the impact of Reformation events on individuals. Change is both an initiator and a response: Marris notes that change can be a source of revolution, of new ideas, of growth or satisfaction for some individuals and societies. 'The particular terms in which it (change) is resolved are accidents of personal history', and from these personal accidents arise revolutionaries and reactionaries, martyrs and converts.[60] Matheson has suggested that while 'we are quite rightly impressed by the iconoclastic dimensions of the Reformation ….such iconoclasm may be eclipsed by ….(its) iconopoiac energies'. By this Matheson means the creativity mentioned above and the metaphors arising from a 'reanimated, reactualised Bible'. Furthermore he states, 'when your metaphors change, your world changes with them'.[61] It is in this context that we might find not only our Reformation heroes, martyrs and parish priests but also a modern comparison against which can be set the experience of the priests who appear in the rest of this study.

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[59] Duffy, *Morebath,* p. 75.
[60] Marris, *Loss and Change,* p. 42.
[61] Matheson, *Imaginative World,* pp. 6-7.

7.   A MODERN PRIESTLY PARALLEL?

'If a thing which opposes the Word of God is put forward as 'Anglican', either by ancient tradition or modern authority, then it sets the Church of England apart from the Church of God. We should not allow ourselves to be forced into opposing or prevented from doing that which is in accordance with God's Word'. John Richardson.[62]

As much as we try to explain the cultural loss and dysfunction experienced by those whose employment is removed by dramatic change in our own time, (witness the miners of the 1980s and the many vicissitudes of the Midlands motor industry), it is hard for us to imagine a group affected so profoundly by change as the priests and congregations of the Reformation, what Matheson calls 'a terrible shattering' which ran through individuals and communities.[63] However, to enable us to approach this in the context of this study, there is a modern analogy available in contemporary events which is worthy of consideration, that is today's Church of England and the priests and congregations unable to accept the ordination of women.

The theological debate on this subject has a long history but in the latter part of the twentieth century this was animated by the 'illegal' ordination of eleven women priests in the USA in 1976. The campaign to formally introduce women priests into the Church of England succeeded in 1992, with the first ordinations in 1994.[64] Comparable to Marris's comment on change and fulfilment and loss, this success brought great joy for some but caused great pain for others. There were (and still are) those within the Anglican Communion whose theology could not accommodate a view of God and his ministry being exemplified in a priesthood that contained both

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[62] John Richardson, ' Why I am not going anywhere … a threat not a promise', in *New Directions,* June 1995. online publication of 'Forward in Faith', from http/trushare.com/01jun95/JU95RICH.htm viewed13.04.2005.

[63] Matheson, *Imaginative World,* p. 30.

[64] It should be noted that the Methodist Church in the UK began ordaining women as ministers in 1974.

men and women. This was true for sections of both the laity and the clergy, forcing them to consider what was this 'new' church? What were the ramifications of the change: how would it work, what was their place in it, indeed did they want a place in it?   In both groups, there were those who decided they did not want to remain and found themselves a place in the Roman Catholic Church where they were welcomed as either members of the congregation or, for those ordained and committed to active ministry, as priests.

Special papal permission was required for the priests concerned and, writing in 1995, Cardinal Cormac Murphy-O'Connor described their acceptance into his church as being 'by way of exception and in recognition of the journey of faith they have made'.[65]   In 2002, it was stated that there were 228 married ex-Anglican clergy supporting the Roman Catholic Ministry in England and Wales, quoted on the Advent Group UK website.[66] Other clergy decided to stay and continue to practise within the Church of England but to serve as priests and members of congregations gathered to 'Forward in Faith' (FiF) if they were of an Anglo-Catholic disposition or to 'Reform' if of a conservative evangelical view: both are organisations specifically founded to represent clergy and parishes who do not accept women priests.

In addition to those who have thus allied themselves, there are others who have found themselves able after all to work with their women colleagues and in reverse, there are examples of those who, though supporters at the outset, have come to consider their original positions as unsound and moved into the FiF fold. One writer describes how his experience of studying and serving a Tridentine Mass in

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[65] Bishop Cormac Murphy-O'Connor, 'Pastoral Message; Married Former Anglican Clergy', Diocese of Arundel & Brighton, 1995 http/www.dabnet.org , last consulted 13.4. 2005.
[66] Advent Group UK website http://www.adventgroup.org.uk, last consulted 13.4. 2005.

1994 undid his 'long flirting with liberalism' and returned him, theologically, to his original Roman Catholic roots, despite a Church of England career and long and favourable experience of working with women in the ministry.[67]   Despite this, the same writer decided to stay within the Anglican Church. This is a modern example of re-defining and re-integration and in some cases, as in the quoted instance, the re-forming of Anglicans 'back' into Catholics, some to membership and priesthood of the Roman church or conversely ' to jack it (CofE) in and join the Lutherans!'[68] This last comment (from Ian Jones' investigation of the first ten years of women in the priesthood) together with that described in FiF starkly demonstrate two extreme and opposite reactions, one facing the Catholic Church and the other the Lutheran. They mirror the 'shattering' described by Matheson which he illustrates by citing the sixteenth-century physical division of art works into two halves particularly that of Cranach's 'Allegory of Grace and Law' where the Reformation choices are those of heaven and hell, Christ and Moses, life and death.[69]

The evidence of Jones' report almost eerily confirms the research of Murray Parkes and Marris with the observation that the responses show that 'the aftermath of the result (of the 1992 'yes' vote to allow women priests) was sometimes remembered as a bereavement'. The expression of this 'bereavement' process did not risk incurring actual death and martyrdom nor force physical exile, although for some the decision to leave their church must have felt like exile. Indeed, one interviewee described 'a huge cultural loss of meaning' after the 1992 decision stating it made him ' a refugee:

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[67] Michael Banks, 'Joining Forward in Faith', in *New Directions,* February 1998, last consulted 06.01.09.
[68] Ian Jones, *Women and the Priesthood in the Church of England: Ten Years On'* (London: Church House, 2004) p. 28.
[69] Matheson, *Imaginative World,* p. 30.

a stateless person'.[70] As confirmation of Murray Parkes' psychosocial transition and

the way in which the assumptions of the old world inform the new, the evangelical

minister quoted above whose first response was 'to jack it in' decided 'after a period

of disquiet and uncertainty …..that if he was surprised by the result, God would not

have been and would therefore continue to have a plan for the Church of England –

and for the speaker as an ordained minister in it'.[71] The close similarity of this

response to that of Melanchthon noted earlier is worthy of remark; they apparently

share a view of these 'reformations' as being purposeful events, divinely ordained, for

the furtherance of God's plan.

The imaginative world and the language used in the female ordination debate

often called upon the rhetoric of heresy, schism, heaven, hell and the work of the devil

and it continues to do so.   It also invokes the imagery of taboo and impurity, with

even the 1992 Act of Synod proposing some distance between dissenting clergy and

those who ordained women, forcing the observation that this suggested 'tainting' by

proximity. In May 2001, a priest writing in FiF's journal, *New Directions,* described

his perception of female ordination, '[that] women priests in adopting a role ordained

for men would not merely deny the vocation of the feminine in creation, they would

distort it, and in due course destroy it. The brokenness of Christ's Body, which would

result from women's ordination, was an act of deliberate fragmentation in which the

innocent would be murdered'.[72] This same priest feels that behind the current state of

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[70] Jones, *Women and the Priesthood* p. 27. A similar emotion is evident in the writings of another FiF
contributor who feels his English nationality is inextricably tied in to his Anglicanism and makes
'spiritual divorce' from his church impossible despite the strength of his opposition to the ordination of
women. This view was expressed in July 2008 in an article also noting, 'those who expect me to
swallow the single clause or move on do not begin to understand how deep the challenge of conscience
goes'. Andy Hawes, 'Anglican Rock', *New Directions,* July 2008, last consulted 06.01.09.
[71] Jones, *Women and the Priesthood,* p. 28.
[72] Andy Hawes, 'A Woman at the Altar' article, *New Directions, May 2001*. online publication of
'Forward in Faith', from http/trushare.com/72MAY01/MY01HAWE.htm, last consulted 14.04.2005.

the Church 'is a clear sense of a beating pulse of darkness that waxes in strength'.[73] The hurt and anger felt by the women priests and their supporters in the face of this persistent strand of opposition (which has moved on to the debate on women bishops) is apparent in the powerfully expressed view of Judith Maltby cited in Jones' report: 'your bishop can deny the resurrection, the Trinity and the incarnation: he may be a racist, a liar, or thief – but no one will offer you a PEV (Provincial Episcopal Visitor). But if he ordains a woman to the priesthood, you can call in a 'safe pair of hands'![74] Though without the undercurrent of heresy being expressed in a life-threatening environment, this language is as strong and heartfelt as any we read from the sixteenth century. A Marian commentator on John Fisher's life described this period as when, 'the verie mouth of hell was sett open and out came the wicked spirit of Antichrist', and more than this, using an analogy not dissimilar to that quoted above, equated Henry VIII's treatment of the church to that of Nero's dismemberment of his mother.[75]

The period of the Reformation was not only concerned with great changes at the macro-level of church and state and grand theological debates, the spillage from these larger arenas touched individuals far from the centre whose experiences historians have long sought to recover. Though not an exact comparison nor so endangered as their clerical forbears, the priests of Forward in Faith and Reform are our contemporaries whose experience has been marked by anger, anxiety and despair, it has demanded external and internal debate on theology, spirituality, their cultural

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[73] Ibid.
[74] Provincial Episcopal Visitors are more colloquially known as 'Flying Bishops'. Maltby's words were taken from Judith Maltby, 'One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism, but Two Integrities? in Furlong, ed. *Act of Synod: Act of Folly?* pp. 42-58 cited by Jones, p. 165.
[75] Thomas Betteridge, *Tudor Histories of the English Reformations, 1530-1583* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) pp. 133-134.

view of the church and their livelihoods. Briefly highlighting here the challenges to their beliefs and spirituality, their confusion and reaction, may add to our reading of the stories of the priests in this present study. It could be said of either group, both sixteenth century and twentieth century, that we may be with them or not but their accounts are patent evidence of central decisions impacting individual lives.

8. CONCLUSION - THE DEMANDS AND CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE IMPLEMENTATION

8.1 Forming The State

Change management begins to impact as the implementation process begins to move. Theoretically, for modern change programmes the first step of this is most likely to be an announcement of a decision or perhaps an attempt to gain agreement to proceed. In the lifetimes of those in this study, the first overt step could be regarded as the statute of 1529 and its attempts at curbing clerical abuses in the parishes, certainly it is the activities of the Reformation parliament that passed this statute which provide the early evidence of operational change underway.[76] The central, strategic decisions, which underlie such action as this, are the 'grand designs' of change implementation. From this point change begins to unfurl and as the implications of the change become apparent major issues arise. How to communicate, explain and sell? How to mitigate and contain outright resentment? How to ensure a smooth transition? What openings and closures, promotions and redundancies, severance payments and pensions, process and procedures? No doubt the central decisions of both the Henrician and Edwardine governments, (and those of the 1992

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[76] It was this parliament (1529 to 1536), which oversaw all the major acts and events from this statute to the Supremacy, the King's divorce and the first monastic dissolutions.

Church of England) would have involved such issues and their resolution and this study will endeavour to highlight these developments.

The objective of this chapter has been to set out a methodological framework through which the evidence for a specific aspect of the Reformation and for a specific section of the Reformation clerical population can be examined. It is hoped that this will provide insights into the management of this unique and historically significant change process whilst also considering what that meant for the individuals identified here, but it is also important to consider this in the context of existing and important conceptual frameworks. The first to consider here is that of state formation. A long quote from John Guy, cited by Braddick, cites the 'striking' fact that whereas in 1500 there was no political meaning to the word 'state', by 1590 this had changed and it had an objectivity that could be conceptualised.[77] It is argued here, in favour of the different methodological approach of this study, that the management of the Reformation contributed to this evolving contemporary identification of 'the state'. Examining the initiation and introduction of reform, we can identify the demands of cultural change, describe how these were active in the period under discussion and how the conscious response of those accountable for its implementation unconsciously added the definition of a single entity to which all subjects were affiliated but one which also had to be cared for in and of itself. Talented agents (Cromwell, Cranmer) and the legitimising language of purifying the church and protecting the kingdom worked creatively towards the political ends of the Reformation. As will be discussed in the next chapter, Cromwell's Court of Augmentations was a creation at the centre of government that also operated in the

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[77] Braddick, *State Formation*, p.19.

localities; its officers were appointed to oversee circuits of counties but within this its operational structure exploited the existing parish network. Augmentations' officers had the authority of commission and its dual role of land management and paymaster made it a continuing presence in the lives of many subjects, high and low. As evidence for the extension of 'infrastructral reach' in early modern England, it is arguably an example of the genie which once out cannot be put back in its bottle (though many desired to). Augmentations represented the reforming intentions of the monarch and the regime at the centre, its existence promoted the idea of a state operation and as such the state might find itself measured against its actions. As will be shown in chapter two, this was a situation of which officers of state were well aware particularly when rhetoric and action were in danger of diverging.

The Act for the Dissolution of the Chantries of December 1547 was passed by Parliament, consented to by Edward VI and implemented by the Court of Augmentations. Its origins, however, lay with Henry VIII whose person and politics (state, dynastic, church, sexual and theological) had been at the centre of the nation for nearly forty years and on whom pivoted the English Reformation. Thus, it is the posthumous consequences of Henry's reign, Thomas Cromwell's management skills and Thomas Cranmer's commitment as theologian, mentor and guide to King and state for the collegiate, chantry and service priests who were identified in the 1548 survey which will inform the remainder of this thesis but we should first briefly consider how methodology discussed in this chapter adds to the existing conceptual framework seeking to address the personal experience of negotiation and cultural change .

8.2   Stateless?

As referred to above, in Jones' report on ten years of women's ordination, one respondent described the 'huge cultural loss of meaning' that was his reaction to the 'yes' vote, a decision which also rendered him 'stateless'.   This man's emotional allegiance, however, was quite clearly to a 'state' that was the Church of England which, with its change of stance revoked his 'citizenship'. He knew, of course, that in reality this did not make him any less a subject of the British State than he had been before the vote; it did not in any way endanger him nor would it be regarded in any way as a subversive comment. Not so for the priests of this study nor their fellow subjects, conforming to authorised religion and loyalty to the monarch (and therefore the state) were regarded as one; it was to counter the dangerous accusations that evangelicals wanted to overthrow the monarchy, that Tyndale's 'The Obedience of the Common Man' was written, a successful exercise in that it convinced the King.[78] However, as the religious and state complexities of Reformation deepened, so did the demands of physical and psychological negotiation.

Though the methodology proposed here is new in its present context, it is hoped to show that it forms a positive addition to the broad spectrum of theories that seek to accommodate the phenomenon of cultural exchange and understand how change happens. To achieve this understanding, 'conceptual borrowings' are possible from all disciplines; in Peter Burke's words 'historians borrow from anthropologists, who borrow from linguists, who borrow from mathematicians'.[79]   Here the

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[78] Henry VIII was said by John Foxe to have declared 'this is a book for me and all kings to read', cited in John King ed, *The Voices of the English Reformation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) p.57.

[79] Peter Burke, *History and Social Theories* (second edition), (Cambridge: Polity Press 2005) p.188 Furthermore, for a survey of recent historical approaches to cultural exchange see Robert Muchembled,

'borrowing' has been from sociology and psychology and ideas on bereavement, loss and change and the wider application of these to ideas of moderation, negotiation and acculturation for individuals and societies. As individuals, members of social networks of family and friends, we expect the experience of bereavement, we know it means loss and change and, though we dread it, on the whole we also expect to come to terms with that loss and carry on. This expectation generally works out when the bereavement happens 'as it should', that is death at the end of a long life; when the event does not conform to this pattern then the process of acceptance and acculturation is much harder, and equilibrium may never entirely be achieved. The processes which operate to enable us to work through unexpected or shocking personal experiences are also those through which we filter other external change experiences in order to create an acceptable, liveable, though different, world.

A theory seeking to explain how balance might be achieved might be charged with seeking to justify 'collusion' and 'collaboration' – the terms used by Marsh and Shagan – or complicity. A nice observation by Burke in a discussion on hegemony and resistance is that 'less glamorous than resistance, complicity has not attracted as much theory as it deserves'.[80] But what does 'complicity' mean? A 'church papist' perhaps, keeping his conscience to himself and going to church, proof that 'behind the mask of outward deference always lay the face of inner feeling'?[81] Or the ambiguity of the Suffolk minister who neither 'usually' wore his surplice nor actively refused to

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ed., *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe,* 4 vols, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006-7).

[80] Burke, *History and Social Theories*, p.89.

[81] This is a paraphrase of Alex Walsham's quotation from George Gifford's 'A Dialogue between a Papist and a Protestant' in Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity And Confessional Polemic In Early Modern England,* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1993); Introduction, Adam Fox, Paul Griffiths and Steve Hindle, eds, *The Experience Of Authority In Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996) p. 6.

do so?[82]   The first suggests an individual response but, for the second, we know of

the Suffolk minister from this report of his neighbours whose description is at least as

ambiguous as his behaviour.   Cited by Wrightson in his assessment of the 'politics of

the parish', the ministers and his neighbours are a reminder of the community that

was the parish, one form of a network of collaboration (in a less pejorative sense) and

tension.   Equally however, though an individual here, the church papist could also be

a member of a network but one with different members, associations and boundaries.

Though the parish could be defined as a network within territorial boundaries and

analysed as such in terms of its internal and external contacts and connections,

another definition might be that of a group of people who are, rather, bound by ties of

intellect or emotion perhaps a shared culture or profession, rather than physical

bounds.   The network ties thus created may provide them with purpose and the

support that comes from mutual dependence.   Depending on its reason for being, a

network might contain a variety of relationships, not all of friendship, but even if

strained at a personal level they can still function as transmitters of shared experience,

of information or guidance.   As transmitters, networks can cross borders, be these

physical (village, parish or county) or theoretical (belief, ideology) and as such have a

part to play in the process and negotiation of change.   An example of such a network

is provided by the letter-book of the monk-scholar Robert Joseph.[83]   Joseph's

correspondence with his fellow-scholars is evidence in itself of an active network of

friendship and support while the letters themselves demonstrate the transmission of

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[82] Keith Wrightson, 'The Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England' in Fox, Griffiths and Hindle, eds, *The Experience Of Authority* p. 28.

[83] Hugh Aveling and W A Pantin, eds, *The Letter Book of Robert Joseph: monk-scholar of Evesham and Gloucester College, Oxford 1530-3* (Oxford, 1967). Other works which apply or call on network analysis include: Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington, eds, *Communities In Early Modern England*: *Networks, Place, Rhetoric* (Manchester, 2000); Michael Questier, *Catholicism and Community In Early Modern England: Politics, Aristocratic Patronage And Religion, c.1550-1640* (Cambridge, 2006).

information, of guidance on proper reading material and how to read it and of support in troubled times, rueing religious controversy but advising his friends that God would make things right in the end. By involvement with such networks as this did priests and laity negotiate Reformation, whichever side of the divide they happened to fall. Network analysis has become another tool for early modern historians and as will be seen there is evidence for the some of the priests for the networks of which they were members.

But the managing and filtering mechanisms of networks and negotiation did not always result in complicity – the same process also produced martyrs and revolutionaries. We will not see martyrs or revolutionaries amongst the group of men whose careers are traced here, but we will see some for whom 'complicity' could only go so far and whose actions though relatively low key, were more overt. They are in the minority for, as with their lay neighbours, the majority reached their own religious settlement; it is hope that this study will assist our understanding of what this meant.

Chapter Two

Realising The Dissolution

1. EDWARD VI'S FIRST PARLIAMENT

In the autumn of 1547, Edward VI's government took formal and political control of the final dissolution of the intercessory foundations of the English church. Reviewing the contemporary Journals of Lords and Commons confirms the need for a student, looking for evidence of momentous religious change, to be on guard against 'tunnel-vision'. One certainly finds what one seeks; the steps which mark the progress towards dissolution are there, appearing alongside disparate bills which, when one's focus is religion and reformation, can chime a discordant note. The House of Commons, meeting in November for the first parliament of Edward's reign gave their attention to a diversity of bills reflecting national and local issues. Matters under discussion ranged from the unlicenced conveying of horses out of the realm to 'the destruction of the fry of pikes and roches' (sic), a bill of felony against Egyptians and Vagrants, and another against the 'garbling' of spices in London: all are reminders of what else occupied 'government' in its wider sense.[1] On the last day of November, not only spices but also a private bill regarding 'Chauntry Lands and Church Lands' appeared. The details of this bill are not known nor are those for a

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[1] Jennifer Loach made a similar point. Loach writes that 'Neither the Crown ………nor those who sat in Parliament, regarded the settlement of the Church as the sole or even the most important justification for meeting'. Loach, 'Conservatism and Consent' in Loach and Tittler eds. *The Mid-Tudor Polity c1540-1560* (London: Macmillan, 1980) pp. 9-27 at p. 10.

second private bill raised the following day; this one entitled 'the Bill for Colleges, Chauntries and other Spiritualities'. [2]

Though not the only matters of religious reform marked for their attention (in amongst the aforementioned horses, pikes, 'roches' and spices appear those regarding the Sacrament and 'that married men may be priests and have benefices'), these two Commons chantry bills, intriguing and anonymous, never passed their first readings. [3] Having no details beyond their titles we can only speculate on the motivation behind them. They may have been local interest bills, or pre-emptive strikes intended to control in some way what was in the air. In the months before Parliament was called, the men who made up Commons and Lords would have seen the publication of Thomas Cranmer's 'Certayne Sermons or Homilies', and the later articles and injunctions for the royal visitation of all dioceses. These were demonstrations that the new King was ready to promote a theological environment which would counteract the 'enormities and abuses' once imposed on his Christian people by the Bishop of Rome. [4] The doctrine of purgatory was one of Rome's 'enormities' and the implications of the visitation, carried out in the autumn of 1547 cannot have been missed. Its injunctions made clear the principle of transferring revenue from the support of 'blind devotions', such as 'trentals, decking of images, offering of candles (and) giving to friars', to more theologically sound uses, particularly to the parish poor. [5] Combined with questions related specifically to chantry priests (on residence,

[2] *Journal of the House of Commons: Vol. 1 1547-1629* (London: Houses of Parliament Trust 1802) p. 2.

[3] Kreider, *English Chantries,* pp. 186-190.

[4] Royal Injunctions of Edward VI, preamble, in W H Frere and W M Kennedy eds. *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation Vol. II 1536-1558*; Alcuin Club Collections XV (London: Longmans, Green & Co 1910) pp. 114.

[5] Royal Injunctions of Edward VI, injunction 29 in Frere and Kennedy eds. *Articles and Injunctions Vol II,* pp. 126-128.

pluralism, reputation and duties) the visitation was certainly a reminder that the Crown had not lost interest in these institutions and that they were likely targets for any reform programme.[6] It is also evidence that this government, like every government, had its aims and objectives; agenda setting and managing its legislators were (and are) key tools to their achievement.

This is not to say that having an agenda and ideas about how to meet objectives provides a primrose path to success. The real work of winning agreement on chantry dissolution began, just a few days after the failure of the two Commons' bills, with a major government bill now raised in the Lords.[7] This bill, from its introduction on 6 December, had a very bumpy ride. In the Lords it was hotly debated by the Bishops and, in the Commons, the representatives of Coventry and Kings' Lynn were equally vexed, with both theological differences and concerns for church and parish property fuelling the arguments.[8] The Chantry Bill had its Lords' second and third readings on the 12 and 14 December, which resulted in it being sent to the Commons with an added proviso.[9] Its Commons' reception and readings on 15 and 16 December produced amendments and its return from whence it came. It duly re-appeared on 21 December as 'The New Bill for Chauntries, Colleges and Fraternities'. It was back with the Commons' on 22 December 1547, where it was

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[6] Kreider regards this mix of injunction and questioning as evidence of the government working out what to do with chantries and similar endowments, with different factions having differing motives. An alternative view might be that they knew what they wanted to do and this was the first attempt at assessing the size of the problem. The enquiries regarding chantry priests are very close to those included in the later survey. Kreider, *English Chantries* pp. 188-189.

[7] The Journal of the House of Lords calls it the Bill for Chauntries (sic), and its commissioner is the Lord Chancellor, (Richard Rich). The following discussion of the sequence of events is taken from the parliamentary journals, Michael A R Graves, *The House of Lords in the Parliaments of Edward VI and Mary I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981) pp. 167-168, 178, 182 and 285, note 15, and Kreider, *English Chantries* pp. 186-208.

[8] For the voting behaviour of the bishops, see, Graves, *House of Lords,* p. 90, Table 1.

[9] Kreider, *English Chantries*, p. 190.

passed and returned to the Lords for their final agreement. It received the royal assent on Christmas Eve 1547. [10]

The busy passage of the bill as outlined above can be traced through the parliamentary journals and seems, on the surface, to be in sharp contrast to that on the Sacrament of the Altar. However this is more apparent than real: introduced to the Lords' on the 5th December, the 'Sacrament's' first Commons reading was on 10th December; its second on 13, third on 14 and Commons' assent on 17 December. This seemingly sedate progress hides the managerial stresses and strains of nine readings, two earlier bills and the negotiated settlement that was this third bill. The first bill had included the objective of controlling radicals who 'reviled' the eucharist, which could be seen as a nod to the concerns of the religiously conservative, whereas the second confirmed communion in both kinds, a crucial evangelical demand. Bringing these together divided the Bishops, splitting their vote and enabling five conservatives to vote in favour. As MacCulloch notes, the inclusion of the concession, 'lost the evangelicals nothing and gained them a major step forward'.[11] A similar strategic approach can be demonstrated for the Chantries Act, with the same outcome. The reaction of the representatives of King's Lynn and Coventry to the threat to their lay guild lands and their attempts to bring in protective bills of their own prompted the Privy Council to act and negotiate in order to save the bill as a whole. The dissenters were persuaded by promises that 'if they medeled no furder', the King, once the act was in place, would return their guild lands to them by a new grant, 'to be had and

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[10] An Act whereby certaine Chauntries, Colleges Free chapels and the Possessions of the same be given to the King's Maj[esty]. 1Edward VI, cap 14, Statutes of the Realm, pp. 24-33; Gee and Hardy eds. 'Act Dissolving the Chantries', *Documents Illustrative*, pp. 328-357.

[11] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation,* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin 1999) p. 76.

used to them as afore'.[12] The administration's determination to get this bill through is perhaps demonstrated by the events of 21 December when the Commons gave the bill an exceptional three readings in one day, which meant that it could be smartly returned to the Lords. The bill duly passed, and letters patent raised in May 1548 to return guild lands in Coventry and King's Lynn apparently completed the government's half of the bargain.[13]

MacCulloch describes the outcome of the Sacrament Bill as 'a classic instance of the double-message strategy in Somerset's religious policy', a description which could equally apply to that of the Chantries Act.[14] Graves, in his work on the House of Lords in the reigns of Edward and Mary, specifically cites the success of the Chantries Act as evidence of proper and not unusual parliamentary management, the result of parliamentary managers' drive to produce the 'rounded and effective laws' that were 'the purpose of Parliament'.[15] These alternative historiographic interpretations are interesting and not mutually exclusive. Indeed, looking at them together brings the management of change and the methods required to achieve it into higher focus. The bills which Somerset promoted had the objective of bringing in radical change: Parliament was the instrument of that change and required management to achieve it. The Privy Council realised what was happening in the Commons with regard to lay guild lands and acted to retrieve the situation. If the underlying business culture of parliamentary management inclined towards the

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[12] This is the story as told in the Acts of the Privy Council ruling of May 1548, furthermore, there are other exceptions cited in the Act: the exemption of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and a collegiate foundation of Lord Cobham and chantry lands ceded by Henry VIII to the Earl of Sussex now in the hands of his heir. 1Edward c.14, Statues of the Realm, Vol. iv, pp. 24-33; Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative,* pp. 328-357; J R Dasent ed. *Acts of the Privy Council*, New Series, Vol. 2: 1547-1550 (London: 1890) pp. 193-195, Graves*, House of Lords* p. 182.

[13] This did not work out as smoothly as this suggests (see below, pp. 88-89). Dasent ed. *APC*, Vol. II, pp. 193-195; Graves*, House of Lords* p. 182; Kreider, *English Chantries* pp. 194-195 p. 261, note 26

[14] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant* p. 76.

[15] Graves, *House of Lords* p. 182.

'consenus and efficiency', noted by Graves, then this could be, and was, employed to the advantage of the new government.[16]

Reviewing these events, however, a sense of ironic timing, even symmetry, is hard to avoid, firstly in spiritual terms, because of the proximity to a major religious feast and secondly historically, (perhaps even politically, as it cannot have gone unremarked): Christmas 1547 mirrored Christmas 1545. In 1545, Lords and Commons were kept in their places until business was done and the Chantries Act passed. Henry VIII marked this success on 23 December 1545 with his emotive and emotional speech confirming his protective stewardship of the 'chantries, colleges, hospitals and other such places …….firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God'. According to a witness, his delivery was, 'so kingly, or rather fatherly' that some listeners were seen to 'largely water their plants' that is they wept at the King's words.[17] Christmas then, as now, was a festival combining celebration of the 'good news' of Christ's birth with feasting and celebration. With objectives to accomplish which would not please everyone at a time, no doubt, when members of both houses of whatever persuasion would be eager to return home, was this time of 'good news' also one that could be used to manage, if not bury, 'bad' news? If true, it demonstrates the political awareness of an available mechanism, and the readiness to use it, of both governments. What differs and stands out in the context of this study is the leadership style. The 1545 speech shows Henry, the supreme head, operating as the political leader using his rhetorical skills on an audience he knows. We see the manipulation of emotion, his own and those of his parliamentary subjects. This is a

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[16] Interesting to note that Graves sees the conflicts in Mary's parliaments as a failure of management, a 'dereliction of duty', by Stephen Gardiner and others, through which they ultimately failed the Queen. Graves, *House of Lords,* p. 188.

[17] John Gough Nichols ed. *Narratives Of The Days Of The Reformation* (London: Camden Society, 1859); Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 169.

performance that provides a clear contrast between the management style, skill and experience of an adult monarch who was a long-time ruler and that employed by a Protector and council in the service of a minority regime with a radical programme. Edward's performance as monarch and leader was very inevitably different to that of his father: it was essential in this first year of the minority to develop a plausible authority for this King.   As discussed in chapter one, Thomas Cranmer was the key to the development of the ethical framework of the English Reformation but Edward VI was also given a role to play.[18]   In addition to 'enlightening', Ethical leaders also mentor and guide. Encouraged by Cranmer in his coronation sermon Edward, as a young Josiah, was tasked with bringing his subjects to be true members of God's chosen kingdom.[19] With the removal of purgatory and all its earthly accoutrements, the taking down of images and a reformed liturgy, Edward would cleanse his own kingdom of spiritual impurity and danger.   Underscoring this were the efforts of the King's uncle, the Lord Protector, to address both the political and action dimensions of the reforming world he had engineered himself to lead.   Perhaps in Somerset's adoption of this dual role, lay the roots of his 'double message' strategy.

2.   PAYING OFF PURGATORY

The new King obviously lacked the years and emotional experience that his father had applied to persuade in 1545 but his uncle, councillors and administrators

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[18] For the definitions of leadership roles and Cranmer, see this thesis, chapter one, pp. 31-44, throughout.

[19] Diarmaid MacCulloch, Stephen Alford and Catharine Davies have written about the importance of Josiah as the biblical 'role model' for Edward. Alford in particular has thoroughly described the ideological development of kingship from the start of Edward's reign when 'Godly Reformation became inseparable from kingship and governance could be understood scripturally'. Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI, (*Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002) p. 44; Catharine Davies, *A Religion of The Word*: *the defence of the reformation in the reign of Edward VI* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2002); MacCulloch, see both *Cranmer* and *Tudor Church Militant.*

knew enough to understand that paying off purgatory was not going to be easy. The new dissolution Act was, as noted, hard won and certain matters had to be addressed appropriately to keep people on side. The Act's wording, the subsequent surveys, the development of a clerical pensions policy and accounts of Privy Council discussions all assist in the consideration of government concerns and management.

Richard Hoyle has described the Tudor practice of using statute preambles as a source of education, informing the nation 'of the character and ends of royal policy': the opening paragraphs of the 1547 Chantries Act are in this mould.[20] The ignorance of men regarding 'their very true and perfect salvation through the death of Jesus Christ', the 'superstition and errors in Christian religion' and 'blindness' which have been encouraged and supported by the doctrine of purgatory and masses for the dead are acknowledged and condemned. The need for correction and misguided funding converted to 'good and godly uses' is stated with responsibility to oversee this being vested in the King, 'whose majesty, with and by the advice of his highness's most prudent council' can and will 'most wisely and beneficially, both for the honour of God and the weal of this his majesty's realm ….dispose the same'.[21] This reinforces the spiritual underpinnings of reformation, blending them with the iconography of the King with his council, the honour of God and the commonwealth.

The 'godly uses' that were to be addressed were listed in the Act and were issues which touched the kingdom's subjects closely. All were aware that the endowments which maintained memorial foundations not only supported a priest

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[20] Richard Hoyle, 'Crown, Parliament and Taxation in Sixteenth-Century England' *English Historical Review* Vol.CIX, No.434 (1994) pp. 1174 -1196 at p. 1188.
[21] 1Edward c.14, Statues of the Realm, Vol. 4, pp. 24-33; 'Act Dissolving the Chantries- ad 1547' in Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative*, pp. 328-329.

praying for the dead but frequently supported the living: by providing assistance for a vicar in a busy parish, by teaching children, by the provision of poor relief and the maintaining of bridges, sea walls and highways. These were public services that could not be ignored. Thus the negative activities of dissolution were to be judiciously balanced by the positive provision, for the benefit of the common weal, of ministerial or preaching posts, of schools 'for the education of youth in virtue and godliness', and, where necessary, the continued care for the poor and the repair of roads and walls.[22] Though for some of the men who appear here the policy regarding posts and schools was relevant, for them and their fellows the most interesting point was likely to be the Act's reference to pensions: these were part of the dissolution process and could not fail to be of pressing importance to the majority of the clerics under examination.

Amongst the chantry and service priests whose posts were to go were a number of ex-religious who had experienced the earlier dissolutions and may or may not have received pensions. All clerics, indeed all subjects, would have some knowledge of the events of the 1530s and those whose livelihood was now affected must have waited anxiously to see what was going to happen next. Henry VIII's Chantry Act had established the formal right of the King to take the memorial endowments into his control, to amend or maintain at will, but it did not order their wholesale suppression. Nor, although some details can be found in the 1546 survey that followed that Act, were the surveyors instructed to include the personal details of the serving priests. These two factors mark both the differences between the first Chantry Act and its successor and the regimes of father and son. Though the event of

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[22] Preamble to the Chantries Act, 1Edward c.14, Statues of the Realm, Vol. 4, pp. 24-33.

the first Chantry Act and its relationship with the second cannot be ignored, the 1547 Act is a richer document and teaches us more of the consequences of the reformation experience of the years from 1536 onwards. The attention paid to the pensioning of the priests highlights this experience, as does the subsequent development of the scale of pension awards to be made. To uncover the evidence for this a comparison with the acts which initiated the monastic suppressions is more relevant here than with the chantries act of 1545.

2.1   From Monasteries To Chantries

The 1536 Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries made provision for the heads of the suppressed houses as follows. 'His majesty is pleased and contented, of his most excellent charity, to provide to every chief head and governor of every such religious house, during their lives, such yearly pensions and benefices as for their degrees and qualities shall be reasonable and convenient'.[23] This is followed by the encouragement that 'his majesty will have most tender respect to such of the said chief governors as well and truly conserve and keep the goods and ornaments of their houses to the use of his majesty, without spoil, waste, or embezzling'. And of those lower down the monastic scale? For them, 'his majesty will ordain and provide that the convents of every such religious house shall have their capacities, if they will, to live honestly and virtuously abroad, and some convenient charity disposed to them towards their living'.[24] These well-sounding but

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[23]27 HenryVIII cap.28 Statutes of the Realm, Vol. 3, p. 575; Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative,* pp. 263-264.
[24] That is, to change their monastic habits for the 'capacity' to become secular priests. They were required to apply to the Canterbury Faculty Office and a charge was made for their licence to take capacity. See D S Chambers, ed. *Faculty Office Registers, 1534-1549: a calendar of the first two*

vague promises of pensions and assistance must have been thought adequate for all future dealings with monastics as the later act of 1539, 'For the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries', makes no reference to financial support of any sort. But, as surrender negotiations progressed, this very vagueness proved useful as the agreement of compensation, whether in the form of stipends, pensions or short-term support, was a political tool available to both sides.

The pitfalls of the discretionary and political management of pensions are demonstrated by two pieces of surviving evidence: Matthew Parker's rather rueful letter to Catherine Parr describing how his resistance to his college's surrender probably cost him a more liberal pension and, from an earlier date, a letter from Dr John London to Cromwell regarding a troublesome member of the Carthusians.[25] Reporting to Cromwell on a problem arising at the surrender of the Charterhouse in Coventry in January 1539, Dr London refers to a former inmate as follows: 'this Richard Wall wrote certain letters which be in my lord [of?] privy seal's house which letters soundeth dangerously toward him wherefore he is in ward at Coventry and I have not appointed any pension to him but reserved that into my said lord's pleasure'.[26] Wall's case demonstrates perfectly the personal nature of pension negotiations during the monastic suppressions, authority required due respect: non-compliance had implications as Wall would have been well aware given the martyrdom of his Order's head in 1536. Parker's situation differed in that he was automatically awarded a pension under the 1547 Act, but it was considerably less than negotiation would likely have brought him just two years earlier. Even so, as noted

registers of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Faculty Office (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966); Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative,* pp. 263-264.

[25] For Parker see Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 162; for London's letter see W. G. Fretton, 'Memorials of Charter House, Coventry' *TBAS,* Vol. 5-8 (1874-87) pp. 26-46.

[26] Fretton, 'Memorials of Charter House, Coventry'.

below (fn. 27) the personal could still intervene and Parker's friends helped to improve his situation.[27]

Following in the wake of the monastic suppression, incidents of voluntary surrenders of memorial foundations had begun in the decade before the formal dissolution acts. By 1545, there was a recognition that pensions might indeed have to be paid to former members of colleges, hospitals, free chapels and chantries. This time the King, citing 'weighty affairs', delegated the responsibility and Edward North, Chancellor of Augmentations was commissioned to make the awards.[28] North's commission however was no more precise than before and the same rules of politicking and negotiation applied. The surrender of the College of Burton-on-Trent in November 1545 clearly shows the winners and losers in this informal process. Awards ranged from the Dean's healthy £40 per annum, to the epistoler's £5 but others of the college received only short-term 'unemployment benefit' while seeking new places.[29]

These pension negotiations spread over the best part of ten years show no discernible change in attitude on the part of the higher Henrician government. There

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[27] Parker was reflecting on fighting surrender under Henry's rules when he had the power of negotiation but he still did better than some under the compulsory dissolutions of 1548. Kreider notes that it was Sir Anthony Denny who helped Parker to a pension of £40 per year when in accordance with the final scale this should have been no more than £10. £40 appears to have been an acceptable pension for a former collegiate Dean, see Kreider re: the Dean of the College of Burton on Trent Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 162 In addition Parker also received help from Sir John Cheke, Edward's tutor and a noted evangelical author and later owner of Stoke College itself. I thank John McDiarmaid for kindly directing me to Cheke's letter describing how that he had been 'diligent' on Parker's behalf. see Letter XXVIII, dated 7 June 1548 in John Bruce and Thomas Thomason Perowne eds. *Correspondence of Matthew Parker,* Parker Society, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1853) pp. 39-40.

[28] Kreider, on Anticipatory Dissolutions in *English Chantries* pp. 154-164; W C Richardson, *The History of the Court of Augmentations – 1536-1554,* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press 1961) p. 125, n48, cites an undated warrant of 36 Henry VIII, TNA Augm.Office, Misc Books 236, ff58 and special authority of May 1546. L&P, XXI, pt 1 n970, (16). The warrant pre-dates Henry's dissolution act by some months.

[29] Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 162.

was no more sense of overall responsibility for those being displaced in 1545 than there was in the early days of dissolution in the mid-1530s. The formalising of the chantry dissolutions by the act passed in December 1545 did nothing to change this situation but a mere two years later the actions taken by Edward's government do indicate a different approach. The tone and emphasis of the Edwardine act is more controlled, precise, and more detailed than its predecessor, it also has a different ethical base. Now, in 1547, the commissioners are empowered to assign pensions to 'every dean, master, warden, provost and other incumbent and minister of the said colleges, free chapels, or chantries … as to every stipendiary priest and other priest whose salary the King shall be entitled to under this Act'.[30] With ALL the income and property relating to the endowed services coming to the King from Easter 1548 there were social consequences to be considered. It is pertinent perhaps to remember that public order and the control of those without employment or income was also in the minds of council and parliament at this date. The notorious Vagrancy Act received the royal assent on the same date as that for the chantry dissolutions, Christmas Eve 1547, so one social consequence the regime may have been anxious to avoid was adding to the number of vagrants.[31]

However, awareness of social consequences and the importance of managing the public face of dissolution were not completely new phenomena. Concern for both is shown by at least one member of Henry VIII's government in correspondence between the officials of the Duchy of Lancaster and their new colleagues of

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[30] 1 Edward VI cap.14 SR, Vol. 4, p. 24; Gee & Hardy, 'Act Dissolving Chantries', *Documents Illustrative*, pp. 328-357.

[31] 1 Edward VI c3, otherwise known as The Vagrancy Act, was going through Parliament at this same date, royal assent also given on Christmas Eve 1547. C S L Davies described this Act as 'the most savage act in the grim history of English vagrancy legislation'. C S L Davies, 'Slavery and Protector Somerset: The Vagrancy Act of 1547', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 19, No 3 (1966) pp. 533-549.

Augmentations. Responding to the Duchy's enquiries on how they should manage their part of the dissolution process in 1536, the Court of Augmentations' Attorney, John Onley, passed on some advice based on guidance given to Augmentations commissioners: that they should act with 'discretion', in such a way that would avoid 'the clamour of the people'.[32] Given the events of the Pilgrimage of Grace later in the same year, this advice failed but if applicable then, at a time when the suppressions, though novel and controversial, were not overtly all encompassing, then this same advice was likely to be of greater significance in 1547 and after. The wording of the Edwardine Act shows some considered strategy: alongside the evangelical impetus for spiritually necessary reform there is an appreciation of the social and political implications of this action, no doubt brought home by the reactions in the Commons during the parliamentary debates. There is also a shift in focus at the heart of each act, a shift that demonstrates the management of change, highlighting the distinctive role of each monarch and the theological thrust of the radical programme.

Although the first monastic act cites the misbehaviour of religious as displeasing to God, it is the King who has the dominant role: monastic misbehaviour reflects on him, 'to the great infamy of the King and his realm'.[33] Further, the act maintained that it was the King, his actions, his respect and his charity, which would govern the treatment and financial support for those being dispossessed, even though in reality it was the commissioners who undertook the assessments and awards. In 1545 Henry VIII might have passed responsibility to North for 'speedy dispatch, ease and quietness' (supposedly for the pensioners but probably for Henry's own) but the

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[32] Elton, *The Tudor Revolution* pp. 210-11.
[33] 'Act for the Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries' in Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative,* p. 258.

rules remained the same.[34] In 1547, it is explicit in the act that it is the responsibility

of the commissioners to undertake the assessments and make the recommendations.

Furthermore, each is exhorted to act 'beneficially' towards those being awarded

pensions, continuing employment, schools, or other forms of support, 'as he will

answer before God'- God, not the King.[35] This gentle reminder to those with authority

of the God who would judge them at the end continues the message of the opening

paragraphs of the statute. It is a subtle reinforcement of the reforming ambitions of the

young King and his advisors and the role Edward is to play. It is also a reminder to

those who accept offices in this reformed state that their own and the state's

credibility rests with their performance of their responsibilities in accordance with its

tenets.

In this approach and the tone of the act with regard to the pastoral care

elements of memorial foundations, can be found the still prevalent ideals of the

'commonwealth' as associated with Cromwell's circle in the 1530s. At that period,

these were exemplified by an anonymous contemporary's note to Cromwell that

church property and revenues should be used to do good for the commonwealth 'for

else it will be thought that all these tenths, primitiae *(sic)* fruits and suppressed lands

be taken only of covetyse *(sic)* and not of charity'. [36] As noted by Alec Ryrie and

others, evangelical ideas and arguments focussed on the health and promotion of the

commonwealth persisted after Cromwell's fall.[37] With the death of Henry VIII and

anticipations for the new reign, commonwealth ideals hardened amongst reformers

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[34] Richardson, *Augmentations* p. 125.

[35] 1 Edward VI cap.14 SR, Vol. 4, paragraph ix, p. 27, Gee & Hardy, *Documents Illustrative,* p. 341.

[36] TNA SP1/99 f.227r – quoted by Patrick Carter, 'The Fiscal Reformation: clerical taxation and opposition in Henrician England' in Beat Kümin ed. *Reformations Old and New: Essays On The Socio-Economic Impact Of Religious Change* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996) pp. 92-105 at p. 103.

[37] Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII,* pp. 145-156, MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant,* pp. 122-123.

around Edward VI and Protector Somerset who himself, to quote Ryrie, 'dallied' with its ideas and rhetoric (a dallying which must at least have made him sensitive to the implications of the planned dissolutions).[38]

One reformer for whom commonwealth issues must have been of real concern was Thomas Cranmer. MacCulloch believes that Cranmer was anxious about the improper use of monastic property in 1536, concerned that the proper application was towards the promotion of learning and the relief of the poor.[39] Such concerns are likely to have remained in the forefront of the mind of Archbishop Cranmer and began to show in reforming activities during the summer of 1548.

Injunction 29 of those drawn up by Cranmer for the royal visitation in the summer of 1548 was that explicitly condemning the money spent on 'blind devotions' and directing the setting up of a 'strong chest' in each church to receive the congregation's oblations and alms. The profits from guilds, fraternities and parish stocks of money are also to be added to this chest. As to the sharing out of these funds, we should note that the hierarchy of giving is very simple, care of the poor comes first; any spare money may go 'to the reparation of high ways next adjoining'.[40] Stephen Alford has written of the need of reformers of Edward's reign to 'explain, demonstrate, prove and persuade'.[41] This injunction can be seen as both exemplifying this need and promoting the 'common wealth'. It is an attempt to transfer funds from 'improper' to 'proper' use: the injunction addresses the people

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[38] Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII,* p. 146.

[39] MacCulloch, citing a letter from Cranmer to Cromwell, is concerned here with Cranmer's possible reaction to a sermon given by Hugh Latimer. The sermon was give on behalf of Anne Boleyn who was seeking to persuade Henry VIII to use monastic funds for education and poor relief. MacCulloch, *Cranmer,* pp. 155-156.

[40] W H Frere, *Visitation Articles and Injunctions,* Vol. II, pp. 115-130.

[41] Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* p. 135.

directly with regard to local behaviour for the spiritual and physical health of the parish and its parishioners and collectively the realm as a whole.

This is not too far removed from the view of the medieval parish as proposed by Clive Burgess, that is as an objective entity whose local spiritual health, its utility and functionality, was a necessary and active element of the nation as a Christian realm.[42] The ideas expressed in the injunctions would certainly tap into such a worldview even if the theology that underpinned it had moved on. Christopher Marsh concluded that while it sought to change the 'theological context', Protestantism retained many 'powerful continuities ….. so basic to Christianity' that it did not in reality truly 'shake (its) foundations'.[43] This might be so but, if foundations were not shaken, people were and consequently would struggle to find ways to respond to what was being introduced to them.[44] If the transition process of responding to change involves, as Murray Parkes believes, the psychological assessment of the new in comparison with the old, then we can begin to understand how the shift from the traditional concept of the Christian realm to the ideals of the commonwealth might have been internally debated. This debate fed into a transitional process, whether for the regime in the achievement of its aims or the individual in accepting (or not) the reformed world. In Burgess's medieval parish, memorial services and endowments were an active part of the collective belief in what brought the nation and its people closer to heaven. Though reformed theology transformed what constituted a

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[42] C Burgess, 'Time and Place: the late Medieval Parish in Perspective' in C Burgess & E Duffy eds. *The Parish in Later Medieval England*, Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium, (Donington: Shaun Tyas 2006), pp. 1-28.

[43] Marsh, *Popular Religion,* p. 209.

[44] As exemplified by the stories of martyrs, both traditional and evangelical, and the response of Robert Parkyn (already mentioned in chapter one, p. 47) and Roger Martin of Long Melford in Suffolk whose reaction (amongst others) is discussed by Duffy. Dickens, *'Reformation Studies'* pp. 287-312; Duffy, *'Stripping the Altars'* pp. 37-40, 496.

'Christian realm' both the old ideal and the new described the realm as a construct that the behaviour of its subjects influenced.

In the event, the possession of such a construct was an enabling factor for those subjected to reformation. Marshall has written of the possibilities for expression provided by the framework and language of anticlericalism.[45] More recently, Janet Dickinson has discussed how Catholics were able to negotiate and justify their loyalty to Elizabeth I through the traditional frame of chivalric ideals. Dickinson made the point that this frame proved flexible and provided a language in which issues could be raised 'aimed at the Queen and she will be listening'.[46] I would suggest that both Marshall and Dickinson have identified further examples of the cultural facilities which offered individuals the means to progress critical issues, making conscious or unconscious use of the familiar in order to move on.

In Edward VI's reign, the traditional view could be meshed with what Catherine Davies has described as the contemporary vision of the 'Godly Commonwealth'. It was shocking to some, enabling to others, but in this world the ideals of kingship and nationhood were being brought together from the Old Testament to affirm the English experience as a new chosen Reformed state with that of Israel as the original chosen land and people.[47] Associated with the godly commonwealth were concepts which Davies characterises as 'just charity' and 'charitable justice'.[48] If commonwealth ideas did not influence the attitudes to the

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[45] Marshall, 'Anticlericalism', pp. 365-380.
[46] Janet Dickinson, 'Negotiating Loyalty in Elizabethan England', paper given on 16th April 2009 as part of 'Rethinking Politics in Sixteenth-Century England', University of Warwick 15th-17th April 2009.
[47] Davies, *Religion of the Word,* p. 142.
[48] Davies, *Religion of the Word,* pp. 162-168.

monasteries, their inmates, tenants and localities in 1536 could they do so now? Perhaps, in the context of ten years of uneven Reformation and a new programme, 'a movement of hope and moral reform', such ideas provided a discourse, a language of behaviour, which a reformed nation could (indeed should) adopt, aimed at God who would be listening, to paraphrase Dickinson.[49]

MacCulloch has written that by Edward's reign the commonwealth ideas promoted by Cromwell had filtered down through society. If those at the centre of government were at all aware of this osmosis, that ideas of charity and justice were now 'the property of the humble people', how were these to be addressed?[50] What could get 'they', Somerset, Cranmer, the Privy Council, get away with? The activities and events described above are worthy of this discussion in the context of managing and responding to a changing world. Bringing into the ideological framework the notion of government and individual change management is not an attempt to reduce these complex philosophical ideas to a cynical political-functionalist approach or deny any strength of genuine belief to protagonists. It is an attempt to emphasise not only that Reformation means change but also that the modern recognition of the phenomenon which is 'change management' may help us to understand the actions and efforts of those in the past attempting to bring it about. With this in mind, the second part of this chapter turns away from ideology, politics and Parliament to consider policy implementation and the activities of the bureaucrats involved, principally those of the Court of Augmentations.

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[49] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant* pp. 122-126.
[50] MacCulloch, *Cranmer* p. 432, this is part of the discussion of the stirs of 1549 but one has to assume that such opinions were established before that date.

3.   WORKING THROUGH THE POLICY

3.1   Issues, Pensions And Payments

Edward VI's dissolution act stated that 'all and singular annuities, pensions and other recompenes *(sic)*' should be paid half-yearly, with first payments due at 'the feast of St Michael next coming', that is 29 September 1548. In December 1547 however, what these payments would amount to was not known, at least not publicly. Perhaps this had to wait until the survey assessments were in, as these would establish the capital value and revenues likely to be provided by gathering in this new income source. These same surveys also provided details of outgoings including - specifically of interest here - the salaries and stipends of the serving priests from which a realistic scale of pension payments could be agreed and published. It would have been injudicious perhaps to promise pensions ahead of this information, in case of an over-generous commitment.

The articles issued to the county commissioners on 14 February 1548, instructed them that the results of their enquiries should be submitted to the Court of Augmentations by 31 May.[51] However, the King had legal possession of the endowed property from Easter Day, 1 April, and on 27 April, articles of commission were issued to the senior officers of the Court, Walter Mildmay and Robert Keilway, empowering them to sell chantry lands. They were also given the authority to command county commissioners, surveyors 'or other our officers' to deliver all the

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[51] Commissions to the Counties for the Surveys, 14.2.1548, R H Brodie ed. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 2EdwardVI* Part VII pp. 135 137.

jewels and plate confiscated from the foundations and now regarded as 'in the king's hands' to his majesty's master of jewels.[52]   The final paragraph of the commission confirms Mildmay and Keilway's authority regarding pension awards and provides an indication that a blueprint for managing pensions and pensioners is being developed: here we begin to see the working out of the pensions policy.

Eligibility criteria for pensions remains as outlined in the original act, but these are now followed by two provisos.[53] The first says that any pension shall be void should the recipient subsequently receive a promotion by the King which is of above or equal value to the pension. The second states that awards will be made 'provided always that in assigning such pensions, persons who had livings of ten pounds and under have not above the half assigned as pensions and those who had over ten pounds not above one third'.[54]   This proposal appears to result from what must have been 'first pass' planning for pension payments, because it appears that, for whatever reason, something changed between April and June when further articles of commission were issued. These were again to Mildmay and Keilway and this time they contained a detailed scale against which pension awards were to be made.

The commission dated 20 June 1548 is evidently the product of further considerations, probably because all the evidence was now in and a form of economic

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[52] Commission to Walter Myldemay, knight, one of the General Surveyors of the Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the Crown and Robert Keylwaye, esq, surveyor of liveries in the Court of Wards, for sale of Chantry Lands. 27.4.1548, Brodie ed. *CPR 2EdwardVI* Part V pp. 57-58,
[53] 'to every dean, master, warden, provost and other incumbent of the colleges, free chapels and chantries dissolved by the said Act and to every stipendiary or other priest whose salary or stipend were or shall be entitled unto by the same Act' (as discussed on p 65 above) 1 Edward VI cap.14 SR, iv, 24; 'Act Dissolving Chantries' in Gee and Hardy *Documents Illustrative* pp. 328-357.
[54] Brodie ed. *CPR 2EdwardVI* Part V pp. 57-58.

modelling made possible.[55] It has a public relations aspect in that it repeats the King's intentions to continue or erect grammar schools, to appoint preachers of God's word, maintain hospitals and poor relief, sea walls and the like, directing Augmentations to make proposals on what and how these were to be supported. Mildmay and Keilway are further authorised to 'appoint tithes, pensions and annuities of vicars perpetual in parish churches' where these were previously funded by now-dissolved institutions. The principal matter to be addressed, however, was pensions.

It must have been apparent to the Privy Council and other officers of state, that pensions required addressing on a number of fronts, one of which is likely to have been, to use Onely's phrase, the 'clamour of the people'.[56] Apart from the inevitable memories and fears encouraged by events consequent to the religious reforms and monastic dissolutions of the 1530s, there was a more recent and pertinent situation, which focussed their thoughts. In the previous month (May 1548) the council had begun discussing their response to the 'Burgeois' of King's Lynn and Coventry who, as already noted, had made life so difficult for them during the passage of the Chantries Act: promises were made then which now had to be addressed as the same 'burgois' were asking for their lands back.

On Sunday, 6 May 1548, the Privy Council agreed an action granting back guild lands belonging to the two churches of Coventry and those belonging to the Guild of Lynne.[57] The language of the measure, which appears in the Acts of the

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[55] This commission to Mildmay and Keilway covers pension awards, grammar schools, poor relief and infrastructure maintenance. Commission to Walter Myldemay, knight, one of the General Surveyors of the Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the Crown & Robert Keylwaye, esq, surveyor of liveries in the Court of Wards, 20.6.1548 Brodie ed. *CPR 2EdwardVI* Part IV pp. 417- 418.

[56] Elton, *Tudor Revolution,* pp. 210-211.

[57] At Westminster 6 May 1548, Dasent ed. *APC*, Vol. 2: 1547-1550 pp. 193-195.

Privy Council, is both emotive and indicative of the issues that exercised council members. It speaks of those in the Lower House who, during the bill's readings, 'did not only reason and argue but also incensed many others' and it repeated the fears of the time that, because of this opposition, the whole bill would be rejected. The councillors also reflected that in a 'multitude of free voices what moment the labour of a few setters-on had been of heretofore in like cases'. They went on to affirm the right of the crown to take the lands but also acknowledge their value to the towns themselves; to King's Lynn for the maintenance of sea walls and Coventry as a guard against the 'apparent danger of desolation' both spiritual and economic. In this truly political situation, whatever is shown on the surface is likely have been dissipated by the greater concerns underlying the council's actions: concerns for the kingdom's stability, current financial issues and the religious reforms deemed essential for the nation's spiritual health. There is evidence in the council's response of the moral quagmire in which they found themselves, the sensitivities roused by the removal of local property to the centre, the mix of religious and economic issues, the reputation of the king and confirmation of the promises made: a recognition which brought the observation that these promises were such that 'his Grace and the Council do think his Highness is bound in honour to observe'.[58] This minute from the council meeting is illuminating in its evidence of the political mix of expedient negotiations, the sense of the King's honour and charitable justice (to borrow Davies' phrase): all elements which had to be managed.[59]

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[58] Dasent ed. *APC*, Vol. 2: 1547-1550 pp. 193-195.

[59] And manage it they did, but carefully and with all these state issues evidently in mind. King's Lynn's grant was made the same month as the council meeting (May) but Coventry had to wait until December. Neither town received all its lands back. Brodie ed. *CPR Edward VI,* II, pp. 11-13 and p. 81, Kreider, *English Chantries* pp. 193-195, Robert Tittler, *The Reformation and the Towns in England,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1998) p. 118.

Where did these background debates leave the prospective pensions and what is demonstrated by the June commission then issued to Augmentations? The articles reiterated the clerical categories stated above but now referred to an upper limit of £20 per annum of pre-dissolution income. (This did not in practice mean that no pensions were paid to earners above this limit but these were in the minority and the pressure would be to address the majority). Further provisos instructed that livings endowed for a specific number of years should be pensioned to match and repeated the limitation regarding future appointments by the King, a limitation which was to be included in all pensioners' letters patent confirming their award. Letters patent, it was decided, would be issued free of charge 'in consideration of the poverty of the chantry priests and others appointed to have pensions'.[60] The standard fee for documents under seal was 13s 4d, a reasonably high sum to pay out, so consideration may have been part of it but perhaps commissioners, council, or both, appreciated that turning these men out of their places and then requiring payment for obligatory letters patent was adding insult to injury.[61] The scale of pensions which would inform these letters patent had now been refined from the earlier rough guide to provide the following: 'persons who had for living £5 yearly and under shall have pensions to the yearly value of the whole, those who had between £5 and £6.13s.4d shall have £5, those who between £6.13s.4d and £10 shall have £6, those who had between £10 and £20 shall have £6.13s.4d'.[62]

Clearly, at this date there was no necessity for pensions to act as a negotiating tool. All endowments would be dissolved at the given date (Easter Day 1548) and that was that, no priest needed to be coaxed to move on: imposing a scale such as this

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[60] Brodie ed. *CPR 2EdwardVI* Part IV pp. 417- 418.
[61] For the charge for raising new documents, see Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 244.
[62] Brodie ed. *CPR 2EdwardVI* Part IV- 20.6.1548 pp. 417-418.

suggests the same mix of commonwealth motives and management objectives already observed. Having a pension scale was politic, it 'ticked boxes': by awarding all those affected, the regime acknowledged (up to a point) its responsibility to provide for the redundant priests, it also acted as a control on expenditure and, possibly, as a rein on activities of the Augmentations commissioners out in the counties. There were long-standing concerns regarding annuities being 'corruptly granted' out of ex-religious houses, arrangements sometimes involving Augmentation officials, which would have encouraged moves to restrict direct responsibility for local negotiation.[63]   The dissolution of endowments such as schools and charitable works, which offered benefits to the community rather than an individual, had the potential to be more vulnerable to the local sympathies of the commissioners.[64] Setting out the income ranges and curtailing the corresponding pension awards allowed the centre to exercise some control over the negotiations between the local commissioners, (despite their being encouraged to act 'beneficially'), and the priests before them. For those with bureaucratic concerns, it theoretically simplified central management procedures at both the outset and for on-going administration. There is, of course, an alternative perspective; it could apply as a 'get out' clause for the local officials - it has always been easier to blame head office! Principally, however, this demonstrates an attempt at financial control balancing the outgoings for a defined group (though reducing with time - the ultimate mechanism of natural-wastage) against the capital and revenue income as anticipated by the surveys.

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[63] Richardson, *Augmentations,* pp. 179-180 and fn. 42-43. Outside this study, an interesting exercise might be a before and after examination of lay annuity holders and the consequences for them compared against the experience of the clerics.

[64] The mix of local men and those with loyalty to the Augmentations as their employer was supposed to militate against this type of event but Jordan suggests that the commissioners of Essex exaggerated the charitable works supported by chantries in their county and that Mildmay, (as an Essex man) shared 'this gentle conspiracy'. W K Jordan, *Edward VI: The Threshold Of Power,* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970) p. 188.

The final pension scale appears to be rather better thought out than the earlier proposition. As will be discussed later in this thesis and is also confirmed by the work of other historians, this scale would have catered for the majority affected so we could simply regard the payments as fair enough.[65] But the gap increased incrementally and brushing aside all those affected ignores that, for the middling group, the loss of £4 would have made a difference. Furthermore, if a stipend had been above £10 the loss would have been considerable and must have mattered profoundly to some, though not all, who fell into this sector.[66]

Though more will be said of this later, two chantry priests, Thomas Yelshawe and Fulco Flecher, can be introduced here as an initial illustration of the policy's possible consequences. Yelshawe and Flecher served two chantries in the parish church of Tanworth, Warwickshire; originally in possession of stipends of £6.17s 4d and £7.4s.10d respectively, each received a pension of £6 and in September 1549, the property belonging to the two chantries was sold. The details of the sale include the 'capital house and chambers for the two chaplains of the said chantries of Tanworth under one roof there and one orchard and two gardens adjacent to them in the tenure of the said chaplains' and 'two shops in the tenure of Robert Michell in "les Shambles" in Birmingham which belonged to the first chantry there'.[67] From being able to draw on the benefits of orchard and gardens, the priests now had an annual

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[65] Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 20, Table 1.3; Jordan found an average stipend of £6.6s.8d in his statistic cohort, Jordan, *Threshold* pp. 181-203.

[66] For example, John Hussey of Shropshire for whom two posts were recorded in 1548. He held a prebend in St Chad's, Shrewsbury, at 7s.2d. per annum and was Master of Battlefield College, for which two figures are quoted £19.6s and £13.6.8. Whichever was correct, his pension of £6.13s.4d.shows the strict application of the rules. TNA E301/41 Chantry Survey of Shropshire 1548.

[67] Sale of Chantry Lands to John Nethermille of Coventry, draper, and John Milwarde, of Ansley, Warw, yeoman, 15.9.1549. Brodie ed. *CPR 3EdwardVI* part VII pp. 21-24 mm 19-21.

income of £6 each per annum. Furthermore, we could hazard a guess, it would have been the comforts of house, garden and orchard and, probably, the companionship of his brother priest which mattered as much if not more than the reduction in income: installed in 1510 and 1525, they had, after all, shared the accommodation for twenty-three years.[68] Yelshawe and Flecher were far from alone. As will be discussed later, the details of the chantry sales are littered with the references to 'the chantry house', 'the chamber or house of the chantry priest there', together with dovecotes, gardens, orchards and the like. The consequences of loss and change can be measured in many ways.

However, before these pensions could be assessed and awarded, a survey of all the designated memorial foundations, their endowments, income, outgoings and personnel had to be completed. Reference has already been made to the Court of Augmentations, it was its officials who were commissioned to carry out this work and it is they who were being exhorted by the king to act 'beneficially' in their accomplishment of the task. For this reason, it is necessary to consider Augmentations in more detail. This organisation, key to the realisation of the English Reformation from its beginnings, formed the government's bridge between the politico-religious policy developments of the centre and events and consequences in the localities.

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[68] Yelshawe was installed as priest of the First Chantry in Tanworth in 1510 and Flecher in 1525. L F Salman ed. *A History of the County of Warwick; Kington Hundred, Vol. 5 VCH,* pp. 165-175 (citing Dugdale).

4.   **'AUGMENTATIONS' - THE COURT AT THE HEART OF CHANGE**

'O Christ, for thy bitter passion, save me from the court of the Augmentacyon' from 'Complaynt of Roderick Mors', Henry Brinkelow (1542).[69]

The Court of Augmentations 'was the bureaucratic side of the emotional and dramatic religious events' states Richardson in his history of the Court, which has already been cited in this chapter and to which the historic overview in this section is in debt. Augmentations arose explicitly from the central decision to dissolve the monasteries and was created by Thomas Cromwell in 1536 (with Cromwell's associate, Richard Rich, as its first Chancellor), to collect and manage the revenues resulting from the dissolution surrenders. Over time, its responsibilities extended to accommodate the management and supervision of Crown land, land sales, the organisation and completion of the 1546 and 1548 chantry surveys and the role of paymaster to the monastic and clerical pensioners. The Court of Augmentations was highly influential throughout the reigns of Henry and Edward but was dissolved by Mary in 1554 when its responsibilities were merged with the Exchequer.

4.1   **Reorganised and Reinvigorated**

In his seminal work on Tudor Government, Elton developed his analysis of state management of the 1530s as the handiwork of Thomas Cromwell. Part of this analysis was the identification of the Court of Augmentations as 'at least' Cromwell's godchild, created from both his vision of a new bureaucratic world (a vision still

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[69] Henry Brinkelow, *Complaynt of Roderyck Mors,* quoted in Richardson, *Augmentations*, p. 166.

disputed) and the demands of an exercise which over time provided 'the biggest single accession of revenue and real property that has ever come to the English crown' (not disputed).[70]   The new court's organisational structure was based on the highly regarded Duchy of Lancaster and from this developed an operational methodology based on ten county circuits, each overseen by an auditor, broken down into seventeen districts each headed by a 'particular receiver'. The option was there for the court to adopt, as their fellow court of general surveyors did, the traditional honourial accounting structure whereby an individual receiver would have been appointed to each monastery thereby having to operate cross-country to confirm and control all the disparate holdings of each house.[71] In its choice and development of administration based on the county circuit structure, Elton described Augmentations as being 'modern and up-to-date' and it certainly established itself at the centre of the state machinery over the following years, described by Richardson as ' a decade of progressive Augmentations administration'. [72]

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[70] George Bernard disagrees with Elton's view of Cromwell's status and his relationship with Henry VIII, and his essay 'Elton's Cromwell' analyses Cromwell's role as a decision maker and sees him as complying with the King's strategic demands rather than initiating his own. As noted in the discussion in chapter one (p. 34) this view does not dilute Cromwell's leadership role in transformational change. With regard to the development of the revenue courts and state management, J. D. Alsop while acknowledging the work of various historians including Elton and Richardson, has concerns about the context within which studies have been framed, that is focussing on areas 'where change was most manifest' rather than on areas of overlap and continuity between the functional departments of government.   However, Alsop does acknowledge that from the late 1520's until 1540, 'central control and initiative in national finance rested primarily in Wolsey and Cromwell' a role he devolves to the Privy Council after Cromwell's death. G. R. Elton, *Tudor Revolution* pp. 208-212; 'Elton's Cromwell' in G. W. Bernard, *Power and Politics In Tudor England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); J. D. Alsop, 'The Structure of Early Tudor Finance, 1509-1558', in Coleman and Starkey eds. *Revolution Reassessed* pp. 135-162 at pp. 140, 160.

[71] Though the court was formed only a year after the Valor Ecclesiasticus survey of 1535, (in itself a major undertaking - drawn up to record and evaluate all ecclesiastical holdings in England following Henry VIII becoming Supreme Head of the Church in his realm) a new commission was issued for the dissolution, with fresh surveys to be completed for each monastic house, accounting for land, property, income and with precise inventories drawn up. Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 78.

[72] Elton, *Tudor Revolution* p. 206, Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 140.

The Court of Augmentations was identified with 'the shock of the new'. Change brought it into being and it was the management of that change, at the process level, which this court was about. It was, in Richardson's words, of 'evolutionary importance'; it introduced new structures of administration and methods of working that were, 'methodical, businesslike' and a 'pattern for administrative efficiency'.[73] The Commissioners who had produced the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 surveyed dioceses and religious houses whose holdings criss-crossed the kingdom's county boundaries. Their survey structure reflected the accepted forms of organisation and ownership based on the manorial estate, meaning that within the account of a single diocese or monastic house would be recorded landholdings in a number of counties. This was a methodology common to all the other courts in the government. The officers of the Court of Augmentations perfected new methods of administration based wholly on a county structure whereby counties, grouped together in circuits, were managed by receivers and auditors with surveyors and local collectors answering to them. The 1548 Midland surveys reflect this methodology, the counties of this study being grouped as follows: Gloucester's 'circuit' included Hampshire, Wiltshire and the Isle of Wight, while Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire were recorded together with Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Rutland and Staffordshire. The appointed officials reported all crown revenues county by county within their respective circuits without regard to former monastic or diocesan estate structure.

Progressive development and its ascendant position was emphasised as Augmentations was given the task of undertaking the first survey of chantries in early

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[73] Richardson, *Augmentations,* pp. 6-7.

1546. By this date, however, it was apparent to government that its management machinery was inefficient and costly and action was needed to improve matters. There was great concern for the crown's financial situation: outgoings and income were too close for comfort, revenue was not coming to the crown as it should, debts were not being called in and, in this and turning in their funds, court officers (including those of Augmentations) were deemed negligent. As has happened many times since in government, a review was ordered. Richard Rich, until recently the first Chancellor of Augmentations, and Ralph Sadler, both members of the king's council were first commissioned in December 1545 to survey the procedures and condition of all finance courts.[74] A second commission followed this with new personnel, all king's councillors, which sat from April 1546: The outcome from these commissions was a major restructuring of the Crown's financial management.[75] Though under this plan the existing Court Augmentations was to be dissolved, its dominant position was strengthened. Its fellow revenue court of General Surveyors, itself a Tudor creation though not of Cromwell's, was also dissolved and merged with Augmentations. This produced a single unit, but one which operated under Augmentations rules. Reorganisation plans were finalised in December 1546 and on 1 January 1547 letters patent were used to authorise the dissolution of the old courts and create the new, with its wider brief and fuller title, as 'The Court of the Augmentations and Revenues of the King's Crown'.

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[74] Rich and Sadler were authorised to call in all officers of the Exchequer, Duchy of Lancaster, First Fruits and Tenths, Wards and Liveries, General Surveyors and Augmentations. Richardson *Augmentations,* p. 112.

[75] This second commission was made up of Wriothesley, Gardiner, Petre, Paulet and Anthony Browne, it was officially commissioned on 30 June 1546 but active from April. Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 114.

Though it is Richardson's view that the preamble to Henry VIII's Act creating the new Court 'somewhat overstated the case' for reform, citing as it did negligence, inadequate regulation and supervision, he agrees that there were valid reasons behind the reorganisation.[76] It was the direct result of the events of the last ten years and, in this as in much else, government had undergone a learning experience.[77] In the structure and practice of the revised Augmentations there was both continuity and change. Continuity consisted of the maintenance of its 'progressive' administrative structure and the fact that a number of its personnel had been, in today's parlance of reorganisation, 'matched and slotted', from their previous posts into similar roles in the new organisation. Change was evidenced in its greater accountability, encompassing the activities of the two former courts and its increased power as a court of receipt, with the revenue stream from the Duchy of Cornwall now to be paid to Augmentations.

As noted above, letters patent were used to dissolve the old courts and create the new. A Parliamentary act was prepared and had passed up to, though not including, the point of final reading when Henry died and Parliament was dissolved. Early in his reign Edward VI confirmed and validated the letters patent by Act and the new Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the King's Crown was formally operational.[78] There must have been a sense of decks cleared for action within Augmentations: it had an enhanced status, the blessing of both the old and the new king, newly appointed officers, the legitimacy of roots in reform and dissolution and a

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[76] Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 139.
[77] The conditions of the state bureaucracy after Cromwell's fall and how it returned to its former efficiency has also been addressed in Peter Cunich, 'Revolution and Crisis in English State Finance, 1534-47' in W M Ormrod, M Bonney and R J Bonney, eds, *Crises, Revolutions and Self-Sustained Growth: Essays in European Fiscal History, 1130-1830* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 1999) pp. 110-137.
[78] 1 Edward VI 8 'An Act for Confirmation of Letters Patent' SR, Vol. 4,13-14.

decade of experience. The new reign and its new government with a mission (overtly intent on reform but also with a covert desire for income) must have shared a sense of anticipation and preparedness for the Reformation it hoped to achieve; it had Augmentations ready to turn to for the completion of the dissolution process.

In Richardson's words the dissolution of the chantries was 'the most important single item of Augmentations business in 1547 and 1548'.[79] Furthermore, the chantry-related work of Walter Mildmay, the Court's diligent and ambitious joint second officer, has been described as 'the most significant of his employment during Edward's reign'.[80] However, the work of Augmentations had ramifications beyond the years of Edward's reign and beyond the centre of government. The Court of the Augmentations was a key component of the structural reformation of parochial religious performance. Though it was not directly required to address the souls of his majesty's subjects, the realisation of government policy fell to Augmentations: it had its part to play in cleansing the church of the 'phantasising vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory'.[81] Its officials were responsible for identifying and removing the chantries, services, obits, lights and lamps that had supported the erroneous part of the liturgy centred on the afterlife of the soul. Their magisterial decision-making assessed the priests, awarded pensions and continued schools and pastoral services. Inevitably, given this wide brief and its very personal involvement in government and regional finance, the Court and its officials were not popular. Although not specifically citing Augmentation officials as the guilty parties, Richardson notes that Hugh Latimer received £50 in 1549 as a reward from a grateful state when it was said

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[79] Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 170.

[80] S E Lehmberg, *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government* (Austin USA: University of Texas Press 1964) p. 19.

[81] 1Edward VI, cap 14, SR, Vol. 3, pp. 24-33; 'Act Dissolving the Chantries' in Gee and Hardy eds *Documents Illustrative*, pp. 328-357.

that Latimer's sermons on morality and office holding had brought forth confessions of fraud and returned cash. Common attitudes are probably exemplified by the nickname of its third Chancellor, Sir Richard Sackville, (appointed in August 1548), who became known as 'Fillsack'.[82] Henry Brinkelow's cry quoted above though coined earlier might have been heard again. This makes it appropriate to introduce some evidence of the local operations of Augmentations and their interaction with the parishioners and priests who were called to report before them.

4.2 From the Court to the County - William Crowche, Surveyor of Herefordshire

Richardson describes Augmentations officials as 'self-made men' whose careers and reputations were built on their own talents rather than bloodline. In William Crowche we have an example of one such: Crowche had good (in one particular case, very good) national connections and, as the existing Augmentations' surveyor for Herefordshire, joined the mix of local dignitaries, MP's, JP's, landowners and a fellow Augmentations official to serve on the county's chantry commission.[83] Though not a native of either county, Crowche was a member of the commissions for both Hereford and Worcester. [84]

By 1548, Crowche had an administrative career of at least 20 years standing, principally in Somerset (he is described in Bindoff's account of Members of

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[82] Richardson notes that Sackville's career was profitable: from a good county background, he had a link to royalty as his mother was an aunt of Anne Bolyen, beginning his career under Henry VIII, before his Augmentations appointment Sackville had been a commissioner, an army treasurer and escheator in Surrey and Sussex, and by 1558, 'he had acquired a fortune' Richardson, *Augmentations* pp. 190-191.

[83] Examples of involved county families: Gloucestershire: Throckmorton, Tracey, Pate; Herefordshire: Scudamore; Shropshire: Blount and Corbett; Warwickshire: Throckmorton; Hereford and Worcester (1546): Packington and Sheldon. *CPR 2Edward VI* Part VII, pp. 135-137.

[84] William Crowche c1503-1587 in S T Bindoff ed. *The House of Commons 1509-1558* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1982) pp. 735-6.

Parliament as being 'of Englishcombe and Wellow in Somerset'). Here, through his

friendship with Sir Henry Long, Sheriff of the county, he gained not only his first

Parliamentary seat (for Calne in Wiltshire) in 1529 (meaning that he served through

the lengthy Reformation Parliament) but also his place as steward of the manor of

Monkton Farleigh and a long career serving its owner, Edward Seymour, Earl of

Hertford, uncle to Edward VI and now Lord Protector. Crowche was employed in

this place from, at the latest, 1538 and by the first year of Edward's reign was also the

Protector's receiver for all his county lands. He was also by this date, already the

Augmentations surveyor for Herefordshire and now took his place as senior MP for

Leominster in Edward's first Parliament.

The account of Crowche's career in Bindoff, both pre- and post Edward's

reign, is marked by court cases in which he always appears to be the defendant.[85]

Court cases occur right up until 1575 when he would have been in his early 70s.

There are also parliamentary distraints and indictments, which appear throughout

Mary's reign, including a commitment (his second) to the Fleet in 1556 when he was

ordered 'to stand in the pillory with a paper on his head for slandering the Queen's

Council'.[86] An understatement might suggest that perhaps Crowche was not the

easiest of men to deal with, 'pugnacious' being a word that comes to mind.

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[85] Investigation following a court case in 1534 found a reputation for unscrupulous dealings and
violence which led to the statement that the 'city of Bath is undone by the said William Crowche and
his lewd company'. TNA STAC 2/11ff 63-73 William Crouche *(sic)* v Thomas Horner, Richard
Cooke, and others re: Forcible opposition to plaintiff's claim to St. John's Hospital, Bath, which is
disputed by the prior of St. Peter's, Bath, Somerset. See also G Bradford ed. *Proceedings in the Court
of the Star Chamber,* Somerset Record Society, Vol. XXVII 1911 pp. 129-170.
[86] His first had been in 1544 when he had been obliged to make a 'humble submission' to the Council,
see Bindoff, *House of Commons,* pp. 735-6.

4.3   From the County to the Parish

This commentary on Crowche and his career is significant for this thesis as his maybe the only extant example of an Augmentations surveyor's workbook.[87] This workbook relates principally to the city of Hereford though there is information on some parish holdings. The role of the surveyor was to enquire into the property holdings of the foundations and to assess their capital and revenue values for sale and rent. It is apparent from the workbook that Crowche closely recorded all the lands and property relevant to the endowments he was surveying: locations, value and rents are given together with tenants' names and frequently occupations. There is also much, sometimes indecipherable, marginalia that appears to refer to post-dissolution sales.

There is a danger of rushing to a judgement based on the evidence above and an interesting document retained with the workbook but the impression persists that Crowche was a man with a clear idea of his own authority and which master he was serving. His experience as manorial steward, managing tenants and revenues for the Lord Protector, no less, would no doubt have fitted him well for examining the parish 'presenters' who appeared before him. The document in question is the one full certificate that remains with the workbook: that of the vicar, two churchwardens and two parishioners of Lugwardine, a mid-Herefordshire parish of 100 'houseling people', (the count of communicants from adolescents upwards). This states that the property supporting the Chantry of the Blessed Trinity, Our Lady, Saint Anne and All Saints, was 'customary lands & tene [men] ts' in their parish. These were held by the

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[87] TNA E301/26, The Workbook of William Crowche. Note the National Archives holds a document described as a 'working roll of lands and rents with notes of sale' for Essex 1546-1548 that has not been compared with Crowche. TNA E301/30 Essex: working roll of lands and rents, with notes of sale 1546-1548.

incumbent priest who, 'toke [them] to hold by copye of court roll' and had paid a fine of £8 to enter into the lands 'as by Court Rolle … redy to be showed now may playnly appere' and all the chantry priest's predecessors in office had done the same.   The presenters pursued the point declaring that they had the evidence for these earlier officeholders, 'as by certen other court rolls ready do be showed more playnly may appeare'.[88] These men were obviously aware that the Chantries Act stated that it would not take land held 'by copy of court roll or at will according to the custom of any manor or manors; nor grant any copyhold land to the King's highness'.[89] However, Crowche was not going to accept this account as simply as that and at each entry of the word, 'may', has written above it 'might': a small word but it dilutes the evidence, injecting doubt into the argument.   This was a man who was going to query everything; we can imagine him doing it.   How typical Crowche was of the Augmentation surveyors at this date may (or might?) be argued but it is unlikely that he was unique in his approach.

Crowche's workbook is a valuable document for the illustration it provides of the path from the court to the county. It gives insight into the process by which the Augmentations' central bureaucracy and its locally based officials carried out the survey and managed the ongoing process of dissolution and sales.[90]   It also takes us one step lower down society's stratification: it has value for those interested in the impact of Reformation at parish level and the parish response to the imposition of

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[88] An extract of this document appears as a memo in the Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire for Lugwardine. TNA E301/26, Crowche, Workbook; TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire 1548 certificate 13.

[89] 1Edward VI, cap 14, SR, Vol. 3, pp. 24-33; 'Act Dissolving the Chantries' in Gee and Hardy eds *Documents Illustrative*, pp. 328-357.

[90] In addition to the certificate and property lists already referred to, there is an unnumbered copy of a letter from Sir Richard Sackville dated 12 June 1552. This tells the surveyor of a grant to John Wall, 'one of the King's Majesty's Buttery' of the chantries of Kingsland and Delwyn in Herefordshire and that he, the surveyor, must make a note in his workbook of this fact and ensure that no 'p[ar]tclers' of this property are delivered to any other persons. TNA E301/26 Crowche, Workbook.

change.   The lists of property and rentals, for example, which make up the majority of the workbook highlight the amount of information that was maintained or gathered by parish officials. Possibly it was easier to prepare material for the 1548 survey, resurrecting or updating that provided for the survey of 1546 (following Henry VIII's Christmas 1545 success), but the single certificate cited above has a value all of its own. David Richards, the Vicar of Lugwardine, is recorded there in the Valor of 1535 so his relationship with the parish and its people was one of long-standing.[91]   In this account, in the evidence of Richards and his parishioners, we have a direct illustration of a parish working together to protect its property. We can appreciate the acumen of these parish officials aware of the legalities of the Act and determined to make their case.

Less immediately sympathetic (but as likely to be indicative of parish response as the efforts of the Lugwardine parishioners) is another retention in Crowche's workbook, this time from the parish of Linton (again in Herefordshire but slightly larger than Lugwardine having 124 houseling people). The priest of the Chantry of Our Lady was accused by 'his honest neybowres' of making a presentment against one of their number from a 'maline and evell will'. The Linton parishioners were refuting the right of the priest to money from land out of which they said he 'hath receyved no profitte thereof by the space of these 20 years'. This discourse clashes with the description in the survey of this same priest as being of 'honest behaviour' and he was awarded a pension equal to his (low) salary of £3.6s.8d. This may be an example illustrating the disputes that could arise between incumbents and parishioners but could also be evidence of a situation being created by this dissolution process

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[91] David Richards, vicar of Lugwardine, Valor Ecclesiasticus Vol. 3 - Hereford Diocese, Deaconry of Weston, p. 34.

itself, an attempt to 'conceal' and retain local property. Both accounts provide opportunities for empathy: they are both equally realistic responses of parishioners who found themselves under the scrutiny of the state and their reception by officials acting on its behalf.

5.   CONCLUSION- PAYING OFF PURGATORY

To pay off something or someone is to make it or them go away: by dissolving the foundations which supported the relief of souls in the now anathematised space between heaven and hell, purgatory was to be consigned to oblivion. Paying off purgatory is what the government of Edward VI was seeking to do.   But this could not be a clean break, purgatory had earthly attachments: care for the poor, the teaching of children and, not least, priests who were paid to pray for 'all Christian souls'.   All of these, including the priests if they were reformed, had the potential of adding beneficially to the commonwealth, to the godly realm: removing all those activities which supported the parish would not have helped to 'prove and persuade' the population at large of the benefits of the new religion, nor would reducing the priests to beggars. It was incumbent on the state with its evangelical vision of the reformed kingdom to cater for these men appropriately, if not over-generously: it did after all want and need the money it was acquiring from the endowments, given that it had a Scottish war to finance and the Privy Council recorded the need to support the increased charges upon the king's purse.[92]

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[92] 'and specially for the relief of the Kinges Majestes charges and expences, which do dayly growe and encrease ……..sundry fortifications, garnisons (*sic)* leyvying of men and soldiours'. Dasent ed. *APC,* Vol. 2 1547-1550, Commissioners for the Sales of Chantry Lands 17.4.1548, pp. 184-186.

Alford has described the year of 1547 as being portrayed by contemporary reformers as 'a natural bridge between two reigns' where 'the royal supremacy and godly Reformation fused'.[93] The chantry dissolutions act of 1547 might be an example of this strategy at work, it provided a semblance of continuity between the old reign and the new while also marking a difference between the old king and the new: in Edward the kingdom now had a real reforming child-king. In the second Court of Augmentations, the Edwardine state had an efficient and re-charged organ of management to which it could devolve not only the information gathering and financial transactions of buying and selling but the Crown's decision-making process of pension awards and the promotion of its policy towards continued placements, preaching, schools and the poor.

Augmentations had acted in this capacity for Henry VIII but this was not reflected in his documents of state. Now, it facilitated both the implementation of radical reform, the continuation of transformational change and the development of the image of the king. The transfer of responsibility to Augmentations and its commissioners is explicitly stated and removes the king from association with such earthly matters whilst counselling his servants on their duty to their fellow men and to God: Edward was dispensing 'just charity' while encouraging 'charitable justice'. Another aspect perhaps of Josiah at work in his kingdom?

This chapter has considered the complexity of managing change when evangelical endeavour is mixed with the demands of government and the realisation of a transforming Reformation. Though some evidence from survey and related

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[93] Alford, *Kingship and Politics,* pp. 112-113.

material has been cited, its principal focus has been central political activity, the macro-level of change. The following chapter will turn to the micro-level with assessments of the certificates that the surveys of 1548 produced and the evidence they provide of the priests under examination and the services that supported them.

Chapter Three

Surveying the Evidence and Certifying the Foundations

1.   COMMISSIONING THE SURVEY: ARTICLES AND ACTIVITIES

This chapter turns to the accounts and experiences of the intercessory clergy, specifically, in this case, those clergy who were employed in the midland counties of Gloucester, Hereford, Shropshire, Warwick and Worcester within the dioceses of Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, Coventry and Lichfield.[1] The key source documents here are those arising from the survey process carried out by the Court of Augmentations commissions between February and May 1548, documents historians commonly refer to as 'chantry certificates'. Analysing the data from these surveys has provided material that allows extensive discussion regarding the recorded priests of these counties and the endowments that provided their incomes.[2]

The remit of the Henrician and Edwardine surveys required the recording of all chantries, services, colleges, fraternities, guilds, and free chapels, on a parish-by-parish basis by the priests and responsible officials. The various wardens, bailiffs, and stewards were expected to describe the form of each endowment: its founders, the source and management of funding, what was supported (schools, preachers, the poor) and goods belonging to it. In addition, the Edwardine survey required all lesser

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[1] The principal dioceses were Coventry and Lichfield, Worcester and Hereford, followed by the new arrivals, Gloucester (1541) and Bristol (1542), broken out of the greater units to become dioceses in their own right in 1541 and 1542 respectively: two Herefordshire parishes, Oswestry and Cellatyn, belonged to St Asaph's.

[2] The data here is the result of analysis of the county rolls in question but for comparison purposes draws on the earlier work of Alan Kreider referred to in the previous chapters. See Kreider, *English Chantries.*

memorials (obits, lights, lamps) to be included and, a crucial difference, the details of the priests who were the post-holders. Names, ages and salaries were recorded, together with references to other sources of income, specific duties (to teach or preach) or skills (a Welsh-speaker; an organ-player) and, interestingly, comments on their level of education, how well they were respected and if 'mete' to be employed in the cure of souls.

As dictated by the Articles of Commission and authorised by the Court of Augmentations in compliance with the Act, the appointment of commissioners began in mid-January 1548; the formal commissions appear in the Calendar of Patent Rolls dated 14 February 1548.[3] The surveys, giving the value of all the possessions covered by the Act, were required to be returned to the Court by the end of May, though as discussed fully in chapter two, legal ownership of the foundations would by this date have already changed hands.

Augmentations' use of the county structure was described in chapter two, its commissions being organised in county circuits. A further notable feature of the survey methodology is the emphatic adoption of the parish structure of administration: there is an almost total lack of any reference to the existence of the dioceses. The purpose of Augmentations was to support an infrastructure that would enable implementation of a Reformation with Erastian leanings; this lack of sympathy with episcopal status was reflected in the operational practice visible here.[4] But,

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[3] R.H Brodie ed. *CPR 2 Edward VI*, part VII, pp. 135-137.
[4] Though Henry VIII did not exclude bishops from senior roles as diplomats and counsellors, this was increasingly the case under Edward VI and a more thorough-going Reformation. A religious change less sympathetic to episcopal status was not going to be achieved by reference to a group whose spiritual and political alignment was not wholeheartedly that of the Crown. As a group, the bishops were theologically divided and its members were used to the exercise of power in their own right. This

inevitably perhaps, the move away from the old administration structures caused some practical confusion in the localities and not all involved were 'on message'. Despite the detailed statute, there are variations in the quality and format of reporting county by county. Information is displayed differently or not given the same weight, reflecting the individual approaches of the commissioners, surveyors, scribes and the reporting parish officers. In Gloucestershire, for example, the certificates are drawn up by parish within each Deanery but with no reference to the associated diocese: in Herefordshire, the order is by parish within Hundred while Warwickshire and Shropshire have only the parishes named. Worcestershire, though overseen by the same commission as Herefordshire, follows Warwickshire and Shropshire with parish names only for one set of certificates, while a second set (used to record pensions and continuations) has parishes listed within Deaneries. While it is possible, even likely, that the surveys of 1546 were available for reference, of these counties only Gloucestershire uses a similar structure for both accounts, deanery and parish, though not in the same sequence.[5] In the 1546 survey for Hereford and Worcester there are

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is not to ignore that there were reformers amongst them, principally Archbishop Cranmer, but even his support could not be taken for granted. Of the five bishops presiding in 1547 in the counties under review in this thesis, evidence survives to show that Heath of Worcester voted against every religious change proposed during Edward's reign, Sampson of Coventry & Lichfield voted against the bill for the Sacrament, and Skip of Hereford voted against dissolving chantries, against both the bill and the debate on the Sacrament and the First Bill of Uniformity. Wakeman of Gloucester very rarely attended Parliament and is regarded as being a 'time-server' of traditional cast; and the final member of the group, Paul Bush of Bristol, has a problematic history of his own. Bush is said to have voted against clerical marriage but shortly afterwards was married himself, an act for which he was deprived of his bishopric by Mary. Overall, these men would not have been an encouragement for change to be managed through the traditional 'diocese as manorial estate' administration, at least perhaps not as Henry, Edward and their supporting governments perceived it. The perception of episcopal power and how this might be better contained was made concrete by the secular county structure implemented by the Court of Augmentations. It was at the leading edge of Reformation management, streamlining its bureaucracy and promoting an over-arching authority, managing and constraining episcopal power. Michael Bush noted in his work on Protector Somerset that the only bishop formally involved with the central government by 1549 was Thomas Cranmer. M L Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (London: Edward Arnold, 1975) pp. 128-129. For the voting behaviour and attendance of the bishops, see Graves, ibid, Tables 1 and 2, p. 90. See Richardson, *Augmentations,* for a developmental and administrative history of the Court of Augmentations.

[5] Gloucestershire also has an example of churchwardens and parishioners being brought to explain the differences in their accounts of their parochial endowments as the commissioners did not believe the latest version. TNA E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire, certificate 34, the parish of

references to 'the first survey for the first fruits and tenths' supporting Kreider's comment that the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535 was used as source material.[6]

Scribal preference or inaccuracy always has to be borne in mind, magnified perhaps by the size of the task in hand. The consequences of the wider remit of the Edwardine act can be illustrated by a simple comparison of the 1546 and 1548 survey documents for Hereford and Worcester. In 1546 a single book of fifty-seven certificates was drawn up which covered both counties.[7] Separate accounts were produced in 1548, detailing ninety certificates for Herefordshire and seventy-five for Worcestershire.[8] This difference might also be accounted for in part by the possibility that the earlier survey was an abstract of the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, an exercise believed by contemporaries to be inaccurate; extracting details to provide new working documents can only have added to its problems.[9] Knowledge of this and awareness that errors were inevitable is likely to have encouraged the new commissions in the close examination indicated by the Lugwardine certificate, cited in chapter two, and aggravated the persistent issue of concealment, a story which ran and ran for decades.[10] That errors did occur is confirmed by analysis of the certificates

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Arlingham; Sir John Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates of Gloucestershire', in *TBGAS* Vol. 7-8 (1884) p. 262, Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 27.

[6] Kreider cites the 1546 survey document TNA E301/25 for Herefordshire and Worcestershire as an abstract of the Valor used for reference purposes. Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 9, fn. 24.

[7] TNA E301/25 Chantry Certificates for the Counties of Hereford and Worcester 1546.

[8] TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire 1548, TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire 1548.

[9] Kreider notes that the later commissions for various cities and counties including Bristol and Gloucester, Lincolnshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire uncovered flaws in the Valor survey. Kreider, *English Chantries,* pp. 9-11. On this subject see also Christopher Harrison, 'The Valor Ecclesiasticus: A re-appraisal based on Staffordshire Returns' *Staffordshire Studies* – Vol. II (1999) pp. 29-50.

[10] Concerns regarding parochial efforts to conceal property began almost immediately in Edward's reign. Thompson notes Sir William Cobham's undated report to Sir Richard Sackvylle, Chancellor of Augmentations after August 1548, on concealments in Herefordshire and Shropshire which were to 'his highness disherison', Thompson, 'Certificates of the Shropshire Chantries – Notes and Appendices' *TSANHS* 4th Series Vol. 1 (1911) pp. 115-190 at p. 175; Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 158. For further discussion of concealments generally see C J Kitching, 'The Quest for Concealed Lands in the Reign of Elizabeth 1', *TRHS,* 5th Series Vol. 24 (1974) pp. 63-78. William Crowche's

and the subsequent pension rolls. The largest number of omissions was in

Warwickshire where ten priests (five in Holy Trinity, Coventry and five of the

College in Stratford on Avon) occur first in the pension records.[11] The same is true of

Robert Grynsell, one of Hereford Cathedral's chantry priests and John Butler of

King's Norton and John Davyes of Pershore, both Worcestershire.[12] For Butler and

Davyes, warrants from the 1560s confirm the names of the chantries they served,

respectively St Michael's in King's Norton and Adam Harvington's in Pershore.

Elsewhere, there is evidence of contemporary concerns on accuracy, but rather to do

with the validity of pension claims: the patent for an Oxfordshire cleric Thomas

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early activities as county surveyor also formed part of the Crown's investigations into the diversions of money and property by Augmentations officials from the state. In August 1574, Sir John Huband, representing the Queen, sat in Hereford to take depositions regarding the activities of Crowche in his years as surveyor. Specifically, these related to the removal of lead from the roof of Leominster priory and also the transfer of tenure in properties belonging to the manor of Shobden in Herefordshire, actions taken twenty-two or twenty-three years previously under the authority of Crowche. For the Crowche investigation, see TNA E134/16-17Eliz/Mich4.

[11] All appear in the first pension payment roll for 1547-1548 with margin notes, which suggest that they had to produce their original letters patent for their posts and then enrol for letters patent for their pensions. The Coventry men all served the important Guild of the Trinity in Bablake and the Stratford men were all of the College. TNA SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo (1547-48) mm. 18-40v, 60-67v.

[12] The first reference found for Grynsell is in the pension roll for 1550-1551. He served in St Katherine's Chapel and may have served Ffolyat's chantry with Humphrey Barkeley. See TNA SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo (1550-51) mm. 16-30, 43-48v. Although Butler's first appearance is in the roll of 1548 that confirmed pensions for Worcestershire, Butler did not collect his pension until 1549-50. Perhaps it took him until this date to fully prove his eligibility and/or to obtain his letters patent as he, unlike his King's Norton colleagues at the same date, received payment for two and a half years. A warrant dated 1563 states that Butler was formally the chantry priest of St Michael in King's Norton, providing a small piece of evidence of both a priest and a foundation missing from the original record. Unlike Harvington's chantry, King's Norton did not appear at all in the 1546 survey. Adam Harvington's chantry, though not its priest, was recorded in 1546, but all that appeared two years later was a memo confirming that this foundation had existed and that the King had paid the priest's stipend out of the former monastery of Pershore. The implication is that this was already dissolved. However, there must have been some evidence for it still to be extant as Davyes was awarded a pension and his letters patent in September 1548. Both men occur in the pension lists for Shropshire and Worcestershire: TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo (1549-50) mm. 16-31v, 46-51v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/717H/S/Wa/Wo (1550-51) mm.16-30, 43-48v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/718H/S/Wa/Wo (1551-52) mm. 16-28v, 42v-48v. Warrants survive for Butler in TNA LR5/23 Warrants 168 and its duplicate 169 (dated 22.10.1563). For reference to Davyes' grant of letters patent (said to be dated September 2Edward VI) see TNA SC6/EDWVI/715 (1548-49) 21-39, 56-64, Davyes also appears in TNA Officers of the Auditors of the Land Revenue and Predecessors Receivers Accounts, TNA LR6/123/01 (1553-1553) 19-31v 45-52v and TNA LR5/23 warrants 402 (dated 1.5.1563) and 189 (dated 5.10.1563).

Haryngford was declared null and void because he was actually not the appointed chantry priest but a deputy.[13]

Given these issues and the background to the survey, what evidence does it provide? The following sections have something further to say regarding the quality of the evidence but are principally devoted to what can be extracted from the details recorded in the certificates. Though this also involves discussion of the numbers and types of foundations that were recorded, where they were to be found and other forms of memorial endowment, its prime concern however is the information regarding the priests they employed.

2.   THE CERTIFICATE EVIDENCE[14]

2.1   The Foundations

As recorded by the commissioners of the Court of Augmentations in the 1548 survey and in subsequent pension rolls, the five counties of this study yielded 443 posts, held by 427 individuals.[15] Tables 3.1 and 3.2 in Appendix I p.351 show the breakdown by county of the number of foundation posts and the number of

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[13] Rose Graham (ed.), *The Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire*, Oxford Record Series Vol. 1 (1919) pp. 23, 47, 55 from TNA E301/93 and E301/97 Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire – certificate 14a.

[14] Unless otherwise stated the analysis and statistics following are derived from the following National Archive (TNA) documents: E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Bristol and Gloucestershire, E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire, E301/41Chantry Certificates for Shropshire, E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire, E301/57 Chantry Certificates (pensions) for Warwickshire, E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire, E301/61 Chantry Certificates (pensions) for Worcestershire. This discussion on the forms of institution available for memorial foundations is based on the work of Katherine Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* pp. 8-29 and Kreider, *English Chantries* pp. 71-85.

[15] It should be perhaps repeated here that it is the active foundations, those that were supporting a priest or priests at the time of the survey, and the priests named there that appear in this study. Vacant, concealed posts or foundations suppressed before the dissolutions of 1548 are outside its remit.

individuals holding them and the number of posts by foundation type within each county.

These tables provide a high-level but revealing outline of the types of foundations declared by these counties in 1548. From Table 3.1, it becomes obvious that all but one of the counties have priests holding more than one post and that Shropshire has the highest number, which will be discussed below. In Table 3.2 some of the variations in the distribution of different types of foundation show up directly: colleges only occur in Shropshire and Warwickshire and there is lack of guilds and fraternities in Herefordshire.

Though only seven institutions occur as principally school foundations, fourteen others are recorded as having an individual specifically employed for teaching, one, John Peart, Usher at King's Norton, being 'no priest'. Of these, four priest-schoolmasters were employed by Guild foundations; Brailes, Coventry's Trinity Guild, Stratford's Guild of the Holy Cross and the Trinity Guild in Worcester. Others were recorded in Bosbury, Bucknell, Yardley and Pembridge in Herefordshire, in Newport in Shropshire, King's Norton, and Rock in Worcestershire and in Katherine Vele's School (Wooton), Gryndor's School (Newland) and Ferby's School (Chipping Campden), all in Gloucestershire. However, this classification obscures the number of priests whose secondary duties included teaching or other instances where some funds had been converted to support or augment a school as in Bromsgrove and Cirencester.[16]

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[16]At Bromsgrove, £7 of income from endowed lands had been used to pay a stipendiary priest-schoolmaster. In Cirencester the funds from Our Lady Chantry or Service had been converted to support a priest-schoolmaster because the town had lost separate funding when Winchcombe

With regard to the types of foundation recorded, Table 3.2 suggests that the evidence here complies with Kreider's description of chantries as the most 'common' of all the intercessory foundations, employing the greater part of the clerical population.[17] Overall in this study those foundations identified as 'chantries' exceed those designated 'services' but there are county variations. Gloucestershire's holding of both classifications differs only by four (fifty-two and forty-eight respectively). Herefordshire has twice as many chantries as services (thirty-nine and nineteen) whereas in Shropshire that equation is reversed (fourteen to twenty-nine). Warwickshire has only chantries (thirty-two) but Worcestershire's figures creep towards a similar balance to Gloucestershire with twenty chantries and thirteen services. But these identifications and their numeration cannot be taken as absolute: the application of titles to foundations and clerics lacks clarity. One example being the three services in the chapel of Bewdley in Worcestershire, which are described as a 'chantry or service' and their priests as 'chantry or stipendiary'.[18]

Strictly speaking there were legal differences in the constitution of chantries and services that affected tenure and status which would be of great significance to the clerics involved. To gain a perpetual chantry post was to have tenure equivalent to a benefice. It involved presentation to the Bishop, institution and a place for life, the downside being that it could also be liable for clerical taxation. Depending on the

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monastery was dissolved 'to the grave discommodyte of the said town'. Evesham also made a plea for their school which had been funded by the 'late monastery' which had provided '10 pounds with meat and drink' since the reign of Edward III; three priests are named in the Evesham certificate but the schoolmaster is not in the list. In Ledbury, Richard Wheler was the stipendiary priest of the Trinity who also taught local children - he was said to have no other living 'except the little rewards of the friends of the scholars'.   TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire, certificates 11, Bromsgrove and 35 for Evesham; TNA E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire, certificate 64, Cirencester; TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Hereford, certificate 9, Ledbury.
[17] Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 5.
[18] TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire certificate 25, Ribbesford-Chapel of Bewdley.

value and terms of the endowment, formal chantries could offer a priest an income, access to land, and a house or chamber and so were not unattractive career moves.[19] Service posts were stipendiary, cash-based, and based on renewable contracts in the care of trustees who could 'hire and fire'. While simple error in accurate recording of information is inevitably a factor, doubt over the precise terms of an ancient foundation is not unlikely; encouraged perhaps by the close equivalence of the institutions. These were the noted formal definitions; however, it is salutary to consider that perhaps contemporaries did not always differentiate as precisely as the legalities might suggest or historical analysts might like. Kreider refers to the contemporary habit of using the term 'chantry' collectively to mean both these and the stipendiary services, while Wood-Legh had earlier commented that chantries and services could share features, which made 'indefinite' any distinction between them.[20] Furthermore, concerns generated by Reformation change, not least the fear of losing local property to central control, might well have encouraged in presenters to the commissions a desire to elect what appeared the least vulnerable option, a service. Stipendiary services could be regarded as more flexible.[21] The priest may have been 'removable at will' (of the parishioners or proctors) or funds sometimes channelled to other uses, to the refurbishment of highways and bridges at times of need or even, as in Bromsgrove, for a school and for 'sending soldiers to the wars'.[22]

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[19] See, for example, chapter two, pp.92-93, above for the property belonging to the chantries of Tanworth.

[20] Kreider considers that the similarities between services and chantries were 'so great' that the latter term was now 'popular parlance' for all such institutions, Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 10; Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* p. 28.

[21] But conversely (as discussed later on) some posts, that were technically services, may have hardened by custom into effective chantries, so that the annual reappointment of a long-serving priest had become a formality and was regarded as an obligation.

[22] TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire, certificate 11, Bromsgrove.

The popularity of services for founders was encouraged by the fact that they were outside ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the power to employ postholders lay in the locality. The traditional perpetual chantries were a legal institution that required licensing by the Crown and provided its serving chaplain with the same legal status as the holder of a benefice, it involved institution to the office by a bishop and gave similar rights to the possession and management of the endowment property. The Crown (by virtue of the king being the chief (land) lord of the realm) exacted heavy fines from founders in lieu of the fact that the land being employed to fund the chantry was being taken out of the king's reach. [23] Kreider states that before the late fifteenth century fines levied were between one and three times a property's annual income but that this increased after 1470 to between three and five times annual value thus encouraging the interest in alternative forms of endowment, principally feoffments to uses.[24] Enfeoffment was an arrangement that needed neither Crown nor episcopal involvement and it was this method of property provision that commonly supported the stipendiary service priests. In parishes, guilds and fraternities, through bequests of land, real estate or other funds to named feoffees or trustees, legal charges were avoided by making the latter the 'owners' of the property but with the revenues directed the use of the endowment. Proper management of the bequests was to provide financial support for the offices and services as defined by the founders with the choice of chaplain vested in them also. A variation of this was to specify that the

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[23] These were licences in 'mortmain' – literally 'dead hand' – though it was not the hand of the deceased donor but the hands of the managing corporation that was responsible for removing the land from the reach of the Crown. For discussion and descriptions of the various foundation types, see Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* pp. 8-28, Kreider, *English Chantries,* pp. 71-72, 74-75, 80-85, for a specific discussion regarding the foundations of Bristol, see Burgess, 'Strategies for Eternity', in Harper-Bill, ed. *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers*, pp. 1-23.

[24] Kreider, *English Chantries,* p.81.

priest should serve to say mass for a given number of years with the funds re-directed to other forms of good works at the end of this period.[25]

However, both these means of creating memorials faded in the 1530s as the Crown's long-term dislike of the alienation of land aided the development of the legal framework for latter spiritual Reformation by constraining the ways in which memorial services could be endowed. An Act of 1532 was designed to put a stop to enfeoffment, describing it as causing 'the same like losses and inconveniences and it is as much prejudicial to them as doth and is in case where lands be alienated in mortmain'.[26] Although no similar Act specifically removed mortmain licensing, Kreider notes that the last such was issued in 1534.[27] However, it was the Statute of Uses of 1536 that finally removed the benefits of enfeoffment by denying would-be founders the ability to divide property into capital 'owners' and revenue 'beneficiaries'.[28] Though the state made these moves as part of its management of Reformation change, its actions did not completely bring to an end the founding of memorial posts. In Shifnal, Shropshire, in 1536 Thomas Howle left property rent to support a priest for 120 years, a post which was held by Michael Howle (surely no coincidence, perhaps a son whose employment was a subsidiary reason for the

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[25] John Jones Service in the parish of Cirencester in Gloucestershire was founded in the twenty-third year of Henry VII's reign (1507-08) for a term of sixty years, after which its 'revenues' were to be used by the townspeople 'for the repairing and mending of highways thereabouts leading to and fro the said Town and about and other like necessaries as them should seem most requisite or needful'. TNA E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire, certificate 64, Cirencester.
[26] Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 85.
[27] Kreider, ibid.
[28] Elton discusses this Statute in *Reform and Reformation* where, though he endorses Henry VIII's stance on this as 'important and beneficial' overall for its resolution of legal practice, he considers the consequences for testamentary endowments as 'politically unwise and socially unacceptable'. Elton, *Reform and Reformation,* pp. 228-229.

foundation).[29] As late as 1546, Watkyn William of Welsh Newton in Herefordshire left £6 in his will for a priest to pray for him for one year.[30]

In addition to parish-based service and chantry priests praying for personal founders there were other institutions through which intercessory prayers might be arranged. The certificates record six priests serving chantries within Hereford Cathedral, two of which were named after the bishops who had founded them.[31] The guilds of Knowle and Stratford upon Avon employed priests to pray for the souls of their members, while the College of Stratford upon Avon had begun its life in the fourteenth century as a foundation of five chantry priests, though none of its priests are titled such in the 1548 survey.[32] In Newport, the College of St Mary had a double chantry at the heart of its foundation dedicated to prayers for their founder, Thomas Draper. It was also charged with saying mass for the brethren of the local Guild of St Mary with which it was closely affiliated.[33] Another Shropshire college, that of

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[29] The legal organisation for this service appears to have been by indenture. This may have been done in Howle's lifetime and then confirmed by his will, the source of the funding was rent from a property in Staffordshire, Walton Grange. TNA E301/41 Certificates for Shropshire certificate 79/80 Shifnal, see also Thompson, 'Certificates of the Shropshire Chantries' *TSANHS* 3rd Series Vol. 1o (1910) pp. 377-378.

[30] Watkyn relied on his executors to find and fund the priest to pray for him. This direct and personal, rather than legal, route was the easiest and increasingly the only option for those who wished to make provision for their soul. Duffy believes that despite evidence of cases involving executors failing in their duty, most will 'in all probability ……have discharged their religious responsibilities to the full'. TNA prob/11/31/62/51 Register Alen: Will of William Watkyn, dated 6th February 1545/46 – see chapter four pp. 213-214 for further discussion and what happened next; Duffy, *Stripping the Altars'*
p. 351.

[31] TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire, certificate 1 Hereford Cathedral.

[32] For the history of the Guild of Knowle see W.B. Bickley, *The Register of the Guild of Knowle in the county of Warwick, 1451-1535*, (Walsall: W.H. Robinson, 1894); for the history of the Guild of Stratford-upon-Avon, see the Introduction in Mairi Macdonald. *The register of the Guild of the Holy Cross, St Mary and St John the Baptist, Stratford-upon-Avon,* (Stratford upon Avon: The Dugdale Society and The Shakespeare Trust, 2007), pp. 1-32; For the College of Stratford upon Avon, see TNA E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire, certificate 22 Stratford upon Avon and Robert Bearman, 'The Early Reformation Experience in a Warwickshire Market Town: Stratford upon Avon, 15330-1580' in *MH* Vol. 32, (2007) p. 71.

[33] A T Gaydon and R B Pugh eds. *A History of the County of Shropshire*, Volume 2, Victoria County History, 1973. TNA E301/ 41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire certificate 34 Newport, the College of St Mary; Thompson, 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates' p. 366.

Battlefield, had prayers for the souls of soldiers who died in the 1403 Battle of Shrewsbury as the source of its foundation.[34]

Though security of tenure was of importance to the priests, for the founders it was the security of their souls or at least to be remembered which mattered. This was one objective of all the personal foundations whether grounded in a formal licence or by responsibilities vested in their executors.[35] It is not suggested that more altruistic motives did not share the hearts of founders - far from it- but it is hard to disentangle these things and the schoolmasters, preachers and priests, however funded, were there to enable their 'divers founders' to be remembered. The same was true for the lesser endowments of lights, lamps and obits. Remembrance might not always be by individual name but their souls would be prayed for, perhaps named in the parish bederoll or as one of many at a parish's annual anniversary services, its 'general mind for all good doers' who had supported the parish by their bequests.[36] We have to remember that behind the evidence of the certificates, however partial the picture provided, is the material and spiritual investment of a parish's past and present. This, in addition to the employment of its priests, was what was being unravelled by dissolution.

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[34]TNA E301/41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire certificate 3 The College of Battlefield

[35] What Clive Burgess in a recent paper called 'the obligation of spiritual death duties' (Oxford Brookes, 21st April 2007).

[36] This is the title given to an annual service for those investing in the church in the parish, see for example C. C. Webb ed. *Churchwardens' accounts of St Michael, Spurriergate, York, 1518 - 1537 Vol.1, 1518 - 1537*. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Texts and Calendars, Vol. 20 (1997).

3.   PRIESTS AND POSTS

3.1   Status

In the range of foundations described in these surveys, one finds the extremes expected of any profession. At the highest level, the certificates recorded the Deans of prestigious colleges and, at the lowest, those priests whose payment was found from 'devotion' (parochial donation) or the farming of livestock. We also have the boys who were choristers in the College of Stratford on Avon.[37]

The most prestigious office holders in the counties of this study were Thomas Magnus and Hugh Coren, both recorded in the College of St Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth and each, in reality, having incomes and roles well outside what was reported there. Without providing details, the certificates do record that both men had other livings and indeed, their careers were such that each warrants entry in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.[38]   Magnus, (born c1463/64), was a diplomat who enjoyed 'a close personal relationship' with Henry VIII's sister, Margaret, Queen of Scotland, served on Anglo-Scottish missions and attended Henry at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. This illustrious, eventful career was rewarded with numerous benefices and posts, a fact which would have been well known to the commissioners. Magnus's livings were in all likelihood too numerous to list and not all would have been relevant to the survey but their omission is a comment on the way

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[37] William Allen and William Locke, both aged 12, Thomas Akerley aged 13 and Thomas Perin age 14. TNA E301/53 Chantry Certificates and E301/57 Pensions for Warwickshire, certificate no 22 Stratford upon Avon.
[38] Thomas Magnus, (1463/4–1550)' and Hugh 'Curwen' [Coren], (*c.*1500–1568)', both *ODNB.*

in which the reports were drawn up.[39]   Similarly, Hugh Coren's career in the

adjoining county and diocese of Hereford would have been well known; in 1541 he

had been appointed dean of Hereford Cathedral and was also one of the king's

chaplains.

There are other examples of pluralism amongst those in college positions but,

as might be expected, this can be found at all levels of the 'chantry' ladder. How

many were in this fortunate position, even at this more ordinary level? Furthermore,

this is not a situation which automatically requires us to 'name and shame', when one

contrasts with Magnus and Coren the position of, amongst others, Robert Mydelton

stipendiary serving the Trinity Service in High Ercal in Shropshire with a stipend of

15s and Richard Harrys, a stipendiary holding the Service of Our Lady in Felton, also

in Shropshire, with annual income of 11s.2d.[40]   These levels of income demand some

other form of support, in cash or kind, in order to achieve a viable standard of living.

In addition to income, security of tenure must also have mattered to the status and

personal stability of these post holders.   Edmund Jones, being paid a similar sum, 12s

3d, for his service in Aymestrey, Herefordshire was, as will be shown later, able to

remedy his situation.[41]

As services were not ecclesiastical benefices, they in theory offered less secure

employment than the more formally instituted chantries. Wood-Legh quotes John

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[39] The list of counties in which Magnus had posts included Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire and Westmoreland in addition to Shropshire and Montgomery. Thompson commented as follows on an entry for Magnus in the certificates for Montgomery, 'it appears that he was prebendary of Llanbadarn Odwyn in the collegiate church of Llanddewi and is described as "a man of great age and having diverse great spiritual promotions" ', Thompson, 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates', *TSANHS*, 4th Series Vol 1 (1911) p. 122; TNA E301/74 Certificate for South Wales.

[40] E301/ 41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire certificate 6 Felton (Harrys) certificate 7 High Ercal (Mydelton), Thompson, 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates', *TSANHS*, 3rd Series Vol 10 pp. 348-349.

[41] What is known of Jones' career and other sources of income is discussed in more detail later in this thesis; see this chapter pp. 147-149 below.

Weston's instructions for the management of his memorial: ' yf the same preest so chosen unhonestly behave hym, then I woll that he be ammoeved & put from his service by the said wardeyns & parrishens and another honest preest in his stede by them be chosen'.[42] So was the annual renewal of their contract viewed with apprehension or was it axiomatic that these posts would offer security of employment for the holders? How often priests were 'ammoeved' is hard to establish. Perhaps the 1546 description of posts in Worcester as being 'perpetual stipendiaries', accurately describes the reality of the situation for some.[43] No doubt this depended on their performance and their relationship with their parishioners and wardens. Intermittent employment of priests, as and when the need arose, was common and the situation of those so employed is intriguing in the context of 1548.   Sir John Huntbache, a priest living and working in Halesowen, appears in the pre-1548 churchwarden accounts being paid for holding mass, particularly that of St Katherine from 1505 until 1547-48.[44] He does not appear in the 1548 certificates but at his death in 1550, when he was still living in Halesowen, he left bequests of money and goods to the parish some of which was directed to the repair 'of highways I have made', indicating a loyal and continuous relationship with the parish. If he had actually been formally employed that year could he have received a pension from the state? This was perhaps one result of the survey which could be fortunate for some and less so for others. Since one aspect explored in this thesis is the personal response to redundancy, the closeness or otherwise of the relationship of intercessory priests and their parishes has to be examined. Personal histories, early careers, length of service, possible family

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[42] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries,* p. 17.

[43] Though this may describe the status of the service intended to last for perpetuity rather than the tenure of the priests. TNA E301/25 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire and Worcestershire, 1546, certificate 1 St Swithin, Worcester.

[44] *Halesowen Churchwardens' Accounts (1487-1582)* parts 1-2. Frank Somers ed. (London: Worcester Historical Society, 1952-1953).

links with the foundation being served or the locality and their financial situations will be discussed in the next chapter. The amount and quality of the information available is a constraint on this but the certificate information allows some discussion of personal information to begin here.

3.2   Age Groups

A review of the recorded ages of the priests here shows that this is not a youthful population (see Table 3.3 in Appendix I p.352).   In all counties here, the highest numbers occur in the age groups forty to forty-nine and fifty to fifty-nine, closely followed by those aged sixty to sixty-nine.   Excluding the four adolescent choristers of Stratford upon Avon from the figures shows that 77.66% (292) of the priests of these counties for whom age is known (376) were in the forty to sixty-nine age group, the majority of whom were aged from fifty to fifty-nine (109).   Only Hereford and Shropshire have priests in their twenties (one each); in all only 12.23% were under forty years.

However, a critique of the accuracy of age groups and recording is necessary. There are variations in recording with omissions in each county, in all forty-six ages are missing. Gloucestershire has the most complete list with only one omission, Shropshire, with twenty missing, the most incomplete. Where a record of ordination to priest's orders has been found, the accepted ordination age of twenty-four has been used to estimate age in 1548, increasing the number of usable ages by nine. Another problem arises with individuals who are known to hold more than one post but their age records differ on their respective records; these do not differ greatly, and in such

cases, the younger age has been adopted.[45]   While these cases might suggest recording errors, they might also reveal a less formal attitude towards age so with both these possibilities in mind the frequency of conveniently round numbers, forty, fifty, sixty, appearing in the lists should be noted. We might also wonder who was being asked the question – would the vicar and churchwardens necessarily have known the precise age of their priest?[46] One can imagine estimates being readily provided at interview: William Hyggyns, chantry priest of Lugwardine, is recorded in the survey roll as aged forty, but there is no mention of this in the certificate retained with Crowche's workbook discussed in chapter two above, nor is Hyggyns mentioned in the list of those presenting. [47] Maybe his fellow parishioners were asked what they thought. Perhaps this is the reason for what might look like a rationing system for the age group eighty plus. Of this elderly group all five counties have three priests each recorded as being precisely eighty, the odd ones out being Shropshire's Thomas Magnus aged eighty -four and John Parson, fellow of Battlefield College who is said to be ninety-two.

None of these caveats suggest that the ages recorded are too out of step with reality. Comparing the figures produced here with other studies confirms that this Midlands evidence is not unique. Grouping Wood-Legh's figures shows that 81% of

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[45] An instance of this occurs with Edward Beeston who appears in the certificate for the College of St Mary. Shrewsbury holding two posts with an age of forty-five recorded on one and fifty on another; forty-five has been accepted for the purpose of this analysis. TNA E301/41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire, certificate 1 College of St Mary, Shrewsbury.

[46] For example, John Ree schoolmaster of Rock in Worcestershire was said to be seventy (written in full as 'three score and ten') but was still teaching close to his death in 1572 (see chapter five) when, theoretically, he would have been in his nineties. He was ordained priest in 1519 which, if he was close to the minimum age of twenty-four suggests the 1548 record is twenty years out. TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire certificate 24 Rock. For a chronology of Ree's career see Appendix V, pp.384-385.

[47] TNA E301/24 1548 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire, certificate number 13 Lugwardine, TNA E301/26 f18r William Crowche's workbook, Lugwardine certificate unnumbered.

the five counties of her study were aged between forty and sixty-nine.[48] The same exercise with Kreider's figures shows 60% of his selected six counties aged between forty and sixty-nine, suggesting a slightly younger population. However, over half of Kreider's study group occur in one county, Yorkshire, 120 of whom are in the age group forty and forty-nine, suggesting an artificial shift in the overall averages. Despite this, closer comparison with his evidence does suggest that the adult priests of this present study may have been a little older overall: **mean** ages range from 50.40 (Warwickshire) to 55.53 (Worcestershire), compared with a range of 47.4 to 55 for Kreider's six counties.[49]

Of interest also are these age groups as they appear for each foundation type. Table 3.4 (in Appendix I p.352) shows the age distribution across the 393 posts, (again excluding the Stratford choristers) for which a viable age can be established.[50] The similarity of the average ages throughout the range serves to emphasise how few young men were holding these posts at this date, and that this holds true for all the differing foundations. Though producing the lowest mean age of 47.82 years, the guild and fraternity priests have the highest median (54). Service priests, with a mean age of 49.89 have a lower median of 50. The same figures for the chantry priests show them to be the elder, with a mean age of 52.79 and a median of 52.

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[48] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* pp. 231-232.

[49] Kreider's counties for this table are Essex, Kent, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire. It is likely that the figures for Yorkshire create some distortion. This large county is exceptional in its number of clerics, it forms over half of Kreider's study group with 355 of 683 clerics, 120 of whom are in the age group 40-49 which reduces the overall averages. The largest age group in three of the six counties of Kreider's study is that aged 50-59, (Essex, Lincolnshire and Wiltshire). Kreider also cites three chantry priests from the Yorkshire certificates who were said to be aged eighty-six, eighty-seven and ninety. Kreider, English *Chantries* Table 1.5 p. 24.

[50] The figure of 393 refers to individual posts not persons and because some men had more than one post, this figure is higher than the number of priests for whom age is known.

This small but distinct difference in age may reflect an historic situation, stipendiary posts are always likely to have been those which attracted (or were offered to) younger men as they started out on their clerical careers. Chantry priests with their more secure tenure would also have been more inclined to stay in post. There is also a view that chantry posts may have been regarded as a form of retirement pension.[51] Heath suggests them as attractive propositions for elderly priests who found parochial duties too onerous, and it is certainly true that that the underlying reason for the difference in the figures given above for chantry priests versus their service and guild fellows is the high numbers of chantry holders aged over sixty.[52] Kreider, though, believes this to have been an uncommon situation at this date, favouring the movement of middle-aged ex-religious into the ranks of chantry priests as the explanation for any increase in the average age of this population.[53] However, extracting and analysing the ages of the known ex-religious in this group makes little material difference to the age patterns already identified for the total study group, see Table 3.3, Appendix I, p. 352.[54]

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[51] That such posts could be regarded in this way is borne out by the request of Christopher Smith, the elderly former Prior of Whalley in Lancashire for one of two posts in the parish church, which had previously been supplied by the Abbey. Heath, *English Parish Clergy,* p. 185; *L. and P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), p. 840; *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 6*, *Victoria County History* p. 349-360

[52] One Shropshire priest who appears to have shared this view of his post was William Palmer, stipendiary of Isombridge chapel in High Ercal. The Valor records him as chaplain there in the 1535 and he was still there in 1548 receiving £1.10s, and was pensioned accordingly. However, Thompson reports the parishioners as saying that he had done no service for them for five years, Palmer was aged eighty at this date, so this might have had something to do with it, particularly since he never seems to have collected his pension either- the pension rolls in which his name occurs report in successive years that he did not appear to collect his dues. TNA E301/41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire certificate 7 Isombridge Chapel (parish of High Ercal) and Thompson, 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates' p. 238. TNA SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo (1547-48) 18-40v, 60-67v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo (1548-49) 21v-39v, 56v-64v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/716H/S/Wa/Wo (1549-50) 16-31v, 46-51v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo (1550-51) 16-30, 43-48v.

[53] Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 24.

[54] Ages are known for seventy-seven of the ex-religious in this study, extracting them from the total group reduces the figure of 77.66% for those between forty and sixty-nine, to 76.92%, a drop of only 0.74%. See Table 3.3, Appendix I, p. 352.

3.3   Learning And Behaviour

Another flawed area, rather more surprising for its omission perhaps, is that of formal educational qualifications: only three men are recorded as graduates, one in Herefordshire, and two in Worcestershire, all three involved in teaching.[55]   If the identifications are correct, investigation has raised to twenty-eight (6.62%) those who, at various stages of their careers, were recorded as scholars or graduates. From this sample, Gloucestershire has the highest number of graduates at eight, followed by Shropshire with seven, Worcester with six, Warwickshire five and Hereford two. The gap between the recorded figure of three and subsequent figure of twenty-eight is significant and highlights the issues with accuracy of recording (or reporting).

Not surprisingly perhaps, given their attractions as national and provincial capitals, even the improved figure of 6.62% is low when considered in comparison with Heath's observation that one-sixth (17%) of the unbeneficed clergy in London were graduates or with Skeeter's calculation for Bristol that 20% of the chantry priests serving there between 1525 and 1548 were graduates.[56]   Equally unsurprising then should be the preference amongst this admittedly small group of twenty-eight for employment in the important centres and with substantial guilds and colleges. Three of Shropshire's higher-educated men were very eminent and not typical of the survey population as a whole: Dr. Thomas Magnus, as mentioned previously, was Dean of College of St Mary Magdalene in Bridgnorth, had court connections held numerous other offices, Hugh Coren, DCL, appearing in the survey courtesy of his prebend in

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[55] In Hereford, John Roode BA of Pembridge; in Worcestershire, Henry Saunders MA, of King's Norton and John Oliver BA of Worcester.

[56] Heath, *English Parish Clergy,* page 81, Martha Skeeters, *Community and Clergy - Bristol and the Reformation,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993) p. 86.

the College of St Mary Magdalene in Bridgnorth, was Dean of Hereford Cathedral and George Lee, LLB, Dean of St Chad's in Shrewsbury and brother of Rowland Lee (Bishop of Lichfield up until 1543) held a number of senior posts in the diocese.[57] In Bristol, Thomas Silke, MA, was Master of the Kalendars Guild in All Saints, and one of his three priests, Nicholas Harris, was possibly an Oxford BA.[58] Anthony Barker, Warden of the College of Stratford upon Avon, was a Bachelor of Arts according to the pension rolls but Master of Arts in the Faculty Office registers.[59]

Stepping down the scale reveals graduates as chaplains, chantry priests, stipendiaries and, as we might expect, schoolmasters. Roger Salter, MA, now Chaplain of the Free Chapel in High Ercal, Shropshire, had been Warden of the College of St Mary & St Nicholas in Newport, also in Shropshire.[60] Thomas King, Chaplain of the 'Chapel or Fraternity of the Assumption', in St Nicholas, Bristol was a Cambridge MA and his stipendiary colleague William Hunte, serving Spycer's Chantry, was an Oxford BA.[61] Roger Lewes holding Stoke's Chantry in St Thomas's,

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[57] M George Lee B.Cn.L was Prebendary of Wellington 1538-1541, (Collated 26 Sept. 1538) Prebendary of Bishopsull 1537-1538 (Adm. 27 May 1537) and Treasure of Lichfield Cathedral from 1541, (Collated 9 March 1541) B. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1540:* Vol.10, Coventry and Lichfield, (London: Institute of Historical Research 1964) pp. 12, 22,66; Coren and Magnus, above pp. 13, 105-106.

[58] Skeeters, *Community and Clergy,* Appendix 1, Parish Clergy and The Religious, Silke, p. 192, Harris, p. 172.

[59] Emden has Barker as MA in 1522-23 and the Faculty Office record, which notes his dispensation to hold other plural benefices, agrees with this. This dispensation to hold livings up to value of £300 is dated 10.5.1537, yet the pension records of eleven years later and beyond continually refer to him as BA, providing a further reason for caution when dealing with document detail. D. S. Chambers, ed. *Faculty office registers, 1534-1549: a calendar of the first two registers of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Faculty Office* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1966) p. 116; For Barker as BA, see pension rolls TNA SC6/EDWVI/715, 716 and 717, for Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire*;* A B Emden*, A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford, A.D.1501-1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1974).

[60] Roger Salter MA was ordained sub-deacon with his title as Warden of College of St Mary & St Nicholas in Newport on 16 June 1492. Virginia Davis, *Clergy in London in the late Middle Ages,* (Great Britain: Centre for Metropolitan History – University of London) p. 31; the relevant database reference from the accompanying disc is Hill fo7r, Ceremony 459, Ordinations V1.1 London Clergy\secular\tex.

[61] Skeeters, *Community and Clergy,* Appendix 1 p. 174 and p. 177.

Bristol may have been Bachelor of Canon Law, and John Harrold, an ex-religious, chantry priest of Almondsbury in Gloucestershire, was said to be a scholar in Oxford when his house (Bruton, in Somerset) was dissolved in 1539.[62] John Ree, Bachelor of Arts, was chantry priest and schoolmaster of Rock in Worcestershire.[63] Tim Cooper's study of Coventry and Lichfield diocesan clergy reveals no graduates in his sample of stipendiaries' wills and only four amongst the dioceses' 930 stipendiaries working in 1533, two of whom were schoolmasters.[64] The sample for this thesis (based on county rather than diocesan boundaries) performs slightly better; of the 109 clearly identified as stipendiaries, four were graduates (two of whom stipendiary schoolmasters and two stipendiary priests) with one other employed wholly as a schoolmaster.[65]

Though the increased figures suggest a significant under-reporting, what we have does not take this graduate sample to the heights of London   As a guide to the number of available graduates; Virginia Davis's work on London ordinands suggests

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[62] For Roger Lewes, see Skeeters, *Community and Clergy,* Appendix 1, p. 178, though identification for Lewes is not absolute. For John Harrold, priest of the Brokenbury Chantry, Almonsdbury Gloucestershire, and the dissolution of the monastery of Bruton to which Harrold belonged and where he was described as a 'scholar in Oxon' in the dissolution list. See *'Houses of Augustinian canons: The priories of Bruton and Burtle Moor'*, in William Page ed. *A History of the County of Somerset:* Vol. 2 *VCH* (1911) pp. 134-139.

[63] John Ree, BA, Rock, Worcestershire, served the Chantry of Our Lady and the school there. Ree was a client of the Coningsby family of Herefordshire and his graduate status appears in the registers of Hereford on his institution to another Coningsby living, Hampton Wafer, 1531: A. T. Bannister ed. *Institutions etc AD 1530-1900* (Hereford: Diocese of |Hereford 1923) pp. 1-26.

[64] Tim Cooper, *The Last Generation of English Catholic Clergy: Parish Priests in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield in the Early Sixteenth Century',* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999) p. 106.

[65] Stipendiary Schoolmasters: Henry Saunders MA, King's Norton, Worcestershire and John Roode BA, Pembridge, Herefordshire, stipendiary-priests: William Foyns/Fownes, Bromsgrove, Worcestershire (though he may have taught the school and was certainly the schoolmaster there after the dissolution), and William Hunte of Bristol already cited. John Oliver BA, the schoolmaster of the Trinity School in Worcester may have been a layman. Analysing twenty-six graduates by diocese gives Worcester the majority with seven, Bristol and Coventry and Lichfield have five each, Hereford has four, Gloucester three and the Bridgnorth College of Mary Magdalene, a Royal Peculiar, two.

19% between 1490-1529 and 27% in the decade from 1510.[66] The graduates found here are a far from homogenous group which serves to emphasise that the survey population as a whole was not one which could be dismissed as made up of the low-achievers. If a conclusion can be drawn it would be that it agrees with the work of Robert Swanson who has written of the increasing difficulties of graduates in the 15th fifteenth-century in finding senior posts. They had to climb from the lower slopes of the clerical pyramid, taking posts as chantry priests, preachers and curates or, a little closer to the top, a vicar's benefice.[67] While noting Swanson's observation that towards the beginning of the sixteenth century matters had improved, given that there was at this date a discrepancy between the high numbers of ordinands and available posts it seems likely that some graduates would still seek posts which, while having less security and income, would at least provide experience and be a first step.[68] Though there are some here which would suggest this, few amongst the graduates are in the lowliest posts, if income is a guide, and some of these had other sources of income as will be seen later in this chapter.

3.4   Character Assessments

If recording formal educational qualifications was not a priority, informal assessment of learning and behaviour, the question of 'demeanour' as referred to in the Act figures prominently in certain of the surveys. Consideration of the recorded comments is interesting, suggestive as they are of contemporary attitudes towards

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[66] Davis, *Clergy in London,* p. 31. If compared with incumbents, Heath has various estimates: 20% of Canterbury diocese incumbents between 1454-86 were graduates, London, (an exception to most rules), in 1522 had 52 incumbents of whom six were doctors and thirty-three MA's, alongside the one-sixth unbeneficed who were graduates. Heath, *English Clergy,* p. 81.

[67] Swanson, *Church and Society* pp. 40-64.

[68] The issue of the numbers of ordinands and the availability of posts is discussed in greater depth in chapter four of this thesis.

the clergy here. Table 3.5 (in Appendix I p.352) provides an unscientific assessment of the comments, which by their nature were also far from scientific. Amongst them are twenty-eight instances of priests being 'well-learned' or 'competently-learned' that might suggest some better education. This might have been gained provincially but it was not uncommon for students to attend university without obtaining a formal degree, treating the institutions as a source of learning and social networking but without committing to the rigour of examination, a not unattractive idea.

Overall the comments can appear both formulaic and inconsistent principally because we lack qualifying information. Gilbert Gybbins, for example, aged 60 and stipendiary priest of Our Lady, in Tenbury, Worcestershire, is described as 'competently learned, not able to keep a cure' with no indication of the actual impediment.[69] The categories assigned, if they can be so formalised, appear wholly subjective. Was one commissioner's measure for 'competently learned' the same as another and what were the shades of difference which earned the award of 'well-learned' or simply 'learned'? Kreider undertook a similar analysis of the comments for the counties he reviewed and his categories, although not a precise match, correspond closely to those cited here.[70] Repeating Heath's comment on the unbeneficed clergy, Kreider added that the further one is from London, the lower the educational attainments appear to be.[71] He also comments that any assessments are likely to be 'imprecise and impressionistic' and that 'probably their standards also

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[69] E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire, certificate 22 Tenbury.
[70] Kreider analysed the counties of Bedfordshire, Essex, Lincolnshire, Northumberland, Wiltshire and Yorkshire for his table of Educational Attainments, though we should perhaps hesitate to label the descriptions applied here as truly 'educational'. Kreider, *English Chantries* Table 1.7 p. 29.
[71] Heath, *English Clergy*, p. 81; Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 28.

varied from commission to commission'.[72] The details in Table 3.5 bear this out, but the parishioners' role in the reporting should be remembered. What personal axes were ground in the local commentaries on clerics or in the uneven recording shown across the surveys?

In all only ninety-four priests have character assessments noted. Two counties stand out for greater thoroughness of recording, Hereford and Worcestershire, with forty-four each: there are only three in Gloucestershire and one each in Shropshire and Warwickshire. Does this imply greater administrative zeal or political expediency on the part of the Hereford and Worcester commission? It is to be regretted that there are no recorded accounts of the interviews or more surviving certificates to support the comments. Lugwardine's presenters described their chantry priest, William Hyggyns, as 'a man of very honest behaviour and good learning' and these are surely the qualities that most parishes would have wanted in their priests.[73] Even William ap Huy of Linton is described as of 'honest behaviour' despite the accusation of 'maline and evell will' on his part- contrasting and suggestive pieces of evidence which should make us thoughtful.[74] Given that 'honest behaviour' and similar comments are the most frequent, what did William Marbury, chantry priest of Our Lady in Madley, Herefordshire, do or say, which produced the assessment, 'of small learning, little

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[72] This is not a full list but indicative of the 'impressionistic' comments found here - two of the 'well-learned' were graduates and schoolmasters, a third was neither. John Ree, BA, priest and schoolmaster was 'learned', Richard Hall MA, 'competent'. John Roode, BA service priest and schoolmaster in Pembridge, Herefordshire was described in full – 'of good conversation and bachelor of arts - well learned - which learneth the said grammar school there & said service'. Though there is no evidence of graduate status for Bromyard's John Basternall, he was described in similar vein to Roode and said to bring children up virtuously in reading, writing & grammar. TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire certificates 24 Rock (Ree) and 31 Suckley (Hall), TNAE301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire certificate 44 Pembridge (Roode); Kreider, *English Chantries,* page 29.

[73] See chapter two of this thesis, pp. 102-103 and TNA E301/26 f.18r William Crowche's workbook, for the full Lugwardine certificate.

[74] See chapter two of this thesis, pp. 104-105, TNA E301/26 f.18r William Crowche's workbook, and TNA E301/24 1548 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire certificate number 23 Linton.

honesty and a man not meate, (sic) to keep a cure'?[75] He has the honour of being the only priest in the counties here to be so recorded and the strength of language makes this assessment stand out. Kreider states that in the additional shires he 'scanned' he found only one described as of 'ill-behaviour' and another said to be 'lunatic', to add to the one in his four core counties recorded as 'of mean qualities and conditions'; William Marbury joins a very select group.[76] Furthermore, Marbury was only 36 years old; what did such a reputation mean for his pension and his career prospects? For the first, very little - his stipend was replaced by a pension - and for the second, perhaps much the same.[77] Marbury was probably an ex-monk from the nearby (about seven miles away) abbey of Dore and had been in Madley for at least three years appearing in the taxation records of 1545 as 'chaplain' paying 4s.[78] By 1565 he was Vicar of Peterchurch, six miles from Madley, and remained there until the end of his life in 1584. At this date, aged seventy-two, Marbury was married with a son, Edward, who was not yet sixteen and to whom he left a legacy of £4.[79] Though the value of the Peterchurch living was not great, (the Valor quotes the gross income as £5.6s 8d), maybe Marbury's career was not entirely blighted (if at all) by the severity of the judgement or perhaps he had improved his learning and honesty.[80]

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[75] TNA E301/24 1548 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire, certificate 55 Madley.

[76] Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 32.

[77] For further discussion of pensions see below, chapter five.

[78] Though there is no mention of ex-religious status or pension in the certificates, a William Marbye had received dispensation on 20.5.1537 to hold a benefice with change of habit with fellow monks from the Abbey of Dore, seven or eight miles from Madley. See Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers,* p. 99*,* and *Michael* A. Faraday, ed. 'Herefordshire taxes in the reign of Henry VIII', *Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* xiv, 2005.

[79] See pension warrants, TNA LR5/23, warrant 405 12.1.7Eliz1(1565) and warrant 384, 2.10.9E1 (1567). Both show his Madley post as the source of his pension and state that he is now in Peterchurch. See also the Clergy of the Church of England Database (CCED) for Liber Cleri entry CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey) where he is named Morbery. Marbery's will is in Hereford Record Office. HRO Will of William Marbury, HRO 28/4/45.

[80] Valor Ecclesiasticus, Vol 3 Diocese of Hereford, p. 31.

Reviewing the assessments of other priests does not make it any easier to establish what factors were being brought into play. It is as rare to read examples of high praise as it is to find the critique referred to above; only one priest, again in Herefordshire, is found to be both 'a man of good behaviour and worthy to declare the word of God'.[81] Examining the remainder of those who were declared 'not able to keep a cure', one might assume that age played a part in the assessment but, from a possible total of thirteen, there are only two aged seventy and one of eighty in the group. Perhaps the problem was age-related with two, as they are both 'learned and of honest conversation' whereas the third is 'of good conversation but for …dd (impediment?) not able to keep a cure'. What does this mean, though, for two other Herefordshire priests both aged and with severe infirmities (respectively, 'not able to ride or go because of diseases' and 'both lame and blind') but with no reference to their ability or not to keep a cure? Perhaps it was felt that no further comment was needed but it was not always the case that infirmity rendered men unfit for all clerical employment - John James, aged 44, who held 'Our Lady Service' in St Mary Brodegate in Gloucester is described as 'a man meate to be assistant to the vicar being an impotent & lame man'.

In much the same way as the ruling 'no other living' seems to have been loosely applied, (see below), these categories of conduct cannot be measured and, given that it was not unknown for 'purgatory priests' to appear before clerical courts

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[81]This was Robert Phylpott, aged forty-four, the stipendiary priest of the Service of Our Lady in Weston under Penyard, Herefordshire. This comment, as with Marbury's, stands out for its individuality, perhaps they are rare examples of reported speech, rather than the easy and inoffensive formula of 'competently learned and of honest conversation'. Phylpott may also have had the advantage of being on home territory: he followed another Robert Phylpott into the nearby vicarage of Linton in 1555. TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire certificate 22 Weston under Penyard.

for misconduct, one might also question their veracity.[82] Furthermore, what was the point of these questions and answers: were they a show of evangelical intent to improve clerical quality or perhaps a reminder that authority was watching? Certainly as documents of record the surveys were used for pension assessments and decisions on new posts or continuations. However, as it would seem with William Marbury, it was extremely unlikely that the personal assessments, good or bad, were ever referred to formally beyond the immediate need.[83] The opinions of the commissioners were no doubt a deciding factor in what was recorded, so perhaps we can say that it was their view of William Aphuy which made him 'honest', overriding that of the parishioners, particularly if they suspected the latter of attempted concealment.   But, as with the Lugwardine account already mentioned, local opinion could surface; the parishioners of Much Cowerne in Herefordshire, made clear their opinion of their service priest Thomas More. More, they said, though 'indifferently learned' was of 'honest behaviour' and 'taketh pains to teach children daily', so apparently respected for his efforts on behalf of the parish.[84]

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[82]John Rastall chantry priest of Wynterbourne, Gloucestershire, was accused of dicing and gambling, pastimes he had also practised during his time as an Augustinian in Bristol. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy,* Appendix 1 p. 188, Gilbert Fowler, prior to being guardian of the College of Knowle, was accused of sexual incontinence and appeared before the diocesan court in Lichfield. LRO B/C/2/2 f32r, see chapter four of this thesis.

[83]Though the material gathered by the surveys, particularly the information on personal behaviour and 'honest conversation', provided the source material for what could have been a central file, (what we might call a database these days), there is no evidence that it was ever used or even considered as a such a source of information.

[84]Marshall makes the same point, 'The many priests who were found by the Edwardian chantry commissioners found to be only 'meanly learned' and 'indifferently learned' but of honest conversation and qualities' seem to have been valued by their neighbours'. Peter Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood and the English Reformation*, (Oxford: Oxford Historical Monographs, 1994) p. 99 TNA E301/24 1548 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire certificate 39 Much Cowarne.

4.   CLERICAL STIPENDS AND INCOME

Central to the reporting efforts of the Commissioners was the need to obtain as full an account as possible of the endowment values that supported the spiritual foundations now coming to the king. Though evangelical reformers were anxious for the money to be used for good causes as outlined in the Act, there was greater competition for the funds and thus no contest for the larger part of the windfall. For the regime, this was the last available major source of independent income; in the engaging words of Thomas Fuller 'this was the last dish of the last course, and after chantries as after cheese, nothing to be expected'.[85] With the Scottish war to finance and the 'increased charges' on the king's purse, Somerset's government needed money. But, as discussed in chapter two, this regime was ready to pay pensions to the outgoing priests while continuing some schools and placements, therefore recording the existing stipends and salaries was important on two counts: it allowed Augmentations to calculate the prospective pensions and forecast state income and expenditure.

This section considers the stipends and income as provided by the surveys but it should be remembered that there could frequently be more than a stipend available to chantry priests depending on the provisions of the foundation they were employed to serve. As seen, Thomas Yelshawe and Fulco Flecher shared a house, a garden and an orchard as priests of the two chantries in Tanworth.[86] They were not unique in their access to such resources as the lengthy sales details in the Calendar of Patent Rolls

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[85]Quoted in Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 172, fn. 21, from Thomas Fuller, *'The Church History of Britain',* II (London 1837) p. 275.
[86]For Yelshawe and Flecher, see chapter two of this thesis pp. 92-93; Brodie ed. *CPR* 3EdwardVI part VII pp. 21-24 mm19-21; Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 21 has similar observations on benefits available to chantry priests, see also Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* pp. 234-270.

shows. The property belonging to the Chantry of Our Lady in Eldersfield, Worcestershire, was listed as including 'the messauage called the Chauntry House, a dove house annexed and a cottage call le Hernage …. And arable land [26 acres]…. in the personal management of Philip Horsham, late chantry priest'.[87] This property must have provided enhancement possibilities for Horsham's net annual stipend of £3.2s.3d. Crowche lists 'the rentalls for all such lands & tenements as appertaining to the chantry founded in the parish church of All Saints, (Hereford)' and duly enters, 'one tenement with a garden in the tenure of Harry Tanner, chaplain, 4s'.[88] More formally recorded in the certificates as 'Sir Henry Tanner', Harry was aged twenty-eight and chantry priest of Our Lady in All Saints for which he received a stipend of £7.1s.10d. Was the stated four shillings a potential rental value or a sum which the chaplain paid out of his stipend?[89] Either way, Harry and his fellows cited above were comfortably off compared with many of their Midland contemporaries, as will be seen.

Examining the lives of pre-Reformation clergy, Heath calculated that in the 1520s a parochial chaplain, 'living in', (that is, with his accommodation and board provided), required a minimum of £3.13s per annum to keep himself; whereas a chaplain having to pay rent, housekeeping and perhaps support his parents, required a minimum income of £5.17.4d. Considering a number of issues (the statutory fixing of chaplains' stipends in the early fifteenth century, stable prices of the years from

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[87]Brodie ed. *CPR 2EDWARDVI*-Part IV, dated 7 August 1548, the Eldersfield property was just one part of a large purchase by John, Earl of Warwick (subsequently Duke of Northumberland) for which he paid in total £1286.5s.7d.

[88]TNA E301/26 Crowche Workbook, certificate 7 f.8v.

[89]That chantry priests could and did have to pay for their own accommodation is shown by the evidence of the churchwardens accounts of St Michael's Spurriergate in York, who in recognition of the good service of Sir Thomas Worrall, chantry priest of St Mary there, decided to give him his chamber free of charge, he had previously paid 18d per quarter for it. Webb, ed, *Churchwardens' Accounts of St Michael's Spurriergate.*

1450 to the 1520s and subsequent high inflation) Heath calculated his figures using the lower of Phelps-Brown & Hopkins' estimates for price increases in the 1520s and 1530s - 30%.[90] However, the higher range of their figure for price increases was more than double this (70%) and, as is apparent in the following analysis, very few posts recorded in the counties under review here paid the figure of £5.17.4d which must have meant hardship for some and also encouraged moves towards multiple sources of income.

Tables 3.6 and 3.7 (Appendix 1 p.353) show the total incomes by county for this study and averaged and median variants, the latter table indicating that a great many of the recorded Midland priests, (whether chantry or stipendiary), did not achieve Heath's higher figure. Worcestershire produces the highest average, just creeping above Heath's calculation at £5.17s.11d, with Gloucestershire and Warwickshire following with £5.8s.9d and £5.13s.4d respectively. Herefordshire's average drops to £4.13s 0d but Shropshire's priests come in as the least-rewarded at £3.13s.8d.[91] But these averages conceal the evidence for considerable numbers of the clerics earning less than the minimum amount of £3 13s: eighty-nine stipends were less than £3 and fifteen between £3 and £3.13s. Accepting Heath's estimate of £5.17.4d as the favourable figure for the 1520s, fewer than 28% of all the recorded clerical stipends here were paid above this sum by 1548 which given the price inflation of the intervening years must have meant particular hardship for those

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[90]There is a considerable discussion in chapter two of Heath's work regarding chaplains' stipends from the date of the statute of 2 Henry V which fixed their remuneration until the period of his own study. It is in the context of this discussion that he suggests the figures quoted above. Heath, *The English Clergy* pp. 22-24.

[91]The figures quoted here for both Shropshire and Warwickshire and the stipend variants exclude the unrepresentative and inflating salaries of Thomas Magnus, Dean of the College of St Mary Magdelene in Bridgnorth (£51.18s 2d) and Anthony Barker, Warden of the College of Stratford upon Avon (£68.5s.1d) and the four young choristers of Barker's college who were paid £1 each. For completeness, the tables show the results with data both included and excluded.

receiving this sum as a single cash stipend. Only in Worcestershire was this sum available in more than half the posts (54%). The reality appears to be that the majority of the Midlands intercessory clergy were paid below this desirable sum: in Warwickshire over 90%, Shropshire nearly 84% Herefordshire over 70%, Gloucestershire 55% and Worcestershire 46%.

Amongst these figures there are some very low paid posts indeed; Shropshire has 16 men whose posts paid less than £1, the lowest being Thomas Docksey, stipendiary priest of Culmington in Shropshire, who was paid 2s.6d. There are no dedication details for this 'stipendiary service', but perhaps it was supported by the 'stock of money' to the value of £9 listed in the county's lesser endowments 'towards the finding of a stipendiary priest within the said parish'.[92] Awareness of the inadequacy of some stipends was not lost on parishioners; in Ellesmere in Shropshire, the 1548 certificates record that a local contribution had been levied of '4d from every married man and 2d from every servant earning above 5s wages per year' in order to provide a yearly income of £6 for the priest of Our Lady Service.[93] This is a very suggestive piece of evidence on three counts: as a notable example of local organisation, as a demonstration of a parish's desire to employ clerical support and it recognises that £6 (close to Heath's figure) was a suitable sum to offer.[94] There are other Shropshire examples to consider: stipendiaries in Felton and High Ercal whose

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[92] Docksey's age is said to be seventy so perhaps we do have here an example of a service as a 'pension' post. TNA E310/41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire certificate 38 Culmington.

[93] This is reported in a memorandum as part of the Ellesmere parish certificate. TNA E301/41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire certificate 5 Ellesmere; Thompson, 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates', pp. 347-348.

[94] This can be compared to the evidence from Boxford in Suffolk, described by Beat Kümin as a 'prosperous rural parish'. Here, just prior to the Reformation, Kümin describes 'a considerable 5d from the 101 male adults listed in the 1522 muster rolls' charged for support of local clergy. Kümin 'Parish finance and the early Tudor clergy' in Andrew Pettegree ed. *The Reformation of the Parishes*: *the ministry and the Reformation in town and country* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1993).

regular incomes were 11s.2d and 15s.1d respectively, were both said to 'have no other living but upon devocion', indicating that they too received extra financial support from their parishioners.[95] In Gloucester two stipendiaries of St Mary's Brodegate were similarly recorded, although their stipends were considerably more at £2.11s.10d and £3.15s.1d.[96] By 1548, the only posts recorded for Ellesmere were those of chaplains at Duddleston and Welshampton, receiving £2.15s and £3.9s.2d respectively, not dissimilar to those of the Gloucester priests but with no indication that any additional local support was being furnished.

Comparing the counties with each other and against Heath's assessment however, does require contextual consideration. Though approaching this same subject from a diocesan rather than a county perspective, the work undertaken by Tim Cooper should again be brought in. Referring to Archbishop Lee's 1538 statement that clergy in his York diocese were suffering financially as the stipends available in the South East, (£5-£6 annually) were not paid in the North or elsewhere, Cooper quotes average clerical stipends from the 1520s as just over £5 per annum in Lincoln diocese, £4 in the East Riding of Yorkshire, dropping to £2.9s.6d in North Lancashire.[97] Measured against these figures, Worcestershire's endowed clergy, along with Warwickshire and Gloucestershire's, compare reasonably well twenty years later. Herefordshire does rather better than the East Riding at £4.13s while Shropshire, with £3 13s.8d, falls between this and the poorer North Lancashire, (for all figures see above and Table 3.7).

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[95] TNA E310/41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire certificate 6 Felton and certificate 7 High Ercal
[96] TNA E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire, certificate 29, and Maclean, 'Gloucestershire Chantry Certificates', TBGAS, p. 259 - for Sir William Taylor, age fifty-six, 'very well-learned and having no other living (otherwise than peoples devocion)' and John James age forty-four, and having no other living (but by the devocion of the pishenorz)'.
[97] Cooper, *Last Generation,* p. 113.

Cooper's work then compares the 1520s stipends with the stipends of unbeneficed clergy in the five archdeaconries within the Coventry and Lichfield diocese in 1533. Although the archdeaconry of Shrewsbury does have clergy earning £4 and above (26%) Cooper shows that 75% of its priests earned under £4 against a diocesan figure of 66%.[98] The majority of Shropshire lay in the Coventry and Lichfield diocese and the salary levels of the county in 1548 confirm the trend shown by Cooper for the earlier date. As a comparison, a considerable part of Warwickshire (approximately the northern two-thirds of the county) also formed part of Coventry and Lichfield. Cooper's 1533 figures for the archdeaconry of Coventry show that considerably more of its priests earned above £4 (66.8%), a contrast emphasised by figures from the present study.[99] Extracting the Coventry and Lichfield stipends here for both counties gives a total for Shropshire's seventy-five priests of £259.16s 5d while the figure for Warwickshire's far fewer priests (fifty-one) is considerably better at £275.14s 6d, a difference which confirms Shropshire as the poor relation.[100]

Analysing the information further also shows that, as Kreider observed, chantry posts were more likely to be better paid than services, see Tables 3.8 and 3.9 in Appendix I (p.354). In Worcestershire the average chantry stipend is £6.4s 5d (median £6.2s 8d) exceeding Gloucestershire where the figures are £5.16s.9d and £6.0.0 respectively. Though its average chantry stipend is £5.5s.11d, Herefordshire's median figure drops to £4.17s 2d, Shropshire manages an average of £4.16s 11d with a median of £5 while Warwickshire's figures are £5.6s.7d and £5.8s.6d. Worcestershire also appears as the best payer of service posts, with an average stipend

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[98] Cooper, ibid, p. 113.
[99] Cooper, ibid, Table 7, pp. 114 –115.
[100] As before, these figures do not include the higher salaries of Magnus and Barker neither of whom were came under the diocesan structure, St Mary Magdalene was a Royal Peculiar and Stratford College a peculiar of the Bishop of Worcester.

of £5.10s 1d (median £5.6s.8d) followed by Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Shropshire (no services are recorded in Warwickshire). But, since they smooth out the individuality and variations at post level, these average figures though a good guide to the relative position of the counties, do not provide a fully accurate picture of available stipends: comparison by numbers, and pay bands for chantry and service posts give a closer picture. Tables 3.10, 3.11 and 3.12 for this analysis, can be found in Appendix I (p.355).[101]

Though Worcestershire appears to lead the average figures for its payments to chantry priests, the greater opportunity for an adequate living from an intercessory post may well have been found in Gloucestershire. Whereas, relative to its neighbour and measured as a percentage of all its chantry posts, Gloucestershire did indeed have had fewer chantry posts paid at £6 and above, in numeric terms, there were considerably more on offer; furthermore, if one includes the posts offered at above £5, then Gloucestershire wins on both counts. In addition, analysing service posts, Gloucestershire also had more to offer in terms of numbers, particularly in the range £5 - £5 19s 11d but also well above this level. Percentage measurements however favour Worcestershire. With regard to the other counties, in percentage terms Warwickshire and Shropshire fare better than Herefordshire in the payment of chantry posts between £5 - £5 19s 11d but both had fewer posts above this rate. While Herefordshire is second only to Gloucestershire in its number of chantry posts, almost 53% of these were paid at less than £5. Service posts continue to show Shropshire as the poorer county, it had twice as many of these to offer as chantries, but 38% of these

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[101] For the detailed tables of pay band analysis, see Table 3.10 (all post types for all counties), Table 3.11(chantry stipends for all counties) and Table 3.12 (service stipends for all counties) in Appendix I p. 355.

were paid below £3 and 83% below £5. Converting Kreider's figures to percentages indicates that he found 66% of stipendiaries being paid below £4 19s 11d: a comparison which suggests that Shropshire would have been amongst the poorest counties countrywide for these posts.[102]

The incidence of low stipends imposes questions as to how or if priests were expected to live at these income levels. Provisions in kind have already been discussed but some had other means, which, when these arose from other religious sources, the commissions were required to report on: a task which they completed with about as much regularity as other enquiries already discussed.

4.1   Other Livings Or Promotions

The articles of the commission required the recording of 'any other living or promotion' held by the priests under review. This apparently meant any other form of formal income, whether post or pension. As with their beneficed colleagues, for some of the priests here their survey posts would be their single key source of income and employment.   For others, this income could be one of various income sources enabling a reasonable, sometimes good, standard of living to be maintained and, for a minority, the 'icing on the cake'; an additional benefit of status, contacts and career.

Where other incomes are recorded the quality of recorded information is variable. The type, source or amount of this other income is not always provided,

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[102] Kreider, - using the work of W K Jordan and applying a subsistence level of £3 - makes the comment that most stipendiaries would have received above this sum and with steady work were therefore reasonably secure. But as noted above if Heath's calculations for the 1520s are correct, this could have been harder than Kreider infers, particularly if this income was purely cash-based. Kreider, *English Chantries* p. 21.

raising the concern that the level of recording is almost too haphazard to allow a full systematic analysis. Of the 423 adult clerics here eighty-one appear in the fortunate position of having income from other posts or pensions but, as will be shown, there is a distinct level of under-reporting and anomalies which were ignored or passed the reporters by.

Gloucestershire and Shropshire have the majority of those with reported second incomes. In Gloucestershire the source is almost always an ex-religious pension (eighteen of twenty-two) whereas in Shropshire the second income evidence derives from the men of the colleges who held dual posts or had other incomes tied to their college status: Thomas Magnus, by virtue of his office as Dean of St Mary Magdalene's, Bridgnorth, was Prebendary of Luston and Rector of the nearby parish of Claverley. The certificate recording his Bridgnorth post has simply the words 'other living' without giving details of the many posts which Magnus's diplomatic career had earned him. A traditional pluralist example from Gloucestershire, openly declared, is Sir John Collyns, chaplain of Wortley in Wotton sub Edge, who was also Parson of Lyttleton and Vicar of Olvestone. The holding of these posts (total Valor value of £25.12.9d with the king's 10ths deducted) did not prevent the award of a full pension to cover his chaplain's stipend of £2.16s.0d.

Herefordshire has four individuals with 'other livings' but no details are given. Of these, Davy Wattes, priest of Bishop Audley's Chantry in Hereford Cathedral, appears in the 1535 Valor as both a minor canon and a vicar-choral, as does Thomas

Yatton.[103] Yatton was instituted as vicar-choral in 1530 and was still a member of the cathedral staff at his death in 1560, though his 1548 post was as chantry priest of St John the Baptist in St Peter's, a city parish.[104] James Morgan, chantry priest in the Chapel of St Nicholas, Weobley, is said to have the 'profit' of a school while Walter Cowper, serving the chantry of the Roode and St James in All Saints in Hereford itself, has a pension of £6.13s 4d 'in other place'.[105]

Of Warwickshire's four priests with a second reported income, three are holders of chantry posts granted to supplement the low stipends of their vicarages. In St Michael's, Coventry, John Aston, Vicar of Sowe, held Sheppey's Chantry and Henry Randall, Vicar of Foleshill, was priest of Hayes Chantry, while William Harrison, Vicar of Stoke, served Sellett's Chantry in Coventry's Trinity Church.[106] A contrast to the positions of these men is Anthony Barker who by virtue of his wardenship of the College of Stratford upon Avon (at £68. 5s 1d per annum) also had the town rectory, which had the grand yearly value of £75.2s 8d.[107]

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[103] Valor Ecclesiasticus, Vol 3 Diocese of Hereford, p. 12 for both Wattes and Yatton and TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Hereford, certificate 1 Hereford Cathedral.

[104] Yatton's Institution and death from Francis T. Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses: and other antiquarian memorials of Hereford* (Edinburgh: R. Clark, 1869) p. 95.

[105] Cowper's 'other place' has been identified as Winchcombe monastery. TNA E164/31 2/3 Phil and Mary– Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole (otherwise Pension list of Cardinal Pole, 1555-56).

[106] TNA E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire and E301/57 Pension Certificates for Warwickshire certificates 12 (Aston) 13 (Randall) and 19 (Harrison) and Valor Ecclesiasticus, Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, County Warwick, p. 60. The latter lists the names of six chapels annexed to Trinity and St Michael's including these three now referred to as vicarages with total stipends of £30 and total 10ths of £3. Though the wording on the survey indicates otherwise, Kreider suggests that the amalgamation was the other way round, ie the chantry stipends were low and local incumbents had been persuaded into them. The truth of the matter is likely to be that both situations occurred, to the mutual benefit of priests and services. Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 34.

[107] TNA E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire certificate 22. Stratford was just one of a number of wealthy livings which Barker held at this date, but only the Stratford rectory is noted in the Warwickshire certificates.

Worcestershire's survey reports on three second incomes with a fourth recognised in time for the pension roll to be written up. Richard Stone, the well-paid (at £9) chantry priest of the Trinity in St Nicholas, Worcester, was also a stipendiary in the same church earning a further £5.2s 8d and had an ex-religious pension from Tewkesbury Abbey.[108] Richard Hall received £6.6s 3d net as chantry priest of Our Lady in Suckley which he could add to his pension of £6 as an ex-religious from the monastery of Great Malvern.[109] William Tommyns was Vicar of Kidderminster with a stipend of £30 per annum in addition to being chantry priest of Our Lady in his own church earning a net sum of £6.10s 7d.[110] William Habyngton, described as 'stipendiary at will' (presumably of the parishioners) of the Service of Our Lady and St Kathryn in St Andrew's, Worcester, received £5.6s 8d: a memo in the pension roll states that he also has a pension of £6 from Llanthony, a former Augustinian monastery in Gloucestershire.[111]

Subsequent research has confirmed that the recording of second (even multiple) incomes is flawed and that the phrase, 'no other living or promotion', despite its sprinkling throughout, should not be taken at face value. Edmund Jones (alias Johns), of Aymestrey, Herefordshire, is an interesting case: described as a stipendiary priest, 'of good conversation and well learned', he was aged 47 and employed 'to celebrate in the church, help the curate and pray for the founders'. He had 'no other living', and was paid 12s 3d annually for his services, certainly not a

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[108] TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire, certificate 26 Ripple.
[109] TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire, certificate 31 for Suckley and Richard Hall. Suckley was probably Richard Hall's home village, the rector named in the Valor is a William Hall, and according to Nash, Richard Hall's name in religion was Suckley, see Nash, Vol 2, p. 120. Richard Hall's appointment was the result of the right of presentation being passed by William Hall to 'William Habyngton, gent', see WRO, 732.4/2337/2 1544-1546 Vol 1, 61-111, and WRO Davenport Presentation to Livings documents 78, 79, 80.
[110] TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire, certificate 19 Kidderminster.
[111] TNA E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire, certificate 3 St Andrew's, Worcester.

living wage, so that the details of a second post disclosed and illuminated by a surviving pension certificate should probably not be unexpected. This document of the 1550s states that Jones (now living in Yarpole, the next-door parish to Aymestery) is 'a secular priest, late Chantry Priest of Mary Magdalene, Woodstock, Oxon, also … a pension … out of a service in the Church of Aymestery'.[112] It is possible that Johns (alias Johnys) was ordained priest in Hereford in 1526 (though with a Welsh title from Strata Marcella, near Welshpool in Powys), so he is likely to have been on home ground.[113] His entry in the Compositions Book for the Woodstock post shows his sureties being provided by Herefordshire men, so this appointment was not unknown in the county.[114] Turning to the Oxford certificate for the Woodstock chantry, this also names Edmund Jones as the holder of the post and also claims 'no other living'.[115] Whether the failure in recording is due to error or conscious withholding of information we cannot tell but Jones employed a deputy in Woodstock who makes an appearance in the records. It is intriguing that just this one case highlights not only problems with the source documents but also reflects the complexities of clerical

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[112] F C Morgan and P E Morgan transcribed warrants certifying the names, posts, pensions and current status of Herefordshire ex-religious and chantry priests surviving in Hereford Cathedral's archives. They have dated these to c1554 and an abstract of this work has been published: F C Morgan and P E Morgan, eds. 'Some Nuns, Ex-religious and Former Chantry Priests Living in the Diocese of Hereford, c.1554' *TWS,* Vol 37 (1982). However, their draft of these transcriptions is rather fuller and is in the archives of Hereford Cathedral and it is this draft that is used here and referred to from hereon. F C Morgan and P E Morgan eds. *Pensioned Nuns, Priests and Monks Recorded in the Hereford Cathedral Archive* Ref. Number 5602(i) pp. 80-87 Jones warrant appears on p. 83.

[113] There are two Edmund Jones (Johnys) in the ordination lists for Hereford in 1524, 1525 and 1526; though the age would be right, either or neither could be this Edmund. One Edmund Johns has Letters Dimissory from Llandaff and title from Grace Dieu (1524 and 1525); the second required no letters and has titles from two houses - Strata Florida (as deacon) and Strata Marcella (priest)- so perhaps he is the likelier candidate. Edmund Johnys ordained as deacon with a title from Strata Florida on 23 Dec 1525 in Bromyard Church, Edmund Johnys ordained priest with a title from Strata Marcella 26 May 1526 in Ludlow Church. A T Bannister ed., Registers of the Bishops of Hereford (Mayew, Bothe, Foxe, Boner) Hereford Diocese 1504-1539, Canterbury & York Series Vol 27-28 (1921) Bothe pp. 321-322

[114] TNA E334/3 Composition Book, f.60r, 9.7.1545 (Jones/Johns).

[115] TNA E301/93 and E301/97 Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire – pensions, certificate 14 and Rose Graham ed. 'Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire', *Oxford Record Series,* Vol 1 (1919), p. 23 and p. 54

employment and the issues caused for one priest (Jones' deputy) by the dissolution itself (see below p.150).[116]

Where livings concerned are in different counties, we could regard reporting errors as more understandable but where a similar situation occurs within the same city then we may think again. It is hard to believe that Bristol had two men named William Bonor both aged 33, one holding a service in the church of St Werburgh and another a chantry in the Chapel of Redcliffe; neither certificate records the other post, although in the record for Redcliffe, it is said Bonor has a 'pension of the King's Majesty'.[117] It was possible to have dispensation to hold more than one post, but if this was the case, Bonor need not have been described as having 'no other living'.[118] He has been identified as an ex- monk of Abbotsbury in Somerset, explaining the source of the pension, but this is not mentioned in the Werburgh entry: the implication here is that William Bonor had three sources of income.[119] Sir John Collyns, (mentioned above, p. 130) had held his Wortley chaplaincy since at least 1532, was appointed to his Lyttleton rectory in 1540 and the Olverstone vicarage in 1546: he could be confident of both tenure and income of the rectory and vicarage, others were

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[116] Graham ed. 'Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire', p. 54.

[117] Skeeters records both these posts for William Bonor as well as other possible variations of his name in her biographical notes. She believes him to have been a reformer, William (or Walter) Bonor (alias Bower) a scholar of Magdalen College, Oxford, expelled by Gardiner in 1553. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy,* pp. 76-77, and Appendix 1, pp. 156-157. TNA E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire, certificate 1 City of Bristol, St Werbergh, and certificate 7, parish of St Nicholas, Eborard Le Frenche chantries including those in the Chapel of Redcliffe, also Maclean, 'Gloucestershire Chantry Certificates', *TBGAS*, pp. 232 and 237.

[118] Kreider notes that between 1535 and 1548 the Faculty Office granted relief for pluralism and non-residency to twenty-five chantry priests. Certainly, John Cotterell, priest of the Second Chantry (also known as Arden's Chantry) in the parish church of Birmingham was granted dispensation for non-residence 'with the founders and patrons consent' in November 1537, though no reason is given. Kreider *English Chantries* p. 33. Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers*, p. 111.

[119] Geoffrey Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucester', in *TBGAS,* Vol 49 (1927) pp. 63-122, Skeeters, *Community and Clergy,* Appendix 1, p. 156.

perhaps less sure and less inclined to openness.[120] Jones had held his more lucrative

post for less than three years and a fellow Hereford priest Roger Pyper had only been

appointed to one of his two posts in January 1547.[121] Despite the assurances implicit

in the Act, the scale of awards and the requirement of commissions to act

'beneficially' in their proceedings may or may not have been widely known or

believed.   The history of monastic pensions and negotiated awards must have

aggravated fears of financial insecurity caused by the wholesale removal of memorial

services; could they, these ordinary priests in the parish, have relied on being

compensated for more than one post? Ethan Shagan described attempts to improve

pension opportunities as 'manipulation' and 'connivance', and it is likely that this

happened, but perhaps not only or always from greed.[122]   The answer to Jones'

management of his Aymestry and Woodstock posts lies with the judgement against

Sir Thomas Haryngford noted earlier (see p.113 above). Haryngford had obviously

been declared as the chantry priest of St Margaret and provided with letters patent

authorising his pension.   But something occurred which led to Haryngford's

confession that he was only a deputy there and his letters patent were voided. [123]

Given the atmosphere of the times, the volatility of recent years, attempting to hang

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[120] WRO 802/2764 Acts Book of Bishop John Bell c1520-1541 pp. 77-105 and pp. 269-277, TNA E334/3 Composition Book, 9.2.1546 (Olverstone).

[121] Roger Pyper to the Chantry of the Blessed Virgin, Dilwyn, on the death of William Baker, patron, Michael Lystar, esq on 19.1.1547. This post gave Pyper an annual stipend of £4 8s 7d, his other post in Pembridge only paid £1.1s. Letters Dimissory dated 17.9.1528 for Roger Pyper, 'sub-deacon of Pembridge' allowing ordination to deacon and priest's orders are recorded in the Hereford Bishop's Register suggesting that his Pembridge place was one of long-standing. He was ordained priest on 19.12.1528 with a title from Wormesley Priory. Bannister, *Bishops' Registers-Hereford,* pp. 326, 353; Bannister, *Institution-Hereford,* p. 4.

[122] Shagan describes three cases, one was of two priests of Wells Cathedral who went to court to prove who actually held a chantry post and thus entitled to the pension, another involving fraudulent letters patent and a third where a priest had tried to claim his schoolmaster's post was actually a chantry and he was thus eligible for a pension. Shagan, *Popular politics,* pp. 258-259. See also chapter five, p. 229, fn. 21, of this thesis and the attempt by a Bewdley priest to retrieve a discharged chantry pension.

[123] The entry reads: 'Pleasyth youre mastershippeys verye incumbent and chauntry prests of Seyn Margets in Woodstoke. And Syr Thomas Haryngford named in ye Kynges Letters patents of ye pension was but deputye unto the seyd Syr Edmund as hee before me hath confessyd' (Graham's transcription p. 54) Graham ed. *Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire,* and TNA E301/93 and E301/97 Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire- pensions.

on to what you have is not an unnatural response. Power lay with the government and could it be trusted? Given the discussion in chapter one on the cycle of response to change, fear is likely to have been just one of the responses these men experienced, anger another. Even if in sympathy with the religious programme, it would have been almost saintly to give up income, home and hearth without a qualm.

4.2   Other Income – Numbers And Values

To quantify, these figures show that of the 423 adult priests in this study, 19.14% (eighty-one) had second incomes formally recorded.[124] Of these 12.34% (ten) declared other certificate posts, 8.64% (seven) other clerical offices and 27.16% (twenty-two) pensions, the remainder identified as having other income but without full details provided. Further evidence increased the number of additional incomes by nine pensions and nine posts for sixteen men: two priests with pensions already declared, had additional second posts within the surveys. Another two with second posts might be added if the identification could be confidently claimed.[125] Overall, 22.93% (ninety-seven priests) have additional income including three with more than one post plus a pension: they could be fortunate or, if one applies Kreider's assessment, exhibiting signs of 'sheer clerical covetousness'.[126]

Placing these figures against comparable work is difficult. Cooper's work on Lichfield's Archdeaconry of Stafford provides a table comparing the incidence of pluralism amongst a number of dioceses for various time periods. His outcomes (that

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[124] That is, excluding the four adolescent choristers of Stratford upon Avon.

[125] The other possibilities are the two Shropshire priests both named John Mathewes and aged 33 years in Oswestry and St Martin's, and William Wright of Warwickshire who may have had posts in both the College of Knowle and the Guild of the Trinity in Bablake, Coventry.

[126] Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 33.

is pluralism as a percentage of total incumbents for each of eight archdeaconries or dioceses) range from 4% for the Archdeaconry of East Riding in 1526 up to 34% in the City of London between 1521-1546.[127]

Cooper also provides measures for Coventry and Lichfield, firstly, a count of new institutions with no corresponding resignation for the period of Bishop Blyth's register for 1503 to 1531, and a second using the clerical subsidy returns for 1533. The first measure produces twelve known cases amounting to 3% of parish institutions to benefices, the second measure shows that fifty livings (12% of all benefices) were held by twenty-two priests, a figure which Cooper estimates to be 5% of total parish incumbents.[128]   Using a similar principle here, that is the number of 'pluralist' priests as a percentage of the recorded posts, the evidence from the five counties suggests twenty-six posts (5.9% of the 439 posts recorded for adult priests) shared by thirteen men (3%) indicating a more generous spread amongst this part of the clerical population. But the waters are murky, given that in all, as stated above, 22.93% of all those here had some sort of additional income be that post or pension: a figure that would put them third in Cooper's table of pluralists as a proportion of incumbents across a range of dioceses.[129]

Cooper deduced from his investigation that pluralism as an issue 'has perhaps been exaggerated'.[130] Perhaps we can also say that Kreider's 'clerical covetousness' is of the same ilk. It may also highlight that some endowed and supplementary posts, unless tightly controlled by founders and their successors, were accepted, 'within the

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[127] Cooper, *Last Generation,* Table 5. Comparative Incidence of Pluralism, p. 62.
[128]Cooper, ibid, p. 65.
[129] Cooper, ibid, Table 5. Comparative Incidence of Pluralism, p. 62.
[130] Cooper, ibid, p. 62.

trade' as forming part of a collection of posts which together would make up an adequate living.   As described above, the stipends of a high percentage of the surveyed posts did not provide a living wage and this would encourage and drive the need for another source of income.   Alternatively, if one already had a reasonable source of income, then these other posts could be seen as useful supplements: extending networks, clerical reach and status.   It is not surprising perhaps that it is a cathedral and two colleges which produce the majority of plural posts.[131]

Cathedrals and colleges were institutions that drew in founders in a circle of mutual support: funds for prayers and memorials which could enrich status, liturgy and fabric. Their colleges of vicars-choral were available to support new services and to fill vacancies as they arose.   The Hereford Cathedral entry records five chantry priests and one chaplain, three of who were also vicars-choral.[132]   The two chantry priests of St Peter's, Hereford, also had cathedral connections.   Though the survey only notes that he had 'a promotion in (an) other place', Thomas Yatton (chantry of St John the Baptist) was an active member of the cathedral staff.   Described as 'a singing

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[131] Kreider notes that over half of those chantry priests granted letters of dispensation between 1535 and 1548 were cathedral cantarists wishing to be freed from obligations of residency and absolved of pluralism. Kreider, *English Chantries,* p. 33.

[132] There were actually six chantry priests but one name, Robert Grynsell, was omitted in the survey, as noted above, see fn. 12. Grynsell was also a vicar-choral. Wood-Legh notes that it was not uncommon for cathedral chantries to be held by vicars-choral, and that sometimes it was a prerequisite, making these posts exceptions to the non-pluralist rule. This may perhaps explain the confusion described by a memorandum at the end of the Hereford certificates of 1546, which notes that there were 'diverse chantries' (the text is unclear but the number is at least fourteen) in the cathedral called by the names of the vicars-choral but that this was an error created at the time 'of the first survey of first fruits' (the Valor of 1535). Their true status was subject to investigation by Hugh Coren who examined their foundation and declared them not to be chantries and their details were to remain with the Court of First Fruits and Tenths. This may or may not have been an example of an attempt to muddy the waters in 1535 that had come back to bite, but it is indicative of the examination and investigation demanded by the Reformation changes. The potential loss of this income together with that from the annual obits must have been worrying.   Of the five recognised chantries recorded in 1548, three had personal names attached (Audley, Ffolyatt and Burcotte) and two were in cathedral chapels. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* p. 189; for 1546 see TNA E301/25 Chantry Certificates for Hereford and Worcester, ff.33v-34r; for 1548, see TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Hereford certificate 1 Hereford Cathedral.

man and competent in gramerarayon - an honest man', his name appears in the Valor as a vicar choral. He was appointed to his chantry post in 1545 but continued his life in the cathedral.[133]   Yatton's colleague in St Peter's, David Mey (chantry of the Trinity), had been a vicar-choral until 1517 when he resigned having been found guilty of misbehaviour, an incident discussed in chapter four, pp.186-187.

The colleges of Shrewsbury and Bridgnorth produce the largest number of 'pluralist' priests. In Shrewsbury, sixteen of the nineteen clergy in St Chad's College had a second incomes; of these, four vicars-choral also held trade services within the same church while Thomas Tonge, had a third income - he held prebends in both St Chad's and St Mary's and was also Rector of Middle.   Still in Shrewsbury, of St Mary's twelve collegiate clergy, nine had second income sources, two holding trade services there.

As already noted, some of the men were well connected, (George Lee, Dean of St Chad's, Thomas Magnus and Hugh Coren, both of St Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth) while William Cureton, Dean of St Mary's, also appears to have been a relatively senior figure in the Coventry and Lichfield diocese.[134] Bridgnorth's College of St Mary Magdalene was a Royal Peculiar and frequently used by Henry VIII to reward his men of the Chapel Royal, two of whom were John Synger and Hamlett Slynge alias Glynne, both holding prebends. Though their titles are not provided in

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[133] Yatton was appointed 'collectorium vicariarum vacantium' in 1547, 1548 and 1549 and was still entitled 'vicar-choral' in the 1558 will of Walter Mey, a canon and the Cathedral's Treasurer, who left bequests to him and called Yatton one of 'my special friends'. Hereford Cathedral Archives, R G Baylis, *Chapter Acts Book,* Vol 1,1547-1555 (unpublished transcription); TNA PROB 11/42a, ff.75r-76v, Will of Walter Mey.

[134] William Cureton 1541,Collated 12 Apr. 1541 (Reg. XIV (Lee) f. 23). Adm. 13 June (A.C. IV f. 125b). (f. 161) TNA E334/2 Compositions Book f.35r, as Curton, 25.5.1541. LRO, Ex D & C B/A/17/1-1531- 1533; Jones, ed. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicana, 1300-1541,* p. 27-29.

the survey, Synger was appointed to the prebend of Walton in 1545, while Slynge had held the prebend of Underton since 1541.[135] Synger was associated with the College of Tamworth, another of Henry VIII's sources of favour, and was rector of Charleton, Greenwich, when one of his sureties was Richard Kenryke 'of the Household of the King'. Kenryke repeated this favour for Synger the following year, standing surety for his Bridgnorth place.[136]

In addition to these men with their connections to the king, there are others who made use of their own networks, both near and far. John Hosyer of St Chad's had a prebend there which paid 6s.10d; inevitably he must have had other income and the words 'other living' and a value of £10 are recorded for him, though no details. In 1546, he compounded for £12.14.6 as the Rector of Handsworth, in Yorkshire, which is most likely, the source of the quoted £10. In this post, as at his prebendary appointment, one Edward Hosyer, gentleman of Shrewsbury, stood surety.[137] Prebendary appointments did not absolutely demand residence but servicing posts a distance apart raise issues of absenteeism and quality of service. But, as already described, absenteeism could be authorised (see fn. 131 above) but if this was lacking

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[135] For appointment of John Singer to his Bridgnorth prebend of Walton, see *L&P* Vol XX (1) 37 Henry VIII entry 21p. 417; TNA E334/3 f.61r, 17.5.1545; A T Gaydon, R B Pugh eds. *A History of Shropshire* Vol 2, *VCH* (London: Oxford University Press 1973) College of St Mary Magdalene, pp. 123-128 states that the Walton prebend was much used to support vicars-choral and clerks of the Chapel Royal. For Slynge alias Glynne see TNA E334/2 f.74r, 20.12.1541.

[136] Synger was instituted by proxy (in the person of Dom. Geoffrey Hatherington) to the prebend of Cotton in the College of Tamworth with the King as his patron, 4.10.1540, LRO, B/A/1/14iii f22v (Register) and Joel A Lipkin, *Institutions in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 1480-1543,* (Unpublished Transcription, May 1979) p. 99. For Synger's appointment to Charleton, see TNA E334/3 Composition Book, f.4r, 15.12.1544 and for his appointment to Bridgnorth with Kenryke as surety see E334/3 f.61r, 17.5.1545.

[137] The Earls of Shrewsbury may provide the Shropshire/Yorkshire connection, as Handsworth was a manor belonging to them. Handsworth and the advowson of the church were passed, with other properties, to the Earl of Sussex in 1535 in trust for a sum of 200 marks per annum payable to the King. Sheffield Archives, Grant ACM/SD/112, 27.10.1535, National Archives-Access to Archives. The Handsworth connection also worked for another Shropshire man, John Moreton. Thomas Lorde, yeoman of Handsworth stood surety for Moreton on his 1554 appointment to the Shropshire rectory of Longford. In 1548 Moreton was warden of Newport College. Hosyer compounded for his Handsworth appointment in June 1544, see TNA E334/3 f.19v Compositions Book, 26.6.1544.

then other less formal arrangements, such as that perhaps of Jones and Haryngford already noted, must have occurred. Roland Lymel, preacher in St Leonard's in Bridgnorth in 1548, also had a pension worth £6.13.4 granted in 1540. This was paid out of the receipts of the manor of Netherwinchend, part of the lands of the former monastery of Notly, Buckinghamshire and was granted 'on condition that he serve the parish church of Chearsley, Buckinghamshire'- with the distance between Chearsley and Bridgnorth being about 100 miles some absenteeism and/or locum employment was inevitable. [138]

4.3   Ex-Religious And Pensions

Finally, given the concerns of the time regarding the flooding of the clerical market by the ex-religious, the low numbers of such clerics recorded here holding pensions, relative to the number of other posts, is worth commenting on. Pensions are declared by twenty-four priests, to which has been added another eight, indicating that of 423 priests, 7.56% were ex-religious. This, however, is not the full picture as in all seventy-nine (18.67%), might be identified as ex-religious, of whom all but six friars could in theory have received pensions if living in their houses at the time of dissolution. The number of ex-religious in this population is discussed further in chapter four.

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[138] Lymell's pensions are reported in a survey of pensioners in 1554, where he is described as 'formerly incumbent of Chantry of St Mary in St Leonard's, Bridgnorth had pension of £5 granted by Letters Patent which remain in Bridgnorth. He has another pension of £6.13.4 granted by order of the Court of Augmentations dated 4th July 31HVIII and paid out of the receipts of the manor of Netherwinchend parcel of the former monastery of Notly, Buckinghamshire. The pension was granted on condition that he serve the parish church of Chearsley, (Chardisley), Bucks. He has never married. He is rector of Beckingham worth £41 pa'. G. A. J. Hodgett, ed. 'The State of the Ex-Religious and Former Chantry Priests in the Diocese of Lincoln 1547-1554', *Lincolnshire Record Series*, Vol 53 (1959) p. 60.

4.4   Clerical Stipends - Conclusion

Of the ninety-seven priests with more than one identified income source, fifty-three had one of these sources earning below Heath's £5.17s.4d, in forty cases below £5.0.0d. For five priests, even two incomes did not provide this sum, but this cannot be the full story: the sources of all recorded incomes cannot be identified nor the total incomes which these priests drew upon. Absolute identification of all those believed to have extra income would increase the numbers to 139 - 32.86%: a figure which would put this study's population second in Cooper's table and muddy the waters further, particularly if one wants to consider those with pensions who then took up employment as 'covetous'- a 'sin' which must have been encouraged given the static nature of stipends versus the volatility of pricing in recent history. Some might be cushioned, if their foundation provided house and garden while canons and vicars-choral had accommodation available within their colleges and cathedrals. For those who also held benefices, tithes provided livestock and arable goods and, for all, parish life offered the opportunity of less formal employment.[139]

This survey evidence shows that beneath the level of high-flying collegiate and diocesan clerics, the mass of chantry and service priests were as open to the variations of posts and incomes as their fellows. It was possible for some to be reasonably provided for whereas others, as far as it is possible to know, are likely to

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[139] As will be discussed further in the following chapter churchwarden accounts have many references to payments to their clergy for ad hoc duties and even examples of almost permanent employment in non-clerical roles – Sir Thomas Worrall of St Michael Spurriergte in York managed the parish's property holdings for a number of years and received an annual sum for his services – see Webb ed. *Churchwardens' Accounts of St Michael's Spurriergate.*

have been very poor indeed.[140] The evidence suggests that they made up an older section of the clerical population and though formally less well educated, perhaps not completely ill educated and reasonably respectable. 'Of honest conversation' is the most frequent observation where comments are given. However, looking at these data tells us nothing of the history of the priests it refers to. How long had they been in post? Were they young men when they took up these posts? How many had been in post prior to the radical 1530s? Who were the most recent appointees? What sort of living did these posts offer, was it worthwhile staying for years? These are the questions it is hoped to address in the following chapters, but before moving on, two other aspects of the survey evidence should be noted, which add to the context of the lives of the priests in this study: where they were located and the culture of memorialisation which surrounded them which was supported by the numerous small endowments from the general mass of parishioners.

5.   **LOCAL INFLUENCES**

5.1   **Urban Dominance**

Though the economic and monetary values of property and goods invested in memorial foundations were critically important to the Crown, the overt justification

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[140] The evidence from wills is discussed in chapter six of this thesis but the following are indications of the variations in prosperity. William Wyllye, chantry priest of St Andrew's in Droitwich, Worcestershire, died in December 1548 leaving bequests of £2.13s 4d and an inventory valued at £5 2s 4d; he was owed £1.14s 8d by debtors. This contrasts with evidence from Claire Cross who, in her article on the incomes of provincial urban clergy, noted that at his death in 1550, the inventory of Thomas Worrall, chantry priest in St Michael's Spurriergate showed his goods to be worth £20 which, she also commented, was £7 more than the goods value left by a neighbouring York vicar. WRO Vol 1(ii) pp. 170-171 802/1105 Will of William Wyllye; Claire Cross, 'The incomes of provincial urban clergy, 1520-1645' in Felicity Heal and Rosemary O'Day, eds. *Princes and Paupers in the English Church, 1500-1800* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981) pp. 65-90.

for their examination was theological. The declared objective was spiritual cleansing; the righting of abuses, removing unsound prayers for the soul, turning away funds used in error to good use, to preaching, to the poor, to improving schooling and where required the employment of priests to ensure an adequate clerical cover. Thus, it was the number of living souls supported which mattered when recording parochial details, not the number of taxable individuals, households or hearths. Accordingly, the commissioning articles that the Court of Augmentations issued to its officers required them to record the numbers of houseling people (communicants) in the parish where foundations were established. As with other 'required' information, compliance with this was variable: Gloucestershire and Worcestershire are complete; Hereford provides numbers for thirty-five parishes but not for six others; in Shropshire numbers are given for one parish (Holy Cross, which houses St Winifred's Guild), certain collegiate centres, ie Shrewsbury (St Mary's and St Chad's), Newport and Battlefield, but not Bridgnorth or any other parish; Warwickshire provides figures for eight parishes (nearly all high-profile centres) but omits twelve others. It also has to be said that, perhaps inevitably, there is a preference for round numbers in these lists.

In their article on the Midlands Region, Christopher Dyer and T R Slater commented on the 'unspectacular landscape' of most of the area while acknowledging its underlying diversity and the economic vitality and development of its towns. [141] Christopher Dyer in the same volume and elsewhere has written on the development of small towns, (his measure being those with less than 2,000 inhabitants) charting the spurts of growth and decline of small towns through the medieval and into the early modern periods, particularly noting the relative success of towns in the West

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[141] Christopher Dyer and T R Slater, 'The Midlands' in D. M. Palliser and Peter Clark eds. *Cambridge Urban History* Vol 1, c600-1540 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp. 609-638.

Midlands.[142]   However this success is measured, the dominance of towns for the subject of this study is borne out by the survey evidence.

Given their greater size and national prominence (third and fifth respectively in 1524-25) it is unsurprising to see Bristol and Coventry also prominent in providing the clerical employment analysed here, with those cities employing 26.9% and 31.58% of the clergy surveyed in their respective counties.[143]   For the county towns, Shrewsbury stands out, with its major collegiate institutions, particularly St Chad's with its mix of twenty-six collegiate, chantry and service posts. The town's other college, St Mary's, supported sixteen posts and the nearby college of Battlefield provided five more: in all, these three institutions and the five posts in Shrewsbury's other parishes account for just under 41% of Shropshire's posts.

The other significant Shropshire town was Bridgnorth, with its royally connected college. St Mary Magdalene had four fellows and a service priest in addition to its two associated grandees, Thomas Magnus and Hugh Coren. Bridgnorth's corporation also saw fit to add their support to the spiritual health of the town: two chantry priests and a preacher were employed by 'The Corporation Chantries' in St Leonard's church, bringing the town's total of recorded posts to ten. Battlefield College and its five fellows have also been referred to, but one further institution should probably also be noted here: the town of Newport also possessed a

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[142] Christopher Dyer, 'Small Towns 1270-1540' in Palliser and Clark eds. *Urban History* Vol 1, pp505-540, Christopher Dyer and Jane Laughton, 'Small Towns in the East and West Midlands in the Later Middle Ages: A Comparison' in *MH*, Vol. 24 1999 pp. 24-52.

[143] Alan Dyer places Bristol 3rd, Coventry 5th, Worcester 16th, Gloucester 19th, Hereford 22nd, Shrewsbury 31st and Cirencester 66th using the evidence for the taxable wealth from the subsidy of 1524-25. Table 3.13 in Appendix I p. 356 shows the relative positions held by these and other significant towns of the five counties discussed here. Alan Dyer, 'Ranking Lists of English Medieval Towns' in Palliser and Clark eds. *Urban History* Vol 1, pp765-767.

college of five fellows. In total, these three towns and their five colleges provided sixty-seven posts (58.26%) the remaining forty-eight being widely spread across the rest of the county, the largest of the five in this study.

For the other county towns, Hereford leads the rest (seventeen posts, 26.15%) followed by Gloucester (twelve posts, 10.1%). Worcester has eleven (22.49%), with Warwick very much the poor relation in this schema (beaten by Birmingham which had eight posts recorded, 8.3%). Warwick has only one certificate recording the four priests of the town's guild, a paucity of posts likely reflecting multiple causes: its non-cathedral city status (it belonged to Worcester diocese), the earlier dissolution (1544) of its College of St Mary as well as looming Coventry.[144] An estimated population of 2000 for the first-half of the 16th century makes Warwick smaller than Coventry's St Michael's parish for which the survey records 3000 'houseling people'.[145] Both Warwick and Gloucester appear overshadowed by their neighbours. Gloucester is interesting because of its status at this date as a diocesan centre: it outnumbers its former partner Worcester by three but its smaller share of its county figure reflects the dominance of Bristol's thirty-two posts and the contribution of another small town, Cirencester (seven posts).

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[144] The College was a considerable loss to the town, The Valor of 1535 valued it at £334.2s 3d and listed the dean, five prebends, a curate, ten vicars and six choristers, seventeen posts in all. The Victoria County history cites it dissolution date as between May and June 1544. William Page ed. *A History of the County of Warwick* Vol 2 *VCH* (London: Dawson, 1945 reprint of 1908) pp. 124-129.

[145] Though it is worth noting that the writers of the Victoria County History volume for Coventry suspect foul play with the figures. They note that the burgesses of Coventry, at the time of the appeals to the Privy Council against the dissolution of the guilds and chantries in 1548, claimed that the population was about 11,000 to 12,000! The chantry returns of 1548 give the population of the parishes of St. Michael and Holy Trinity in round figures of 3,000 and 4,000 respectively, and the writers feel that these might also be inflated. A census figure of 1587 (apparently taken at a time of food shortage), gives the total of men, women, and children in the city as 6,502, so perhaps the 1548 was not too far out after all. W B Stephens ed. *A History of Warwickshire* Vol 8 *VCH* (London: Oxford University Press 1969) for the City of Coventry and the Borough of Warwick, pp. 208-210 (Coventry) pp. 418-490 (Warwick).

It is in this comparison of the numbers of posts that an urban/rural divide is emphasised: the towns offer the greatest number of available posts, though not always the higher stipends. Though Bristol provided a higher average stipend than the rest of its county, £5.16s 11d against £5.5s 5d for the remainder of Gloucestershire, low stipends were paid to its endowment priests.[146] Anthony Malmesbury, priest of Frampton's Chantry in St John the Baptist's, was paid £3.0.0 but he had a pension of £6.0.0 from, as his surname indicates, the Benedictine house of Malmesbury. John Sherman, priest of Fraunces Chantry, in Cross of the Temple, Bristol was only paid £2.6s.8d. He had served in this church since at least 1531 and being in the city may have been able to supplement his earnings from attending ad hoc services as described in Clive Burgess's accounts of the parish of All Saints in the city.[147] Similarly, Coventry's Henry Randall's remuneration of 13s 10d as priest of Hayes' Chantry in St Michael's was combined with his low stipend as Vicar of Foleshill but, as with John Sherman in Bristol, there were also Coventry examples of (as far as is known) single incomes; Roger Stoneley and Rowland Cosuill (respectively described as incumbent and minister of the Guild of St Trinity, Babelake) each earned £2.13s.4d.[148] As with Bristol, Coventry could also offer the opportunity for supplementary earnings, the survey shows thirty-eight obits being kept within its St Michael's and Trinity parishes. In Shrewsbury, just under 50% of the town's stipends

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[146] Inclusively, the average stipend for Gloucestershire was £5.8s.9d. Contrasting the other significant towns against counties, the average stipend for Shrewsbury alone was £3.1s 2d, for Shropshire the figure is £3.14s 6d once Magnus's anomalous stipend is removed, for Coventry and Warwickshire, the figures are £5.10s 4d and £6 7s 2d respectively.

[147] See also the accounts of St Michael's Spurriergate, York, for further examples of ad hoc earning possibilities form anniversary services. Skeeters, *Community and Conflict,* Appendix 1, p. 190, Clive Burgess, The *Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints, Bristol*, *Part 2 - The Churchwarden Accounts -* Bristol Record Society. Vol 53, (2000). Webb, ed. *Churchwardens' Accounts of St Michael's Spurriergate.*

[148] Ambrose Maryott and Henry Westeley, both Trinity Guild priests, were paid double this rate, each receiving £5.6s 8d, so variations can be found everywhere. Neither of these men was recorded in the chantry certificates for Warwickshire, their names and details first appear in the pension rolls of 1547-1548. TNA SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo (1547-48) mm. 18-40v, 60-67v.

were under £3, the majority of these being less than £2 with some very low stipends, significantly under £1, but many acted as 'top-ups' with, as already noted, such post-holders having substantial second incomes of £10 and above. Though this is in essence a brief overview of the urban situation, one begins to appreciate the possibilities of the town and cities for enabling a piecemeal living to be made; a small chantry here, perhaps a low-paid vicarage added to the ad hoc income from obits and funerals.

These contrasts between the key towns and their wider settings are only one aspect of the differences between town and country that can be extracted from the survey evidence. Kümin and Burgess working on parish accounts have identified a circuitous relationship between distinct development of regimes of urban parish management and parochial post-mortem services.[149] An earlier article by Burgess prefaces this sharply when he describes these services as events which helped to maintain the active presence of the dead: 'The intensity of this presence was doubtless an important factor, albeit among many others, distinguishing the quality of town life from the quality of life in village or countryside'.[150] In both works the capacity of memorial endowments to add to the liturgical life of the parish is discussed, as they increased the number of church services, bringing in priests to man the foundations and provide assistance to the vicar.[151] But, as Swanson has pointed out, 'the habit of

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[149] Clive Burgess and Beat Kümin, 'Penitential Bequests and Parish Regimes in Late Medieval England', *JEH,* Vol 44 No. 4 (Oct 1993) pp. 610-630.

[150] Burgess, 'A Service for the dead: the form and function of the Anniversary in late medieval Bristol', *TBGAS,* Vol 105, (1987) pp. 183-211.

[151] The priest who served the service founded by Richard Erle in 1491, in Holy Trinity in Bristol, 'was to sing at matins, mass and vespers and at all canonical hours observed in the church'. In 1548, this would have been quite a round for the priest who was in place, Robert Foster, by then aged 76, who was paid £6 and may have been the former prior of Flanesford in Herefordshire. Burgess, 'For the Increase of Divine Service: Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol' *JEH* Vol. 36 No 1 (Jan 1985) p. 53, TNA E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire certificate 9.

funding prayers and chantries reflects both religious concern and social status':
supporting a habit can occur anywhere but usually requires money and the freedom to
practise. As Burgess and Kümin discuss, the lesser control exercised by chief lords in
towns and the greater flexibility of urban life allowed and encouraged the laity to
exercise their financial and local standing in the creation of clerical services and
charitable acts. Flexibility could also be vulnerability, migration into and out of towns
meant less reliance on family and more on the locality. Thus for the benefit of their
souls and their parishes, wealthier townspeople were inclined towards chantries and
services which were both encouragements to and the results of other similar
endowments. The tables produced for this study support urban seniority in terms of
numbers and opportunities but one other aspect also emphasises the importance of
these foundations to parish and people: the number of endowments known by
personal names. Burgess has written about the memorial endowments in Bristol
provided by local guilds and successful individuals: similarly successful guilds and
merchants in Coventry followed this path.[152] In Bristol, twenty-six of thirty-two
priests held services recorded by their founder's name but none by a trade: in
Coventry, seventeen (of thirty) have personal names, with two trade names, the
Tailors and Shearmens' Service (in Holy Trinity) and another which combines both
categories, 'Master Tate & the Dyers' (in St Michael's).[153] In parishes with multiple
endowments, remembering who gave what was important (confirming Swanson's
comment above), but this use of personal names is a very public face of
commemoration and differentiation. This is less evident in smaller locations where,
even if the original founders of services are known, dedications are less overtly

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[152] Burgess, 'Divine Service' and 'A Service for the dead'.
[153]TNA E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire certificates 1-21 and E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire certificate 2 St Michael's, Coventry, (support includes '8 mks to be payde by master & wardens of the fellowshippe or craft of the dyers in the City of London').

personalised: if not dedicated to Our Lady (of all titles, the most popular) or to a saint's name, they are often known by place name.[154]

6. CONCLUSION -THE CERTIFICATES EVIDENCE

Independent of the reasons for its creation and acknowledging that there are caveats regarding its completeness and accuracy, we are fortunate in having the surviving material which is the 'chantry certificates'. Behind the summaries, which are the certificate rolls, there is an immense amount of data gathered by or gleaned from the parishes. William Crowche's workbook and the Lugwardine and Linton evidence are both indicative of the demands of the survey. They are also evidence of what the parish retained and a measure of the capability and concerns of churchwardens and parish managers (thereby supporting the thesis of Burgess and Kümin, already discussed). In addition to the statutory information, there appears the occasional memo relating any special circumstances: the clarification of a chapel's status and value, a plea for a school's retention or for an extra priest to help the vicar. The documents that remain from this exercise are not only 'historic' in our terms (as artefacts, being a direct, physical link with the past) but are history books in their own right. The scribes who created them were unknowingly recording history: still live to the contemporary parishioners, within these accounts are the details of institutions many of which had existed and, more importantly, functioned for decades and

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[154] In all within this study, 117 chantries and services are dedicated to Our Lady or the Blessed Virgin. Though not a full list, other's favoured include the Trinity, St Katherine, St John the Baptist, St Anne, St Thomas and St George. All points are covered by the service held by Philip Nicholas in Leominster dedicated to The Trinity, Our Lady of Pity, St Anne and All Saints.

frequently longer.[155] These, together with the reason for their existence, were being consigned to the past but ironically this act has also preserved them and their priests. The surveys cannot be claimed as fully comprehensive or transparent, but they do provide a snapshot of the material investment in purgatory and some insight into how these were manned and managed, be this as discrete collegiate or guild organisations or as part of the church-centred life of a parish. The removal of the doctrine of purgatory was a major plank of the Reformation programme. Other historians including those already cited in this chapter have examined the impact of this, and its consequences for society, to faith and parish life. Of these, Kreider undertook the closest analysis of the chantry survey information and charted 'the road to dissolution', the sub-title of his book, for the institutions themselves. The remit of the Chantries Act demanded the cataloguing of one part of the clerical population as it stood in 1548. The intention here is to take some of the clerics from that population and consider their 'road to dissolution' and what happened afterwards.

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[155] As with, for example, the chantry served by Rowland Lane in 1548 in the church of Stone, Gloucestershire, which had been founded in 1356 by John Sargeant and the school and chantry named for Robert Grendour in Newland, also Gloucestershire, founded by Grendour's widow in 1455. For the Stone chantry see Wood Legh, *Perpetual Chantries* p. 13 and for the Grendour foundation see A. T. Bannister ed. *Register of John Stanbury, Bishop of Hereford, 1453-1474*, C&Y Vol. 26, (1919) pp. 22-33 and pp. 104-111.

Chapter Four

Careers In Changing Times

1.   IDENTIFICATION, SOURCES AND STATUS

Where the previous chapter explored the evidence of the survey certificates, examining the reported condition of priests and their employment in 1548, the objective of this chapter is to go back before this date. Its aim is to extract from surviving documents what we can of these priests as individuals and as a part of a wider group that was in 1548 (and is now) being examined in a very particular way. These men began their clerical careers in the traditional structure: the majority were born before Henry VIII ascended the throne.[1] They had grown up and moved into the religious life or secular priesthood prior to and then alongside the growing theological debates, the political and dynastic worries of Henry's reign, as the king himself moved from defending the faith, as they knew it, to apparently adopting evangelical ideas. It is this period of their careers and lives which this chapter seeks to outline, concluding with an attempt to set these careers alongside some local evidence of Reformation issues and events and in the context of the methodology discussed in chapter one.

Looking back on these careers from the point that is 1548 is fraught with difficulty due to either (or both) the fragmentation of records or the variation in manner and quality of administration processes in different sectors. Though not the

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[1] Only forty-six of the 376 whose ages are known were born from 1509 onwards.

only documents available, the principal sources for clerical careers during this period must be the ecclesiastical documents recording the events of clerical life at a local level within the diocese: the ordination registers marking the stages of ordination, the lists of appointments and institutions for employment history, supplemented by the accounts of visitations made by bishops and their officials in their material and spiritual management of clerics and parishioners. In addition, the records created by the political and financial demands of central government: the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, 'military' surveys, clerical subsidies, and Composition Books, all provide data from which one can hope to extract useful information to add to individual histories and draw conclusions (perhaps). Parochial documents, particularly churchwarden accounts, offer some insight into the discourse of parish life where local actors appear, including the priests, as they participate in the liturgical, economic and domestic management of the church and its supporting community.[2] There are surviving documents in all the document categories noted above, but survival is not consistent across all parishes, counties and dioceses nor is there consistency in the methods or style of recording: neither clarity nor accuracy are guaranteed.[3]

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[2] The Register of Thomas Botelar of Much Wenlock and the accounts kept by Christopher Trichay of Morebath offer extensive and informative descriptions of parish and local happenings in this period. See W A Leighton, 'The Register of Thomas Botelar of Much Wenlock', in *TSANHS* Vol. VI (1883) pp. 93-132; Duffy, *Voices of Morebath* which is devoted to Trichay's life in the village*;* E.Hobhouse, ed. *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, Pilton, Yatton, Tintinhull, Morebath & St Michael's, Bath, 1349-1560* Somerset Record Series, Vol. 14 (1890). With regard to churchwarden accounts, Beat Kümin lists surviving churchwarden accounts from 1300-1547 in Appendix 1, pp. 265-269 of Kümin *The Shaping Of A Community: the Rise and Reformation of the English Parish*, (Aldershot: Scolar Press and Ashgate, 1996). See also Ronald Hutton, 'The Local Impact of the Tudor Reformations' in Christopher Haigh, *The English Reformation Revised,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 114-138 an article that discusses and references various churchwarden accounts.

[3] In addition to the issues of survival and the qualities of recording, the purpose of the documents themselves should not be forgotten; though they were drawn up as instruments of record they were not drawn up with regard to the frustrations of future historians, particularly one attempting to clarify titles and career progression. To highlight just one category, the objective of clerical, lay and military subsidies was to enable the Crown to gather money: the accurate accounting of worldly goods, income and tax liabilities, was likely to be more important than precise recording of a clerical title. Most parishes would have had one or more assistant clergy: those curates, chantry priests or stipendiaries whose employment arrangements were prone to flexibility and less institutional formality than that described by the familiar church hierarchy. As they were the representatives of the church within the community, identification of the rector or vicar to whom local tithes were due would have been

To plot individual careers requires not only finding the right documents but the right person; identification is a process hampered in this period by the multi-purpose nature of surnames. A secular cleric might be recorded at ordination or at other points in his career with a last name which reflected family history, his birthplace or current parish if he held the cure; a clerk in regular orders could add to this list the name of his chosen house or an appropriate religious name.[4] Absolute identification of individuals is thus frequently problematic, given the possible permutations of naming criteria, and the added complication of tracking movement through geographic and diocesan locations. Prosopographical studies for this date have to acknowledge such issues while still attempting to pursue and understand the individuals who make up a particular group and their place in the wider society. The possible evidence for an individual has to be considered and identification carefully (and hopefully) made once the balance of probabilities and possibilities has been weighed. Both the positive and negative results of bringing together available dispersed and fragmentary evidence can be illustrated by the account below which shows how individual stories can be (partially) revealed when one is fortunate enough to bring dispersed material together but equally emphasises the voids in the evidence. These testing gaps maybe due to the lack of documents or because the questions raised are those which require answers which are unknowable - where and when

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straightforward, but as applying precise titles and labels to stipendiary priests and curates, this might have been more problematic and probably concerned them little. Such minor clergy might well have been irrelevant if the incumbent was paying their wages and taxes; it was the pennies that mattered, not the titles.

[4] A good example of this is Robert Joseph, monk of Evesham and Oxford scholar, whose name prior to entering Evesham was Becham. At the dissolution, he changed his surname again, this time to Wyllys, which may have been his mother's family name. As Robert Wyllys, he was vicar of Cropthorne, Worcestershire from 1567-1569. Hugh Aveling and W A Pantin eds. *The Letter Book of Robert Joseph,* Introduction pp.xvi and lv (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967) see also the *ODNB.*

individuals did what - but also the outcomes of human interaction, networking and relationships about which we can only speculate.

On 27 August 1491 Roger Salter was instituted as Warden of St Mary's College in Newport, Shropshire. Salter's institution was by proxy – he was represented by Magister Robert Sannson (*sic)* – with dispensation for being under age (at 23) and also for non-residence.[5] The Warden's post combined the role of rector of Newport so, ideally, Salter should have been in priest's orders and of age for that status (24), hence the dispensation.[6] How far Salter was from reaching priest's orders is revealed in the London ordinations for the following year, when he appeared at an ordination ceremony in the St Katherine's Chapel of St Paul's Cathedral on 16 June 1492.[7] Giving his wardenship of Newport College as his entitlement, Salter was ordained as Sub-Deacon, suggesting that dispensation was required for more than just being under age for his Warden's appointment. Appearing in records as variously BA or MA, Salter was probably pursuing his academic career during the early 1490s, although where and when he did so, or where and when he was ordained to the remaining higher orders is not known.[8] In January 1496, he was instituted to a second post, the chaplaincy of Roden Free Chapel (which he still held in 1548 hence his appearance in the survey) and, despite the four-year gap since the St Paul's

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[5] Roger Salter appointed 'Custos' (Warden) of the College of St Mary and St Nicholas in Newport, Shropshire, with dispensation for his age (23) and non-residence 'cum ex eo' which would allow for up to seven years absence. LRO B/A/1/13-f26 27.8.1491; Lipkin, *Institutions-Coventry & Lichfield,* p.27.

[6] E301/40 – 1546 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire, entry 4 for the town of Newport and the College and Parish of Our Lady states 'The said college is a parish church of Our Lady and the warden is parson of the same and hath the cure of 800 houseling people', see also Thompson, 'Certificates of the Shropshire Chantries' pp. 316-317.

[7] Roger Salter ordained as sub-deacon on 16 June 1492. Reference - Hill fo7r, Ceremony 459, from the database of Virginia Davis' study of London Clergy - Davis, *Clergy in London.*

[8] Salter does not appear in the lists of graduates for either Oxford or Cambridge. He is called BA at the time of his institution to Newport (1491) and Roden Free Chapel in 1496 but already MA in 1492 at date of his ordination as sub-deacon, fn. 7 above.

ceremony, was still only deacon.[9] Though under the College's incorporation the warden was to have the cure of souls of Newport parish and to administer the sacraments himself, Salter's lack of orders was catered for by a 'get out' clause allowing the sacraments to be administered 'by one of his chaplains as his deputy'.[10] Nothing prior to 1491 is known of Salter but at the time of his appointment to Newport a Richard Salter, an Oxford Doctor of Canon Law, was also senior dignitary in Lichfield Cathedral. This may have been both an academic and family link and the reason Roger Salter was able to get his place.[11] Given the provision that allowed for a locum and the availability of licences for absence for study, the warden's post would have been an attractive one for a scholar with academic aspirations. Salter's academic achievements may also have added to the status of the college, certainly on his resignation in 1543 another MA, John Moreton, followed him.[12] By this date the college also provided a grammar school.

There are, therefore, difficulties in trying to find or impose order within and on this material: one cannot expect to produce fully comparative material enabling the tracking of all individuals, for equal evaluation or biography. Nevertheless, we should try; there is valuable evidence to be worked with here, perhaps illustrated by the conjectures above on the working titles of parish clerics. What does this evidence

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[9] Roger Salter BA to Roden Free Chapel, High Ercal, Shropshire, 23.1.1496, by the Bishop by devolution, 'in ordine diaconali constituto'. LRO B/A/1/13-f156r, Lipkin, *Institutions-Coventry & Lichfield,* p. 35.

[10] Thompson, 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates', p. 133, from 20 Hen.VI, pt4, m2.

[11] M. Richard Salter D.Cn.L was appointed Prebendary of Hansacre, 1489-1501 and Chancellor of Lichfield, 1501-1505. Precentor, 1505-1519, died before 27 May 1519 when his successor was admitted. See Jones, ed. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541*; A. B. Emden, *A biographical register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

[12] John Moreton MA was appointed Warden in July 1544. As with Salter, so with Moreton as he was also instituted by proxy (represented by John Holwaye), Moreton was also by this date Vicar of Idsal and Rector of Stockton, neither of which was mentioned on his chantry certificate although the words 'other living' were entered. Moreton to Idsal, B/A/1/14if48v 2.3.1532; Lipkin, *Institutions-Coventry & Lichfield,* p. 78, to Stockton B/A/1/14iii f32r 2.9.1537; Lipkin *Institutions-Coventry & Lichfield* p. 106, TNA E301/ 41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire 1548 certificate 34 Newport - College of St Mary.

imply: that there might simply be an unsurprising difference in standards of quality, of accuracy and/or response, in the maintenance of official or unofficial records?   The previous chapter's discussion on the variation in the drawing up of the Chantry Certificates in response to the official requirements of a Statute of the Realm shows that this is division is not clear cut, instructions are always at the mercy of personal interpretation, local practice or flawed recording.[13]

2.   **TITLES AND STATUS**

In the visitation lists of John Bell's Acts Book for Worcester Diocese Thomas Yelshawe and Fulco Flecher, the two chantry priests of Tanworth are recorded as 'cant [arists]'. This status, however, does not prevent the section in which they appear, together with another long-serving chantry priest, Roger Metcalfe of Alcester, being clearly headed up as 'Stipendarii', a definition which matches the status of other clerics recorded there and identified as 'stip [endiary]'.[14] A small point perhaps: in one way all clergy within a parish not blessed with the rectory or vicarage were 'stipendiary', a fact that might well colour the formal diocesan record keeping. But what information, tacit and implicit, is provided by Bell's list? Tacitly, it appears to show that for this scribe's purposes it was relevant to note that three of the stipendiary priests listed were chantry priests, which indeed they were. All three held substantial chantries, which were of local importance: those of Tanworth founded by royal license and that of Alcester also having responsibility for maintaining a bridge across

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[13] As with Faraday's observations on the drafting of the Military Surveys in the introduction to his account of Worcestershire's survey, M. A Faraday ed. *Worcestershire Taxes in the 1520s: The Military Survey and Forced Loans of 1522-23 and the Lay Subsidy of 1524-27*, Worcestershire Historical Society, New Series, Vol. 19 (2003), pp.x1-xliv.
[14] WRO 802 2764 Act Book of John Bell c1520-1541, Archdeaconry of Worcester, ff. 42-43.

the Arrow river.[15] Implicit in this list then is the view that regardless of having a life-long post and being taxed as a 'benefice', such priests were still 'stipendiary'; that is they remained classed overall with the majority, their clerical fellows not formally associated with a parochial office.[16] But did the same understanding apply at the community level?   What was their perceived status, and whose perception was brought into play?   When do titles apply and why? Who is doing the labelling?

These are questions that vex - highlighting the complexities of understanding and unravelling contemporary labelling, particularly with regard to this part of the clerical population.[17] Given that in legal terms a chantry priest and a stipendiary priest were two different entities but, in the bishop's lists, the former are subsumed in a list of the latter, the uncertain application already noted in chapter three (p. 116) for the Bewdley chaplains is not surprising and may be indicative of a complex and varied local identity of the status and role of these extra-parochial clergy. Between 1532 and 1548, Richard Gravener made six recorded appearances in the parish of Minchinhampton in Gloucestershire, firstly (1532) with no title, secondly (1534) as chantry priest, next, in 1540, as curate, and also in 1540, as stipendiary and once more

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[15] Supervision of two bridges across the River Arrow in Alcester was devolved to the Chantry Priest of St Mary's in 1543. An agreement between Sir Fulke Greville, (Lord of Manor) and Metcalfe gave the latter an annual rent of 20s towards maintaining the bridges. This was part of the resolution of a dispute between them - 20s was to be augmented by a testimonial signed and sealed by Greville and others 'to gather the devotion of the people' and if this proved insufficient, Greville was to give more. Philip Styles, ed. *A History of the County of Warwickshire, Vol. 3, Barlichway Hundred, VCH* (London: Oxford University Press 1945) p. 9.

[16] Metcalfe and Flecher are both recorded in the Valor assessed for tenths but, another example of missing details, Yelshawe is missing despite his being the longer-serving of the two Tanworth priests.

[17]The complexity of understanding contemporary labelling particularly with regard to unbeneficed priests is highlighted in Faraday's transcription of the military survey of 1522. In the survey of Worcestershire, Faraday speculates that a list of 'serving priests' refers to chantry priests in the diocese, though he does not state how or why he makes this assumption. While this might be true, it is not absolutely evident from the entries; the one chantry priest in post both in 1522 and 1548, Sir Roger Chance (Chaunce), St Katherine's priest in Kidderminster, is named as such in the latter church's list but is not included in the serving priests. See Faraday, *Worcestershire Taxes*, entry 75/133 and the associated note 1, p. 63, where he states 'Prob[ably] Chantry priests from the whole area for which the commissioners were responsible'.

with no title in an episcopal visitation dating from the same year as the survey (1548):

the survey names him as the Chantry Priest of the single foundation there, the Chantry

of Our Lady. An unassigned comment in the *Victoria County History* suggests that

his identification as a stipendiary in 1540 was due to the fact that, as part of his

chantry duties, Gravener was required to assist with divine service in the church at

holidays.[18] If correct, this comment implies that Gravener had an 'extra' status within

the church which was the greater institution which housed his chantry but which did

not employ him.

In practical terms, if the reporting of parishioners is accepted, the true value of

these men to their parish is not made plain by their recorded titles.[19] Yelshawe and

Flecher, the commission was told, were bound to help the vicar at times of sickness,

'sowe many of them would perish without ministration as we be informed by many

honest parishioners'.[20] In Alcester, it was said that there were 'above 400 houseling

people' and the curate was not able to serve the cure without the help of Metcalfe and

his fellow chantry priest William Banks.

This leads deeper into considerations of the multi-layering of relationships

between priests and parish, of the balance between formal status (chantry priest) and

perceived status: what appears to be the situation on the surface, the one-dimensional

story of the survey, and the lapidary reality of life as lived (yes, he's a chantry priest

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[18] WRO 802 2764 Act Book of John Bell c1520-1541, Archdeaconry of Worcester, ff. 49-466,ff. 77-105,ff. 287-293; N M Herbert, and R B Pugh eds. *A History of the County of Gloucester, Vol. 11, Bisley and Longtree Hundreds, VCH* (1976) pp. 201-204.

[19] Not a new thought, Kreider has a chapter called 'The Intercessory Priests Practical Contributions' and Marshall analysed various facets of a priest's place in the community. It appears, however, that this question of the actual status and the place of working priests forces its way through from whichever angle evidence is examined and the subject is not yet fully resolved. Kreider, *English Chantries,* pp. 58-70; Marshall*, The Catholic Priesthood,* where each chapter examines the priest's place in society from a different perspective.

[20] TNA E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire certificate no 7, Tanworth.

but that means he's our stipendiary (serving priest?) for these days, and an assistant to the Vicar when he's away and/or helps the curate in times of sickness). Additional support for different roles an unbeneficed priest might play can be found in those survey certificates that refer to teaching as an add-on duty (so that we might, in some circumstances, be able to add the comment, 'oh! and he teaches the children grammar…', to the list above) as well as preaching and playing the organ. In Shropshire in the 1546 survey, it is noted that one Welsh-speaking priest was employed 'at lent tyme', a skill which must have been in demand at this critical point in the year as would-be communicants of this Marches county came to confession.[21] If there is any truth in this perception of a diversity of roles which a priest might be called upon to perform, we can speculate that, where different titles appear in the same parish, we should not always assume either scribal error, laissez-faire attitudes to titles or even evidence of a career path. Furthermore, churchwardens' accounts have numerous references to the non-liturgical tasks and services that priests undertook. These accounts suggest that another interpretation might be that overall here is stronger evidence of the varied role of extra-parochial priests as understood, even expected, by those participating in the event of creating the record. The significance of this and how it adds to our understanding of the lives of early modern parish clergy will be discussed further below and in chapter five.

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[21] TNA E301/40 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire 1546 Certificate 3, Shrewsbury St Chad's 'a reward to a Welshe preest at lent tyme, 6s.8d', see also Thompson, 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates', pp. 306-307.

3. ORDINATIONS AND TITLES TO ORDERS

Before any formal clerical employment could be obtained there was the process of ordination to be stepped through. Of the population chosen for this study, 423 are adults and theoretically traceable through diocesan administrative records. Ideally, these 423 candidates should have produced 1692 ordination records as they moved from acolyte, to sub-deacon, deacon and priest. Unfortunately, given the uneven nature of the records across the various dioceses, it has not been possible to gather more than a small percentage of this figure: 256 records (15.13% of the possible total) of which 64 are for priest's orders. However, this does translate to a total of 123 individuals (29.07%) for whom some ordination material has been found spread over 50 years, from 1486 to 1546. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 (Appendix II, p.360) show ordination records first by county and then by diocese.[22] The busy decade of the 1520s stands out here and contrasts with the overall trend for all ordinations between 1504 and 1530 as identified by Cooper in his work on Coventry and Lichfield. Cooper found a very distinct high point in 1512 with a 50% drop down to 1515, followed by a series of minor rallies and dips through the 1520s up to 1530: a line comparison with Cooper's data shows the records for the sample here increasing as his declines.[23] However, with just under 50% of this cohort being aged between 40 and 59, one could expect ordinations in this period to predominate. The importance of Hereford diocese relative to its place as a county is prominent in this comparison,

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[22] London diocese is included on Table 4.2 only with regard to identified priests from this study whose ordinations took place there. See Table 4.2, Appendix II p. 360.

[23] My comparison with Cooper is based on his discussion of the numbers of ordinands and the patterns of ordination and his Graph 3. The divergence between the findings is interesting and it worthy of this attention but the interpretative difficulties imposed by the focus on one particular cohort of individuals has to be borne in mind. For the comparison see Graphs 1 and 2 in Appendix II p. 359 of this thesis. Cooper, *Last Generation,* pp. 30-36.

as it stands closely with Coventry and Lichfield in the number of ordination records and individuals. Issues for prospective Worcester ordinands caused by its succession of absentee bishops during this period, are probably subsumed within this figures: in all forty-eight priests recorded in Gloucester and Worcester in 1548 were ordained in Hereford and Coventry and Lichfield.

Although the number of ordination records in London (Table 4.2) is small, fourteen only for seven individuals, the 1548 diocesan spread (one each from Bristol, Gloucester, Hereford and Worcester with three from Coventry & Lichfield) does show that individuals had to be prepared to travel further than just a neighbouring diocese to achieve ordination; a necessary attitude for some if they were to find later employment.

Ordination was not possible without entitlement and, by implication, a source of income that prevented the Bishop becoming, theoretically, responsible for a priest's support. As has been noted elsewhere, principally by Swanson but also in Cooper's work cited above, the major providers of secular titles (to those ordinands who were not, 'regulars'- members of monastic orders) at this period were the monasteries.[24] These institutions, Swanson suggests, may have taken on the responsibility for candidates' examination which would have relieved the diocesan administration at a time of high demand while ensuring ordinands' acceptability; some reparation may have been demanded of prospective candidates though, as he notes, no hard evidence has been found to date. The ordinands here reflect this same relationship between monastic houses and ordination entitlement. In Cooper's analysis of almost 12,000

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[24]Robert N Swanson, 'Titles to Orders in Medieval English Episcopal Registers' in H Mayr-Harting and R I Moore eds. *Studies in Medieval History presented to R H C Davies*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1985) pp. 233-245.

records (for approximately 4,500 individuals) the leading orders supplying titles were the Augustinians, followed by Cistercian, Benedictine and Premonstratensian houses. This sequence is mirrored in the much smaller group here. Of the 191 ordination records (for 101 individuals) where titles are given (and explicable) 153 were provided by these houses, a handful (sixteen) were spread amongst the Friars, other orders or dioceses, a further thirteen by hospitals or colleges, and only nine records for five individuals were supported by existing personal appointments or other source of income. The rarity of personal titles is also comparable to Cooper's analysis where he states that 'between 1504 and 1531 there is only evidence for just over forty exceptions' to the provision of monastic titles. Though it is unclear whether Cooper's forty refers to individuals or the number of records, he does state that thirty-five instances refer to benefices and the remainder to the ordinands' patrimony, a sum of money or provision by a lay sponsor.[25] Table 4.3 (in Appendix II, p.361) shows the breakdown of title provision for the group here, and, although only a partial account, it is clear evidence that this sector of the clerical population matched their fellows in their source of entitlement, it emphasises their homogeneity at this the apparent starting point of their careers and that they cannot be 'selected out' from the whole using this criteria as a base.

The provision of titles by the monastic orders is intriguing even given the explanation proposed by Professor Swanson. How were they obtained? Did one apply to a preferred monastic house via a medieval UCAS system? What contacts were required? It is difficult to extract evidence of direct personal connections between the house providing the title and the recipient, though local links can be

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[25] Cooper, *Last Generation,* p. 20.

proposed for individuals.   Richard Wyld, ordained as sub-deacon secular in 1533 to a title from the Abbey of St Peter's in Shrewsbury, held a chantry post in St Mary's Shrewsbury in 1548 and became Rector of nearby Fitz, so we can imagine him as a native of the town and possibly known to the abbey.[26]   Likewise, John Myrrye served in the church of 'St Mary Crippa' in Gloucester from at least 1532; his ordinations in 1524 and 1525 had been to a title from the Hospital of St Bartholomew also in Gloucester.[27]   For others, any link remains opaque: between March and December 1528, William Churchley's entitlement at each level of ordination was from the Premonstratensian house at Halesowen, Worcestershire. Churchley's likely birthplace was Henley in Arden, Warwickshire. Ordained in Coventry and Lichfield, Churchley held the Chantry of Our Lady, in Trimpley chapel outside Kidderminster, Worcestershire.[28] Post-1548, William Churchley became Curate of Castle Bromwich in 1558 and then Vicar of Leek Wootton, from 1560 until his death in 1569: both his latter posts were in North Warwickshire and part of the diocese of Coventry & Lichfield.[29]   No available evidence presents a reason for Churchley's choice of Halesowen. Perhaps (with a nod back to the UCAS analogy) there was a hierarchy of monastic houses from whom entitlement was preferred or where the points system was a little more flexible.

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[26] Ordination of Richard Wyld with Letters Dimissory from Coventry and Lichfield diocese – sub-deacon secular with title from St Peter's, Shrewsbury on 30.3.1533 in Hereford Cathedral, Bannister, *Bishops' Registers-Hereford,* C&Y Vol. 27-28 (1921) Bothe – p. 330. As rector of Fitz, Wyld compounded for first fruits 22.3.1548 see TNA E334/4 2E6 Composition Book, 1548-1549, p. 5. Wyld had his rectory until his death in 1577. Richard Wylde, parson of Fitz buried 4.2.1577 *Shropshire Parish Registers*, (Shrewsbury: Shropshire Parish Register Society), Vol. 4, p. 5, Fitz.

[27] Ordination of John Myrrye, with Letters Dimissory from Worcester diocese: as acolyte secular, 22 2.1524 in Hereford Cathedral, as sub-deacon with title from St Bartholomew's Hospital, Gloucester, 9.3.1524 Hereford Cathedral, as deacon with the same title, 17.12.1524 in Ludlow Church and as priest with the same title, 1.4.1525- Hereford Cathedral. Bannister, *Bishops' Registers-Hereford,* C&Y Vol. 27-28, Bothe – pp. 315-318.

[28] I thank Richard Churchley for information on William Churchley's family background.

[29] As chantry priest of Trimpley TNA E334/2 f158r Composition Book 20.7.1543, as curate of Castle Bromwich, 1.7.1558 LRO B/V/1/2 .88 and CCEd Person ID: 25321, for institution to Leek Wooton 29.5.1560 LRO B/A/2ii/1 and CCED Person ID: 25321.

3.1   Personal Titles

The personal titles, defined here as those arising from either the financial support of a patron or from a title and income to which the ordinand has already been appointed, can be more enlightening. It is a pity that so few occur in the group under discussion (nine records for five individuals) as they can provide evidence of the relationship between patron and client, not only of individuals but also of families and localities.

Formal and established client and patron relationships are shown by the careers of Philip Nicholas and Daniel Tybott. Philip Nicholas received his orders in Hereford between September 1513 and April 1514, all to a title provided by Dame Alianora Croft and a 'Rent from Brimfield'.[30] In 1548, he held the Service of Our Lady in Leominster when his patron was again Dame Alianora. Daniel Tybbot, holder of St Katherine's Chantry (Stafford's 1st Chantry) in Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire in 1548, was ordained priest in Hereford on 22nd December 1515.[31] Tybbot's title, a rent of three marks, was provided by Sir Robert Throckmorton, of Coughton, Warwickshire. The links between the Tybbot and Throckmorton families are suggested by Tybbot's being parish priest of Rushock in 1522, which was very

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[30] Phillip Nicholas, ordained as sub-deacon on 24.9.1513 in Whitborne Church, as deacon on 13.12.1513 in Bromyard Church, as priest on 1.4.1514 in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary-Hereford Cathedral; Bannister, *Bishops' Registers-Hereford,* Mayew, pp. 261-265.

[31] Daniel Tybott, ordained as priest secular with letters dimissory from the diocese of Worcester, 22.12.1515 in Bromyard Church; Bannister, *Bishops' Registers-Hereford,* Mayew, p. 271.

much in Throckmorton territory and also by Robert Throckmorton's will.[32]
Preparatory to travelling abroad in 1518, Throckmorton made lengthy provisions for
his family and servants. In a codicil to the will, made in Italy just prior to his death,
Throckmorton made three bequests to a 'Tybbot', who must have travelled with him.
Tybbot is left '4 marks to bring him into England', 'my fourth best horse', and 'a
gowne' and a William Tybbot (maybe the same man) is forgiven a debt of £14.
Daniel Tybbot himself left '£5 of which 33s 4d is already paid for a cow' to a William
Tybbot in his own will in 1558.[33]

These two examples indicate the value of long-term relationships between
patrons and clients, the network ties of favour and service that bind families together.
Other titles are the preface to a lengthy relationship with an institution and/or location.
David Wattes (alias Watyis or Waters) was ordained priest in Hereford in 1527 with,
the transcription states, entitlement from his stall in Hereford Cathedral and
Wormesley Priory.   This presumably arises from his institution as vicar choral as he
appeared as minor canon and vicar choral in the Valor of 1535. Wattes' longer career
remained closely tied to the Cathedral: in 1545 he was instituted to the post of
Chantry Priest of the Cathedral Chantry of Our Lady founded by Bishop Audley.[34] A
certificate in the Hereford Cathedral archives, circa 1554, describes him as 'secular
priest sometime chantry priest of Bishop Audley's chantry, pension £6', noting also 'a
vicarage in the chore (choir) value £2.10s.0d'.[35]

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[32] Faraday, *Worcestershire Taxes*, entries 46/30 and 49/34, pp. 33-34; Will of Sir Robert Throkmarton
of Coughton, Warwickshire, 9 November 1520, TNA PPC PROB 11/20 Register Maynwaring.
[33] WRO 008.7/BA3950 parcel 2 f. 308, Will of Danyell Tybott dated 31.8.1558.
[34] Wattes to the 'Chantry of St Mary of Edward Audely' on the 24.1.1545, TNA E334/3 f41v,
Composition Book.
[35] Morgan and Morgan, eds. *Pensioned Ex-religious and Priests - Hereford* p. 87.

The only post-1536 ordinations found thus far are those for William Fownes alias Foyne, from acolyte to priest between May and November 1546. In August 1546, Fownes acquired dispensation from the Faculty Office of Canterbury to proceed from sub-deacon's orders to those of deacon and priest 'on the same day and outside statutory times'. Attending ceremonies in St Paul's, London, Fownes became sub-deacon on 28 November and then, in line with his dispensation, deacon and priest on 30 November. The entitlement that enabled this was a rent of six marks from John Fownes, yeoman of Dodford, Bromsgrove; the town where William was stipendiary priest and schoolmaster in 1548.[36] The shared surname of priest and patron presumes a blood relationship; John may even have been William's father.[37]

Though there is the issue of fragmentary records already commented on and the relatively older age of the priests here, the lack of records from 1536 is striking; ordinations were perhaps discouraged by the loss of possible titles from the dissolved monasteries and by entry into the job market of their former residents. As the single later ordination here, Fownes' source of title is an example of the return to patrimonial support demanded by the monastic dissolutions; for where could prospective priests turn for the entitlement essential for ordination?[38] The high percentage of monastic titles for secular ordinations has been shown above, the loss of

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[36] Neither Tybott's three marks nor Fownes six marks match the £5, which Heath states 'should' have been provided by a title. Heath, *English Clergy,* p. 21. Rather at £1.15s 0d and £3.10s.0d, given that they were awarded twenty years apart, they may be closer, in fact and in spirit, to the 40 shillings of Swanson's speculations. Swanson, 'Titles to Orders', p. 244, and *Church and Society,* pp. 38.

[37] According to a memo added to the Bromsgrove entry in the chantry certificates, funds for this endowment were said to come from the manor of Dodford in Northamptonshire. There is indeed a Dodford in that county, but given a place of the same name outside Bromsgrove and the connections shown in the ordination records, this must be an error: perhaps a London-based scribe was less than sure of his Midlands geography.

[38] Swanson dates the change from the dominance of patrimony to monastic titles from the fourteenth century but notes that this varied from diocese to diocese, so that the return to this was another 'sea change' of this period and must have been of some concern to prospective candidates. Swanson, 'Titles to Orders', pp. 233-234.

this source of entitlement increased the need for lay patronage, whether familial or other. So, the answer to 'where' was to family, other patrons and the gaining of adequate financial support or posts which would provide eligibility in the eyes of the diocesan administration.[39] Though this depends on the (unknown) reality behind monastic titles and how funding was underpinned, we might consider the consequences for the status of men who became priests. Rather in the same way that the financial issues of today's university students have raised concerns that only the well off will be able to afford to study, the removal of monastic titles may have narrowed both the field of opportunity and the possible pool of would-be clerics.[40] Whether foreseen or not, this was another aspect of the impact on clerical employment by monastic suppression and the divergence of pre- and post dissolution career paths.

These different examples of personal titles and long-term associations provide insights missing from the records where we have only an apparently impersonal monastic title. The entitlements described here as 'personal' have this much in common: they are small manifestations of the practical, supporting, social networks within which the priests, their patrons, families, the church and their parishioners functioned. Perhaps the availability of such support was always limited, but in these few records we have evidence at the start of these men's clerical lives of relationships which enabled their careers: of family support for Fownes, patron and client with

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[39] See for example, the ordinations in the diocese of Chester between 1542 and 1547, all are to titles provided by a patron or the ordinands own title to a benefice, transcribed in W F Irvine ed, 'The Earliest book of the Diocese of Chester – 1542-1547 and 1555-58', *Miscellanies Relating to Lancashire and Cheshire,* Vol. 4 (1897) pp. 29-115. I thank Professor Swanson for directing me to this transcription.

[40] Heath's view was that this source of titles was not an enabler for aspiring clerics of humble background and since we lack background knowledge of how titles were awarded and funded he may be right, but given that this provision of titles was so long established their removal would have placed at least a check in the process. Heath, *English Clergy,* pp. 21.

Nicholas and Dame Croft, the patron and the wider family in the Tybbots and the Throckmortons and the acquisition of a post and the relationship with a single institution for Wattes and Hereford Cathedral. In whatever way Roger Salter performed his duties as college Warden and parish priest in Newport and as the chaplain of Roden, he held these two posts for most of his long life, fifty-seven and fifty-two years respectively, which must surely indicate some commitment on his part to place and provision of an adequate service, whether in person or by proxy.[41]

For all but the younger man (Fownes) these long-term relationships with people and place were severely affected: Salter was pensioned off from Roden chapel, Nicholas lost his Croft chantry, Wattes and several of his colleagues of Hereford saw the cathedral's chantries go and their income reduced. What did they feel in the face of this latest wave of change? Whatever their financial situation was after the dissolution, not losing sight of the fact that pensions were awarded, there was a process of adjustment to be undergone: Marris's 're-integration', Murray Parkes 'transition'.[42] It is these effects of such tumultuous change on individuals, their personal and local context that have to be contemplated after one has done with the spreadsheets and tables.

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[41] Aged 80 in 1548, pension payments to Salter appear until 1552, he did not appear to collect payment in 1553, but then is recorded in Cardinal Pole's pension list of 2&3 Philip and Mary, (1555-1556) by which date he would have been 88. SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50; SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo-1550-51; SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo-1551-52, LR6/123/1 H/S/Wa/Wo- 1552-53; E164/31 Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole with return of all fees, annuities, corrodies and pensions payable to religious persons in England and Wales. 2 &3 Philip and Mary (1555-1556).

[42] See chapter one pp. 49-55 for the discussion on the work of both Marris and Murray Parkes.

4.   APPOINTMENTS TO 1548 POSTS

From ordination the next desirable step was employment and, at some point, institution into the post found in the 1548 certificates. For survey posts, information has been found for 175 (41.37%) of the 423 priests of this group, sixty-three of which are institution or composition records. The subsidy records of 1532 and the Valor of 1535 were fruitful sources which inevitably means 'bulges' in the figures in these years which may be more apparent than real. However, given the high incidence of ordinations in the 1520s shown above, the likelihood is that there are more long-serving post holders than has yet been revealed. Table 4.4 in Appendix II (p.361) shows the years of earliest record (176 instances for 175 men) with the known institutions highlighted, and Table 4.5 (p.361) indicates length of service.[43]

The improvement in evidence after 1530 stands out but the most striking feature here is the relatively high numbers of institutions found after 1540 – from eighty-three first occurrences found, forty-nine were new institutions: twenty-eight between 1540 and 1544, twelve in 1545, seven in 1546 and two in 1547. In assessing the implications of these figures within the context of the change process one has to be aware of the ways in which the evidence can direct the outcome. While the number of institutions is a matter of record, their prominent position in this table, relative to earlier dates, is no doubt due to the lack of documentation for other years. Whilst this could simply be improved administration and recording or the lucky survival of records, it could also be evidence of greater activity, of more effort being

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[43] The difference being the two posts held by the Gloucestershire priest, Sir Richard Berye: namely the Free Chapel of Tokynton (Olveston) and Our Lady Service in Dursley. TNA E301/22- Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire- certificates 19 (Tokynton (Olveston) and 35 (Dursley). See Table 4.4, Appendix II, p. 357.

made to get out of these more vulnerable posts and into secure benefices. Such a move would, by the same token, allow others into the now vacant posts, enabling a step forward on the employment ladder or providing an additional income even if it may have been suspected that this might only be for a short while. Despite the theological debates on purgatory throughout the 1530s and 40s, and the dissolution of the monasteries with their strong intercessory foundation, chantry and service posts continued to be filled. Maybe then as now, it was the perceived wisdom that it was easier to find a new job if you were already in one.

Tables 4.4 and 4.5, Appendix II, (p.330) though they can only be indicative, show the extremes in the employment records. Roger Salter's tendency to hang on to his livings stands out (57 years as Warden of the College in Newport and fifty-two years as Chaplain of Roden Chapel) as does that other exemplar of long service, Thomas Yelshawe, of the 1st Chantry of Tanworth, whose institution in 1510 has already been referred to.[44]   At the other extreme, Roger Pyper was instituted as priest of the Chantry of Our Lady in Delwyn, Herefordshire on 19 January 1547 and Humphrey Litefoot became chantry priest of St John the Baptist in Hampton Lovatt in September 1547. These are the latest institutions found. Though Pyper's chantry was not as well paid as some, he must have regarded a post paying £4.8s.7d as a welcome increase to his other annual income: £1.10s from the Service post in nearby Pembridge which he continued to hold. There is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that Litefoote was a former monk of Combermere in Cheshire and, if so, this chantry with its gross stipend of £8 would have made a handsome additional income

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[44] If both this date and his age of fifty-nine in 1548 are correct Yelshawe was, like Salter, under age at appointment and would have needed dispensation to take up his post: a birth date of 1489 would mean an appointment age of twenty-one, three years less than the eligible age for a priest. Table 4.5 in Appendix II, p357 records the known minimum number of years of service in the posts of 1548.

to his £6 pension.[45] Did Pyper and his patron for the Delwyn post, Michael Lyster, 'esquire and armiger', believe that it would disappear so soon? Perhaps not, as this appointment was made just before Henry's death and Edward's accession. Litefoot must surely have been prepared for a short incumbency as by his appointment date Cranmer's 'Homilies' had been published and the visitations were in progress. The changes being wrought at the centre had begun spreading out to the regions and the implications are unlikely to have been lost on incumbents or their patrons.

Examining the ages of those taking up these posts shows that they were attracting all groups. In the context of this study, though the majority were in their 40s, the overall age pattern for the newer recruits is slightly younger than that provided by the full study survey in chapter three.[46] There is also the question of the entry of ex-religious into the field, but only ten (if one accepts Humphrey Litefoot in this capacity) of the new institutions were to former religious for whom no previous appointments have been found. For five of these, their chantry posts are the only employment known and may therefore have been their first and only secular post.

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[45] Robert Joseph, monk of Evesham corresponded with a Humphrey Litefoot, monk of Combermere, Cheshire, who appears to have had Worcestershire connections including a brother who was with Joesph at Evesham. They used a travelling fishmonger as a courier. It is not unlikely that Humphrey would look for employment through contacts and in localities in which he was known and Joseph remained in Evesham as Vicar of All Saints until 1567. However, the name occurs again in 1558 with a curate in Newport, Shropshire which given its proximity to Combermere also makes a likely identification. As before, though, the possibility remains of these being different men or the same! Aveling and Pantin, *The Letter-book of Robert Joseph, The Clergy of the Church of England Database, CCED* Person ID 27819, Humphrey Lightfoot, consulted 18.08.09.

[46] Three of those for whom age is known (forty-four of the forty-nine) were in their mid to late twenties but for the larger groups, 27.27% of the new institutions were to men between thirty and thirty-nine, 36.36% between forty and forty-nine and 25% between fifty and fifty-nine. The later survey figures show 12%, 27% and 30% respectively. The ex-religious were aged between twenty-eight (1) forty to forty-nine (5) fifty to fifty-nine (2) and sixty to sixty-nine (2). All ages have been calculated from those given in the survey. For the age groups relevant to this study, see Tables 3.3 and 3.4 in Appendix I (Tables for Chapter 3) p. 352.

4.2   Ex-Religious

In view of the arguments on the place of the ex-religious in this period, the reputation of those in orders and their employment after dissolution, it is important to identify where possible the former monks and friars amongst this population. In the context of this section, we have to remember that those of the suppressed religious houses (but not friars), could already have a pension 'of the King's majesty' whether openly declared in the certificates or not. There is also the question of the entry of ex-religious into the field, but only ten (if one accepts Humphrey Litefoot in this capacity) of the new institutions were to former religious for whom no previous appointments have been found. For five of these, their chantry posts are the only employment known and may therefore have been their first and only secular post.

Pre-1548 evidence has identified forty-five of this group in religious orders, 17.24%. Overall, seventy-nine regulars appear in the larger group of 423, 18.67%. How accurately these two figures reflect the general population of clerics at this time is difficult to measure. Swanson, examining the total clerical population prior to the Reformation, estimated approximately 33,000 of which 26,500 were seculars and 6,500 regulars, 19.7% of the total. Applying Swanson's figures, 19.7% of 423 indicates that 85 of this group 'should' be regulars. Given the disparate sources, incomplete biographies and variable recording, one would have to conclude some under-reporting as almost inevitable suggesting that, in general terms, the true Midlands figures might be close to equanimity with Swanson's figures. However, Kreider, more narrowly but theoretically more relevant for this study, analysed the

details of priests recorded in the chantry surveys for Essex, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Yorkshire.   From these, and comparing them with the names found in the Faculty Office Register for surrendering monasteries and Hodgett's work on Lincolnshire ex-religious, Kreider proposed a figure of 1 in 8 office-holders being regulars.   He considered this against earlier work by David Knowles who estimated 'one in a dozen' and which Kreider concluded 'may be something low'.[47]   Accepting Kreider's premise would suggest that something around 53 regulars/ex-religious should form part of the research population here (12.5% of 423) leading on to the hypothesis that the evidence from Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire indicates that these counties had an unusually large proportion of ex-religious serving their memorial foundations.[48]   Making a comparison between this study and Kreider's is a reminder of how carefully evidence has to be considered. Though both studies use the same document source each examines a different county selection and the respective results show that though the same questions may be asked, the same answers cannot be guaranteed or even expected.

Of these forty-five regulars (monks and friars) for whom there is pre-1548 evidence, seven appear in parishes in some capacity and a further eight are found in parish posts within a year of the dissolution of their houses.   Although there appear one rector and one vicar in this group, the remainder, where known, are chantry priests, chaplains, curates, stipendiaries or 'serving priests': very much the working

[47] It is difficult to know how precisely Kreider is applying his criteria; in this note he refers to 'cantarists' whereas in the body of his work he includes all priests appearing in his selected county surveys. Kreider, *English Chantries,* n.70, p. 225.

[48] It has been suggested to me by Professor Swanson that the higher Midland figures might be a reflection of the number of houses in the counties here providing a pool of employable clerics. In total, using the database of the English Monastic Archives, it appears that the five counties chosen for this study had eighty-two religious houses; Kreider's chosen counties for his calculations have 218. Ideally to pursue this argument one would want a full account of the demographic of all houses, but using numbers of houses as a very rough measure, the count here still appears higher than the cited studies would have suggested.

priests and not very different from the majority of their secular brothers. To find regulars in the parish was not unknown, Heath quotes the findings of Hamilton Thompson and the evidence that, of 100 curates in Yorkshire parishes, '10 or 11' were Austin canons serving churches belonging to their houses. While not giving the religious status of the curates involved, Heath also implies a similar situation in Coventry and Lichfield's Archdeaconry of Stafford where of eighteen curates in 1531, nine were serving in churches that belonged to houses of Austin canons.[49] If they were able and willing and open to the possibility of a career outside their monastic house, it would have provided invaluable parochial experience and the development of useful social networks.   As it was, this might have been fortuitous preparation for the events after the Dissolution of the late 1530s and again for post 1548.

5.   OTHER EMPLOYMENT

But between the events of ordination and achieving their survey posts what other employment did these men find? How did their careers develop? Attempting to track accurately the early careers of the survey priests is fraught with all the difficulties already mentioned: the less-than-full documentation, imprecise identification of individuals due to the fluidity of both first and second names and probable scribal error. Having said all this, some pre-survey history has been found for 164 individuals (39% of the group) providing other, earlier career information. Tables 4.6 and 4.7 (see Appendix II p.362) attempt to illustrate and quantify this

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[49]Heath also gives their annual stipends as £2.13s 4d. Heath, *English Parish Clergy* p. 180
 If regulars, then they would be fulfilling the obligations of their order, if seculars, perhaps they were repaying the provision of an ordination title, such service would enable them to meet an obligation and gain parish experience; both regulars and seculars used in this way would have been a cheaper option than a vicar. As discussed above, Augustinian houses were the largest providers of orders so perhaps it was their practice to place ordinands in this way.

information while Table 4.8 shows the dates for earlier employment that has been found (see Appendix II p.363).[50] From the 326 posts which have been categorised, almost 36% (116) can be grouped as 'unbeneficed' which here means those identified by the title of chaplain, curate, deacon, priest (or clerk) and stipendiary.[51] Within the group of eighty-five individuals holding this wide variety of unbeneficed posts, the majority title is that of stipendiary which occurs forty times (followed by curate - thirty-seven, chaplain - twenty-three and priests - fifteen).

Though 'unbeneficed' is the largest category, the next largest (ninety-two) is that for the beneficed posts of rector and vicar where fifty-nine of the names found in the study group occur as holders. Inevitably, some of the identifications are on surer ground than others, but it is apparent from the evidence that, as mentioned in chapter three with regard to the Coventry chaplains and supplementary income, holding a service or chantry post was not incompatible with a parish rectory or vicarage, though perhaps not always so overtly justified.[52] Chantry posts provide the third largest group; forty-one parochial and cathedral chantries shared by thirty-one of the names here. Evidently one might move between chantries just as one might move horizontally between other clerical posts for these are not those in which they were recorded in 1548 - though they might be in the same parish or institution. Roger Chance moved between chantry services in his Kidderminster church, from St Mary to St Katherine and improved his earnings as did Robert Perrot of St Helen's in

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[50] Table 4.6 shows the pre-1548 employment by the occurrences of titles and the number of names that have been found. Table 4.7 categorises the employments types and Table 4.8 the dates. See Appendix II, pp. 362-363.

[51] These titles make up 116 of the unbeneficed category, the odd one out being John Harrold of Bruton Priory and later chantry priest in Almondbury, Gloucestershire, who was a scholar at Oxford in 1539.

[52] It might have demanded an appropriate level of poverty in one or other of the livings involved but the church authorities did not frown upon pluralism of this kind. See below for the dispensation awarded to Hereford's vicars-choral.

Worcester.[53]   Perrot, in 1535 priest of Our Lady Service earning £2.0s 6d, held St Katherine's Service in 1548 earning £6.13s 4d.[54]   Though the status may appear on a par, even such a move as this could improve one's income.

5.1   Jobs And Income

When considering what constitutes job satisfaction in today's employment market, it is accepted that congenial surroundings, good colleagues, and proximity to home territory matter as much as or, in some cases, more than money.   No doubt, some of these elements mattered to our predecessors but job security and consequently income security, in cash and/or kind, must have been keenly sought after.   As has already been shown above, many of the posts recorded in the chantry surveys were not highly paid and almost demanded that they be included in a portfolio alongside others in order to achieve a living wage.

Chapter one raised the subject of the psychological disturbance as a possible consequence of dramatic change, and it has also been referred to with the regard to the breakdown of long-standing patron-client relationships.   From the 1530s and into the 1540s, awareness of the pragmatic consequences of doctrinal change became heightened both by the actions of central government and by local debates such as

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[53] Chance was instituted to the chantry of St Mary in Kidderminster in 1515 according to Roper quoting Nash, but appears in the military survey (1522) and subsidy records (1533/37) as priest of St Katherine. However, the composition records show his appointment to the Chantry of St Katherine in 1541, some reward for Chance (it paid more) and his, by that date, at least twenty-six years of service to the church. Perhaps this is the point when William Tommyns the vicar there also become the chantry priest of Our Lady. John S Roper, *Worcestershire Clergy wills and Inventories 1541-1558*, (Dudley: 1972); TNA E334/2 72r Composition Book entry dated 10.12.1541.

[54] *Valor Ecclesiasticus* Vol. 3, Diocese of Worcester, (London: Records Commission 1810) E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire, certificate 1 Worcester.

those which led to the searching activities of Bishop Bell in Gloucestershire in 1540.[55]

Alec Ryrie has written of the 'restlessness of Reformed theology', but 'restlessness'

might also describe what must also have been felt by many of the king's subjects at

this time: of whatever persuasion, they cannot have been wholly at ease or sure of

where faith and realm were going.[56] From the mid-1530s onwards the mix of

monastic suppression, former monks looking for employment, and doctrinal and

liturgical changes must have alarmed or excited all clerics, whether regular or secular,

and they must have feared that more change was coming. These were all pressing

reasons that might have encouraged a heightened sense of the need to gather what

they could, while they could. Price inflation was referred to in chapter three but

changes in taxation were no small part of the clerical experience in these years, with

the institution of First Fruits and the annual collection of clerical tenths. Patrick Carter

has suggested that wealthy pluralists used one benefice or supplementary post to pay

the taxation due on their other posts; why should this mindset not also apply to those

of lesser status?[57] Securing an income may have become more urgent, perhaps

encouraging the gathering of as many income streams as possible.

For some well-placed individuals obtaining a variety of income sources was

more likely than for others and, in these cases, a living wage was well exceeded.

Thomas Magnus and Hugh Coren were exceedingly well placed; being men with truly

royal connections they stand apart from the majority of the clerics in this study.[58]

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[55] See below and Professor Alec Ryrie's 2005 article which discusses this in full: Alec Ryrie,
'England's Last Medieval Heresy Hunt: Gloucestershire 1540'. *MH* Vol. 30 (2005), pp. 37-52.
[56] Alec Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: Evangelicals in the Early English Reformation,*
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003) p. 248.
[57] Patrick Carter, 'The Fiscal Reformation: clerical taxation and opposition in Henrician England' in
Kümin, ed. *Reformations Old and New* pp. 92-105.
[58] Both men were chaplains to Henry VIII while Magnus's ODNB entry notes that the eight benefices
he held in the diocese of York earned him £814 pa. Magnus also appears in the chantry certificates for

Below their level were the senior diocesan figures, whose careers have already appeared here: George Lee, Dean of St Chad's in Shrewsbury, whose relationship to Bishop Rowland Lee must have assisted his career and William Cureton, Dean of St Mary's, in Shrewsbury.[59] Overall, fifty-eight priests have been identified holding concurrently a mix of beneficed and unbeneficed posts during the years before 1548.

5.2   Local Connections And Working Arrangements

Though lacking the same quality of social connection and the number of posts held, there are those here evidently earning from more than post, even if this was less than a fully realised pluralistic acquisition of multiple posts.   Hugh Dowsing's surviving employment record begins as curate in Castle Morton, Worcestershire in 1532: in 1534 he was still in Castle Morton with the same title but in 1535 he is described as chaplain in the chapel there.[60] By 1540 he obtained the vicarage of Trynley in Gloucestershire and held this until two months before his death in 1551.[61] Dowsing appears in the 1548 survey as priest of the Chantry of St George of Pauntley, eight miles away from his vicarage.[62] These two posts provided an annual income of

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Wales in addition to his Shropshire entry as Dean of College of St Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth and Rector of Claverley.

[59] Lee held various prebends in Lichfield Cathedral, was also its Treasurer and was Master of the Hospital of St John in Stafford. Prior to the dissolution, Cureton also held the vicarage of Attingham (Atcham, Shropshire, appointed 17.2.1536/37, LRO B/A/1/14iii f.32 and Lipkin, p. 106) together with prebends in Lichfield Cathedral, (of Curborowe, TNA E334/2 f.35r 25.5.1541) a prebend in Wolverhampton (clerical subsidy list LRO B/A/17/1 1531) and a vicarage? (unclear) -White Ladies, Brewood (clerical subsidy list LRO B/A/17/1 1531).

[60] WRO 802 2764 Act Book of John Bell c1520-1541 clerical subsidy –Archdeaconry of Worcester ff.33-47, Valor Ecclesiasticus Vol. 2 for Worcester Diocese, county of Gloucestershire, pp. 409-503.

[61] Valor Ecclesiasticus Vol. 2, for Trynley see p. 440. Trynley (sometimes Trinley) is an alternative form of the parish name of Tirley. Dowsing made his will on 1 September 1551 and resigned his vicarage at the same date. One of the will's witnesses was Sir Thomas Dobyns who was instituted to the vicarage the next day, 2 September 1551. Dobyns was later deprived of the vicarage in 1554. Will of Hugh Dowsing, 1.9.1551, probate dated 4.11.1551, TNA PROB 11-34-459-348-Bucke; Dowsing's resignation and Dobyns institution CCEd Record ID: 314507, Dobyns deprivation, CCEd Record ID: 314590.

[62] TNA E301/22 - Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire, certificate 70, Pauntley.

£13.9s.0d (£4.2.4d and £9.6.8d respectively) but which came first is not known.

William Ball was instituted to the chantry of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Bishampton,

Worcestershire, in June 1544 (stipend £2.0s.2d) and appointed to the vicarage of

White Ladies Aston in May the following year; the two livings gave him total

earnings of £8.17s.5d. Being only eight miles apart these two, Bishampton and White

Ladies, were each readily accessible from the other, which must have been good for

both Ball and his chantry as he gives his residence in 1545 as Hampton Lovett which

is thirteen miles from Bishampton.[63] He did not declare his vicarage when his chantry

was reported on in 1548 and remained there until his death in 1557.[64]

The proximity of these posts does imply that one was likely to be a stepping-

stone to another. Perhaps the comment made earlier in this chapter did hold true, that

it was easier to find the next post from the fact of being already *in situ* nearby, being

established and having an existing network of contacts: these might also feed into

other working arrangements. John Collins appears in the survey as chaplain of

Wortley chapel, in the parish of Wotton under Edge in Gloucester, earning £2.16s.0d,

when he, unlike William Ball, declared his other livings as parson of Littleton (upon

Severn) and Vicar of Olveston three posts which gave him an annual income of

£28.8s.9d. Collins may not always have pleased his parishioners; the churchwardens

of Wotton are said to have reported in 1547 that Collins had '£3 and odd money' out

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[63] The identification of William Ball chantry priest and William Ball, vicar, is derived from Ball's connections with Hampton Lovett. Ball's patrons for the Bishampton chantry post were the two chantry priests of Hampton Lovett, William Robinson and John Hackett, a year later Ball's bond for the vicarage of White Ladies gives his place of residence as Hampton Lovett. Also, for Bishampton, one of his sureties was Richard Cupper, a Court of Augmentations official and later the junior MP for Leominster with William Crowche, who was married to the daughter of John Packington, a Worcestershire magnate and later member of the Chantry Commission. See WRO 795.02 BA2905 and 732.4/2337/2 1544 – 1546 Davenport 42,43 and 44. For Ball's White Ladies institution see WRO Davenport, 72 and 73, Bond of William Ball of Hampton Lovatt.
[64] WRO 008.7 BA3950 parcel 2 fo212c & 213 Will and Inventory of William Ball, dated 29.3.1557.

of a chantry in Wotton and 'doeth no service there as he should'.[65] However, Collins and his three posts have links to another survey priest, Richard Berye, who held the Service of Our Lady in Dursley in Gloucestershire, with a stipend of £6.13s.4d: he also declared another post as chaplain of Tokynton which earned him £2.18s. Tokynton was part of Collins's parish of Olveston, and a chaplain was employed there because the vicar was charged with caring for 100 houseling people in that part of his cure. The earliest date for Berye in Dursley comes from the military survey of 1522 while his known association with Tokynton dates from 1532 and the clerical subsidy.[66] Berye's Dursley service is 15 miles away from Tokynton but next door to Wotton; Collins' Littleton rectory and Olveston/Tokynton vicarage were only 2.5 miles apart, but 16 miles from Wootton under Edge. Neither set of posts can have been particularly convenient to service so one cannot be sure how well either the distant posts were managed, the comment from the churchwardens does not preclude a working agreement between rector and chaplain now hidden from us.

5.3   Cathedral Places And Connections

Evidence of various routes to this form of a mixed clerical economy can be found elsewhere in the records: in Hereford Cathedral where the vicars-choral also

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[65] G Baskerville, 'Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester Under Bishop Hooper', *EHR* - Vol. 44 1929 pp 1-32 (p. 5) – Baskerville does not identify the source for this information. Garret in her examination of Marian exiles cites Baskerville in support of her suggestion that Collins is the 'very aged priest' recorded in Geneva in 1558 which if correct might point to evangelical inclinations. But this does not tie with Collins age in 1548 (forty then so fifty in 1558 - though this could be wrong). There is also a record of John Collins compounding for First Fruits for an appointment given as 'Keymes' in 1557. I think the sureties for this post point to it being the ex-chaplain of Wooton; both came from Gloucestershire - one from Tytherington (part of Wooton under Edge parish) and the other from Alderley, thirteen miles away. Christina H Garret, *The Marian Exiles,* (London: Cambridge University Press 1938), entry 97, p. 124. TNA E334/6 p. 44v 16.5.1557.

[66] Richard Hoyle ed, *The Military Survey of Gloucestershire 1522,* Gloucestershire Record Series, Vol.. 6 1993); WRO 802/2664 Act Book of John Bell, c1520-1541, (clerical subsidies) ff. 49-66 and ff. 77-105, (visitations) ff. 189-212, ff. 269-278.

held chantries, in colleges such as St Mary Magdalene's in Bridgnorth and Tamworth, both of which (as already discussed in chapter three) Henry VIII used to favour his men of the Chapel Royal, and there is also evidence of parishes being regarded as family possessions.[67]

Wood-Legh noted in her work that the initial post of vicar-choral was necessary for holding a cathedral chantry and 'set-aside the rule that chantry priests should not be pluralists'.[68] The supporting evidence that Hereford Cathedral chantry priests also had incomes as vicars-choral comes from Valor records and later pension warrants, where both are recorded.[69] Though no individual statement to this effect appears in the 1548 survey, three of the six cathedral chantry priests were also vicars-choral; one (Robert Belcher) is said to be 'in the habit of a petty canon'.[70] There is no evidence for a fourth cathedral cantarist, John Yadon, as a vicar-choral but he had cathedral connections and may have been vicar of Eardisley in Herefordshire.[71]

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[67] See chapter three, p. 155 fn. 135 for St Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth and chapter five pp. 265-267 for the Benson family and clerical careers.

[68] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries,* p. 189.

[69] Valor Ecclesiasticus for Hereford Diocese Vol. 3, p. 12.

[70] There are survey entries, one for all the petty canons and vicars-choral showing a total income of £36.19s.9d, and a second, for the 'vicars of the cathedral church', of £7.14s.6d, both sums supported annual obits but there are no details of individual payments. Overall, the recording of the precise status of the cathedral staff is somewhat erratic. Some do not appear in the Chantry Certificates but are subsequently found in the pension rolls, others are said to have an 'other living' but no details are provided whereas others, like Sir Thomas Yatton, whose chantry post was elsewhere in the city (in St Peter's) is said to have 'in other place a promotion to the value of 60s.10d' but neither his 'promotion' as vicar-choral, nor 'place' – in the cathedral, are named. TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire certificate 1-Hereford Cathedral; E301/24 1548 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire, entry 6 for St Peter's Hereford, Chantry of St John the Baptist.

[71] Yadon and Robert Belcher (chantry priest and vicar-choral-see below fn. 74) witnessed the will of David Phelpotts alias Walker of Hereford Cathedral in 1547. TNA Ref: Prob/11/31/541/423 -Register-Alen. It was possible for Hereford's vicars-choral to take up extra posts since a papal bull of 1487 dispensed them to take up other benefices 'their revenue being impoverished'. Rev. E N Dew BD, (Translator), *Extracts from the Cathedral Registers, AD 1275-1535*, Diocese of Hereford, (Hereford: *The Cantilupe Society,* 1932). Instituted to Eardisley on 9.5.1519,Yadon was required to pay a pension of £4 to be paid to his predecessor, William Burghill, whose resignation was most likely due to his appointment as Diocesan Treasurer, (M. William Burghill D.Cn.L. 1519-1526, Collated. 5 Jan. 1519, D. 23 Aug. 1526, (*Reg. Booth*, p. 332 and p. 339, Liber Primus f. 38), Joyce Horn, *Fasti Ecclesia Anglicanea, 1300-1541,*Vol. 2 Diocese of Hereford, pp. 10-12, from British History Online, consulted 22.08.09.

Wood-Legh suggests that vicar-choral/chantry priest arrangements enabled cathedral posts to be paid at a lower rate.[72] Of those identified as vicars-choral, there is only one whose stipend in that capacity exceeds that of his chantry post (see below) and neither post reached £5 per annum.[73] Two of his colleagues had chantry stipends of £8 and are amongst the high-earners of this study.[74]

5.4   Family Connections

The benefits of family connections and family claims to a particular parish as a source of clerical appointments for its sons (or nephews or 'cosyns') are demonstrated by the Bensons of Herefordshire. A sequence of Richard Bensons held both Beaupie's Chantry in St Lawrence's, Ludlow and also livings in Richard's Castle.[75] In the latter there was possibly both a rector and a curate of the same name serving at the same time (1543): they were perhaps uncle and nephew. There is further evidence of familial support in the same year when Richard Benson, 'cleric of Richard's Castle', acted as surety for the other Richard Benson at his institution to the

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HRO AL19/13-1516 - 1535, Register of Bishop Bothe, see also Bannister, *'Bishops' Registers-Hereford'* Bothe, p. 332 C&Y Vol. 27-28.

[72] Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries,* p. 189.

[73] Richard Groves, Burcotte Chantry stipend = £4.2s.8d, his vicar's stall paid £4.8s 8d according to the Valor at which date he also held (different) two chantry posts St Margaret's which paid £3.6.0 and St Katherine's £3.16.0 E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Hereford, certificate 1 Valor Ecclesiasticus Vol. 3 for Diocese of Hereford p. 13.

[74] Davy Wattes, chantry priest of Our Lady (Audley's Chantry) was paid £8,0.0 with a vicar-choral stipend of £2.10s while Robert Belcher, chantry priest of Our Lady over the North Door, was paid £8.13s 7d for his chantry. Richard (sometimes Robert) Grynsell was missed from the chantry certificates but appears in the pension records as chantry priest of St Katherine, given a pension of £4.11s.9d he also had a vicar-choral stipend of £3.0s 10d. E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Hereford, certificate 1,SC6/PHil&Mary/493 Salop/Heref/War/Wor - 1&2 & 2&3P&M-1&2(1554-1555) & 2&3P&M (1555-1556) LR5/23/208 1561 LR5/23/413 1566.

[75] A Richard Benson was instituted to Beupie's Chantry on 15.10.1518, Bannister, *Bishops' Registers Hereford,* Bothe, p. 332, I have no date for Richard Benson the younger's institution but, as he was aged only 38 in 1548, this must be the elder, the later history of Benson the younger is discussed in the following chapter.

vicarage of Shinfield with Swallowfield in Berkshire[76]. This appears to the case of the younger supporting the elder, as the Richard Benson being instituted is described as 'canon residentiary' of Hereford Cathedral. Benson the elder ended his days within the Cathedral, dying in February 1549 and appointing his cousin, now parson of Kinnersley as his executor.[77]

A common thread through the above is the importance of connections -of networks - in obtaining posts: family, friends, workplace. As shown in chapter three, the level of stipends could encourage this approach without necessarily being covetous. In Coventry, four small vicarages were tied to four low-paid chantries for their mutual benefit.[78] This was a formal arrangement, mirrored informally by men

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[76] For Benson to Shinfield with Swallowfield, see TNA E334/3 f145r Compositions Book 30.4.1543. The advowson of Shinfield with the chapel of Swallowfield belonged to Hereford Cathedral from the thirteenth century and continued long past the sixteenth century. Ditchfield and Page eds. *A History of the County of Berkshire*, Vol. 3, pp. 261-267. This was another post to which Benson the younger followed his relation. I thank Margaret Clark for her comments on the similar situation she found in Cumbria and Essex where as she said 'Geoffrey Bainbridge after Geoffrey Bainbridge' held first a chantry in Cumbria and then followed each other to the living of Steeple Bumpstead in Essex. The later history of Benson the younger is discussed in the following chapter.

[77] TNA PROB 11/32/361/269 Register-Populwell - Will of Richard Benson, canon of Hereford Cathedral, 16.10.1548, executors Sir Thomas Salt and Sir Richard Benson, parson of Kinnersley, both were left 20s and a black gown; the Dean, Hugh Coren, was one of the two overseers and bequeathed 'my best gelding'. Benson died on 17.2.1549 and according to Havergal's *Fasti,* (though here the date of death is given as 1547 and is incorrect) was buried on the north side of the Lady Altar. Francis T Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses: and other antiquarian memorials of Hereford*, R. Clark, Edinburgh, (1869) p.77.

[78] In addition to the three chantries of St Michael's Coventry, which were tied to the vicarages of Sowe, Foleshill and Stoke, the vicarage of Exhall was tied to the chantry of Haynton and Leymington in Trinity Church, Coventry. See TNA E301/31 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire 1546- p. 8v-9r.certificate 11 – memo explains the link between this chantry and the vicarage of Exhall 'Logyngtons (?) chantry – founded by William Haynton & John Bramcote for one priest to sing mass in the said church of the holy trinity and the said chantry was given to the said Richard Capenhurst now vicar of Exhall in augmentation of his livyng ffor serving the cure there by cause the minute (?) tythese of the said vicarage is worth but 66s 8d per year – and the parsonage of the same parish of Exall is in the king's maj[esty's] hands as in the right of the late priory of Coventry which is worth clear by year 36s 8d and the gift of the same chantry is in the king's maj[esty's] hands as in the right of the late priory of Coventry'. Richard is an error or alias for Nicholas Capenhurst as an abstract of the Augmentations' Bailiffs Accounts shows 'stipend or salary of Nicholas Capenhurst, chaplain, ministering holy services and sacraments in Exhall ……. To hold to the aforsesaid Nicholas for the term of his life by convent seal dated 4.10.1538 and now exemplified under the seal of C of A and dated 6.11.34HenryVIII (1543)' WaRO 'Abstract of the Bailiffs Accounts of monastic and other estates in the County of Warwick under the supervision of the C.of.A at year ending Michaelmas 1547', Dugdale Society, Vol. 2, pp. 51-69 (p. 65).

like Dowsing and Ball, each holding a vicarage and chantry.   Career clerics took
what posts they could from those on offer: there is no pattern here that absolutely
confines them to a particular stratum of the clerical profession.   Furthering one's
career at any point in time required a motivational mix of ambition, need, faith and
vocation, the balance of which probably shifted from time to time as personal
circumstances demanded or opportunities presented; in this period, 'personal
circumstances' could be changed for them as much as by them and having
'opportunities' presented to one can be an ambiguous experience.

5.5   Making An Unbeneficed Living – Clerical And Lay Ways And Means

   To close this section, something should be said about other ways and means of
making a living at this date.   Teaching is frequently mentioned as source of extra
income for the clergy but there is nothing of that in pre-1548 records to add to what
was stated in the surveys.   As noted in chapter three twenty-three priests were
involved with teaching to a greater or lesser extent: James Morgan of Weobley in
Herefordshire, was said to have the 'profit of a school' which suggests independent
income as this did not count as another promotion or living.   There was also the
possibility of attending memorial obits and anniversaries to pray for departed souls
and to receive the few pence left by the testator to repay priests and others for their
participation.   At All Saints, in Bristol, from the late 1400s until 1530, there are
regular accounts for annual services which employed from four to eight priests each
earning 3d or 4d for their offices.[79]   Outside the area of this study, but with good
churchwardens' records that allow comparison, St Michael's Spurriergate in York

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[79] Burgess ed. *The Reformation Records of All Saints, Bristol Part 2 - The Churchwarden Accounts*.

held nine individual memorial services each year and the parish 'general mind', a service to pray for past parochial benefactors. Six priests regularly attended these events, one – the parson – being paid 6d, the remainder either 2d or 4d.[80]   These services provided welcome additional income from within the established liturgical and theological framework. In addition to these services, churchwardens' accounts show priests being paid for assisting the parish in other non-clerical duties. William Chamberlayne's predecessor as the chantry priest of Our Lady in Much Wenlock was a fellow monk of the abbey there, William Corveshill. Corveshill's talents were much lauded at his death and there is the evidence of the churchwardens of nearby Worfield paying him for the building and repairing of their church organ.[81]   Duffy in his work on Morebath describes how Sir Christopher Trychay finally obtained his new set of black vestments in 1547, which were made by Sir Thomas Shorcum, chantry priest of Dunster, Somerset, who had a tailor's shop.[82]   Though non-clerical, these examples involve work related to the religious life of the parish and therefore need not be altogether divorced from ideas of clerical duty.   However, though frequently bequeathing funds for the repair of parish churches, priests also displayed an interest in the upkeep of highways, bridges and walls for which they also left bequests. In at least one instance, such interest was of a more practical nature and may even have been 'hands-on'.

In his will of 1556, Sir John Huntbache, describing himself as 'priest of the parish of Halesowen' (Worcestershire), left materials and instructions to two named

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[80] Webb ed. *Churchwarden Accounts of St Michael' s Spurriergate.*

[81] H. B. Walters ed., Churchwarden Accounts of the Parish of Worfield - Part V, 1549-1572, TSNHAS Vol. 9 3rd Series, 1909. Leighton, 'The Register of Thomas Botelar', p. 105.

[82] Eamon Duffy, *Morebath*, p. 78 (where he refers to Shorcum as 'the unbeneficed priest') and 'Hearing Voices: On writing the history of Reformation Morebath', *Local Historian*, 2005, pp. 4-16, see p. 9 where Shorcum is described as 'a chantry priest'.

individuals who were undertake 'the repayring & meynteyning off all the hye ways that I have made and other places necessary in the said p (ar) ishe'. [83] Whether the term 'I have made' refers to past funding by Huntbache or a more physical involvement is hard to say, but in 1539 he had been repaid by the local churchwardens 'for the money he hath laid out for the paving of the New Street, 6s.8d'. [84] In addition to William Corveshill's skill with organs, he was also said to be an excellent bell-founder, so to be a clerical metalworker might be uncommon but not unknown. As already noted Corveshill was both ex-religious and a chantry priest and, but for his death in 1546, would have appeared as such in the survey. Should there be any doubts about Sir John's priest's status, he appears throughout the Halesowen churchwardens' accounts from 1505 until 1547 being paid annually to sing St Katherine's mass and variously described as both chantry priest and stipendiary. The only discernible difference between John Huntbache and the priests in this study is his non-appearance in the survey.

Though none of the history in the above paragraph involves priests in this study, it is highly relevant: the men named above were from the same background as those recorded in the survey, only death or a local decision to suppress a vulnerable service (perhaps the Halesowen choice) prevented their appearance. It is important to take from this that the clerical workforce was flexible, nurtured by the necessity of acquiring an adequate income and the difficulty of finding permanent secure employment.

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[83] Will and Inventory of John Huntbache, WRO E A Fry, Worcestershire Wills Vol. 1(I) no 69 page 137.
[84] Somers ed. *Churchwarden Accounts of Halesowen*.

6.   CHEQUERED CAREERS?

Although the evidence and analysis so far has attempted to show the opportunities, complexities and insecurities of making a clerical career in this period, careers could be influenced by more than just job or income opportunities.   In Gloucester's records, Hugh Fishpole is listed in 1532 acting as a curate in Holy Trinity and all his subsequent employment is within the city.   In 1534 he appears as curate in St Michael's where in 1540 he is described in separate accounts as variously a chantry priest and a stipendiary. In 1544 he was still in St Michael's but no title is recorded: in both a 1548 visitation and the 1548 survey he is again described as a stipendiary, still in St Michael's.   However, his hometown is most likely to have been Hereford, for in 1517 (when he would have been aged about 35) Fishpole was an erring vicar choral in the Cathedral. On December 17 of that year he pleaded guilty to having spent a night outside the Cathedral without permission, whereupon he was told to perform 'the usual penances' which he consented to do, swearing on oath to carry them out.   Despite this, however, he reappeared on December 18 and resigned his vicarage. Fishpole must have kept up his Hereford connections as in 1540 during the Gloucester visitation he is recorded as 'absent, has returned to Hereford'.[85]   This incident in his past did not prevent him getting regular if relatively lowly employment in Gloucester.   It may be that he was not thought reliable or respectable enough to be promoted to a benefice or perhaps he liked a less restrictive life as a stipendiary with fewer contractual obligations.

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[85] HCA R. G. Baylis, ed. *Acts Book of the Dean and Chapter Acts Book* Vol. 1 1512-1547;
WRO 802/2764 Act Book of John Bell, c.1520-c.1541 ff.253-266.

A colleague of Fishpole's was Davy (alias Davyth) Mey. Mey was also a Hereford Cathedral vicar choral appointed to the Vicarage of Absalom Clerke on the death of John Jonys in 1516. According to a transcription of Cathedral records, Mey possibly resigned this particular post between December 1517 and February 1518 but this is unclear as eighteen months after Fishpole's case, in April 1519, Mey was himself in trouble with the Cathedral Chapter. He was charged with incontinence with one Elena Aswell, a charge which he first denied, and was given until the following Friday, 18 April, to purge himself, presumably to obtain witnesses in his favour. This must have failed for, on his reappearance on the due date, Mey confessed and was duly sentenced to complete his penance, which he presumably did but was very soon involved in another case. This time he was a 'compurgator' with three others vouching for a fellow vicar choral, Richard Baker. Mey's appearance in the Cathedral records did not end there: in 1522 he was charged with contumacy for not appearing 'at the time and place ordered' though with no other details.[86] After this date, all seems to be quiet. At the time of the survey Mey was aged 55 and thus on his appointment to the cathedral in 1516 would have been a young man of 23 or 24, scraping in at the earliest age for ordination as a priest with possibly this vicarage providing his title to orders. In 1519, Davy Mey, aged 26, was obviously having difficulty complying with the rules of his chosen profession.

Gilbert Fowler, aged about 40 or 45, was in serious trouble with the diocesan authorities of Coventry and Lichfield in February 1528 when he was a priest in the parish of Berrington in Shropshire. On 18 February he appeared to answer claims that

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[86] Baylis, *Chapter Acts Book -Hereford,* entry 139.

he had kept Elizabeth Mason in his room for ten nights and four days, that he was incontinent with her and they had been caught out in their liaison. Fowler did plead guilty but apparently claimed that he had given in to sudden temptation when he had seen Elizabeth mowing a meadow. There was also an accusation against one of Fowler's parishioners, accused of acting as a go-between, liasing between Fowler and Elizabeth. According to Cooper's account, Fowler appears to have suffered quite lightly, he did have to do penance in his church (process around it) and was temporarily suspended from saying mass but there was no fine to pay.[87]

Damning though these incidents might appear for all three these incidents did not end their clerical careers. The Dean and Chapter of Hereford and the Consistory Court of Lichfield, though determined to bring their priests to order, did not attempt to remove them from their profession. Fishpole resigned his place (perhaps there was some overnight guidance on what was the right decision) and moved to find work in Gloucester (changing county and diocese) but did not cut his links to Hereford. Mey stayed in the cathedral and also became chantry priest in St Peter's alongside Thomas Yatton, a fellow vicar-choral. It would appear that Fowler had to take the most drastic action; like Fishpole he moved away from the scene of his misbehaviour but over twice the distance. At his ordination as priest in 1506, Fowler's title was from the monastery of Wombridge, a location very close to Berrington encouraging the identification of this area as his home ground. After the events of 1527-28 he moved on, though at exactly what date is not known: by 1532 Fowler may have been curate in the parish of Allestree, still in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield but now 70

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[87] Cooper suggests that this suspension might have been more do with general dissatisfaction in the performance of clerical duty rather than Fowler's misbehaviour as another cleric in the vicinity (Roger Luter) was in trouble for both incontinence and saying mass when and where he should not. Cooper, *Last Generation,* p. 174.

miles away in Derbyshire.[88] If so, this was not his last move and distance does not seem to have disturbed him unduly as in February 1538, he was appointed to the First Chantry in the Chapel of Knowle in Warwickshire, forty-eight miles from Allestree and sixty-five miles from his original starting place of Berrington, maintaining his loyalty to his diocese even if again changing his county. Whether anything untoward happened in Allestree to encourage the move to Warwickshire is unknown. In 1548 he was still in Knowle, now described as Guardian of the Guild there. Unfortunately, Warwickshire is one of the counties whose surveyors failed to record any character comments so we have no insight into local opinions of Fowler. Perhaps at 60 plus, which he was by this date, Fowler had settled down as he was allowed to continue in the parish after the Guild's dissolution, this time as Knowle's curate.

Davy Mey's appearance in the survey for Herefordshire is as the Chantry Priest of the Trinity in the Hereford city parish of St Peter's. He is described as ' a singing man and competent grammarian': no mention of 'honest conversation' here. His salary for this post was a decent £7.7s.1d and he is declared to have 'no other living' but a certificate of c1554 retained in the archives of Hereford Cathedral proves this to be wrong.   It states clearly that Mey was a 'secular priest, sometime chantry priest of the Trinity in St Peter's Church, Hereford, pension, £6. Also has a vicarage in the choir of the cathedral Hereford value £3.6.8d'.[89] Whatever his behaviour, he retained his place in the cathedral there, a good fortune which may have been encouraged by family ties to the cathedral and city: Davy shared his surname with an

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[88]Cooper, *Last Generation,* p. 174. It has been suggested to me by Dr Anthony Upton that Fowler may actually have gone to Austrey in Warwickshire. Both Allestree and Austrey are Coventry & Lichfield parishes and the latter, being only twenty-eight miles away, would place him considerably nearer to Knowle and his later appointment with the Guild there. In terms of mileage from his original location of Berrington, Austrey is closer by a marginal seven or eight miles.

[89] TNA E301/24 1548 Chantry Certificates for Hereford, entry 6, St Peter's, Hereford, Chantry of the Trinity, and Morgan and Morgan eds. *Pensioned Ex-religious and Priests – Hereford.*

earlier mayor of Hereford and Walter Mey, a long-serving contemporary senior official of the Cathedral Chapter.[90]

Incidents such as these are of specific interest for what they say about the individual priests who appear in the survey but such cases as those described above could be found at any time before and during the period which is being dealt with in this study. The survey, which is at the heart of this research, was the latest manifestation of the ruling regimes response to the doctrinal, spiritual and political changes abroad in the world since Luther's emergence in 1517. What evidence is there of the effects and ramifications of these changes out in the counties covered here? The institution of bishops with reformist sympathies, most obviously Hugh Latimer's triumphant appointment as Bishop of Worcester in 1535 and Edward Foxe, briefly in Hereford in 1538, underlined to Midland dioceses (and others) the Crown's intentions at that date.[91] Latimer was determined that no-one in his diocese, and probably those bordering, would remain in any doubt about the true religion and what it meant to follow it, but Latimer was followed by Bell and Foxe by Bonner epitomising the volatility of the period. None of the priests in this study would have been unaffected by the filtering through of the new doctrines and the variable response of king and government: the two in their 20s (one each in Shropshire and Herefordshire) had been born into the controversy and would not have known a church without Crown intervention.

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[90] TNA PROB 11/42a, ff.75r-76v. Will of Walter Mey, Canon Residentiary and Treasure of Hereford Cathedral, will dated 17.9.1558, probate 5.12.1558.

[91] Foxe's allegiance to the King and his theological sympathy with the Lutherans were well established by the time of his appointment to Hereford, his episcopacy was short, from September 1536 to his death in May 1538. Edward Foxe (1496-1538) *ODNB*.

7.   **<u>MEETING THE REFORMATION</u>**

The careers described in this chapter began within an established structure but were continued alongside a volatile, often violent, narrative; a parallel running that threatened lives and souls as well as jobs. The incremental steps of change can be pinpointed: the 'transformational' statutes of 1529 and the attempt to control pluralism and the power of the church to appoint, the momentous Act of Supremacy (1534) and the examination which produced the Valor Ecclesiasticus (1535). But the first direct impact on the practical pursuit of a life in the church came, as already discussed, from the suppression of the lesser monasteries from 1536 with its implications for titles and patronage in addition to the personal implications for the members of houses and orders. This was the point at which the government's change policy began its implementation in the context of directing its agenda against the structure that upheld the established faith and order. But, these actions did not burst newly formed onto the scene; reform was a slow process. Events around the realm reflected the atmosphere of controversy as evangelical ideas sparked argument: 'is it surprising that unlearned men fall into error, when they see the learned disagree', lamented a fearful Robert Joseph in a letter of 1532.[92] Three of the narratives which make up the concluding part of this chapter have been described by other historians, their value here is that they touch upon the lives of men found in this study; the fourth arises from the certificates examined for this thesis. Consideration of these stories provides context and texture, amplifying the bureaucratic records which otherwise pin individuals down at certain points in their lives (at ordination, at institution or as

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[92] Aveling and Pantin, *Letter-book of Robert Joseph*, No. 165 (to Master Edward Grexon [at Fladbury?] 1532), p. 243.

sources of revenue). They highlight situations created wholly by the unique nature of the time, incidents which would surely have caused them at the least some small *frisson*: a natural human reaction at a time when controversial thought expressed might incur public penance and sometimes much worse.

7.1   Bristol – 1539

The controversies that Bristol experienced in the 1530s have been extensively written about by Skeeters in her work on the city and its clergy between 1530 and 1570 and it is in this work that the following incidents in the career of Thomas Silke can be found.[93]

In the survey of 1548, Silke was Master of the Guild of the Kalendars in All Saints Church, Bristol, of which he had been part since his appointment to the 1st Chantry of the Guild in 1540.[94] From 1529 until his resignation in 1547, Silke served as Vicar of St Leonard's and it was as the vicar that he was named in a series of anonymous letters following the preaching and imprisonment of George Wishart. Though not the only one condemned in such lavish terms, Silke does seem to have attracted more attention than most. Letters written between January and mid-March addressed both lay and clerical targets and the writer was generous with his

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[93]George Wishart, the Scottish radical, preached in Bristol in between January and May 1539. His sermons caused considerable anxiety and division amongst both the Corporation and the citizens of Bristol as the letters of this episode vividly show. The Mayor of Bristol appealed to Cromwell in June for advice on how to deal with Wishart but unfortunately for the Scot, the timing was not good. The conservative- leaning Act of Six Articles was passed at the same time and Bishop Latimer's consequent resignation from his Worcester bishopric lost Wishart some valuable support. He was brought before Cranmer and other bishops who found him guilty of heresy with the outcome that Wishart did penance in two Bristol churches, St Nicholas and Christchurch in July 1539. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy, 'The Wishart Episode'*, pp. 51-56. Wishart was subsequently tried for heresy in St Andrews (Fife, Scotland) in 1546; he was condemned to death and burnt at the stake outside the Castle there.
[94] Skeeters, *Community & Clergy*, Appendix 1, p. 192.

adjectives: 'knave', 'liar', 'prater' he called members of the town authority but it is the clerics who come off worst. Silke earned the epithets of 'shitting stinking knave' and a 'barburlyype (?) knave priest' and threatened with the loss of his ears. [95] It is impossible to say how Silke reacted to these threats: one cannot imagine that he was too impressed with the name-calling. Well connected in the city, probably related to another Thomas Silke, sheriff in 1529-1530, Silke was, according to Skeeters, a friend of the conservative theologian Roger Edgeworth, who may have been something of a role model.   Edgeworth was not only a predecessor of Silke's as Master of the Kalendars, but was criticised in later years for pluralism.[96] Silke resigned his vicarage of St Leonard's in 1547, by which time he had been Master of the Kalendars for seven years, Rector of Spetisbury since 1545 and, from 1546, a canon-prebendary of the Cathedral.   This was a man with friends in high places and a prominent example of a pluralist in the traditional sense.

7.2   Gloucester – 1540

John Bell, a native of Gloucestershire, followed Latimer as Bishop of Worcester pretty swiftly, being appointed on 7th July 1539 (Latimer had only resigned on 1st). Bell was Chancellor of Worcester from 1518 and so served under Latimer's predecessors. In 1526 he and Edmund Bonner had investigated heresy in Worcester

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[95] The sequence of letters and insults is as follows: the first letter cited, 'the lying parson of St John's', 'the drunken parson of St Ewen', 'the brawling Master of the Calendars' and 'the proud vicar of St Leonard's', the second letter again rails against parish parsons and vicars and Silke gets two mentions, first described as 'rowling (rolling?) his nightcap of velvet everyday and not able to change a man a grote' and later as 'barburlyype (?) knave priest of St Leonard's' while the third letter, solely addressed to Silke, is included the threat, 'be sure thou shall lose one day one of thy ears and that ere it be middle Lent Sunday'. This letter was closed with the admonition, 'commend me to all the knave priests that be the enemies of God's word…. for the knaves have no learning, nor none will learn'. Skeeters, *Community & Clergy*, pp. 51-55.

[96] Pluralism made Edgeworth 'the greatest wolf in Wells' according to William Turner, protestant Dean of Wells from 1551. *ODNB* Roger Edgeworth, (*c.*1488–1559/60).

and he undertook to repeat this exercise in his native county in 1540, probably as a swift and 'eye-catching' (Ryrie's phrase) countering of Latimer's influence in the diocese.[97]   A case was heard in St Nicholas's Church, Gloucester, before Bell's chancellor, Thomas Bagarde, involving Humphrey Grynshall a weaver from Stonehouse. Depositions were taken from Sir Henry Hawkys, Sir John Myrrye, both chaplains and Roger (illegible surname), that '(on) 18th April last past the said Humphrey Grynshall in the church of Our Lady of Crypt, being in said town of Gloucester, in the presence of this John Myrrye & Roger Buw(?) and many others --- that he cannot find purgatory in the bible (that) there was no place for man's soul but heaven or hell and he would have no masses when he died -'massess or suffrage did nothing to preserve or help the soul separately': what penance Grynshall was required to perform is not recorded.[98]

Eight years later, in 1548, Sir John Myrrye was still in the Church of 'Our Lady Crippa', as priest of the Service of Our Lady earning £5.6s.8d per annum. Myrrye had a strong affiliation to the city, (his title to orders had come from Gloucester's Hospital of St Bartholomew's in 1525) and served in 'Lady Crippa' from at least 1532.[99]   At his death in 1579 aged eighty-six, Myrrye left money to a number of Gloucester good causes including St Bartholomew's, the poor, and the prisoners in the castle there.   The preamble to his will, though a little unclear, is readable and has an evangelical cast, 'I commend my soul to almighty god my maker and redeemer trusting through the merits of his passion…' though by 1579 this was likely to be the

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[97] Ryrie, 'England's Last Medieval Heresy Hunt' *MH* Vol. 30, 2005, pp. 37-52.
[98] WRO- 802/2764 -Act Book of John Bell, 12 July 1540, ff. 108-115.
[99] See above p. 179 fn. 27 for Myrrye's ordination details.

conservative option.[100] The overwhelming impression of his career and the heresy case might be that John Myrrye always followed the conservative option, but we cannot be sure. Grynshall did not try to deny his words, Myrrye was one of a number of witnesses, he could not have denied his presence there and the deposition stated what was said: any opinion or defence of the defendant, if sought, was certainly not reported. Myrrye may have or may not have been in quiet sympathy with the weaver but his experience is an example of direct contact with the controversy of the new ideas and public expression.

7.3   Shrewsbury – 1547

As already described in chapter three, Shrewsbury was the dominant centre for clerical employment in the rural county of Shropshire. In 1548, the commissioners found plenty to record in the colleges of St Chad's and St Mary's with their fellows, chantries and trade services. However, a chronicle of the town tells us that in 1547, 'in Adam Mytton and Roger Popes time the picture of Our Lady out of St Mary's in Shrewsbury and the picture of Mary Mawdelen and the picture of St Chad out of St Chad's church in the same town were all burned in the market place there commonly called the corn market'.[101] This event is a likely response to the Royal Visitors coming in armed with Cranmer's articles and injunctions. Were they present at this outcome of their activities, did they stand and approve the task in hand? If not, then it shows a readiness on the part of the local laity and/or clerics to comply smartly with the injunctions of the new regime. Whatever Lee and Cureton, the respective deans of

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[100] TNA PROB 11/62/15/12 Register Arundel, Will of John Myrrie, clerk of Upton St Leonard, Gloucestershire, probate 27 January 1580.

[101] W A, Leighton, 'Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury - 1372-1603', from the manuscript of Dr Taylor 1704-1766. *TSANHS* Vol. 3 (1880) pp. 239-352.

St Chad's and St Mary's thought of this activity and the new reign, they must have understood what was likely to happen next to them and their colleagues.

7.4   Herefordshire 1546 – 1548

One final example of the experience and reaction to the years of 'restlessness' comes from the Herefordshire parish of Welsh Newton and brings us up to the point of the survey and this parish's meeting with the commissioners.

In his will dated 6 February 1546 Watkyn Williams desired his executor to find a priest to pray for his soul.[102]   However, come the survey of 1548, it was reported to the commissioners that though Williams had bequeathed a year's rent from his lands and goods 'to the maintenance of a soul priest to say mass and dirige for him (for) the space of one whole year', no appointment had been made, no memorial kept and the money was still in the hands of the executor. The fate of other endowments was also reported. A former curate of Welsh Newton, Sir Thomas Manyrye, explained how he had recently obtained a 'Collation of the Lorde of St John' at which point an obit and a lamp before the image of Our Lady previously maintained in the parish church (presumably from the funds which had purchased the book) had ceased.[103] This story is one that must have been replicated throughout the country, we see the effect on both parish and priest: the parish lost a mass, an obit and

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[102] TNA PROB/11/31/62/51- Register – Alen, Will of Watkyn Williams.
[103] Precise identification is difficult but it is likely this was one of the books to which clergy were directed by the Royal Injunctions of 1547: they were to purchase the Paraphrases of Erasmus, within three months of the visitation which included one on the revelations of St John

a lamp and a priest a year's income.[104] This evidence highlights the anxieties of the parishioners and their understanding of the implications of liturgical changes, the recent injunctions and visitations. In addition, it demonstrates the reaction of one parish when in front of the public face of its government - the power in the land. The people of this parish (eighty-six houseling people) on the Hereford/Monmouth border obviously prepared for this meeting with commissioners, perhaps to try and conserve their funds but also to show that they had complied with the law.[105]

8.   CONCLUSION- CAREERS AND CHANGE

This chapter has attempted to bring some of the clerics named in the chosen surveys rather closer to the edge of the stage: to identify them and to trace their careers prior to their coming to the attention of the Augmentations' commissioners. From this, there followed collation and quantification to say something of those in this study and their performance as a group; this is important but can also be de-humanising and even when trying to be objective we forget the humanity at our peril. So the life stories, the misbehaviour of Hugh Fishpole and Davy Mey in Hereford and Gilbert Fowler's liaison with Elizabeth Mason, have to be told. Such tales could have been told at any time prior to the period in which we are dealing: the ecclesiastical records are full of priests both naughty and good but new stories were being created and told in the years covered by this chapter. Evangelical thinking and the king's

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[104] Though evangelical reformers would not see this as a loss; for them the curate and his parishioners had removed the frills of superstition, the obit and lamp, and replaced these with 'the Word' to the benefit of their souls.

[105] There is something about this which suggests they all met first to get their stories straight, making sure they knew when things happened and who did what and maybe the money was or was not still with executor. It is also intriguing that they enlisted their former curate to take their parish mass book and present to the commissioners, this was likely a matter of literacy and confidence and another example of the 'extra-parochial' tasks clergy undertook.

great matter coalesced into a resolution at the centre of the government that changes would be made. Though all the king's subjects would be affected, those living in the church as regulars or as secular priests found themselves most directly targeted. Monasteries went, removing one set of opportunities for clerical life, enforcing a change of life on former inmates and, beyond them, influencing their secular colleagues, removing access to the titles (if not actual finance) seculars needed and shifting the power of patronage.[106] Any and all of this might be good or bad depending on individual experiences and belief but it all cost; what, for example, did it mean to Evesham's Robert Joseph to change his name for a third time?[107] Though not one of the men in the surveys of this study, Joseph and his name change is a very potent symbol of the new stories being created by the Reformation. Following the suppression Joseph stayed within the precincts of the old Evesham Abbey as Vicar of All Saints, but he did not choose to return to his lay surname of Becham but instead became Robert Wyllys - the same man but not the same.[108]

But what happened to the men of the survey after the final round of dissolutions and the commissions had completed their surveys? Behind this process was the established administrative machinery: Augmentations, its commissioners and surveyors who carried out the directions of government but crucially there was the new king who, with his Protector and his Archbishop, was bent on bringing in the reformed kingdom. It was in the context of this kingdom, purified and supporting the

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[106] An example of this shift is Knightlow Hundred in Warwickshire where prior to their dissolution all but nine advowsons (thirty-four of forty-three) had been in the hands of religious houses. E Lindop, *The Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield during the Reformation with special reference to parochial life, unpublished B.Litt University of Oxford, (1938), Appendix to Chapter IV*

[107] See also chapter one, p.66 and this chapter, p. 169 and fn. 4 for details of Joseph's life.

[108] It has been suggested that Wyllys was perhaps Joseph's mother's family name, see Hughes, *ODNB*. Joseph did not leave Evesham until 1559 when he became vicar of Cropthorne, Worcestershire, where he died in 1569. Aveling and Panting, *Letter-Book of Robert Joseph,* pp.xi-xvii.

ideals of the 'common wealth', that chantries and services were removed and priests made redundant, that pensions were to be assigned, paid and collected, that a continuity of place was awarded to a few while others looked for new work. But the picture was variable; there were those amongst this group who were well placed, cushioned by other livings or subsequently by a combination of pensions. How careers developed in the following years is addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter Five

Working in the New World

1.   **MANAGING AND ACCOMMODATING**

Though, as emphasised throughout this study, its main focus is the range of survey priests and the evidence surrounding them, a second theme is that of the implementation of this specific aspect of government policy. This appears in chapter two, with regard to the Parliamentary events surrounding the passing of the Dissolution Act in December 1547, the operations of the Court of Augmentations and the local activities of one Augmentations official (William Crowche): it reappears in this chapter. Chapter three dealt with the survey itself and the evidence of the certificates for counties of this study, while chapter four examined the clerical careers and events relevant to the priests who appear here up to and including their survey posts. The intention in chapter five is take up where chapter three ended, that is with pension awards or continued placements agreed and priests directed to collect their letters patent authorising their new status. From this point on, attempts have been made to establish where their subsequent careers did or did not take them, and to speculate on how they accommodated themselves to the new world. Chapter six will look at what the evidence from dates of death and wills has to say about the end of these priests' lives and careers.

Out of the highly charged atmosphere of the new reign came the events that affected the lives of the men here.   Edward and his government had a grand objective to complete the transformation of England into a godly kingdom. They did not doubt that they were right: they knew that this was 'change' (or a 'change back') and its achievement had to be managed. This was a process which required high-level leadership, a programme of change activities, efficient senior and middle management, communication and education (a revised liturgy, printed texts and sermons), all elements which, as discussed in chapter one, can be identified in the activities of 1547 and 1548.   As with all change programmes some elements were more successfully managed than others. Even today when the phenomenon has been recognised and methodologies developed to observe and describe its practice or enable the introduction of a new or changed world, complete control of the process is likely to be more apparent than real. And what lies behind and beneath this mantle of change is people: people who, whether compliant or not, whether believers or not, will not be unaffected and for whom, regardless of which side they fall, the process is likely to be uncomfortable.

In addition to the methodologies of change that are applied by, and to, the business world are those which have developed over the past forty years to examine how individuals respond to change. The work of Elizabeth Kübler-Ross, discussed in chapter one, was focussed on responses to terminal illness, to death and dying and the identification of a series of emotional states described in diagrammatic form and sometimes referred to as 'the grief cycle'.[1] This diagram has found its way into formal change management methodology and no self-respecting change team these

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[1] Particularly, Kübler-Ross, *On Death and Dying,* and Kübler-Ross and Kessler *On Grief and Grieving.*

days fails to apply its handy shorthand, implying that this is now almost a cliché. However, there is insight and genuine research underlying the wider application of this concept and the recognition of what constitutes the change experience. Marris in his work began investigating how widows and widowers respond to the loss of a spouse and how grief was resolved (or not) in the new world in which individuals were now required to operate. The results from this research fed into his later research into how social groups, even whole cultures, respond to change and for Marris the correspondence between the behaviour of the bereaved and that of a society undergoing change was striking.[2]

In each case, whether that of an individual or a group, there is a break with normality to be accommodated, a break that has been dictated by external events and which demands the creation of a new normality. Much of the change management theory which has adopted the Kübler-Ross cycle operates on the grounds that people perceive change as negative: that is the removal of 'something' key to life. That 'something' will be a mix of the tangible and intangible, akin to the way that the loss of a spouse can be perceived; a physical and psychological support is gone. During the Reformation a good deal of the tangible was lost: painting, statues, shrines and altars, the 'stories in stones', within which intangible loss also had to be reckoned with. In relation to purgatory and the loss of memorials, Duffy writes not only of a church bereft by the removal of half its congregation (the dead) but also of damage to the integrity of a parish's identity with the loss of the bede-roll. The exercise of maintaining the bede-roll confirmed both the beliefs that underlay it and the relationship of those remembered with their community, thus recording and reading

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[2] Marris, *Loss and Change*, pp. 59-84.

out the names of the dead benefactors 'was integral to the parish's sense of identity'.[3]

Within the clerical population as a whole only the most cynical of career priests would have been unaffected as parish, liturgy and the spatial environment of the church reformed around them.

Unprecedented and unpredictable religious changes had been going on for a decade by the date at which the priests of this study lost their employment, years marked by events of major significance but, even when Henry railed back from the reform he had initiated, the prospect of further change must still have been drip-feeding through. The idea that more was to come could never have gone away.[4] The persistence of these concerns has been cited by historians in their arguments for the dropping away of memorial endowments and the early sale and private dissolution of chantry property and services. If this were so, would the possible psychological impact of the 1547 Act necessarily have been so great for the individual clerics affected? It is argued here that it would; it was after all Dissolution, the evidence of the monasteries was graven into the physical and intellectual landscape; this latest dissolution was not unexpected but it was final. Nevertheless, there is a danger here of over-emphasising the negative: the evangelical thinking which informed the Reformation **was** supported and this should not be ignored. Throughout the realm there were those amongst the clergy and the laity who genuinely welcomed it. But even a positive change demands accommodation. The commentators cited here, particularly Marris and Murray Parkes, have described the responses they have

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[3] A view that chimes with that of Burgess of the parish's idea of itself as a spiritual entity, see chapter two, p. 83 and fn. 42. Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, p. 336.

[4] And there were those of course who did not want it to. See recent work such as that of Alec Ryrie which chronicles the anxieties of evangelicals and their efforts to maintain and promote their faith during this volatile period. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII*, also MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer,* Chapter 8, A Problem of Survival, pp. 297-348.

identified as just as likely to be the result of a 'good' thing: personal success, a promotion, a marriage, a new relationship, all have a positive charge but all mean change. There is excitement in change, but it is the case that even the achievement of highly desired goals demands mental management and emotional adjustment.

Though personal circumstances varied, a new order was being carved out for and by each of the priests in this study: they had lost income and material support and the church to which they belonged was not as it had been when they began. There were accommodations to make, pensions to collect and new jobs to be found if you were not one of the few given continuation; there is evidence of new appointments early in 1548 as some perhaps tried to be ahead of the game. Later, there were also opportunities to marry and raise families, as a number readily did. But, as described in chapter two, in the summer of 1548 the principal matter in hand was pensions and it is these, the surrounding issues and then their collection over succeeding years which will be addressed first, before moving on to look at jobs which provided a living in the new world.

2. <u>GIVING AND RECEIVING PENSIONS</u>

On 9 June 1547, the Privy Council noted reports concerning the payment of pensions to ex-religious who had fled abroad. Specifically, this centred on 'late monks of the Charterhouse' who had left secretly for Flanders, leaving friends to collect their pensions on their behalf, fraudulently claiming they were still resident in England. While the accusation aimed at the errant monks is that they retained 'still in their

hearts their old superstition and popish monkery', there is also a hint of personal betrayal here in the tone of the references of false representation to the king, money having been handed over on his behalf 'as if they remained still in some parts of England' and, again, 'as if they continued here his Highness true subjects'.[5] The Council, in response to the issues on false claims, now declared that payment should no longer be through the district receivers but directly from the Treasurer of Augmentations and pensioners must, ideally, present themselves in person. It was made statutory that if unable to do this, then they must be represented by an identified deputy with evidence signed by two JPs of the shire, or one JP and one gentleman of reputation stating that the person is there remaining in 'lief and in [a] lawful state to receive this pension'.[6]

This change would have caused unwonted inconvenience and expense to pensioners whether they collected themselves or sent a proxy. A representative would presumably have had to be paid for his trouble and furthermore, unless the pensioner had a local London contact, would presumably also have required food and lodging. Although the requirement for individual warrants may have persisted it seems that the formal requirement to attend directly on the Treasurer cannot have lasted very long if, indeed, it was ever implemented. It has the feel of a 'knee-jerk' reaction by the Privy Council, one unlikely to have been received positively by the Treasurer. He (Sir John Williams at this date) cannot have found the idea of vastly increased numbers of petitioners waiting on him particularly attractive. [7]

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[5] Dasent, ed. *APC, 1547-1550* Vol. II, New Series (London: 1890) pp. 97-98. With reference to this same issue, Richardson makes the observation that some pensioner-monks as well as, apparently, never leaving England, never died either. Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 179.

[6] Dasent ed. *APC, 1547-1550* Vol. II, pp. 97-98.

[7] Richardson doubts it ever coming into effect. Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 179.

Whatever discussions were or were not had around this decision, the direction in the Chantries Act of December is that pensions should be paid by the receivers in the localities. Furthermore, when the proclamation of May 1548 announced that commissioners would be working around their circuits recording the names of pensioners it included a warning to the latter not to rush into London to make their claims. While this may have been principally concerned with queues for letters patent (or maybe the Privy Council's edict of the previous June was borne in mind, whether its consequences were real or not, according to Strype, this was issued because a great many of the new pensioners had rushed to London in such numbers that 'the Court, the Lord Protector's House, the Court of Augmentations and other courts and places were extremely pestered with them' in which case the proclamation was more of a stable door shutting. [8]

The wording of the Privy Council Act in May 1547 implies that the certificate of identification was a new idea but, as an administrative principle, it must have had its attractions and evidence of this appears in later years through the surviving warrants in Hereford Cathedral archives (c1554) and those in the National Archives from the 1560s.[9] In a recent article, Margaret McGlynn has observed an 'ideological deceit' in these warrants: this is a good point. Ex-religious and chantry priests were,

[8] John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, relating chiefly to religion, and the reformation of it and the emergencies of the Church of England, under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI and Queen Mary I,* Vol. 2, Part 1 (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1822) pp. 153-154; Jordan, *'Threshold',* p. 196.

[9] It is likely that those of the 1554 date may relate to the information gathering exercise after Edward's death and Mary's accession prior to the transfer of pensions back to the church under Cardinal Pole. This survey of all post-dissolution pensions and annuities payable by the state was carried out following Pole's return to England in 1554 as part of the financial assessment of commitments and planned restitution of church funds. Inclusion or not in this list could cause problems for pensioners as will appear later in this chapter. Morgan and Morgan eds. *Pensioned Ex-religious and Priests – Hereford*; TNA LR5/23 Certificates and Warrants for Monastic Pensions - warrants for chantry priests also occur; TNA E164/31 Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole with return of all fees, annuities, corrodies and pensions payable to religious persons in England and Wales. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary (1555-1556).

after all, former practitioners of the old faith now in receipt of payments from the king. To turn up to collect your pension, to vouch for your own behaviour and local presence, or to encourage someone else to vouch for you in writing, demanded a confirmation of conformity, a public declaration that you were living 'in plain and perfect life'. [10]   It is worth drawing out another layer of meaning from this, for the men awarded continuation as curates, schoolmasters etc, whose stipends were paid in the same way - not just state pensioners but state employees. So, perhaps less the forerunner of today's pensioner's card, more an early form of identity card, an aspect of this process appears to have been strengthened in Elizabeth's reign. By a proclamation dated 29 September 1561 which also highlights old and new administrative procedures Pensions were still to be paid by the receiver of the county directly to the pensioner himself or to his representative, but whereas the Edwardine certification requirements supported instances when the pensioner could not appear in person but could be represented by proxies from the magistracy and laity, that is one or two JPs and one gentleman of reputation of the shire, Elizabeth widened the identification process and passed responsibility onto the diocese. This contrasts with the attitude of Edward's regime towards the bishops and the dioceses briefly referred to earlier (see chapter three, p. 110 fn. 4) and Elizabeth's, which was making use of them. The new procedure required the appearance of the pensioner before the ordinary of the diocese, his chancellor or commissary, two justices of the peace and the surveyor of the shire or in place of the JPs, 'the mayor, alderman or bailiffs of any city or town corporate within the same shire'. These persons were to enquire of the pensioner, their name, age, the source of the pension or annuity, its value and who

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[10] Margaret McGlynn, 'The Payment of Pensions to the Ex-Religious of Bedfordshire' *MH* Vol. 32 (2007) pp. 41-67, (hereafter 'Bedfordshire Pensions '). This phrase 'plain and perfect life' is used in a 1565 warrant to described Thomas Dayoson, Rector of Willersley in Herefordshire but with a pension of £1.10s out of the former Service of Our Lady in Lyonshall - other warrants use similar phraseology, TNA L5/23, warrant 154, 30.10.1565.

paid him before this date, how it was granted, and 'of what vocation profession or livelihood' the pensioner had currently. Having completed the form with all the details, all the parties before whom the declarations were made (there had to be at least three of whom the bishop or his official must be one) were to sign and set their seal. This form had to be presented to the receiver before payment of the pension would or could be made and was demanded even if the pensioner was making a personal appearance.[11]

2.1   **Awarding Pensions and Posts**

Pension payments due under the Act were payable from the Feast of St Michael the Archangel, 29 September 1548. Evidence for the commencement of pension payments appears for all the counties in this study though the recording process is not consistent across all five. The rolls for Gloucester, Shropshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire dated 1547- 48 show the pensioners duly receiving a half-year's pension. This is in line with the directions of the Act, that is pensions were due twice at year, at the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March) and again in September: the foundations ended at 1 April and this was the first pension due date. Herefordshire's first roll is dated 1548-49 when full annual sums are recorded, so catering for both dates.

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[11] Drafts of both the form and the acquittance to be signed by the pensioner were included in the proclamation. Though the preamble to the procedure speaks of fraud, payment of pensions to deceased persons, feigned acquittances and 'great deceit to her majesty', it was a way of knowing where these ex-religious and purgatory priests were and what they were doing. The realm had many lay pensioners outside of the those created by the religious change; it would be interesting to know if such a process was demanded of them in order to receive payment or if it was reserved purely for those who had been specifically identified with the old faith. Proclamation 485, 'Prescribing New Method for Paying Religious Pensions' in Paul L Hughes & James F Larkin eds. *Tudor royal proclamations-Vol.2: The later Tudors, 1553-1587* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press 1969) pp. 175-177.

This raises questions about what happened in the intervening six months. In terms of their income, this must have been an uncertain year for the priests involved. Their employment and stipends had gone: if they had been paid in advance, what happened then? If they were paid in arrears, would they have received what was due? The simplest position one can take is that incumbents were paid up to 31 March 1548 and, depending on their circumstances, would then have to find sources of income from this date. The consequences of this hiatus, in addition to any perception of salt in the wound, may also be acknowledged in the words of the commission of 20 June, 'in consideration of the poverty (of the priests)', and the decision not to charge pensioners the standard fee for letters patent.[12] The rolls, detailing the pension awards and acting as warrants for letters patent to be drawn up, were dated 22 June.[13] These were followed one month later, 20 July, by similar documents formalising the appointments and authorising letters patent for those fortunate enough to be allowed to continue as curates or schoolmasters. The wording at the head of these continuation rolls backdated their pay, 'from Easter last past found the several sums of money and wages aforementioned to the persons above rehearsed'.[14] From this we must presume, as they obviously did, that the individuals concerned had not ceased working but had stayed in the parish; for them, in economic terms, the dissolution was tempered, eventually.

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[12] Brodie ed. *CPR* 2EdwardVI Part IV p. 417-418, as quoted above, see chapter two, p. 90.

[13] TNA E101/75/13 2EDWVI, Confirmation of that letters patent can be drawn up for Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Gloucester and Bristol. TNA E101/75/15 2EDWVI-in the county of Hereford; TNA E101/75/28 2EDWVI- in the county of Salop (Shropshire); TNA E101/76/4 2EDWVI-in the county of Warwick; TNA E101/76/7 2EDWVI- in the county of Worcester.

[14] TNA E101/76/14 6EDWVI Commission & Returns as to monastic and chantry pensions (Gloucester); TNA E319/15 f.5 Warrants to Continue-Herefordshire; TNA E319/15 f.6 Court of Augmentations- Warrants to Continue-Warwickshire and Coventry; TNA E319/15 f.11 Warrants to Continue-Worcestershire; similar information for Shropshire comes from SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo-1547-48.

Of the 423 adults in this study, there are thirty-six re-appointments for which evidence has been found: twenty schoolmasters, one usher, fourteen curates (or assistants) and one vicar.[15] There is evidence to show that others stayed in their parishes and continued to work in the same church. In Gloucestershire a list from the episcopal visitation dated May 1548, immediately after the dissolution and the transfer of foundations to the crown shows just under 40% (forty-six from 116 survey priests) appearing.[16] Of these, thirty-seven were still in the same parish, most with new titles reflecting roles as parochial assistants, although, probably indicative of the recent changes and perhaps a mix of custom and a sense of limbo, eight were still recorded as chantry priests.[17]

No doubt, and as has been shown in chapter four, these priests were always hoping for, and obtaining, beneficed posts but from the spring of 1548 there must have been an urgency amongst this part of the clerical population to seek other employment. The same Gloucester list shows four priests moving on. William Porter alias Potter moved from Tetbury where he had been in post since 1543 to Hawkesbury, ten miles away and William Pereson having held Morcotte Chapel, Childswickham, since at least 1540, had moved to a curacy in Bourton-on-the Hill, nine miles distant. Two however had moved greater distances. The first, William Wylson, who had held St Anthony's Chantry in Cirencester, was now curate of the

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[15] In the warrant for Worcestershire it is confirmed that the Evesham school, which its parishioners had pleaded for, would continue and that John Robyns would be its schoolmaster. Robyns was not named in the survey nor did he appear in later rolls so his history has not been traced here. The vicar referred to here was John Aston, Vicar of Sowe in Warwickshire, whose chantry post in St Michael's, Coventry was shown in the survey certificates as supplementing his vicarage income; he was confirmed as continuing in Sowe. TNA E319/15 f.5 Warrants to Continue-Herefordshire; TNA E319/15 f.6 Court of Augmentations- Warrants to Continue-Warwickshire and Coventry; TNA E319/15 f.11 Warrants to Continue-Worcestershire; TNA E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire certificate 2.

[16] GRO GDR/4 Episcopal Visitation 1548 pp. 71-146.

[17] The mix of titles was as follows: stipendiary twelve, stipendiary curate five, curate five, curate auxiliary, one, chantry priest eight, not given six – total = thirty-seven GRO GDR/4 Episcopal Visitation 1548 – pp. 71-146.

chapel of Ashton under Hill in Beckford parish approximately 30 miles away. Having to move or travel this distance may not have been a problem for Wylson since he is recorded in the Worcester Visitation of 1540 as being both a curate in Cirencester and cantarist at Hawkesbury approximately 20 miles away.[18] The second, William Williams, moved further in distance but not in any other sense; he had held the Berkeley Chantry in Coberley and was now said to be curate in Stoke Gifford. The two parishes are almost 40 miles apart but Stoke Gifford belonged to the Berkeley family so one might assume that they supported Williams and found him another place.[19] Some small success in finding more secure replacement income from beneficed posts appears in this first year of dissolution: between March and October 1548 three had found appointments as rectors and two as vicars.[20]

William Weston of Bewdley chapel in the Worcestershire parish of Ribbesford may provide an alternative picture. Weston, described as priest of the 'chantry or service of the Trinity', was appointed to continue in Bewdley as curate with a stipend of £8 but this does not appear to have happened, as he appears from

[18] WRO 802/2764 Act Book of John Bell, c.1520-c.1541, ff. 278-282 (Hawksbury) and ff. 299-303 (Cirencester).

[19] GRO GDR/4 Episcopal Visitation 1548.

[20] Roland Lymell, preacher in St Leonard's, Bridgnorth, to rectory of Beckingham, Lincolnshire, compounded 25.8.1548 with two sureties from gentlemen of Bridgnorth, see E334/4 f.13v and Hodgett, *Ex-Religious and Chantry Priests-Lincoln,* p. 120; Richard Wyld of St Mary's, Shrewsbury, to rectory of Fitz near Atcham, Shropshire, compounded 22.3.1548, TNA E334/4 f.5r and LRO/B/A/1/14v; Richard Cornwall, formerly chantry priest of St Andrew's, Droitwich, possibly appointed (same name occurs) to the rectory of Humber, Herefordshire, 28.8.1548, Brodie ed. *CPR 2EdwardVI* part III, p. 355; inst. 5.9.1548, A. T. Bannister, ed. *Diocese of Hereford - Institutions etc from 1530 – 1579,* pp. 1-26, Church of England, Diocese of Hereford Records, (Hereford) 1923; compounded, 25.10.1548, TNA E334/4 f.11r; Henry Mynde, formerly chantry priest of Hampton Bishop, to vicarage of Holme Lacy, inst. 24.7. 1548, Bannister, *Hereford Institutions*, compounded 23.7.1548 when one of his two sureties came from Hampton Bishop, confirmed by later pension warrant in Hereford Cathedral Archives, TNA E334/4 f.12v, Morgan and Morgan eds. *Pensioned Ex-religious and Priests – Hereford* p. 84; Henry Maundestone, formerly priest of the Guild of Warwick, to the vicarage of Budbrooke, Warwickshire compounded 28.4.1548, TNA E334/4 f.8r when one of his sureties, Richard Paladye, is shown to be of the Duchess of Somerset's household and the other Thomas Ffyssher, alias Hawkyns, may have been a secretary to the Duke of Somerset, Anthony A. Upton. *Parochial clergy of the archdeaconry of Coventry*, c.1500-c.1600, unpublished thesis, University of Leicester (2003).

1548-49 collecting a pension of £6. This might be a nice example of confessional preference and may indicate a period of conscience searching on Weston's part. Weston was one of three Bewdley priests of the same status (that is 'chantry or service priests) and all 'competently learned and of honest conversation' but it was he who was chosen as the most suitable candidate to continue. Admittedly one, John Moryce, was aged seventy-two but this would not have automatically excluded him from a curacy and he appears in the pension records for another four years. The third, Humphrey Maltell, was the youngest at fifty-five and was apparently ready to take up the post as the evidence is that Weston moved on (or out) and Maltell took up the curacy very shortly.[21] Weston's age is given as sixty-two in 1548 but infirmity is unlikely to have been his reason for giving up the place. In December 1554, William Weston was appointed to the vicarage of Kinlet, just under six miles from Bewdley, where the King and Queen, Philip and Mary, held the rectory; while in Worcester Record Office a bond exists for a William Weston of Mitton (a village close to Ribbesford) on appointment to the vicarage of Arley, further along the river Severn, in September 1558. Neither of these places prevented his collecting his pension and he appeared before Elizabeth's commissioners to confirm his continued eligibility for its payment.[22]

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[21] In an undated document maintained in a file covering the years 1553-1555, there is the evidence of a case involving Humphrey Maltell and an attempt on his part to get his pension back. Maltell, claiming extreme poverty for lack of his pension, was in dispute with a Thomas Hopkyns over the whereabouts of his letters patent. Hopkyns answer was that Maltell had been curate in Bewdley since William Weston 'moved on' and had had the post and its stipend of £8 for these four years past, Hopkyns himself had returned the letters patent back to Walter Mildmay (the General Surveyor of the Court of Augmentations) as Maltell had agreed to give up his pension in return for the curacy, TNA C1/1369 ff47, 48 and 49. Maltell appears in the rolls for 1548 receiving a half-year's pension of £3 but appears in the next roll receiving the curate's stipend. TNA SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo (1548-49) mm. 21v-39v, 56v-64v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo (1549-50) mm. 16-31v, 46-51v.

[22] Weston's stance may have been based on religious conviction but ultimately he benefited economically as well since he received his pension alongside the Kinlet vicarage of £8.10s.0d. The move to Arley appears to have been Weston's last, his experience of the last ten years may have convinced him that this time he would stay put, as a record of sequestration, presumably after his death is dated March 1577, at which date Weston would have been in his nineties. TNA E334/4 f.216v, William Weston to the vicarage of Kinlet, 15.12.1554; for the Arley post, see WRO Davenport 397 for

Weston may be an example showing that some choice, albeit a negative one, could be exercised but Saturday, 29 September must have been awaited with at least interest if not a little anxiety for those who were new pensioners and had no other formal or regular source of income. The pension rolls show a fragmentary picture of collection and in no year between 1548 and 1553 is there a full list showing all those named in the surveys collecting their pensions.[23] This broke down further after Edward's death and following that of Mary; evidence becomes sparser with each reign. Inevitably, there must have been a variety of reasons for this including recording errors but, from as early as 1548 itself, death began removing some from the list. Others do not appear at all in one year but collect their dues along with arrears in the next or a later round. New appointments could reduce the numbers but, according to the wording of the Act and Commission, only if that appointment was by the king.[24] Certainly the three rectors and one vicar mentioned above all appear to have received their pensions in the years of Edward's reign and, in some cases,

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Weston's appointment by Roger Walker, cleric and rector of Martley, and 398 Bond of William Weston of Mitton, Hugh Pullen of Arley and Humphrey King of Arley 25.10.1558, Davenport 745 sequestration dated 4.3.1576/77.

[23] The tables on p. 366 show the payments recorded in the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth.

[24] This begs the question as to why Weston retained his pension if his appointment to Kinlet (above) was in the gift of the King and Queen. Perhaps this is evidence of his traditional sympathies and a sign of favour from the monarch in the early stages of her attempts to restore her church. I have found only two pension discharge certificates, TNA E135/1/22 - cert 92(88)-1559 for Thomas Silke of Bristol, appointment to the vicarage of Marston Lawrence in Northants, (one of many posts he held) and TNA E135/1/22 cert 82(104) - 1560 for John Cooke, former chantry priest of Lydney, Gloucestershire, on his having the prebend of 'Llanbyhlangell'. Of three royal post - dissolution appointments one, Thomas Yatton, of Hereford Cathedral may have given up his pension on appointments as rector of the two chapels of Aylton and Pixley in 1549. Yatton does not appear to have collected it after this date; he is marked as not appearing in the pension rolls after the first year when he received a half-pension. TNA SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo (1548-49) mm. 21v-39v, 56v-64v; TNA E334/4 f.23r Composition Book, appointments to Aylton and Pixley 16.2.1549. Richard Cornwall, with a pension from the Hospital of Dodderhill near Droitwich, and from the chantry or service of St Richard in the same parish, was appointed to the rectory of Humber in Hereford in October 1548, continued to receive his hospital pension but the evidence for his chantry pension is less clear. *CPR 2Edward VI* part III, p. 355, Cornwall's appointment to Humber, 28.8.1548. Richard Taylor formerly having a prebend in St Mary's, Shrewsbury, was possibly the same Richard Taylor appointed by the Queen to the vicarage of Bucknell, Shropshire, in June 1554 but still appears in the list drawn up for the Cardinal. However given the coincidence of dates and the lack of pension records after this date, it is difficult to say categorically if payment continued or not. TNA E334/4 f.170v Compositions Book, 22.6.1554.

beyond. The other side of this picture, however, is that names missing from the survey rolls appear in the pension records, a further reminder to be wary of accepting source material at face value.[25]

2.2   **Pension Payments**

Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3 in Appendix III, (p.366) plot the payments recorded in the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. Detailed conclusions are difficult to draw from information such as this. At a high level, the administrative fall-off in records is easily seen as Edward's reign became Mary's. This is even more the case in Elizabeth's time. Two principal sources only provide the detail which makes up the Elizabethan figures: the box of surviving certificates, letters and acquittances retained in the National Archives and the undated account of Midland commissioners for those appearing before them circa 1561-1566.[26] Each change of monarch undoubtedly brought other changes in its wake, as the new reign sought to establish itself, and this must be particularly true of these years of reform.   The years 1551 to

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[25]For example, John Butler who served in King's Norton from at least 1546 when he witnessed a will and was still there in 1563, his intermittent appearances in the records show the variations by which priests might appear. Missing from the Survey Certificates for Worcestershire his name appears in the Pension Warrant Roll but with no pension value so there may have been a issue as to title – however he was paid in 1549-1550 when he received a payment of 2 and a half year's pension – he next appears in 1552-1553, when he signed the King's Norton Inventory of Church Goods as curate there - Pole's pension list of 1556 calls him a stipendiary priest in King's Norton church - the pension roll covering the years 1556-1558, states he is curate in Moseley which was a chapel of King's Norton, while a pension warrant of 1568 states that he had been Chantry Priest of St Michael's in King's Norton and this was the reason for his pension. TNA E101/76/7 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Worcs;
TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo (1549-50) mm. 16-31v, 46-51v; E164/31 Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole, with return, of all fees, annuities, corrodies and pensions payable to religious persons in England and Wales; SC6/PHil&Mary/494 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 3&4 & 4&5P&M- (1556-1557) & (1557-1558); LR5/23 Warrant No.168; Grant & Barnard, 'The Parish Church of King's Norton', *TWAS*, 1925.

[26] TNA LR5/23, formally titled as 'Certificates and Warrants for Monastic Pensions', this box of several hundred documents includes warrants for ex-chantry and stipendiary priests pensions and lay annuities in addition to those for monks and nuns, together with letters and acquittances. I am grateful to Dr Peter Cunich who included this in a list of sources recommended at the outset of my research. TNA E135/9/17 A List of Pensioners in Various Counties.

1553 were troubled for the Edwardine state machinery when financial issues were combined with those of management breaking down. The financial benefits expected from the re-structure of 1547 had not been achieved and the reasons behind those administrative changes were just as relevant five years later: cost inefficiencies, overlapping of roles, incompetent, sometimes corrupt, officials.   Almost paralleling the situation at the time of Henry's death and Edward's accession, Mary inherited a civil service that had just undergone a review and a Court of Augmentations that was about to be changed radically.

3.   **CROWN FINANCIAL ANXIETIES 1551-1553**[27]

The crown's attempt to manage its financial shortfall began in February 1551 with a concerted effort to quantify all outstanding debts due to it. It continued in April with a decision to debase the coinage and continued in January and March of the following year (1552) with two commissions: one to review all obligations still owed to Edward VI and his father and to call them in, the second to examine the condition of all the king's Courts of Revenue and to produce a balance of accounts. Not only was Augmentations one of those under review but also Walter Mildmay, one of its two General Surveyors, was a member of both commissions.[28] The debts to the crown were considerable: Edward IV recorded in his diary that he was owed around

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[27] The most detailed discussion of this can be found in Richardson, *Augmentations,* Chapters VI and VIII and his examination of the Commission of 1552, W C Richardson, *The Report of the Royal Commission of 1552,* (Virginia USA: West Virginia University Foundation 1974).

[28] Elton calls him the 'only official and expert element' of the court review and Lehmberg thinks it likely that Mildmay did all the work. If Mildmay was responsible for all the work, perhaps he was also responsible for the 'long, painstaking, and generally honest as well as sensible report' (Elton's words), which the commission produced towards the end of 1552. Elton, *Tudor Revolution,* pp. 230-237; Lehmberg, *Mildmay* pp. 32-33.

£100,000 and by Michaelmas 1552 the commission had retrieved £17,000: admirable perhaps but inadequate.[29]

The persistent duality of the government's approach to doctrinal change is threaded through these attempts at debt and revenue management. This was the background to the Inventory of Church Goods with the council's instruction that redundant items, particularly plate, should be requisitioned 'and employed for his Highness' use', citing his present need 'of a mass of money'.[30] In 1552, alongside his work on the two commissions and his general work with Augmentations, Mildmay was included in two separate commissions authorising the sale of chantry lands up to a transaction value of £1,000. The use to which these sales were put would have run counter to the tenor of commonwealth concerns discussed earlier in this thesis, but promoting the health and good of the commonwealth can be rationalised in a number of ways and keeping the state solvent must surely have been one of them.[31] Lehmberg makes the claim that in the summer of 1552, the treasury coffers were frequently empty, and at this date instructions were issued to revenue courts to suspend payments. It was said the king was on progress and 'resolved not to be troubled with payments until his return' - the truth lay in the empty coffers. By November, the suspension extended to the pensions and annuities paid by Augmentations.[32]

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[29] F C Dietz, *English Government Finance, 1485-1558* p. 192 in Lehmberg, *Mildmay* p. 28, n1,
[30] Dietz, p. 193 in Lehmberg, *Mildmay* p. 37.
[31] Just looking at the heading 'Chantry Lands: Sales' in the APC index shows the wide variety of ends to which these were put, including clothing for soldiers, 'for provisions for the North', payments to individuals and to provide arms and armour, Dasent ed, *APC* Vol. II 1547-1550, pp. 598-599.
[32] Lehmberg, *'Mildmay'*, p. 31; Richardson p. 196-197.

The commissions made two alternative recommendations. The first was to abolish all five existing courts and create two new structures: an Exchequer within which the Courts of Wards and First Fruits and Tenths would be subsumed and a Court of the King's Revenues made up of Augmentations and the Duchy of Lancaster. The second, more radical, plan proposed having a single department, the Exchequer, in which separate departments would cater for the former responsibilities of the dissolved courts.[33] In March 1553, steps towards carrying out these recommendations were taken with two acts, the first directed to the financial abuses and control of officials and revenues, the second formalising the king's empowerment to dissolve and create old and new courts of administration.[34] Though the framework was in place to make these changes, no further steps had been taken at the date of Edward's death on 6 July 1553. Thus, it fell to Mary's first Parliament in October 1553 to take a form of these recommendations forward. A virtual repeat of Edward's statute regarding the dissolution and creation of new courts gave the same powers to the Queen.[35] This was followed by the letters patent, which dissolved the second Court of Augmentations and the Court of First Fruits and Tenths and placed them within the Exchequer.

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[33] That is the Courts of Wards, Augmentations, First Fruits and Tenths, the Exchequer and Duchy of Lancaster.

[34] These two Acts addressed nagging doubts about the legality of the actions of 1547 which had created the second Court of Augmentations by letters patent after the general bill to validate the actions of Henry's parliament on Edward's accession and prepared the way for future changes. Like the Chantry Act, it had its troubles going through and only passed when the proviso protecting all benefits received by officers at that date, 27 March 1553, was added. This meant that when the courts where abolished under Mary many officials received pensions at least equivalent to their salaries (for the auditors of the Court the usual pension was 200 marks per annum) thereby also removing at its inception one of the hoped-for cost-savings of the new structure and demonstrating a different attitude to that applied to the ex-religious and chantry priests. 7 Edward VI, c.1 SR, Vol. 4, pp. 161-164, which addressed financial control, and 7 Edward VI, c.2, pp. 164-165, providing the King with power of dissolution over administrative courts, both 30 March 1553, see also Lehmberg *Mildmay,* pp 36-37nn 21 & 23, and Richardson *Augmentations*, p. 248, fn. 7-8, p258 fn. 37.

[35] I Mary, SR2, c2 in Gee and Hardy, *Documents Illustrative,* Mary's First Act of Repeal, 1553, p. 377-380.

Richardson comments that 'the abolition of the Court of Augmentations was meaningful only to her (Mary) if it meant a step towards the re-endowment of the church'.[36] But the underlying symbolism, almost a symmetry, of these changes cannot be missed: created by Cromwell for one dissolution, extended under Edward for a second, though changes were proposed by Edward's government it was Mary who abolished them, with a 'dissolution' of her own in mind. This did not remove all of either Court's responsibilities sourced from the Reformation but it did remove their independent titles and dilute their public prominence.

4. LOCAL CONSEQUENCES

While all the above central activities were engaging Augmentations and state officials, the abuses that concerned them and the consequences of their actions impacted on the priests, pensioners and parishes in the wider localities. A G Dickens discussed the question of pension arrears including the stopping of payment during the period discussed above and accounts of the brusque attitude of the Augmentations and local officials towards the pensioners.[37] He cited the concerns of the council (voiced as early as 1549) and its attempts to counter by statute the activities of speculators who bought up pension patents and of Augmentations officials who delayed or refused 'reasonable' requests for payment and/or overcharged on the normal 'aquittance' fee of 4d. The statute contained the ruling that any official guilty of overcharging would be faced with a fine of ten times any sum over 4d which they might have charged. Dickens saw this as a direct indictment of a corrupt set of

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[36] Richardson, *Augmentations,* p. 249.
[37] The order to withhold monies had been issued by the Council for some counties in March 1552, fortunately for the majority of pensioners in this study, the order only referred to pensions above £10 per annum. A. G. Dickens, 'The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentations Payments and the Problems of the Ex-Religious'*, EHR* Vol. 55, No.219 (1940) pp. 384-418.

officials, well worthy of all the vilification they received from contemporaries such as Brinklow cited in chapter one though this could be seen equally as both prevention and cure.[38] McGlynn in her consideration of the plight of the Bedfordshire ex-religious agrees that this Act reflects poorly on the performance of royal officials, the implication being that delayed payments encouraged pensioners to sell their pensions for a lesser but available sum to meet immediate needs. [39]

Throughout the records, uneven payments suggest pensions apparently delayed and being paid in arrears, but there is also evidence that suggests that delays in the production of letters patent may also have been an issue. This would certainly have prevented a pension or new stipend being paid and also the cleric concerned would have had nothing to sell or to support another form of advance. Though a document of 22 June 1548 states that Nicholas Rock was appointed to continue as schoolmaster in Stourbridge in Worcestershire, the relevant letters patent do not appear to have been raised. This lack must have been an issue but it was one which was eventually resolved: in the roll of 1549-50, Rock is recorded as receiving £15.0s.11d, equal to two and a half years' salary.[40] One might wonder how Rock maintained himself in the interval, if he had indeed had to wait that length of time for payment, but two entries in the records of members of the Guild of Knowle dated 1520 suggest that Stourbridge was Rock's home town and that he had other family there as a possible source of support.[41] The school itself was re-founded as one of Edward VI's grammar schools, with Rock as master, supported by chantry lands from

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[38] Dickens, 'Edwardian Arrears', p. 385 citing SR 2 and 3 Edward VI c.7.
[39] McGlynn, 'Bedfordshire Pensions', p. 49.
[40] SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50: mm.16-31v, 46-51v.
[41] W.B. Bickley, *The Register of the Guild of Knowle in the county of Warwick, 1451-1535,* W H Robinson, (Walsall) 1894, The first entry refers to 'Roger Roccke and Alys his wyfe de Storbrygge', the next, immediately following, reads 'Sir Nycolles Roccke de Storbryge'.

a variety of Worcestershire endowments. Rock's final appearance in the payment records is in 1552 when he was paid for half the year: presumably his stipend, now increased to £10, and the £5 of an usher to assist him, came from the former chantry lands after this date.[42]

Another example which might also return us to religion and reform, and away from the administration-centred discussion above, is that provided by the choristers of the College of Stratford upon Avon. Although the main focus of this work is the priests of the surveys, appearing amongst potential pensioners are the four boys named in the Warwickshire survey, all aged between twelve and fourteen. Only two, William Allen (aged twelve) and Thomas Perin (aged fourteen) occur regularly in the pension accounts, collecting their £1 (equivalent to their previous stipend) from 1549-50 up to, they also had their pensions confirmed in Cardinal Pole's list in 1556.[43] It is intriguing that their fellow choristers appear not at all, neither in the pension records nor Pole's list. Perhaps these two had shown intent to seek ordination by being tonsured. At this last date, William and Thomas would have been twenty and twenty-two respectively: would it have been acceptable for two young lay men to have been receiving state pensions meant to support redundant clerics or were they now in orders? It is surely conceivable in the intellectual environment of reform that some proof of a determination to continue a clerical career was necessary for eligibility and these two chose to follow this route whereas their fellows did not. It is not possible to

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[42]TNA E319/12 1 June 1551, lands from College of Fotheringhay in Martley, (£4) Suckley, (40s), chantry lands of St Mary & St Clement's in St Lawrence's-Evesham, (£5.18.4), St Mary & St George in All Saints, Evesham, (23s), Trinity Guild of Worcester, (£4.5.10) & lands of St Mary's & St Katherine's in parish of St Helen's, (33s), prop of D&C Worcs, (9s.4d), total = £17.10s.8d - Master to have £10, Usher £5.

[43] The survey of pensions and annuities arising from the dissolutions, see page 7, fn.9, TNA E164/31 Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole with return of all fees, annuities, corrodies and pensions payable to religious persons in England and Wales. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary (1555-1556).

answer these questions but there was a delay in confirming their status. Both William and Thomas were awarded letters patent but these were not issued until 20 October 1549, which agrees with the first dates of their pension payments of £1 each: it does not seem that they received any back pay.[44]

In addition to obtaining letters patent and proof of identity and behaviour, personal circumstances, age, sickness and infirmity might also prevent the prompt collection of pensions. From Elizabeth's reign, letters remain from pensioners sending friends and servants to collect pensions on their behalf, and this must have been the case in previous years.[45] From the format of the records, one would assume that the preferred option was always an annual payment but Dickens cites a Derbyshire reference to an agreement allowing a pension to be paid annually instead of half-yearly, taking this formal notice to mean that this was outside the norm.[46] However, the records for the five counties of this study refer almost wholly to annual sums. This may mean that the majority took the option, whether formally or informally, to be paid annually or that the rolls themselves were drawn up annually and cannot be regarded as anything other than examples of office practice. This is not without value but it does not tell us anything about how the pensioners collected their pensions or managed their lives. If payment was to be made twice yearly, then the issues of certification and representation, not to mention the distance to be travelled, also had to be faced twice.[47]

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[44] TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50.

[45] TNA LR5/23-Certificates and Warrants for Monastic Pensions.

[46] No details are provided but Dickens notes that in the Derbyshire records there is one record of an arrangement for annual pay 'instead of the usual half-yearly'. Dickens, 'Edwardian Arrears' p. 401, fn. 3.

[47] There are instances of pensioners collecting a half-year's pay or one and a half or two years. One can imagine a clerk drawing up the rolls from a pile of receipts, though the process that allowed the collection together of two, three or four of these for a single individual seems extraordinarily efficient.

That pension procedures did cause problems and involved costs that depreciated the income was recognised by contemporaries. A letter cited by Dickens from the Lincolnshire return of pensions made in 1552 as part of the state's financial enquiries bears witness to this. Written by two commissioners, it is directed to the king and one long sentence is worth quoting for its emphatic description of the problems experienced by pensioners, 'who have been so delayed and driven from time to time and place to place for the payment of the said pensions besides the exaction of the rewards to the receiver and his servants, as diverse of them have spent the whole value of their pension or [err?] they could get it and other some half or part thereof to the utter decay of their living'.[48] These comments are supported by the experiences of two of the priests appearing in this study: one which demonstrates the potential for either bureaucratic failure and/or a missed date to cause hardship, which is balanced by the willingness, with a little encouragement, of local officials to resolve the situation; the second, the problems of an elderly priest-schoolmaster collecting his stipend.[49]

The first of these concerns Henry Beardsmore, once a priest in the Guild of Henley in Arden, and before that possibly of the Benedictine house in Alcester, these two small Warwickshire towns being approximately eight miles apart. Theoretically, he should have been receiving an ex-religious pension in addition to his income as curate of Henley when he and his colleague John Whateley were authorised to continue serving. Beardsmore identified as curate or assistant curate occurs in

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[48] Letter from Sir Francis Asycough and William Thorold, esq. in Dickens, 'Edwardian Arrears' p. 402.
[49] The evidence for both these stories comes from this collection of certificates and warrants (LR5/23) in the National Archives. All appear to be dated between the 1561 proclamation (see p. 224, fn. 10 above) and 1569. Though not fully representative, there are documents from a range of counties and dioceses.

pension records receiving £2.10.s in 1548, followed by £5 annually until 1556. As with many other priests and pensioners, little appears after this date but three letters remain, apparently all from 1561, regarding the re-instatement of a pension. The officials engaged in this were John Fyssher of Warwick, John Court and John Hanbury.[50] In an undated letter John Hanbury writes confirming that Beardsmore's pension had been agreed in the indenture between Cardinal Pole and Queen Mary (that is by the document drawn up in 1556) but was not paid at Michaelmas 1558 and had not been paid since. The reason given is that it was not included in the list of spiritualities drawn up for the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield because it was not demanded in time. Since Henley, a chapel of Wooton Wawen, was actually part of the diocese of Worcester, we may have a hint of part of the problem here. It may also be that Beardsmore himself did not appear at the right place at the right time or because a clerk missed him off the list.[51] With this letter is a certificate dated 24 December 1561 and signed by Robert and Thomas Throckmorton, confirming that 'Henry Berdysmore late of the monastery of St Anne in Alcetter', who now lives in Henley in Warwick with no other preferment or promotion, is entitled to a pension of £5. However, the final document in this series notes that Beardsmore was 'late chantry priest of Henley', so perhaps the payment problem had more cause than one, particularly since Beardsmore had originally been warranted to continue as curate in Henley following the Guild's dissolution.[52] This document is a letter from John Court

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[50] Presumably John Fyssher who was town clerk of Warwick by 1569, also auditor and surveyor of corporation lands and the writer of the Black Book of Warwick in the 1580s. Stephens ed. *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 8 - The City of Coventry and Borough of Warwick, VCH,* pp. 490-504, Neither of the other two men have been specifically identified but it is likely that John Court was one of the Smith family of Henley Stratford and Beoley whose alias was 'a Court'.

[51] Dickens suggests that the principal cause of irregular payments was the non-appearance of pensioners and notes that in Nottingham two pensioners were said to have been unpaid for eighteen months 'because they did not ask for it'. Dickens, 'Edwardian Arrears', pp. 402, 408.

[52] Beardsmore's £5 stipend as curate was 10 shillings less than that he had received as Guild priest. Prior to this account of 1561, he is last recorded as receiving a single payment of £5 in the roll which covers the two years 1554-1556, but he is not recorded at all in Pole's pension list. TNA E301/53 and

to John Fyssher, desiring him to remember his promise 'for the poor priest's pension' which had long been unpaid. The next sentence is revealing: 'so that he (Beardsmore) may have the pension at your hands, he is content that you have for your pains what you will and he will pray for you daily': an exchange of money and prayers, financial security for the priest in exchange for spiritual security for the facilitator.[53] This document may help date the enquiry referred to in Table 5.3, as both Court and Fyssher personally testified on behalf of Beardsmore before the commissioners.[54]

John Ree, chantry priest of Our Lady and schoolmaster of Rock, in Worcestershire but in the diocese of Hereford, was appointed to continue as schoolmaster with a stipend of £5.14s.0d. Three documents survive, two letters in his hand, and one from the curate and three parishioners. Ree's letters both apologise for his age and infirmity, which prevent him from coming in person 'as of duty I ought'. He goes on to say that he has never had any other living but 'the house I dwell in' and £5.14s, paid twice a year. His servant Edward Croker, confirming his collection of the full sum on Ree's behalf, receipted both letters. Ree further says that Croker will pay the receiver, Mr George Ley, 'all such duties that as of you shall demand' and closes by committing Mr Ley 'to God who have you now and ever in his merciful keeping'.

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57 - Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire-Cert 21; Curate of Henley, stipend £5, warrant to continue, TNA E319/15/6 20.7.1548; TNA SC6/ Phil&Mary /493 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor, 1553-1556; TNA E164/31 Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole 2 and 3 Philip and Mary (1555-1556).

[53] TNA E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire; TNA E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire (pensions); TNA LR5/23/66 24.12.4Eliz, this refers to Beardsmore as an ex- cantarist and the reasons for non-payment; LR5/23/67/24.12.4Eliz (same date as 66) refers to an ex-religious pension; LR5/23 350 – no date, is a letter to John Fyssher from John Court.

[54] Beardsmore was not the only one to suffer non-payment; documentation in the National Archives records the arrears due to the Herefordshire schoolmasters of Dilwyn, Yardeley (actually Eardisley), Pembridge and Richard's Castle. Dated 24 February 1561, it states that payment had not been made since 2&3 Philip and Mary 'when the same were delivered into the charge of the clergy', this was to be partially rectified 'xxiiii Feb Allow the said yearly stipends thuse (to the use) of the schools aforesaid with arreage from Michaelmas anno 5&6 Philip and Mary.' This is signed by Richard Sackville and Walter Mildmay. TNA E319/15/1a - Herefordshire: note of Stipends Previously paid to Schoolmasters & Authorisation for payment of the same to resume - 24.2.1561. TNA E135/9/17 'names of persons who appear to receive pensions or annuities and the sums - Eliz' (undated).

Alongside his signature Ree states that he has been schoolmaster there for forty-eight years, confirming that 'schoolmaster' had long been part of the role simply described as 'cantarist' in the Valor. Unfortunately, this letter though dated 26 October lacks the year and the other two, both dated 23 October 1569 do not indicate his years in the school. Crucially for the payment of his stipend, the parishioners of Rock confirmed that Ree 'continually doth teach our free school of grammar' which, given his recorded age of seventy in 1548, makes him a very active ninety-one year old. This reflects doubt on the age record but Ree was certainly ageing now and could genuinely have had difficulty travelling.[55] The first letter is directed for delivery to the receiver or his deputy at Bridgnorth nearly seventeen miles from Rock and the second for delivery to the receiver this time in Bewdley, only six miles distant.[56] Ree died three years later, in 1572, and was buried in Rock which had been his home for probably fifty years.[57]

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[55] An ordination record in the Hereford records has John Ree ordained priest 16.6.1519, if he was close to the minimum age of priesthood, twenty-four, then the chantry certificates are twenty years out, he would have been closer to fifty not the recorded seventy. This would make him seventy-four at the time of the letters here and seventy-seven at his death, which seems more realistic.

[56] For John Ree, see TNA LR5/23/219,298 and 299 – warrant number 219 is a letter written and signed by Ree from Rock authorising collection of salary by his servant Edward Croker, it has a day and month date but no year, warrant 298 is a letter from the churchwardens and 299 a letter from Ree both dated 23 October 1569.

[57] WRO Potter, C F R, ed, *Parish Registers of Rock* Vol. 1-1547-1812, (unpublished transcription) John Ree, 'scholemeister', buried 26.12.1572. In Morgan and Morgan's transcriptions of the warrants (in Hereford's Cathedral archives they note one from John Ree 'havying his licence of Kyng Henry the eight by vertue of his letters patent there unto to be shewed remaynyng in the handes & keeping of Humfrey Conyngsby esquyer his eyre apparent'. It states his stipend is £5.14s and he has never had another living and never married. The Coningsby family were certainly Ree's patrons and also the founders of the school and chantry, which he served. Furthermore, according to the institution records of Hereford diocese, Sir Humphrey Coningsby, knight, appointed John Ree to the chapel of Hampton Wafer in 1531 on the death of the previous incumbent. P E Hair in his an article on chapels of Herefordshire says that by this date, the chapel of Hampton Wafer did not function as such and was therefore simply a sinecure which in this case it was Ree's good fortune to receive, this makes the' never had another living' a little ambiguous although what he received from Hampton Wafer and for how long is as yet not known. Morgan and Morgan eds. *Pensioned Ex-religious and Priests – Hereford* p. 85; P E H Hair, 'Chaplains, Chantries and Chapels of North-West Herefordshire, c1400', *TWhS,* Vol. 46, p. 33.

These two sets of personal documents highlight a common experience. Within them appear the priest petitioners, one trying to resolve a problem, the other managing age, infirmity and making a living: each of them dealing with officials of various authorities who required recompense for their pains. If all three of Beardsmore's helpers had to be paid, one wonders what was left for him that year? Perhaps he thought it worthwhile if his annual income was secure from that point on. Ree's servant Croker probably required payment for his trips to Bridgnorth and Bewdley, so Ree inevitably incurred some expense, but how much? McGlynn's evidence from Bedfordshire provides some guidance on the overheads of pension collection.

McGlynn's consideration of the payment of pensions to ex-religious explicitly supports the implications of the Lincolnshire commissioners' letter and Beardsmore's correspondence: officials expected to be paid by petitioners. John Smith (ex-monk of Newenham, now parson of Knebworth) negotiating with George Wright, the Bedfordshire receiver, in 1548 wished his pension to be paid to his attorney, requesting that Wright should have 3s for himself, give 4d to his servant and 4d to the teller: Smith also paid 4d for the acquittance. Thus it cost him a minimum of 4s (we do not know what his attorney might have charged for the collection) to collect a half-year pension of £3.6s 8d.[58] In 1548, Smith was fortunate, that year the Crown did not demand subsidy payments, but in most years there would have been a further charge on his £3.6s 8d of 10% (6s 8d) taken at source. If the charges to Wright were a regular occurrence, then Smith's pension would have been reduced each half year to £2 16s.0d. Relatively speaking the realm's religious pensioners bore a higher taxation burden than their beneficed colleagues who were given exemption on livings below

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[58] McGlynn, 'Bedfordshire Pensions', p. 49.

£5 per year. Prior to 1545 there had been no relief on ex-religious pensions, but from that year a floor of 40s was introduced, an improvement but still a charge many would have felt as a hardship.[59] John Ree would have been accustomed to losing 10% of his salary as he and his chantry post appeared in the Valor with a calculation for the king's 10ths, but the fees, and the possibility of extra charges regularly incurred, were new. For those of this study and their fellows across the kingdom who had held stipendiary posts without the security of benefice or its consequent tax qualification these liabilities would have been a serious consideration.

5.   NEW JOBS FOR OLD

Despite the difficulties that hung around them pensions, once paid, would provide some income, enabling life and living to continue, though frequently in reduced circumstances. John Ree's letter tells us that as schoolmaster, he kept his house; but where posts were gone so could house and home follow as already stressed. These are deprivations too easily disregarded, particularly where pensions appear to equal the stipends lost. Those priests who had tied accommodation had to find new living quarters; the 1549 sale of Hampton Lovett's chantry lands included the details of 'the chantry house', and its adjoining property 'lately in occ(upation) of John Hacket, inc(umbent) of late chantry'.[60] William Crowche's workbook for Hereford, notes that Robert Goodman paid the rent for a house which belonged to St Katherine's chantry in Hereford Cathedral on behalf of a chantry priest of the parish

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[59] McGlynn, 'Bedfordshire Pensions', p. 45.

[60] The chantry property was sold in April 1549 and the sale details include 'the chantry house', a dovehouse, barn, a little curtilage, a garden and an orchard adj [oining] lately in occ [upation] of John Hacket, inc [umbent] of late chantry. Sale of Chantry Lands to John Cupper & Richard Turvour of London, gentlemen, for £2050.13.9d, 10.4.1549, R.H. Brodie ed. *CPR* 3EdwardVI part VI pp. 391-397 mm5-7.

of St Martin and that Sir John Yadon, chantry priest of St George in the cathedral,
together with John Dornell (untitled), rented a house which belonged to the cathedral
chantry of Our Lady for 13s 4d per annum. These, and other examples in Crowche's
book, are examples of long-term, personal arrangements which would be lost or
require re-negotiating as a consequence of the dissolution and subsequent property
sales.[61]

As significant as these negotiations were likely to have been, the now
redundant priests must surely have been seeking out others; those related to new
employment. Though the source material for this evidence is varied and uneven, and
there are always the concerns about absolutely accurate identification of individuals
there is much to be extracted for later employment. Here, there is evidence for 187
(44.2%) of the 423 adult priests of the chosen surveys sharing 295 new posts in the
years between 1547 and 1584, inclusive of the thirty-six priests to whom
Augmentations awarded continuation. As before 1548, these figures demonstrate that
some were more successful than others as they equate to 1.57 jobs per man. Missing
from this figure is one of the 'high-flyers' mentioned in previous chapters, Hugh
Coren, whose career was qualitatively far above that of the rest of this cohort and has
been excluded from the subsequent analysis.[62]

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[61] TNA E301/26 Workbook of William Crowche – King's Augmentations Surveyor for Herefordshire,
p. 3r, entry 5- Robert Goodman, p. 1v-entry 2-Sir John Yadon and John Dornell. Rental and tenancy
negotiations were also, perhaps equally in some cases, important for the many lay people whose names
appear in these same accounts.

[62] Between 1548 and 1567, Coren became in 1553 Rector of Eaton Bishop, Prebend of Bartonshaw and
Keeper of Spiritualities for Hereford, in 1553 Queen's Chaplain and Rector of Lugwardine, in 1555
Archbishop of Dublin, in 1557 Lord Chief Justice of Ireland and in 1567 Bishop of Oxford. He died in
1568. As will be noted, others in this study did obtain cathedral or diocesan posts but not to the heights
of Coren. TNA E334/4 f. 119v 9.4.6E6, Eaton Bishop, E334/4 f. 91r 15.4.6E6, Prebend of Bartonshaw,
TNA E334/4 f. 95r, 17.5 1553 Lugwardine. See also Hugh Curwen (Coren)(*c.*1500–1568), *ODNB*. The
other senior figure previously commented on was Thomas Magnus who died in 1550 aged 84. He
appears in four of the Shropshire rolls for payment of his Bridgnorth pension and received pensions
from his previous endowments but though according to the DNB he was 'cultivated' by the new regime

5.1   Worthy To Continue

Given that the articles of the Commission provided for new or continuing appointments, it is of interest to look at the thirty-six who were fortunate enough to be given warrants to continue in their parishes. Table 5.4 Appendix III (p.367) shows the spread of age groups awarded posts and Table 5.5 (p.367) the awarded posts by county.

Since, as shown in chapter three, the majority of men in this study were aged between forty and sixty, it is to be expected that, unless age-specific preferences were being exercised, this group would reflect a similar pattern. As shown in Table 5.4, neither relative youth nor old age appears to have been a particular deterrent to holding on to employment, with two over-seventies included in the list. Familiarity with the parish and a report of being well-learned, of honest behaviour and good conversation probably mattered more in encouraging grants to continue in the same place and in the same or similar roles; that is as schoolmasters or curates.[63] Harking

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and Edward Seymour personally paid him an annuity, I have no records of new appointments. Thomas Magnus (1463/4–1550) *ODNB.*

[63] As noted later in this chapter, Edward Grove, Service Priest of St Katherine in Cheltenham was authorised to continue as schoolmaster which formalised a private arrangement with the parishioners and was in response to their pleading; E301/23 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire, certificate 53. What constituted worthiness to continue is difficult to extract. One might wonder whether a confessional indicator played a part in the appointment of a Coventry preacher if the two instances of the same name can be tied to the same man, George Fille, but it would be hard to pinpoint which confession and which indicator. George Fille, aged seventy, appeared in the survey as chaplain of Over Ettington in 1548 and had been Vicar of Weston on Avon at least 1518, both places neighbour Stratford on Avon. In 1548, a warrant was drawn up for Holy Trinity in Coventry stating that 'George Ffill shall have and enjoy the room of preacher there' with a handsome salary of £14.6.8. Ffill was replacing Baldwin Norton, named preacher in the 1548 survey, who was a close associate of Nicholas Heath (still at this date Bishop of Worcester) and had a substantial career mixing academia and the church. While there is evidence that he may have been a pensioner of the Guild of the Trinity (pension rolls show a George Ffille, cleric, having a Trinity pension or annuity) Fille does not appear in the 1548 certificates for Coventry and his age might be seen to preclude him from a preaching post. But, given that men of seventy and seventy –five were reappointed, his age and the 20-odd mile distance between

back to comments in chapter three on the possibility of chantry and service posts performing in lieu of old-age pensions, there is a suggestion that one of these two elderly appointments might have had a charitable side.[64] Thomas Keyling, aged seventy-five, was appointed to continue as schoolmaster of Bosbury, Herefordshire. Keyling, an ex-Benedictine monk from the house of Croxton in Staffordshire, received a good personal report in the survey though 'not able to ride or go for diseases', infirmities which, added to his age, would limit other employment chances but were not thought severe enough to prevent his keeping the school, and he did live for at least another six years.[65]

Analysis of the available evidence suggests that only one of those appointed continuation acquired a benefice during Edward's reign while two others became curates in next-door parishes, so even if this award was some sort of vote of theological confidence it was no guarantee of career progression.[66] From the years

Weston and Coventry might not have seemed a bar to the appointment, if he was a hale and suitable candidate with friends perhaps. It is also possible that his Over Ettington chapel had links with Coventry not now visible to us as examination of the post-dissolution property and lands grouped together for sale, shows that property belonging to Over Ettington was sold alongside that from chantries in both Trinity and St Michael's in Coventry (although this might be clutching at straws when trying to establish connections). If the commission was carrying out its remit to promote men suitable to meet the reforming objectives of the Crown then the deliberate selection of a 'newcomer' into the post should suggest a good match but there is no evidence to support such a process here. TNA E319/15 f.6- 20.7.1548, Appt of Fille as preacher in Holy Trinity, Coventry, Pension rolls, SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50;
SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo-1550-51; SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo-1551-52 – all describe Ffille as having a pension; LR6/123/1 H/S/Wa/Wo- 1552-53 calls it an annuity.
[64] See chapter three, p. 127 and fn. 51.
[65]Keyling's name appears in the list of Croxton monks granted dispensation to hold a benefice and change their habit on 6 Oct 1538. Chambers, *Faculty Register,* p. 151 The evidence for Keyling's continuing Bosbury employment is fragmentary, in addition to the warrant confirming his re-appointment, only one document remains which records payment: a sum of £4.3s 10d equivalent to two years pay, dated 1549-50 when his name is given as King, later documents record non-appearance. However, Morgan and Morgan note a warrant for Keyling in the Hereford Cathedral archives c1554, which states that he is aged 80 and of honest conversation, though the details of his post are incorrect. TNA E319/15 f.5 Warrants to Continue-Herefordshire 20.7.1548; SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50, mm. 16-31v, 46-51v, passim, Morgan and Morgan eds. *Pensioned Ex-religious and Priests – Hereford* p. 83.
[66] The single promotion was Richard Wheler, appointed to continue as schoolmaster in Ledbury, Herefordshire, a post he had held with the Service of the Trinity. Wheler became the vicar of Hartpury

after 1553, there is evidence for half of this group (eighteen) moving on from their original parishes and posts.[67] Of the remaining half, William Pyke, schoolmaster of Kinnersley, in Herefordshire became its rector in 1554. Though the document is missing, the record of the 1558 will of William Storrer of Eardisley, in Hereford's county archives describes him as vicar there. This appointment is likely to be Marian, since a 1550s (possibly 1554) certificate in Hereford describes him as a pensioner living in Eardisley but 'with no other certain living'.[68] Roger Dyos, formerly of the College of Stratford on Avon and appointed to continue as curate, falls into both halves: promoted to vicar of Stratford in November 1553, he resigned this post in 1559 and in 1562 become vicar of Little Bedwyn in Wiltshire.[69] Table 5.6 in Appendix III (p.367) shows the titles gained by these and their fellows following 1548.

Together with Storrer and Pyk, four other of the continuing schoolmasters succeeded in later employment. William Fownes of Bromsgrove did particularly

in Gloucestershire, about eleven miles outside Ledbury, in 1551. The two curates are Edward Grove, of Cheltenham and Shurdington Chapel in Badgeworth and Thomas Franklyn of Tewkesbury and Tredington who both appear in Bishop Hooper's 1551 survey of Gloucester clergy. TNA E334/4 f.73r 25.4.1551 (Wheler); J Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation of Gloucester', *EHR,* Vol. XIX, (1904) pp. 105,106.

[67] Another, Robert Coventrie, schoolmaster at Holy Trinity, Coventry, may have moved back to, if not home territory, at least familiar ground in Shropshire. A monk of this name had been ordained acolyte regular with a title from St Peter's, Shrewsbury in 1532 and received a pension on its dissolution which is recorded in one pension roll and also that drawn up for Cardinal Pole in 1556. Robert Morrys alias Coventrie was appointed to the rectory of Upton Magna, 6 miles from the Shrewsbury, in April 1553. TNA E334/5 Composition for First Fruits 1.4.7EVI.

[68] TNA E334/3 f202v, 11.10.1554, for Pyk's Composition for First Fruits, his institution appears in Bannnister's transcriptions of the Hereford Registers dated 12.9.1554, see Bannister, *Hereford* Institutions. For Storrer still resident in Eardisley, see Morgan & Morgan eds. *Pensioned Ex-religious and Priests – Hereford* p86. Storrer's will is now missing but is listed in the catalogue as follows, HRO ref 39/1/18, Will of William Storrer, Vicar of Eardisley, 1558.

[69] Roger Dyos, warrant to continue in Stratford on Avon 'to assist the cure', with a stipend of £6.13s 4d, TNA E319/15 f6, 20.7.1548; for appointment as vicar there, *CPR*, 1Mary part 2, no.865 3.11.1553; for appointment to Little Bedwyn see CCEd citing W&SRO, D5/1/2 (Institution Book), consulted 10.09.09 16.00; Robert Bearman, ' The Early Reformation Experience in a Warwickshire Town: Stratford upon Avon 1530-1580', *MH,* Vol. 32 (2007) pp. 68-109.

well, obtaining one vicarage and two rectories between 1556 and 1574.[70] John Roode

progressed from his Pembridge school to two vicarages in 1556 and 1562, as did

Richard Wheler of Ledbury who followed his 1551 vicarage of Hartpury (see fn. 66,

p.247) with that of Preston by Ledbury in 1554.[71] King's Norton's Henry Saunders

obtained his rectory in 1554 and, though deprived by November 1561, stayed in the

parish until his death in 1570.[72] As graduates, Fownes, Roode and Saunders were

perhaps always more likely to prosper, perhaps as examples of a desirable educated

clergy. In 1548, Fownes and Saunders were also amongst the youngest of this group

being thirty and forty respectively; Roode (estimated from ordination records) was

probably in his late fifties. Roode died about 1567 and Fownes in 1585, both in office

and with new parishes.[73] John Ree, though also a graduate, we know stayed with his

school and parish until his death in 1572.[74]

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[70] William Fownes (also Ffoynes/Fones) was vicar of Welland in 1556 and Rector of Hillcrombe in 1558-59 – the Liber Cleri of 1561 states he preaches sometimes in his churches and has two benefices (this and Welland); in 1574 he was collated to the rectory of Bredicot. Fownes died in 1585 and was replaced in Hillcrombe by Richard Fownes MA - they were probably related, see CCEd Person ID: 66513 – for Welland and Hillcrombe cites CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey), for Bredicot cites LPL, Parker's Register (Register) pp. 1128-9. Barret noted that Fownes only apparently received formal dispensation to hold Welland and Hillcrombe in 1560. See D M Barrett, *The Condition of the Parish Clergy between the Reformation and 1660 – the dioceses of Oxford, Worcester and Gloucester* unpublished D.Phil thesis (University of Oxford 1949) p. 149.

[71] Roode was appointed to the vicarage of Lyonshall in Herefordshire, by Philip and Mary, 17.10.1554 *CPR* Letters of Presentation 1&2 P&M part XII p.252; Compounded for First Fruits on 17.10.1554 E334/6 p. 36v**.** His second appointment was to Peterstow, Herefordshire, on 17.9.1562, Bannister *Hereford Institutions*, p.15, assumed dead by 1567 at which date Thomas Jevyns is recorded as Rector in residence, CCEd Record ID: 155818, CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey) 1567, last consulted 7.3.2010.

[72] Oldberrow rectory is recorded as vacant in November 1561 and September 1563, but with no reason given. In August 1565 Geoffrey Heath was inducted into the rectory on the deprivation of Henry Saunders. For Saunders appointment see WRO 732.4/2337/4 1553-54 Davenport 214 for Saunders to Ullebeogh (Oldberrow) 13.6.1554 and own bond as Harry Saunders of King's Norton; for Oldberrow vacancies see CCEd Record ID: 14849*3* CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey) November 1561, CCEd Record ID: 199326 20.9.1563; for Saunders' deprivation and Heath's institution see CCEd Record ID: 132972 and WRO 732.6-BA.2511.

[73] Roode's second appointment was to Peterstow, Herefordshire, on 17.9.1562, Bannister *Hereford Institutions*. p.15, assumed dead by 1567 at which date Thomas Jevyns is recorded as Rector in residence, CCEd Record ID: 155818, CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey) 1567, last consulted 7.3.2010. Fownes was holding two rectories at the time of his death in 1585, Hill Crombe which he had since before 1561 and Bredicot to which he was appointed in 1574, CCEd Person ID: 66513, last consulted 7.3.2010.

[74] Ree's career is discussed earlier in this chapter; see pp. 241-242. His graduate status is described as 'in art. bac' (BA) on his appointment to the chapel of Hampton Wafer on 23 Jan 1530/31, Bannister, *Hereford Diocese – Bothe's Register* p. 345. John Ree's burial (as 'scholemeister') is recorded in the

5.2   New Posts –When And Where

The high number of name occurrences relative to actual individuals emphasises that some men were fortunate enough to obtain more than one position. The pattern of appearance in employment, when first or successive posts might have been taken through all reigns, is shown in Tables 5.7and 5.8 in Appendix III (p. 368) with Table 5.8 providing more detail for the immediate and critical years of Edward's reign. It was after all during these years that all clergy had to settle to living and working within what appeared to be the new order even if the detail was still to be settled and the situation still dynamic: ex-purgatory priests also had to accustom themselves to their changed economic circumstances and status.

Over 60% of this identified group, 118 priests appear in changed or continued employment in the new reign, providing evidence for over a quarter (27.89%) of the adult members of the study group seeking and finding work in the environment of dissolution and throughout Edward's reign.   Of those appointed between 1547 and 1553, thirty-eight appear to have stayed where they were, perhaps maintaining an association with their original parish or changing parish within the same city or town. Death cut short later potential career moves for five of the early re-employed group who did not live to see Mary gain the throne. Fifty-one names occur after Mary's accession, apparently obtaining their first formal posts since dissolution.   In Elizabeth's reign, a further eighteen names appear for whom no earlier employment records have been found, (see Table 5.7).

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parish registers of Rock on 26.12.1572. See WRO, C F R Potter, (ed), Parish *Registers of Rock* Vol. 1-
1547-1812, (unpublished and transcription). For a concise chronology of Ree's career, see Appendix V,
pp.384-385.

Experience shows that care has to be taken when examining such statistics for any suggestion of trends and patterns. One view of the tables could be that 1551 offers some proof of adjustment. The numbers appearing in Table 5.8, where the largest number of employed priests occurs in 1551, hints at a bedding-down of the new regime. This was, after all, the fourth year of the new reign, a point by which the idea of a king who was not Henry was less strange and Edward at thirteen may have seemed less of a child. Furthermore, the major high-profile political changes to church and liturgy were complete and there was a hiatus before the publication of the second Book of Common Prayer in 1552, clerical marriage was now a legal entity, enrolled on the statute books since 1549 and joined in 1551 by the statute which confirmed legal status for children born within clerical marriage. However, the majority of the evidence for 1551 comes from Gloucester and the survey that Bishop Hooper carried out to establish the quality of the priests in his diocese.[75] Most of those listed relevant to this study are unbeneficed: seventeen curates and three stipendiaries, another three were perpetual curates, two titles are not known, four were rectors and another a vicar, indicating that when wider evidence is available, considerable numbers of these clerics were continuing as jobbing priests.

One perpetual curate in Hooper's list was Stephen Pole (sometimes Poole) who appeared twice: as perpetual curate in Cheltenham and as minister (curate) in St Michael's, Gloucester. Against the Cheltenham record is the comment that Pole had been examined before in St Michael's, which, given his past history, is likely to have been his preferred place of residence. In previous years, Pole had held various posts

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[75] James Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation of Gloucester', *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 19, (1904) pp. 98-121; D.G. Newcombe, 'The Visitation of The Diocese Of Gloucester and the State of the Clergy', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society,* Vol. 114, (1996) pp.87-96.

at curate level which, though they might appear in the records serially, he may have served in plural and continued in the same vein after 1548. In 1534 (the year of Cranmer's visit to Bristol following the Latimer controversy) Pole was a curate in the church of St Nicholas there. By 1540 he was curate in St Michael's, Gloucester (where it was noted that 'he receives 1st fruits and pays himself' implying a perpetual post). In 1545 he appears as curate of Newent, also Gloucestershire, and in 1548 he was back in St Michael's, now as a service priest holding St John's Service for which he was awarded a pension of £4. Caroline Litzenberger, in her work on 'the Gloucestershire laity', describes St Michael's parish as one that responded 'promptly and conscientiously' to the new ways so perhaps it is no surprise that a cleric who had a close association with the parish was able to do well in Hooper's exam.[76] In the examination, Pole answered all questions fully, he knew the Ten Commandments and the book and chapter in which they could be found in the Bible, he repeated the Articles of Faith and gave a full answer for the Lord's Prayer, reciting it from memory, saying that he knew it to be the Lord's prayer because 'it was delivered by Christ to his Apostles and written in Matthew chapter VI'.[77]

Hooper's survey suggests another of the redundant priests was managing more than one relatively low-level post: Edward Grove recorded as curate of the Chapel of Shurdington in Badgeworth. Unlike Stephen Pole, Grove, though he knew both book and chapter for the Commandments, could not repeat them, he knew but could not

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[76] Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire 1540-1580*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, 1997), p. 1

[77] If an evangelical, Pole might have been influenced by his time in Bristol, furthermore both the Vicar he supported in Newent in 1545, John Warde, and the 1551 Rector of St Michael's, Nicholas Oldsworth, were deprived in 1554. For Pole in Bristol see Clerical Subsidy lists 1534 WRO Acts Book794.011/2513/1/i Nov. 1530-Oct. 1537 and in Gloucester, WRO 802/2764 c.1520-c.1541- Acts Book of Bishop John Bell pp. 77-105, p. 269. TNA E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire certificate 23, Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation' pp. 101.105, G Baskerville, 'Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester under Bishop Hooper', *EHR,* Vol. XLIV, (1929) pp. 1-32.

prove the Articles of Faith, but could recite and prove the Lord's Prayer, so was just about satisfactory.[78] Although not noted in the survey, Grove might also have been the schoolmaster of the same name in Cheltenham at this date, three miles away from Shurdington Chapel. Serving as St Katherine's priest in 1548, Grove had subsequently been appointed to continue as schoolmaster there with a stipend of £5. This was after the successful plea of the parishioners who had stated that 'by special covenant with the parishioners Edward Grove has taught their children' and that 'Cheltenham is a market town (having) much youth in need of teaching'; it would be interesting to know how his performance in the examination chimed with his qualities as a teacher. [79]

6.   <u>MOVING ON – NEW POSTS AND PLACES</u>

The above discussion has shown that employment was still to be found quite close to home (accepting the 1548 locations of chantries and services as 'home'), but others did look further afield, moving on or becoming absentee incumbents for distant parishes. This dissolution removed a key source of employment, both permanent and temporary, which must have encouraged migration and the exploitation of networks and connections. Migration could mean a wider move within familiar territory, a not too distant parish, the same diocese or county but could mean new areas entirely: William Deane of the Kalendars in Bristol was curate of St Margaret's Fish Street in London by 1552; Roland Lymell, lately employed as preacher of the Corporation Chantries in St Leonard's, Bridgnorth, was one of those noted above (see p. 227, fn.

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[78] Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation', p106.
[79] Grove was paid his stipend as schoolmaster regularly until 1552-1553 but is missing from Cardinal Pole's list of 1555-56. TNA E301/23/Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire, certificate 53b, SC6/EDWVI/707,Glos - 1547-48: mm. 54v-61 & 63v – authorisation to continue as schoolmaster.

20) who found advancement early as Rector of Beckingham in Lincolnshire; Nicholas Saunders alias Malvern, ex-religious of Evesham and formerly chantry priest of Our Lady in Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire, was appointed Rector of Mundford in Norfolk in 1556.

Deane, instituted to the Kalendars in 1527, may have been resident in the London for some time. The certificates for Henry VIII's survey of 1546 record that tolerance had been given for one of the priests to be non-resident due to the 'decay' of the Guild's income and, unusually for this survey, his two fellow priests are named.[80] As with others, no later movements are known for Deane apart from noting that he collected his pension until 1553 and appears in Pole's list written up in 1556.   How Roland Lymell came upon his Lincolnshire post is also not known: he appears to have been from a Bridgnorth family and at his ordination in 1524 his title was from Buildwas monastery.[81] Perhaps it was the diocese rather than the county that was relevant here as the pension he was in receipt of at the time of his Bridgnorth post was linked to the church of Chearsley (in Buckinghamshire and thus in the diocese of Lincoln). What service was required of him in Chearsley is not known, but presumably he had to do this in tandem with his preaching in Bridgnorth almost 100

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[80] WRO 716-093 BA2648 Reg.Ghinnuci, fo30v and Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, Appendix 1, p. 165 for Deane's institution, 8.5.1527, E305/21 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire certificate 65, for non-residence, his colleagues were Richard Wall and Nicholas Harris who are also recorded with Deane and Thomas Silke (Master of the Guild) in 1548. Baskerville, 'Dispossessed Religious of Gloucester', *TBGAS*, Vol. 49, 1927, pp. 63-122, and Baskerville, 'Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese, 1555-part 2' *EHR*, Vol. 49, (1933), pp. 227-228, TNA E101/76/14 6EDWVI Commission & Returns as to monastic and chantry pensions (Gloucester), E164/31, 2&3 Phil and Mary, Cardinal Pole's Pensions List.

[81] Roland Lymell was ordained priest at Rugeley, Staffordshire, Coventry and Lichfield diocese, 24 Sept 1524 with entitlement from Buildwas Abbey. The family connection with Bridgnorth is provided by a Bond between a weaver of Bridgnorth named Thomas Lymell and Lilleshall Abbey in 1498.   One might even want to speculate on the possibility of a very close relationship between Thomas and Roland. 'Demise by Robert Fitzjohn, the abbot, and the convent, of St. Mary's, Lilleshull, to Thomas Lymell of Brugenorth, ' "wever",' 13Henry VII, bond number C. 3454. H. C. Maxwell Lyte ed. *A Descriptive Catalogue Of Ancient Deeds* Vol. 3 (London: Printed for HMSO by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1900) pp. 363-374. URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk, date accessed: 18.03.2010.

miles distant or pay a deputy. However he managed these duties, two Bridgnorth neighbours, gentlemen Nicholas Holte and Fulco Lee, thought enough of him to stand surety when he was appointed to his Beckingham rectory in August 1548.[82]

Nicholas Saunders stayed in Bourton on the Water until 1551-52 as he was examined as part of Bishop Hooper's review of his Gloucestershire clergy. The Rector of Bourton was non-resident and examined in London, Saunders was described as 'minister' (curate) and was not unsatisfactory in his replies: as with Edward Grove above, Saunders knew in which biblical book and chapter the Ten Commandments could be found, but could not repeat them, conversely he could repeat but not prove the creed but could do both for the Lord's Prayer. Saunders, though both his ex-religious history and his Gloucestershire post would suggest Midlands roots, had moved to Norfolk by 1554-55 as he appeared in the survey of chantry priests and ex-religious of that date which acknowledged both his monastic and chantry past and described him as 'an honest man and never married' living in Kenninghall. His move from Gloucestershire to Kenninghall may have been over the greater distance (139 miles) but his peripatetic career was not completely over. If Kenninghall was his

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[82] Having acquired his benefice, which was assessed at over £40 per year, Lymell then appears in the records in February and March 1549 leasing the tithes of Beckingham to William Rigges, the Augmentations auditor for Lincolnshire. The 1549 agreement between the two is outlined in a bond and demise for lease of the tithes for the parsonage of 'Bekyngham' in which Rigges agrees to pay £30 per year from 'St. Mark's day next for twenty-one years', 'over and besydes the fyndyng of one honeste preste or curate at Stragylthorpe aforesaide'. Lymell collected his £5 annually from 1548 until 1554-1556 but does not appear in Pole's list written up in 1556. His successor in Beckingham was in place by 1561 and was non-resident. A12721 and A12727 H. C. Maxwell Lyte ed. *A Descriptive Catalogue Of Ancient Deeds* Vol. 5 (London: Printed HMSO by Mackie & Co., 1906) pp. 366-386 URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=64450 Date accessed: 18 March 2010. TNA E334/4 f13v Composition Book, Lymell to Beckingham, 25.8.2E6, and Hodgett, *Ex-religious and Chantry Priests – Lincoln* p. 120, TNA SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo (1548-49) mm. 21v-39v, 56v-64v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo (1549-50) mm. 16-31v, 46-51v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo (1550-51) mm. 16-30, 43-48v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo (1551-52) mm. 16-28v, 42v-48v; TNA LR6/123/1 H/S/Wa/Wo- 1552-53 mm. 19-31v, 45v-52v;
TNA SC6/PHil&Mary/492 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1M & 1&2 P&M (1553 &1554-1555);
TNA SC6/PHil&Mary/493 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1&2 & 2&3P&M-1&2(1554-1555)& 2&3P&M (1555-1556).

home base at the date of the Norfolk pension survey, Saunders' 1556 rectory of Mundford was another seventeen miles distant. Furthermore at his death later in 1556, aged only forty-eight, Saunders was buried in Snettisham, thirty miles from Mundford and forty-one miles away from Kenninghall. The account of Saunders in the pension survey also adds to the earlier discussion on pension collection and it is perhaps fortunate that he was not averse to travelling, since it states that his chantry pension was paid twice a year 'in London'.[83]

Tables 5.9 and 5.10 in Appendix III, (p.369) indicate where new posts and new titles were found and the category of the new roles, (see also Table 5.7 on p.368). These show 136 individuals taking up 190 titles, twenty-four of which were Cathedral based, while just over 40% the remaining 166 titles (seventy places, 42.16%) were in parishes within ten miles of their holder's 1548 starting point. A further thirty-eight, 22.89%, were between ten and under twenty miles distant and another twenty-eight, 16.86%, between twenty and thirty miles away. For the rest, eighteen titles occur between thirty and thirty-nine miles from the survey location, with the rest spread widely from forty to 190 miles. Amongst those who looked farther away, Saunders may be atypical of those who actually moved into or nearer their new parishes but he was far from alone in moving on or accepting posts elsewhere. John Lewes, simply recorded as 'celebrant' earning £1.11.9 in St Mary's Church, Ryton, Shropshire, in 1548, may have become Rector of the farthest flung parish, Elstead, in Surrey in 1550. Certainly one John Lloyd, gentleman of Oswestry just eight miles from

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[83] For Saunders, see Baskerville, 'Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese 1555', *EHR* Vol48 part 2 (April 1933) pp. 227-228.

Ruyton, supported the Rector of Elstead as surety for the payment of First Fruits, evidence at least of a Shropshire link.[84]

This data suggests a preference for familiar territory but it could equally suggest ease of access to information via local family, social or professional networks: it must have been easier to become aware of potential or actual vacancies within the local hinterland and a priest who had long served the parish would be in a good position to progress. It has already been stated above that three of those authorised to continue by Augmentations in 1548 eventually advanced to vicarages and rectories, but there were others who having chosen to stay in their parish reaped local rewards. In King's Norton, John Butler, there since at least 1546 when he witnessed a local will, was certainly curate when he signed the Inventory of Church Goods in 1552 and has elsewhere been described as becoming vicar in the same year.[85] Edward Toye, chantry priest of St Nicholas in Cleobery Mortimer from 1532, was still there in 1552 when he witnessed a local will, appointed vicar in March 1553, he died there in 1558.[86]

Higher up the social and diocesan scale, Robert Grynsell, vicar choral in Hereford Cathedral in 1535 and then chantry priest in the chapel of St Katherine, was

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[84] John Lewes compounded for First Fruits for the rectory of 'Elstede' in Surrey with sureties from John Lloyd 'generosous' of Oswestry, Shropshire and John Enyon, Baker, of St Martins in [unclear], London, on 19.10.4E6 (1550). TNAE334/4 Compositions Book 1547-1554.

[85] For Butler, as priest, WRO Wills of Worcestershire, Vol. V no 512 p. 204 Will of William Gardefilde; as curate, H M Grant and E A B Barnard, 'The parish & church of Kingsnorton: being some record of recent documentary researches', *TWAS,* New Series, Vol. II (1925) pp. 123-145; as Vicar, J E Vaughan, *'Some Account of the Parish church & ancient Grammar School of King's Norton'*, (Gloucester: The British Publishing Company, 1967).

[86] Toye was appointed as chantry priest in Cleobury on, 20.1.1531/32, Hamilton Thompson, 'Shropshire Chantry Certificates-Notes' pp. 127-128. He also occurs as a witness (and possible scribe) of a local will, see Faraday, MA and Cole, E J L *Hereford Probates, Administrations and Wills 1407-1581* (London: British Record Society, 1989)*,* ref 552/39 - Will of John Seward of Chaterton, Cleobury, 10.12.1552 - witness Edward Toye, clerk. As Vicar see TNA E334/4 f93r Composition Book 11.3.1553 and Toye's own will is in HRO ref: 41/2/15 dated 15.4.1558. Toye's replacement in Cleobury was appointed on 10.5.1558.

prebendary of Colwall in the Cathedral in 1561 and shortly afterwards became Archdeacon of Shropshire. That he was patently a cathedral resident until his death in 1579 did not prevent him holding the vicarage of Lydney in Gloucestershire from 1554 and rectory of Hampton Bishop in Herefordshire from 1558: all his posts were in the diocesan gift, either from the Bishop or the Dean and Chapter.[87]

6.1　Stipendiaries And Curates

Though Hooper's list and other evidence shows that ex-purgatory priests could and did obtain secure titles, a number stayed working in the lower reaches of the clerical infrastructure as unbeneficed curates and stipendiaries. Points that can be made about this group are a preference for known locations and no perceived change in status for those whose survey employment was in stipendiary, service posts.

Of the fourteen former chantry and service priests found holding fifteen stipendiary posts, thirteen had been kept on in their earlier parishes, one found work in a neighbouring parish and another, William Wylson, may appear twice: as stipendiary in the parish of Beckford in May 1548 and stipendiary in Painswick in 1551, both of which are some distance away from his 1548 Cirencester starting point.

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[87] Grynsull's chantry post is only known from the pension documentation as he was omitted from the chantry certificates. He appears in the Acts book of the Dean and Chapter being appointed as one of the cathedrals collectors in 1547. Grynsull's appointment to Lydney is dated 20.6.1554 and his appointment to Hampton Bishop 7.7.1558. His prebend of Colwall was gained on 20.9.1561. In addition to these records, Grynsull appears in others, in the 1554 pension warrants of the Cathedral archives, twice in the Elizabethan warrants (1562 and 1566) and as the executor of the will of one of his Hampton Bishop parishioners. Grynsull was resident in the Cathedral until his death in 1579. Bayliss, *Acts of the Dean and Chapter- Hereford,* entry 744; to Lydney, TNA E334/4 f169r 20.6.1554; to Hampton Bishop, CPR/LP 5&6 P&M pII p405 7.7.1558; to Colwall TNA E334/7p132v 20.9.1561, Morgan and Morgan eds. *Pensioned Ex-religious and Priests – Hereford* p. 82; TNA LR5/23 warrant 208 29.Dec.4Eliz which is in his name only and LR5/23 warrant 413 - 24 Nov 8Eliz in which he is listed with all the Cathedral pensioners.

Only two of this group have been found moving on to beneficed employment elsewhere.

Of the much larger number who took on curacies (fifty-five men taking up fifty-nine posts), four as already mentioned stepped up to become vicar or rector of their home parish, eight others became vicars elsewhere and two moved on to outside rectories. Almost half (twenty-five) stayed *in situ,* another nine found posts within five miles of 'home' and three within seven and thirteen miles. The remainder found curacies in more distant parishes between twenty and thirty miles away, but one James Welford appears to have moved over fifty miles from his Herefordshire location of Marden to become curate in Uley in Gloucestershire.[88] This group shows overall little career progression: removing the few who later became vicars and rectors still leaves the greater number as unbeneficed curates, perhaps for the remainder of their career.   The same is likely to be true for those men who have not found their way into the later employment records but who, with their fellows, might need to draw on other sources of available income and support.

6.2   Making An Unbeneficed Living – Clerical And Lay Ways And Means

The possibilities for making an unbeneficed living were raised in the last chapter but similar choices existed for those seeking employment after the final round of dissolutions, and may have had greater urgency. Peter Marshall, in his work on the Catholic clergy and the English Reformation, described various perspectives from

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[88] Jas. (James?) Welford was examined as minister (curate) of Uley in Gloucestershire in Hooper's visitation of 1551. His rector, Mr Henry Wyllys was said to have been examined before, so is likely to have been an absent pluralist, resident elsewhere. Welford knew the number and place of the Ten Commandments, could repeat the Articles of Faith though 'not one of them can he confirm by Scripture' and was 'satisfactory' as to the Lord's Prayer. Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation', pp. 118-119.

which a priest's role might be viewed within local society at that time. Marshall refers to some of the 'mundane services', for which priests could additionally be paid, noting, fairly, that it would be 'facile' to believe that this type of monetary relationship encouraged disrespect for the priesthood. Marshall further suggests that this was because of the high value placed on priestly functions, which enabled priests to be employed in the first place while corporate or lay control of parish finances 'promoted a strong expectation of value for money'.[89] Though 'competently learned' these were not the educated, graduate clergy promoted in the Elizabethan years, a number are likely to have risen from ranks similar to that of the parishioners they were serving - they may have grown up in that same parish. So that while 'value for money', their exploitation as a resource, might have characterised one part of the relationship, participation in pragmatic everyday tasks might also be encouraged (certainly complicated) by a sense on both sides of personal and parochial commitment. Priest and parish relations could also be further rationalised by ideas of support for the 'commonwealth' of the parish and the negotiations that the management of this, in its spiritual and earthly aspects, demanded.

The availability of ad hoc earnings from obits, anniversaries and 'minds' was gone but other clerical and lay opportunities remained. For the years pre and post the 1548 dissolution, churchwarden accounts display a wide range of services provided by priests; Sir William Burroughs, a priest in the parish of St Martin's, Leicester, supported his church and himself through his services as a clockmender, organ maker as well as buying books and writing documents, for all of which he received payment

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[89] Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood,* p.199.

between 1544-1556.[90]   The most frequent service occurring as extra-clerical employment is, perhaps unsurprisingly, written work of some description, such as making an inventory, writing a letter, and copying parish registers. For some, it appears to have been a one-off occurrence; for others it was a regular supplement to their income as payments for writing services appear year on year.[91]   These are examples of the possible alternatives from which priests could and did draw an income and to which pensioned priests could turn to in the place of more formal employment. It may be due to personal survival as well as the vagaries of evidence but 55% of the priests here do not reappear in later records; ad hoc locum work as a curate might not make the record books and benefices had never been easy to obtain (the figures quoted in chapter three are evidence of that) - poverty must have been the experience for some, perhaps many.

7.   **CLERICAL POVERTY**

Clerical poverty was not new, with demand for places exceeding supply; furthermore, poorly paid benefices and meagre stipends had always been a problem.[92]   In addition to the formal college, chantries and survey posts the 1548 survey recorded all the lesser endowments - the small sums of money, stocks of cattle and pieces of

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[90] North, *Churchwarden Accounts of St Martin's, Leicester,* pp. 7-76.

[91] Sir Richard Cupper, had a long career in the parish church of Ludlow, (Marshall notes his receiving a pair of gloves from the churchwardens in 1545) but from 1554 he was Preacher there and from 1559 Reader. However, each year from 1563 until 1572 (possibly the year he died) Cupper was paid 2s 'for keeping our books'. In addition in 1569 he received two additional payments of 2s 'for a copy of the register book of the parish of Ludlow containing weddings, christenings and burials in years past to be delivered unto the bishop at his visitation'. Thomas Wright ed. *Churchwardens' accounts of the town of Ludlow, in Shropshire: from 1540 to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth,* (London: Camden Society, 1869) Vol. 102.

[92] Chapter three above, p. 131 and fn. 104 discussed the augmentation of vicarages with chantries to bring them up to an adequate level, see also Heath, *English Parish Clergy* pp. 135-174, Cooper, *Last Generation,* pp. 114-127, Skeeters, *Community and Clergy* chapters 5 and 6 on Bristol and poor and vacant livings.

land which were left for lights, lamps, obits and priests. Shropshire for example, had sixty-one smaller endowments, of which twenty-four specifically supported a priest.[93] There is the likelihood that having a regular income such as pension would have enabled an individual to accept a living of a poorer standard than the norm: as long as the patron was not the king or queen, the pension would be retained: William Marbury's acceptance of his Peterchurch vicarage may be just such a case.[94] But even the combination of a small living and a pension was no guarantee of an adequate income. Thomas Dayos (alias Diason/Dyason), reporting to the authorities in 1554, made a plea for a better living. Dayos had a pension of £1.10s.10d and a small rectory of £3 per annum, he had never married and it was said 'hath ben knowen and of a good conv'sation w'in this dioc' all the dayes of his lieff (desyring you of some better p'motion) for the love of god or ells I shall not be (hable to lyve)'.[95] After 1548, clerical poverty is likely to have been a greater fear for this group: aggravated not only by a reduction in cash income but also access to other forms of subsistence that mattered at a time of high prices.[96]

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[93] The corresponding figures for all counties here are Gloucestershire 1/158, Herefordshire 13/47, Shropshire 24/61 Warwickshire 0/21 Worcestershire 0/45. This aspect of the endowment culture is one I hope to return to at a later date. These smaller investments, though less grand than the chantry and service foundations that supported priests were not less grand in their intentions because they were funded more humbly. Whether as expressions of faith or fear, they are in many ways, more evocative of the hold which the doctrine of purgatory had upon the parishioners and worthy of more consideration.

[94] For Marbury's Peterchurch vicarage, see chapter three, p. 134 fn. 78.

[95] Dayos had been Service Priest of Our Lady in Lyonshall in Herefordshire and had acquired the rectory of Willersley in 1553. In 1554 Dayos claimed that this was 'in the gift of Mistress Harvard' though elsewhere his patron is named as Rowland Lacon, but whichever is correct this appointment was not made by the King and did not affect his pension rights, he could and did legitimately claim that he had 'no other living'. The pleading words shown in brackets have apparently been crossed out, perhaps they were not considered appropriate at that date (likely to be the collection of pension information for Mary and Cardinal Pole). The last pension payment found for him is dated 6.10.1567, no other appointments have been found for him and he was still rector of Willersley in the same year. There is a will and inventory listed in Hereford Record Office for Sir William Dyason, rector of Willersley dated 29.10.1570, who is probably the same man. TNA E334/4 f.121v, Dayos to Willersley, 12.6.1553; Morgan and Morgan eds. *Pensioned Ex-religious and Priests – Hereford* p. 81; TNA LR5/23 warrant 387 dated 6.10.1567; Faraday and Cole, *Hereford Probate, Administration and Wills* ref 570/5 Will of Sir William Dyason, infra Rector of Willey (Willersley).

[96] The two chantry priests of Hampton Lovett lost not only their posts and accommodation but also the allowance they had had for new clothes once a year, which could be of the same colour provided this

References throughout this thesis to the details of chantry sales have raised the possibility of serious consequences from the loss of these practical aids to subsistence. Nicholas Saunders was still in Bourton on the Water in 1551-2, but the chantry property, including 'the mansion and messuage of the chantry', had been sold as early as August 1548. Philip Horsham, ex-monk of Little Malvern and priest of the chantry of Our Lady in Eldersfield in Worcestershire, appears to have lost considerable property and control when his chantry's lands were sold to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick in May 1548. The details of the sale include 'the messuage call le Chauntry House and a dove house annexed and cottage called le Hernage in Eldersfield and the arable lands [twenty-six acres] in the field of Pendoke, Worcs in the personal management of Philip Horsham, clerk, late chantry priest of the late chantry of Eldersfield'.[97] Though he appears regularly in the pension rolls up to and including Pole's list, the only evidence for post-1548 employment for Horsham is in 1551.[98] It is hard to be exact in these matters but perhaps Horsham, as others must have done, had found permanent or semi-permanent unbeneficed employment there. Whether this was adequate compensation for the loss of the 26 acres of arable and other properties that he personally managed must be questioned.

Experiences such as these can be rehearsed both for other priests in this study and surely for others across the kingdom. There is also evidence of support from local

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was not red or green, (apparently prohibited to the clergy by a Lateran decree of 1215). Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, pp. 237, 245.

[97] Brodie ed. *CPR 2EdwardVI* partV, 17.8.1548, pp. 41-43.

[98] A Philip Horsham was minister (curate) in Arlingham a parish of 254 houseling people in Gloucester diocese and was included in Hooper's survey. He knew there were Ten Commandments and their Exodus chapter but could not repeat them as they appeared there, he knew the creed but could not confirm its source, he was satisfactory on the Lord's Prayer; he knew it and the gospel but not the chapter. However, I have found ordination records for two men of this name so this is another example of wary identification. Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation', p. 102.

parishes for clerics who found themselves in need. The churchwarden accounts of St Martin's in Leicester record payments made on the authority of the chief men of the parish to poor priests. A list of payments to the poor made between 1546-48 includes the names of Sir John Whyte and Sir Robert Bysshope who received 4d and 8d respectively who, the editor of the accounts suggests, were disendowed chantry priests. In 1550 Sir Richard Pedder received 5s 'at the commandment of Mr Mayor'.[99]

Though anti-clerical views existed and failing priests were recognised in consistory courts and sermons, these records show a desire to help those in need and to assist poor priests. This inclination, though in line with Cranmer's injunctions on charity, was no doubt encouraged by parochial relationship and personal knowledge of the men involved. The employment evidence shows us those staying in or close to their survey locations, frequently in the roles which provided everyday support to parishioners: others not found in the records must have made similar choices, or had no choice, whether or not they found formal work. The support given to John Ree, with the confirmation that he was still teaching, was noted earlier, and certainly another continuing schoolmaster, John Basternall, of Bromyard, also appears to have had cause to be grateful to his parishioners. Still in post in 1554, Basternall was said to be 'of honest fame and never married' despite the entry in Bromyard's parish register of July 1551 which notes the birth of 'Catherine, daughter of Alice Hornward and as is said Sir John Bastengall priest'.[100] Lay willingness to assist them in

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[99] In this context, the return to work of John Sherman in 1557 noted by Skeeters is worth highlighting. Aged seventy-six when he lost his low-paid chantry in the Temple church in Bristol, his pension matched his stipend but, at £2.16s 8d, he would have needed another income, so obtaining a curacy in St Ewen's church in 1557 at the age of eighty-five would have provided some relief. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy*, p. 90, North ed., *Churchwarden Accounts of St Martin's, Leicester,* pp. 26-28, 49.

[100] 30 July 1551, 'Catherine, daughter of Alice Hornward and as is said Sir John Bastengall priest', HRO AM31/13 Bromyard Parish Register, Vol. 1, 1538-1620, Baptisms, p. 26.

extremity may have arisen from the shared experience of a standard and style of living close to their own.   It might also be an acknowledgement of a priest's earlier prayers for the souls of local men and women and their role in the parish's spiritual health as an integral part of the Christian realm and commonwealth.

8.   MOVING ON - SUCCESS AND FAILURE

To succeed in a clerical career at this period required individuals to manage their personal responses to the reformation efforts of the current regime. Decisions for purgatory priests vis-à-vis their roles and employment were made for them by Edward and his government. How they reacted after this date was down to them, their personal circumstances and the strength of their response to the new religious framework.   William Weston's apparent refusal to accept his continuation appointment may be evidence on behalf of those who did not wish to actively serve in a reformed church. But genuine evangelical enthusiasm and a willingness to work within the new world existed.   Though its formal introduction was being change-managed by government, the theological belief that underlay the Reformation was not its creation nor in its sole possession. This was fortunate for the faith itself, since it did not depend for its life or persistence on association with one person: Henry VIII's mood swings did not remove evangelicalism or evangelicals from his realm. Neither did Mary's accession in July 1553 but Edward VI's premature death did stop the continued promotion and extension of the implemented reforms into the final, formative stage demanded by successful change methodology.[101] This was the

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[101] For my discussion of the stages of implementation see chapter one above, pp. 31-44.

vulnerability of the regime's programme: it was also the weak spot in the careers of those who had embraced the Edwardine church.

Richard Benson of Herefordshire, ex-chantry priest of Ludlow (in Shropshire but Hereford diocese), followed a career formed from a background of good traditional connections that may have been finally tempered by evangelical sympathies: Benson did not manage to retain his posts through a change of monarch. The Benson links to various livings (in Ludlow, Richard's Castle and Kinnersley) that appear to have been part of the family 'inheritance' were referred to earlier but there were others. If identification is correct, then the Richard Benson of this study, of Beupie's Chantry in Ludlow, was the nephew and executor of Richard Benson, a residentiary canon of Hereford Cathedral, whose death between October 1548 and February 1549 created a vacancy which nephew Benson could fill.[102] This was the vicarage of Shinfield with Swallowfield, 150 miles away in Berkshire, a church that had long been in the hands of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral as rectors. Richard Benson (junior), then curate of Richard's Castle, where Benson senior was rector, had acted as surety when the latter was appointed to Shinfield in 1543: Benson junior then received the appointment in his turn in March 1549.[103] There is further evidence for Benson junior's appointment to this post because he had also been rector of Kinnersley since 1544 and now appears in the Faculty Office Registers on 2 March 1549 being awarded dispensation 'to hold another benefice or two with or without

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[102] Will of Richard Benson, Canon of Hereford Cathedral, 16.10.1548, TNA PROB 11/32/361/269 Register-Populwell. See also above, chapter 4, pp. 199, fn. 77.
[103] Richard Benson - cleric of Richard's Castle, Herefordshire acts as surety with William Charnock, gentleman, of St Sepulchre, London for Richard Benson (senior) as Vicar of Shinfield with Swallowfield, Berkshire. TNA E334/2 f. 45r– 30.4.1543; see also above, chapter 4, pp. 198-199, fns 75, 76,77. For Richard Benson junior's Shinfield appointment see TNA E334/4 f. 23v 2.3.3E6. For the relationship of parish with Hereford Cathedral, see P H Ditchfield and William Page eds. *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 3 VCH* 1923 pp. 261-274.

cure without that of Kinnersley', a privilege for which he paid 7s.2d: 2 March 1549 is also the date which appears in the composition book recording his Berkshire appointment.[104]   Benson also intended to make full use of this dispensation as in July 1553, at the point of Edward VI's death and the resolution of Mary's accession, he also obtained the Herefordshire vicarage of Dorstone.   At this point, under the new regime, Benson's clerical career faltered and he was deprived of his Berkshire vicarage for he was, by this date, a married priest and also had connections with the Seymour family, neither factor compatible with the new reign.   Whether this marriage and connections also reflected evangelical sympathies is harder to say.   Will preambles are far from being a sure means of identifying confessional identity (as discussed in the following chapter) but Benson's is distinctive and is quoted in full in the footnote below. [105]   Made in 1558 it shows a man clearly aware of his mortality for whom faith was a serious matter, but perhaps that is all that can soundly said however much evangelical sympathies might be suspected. In October 1554, Benson lost the rectory of Kinnersley to the schoolmaster William Pyk and by November he had lost Dorstone as well.[106]   Whatever the situation with his employment, given that the Benson family had such strong local connections it is not surprising that Richard Benson continued to reside in the area. At his death in 1558, Benson, his wife and

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[104] The Faculty Office Register entry for 2 March 1549 describes Benson as a chaplain to Sir Hugh Seymour, uncle of King Edward, see Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers,* p. 318; Benson's composition for first fruits for Shinfield and Swallowfield, is also dated 2 March 1549 (see previous footnote) when one of his sureties is Richard John Harforde, 'generosus' of Bosbury, Hereford. The Harford family provided sureties and places for a number of Hereford clergy.

[105] For Benson's will see HRO HD4/1/134-1558/4,dated 10.12.1558, the preamble reads: 'I Richard Benson of the parish of Amelie in the diocese of Hereford clerke cawling to my remembrance and knowing perfectly that death is certain therefore nowe with a whole mynde laude and praise be to god my creator and redeemer I do make my testament and last will in manner and forme following that is to wytte first I bequeath my soul to almighty god my creator and maker and my body to be buried in the earth'.

[106]William Pyke compounded for Kinnersley in October 1554 with sureties from London and Herefordshire. TNA E334/3 f.202v, 11.10.1554. David ap Ellys compounded for Dorston with sureties from Malvern and Dorston.in November 1554 TNA E334/3 f.212v 23.11.1554.

young family were living in Almeley approximately eight miles from Dorstone and only two miles from Kinnersley.[107]

An opposite example to Benson is that of a cleric who successfully managed his spiritual profile and employment: one who found it possible to accommodate himself to reforms and counter-reforms during a fifty-year clerical career. The direction of the vivid and unequivocal anonymous letters towards him as vicar of St Leonard's did not bruise the career of Thomas Silke of Bristol, now the former Master of the Kalendars Guild, but not 'former' much else, for Silke weathered all.[108] If his 1548 age of 40 is correct, Silke's Bristol clerical career had begun early; possessed of his St Leonard's vicarage from at least 1529 and prior of the Kalendars' Guild from 1540, he continued to add to his portfolio throughout the 1540s. Silke resigned St Leonard's in 1547 but had the rectory of Spetisbury, Dorset from 1545 and the '5th prebend' in Bristol Cathedral from 1546, both retained until his death.[109] Neither of these posts prevented his receipt of a pension from the loss of his Kalendars'

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[107] The subject of wives and children will be discussed in the next chapter, but it should perhaps be said here that three other priests from this study also lost their livings for marriage, though nothing more is known of them other than this fact. Edward Stevens, formerly of the college of St Chad's and assigned to continue there in 1548, William Porter, ex-chantry priest of Tetbury, deprived of his rectory of Upper Slaughter and Roger Lewes, once a Bristol chantry priest, is likely to have been the same Roger Lewes deprived of his Bedminster vicarage. All three lost their places in 1554; only Porter regained his post, restored in 1559. For Stevens, see W A Leighton, 'Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury-1372-1603', *TSANHS,* Vol. 3 (1880) p. 263; for Porter, see Baskerville, 'Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire, p. 105 and 'Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester Under Bishop Hooper', p. 21; for Lewes see Skeeters, *Community and Clergy,* pp. 178-179.

[108] For the letters to the Vicar of St Leonard's, Bristol, see chapter four pp. 209-210.

[109] Thomas Silke's ties to the Cathedral are further exemplified by his signature with Dean George Carew, Chancellor John Cotterell and his fellow prebendary, Roger Edgeworth, of the inventory of the Cathedral goods in 1552 and his identification by Bishop Paul Bush as his 'very assured friend' when he appointed Silke, with John Cotterell, as joint overseer of his will in 1558. These same ties are not so honourably exemplified by his involvement in what might well be seen as a 'shady' deal when Silke, with Cotterell and Edgeworth, sold off stone intended for extension work at the cathedral to a layman in 1551. Apparently Silke's share of the proceeds was £20, no mean sum. In her assessment of him, Skeeters goes so far as to say that Silke and his cathedral colleague John Cotterell delivered the cathedral chapter to the city authorities. As referred to in chapter four, p.210, a further connection between Silke and Roger Edgeworth is that the latter was a predecessor of Silke's as prior of the Kalendars, a post he held whilst still at Oxford, resigning it in 1528. Skeeters, *Community and Clergy,* p. 131, and p. 167; Will of Paul Bush, (TNA P.C.C. Reg.3 Welles) J H Bettey ed. *Records of Bristol Cathedral*, Bristol Record Society, Vol. 59, (2007).

mastership in 1548.   Subsequently, in 1553, Silke obtained the rectory of Frampton Cotterell, Gloucestershire, but resigned this in 1554, perhaps because that year he was appointed to the vicarage of Barnwell with Pixton Chapel in Somerset. In 1558 he also became rector of Cheriton Bishop in Devon and in 1560 perpetual vicar of Marston St Lawrence in Northamptonshire.[110]   Despite gathering appointments and having a high profile role in the cathedral, Silke continued to receive his pension from the Crown, but his appointment to Marston St Lawrence put a stop to this.   As discussed in chapter 4, it was ruled in the Act of December 1547 that pensions were to be given up when promotion to a new place was a royal appointment: Silke's Marston St Lawrence patron was the Queen herself. Thus in the records of the National Archives, there remains rare evidence of this ruling in action. A discharge warrant from Richard Sackvylle, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, dated 30 January 1560, requests the 'surrender to the queen's majesty's use of the bearer Thomas Silke, clerk, of his pension of 6.13.4 yearly paid to the said Thomas Silke out of the possessions of the late fraternity called the kalendars in the city of bristoll in consideration he shall have the vicarage of Marston Law....in the county of Northampton of the yearly value of £30.'[111]

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[110] TNA E334/3 f. 69r 17.10.1545 Spetisbury; TNA E334/4f129r 9.10.1553 Frampton Cotterell (Silke seems to have resigned this post as a new rector was appointed 17.4.1554);
TNA E334/4 f. 138v19.5.1554 Banwell & Pixton Chapel; CPR/LP 4&5 P&M pXIII p304 6.3.1558 as Rector of Cherrington (Skeeters has this as Cherinton in Devon but perhaps it is Cherrington in Gloucestershire); TNA E334/7 f. 58r 31.1.1560, Marston St Lawrence.
[111] TNA E135/1/22 - cert 92(88) – discharge warrant for Thomas Silke where the parish name is incorrectly given as Martin St Lawrence. This is one of only two such discharges found relevant to this study; the other is for another Gloucestershire survey priest John Cooke. Cooke, of Lydney in 1548, was appointed to the prebend of Llanvyhangell Penbedo in St David's diocese February 1560, exchanging a pension of £4 for a prebendary income of £6, not quite so profitable as Silke's £30 but still an improvement. TNA E135/1/22 cert 82(104). Coincidentally, the letters patent for both men appear as successive entries in CPR 2Eliz part 1, p. 268 m42, dated 3 February 1560 (Silke) and 26 February 1560 (Cooke).

At no point does this career path appear fazed by religious and monarchical change nor does it, of itself, provide any clear evidence of Silke's own confessional leaning, though his university and cathedral associations might. Silke obtained his MA in Oxford in July 1526, the same month and year that Roger Edgeworth achieved his doctorate, at which date another Bristol colleague, John Cotterell, was a Fellow of New Hall, (see pp.267-268, fn. 107 for connections with Silke).[112] Edgeworth had close contacts with the activists of Henrician reform and it is with the conservative arm of reform that his associations with Bonner and Gardiner as well as his own preaching and writing identify him. Edgeworth was anti-radical and certainly anti-Latimer whom he accused of 'infecting the whole [of Bristol]' and the language of the letters sent to 'the knave priest' Silke in 1539 firmly suggests that he would be placed in the same camp as Edgeworth. Working in, and with, his own spiritual framework and his social, clerical and familial networks, Thomas Silke was a career cleric who maintained that career to the last, rounding it off neatly with his appointment as a Governor of Bristol's new Queen Elizabeth Grammar School in 1571.[113] Silke died some time between 1571 and 1575 and his fellows can probably be found in cathedral chapters throughout the same period.[114]

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[112] John Cotterell became principal of White Hall College in 1537 and is listed as one of the founders of Jesus College in 1571. In the Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire, the same name John Cott(e)rell occurs as priest of Arden's Chantry in Birmingham. This Cottrell was appointed on 20 July 1537, the year in which the Oxford, and later Bristol, Cotterell was appointed to White Hall. In November 1537, chantry priest Cottrell appears in the Faculty Register of Canterbury being granted dispensation for two years absence with the founders and patrons consent. It is possible that these two are the same man but as yet this tie cannot be firmly established.

[113] In 1545 and 1546, a 'Master Silke' occurs in the records of the Smyth family. In 1545, John Smyth noted 'received of Master Silke 4 marks' which may refer to Thomas the cleric, although there were other Silkes in Bristol: Martha Skeeters believes that the cleric was 'probably' related to both Thomas Sylke, a cardmaker, who was sheriff of the city in 1529-30 and the merchants Thomas and John Sylke. However, the Master Silke who appears in 1546 must be clerical Thomas as Smyth reminds himself as follows, 'memorandum: that I must pay my mother's bequests, to Master Silke, her curate, 5s, to the proctors of St Leonard's church, 10s, to Sir Nicholas Jones, her ghostly father, 6s.8d'. Jean Vanes ed. *The Ledger Of John Smythe, 1538-1550*, Bristol Record Series, Vol. 28 (London: HMSO 1974).

[114] The careers of Robert Grynsell and Thomas Yatton of Hereford Cathedral could be considered in the same light as Silke's. Both held chantry posts in 1548, Grynsell within the chapel of St Katherine in the Cathedral itself, Yatton as chantry priest of St John the Baptist in the city's parish of St Peter's.

9.   CONCLUSION-MOVING ON IN THE NEW WORLD

The words 'moving on' have weighted meaning in today's world. Though the cultural context for the experience of 'moving on' may differ, emotional and psychological adjustment to change was as much a reality in the past as now: success and failure can be assessed from a variety of perspectives.

For those managing the implementation of the new world, the government and Augmentations, achieving the desired reforms was only partially realised but enough was accomplished for it to be impossible for Mary to undo all aspects.   For individuals, a personal accommodation to the new requirements of the church within which they worked could mean both success and failure.   Success might mean the acceptance of a loss of status: a former chantry priest who had lost 'perquisites' and security taking up an unbeneficed post as a curate would surely have been keenly aware of this.   Success could also mean staying quietly with one's traditional beliefs and stepping back from a formal clerical career – in another's eyes (Silke's for

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Grynsell's Cathedral association probably began with his appointment as vicar choral in September 1537 and continued until his death, as Archdeacon, in 1579 at which date he was also Vicar of Lydney, Rector of Hampton Bishop and held the prebend of Colwall. Thomas Yatton's Cathedral links first appear in Havergal's list of vicars choral from 1530 and, like Grynsell, lasted until the end of his life in 1566. In 1546, Yatton was appointed to the chapel of St Mary Magdalene within the cathedral, in 1549 to the chapels of Pixley and Aylton near Ledbury, Hereford diocese, and in 1554 to the rectory of Martin Hussingtree in Worcester diocese. Yatton's personal ties to the Cathedral and his relationships with fellows there are confirmed by the 1558 will of Walter Mey, resident canon and a senior Cathedral official. Yatton acted as witness to the will described by Mey as one of his 'especial friends' whom he appointed to assist his executors. Each received twenty shillings for this task, together with personal bequests of clothing and ten bushels of coals. Grynsell: as Vicar choral, 'vicaria de cradley als dict vicaria at anne' Hereford Cathedral, 12.9.1537, Bannister, *Hereford Institutions*; as 'lesser canon' 18.4.1545 TNA E334/3 f.50r; to Lydney, 20.6.1554, TNA E334/4 f.169r; to Hampton Bishop, 7.7.1558, CPR/LP 5&6 P&M part II p405; to prebend of Colwall, 26.9.1561, TNA E334/7 p.132v*; as Archdeacon of Hereford, 20.10.1561, Bannister, *Hereford Institutions. Yatton: Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses* p. 95; Chantry St John the Baptist. 22.5.1545, TNA E334/3 f.55r; Aylton and Pixley, 16.2.3E6 (1549), TNA E334/4 f. 23r; Chapel of Mary Magdalene, 1.5.6E6 (1552) TNA E334/4; Martin Hussingtree, 8.6.1554 TNA E334/4 f.161v; TNA PROB 11/42a, ff.75r-76v, Will of Walter Mey.

instance) this might spell failure. Of the two principals in this last section, Silke was certainly the most successful in careers terms and, it would appear, in his adjustment to living and working in the new world: no loss of status or appointments for him.   If Silke, while not papalist, was of a more conservative cast, the steady progress of his career demonstrates an ample ability to skilfully manage the middle way: preaching as prior of the Kalendars under Henry, appearing just evangelical enough for the Edwardine regime and later that of Elizabeth but traditional enough under Mary. We do not know what return to clerical life Richard Benson might have made: his career was cut short by Mary's attempts to reset the religious clock and he died in December 1558, aged only forty-eight, just one month into the reign of the more favourable Elizabeth.

The final chapter of this thesis will discuss the evidence from the end of these men's lives: when they died and the wills they made. Perhaps from this, there can be found evidence of how they felt about the old and new worlds and who and what they left behind.

Chapter Six

The End of Things: Last Wills and Testaments

1.   CONSEQUENCES

The first section of this chapter discusses the dates of the death and what these might have to say about the end of life circumstances for the men whose lives have been under examination here: age is one important factor but others are considered below. The major objective of this chapter, however, is to draw out from relevant last wills and testaments, the evidence directly related to the role, vocation and status of being a priest: the confessional expression or otherwise of the preamble, their support of religious institutions, care for the poor and their parishioners and relationships with each other.   All these elements would have been found in clerical wills before the Reformation, but the balance shifted with the turmoil and change introduced in the years since the priests here began their careers and one completely new element had been introduced: the possibility of marriage and family. Though not all priests took up the opportunity for legal relationships and households offered by Edward VI, some did and their careers subsequently survived or faltered as the monarchs changed.   The evidence here suggests that it would be well into Elizabeth's reign before any appearance of ease surrounded married priests and not always then.

2.   AGE, VULNERABILITY AND DATES OF DEATH

Spread throughout the years of the 1550s were intervals of high mortality which affected much of the kingdom - the notable periods of sickness being 1550-52 and 1556-60, particularly 1558-59 - so inevitably a number of wills and death dates here arise from these years.[1] However, though the availability of the evidence and the influence of this must never be overlooked, the dates and ages of death as understood for the clerics here do raise points for reflection.

Dates of death (some specific, others approximate) or dates of wills and probate have been found for 158 of the 423 adults in this study. From these a probable age at death, based on ages declared in 1548 (150) or minimums estimated from ordination (four), can be calculated for almost all so that, with the caveats cited in chapter three still firmly in mind, some comments on this can be made. With such numbers as these, absolute conclusions cannot be drawn: however Table 6.1 in Appendix IV (p. 373) shows the patterns in the years 1548 to 1591.

The survival of evidence and its quality are obviously key to being able to produce any viable conclusions from this set of figures, as is the question of accurate

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[1] There has been considerable debate about the levels of mortality and its causes during this period and also where we should look for substantive evidence. F J Fisher considering the later years of the 1550s in an article some years ago favoured a Malthusian view of these years with a mix of high prices and food shortage leading to a susceptibility to sickness and higher death rates. J S Moore reconsidered Fisher's findings almost thirty years later and, using will and probate evidence looked at mortality rates agreed with Fisher on the high mortality rates for the last years of the decade. In a wide-ranging article Slack analysed regional variations and causes, including 'the sweat' which he believes contributed to increased deaths in 1551. F J Fisher, 'Influenza and Inflation in Tudor England', *EconHR,* second series Vol. 18 (1965), pp. 120-29; J S Moore, 'Jack Fisher's Flu: a visitation revisited', *EconHR* second series, 46, (1993) pp. 280-307; Paul Slack, 'Mortality Crises and Epidemic Diseases in England 1485-1610' in Charles Webster, ed. *Health, Medicine and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1979) pp. 9-59; Zell, Michael L, 'Fisher's Flu and Moore's Probates: Quantifying the Mortality Crisis of 1556-1560' in *EconHR,* new series Vol. 47, No 2 (1994) pp. 354-358.

reporting. The dates of wills, inventories and probates can reasonably be used but some here come from information reported to commissions of enquiry. A good example of the issues surrounding this material is William Abel of Coventry whose 1548 age has been estimated from his ordination records: he was ordained priest in 1523 so, assuming the minimum age of twenty-four, would have been least forty-nine in 1548. A document in the National Archives dated 13 and 16 Elizabeth, (1571 to 1574) reports his death 'in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary' (that is, sometime between July 1556 and July 1557), but we can be no more precise than to posit his age at death as not less than fifty-seven.[2] Looking at the numbers for which there is both age and a more accurate date of death, it is intriguing to speculate on the clusters in the years before the notorious 1558-1559 period. Numbers for the 'sweating sickness' years of 1550-51 almost equal those currently known for 1558-59 but the latter exceeds only by eight that for the first year of dissolution, 1548-1549: indeed if a three-year period is measured, 1548-1551 and 1556-59, the numbers are the same, thirty-six in each period. Though the available figures are miserably small, notice should be drawn to the relative youth of those dying in the earlier periods, five in the thirty to forty-nine age groups in 1550-51 against two in 1558-1559. Furthermore, of the thirty-six whose deaths are recorded here between 1548-1551, only three are known to have had new posts. Remembering that this was a time of inflated pricing and that place, income and access to other forms of subsistence, had been lost by survey priests, the jeopardy of consequent poverty and stress-related ill-health has to be considered. Stress and ill health can present both physically and

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[2] TNA E178/3239 'Mixed Counties: Schedule of stipends paid to parsons and schoolmasters, certificates of the deaths of persons holding pensions since the year 32 Henry VIII, within the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield'.

emotionally, the psychological effects of loss and change should not be ignored: either can also increase vulnerability at a time of epidemic disease.[3]

Two of the earliest deaths from this study are those of William Wyllye, chantry priest of St Andrews in Droitwich and Richard Stone of Ripple in Worcestershire and the city of Worcester itself. The certificate for Wyllye's chantry post gives his net stipend as £7.18s 5d (so better than some we have met), which earned him a pension of £6. Aged fifty, 'competently learned, of honest conversation and able to keep a cure', Wylle apparently never collected his pension but died between 8 December 1548 and 22 January 1549 leaving little in terms of money or goods in his will and inventory.[4] Though wills are not the whole story of a testator's property there is little here to suggest that Wyllye had anything else to support him or leave.[5] His story is suggestive of a poor priest who may have felt the loss of his place keenly.

Richard Stone's previous income and status were very different to Wyllye's. Stone had enjoyed two chantry posts and an-ex religious pension so had been

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[3] It is perhaps worth noting here that Moore, in the article referred to in fn. 1 above, comparing his findings with those of Wrigley and Schofield, believes the three years 1547-1549 to have been of relatively low mortality across the population as a whole. He has also written more recently of the years of the 'sweating sickness' and concluded that certain Midland counties (Shropshire and Warwickshire) may have suffered more than others (Gloucestershire and Worcestershire). Either of these accounts heightens the speculation in the discussion above. Moore, 'Jack Fisher's Flu', p. 295; J S Moore, 'The Mid-Tudor Population Crisis in Midland England 1548-1563', *MH,* Vol. 34, No.1 (2009) pp. 44-57.

[4] There is no reference to Wyllye in the first pension roll for Worcestershire, though his pension was due to him and may have been paid to his executors without reaching the formal records. Later rolls note that he is deceased. SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo-1547-48: mm. 18-40v, 60-67v, SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo-1548-49; mm. 21v-39v, 56v-64v, SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50:, mm. 16-31v, 46-51v, SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo-1550-51: mm. 16-30, 43-48v, SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo-1551-52: mm. 16-28v, 42v.

[5] Wyllye's will is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 f.105 pp.170-171 Will of William Wyllye.

comfortably off.[6]   Aged 56 in 1548, Stone was 'competently learned and of honest

conversation', his chantry posts in Ripple and in St Nicholas in Worcester itself paid

him £5.12s.8d and £9 respectively, while his monastic pension from Tewkesbury

Abbey gave him another £6.13s 4d.   Both posts had been his for some years, Ripple

from 1515 and the Trinity place since 1532, and both were well endowed.   Between

July 1548 and December 1549, properties from these two foundations feature in four

chantry sales and Stone himself is mentioned in two of them.   The first, dated 1 July

1548, states that 'a messuage called 'le Priestes Chamber' and the adjacent garden,

dovehouse and a chapel' called le Trinitie Chappell' had all been in his tenure and he

still held one other garden.   The last sale, dated 4 December 1549, details Ripple

property, 'the close of pasture called Shripyll Felde …. of (the) late chantry in Ripple,

also the cottage called the Alms House & a garden adj in Ripple of that chantry & is

in tenure of Richard Stone, late chantry priest & a cottage called le Chantry Priests

Chamber & a garden adj & a dovehouse in Ripple which belonged to it'.[7]   Though the

sale of December 1549 implies that Stone was still living resident in Ripple he died

sometime before mid-1550.[8]

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[6] Baskerville in his work on Gloucestershire ex-religious presumes Richard Stone of St Nicholas to be Richard Goderton of the Benedictine Abbey of Tewkesbury but does not say why, nor does he note the Ripple post. But the chantry certificate for Ripple does say Stone has a pension from the king and Ripple is only five miles from Tewkesbury so that association need not be ruled out. This would have given him total pension income of £15.13.4d.   Baskerville, 'Dispossessed Religious of Gloucestershire', p. 85.

[7] There had also been fishponds in Ripple; Prior William More of Worcester notes in his journal the purchase of fish (pike and tench) from Sir Richard Stone of Ripple in 1528 'three score and xii pyckrells and 'xi dozen of store tenches …21s', Ethel S Fegan ed. *Journal of Prior William More,* Worcester Historical Society, New Series, Vol. 32, (1914) p. 267.

[8] Payments - pension roll for 1548-1549 shows him receiving a full year's pension for his Trinity post but only half for the Ripple, the next roll (1549-1550) notes his death against both.   TNA SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo-1548-49 mm. 21v-39v, 56v-64v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50mm. 16-31v, 46-51v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo-1550-51 mm. 16-30, 43-48v; TNA SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo-1551-52 mm. 16-28v, 42v.

Both Wyllye and Stone lost a great deal at the dissolution. Stone lost more in economic terms: the support of his endowment property and the reduction of his yearly income from £21.6s to £15.13s 4d, but along with these losses had come those of active church service and status, and Stone had been through this dissolution experience twice: once he was a chantry priest and member of an order - now he was neither though, of course, still a priest. The cycle of grief discussed throughout this thesis should not be ignored. It is difficult to believe that these men were unaffected by their loss, psychologically as well as economically: a cocktail as critical for some as a 'sweating sickness'.

Peter Cunich has raised the possibility of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) amongst the monks and nuns made homeless by the monastic dissolutions. Cunich came to no positive conclusions though he does cite the account written by an exiled Carthusian Monk, Maurice Chauncy, as suggestive of this type of response to the suppression.[9] Chauncy's descriptions of the martyrdom of his fellow monks and their prior makes painful reading and if the argument for some form of PTSD reaction is inconclusive, the personal consequences of such bereavement should not be dismissed. Elsewhere, the monks of St Albans who, though no longer in orders, continued to live together or in close proximity to each other and their former house would have been recognised by Marris.[10] In attempting to live an approximation of the world they had lost they reflect Marris's observations of the bereaved creating a

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[9] Peter Cunich, 'The Ex-Religious in Post-Dissolution Society: Symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder?' in James G. Clark ed. *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002) pp. 227-238, G.W.S. Curtis (ed.), *Maurice Chauncy, The Passion and Martyrdom of the Holy English Carthusian Fathers: A Short Narrative*, (London: The Church Historical Society, 1935).

[10] James G Clark, 'Reformation and Reaction at St Alban's Abbey-1530-1558', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 115, No. 461 (2000) pp. 297-328, see also chapter one, pp. 25-31 for reference to Marris's work.

new reality which accommodates the old but allows for progression.[11] If one considers the replies of modern day clerics to the ordination of women as reported by Jones, 'the loss of culture', and the expressions of grieving and bereavement, then we would be wrong to discount the examination of the impact of the events of 1548 from this perspective.[12]

A recent article on the mortality crises of these years quotes the chronicles of Holinshed and Stow that 'this yeare' (1557) many old men died 'and speciallie priests': a ready and obvious response to which would be that these were priests susceptible because of age and/or a closeness to sick parishioners.[13] With further research and the work of modern writers such as Marris, Murray Parkes and Kubler-Ross in mind, would it be possible to identify a similar phenomenon in earlier years? With the death rates as indicated in the table above and given the paucity of material, all that can be done currently is to is to offer this up as worthy of thought and further work.

3.   LAST WILLS AND TESTAMENTS

3.1   Document Survival

Wills or notifications of administration have been identified for fifty-six (13.2%) of the priests in this study dated from 1548 to 1584: forty-five wills and eleven administrations (see Table 6.2 in Appendix IV, p.373). As in the discussion of

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[11] Marris also makes the point that people 'have to find their own meaning in changes before they can live with them'. Marris, *Loss and Change,* see particularly p. 34 and p. 156.

[12] Jones, *Women and Priesthood,* p. 27.

[13] Quoted in J. S. Moore, 'The Mid-Tudor Population Crisis in Midlands England 1548-1563' *Midland History,* Vol. 34, No. 1, (Spring 2009) pp. 44-57.

dates of death, the small size of this sample is acknowledged, as is the pattern of survival with the highest numbers occurring in 1551 and 1558. While recognising that forty-five wills from 423 adults is a less than ideal sample to work with, this 10.6% is quite favourable when compared to the 4.29% found by Cooper who remarked that 'of 1,350 [priests] who were working in its [Coventry and Lichfield] parishes in 1533 just fifty eight [wills] are known to survive'.[14]

Though few, the number of wills from this study may be more useful than this implies, because the evidence is being 'sliced' from a wider swathe of material, ie across counties and dioceses. The fragmented nature of document survival is both frustrating and intriguing and its consequences have to be constantly borne in mind when considering the evidence, 'caveat' peers through like a watermark. But there is still value to be extracted from what we have; these documents have more to offer than suggested by the numbers and survival patterns.

3.2   Purpose and Preambles

Bishop Hooper's injunctions for his Gloucester and Worcester visitation of 1551 stress both the desirability of 'good and perfect will' for testators (to prevent post-mortem 'strife and contention') and the role of the priest in persuading parishioners to prepare such a document on a regular basis (at least four times a year).[15] This reflects the legal and social purpose of a last will and testament: the enabling of an orderly transference of property, 'immoveable' (land-real estate) and 'moveable' (including household items, clothes, money, tools of trade). But Hooper

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[14] Cooper, *Last Generation,* p. 184.
[15] Hooper's Injunctions, Gloucester and Worcester Dioceses 1551-1552, in Frere and Kennedy eds. *Visitations and Injunctions 1536-1558* pp. 279-290, see Injunction 26 p. 288.

has not lost sight of the other side of will-making: that this is the action of a person preparing to meet his God and the Bishop is seeking to ensure that it is done well and safely by all concerned. Preparing a will in advance allows the dying to face their end knowing that worldly matters have been properly organised and, if the new religious directives have been followed, the bequest of their souls equally well catered for. If commended to Almighty God rather than 'our Blessed Lady and all the saints of heaven', the soul's owner will have avoided words 'injurious to God and perilous as well for the salvation of the dead as dangerous unto the maker'. [16]

Hooper's words are indicative of the importance that he and others placed on will making, although this was not an inclusive exercise: neither all clergy nor all the laity made them. Accepting this view of wills as a dual purpose document, ensuring an honest leave-taking and the disposal of a lifetime's baggage both material or spiritual, suggests we should also consider wills as amongst the most valuable historic sources we have for Reformation response. At the height of Henry VIII's reforms, Bishop Hugh Latimer had something to say about wills in his visitation injunctions for Worcester diocese in 1537. In Latimer's mind, priests should in 'making of testaments excite and stir your parishioners from will-works to the necessary works of God, works of mercy and charity'.[17] If these episcopal directives were noted and acted upon, then wills should provide evidence of individual choice, perhaps test spiritual motivation, any sense of social responsibility, relationships with family and friends in addition to evidence of personal wealth and economic activities. But how to interpret the evidence retrieved? The difficulties of interpretation are exemplified

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[16] Hooper's Injunctions, Gloucester and Worcester Dioceses 1551-1552, in Frere and Kennedy eds. ibid, pp. 279-290.
[17] Latimer's Injunctions for Worcester Diocese 1537 Item 5, p. 16, in Frere and Kennedy eds. *Visitations and Injunctions 1536-1558* pp. 15-18.

in historians' endeavours to track confessional allegiance via the opening paragraphs of wills of the Reformation period, that is the soul bequests of will preambles. Furthermore, the subsequent discussions tend to cover the whole of the will-making population but in this regard the clergy have a special status and, as is discussed later in this chapter, merit closer consideration.

Two quotations will serve to highlight the opposing views of the value of will preambles to historians. W. K. Jordan in his examination of wills as part of his 1959 study of charity and philanthropy, describes wills as 'completely honest documents' and 'mirrors of men's souls', while Rosemary O'Day, writing in 1986, felt that far from illuminating testators beliefs 'wills and their preambles hide them from their gaze'.[18] In the intervening years between these two statements, Margaret Spufford's work on the use of scribes for will writing, together with that of J. D. Alsop, Claire Cross and Christopher Marsh, has served to emphasise that the use of will preambles as indicators of confessional allegiance is problematic.[19] As Spufford highlighted there are the vexed questions of identifying the scribe of the will, the influence of the

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[18] Both are quoted by Marsh in the opening paragraph of his article on will-making, see Christopher Marsh, 'In the Name of God' in G.H. Martin and Peter Spufford, eds. *The Records of the Nation: the Public Record Office, 1838-1988*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990) pp. 215-249.

[19] Margaret Spufford highlighted the work of scribes and the use of formularies in the preparation of wills and a wider debate had begun on the value of preambles to the accurate identification of personal confessional leaning. J. D. Alsop described the religious preamble as 'an untrustworthy guide' as did Claire Cross in her examination of the wills of Hull and Leeds. Cross's view that these documents could not be used to count the number of those who died committed to the new faith, was tempered with the comment that when used with other material, a trend might be discerned. She also, in the last sentence of her article, agreed that in some we might see true commitment, a softening supported by the later views of Christopher Marsh and Margaret Spufford who both recognise the argument for personal intervention by the testator in the applying or amending of formulaic statements to suit individual preference. Marsh notes his and Spufford's agreement on the existence of personal intervention and the potential for 'idiosyncratic preambles' while also citing that Spufford disagrees with the lower emphasis Marsh awards it. Margaret Spufford, 'The Scribes of Villagers' Wills in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and their Influence', in *Local Population Studies*, Vol. 7 (1971) pp. 28-43; J. D. Alsop, 'Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* Vol., 40, No.1, (January, 1989); Claire Cross, 'Wills as Evidence of Popular Piety in the Reformation Period: Leeds and Hull', in D. M. Loades ed. *The End of Strife* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1984) pp. 44-51; Marsh, 'In the Name of God', p. 22, fn. 38.

writer over the testator, the latter's views on the destination of his soul or his place in the elect and the deathbed scene.

Occasionally, there is evidence of an active participation by the testator: Roger Hewster alias Lancastell of Shrewsbury (former vicar-choral and the Shoemakers' Service priest of St Chad's) was unable to draw up his will in November 1561 but was able to sign his name and follow it with a few words of Latin. His signature and the numerous alterations suggest that he was actively involved in the drafting of the will, changing his mind as to who received what, further suggesting that Hewster may also have dictated the very traditional tone of the preamble.[20] A preamble might also gain credibility when there is evidence of forethought and supporting detail as is the case with Henry Saunders' testament, written four years before his death.[21] Saunders declares that he has written and signed his own will, an authorship which must confirm its traditional preamble as a personal statement of belief. By the date of writing, Saunders had nothing to hide with regard to his religion: deprived and probably recusant, there can have been few in any doubt of his confessional leaning. At the close of his article on preambles, Alsop states that it is available supporting evidence which should form the evidence for an appraisal of confessional allegiance rather than the 'questionable' preamble; with Saunders we have that supporting evidence: his interaction with the church and state, the format of his will and his plea for burial 'by an honest priest if such can be found'.[22] Interestingly, this request arose from his concern about what would happen if he died outside his home parish,

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[20]LRO B/C/11/1561/35bWill of Roger Hewster alias Lancastell of Shrewsbury dated 10.11.1561
[21] WRO 008.7 BA 3590/2 f.39 Will of Henry Saunders, 20.4.1566, Inventory 13.8.1570.
[22] WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo39 (Fry p216) Will of Henry Saunders, 20.4.1566, probate 1570 (year only known), inventory, 13.8.1570; TNA PROB 11-54 194-141, Will of Thomas Badger 13.10.1571, probate 6.5.1572. For Saunders Oldberrow appointment and deprivation, see chapter five pp. 248-49, fn. 72; for a concise chronology of Saunders' career, see Appendix V, pp. 386-387.

presumably he thought that there his former parishioners would see to it that he had a 'catholic' burial, a view supported perhaps by the heading of his inventory when his appraisers recognised him as 'priest, late parson of Ulbarow'.[23] There is however, further evidence from Saunders' will and inventory which shows a network of sympathetic and like-minded friends outside his parish, one of whom gave him refuge it seems highly likely that this is where he died. The inventory contains a section for clothing and money, 'cash in his purse', which were at Bidford Grange, a former monastic property that had been purchased by Thomas Badger of Stratford upon Avon. Badger maintained his Catholic faith, he was one of the witnesses of Saunders' will in 1566 and left a very traditional will of his own in 1571, one cannot but surmise that they shared mass together and perhaps in Badger's home Saunders was able to have the last rites which he would certainly have wanted.[24]

In the majority of the wills, however, matters are not so clear-cut. Others appear to mix the choice of how to commend their souls at death with concerns for the provision and outcomes for those left behind; it should be remembered that decision to conceal is as likely as one to reveal.

Caroline Litzenberger's work on the Reformation and the laity in Gloucestershire makes much use of wills; in an appendix to the main work she defines the classification scheme which enables her to categorise preambles as 'ambiguous', 'traditional' or 'protestant' (although recent historians would prefer the term

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[23] WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo39 (Fry p216) Will and Inventory of Henry Saunders, 20.4.1566 and 13.8.1570.

[24] Badger's son George continued in the Catholic faith and was on the periphery of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. Bearman, 'The Early Reformation Experience' p.78, fn.42.

'evangelical' which is also adopted here).[25]   Applying Litzenberger's criteria of identifying as 'ambiguous' those generalising statements of faith by which testators avoided 'distorting their salvation theology', this study produces the same outcome, those preambles which can only be designated 'ambiguous' dominate amongst the wills here: they outnumber considerably the second group of traditional statements (thirty-one versus eleven).[26]   There are preambles that can be counted evangelical in either Edward or Mary's reign and those for Elizabeth's repeat the heavy weighting in favour of ambiguity/neutrality. It is in the latter's reign that the only wills which may show evangelical leanings appear. One is that of Richard Wever, vicar of Baschurch in Shropshire and formerly prebend of St Chad's in Shrewsbury, whose 'trust to be saved' is supported by a request that his executors carry out 'godly charitable deeds'.[27] The other two wills in this small category belong to priests who were close friends, Richard Benson of Almesley in Herefordshire who died in December 1558 (so only just in the new reign) and William Pyk, rector of nearby Kinnersley, who died eight years later in March 1566: their wills and relationship are discussed later in this chapter.[28]   If additional documents come to light, the demographics of death rates and the shades of confessional change might be illuminated further but the difficulties of establishing motivation and belief through preambles are likely to remain. Difficulties should not deter investigation however, and as the focus of this study is clerical, the preambles of clerical wills are given separate regard.

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[25] All the following material quoted from Litzenberger is taken from Appendices A and B of Litzenberger, *Gloucestershire 1540-1580*, pp. 168-187.

[26] Litzenberger, ibid, p.7

[27] TNA PROB 11/56 403-327 Register Martyn; Will of Richard Weaver, vicar of Baschurch, 13.5.1574, probate 25.8.1574.

[28] HRO HD4/1/134 1558/4 Will of Richard Benson, clerk of Almeley, HRO 35/2/25.1566 Will of William Pyk, rector of Kinnersley, 10.3.1566.

W K Jordan did give some attention to aspects of clerical wills as part of his study in philanthropy: splitting them into two status groups, upper and lower clergy. He regarded the lower clergy as a 'rural class' and included in this group all clerics below the level of bishops and (pre-dissolution) abbots and priors.[29] In other work where clerical wills have been part of the research material, there has been little or no comment on them as a single group. G J Mayhew examined wills for his study of East Sussex from 1530 to 1559 and comments on the mix of preambles in Mary's reign that 'clergy wills, often more specific in their religious provisions, tell a similar story' (to that of the laity) but does so without further discussion.[30] Litzenberger applies 'elite' and 'non-elite' grouping but her focus is as the book title states, 'the laity'. In contrast, Cooper's work is expressly on Coventry and Lichfield clergy, a specific cohort ordained before the Reformation and spending their working lives within it. Cooper touches on the matter of preambles, but only to note the move from traditional to what he calls 'transitional' formats, before moving on to examine what the priests did with their goods and who benefited. None of these provide a comparison against which to measure the figures from this study, but should we expect different results for priests and laity? Mayhew's comment would suggest not but this should at least be tested. Litzenberger's count of preamble types covers the years 1541 to 1580, extracting the years 1548 to 1580 to create an approximate match to the years of this study produces the following which shows that the values, though similarly aligned, do exhibit differences. It is proposed here that we might expect

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[29] W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660: a study of the changing pattern of English social aspirations* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1959) pp. 327. Jordan comments on the contribution of the clergy towards philanthropy but his measures are based on estimations of available wealth and calculated over lengthy time spans, ie 1480- 1540 and 1480-1660 so cannot be used for precise comparison here. For his discussion on the contribution of his lower clergy group see Jordan, *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660,* pp. 346-348.

[30] G. J. Mayhew, 'The Progress of the Reformation in East Sussex, 1530-1559: the evidence from wills' in *SH* Vol. 5 (1993) pp. 38-67. Nesta Evans also has clergy as a separate category in her table of social status but does not draw on them further: Nesta Evans, 'Inheritance, Women, Religion and Education' in '*Probate Records and the Local Community'*, pp. 53-70, Table 3 p. 56.

greater care in this selection and greater thought on the meaning and content of preambles from the clerical community than from the laity at large, a care that might be hinted at by the raised figures for the traditional and evangelical in Table 6.5 (with Tables 6.3 and 6.4 Appendix IV p. 374).[31] With these thoughts in mind, considering the number of variants employed might be an indicator of personal intervention and inclination.

Amongst the thirty ambiguous wills in my study, eight variants occur but with no even spread. In thirteen souls are bequeathed to Almighty God but ten of these request burial in a specific church or churchyard while three cite Christian burial. One while giving his soul to God hopes to reign with the elect in everlasting joy. Eight others refer to God, my maker and redeemer, three to God my maker, redeemer and saviour, one other includes Christ, one the Passion, two commend themselves to Jesus Christ as redeemer and saviour without reference to God and one, the most elaborate, bequeaths his soul 'to almighty god, the father of heaven, maker and creator of the same and to the second person, my redeemer and to the holy ghost the comforter, to these three persons and only one god, and my body to be buried in the church of Little Deane'. The four wills designated here as evangelical each have different (what Mason and Spufford might call idiosyncratic) wording at their head, though two of them state that they 'trust to be saved'. The remaining eleven wills are 'traditional' but share three different formats; nine using the full traditional formula of 'God, Our Lady and the holy company of heaven', one both commends his soul to God and all the saints (strongly traditional) and 'thonly merit of Jesus Christ my saviour' (somewhat less so) while the last omits Mary but acknowledges God and the saints.

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[31] Tables 6.3, 6.4 show the preamble counts by category within reign and county and 6.5 compares the ratio with Litzenberger, see Appendix IV p. 374.

Litzenberger quotes the ratio of different preambles to wills for two of her Gloucestershire towns, Tewkesbury (27:188) and Cirencester (26:106).[32] Measured against these figures, the clerics in this study group demonstrate greater variation (15:45) but with the small numbers available it is unwise to draw absolute conclusions. However, one scribe identified by Litzenberger, Thomas Farrington, appears in three wills here and a consideration of these might further the discussion. Farrington, was a tucker (cloth-finisher) by trade and involved with 'at least twenty-two Cirencester wills between 1557 and 1578'. From 1558 he adopted a new but traditional preamble 'I bequeath my sowle unto Almighty God the father, to Jesu Christ his onlye sonne our redemer, and to the Holye Goost the comforter and to all the blessed company of hevyn', only replacing 'the company of heaven' with an 'etc' in 1571 but apparently reducing it further in subsequent years.[33] The three wills from this study involving Farrington are those of Henry Jones, formerly a chantry priest in Cirencester and dying as Rector of Siddington St Mary in 1563; Thomas Perepyn, previously a chantry priest in Bristol but perpetual curate of Cirencester in 1564; and Thomas Marshall, once holder of the Trinity chantry in Cirencester and now simply 'priest', in 1573.[34] Farrington appeared as a witness for Perepyn and Marshall so is likely to have been their scribe. Jones' will, the earliest of the three, has the simplest formula of all: 'I give my soul to almighty god and my body to be buried in the church of Siddington Marie'. However, as Farrington does not appear in the witness list but as a beneficiary (of a colt and two wether sheep) it is less likely that he

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[32] Litzenberger, *Gloucestershire 1540-1580,* p. 175. Mayhew quotes 50 preamble variants from 2495 wills of East Sussex in his article on the Reformation in East Sussex. Mayhew's analysis criteria produce six groups: Traditional, Reformist, Protestant, Neutral/Indeterminate, Mixed Traditional/Reformist and Mixed Protestant/Traditional, Mayhew, 'Reformation in East Sussex', p. 40.

[33] Litzenberger, *Gloucestershire 1540-1580,* p. 175.

[34] GRO 1562/36 Will of Henry Jones dated 20.2.1562/3; GRO 1563/152, Will of Thomas Perepyn dated 29.1.1563/4;GRO 1573/185 Will of Thomas Marshall dated 16.12.1573.

was the scribe here. In only one of these wills does a formula which Litzenberger associates with Farrington appear; Thomas Marshall in 1573 uses the full preamble associated with Farrington's earlier years suggesting, since the latter offered alternatives by this date, a continuing traditional outlook on Marshall's part. Perepyn's preamble of 1564 is similar but omits any reference to Christ or the Holy Ghost, bequeathing his soul only to Almighty God and the holy company of heaven. This wording puts him firmly in Litzenberger's 'traditional' camp, which might not be surprising for a former monk of Flaxley; but Perepyn's main beneficiary is a daughter, Margaret, who since she is named in full and is appointed executrix, we must assume is legitimate. There is more than a suggestion of ambiguity about the statement Perepyn is making, but an ambiguous choice is still a choice.

From this analysis, it is suggested that there is evidence of more variation in clerical will preambles and thus an argument for greater personal involvement. It may also indicate the condition the majority of clergy found themselves in at this date: perhaps 'cautious' or 'confused' should be added to the categories of ambiguous, neutral, transitional. This is the generation of clergy whose working lives had been lived through the ups and downs of change and counter-change. Alec Ryrie, in discussing the responses of the laity and shifts in allegiance, has described the evidence of preambles as demonstrating 'turbulence and confusion' rather than either 'enthusiastic conversion ' or 'diehard conservatism'.[35] Slight though it is, efforts have to be made to understand the available evidence: Henry Saunders can be cited as a diehard, Benson and Pyk, as will be seen, <u>might</u> be enthusiastic converts but the evidence for the majority is of effort to work through and with the new world.

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[35] Alec Ryrie, 'Counting Shepherds, Counting Sheep: the problems of allegiance in the English Reformation', in Marshall and Ryrie eds. *Beginnings,* pp. 84-110.

Perhaps the logical outcome with respect to this subject is to suggest that clerical will preambles would reward further, closer, investigation if we wish to understand more fully clergy response to the changes that so directly affected them.

4. **<u>TESTAMENTS AND BEQUESTS</u>**

As the preamble directed the commendation and bequest of the soul, so the remainder of the will directed the handing on of the material world. This is the source of Alsop's important 'supporting evidence': the choice of bequests and instructions, beneficiaries, executors and overseers, which as evidence of personal networks and way of life, might also imply a testator's belief and spiritual affiliation.

As the most detailed work of this kind and analysed in comparative reign and year groups, it is Lorraine Attreed's 1982 work on the north of England which has informed the discussion here.[36] In this study, Attreed analysed categories of bequests from wills between 1520 and 1588, the greater part of which, 95%, were wills of the laity. This examination cannot be 'like for like' as no breakdown is provided of the 5% of clerical wills contained in Attreed's data but some comparison and discussion is possible, for this the concentration is on three categories of bequest and involvement: with the church, the poor and fellow clergy. Tables 6.6, 6.7, 6.8, and 6.9 (Appendix IV, pp. 374-376) show firstly, the comparison of numbers of wills in which bequests occur and secondly sets these in context with other categories of

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[36] Lorraine Attreed, 'Preparation for death in Sixteenth Century Northern England', *Sixteenth Century Journal,* XIII, No 3 (1982) pp. 37-66. In W. K. Jordan's extensive work, already referred to, analysis is tabulated on greater time spans, ie 1480-1540, 1541-1560, 1561-1600, and available wealth so prevents a similar comparison. For information, Jordan's figures for lower clergy gifts to the poor between 1480-1540 show 3.89%, followed by 11.6% (1541-1560) and 26.38% (1561-1600) and to the umbrella category of 'religion', 45.42% (1480-1540), 56.50%(1541-1560) and 13.86% (1561-1600) see Jordan *Philanthropy in England 1480-1660,* Table XI, p. 386.

bequest. One immediate observation has to be that it is only in Elizabeth's reign that the wills here (in percentage terms) show a support for the church that exceeds Atreed's work, while those referencing the poor and fellow clergy outweigh those of the northern study in each reign. Looking at this same evidence from the perspective of actual bequests, the numbers are small and the differentials quite wide, bequests to the poor and clerics follow those to family and friends while those to servants and godchildren further exceed those to the church.[37]

4.1   Bequests to the Church

In the injunctions for the Royal Visitation of 1547, instructions were given for the setting up in each church of the chest later commonly referred to as the 'poor men's box'. Priests were expected to encourage testators to think charitably and to 'confer and give as they may spare' to this box and there is a proposed hierarchy of payouts: to the poor first, then to roads and highways and then towards the repair of the church.   This hierarchy is mirrored by the pattern of individual, specific bequests; the lack of bequests to any religious institution in the few wills here of Edward's reign stands out. It is true that Attreed's study shows a substantial drop overall in gifts to the church from those made in Henry's reign when measured against those made in the reigns of his children. However, this comparison might be a false reading since it is not possible to know if any of Attreed's clerical testators felt similarly negative or if more wills from this study would change the outcome.[38]   Of the five priests

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[37] Attreed's analysis explicitly excludes personal bequests to family and other kin groups. Attreed, ibid, p. 45.

[38] Attreed's study shows a 40% drop in bequests to the church from the last years of Henry's reign: overall 'general bequests' and 'repair and building of churches' in the years 1541-1547 equate to 79.2% of all bequests, dropping to 34.7% in Edward's reign, rising again under Mary, 62.2% and

concerned, two gave traditional preambles, the remainder commended their souls to almighty god and all five specified in which church they wish to be buried. Does the apparent reluctance to leave gifts to the church, even to that where they desired to lie, indicate disillusion with the institution or were they reflecting the thinking outlined in the injunction above? Did this combine with a reluctance to support the church in its present state of flux and vulnerability to the predations of the Crown, particularly since it absolutely removed the comfort of prayers for the relief of souls and made them and a large number of their fellows redundant? If they had decided to discard support for the church, none of the five neglected the poor, a safer bet in spiritual terms since support for the poor was always a good thing. Two also left money for improvements to parish highways and local education. In four of the wills, the clerics remembered their brethren, leaving bequests to other clergy including those who might serve at their funerals. Against this background, what William Wylle's testament might tell us of his relationship with both the church as an institution and the parish in which he was employed is worth noting.

As noted above, at the time of the survey in the spring of 1548, Wyllye was in St Andrew's, Droitwich, he was aged fifty and given a good report. Wyllye made his will on 8 December 1548 and died within weeks; the inventory of his goods is dated 22 January 1549, when his 'praysers' described him still as 'chantry priest of St Andrews, Droitwich'.[39] The will's preamble is neutral in its disposal of his soul and is followed by the request his body be buried 'in the churchyard of the parish church of Dodderhill at Wyche [Droitwich] nye unto the sepulchere of Sir Thomas Laughery

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plunging to 17.2% in the thirty years of Elizabeth's reign which she covers – 1558-1588. Attreed, 'Preparation for death' Table 1, p. 40.
[39] Will & Inventory of William Wyllye.

late vicar there'.[40] The document is brief. It consists of bequests to his two executors of 6s.8d each 'for their pains', and two bequests providing for the poor and his soul. 40s is to be spent 'on poor people as they [his executors] think best' and the residue of his goods after all debts and expenses are met, to be 'disposed for the wealth of my soul and all Christian souls'.[41] Wyllye did not want to be buried in his working parish nor did he specify anything to be done to support it, but he obviously retained belief in the benefits of active intervention: that to give charity to the poor and request the proper distribution of his goods would be efficacious for the afterlife of his soul. Wyllye never collected his pension though he was due a sum of £3 for the half-year; the margin of the first roll notes that he did not appear and the next that he is dead: perhaps he was ill already by the autumn. His likely poverty and vulnerability were discussed earlier. Is this man an example of a priest who felt profoundly the changes in the church he had known and grown up in? He had lost a close friend relatively recently and then his post, the title of which still resonated more than six months after such posts were declared invalid. If the experience of change matches that of bereavement, Wyllye had suffered both. Perhaps the thought of the posthumous effects of his charity and the proximity of his old friend brought him some comfort.

Support for the church in the succeeding reigns of Mary and Elizabeth increases in the wills of this present study, coming closer to that of Atreed's study between 1553-1558 and exceeding it in the following period. If the cost of 'reparacions' required in Mary's reign following the removal of images, altars and wall-paintings in her brother's time was recognised by the clergy, only one of the

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[40] Thomas Laughery alias Lauvorn (maybe Laugherne?) died circa 1544, his replacement in Dodderhill was instituted on 9 September of that year, see CCEd Person ID: 83051(Lavourn) and CCEd Location ID*:* 16528(Dodderhill*)*- last consulted 4.3.2010.

[41] Will and Inventory of William Wyllye.

priests in this group specified that use for his money: Danyell Tybott left 12d to Kynton (Kineton) Church in Warwickshire for its repair when he died in August 1558.[42] Tybott had held a chantry post in Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire, but was now resident in Tardebigge in Worcestershire. It was in Tardebigge that he wished to be 'sepulchred and buried' and left 4d to its high altar for 'the maintenance of God's service'.

Of the remaining wills with church bequests made between 1554 and 1558, that of Robert Glaseman (alias Glasmond) is both the most generous and the most interesting.[43] Glaseman was schoolmaster in Chipping Campden, appointed to continue he appears to have stayed in the town until his death in 1556. In 1540 Glaseman was noted in the visitation records as being curate in Saintbury, near to Chipping Camden, paid by the rector, William Latimer, (a former chaplain to Anne Boleyn with protestant sympathies).[44] Both the churches of Saintbury and Campden benefited from Glaseman's will as did that of nearby Weston-sub-Edge - each received a shilling with an extra shilling to Campden. However, it is the church of Alcester which receives the largest sum, seven shillings. This is because, as Glaseman tells us, it was here that he was born and two shillings of this sum is to go to the high altar, 'willing and rather of charity desiring that parson there to say privately dirge and mass for my soul, my parents souls inespecially and generally all Christian souls'. In addition, Glaseman leaves money to be given to the church of

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[42] WRO 008.7BA3950/2 fo308. - Will of Danyell Tybott 31.8.1558.

[43] Glaseman - TNA PROB 11/42a/15/13 Register Welles; Will of Robert Glasmond 20.9.1556 probate 30.11.1558.

[44] Litzenberger notes Latimer's relationship with Anne and his protestant sympathies while Nicholas Orme describes Latimer as 'a notable rector', suggesting that employment by him implies a good level of education on Glaseman's part though the latter is not known to have been a graduate. Latimer died in 1545 and left Glaseman 40s in his will. WRO 802/2764 Act Book of John Bell, ff. 77-205, 212 Litzenberger, *Gloucestershire 1540-1580,* p. 38. Nicholas Orme, *Education in the West of England 1066-1548: Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire,* (Exeter: University of Exeter 1976) p. 128.

whichever parish he happens to be buried in. Alcester, Saintbury, Campden and Weston were all churches with strong personal connections for Glaseman as would his burial church wherever that happened to be, so one could view these bequests as more sentimental than indicative of religious preference. The preamble to his will is the standard neutral citing of almighty God and a request for burial 'where it shall please God me to decease and depart home', so no explicit confession there. But, in addition to the simple bequests of money, we have that request for the dirige and mass in Alcester together with a sub-clause for the church of Campden to earn its extra 12d, 'desiring Mr Vicar of his charity to pray for me'; these two together with one further bequest absolutely confirm that Glaseman's sympathies lay with the traditional religion and the anticipated resurrection under Mary. As a schoolmaster, it is not surprising that Glaseman leaves books and it is the disposal of those which he describes as being of 'old vellum or parchment' that is revealing, for he would like them to go 'to some religious house if any there be erected or set up again in the country hereabouts'.[45] From this, Glaseman's intentions seem pretty clear. His bequests were to maintain the traditional ways in the parish churches that he knew or had served and hoped that the church in its wider sense would also see a similar return.

The considerable growth in value of church bequests in Elizabeth's reign is notable as is the pattern of giving: generally speaking, as her years on the throne increase, so do the value of the gifts. An exception to this is the will of Nicholas Capenhurst, which, dated 13 December 1558, is the earliest of the Elizabethan wills in

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[45] A Robert Glaseman was recorded in the Valor of 1535 as guardian of Bablake College in Coventry, paid out of the Trinity Guild. If they are the same man, Coventry is the only town of his association which did not receive recognition in his will. Valor Ecclesiasticus Vol. 3, Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, p. 57.

this study leaving gifts to the church; though their value was not great, these gifts suggest that Capenhurst was ready to support the institution as it faced inevitable change under the new monarch.[46] Once a chantry priest in Holy Trinity, Coventry and now vicar of nearby Corley, Capenhurst's will has an evangelical preamble commending his soul 'to almighty god my maker and to his only son Jesus Christ my saviour and redeemer by whose precious? [unclear abvr] death & passion I trust to be saved' preceding six church bequests. His parish church of Corley, where he desires to be buried, receives a grey vestment 'with all things belonging to it' and 6s. 8d to purchase the alb which it lacked.[47] The chantry post Capenhurst had held in Coventry had been linked to the poorly paid vicarage of Exhall, a vicarage he had certainly held in 1538 and possibly still did; this was a relationship he marked with a bequest of 6s.8d.[48] Two other Warwickshire churches, Fillongley and Astley (approximately 2 and 4 miles from Corley respectively) each received 3s.4d and his mother church Lichfield Cathedral was left 4d. Apart from the purchase of the alb, no other directions for the use of the bequests are given, but the detail of this instruction suggests that Capenhurst was actively participating in the drafting of the document though this detail does not chime precisely with the tone of the preamble. It is impossible to extrapolate a single motive for giving and Capenhurst, having lived through the earlier changes and aware of what Elizabeth's reign would mean for his church, was pleased to leave something towards the costs he knew his parishes and those neighbouring would have to bear. Capenhurst may be an example of someone

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[46] LRO B/C/11 - Will of Nicholas Capenhurst, dated 13.12.1558, inventory 16.12.1558, probate 10.4.1559.

[47] Capenhurst had been appointed Vicar of Corley in September 1557 on the death of Richard Branker who had also been a chantry priest of Holy Trinity in Coventry and a friend of Capenhurst's. CCEd Person ID: *24640* for Branker's institution on 19.9.1554, his death (name as Bankerne) is noted on Capenhurst's institution on 26.9.1557, last consulted 4.3.2010: both had the same patron, Michael Cameswell. See also the evidence from the bequest in Capenhurst's will, below, for more on this.

[48] See chapter four, p. 199 fn. 78 for the records that note the relationship between Capenhurst, Exhall and his Trinity chantry.

hoping for a 'middle way', seeking continuity through the retention of parts of the old order within the new, just as the ex-monks of St Albans had with the secular version of their monastic lifestyle.

The contrast between Capenhurst's will and that of his former Trinity colleague, William Queneborough is striking.[49] Queneborough's bequests to the immediate church are much smaller in value and narrower in spread, confined as they are to St Michael's in Coventry, its high altar bequeathed 6d 'for all my forgotten tithes' together with 5s.8d to its Mercers' Chapel specifically for his burial 'nie unto my mother's tomb', and to Lichfield Cathedral, which received 6d. The traditional preamble to this will and his bequest of twenty shillings to the re-founded Sheen Charterhouse give a clear idea of Queneborough's affiliation.[50] This is confirmed by his bequest of £6 per annum for two years for an honest priest 'which was never married' to pray for him and the constraints placed upon his nephew and executor Henry. In return for his inheritance of his uncle's house in Grey Friars' Lane in Coventry, Henry was to hold an annual obit for Queneborough with dirige overnight and mass on the morrow with six priests, four clerks and three 'peellion' men' [bell ringers?] 'with three "peelis" [peals?] when overnight and two on the morrow' to pray for his soul, 'his good master and mistress' (the Swillingtons) with 'all Christian souls'.[51]

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[49] LRO B/C/11 1558 Will of William Queneborough dated 20.1.1558.

[50] Queneborough had links to the Carthusians through his association with William Abel, once of the Coventry Charterhouse. Abel, as recorded in the survey, was also a stipendiary priest in St Michael's, Coventry, supported by an endowment left by Elizabeth Swillington on her death in December 1546, probably specifically to support him. TNA PROB/11/31/392/297 Register Alen; Will of Elizabeth Swillington 30.11.1546.

[51] Ralph and Elizabeth Swillington were eminent Coventry citizens: Ralph had been recorder of the city for whose will in 1525 Queneborough was both witness and beneficiary, as he was with Elizabeth's. She left bequests to Queneborough (20 marks and property) and the similarity in the opening sentence of the preambles of her will and his own make him likely to have been her scribe (beseeching Almighty God to accept their souls) though Queneborough's own then goes further, calling on the

In 1548, Nicholas Capenhurst and William Queneborough were chantry priests in the same city church, easing their patrons' souls through purgatory with their prayers. In 1558 their wills, just six months apart, bear the marks of the intervening years, marks of change: of monarch(s), of church, of Reformation and confessional concern. For Queneborough, it was the maintenance of the traditional church, the promotion of the old orders and the otherworldly relief of souls, for Capenhurst it was the support of the church and what was to come, which mattered.

If the fabric of the church did not receive overwhelming support from its men the poor still received attention, in some cases very particular attention. The bequests to the poor under discussion here are not those doles or gifts given in return for attendance at a funeral or memorial mass. Though, as will be discussed, these gifts were not always given without a filtering mechanism, they were directed to the benefit of the poor themselves, not overtly as recompense for prayers. The condemnation of the concept of purgatory as a cynical source of social control and income on the part of the church underpinned the theological push promoting the transfer of money away from memorials and soul prayers to good works. Arguments and injunctions encouraging this and the introduction of the poor box had been voiced frequently from the 1530s but with the crusading activities of the first year of Edward's reign, the homilies, the visitation articles (with their suggestive set of enquiries regarding chantry priests) and injunctions and then the Chantry Act of December, the consequences of the political activity became apparent. Attreed's

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Blessed Virgin and all the holy company of heaven, perhaps an example of the difference in feeling between the priest and his lay friends. Elizabeth calls Queneborough, William Abel and a third Trinity priest, Robert Walker (who also received a bequest) her chaplains. TNA PROB/11/12 36/27 Register: Porche; Will of Rauf Swillington, 14.2.1526. TNA PROB/11/31/392/297 Register Alen; Will of Elizabeth Swillington 30.11.1546.

table shows poor bequests appearing in just over a quarter of all wills in the years 1525-1540 and 1541-1547 (26.2% and 28%). These figures are a suggestive comparison if considering influences in the latter years of Henry's reign but the growth of this form of giving is particularly dramatic in 1547 to 1553 when Attreed quotes 49%.[52] This is a trend also found in Mayhew's study of East Sussex where he quotes 30% to 40% prior to Edward's accession, 61% in 1547 to 1553, dropping to 54% as Mary's return meant that purgatory was reinstated and prayers for the soul advocated once more.[53] The pattern of bequests to the poor from the small sample of clerical wills here shows both great enthusiasm for gifts to the poor under Edward (80%) and, comparatively, a greater enthusiasm to drop them in the succeeding reign (down to 50% - a drop of 30 percentage points - compared with 24.4% in Attreed's group and 7% in Mayhew's). In the final years of this study, bequests to the poor had almost returned to the figures of 1547-1553 with 76.9% of testators leaving such gifts. The figures for church and poor have an appearance of volatility about them not matched by those for bequests to fellow clergy, which remain consistently high through all three reigns. As will be discussed further later in this chapter, the testators making bequests to clergy are consistently higher than those in Attreed's study. This should be no surprise since the will makers themselves are clerics and inevitably have clerical friends and colleagues. In the midst of change: of church, of state, of employment, of status, the giving and receiving of friendship is likely to have been critical.

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[52] Attreed, 'Preparation for death', Table 2, p. 46.

[53] Mayhew's comment is that this movement is a positive indicator of evangelical sympathy within the region and research community he is addressing. If that is so then the implication from this study (looking at clerical wills only and remembering that Mayhew's wills are overwhelmingly lay) is that, for the priests, if it came to a choice between one's soul and the poor, the soul mattered more at this point – that is the end of their lives. It seems likely that, as is suggested by the difference between the figures for lay and clerical preambles for traditional versus evangelical and the number of variations (versus Litzenberger, see Table 6.5, Appendix IV p. 374 and above pp. 286 -289), this is another sign of greater personal involvement and the psychological complexity of the choices being made. Mayhew, 'Reformation in East Sussex', p. 55.

4.2   Bequests to the Poor and Good Causes

Henry Saunders of Oldberrow refers to his provision for the needy, leaving the residue of his goods 'to [the] poor then as by another writing made with my own hand is already certified'. His will is brief: 5s to a goddaughter, 20s to his executor, Thomas Holmes and 5s each to Holmes's children (unnumbered). Saunders's inventory totals £8.5s.0d and was spread over two properties. How much in money or property he had already distributed or was not covered by the will is not known, but the poor of his parish were obviously meant to be substantial beneficiaries: Saunders could have been leaving the majority of his estate to the poor.[54]   Hugh Dowsing left £20 to be distributed to the poor 'which it is my will that the money which is given in the time of my sickness is to be allowed'. As already noted in chapter four, Dowsing was vicar of Trynley in Gloucestershire, when he was also serving a chantry post in Pauntley six miles away. These directions reveal an active charitable relationship between priest and parishioners that persisted even when he was on his sickbed.[55]

While the number of bequests is small compared to the whole, the evidence is that considerable thought was given to them overall; though some do leave money to the 'poor men's box', it was not always just a case of leaving a few pence to the poor for indiscriminate distribution.   For most of the clerics here, as with the laity, works of mercy and charity meant the provision of money or foodstuffs not to an amorphous group of society's 'poor' but to those of the local parish or a place with personal associations: more than that, it frequently meant a defined group within these localities. Robert Glaseman left bequests to the poor of all the parishes where he had

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[54] Will of Henry Saunders, (see fn. 21 above).

[55] TNA Catalogue Ref PROB/11/34/459/348 Register Bucke; Will of Hugh Dowsing – dated 1.9.1551.

also given to the church plus another parish where he had friends. These bequests were principally directed to 'cottagers', 'households' or those in almshouses, so ensuring that recipients were residents not vagrants.[56] Danyell Tybott's instructions for the poor of Tardybigge were precise, reflecting the fact that the county boundaries of Worcester and Warwick ran through the parish and it mattered, it was only 'the poverty of this side of the parish' (presumably Worcester) that was to receive his largesse.[57] William Lane, rector of Barcheston, (possibly both the former chantry priest of Fladbury and stipendiary service priest in Evesham), divided charity between 'every husbandman who hath a plou', (2s to buy a share) and 'every other householder who hath not a plou' (3s 4d each).[58] Richard Wever, vicar of Baschurch from 1555 until his death in 1574, left instructions for £100 to be divided variously (not equally) amongst the poor of Shrewsbury, Baschurch, Ellesmere and Lichfield. Wever also left a further bequest which is indicative of clerical support for not only appropriate groups but also appropriate causes including the marriages of the poor.[59]

Encouragement of the estate of marriage and ensuring that it was legally and properly managed occurs in the visitation articles and injunctions of the period. Principally in this present study support for marriage and the provision of dowry sums occurs in bequests to relatives, godchildren and servants but Richard Wever and Robert Glaseman specifically directed sums to that end in their provisions for the

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[56] TNA PROB 11/42a/15/13 Register Welles: Will of Robert Glasmond, will dated 20.9.1556, probate, 30.11.1558.

[57] A client of the Throckmorton's whose patronage and landholdings were spread over Worcestershire and Warwickshire, all Tybott's known appointments had been in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire and his bequests were to towns in these same counties. Nash wrote that the county boundary 'ran between the old church and the two chancels', quoted in Parishes: Tardebigge *A History of Worcestershire* Vol. 3 *VCH* (1913) pp. 223-230 fn. 5, URL: http://www.british-history.ac.uk.

[58] WRO 008.7 BA 3590/2 fo110 Will of William Lane, the document is damaged and the full date is unknown though it clearly says 13th year of Elizabeth (1571-72) which is at odds with the probate date of July 1570.

[59] TNA PROB 11/56 403-327 Register- Martyn Will of Richard Weaver, 13.5.1574, probate 25.8.1574.

poor, supporting the evidence of Mayhew's study.[60] Glaseman instructed that 5s each be given to five poor couples at the time of their marriages, these couples were to be chosen from the same four parishes to which he left other gifts. This bound his charity to those places he knew and felt were worthy of his support. Wever's bequest goes further and brings distinctly into play the question of religious allegiance requesting as it does the following, 'to 50 poor maids towards their marriage £50 so that they that be of my line and alliance to be first served and then at the discretion of mine executors the rest to be served to poor men's daughters'. While it has to be assumed firstly that 'my line' implies a family connection, 'alliance' is a more complex term; it could mean family (albeit a very large one) or possibly a shared patron but Wever's will is one of the three identified with an evangelical preamble, strongly suggesting a favouring of those who shared his confessional allegiance. This is supported not only by the generosity of his other gifts to the poor but the money Wever also left for repairs to the chancels of the main Shrewsbury churches, St Chad's and St Mary's, and his final request that his executors dispose of his goods in performing 'godly charitable deeds'.[61]

There were other good causes, which the clergy could and did support which are illustrative of local loyalties or interests. Thomas Marshall gave to the hospital of St John in Cirencester in 1573 and William Lane in 1570 left money for poor scholars in Oxford to be distributed at the discretion of the Bishop of Gloucester and bequests

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[60] Mayhew noted that bequests for the marriage of poor maids began to appear in 1541 and he notes twelve occurrences between that date and 1559 (the end date of his study). Mayhew 'Reformation in East Sussex', pp. 56-57,

[61] The will of Walter Mey, Treasurer of Hereford Cathedral, dated September 1558, made a similar but more elaborate bequest which encompassed the age and location of the beneficiaries but requests for prayers as well: 'I bequeath to 60 young men and maidens of Newland and Bicknor there born so that one of the persons to be married by (be) of the age of 23 years to every of them 6s.8d to be paid out of my debts the day of their marriage to pray for my soul, my father and mother souls saying at my tomb in Newland and Bicknor a paternoster and an ave'. TNA PROB 11/42a, ff.75r-76v Will of Walter Mey.

for the repair of two bridges.[62]   John Myrrye, who served long in the city of Gloucester before becoming rector of Redmarley in Worcestershire in 1557, made city foundations the main charitable focus of his will of 1579.[63]   Myrrye left bequests to 'Sir Thomas Bills' almshouses' and the hospitals of St Bartholomew, 'the Mawdalens' and 'the Margretts' and, the only instance in these wills, to Gloucester prison: to the prisoners and 'the gates where the prisoners be'.

All the thirty-one wills in this study that acknowledge a gift to the poor could provide an anecdote illustrating the same recognition of an obligation or readiness to assist the less fortunate. This is a good percentage (69%) of the wills on offer but no generalisation can be created from this: it cannot be assumed that the testators of the fourteen wills with no gifts to the poor never assisted such parishioners and neighbours. At the head of this section, the 'off-will' provision made by Henry Saunders was acknowledged and he is unlikely to have been alone in this practice. Thomas Tonge, of St Chad's in Shrewsbury in 1548, was rector of Middle in Shropshire from 1511 until his death in 1551.[64]   The neutral opening of his will, citing only Almighty God, is belied by his requests for dirige and mass and the provision for doles and the purchase of black cloth for thirteen poor people to attend his funeral and 'kneel and pray for my soul'. Though he makes no free provisions for the poor, funds were left to improve the town pavement, a gate and two causeways: it is unlikely that this is the only contribution he made to his parish's welfare in the forty years of his tenure.

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[62] GRO 1573/185 Will of Thomas Marshal; WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo110 Will of William Lane 1570-1571.

[63] Myrrye as noted in chapter four, had been a witness to one of the heresy cases heard under Bishop Bell. TNA PROB 11/16-15/12 Register Arundel; Will of John Myrrye 20.4.1579, probate 17.1.1580,

[64] TNA PROB/11/34/339/261 Register Bucke; Will of Thomas Tonge 20.8.1551 probate 11.9.1551.

5.   __CLERICAL FRIENDS__ [65]

5.1   __Clerics in Clerical Wills__

The historians whose work on scribes and will making has been noted above not only commented on the influence of scribes but also on the identification of their professional status. One outcome of this identification was evidence of the decline over time of clerical involvement in the experience of will drafting: Claire Cross noted this in Hull and Leeds which, she commented, reflected the patterns described by Aries in his work on France with similar findings garnered by Marsh in East Anglian wills.[66] As shown in Table 6.10 Attreed also referred to a decline in the appearance of clergy in the wills of her study, and included statistics for this in her measurements for 1525 to 1588.   Attreed's figures show that clerical participation in will making only reached above 50% once in the two-thirds of Henry VIII's reign covered by her study, 54.4% (in the period 1541 to 1547): prior to that the figures read 45.9% (1525 to 1540). In Edward's reign the figures drop back towards this earlier figure, 41.6%, followed by a small increase, to 43.4%, under Mary but when Elizabeth's reign is reached the decrease to 18.9% is dramatic.[67]

The reasons behind this decline might be combined from increased levels of literacy, providing a wider pool from which will writers could be drawn, joined with a

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[65] Tables 6.9, 6.10 6.11, 6.12 and 6.13 in Appendix IV, pp. 376-377 refer to the material in this section.

[66] Cross comments that they were 'rather unusual occasions after 1559 when a cleric did witness a will' while Marsh cautions in his article that we should not 'even in the early part of Elizabeth's reign (assume) that a clerical witness was also the scribe' and again that 'clergy were, nevertheless, declining in importance as will scribes' though he also notes that neither were they 'completely eclipsed'. Cross, 'Hull and Leeds' p. 46; Marsh, 'In the Name of God' pp. 227, 234.

[67] Cooper notes that, of the fifty-eight Coventry and Lichfield clerical wills in his study, one-third have clerical executors and witnesses, a figure that is low when compared with both Attreed's account and the evidence here. It is also interesting since the majority (36) of Cooper's wills are dated before 1547, however, as this detail is not broken down over the period of the will production (1533 to 1567) it is difficult to compare findings or draw comparative conclusions. Cooper, *Last Generation,* p. 149 and Appendix: Clerical Wills and Inventories Cited in the Text.

growing disinclination on the part of some testators to approach clergy for this purpose. The development of such reluctance might be ascribed to the consequences of controversy, religious unease, anti-clericalism and personal confessional antipathy to local clergy. It might also be further evidence of the will as a legal rather than a religious document. Equally, it might not be 'reluctance' as such; a greater pool of able writers increases the options of who might be available at the appropriate time. [68]

None of this should be too startling when considering the laity but what of similar patterns appearing in the wills of their clergy? One could say that, in a very obvious and distinct way, all these wills have 'clerical involvement' simply by virtue of the testator's sacerdotal status and assumed knowledge and experience. However, unless it can be clearly established that the testament is by a priest's own hand, as in Henry Saunders's case, intervention by an able writer was likely to be necessary given the common deathbed circumstances in which wills were drafted. William Paytwyn described Sir Henry Nicholson, who witnessed his will in 1555, as 'my ghostly father' which pretty clearly implies a traditional confessional sympathy but did not earn him a formal bequest though he may have been the writer of the will.[69] Richard Wever, vicar of Baschurch, bequeathed 10s to Sir Thomas Jackson 'my chaplain' who identified himself as the scribe of the will: Jackson was curate of Little Ness, a chapelry associated with Wever's parish so this was probably both a friendship and a professional relationship. Could it not be supposed that clergy would turn to their fellows at this significant, often concluding moment in their lives, perhaps especially those clergy whose lives had been affected by so much change and discontinuity?

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[68] Marsh's article in particular is illustrative throughout of the various hands, both clerical and lay, which might be involved in the will-making process, Marsh 'The Records of the Nation'.
[69] WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo161 Will of William Paytwyn 22.6.1555.

The available wills for this study suggest that this supposition would be in error: the priests here show a pattern of decline of clerical involvement which mirrors that of the laity but is in its own way even more dramatic (Table 6.10). If, as Spufford, Marsh and others have suggested, we can assume that the laity would choose a sympathetic scribe for their will-writing, then there are implications in a decline in the numbers of clerics choosing each other for attitudes to will-making, to intra-clergy relationships and fellow-feeling. It may be faint evidence of the direct consequences on the clergy themselves of the confessional conflict of recent years; whichever way an individual might lean, to whom did one now turn for this significant task? This dilemma might also be filtered through other consequences of the reforms: the reduction of the number of active priests within the local parishes might similarly reduce the critical availability of clerical friends or contacts (a circumstance occurring at the same point as the greater availability of literate laity). The professionalisation of the clergy, the move towards a graduate, elite group and away from close identification with their parishioners, could form part of an argument for a change of preference on the part of the laity but if these same developments have similar consequences for this generation of clergy it provides a truly telling inkling of the impact of Reformation and change experienced by this sector of the population. It provides another aspect of the clergy's changing vision of itself and its role.

Though the decline of the traditional relationship between clergy and will making might be reflected in the wills of the clerics themselves, evidence of personal relationships is still to be found. Fourth in the hierarchy of bequests are those to fellow clerics, following those to individuals and family (the highest numbers by a

substantial margin) and those to the poor. While the expectation of soul prayers might be implicit in any number of will bequests, of the eighty-seven bequests to clerics only fourteen are related to events that might in some way openly encourage their prayers (see Table 6.11, Appendix IV, p. 376).

The emphasis on support for the soul reappears in the Marian years and it is only in this reign that the desire for prayers is explicitly expressed: five wills provide seven of the twelve bequests including William Queneborough's endowment for an honest priest and Robert Glaseman's request for dirige and mass monthly for one year.[70] Only Glaseman is likely to have achieved his aim, dying as he did in September 1556, but what of Gilbert Gybbyns, priest of Peopleton in Worcestershire whose will was made in April 1558? Did his fellow parishioners quietly complete his request through the first months of Elizabeth's reign?[71]

The four wills in Elizabeth's reign which give to clerics attending funerals and which are included in the figures for funeral doles occur in 1558, 1561, 1564 and 1568.[72] Nicholas Capenhurst, left 12d each to every priest coming to his funeral in his confessionally unclear will of December 1558.[73] On the whole, this sum of one shilling appears as the standard sum for clerical attendance; Roger Hewster, in his will of 1561 does not expressly request attendance but directs that his clerical friends, 'shall have for their pains 12d apiece and the other mynysters as the custom is' while Robert Phylpott, dying as Vicar of Lynton in Herefordshire in 1568, requested that

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[70] LRO B/C/11 1558 Will of William Queneborough; TNA PROB 11/42a/15/13 Register: Welles, Will of Robert Glasmond.

[71] WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 f. 719 Will and Inventory of Gylbert Gybbyns 17.4.1558, probate 7. 5. 1558.

[72] See Tables 6.12 for bequest details, and 6.13 for the values of monetary bequests, Appendix IV, pp. 377.

[73] LRO B/C/11 1558 Will of Nicholas Capenhurst.

'every priest that come to my burial shall have for his pains, 12d'.[74] However, Thomas Perepyn gave rather more, leaving to the parson of Stratton and the vicars of Ampney and Preston 40d each 'if they do come to the service of my burial', a burial which was to be followed by drinking at the taverns of John Walker and Robert Ffarre in Cirencester.[75]   These bequests may suggest a lingering concern for an immortal soul or a priest's personal desire to have fellow priests send him off in suitable manner.   Either or both could apply but they do suggest a hankering for the traditional elements of what made a proper funeral.

The strength of kinship ties, professional and social networks underlie the bequests to fellow clergy just as they did those to family and lay contacts and, as with gifts to family, it is those of clothes and money which form the two most common bequests.[76] Aspects of bequest details are fascinating and remind us that these priests were ordinary men with family and friends of whom they were fond: Thomas Marshall was ready to divide his best surplice for two of his nieces, and Roger Hewster left the lease of garden to his nephew, Humphrey, against his finishing his apprenticeship until which time Humphrey's brother Richard was to have use of it. Such details provide 'human interest', almost gossipy, stories and connect us to the past in ways with which we can empathise; we might like to know if John Holcocke collected the 20s, gown and coat his uncle George Wollat left him 'that he come within a twelvemonth and a day' or if William Lane's sister Anne was able to receive

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[74] LRO B/C/11/1561/35bWill of Roger Hewster alias Lancestell, 10.11.1562, HRO Will 33/4/23 Will of Robert Phylpott, 2.9.1568.
[75] GRO 1563/152 Will of Thomas Perepyn 29.1.1564.
[76] For example, of the 155 bequests to family and kin over the years cited in this study, 52% (80) were clothes (24) or money (56).

the 40s he left to her 'if she be still alive'.[77] But there is more to be considered, bequests are evidence of obligations and duties given and received: to and from the church and poor, as recompense for prayers and will administration and to families as here shown and in discussions on wives and children.[78] In this next section, it is the implications of the bequests and debts involving fellow clerics that are discussed, traces of clerical community, of friendship and support within a profession, which had been so buffeted during the span of their careers.

5.2 Remembering Clerical Friends

Hugh Dowsing's 1551 will is evidence of many friendships, of a close community of priests working in parishes adjoining his own Gloucestershire parish of Trynley - alias Tirley - as well as others outside his immediate area. Dowsing was not without means (note above the bequest to his parish poor of £20) and his will was proved in the prerogative court of Canterbury.[79] He had a brother, Thomas, who had a large family and lived in London (though he was in attendance when the will was made) as well as a number of other friends, servants and godchildren to whom he gave, including 20s to a 'Mr Thomas Throckmorton the younger', presumably one of the locally important family of that name, so Dowsing was possibly not without connections.

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[77] GRO 1573/185 Will of Thomas Marshall, GRO 1559/48 Will of George Wallet (Wollat) curate of the Lee 19.10.1558, LRO B/C/11/1561/35bWill of Roger Hewster alias Lancastell, 10.11.1561 WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo110 Will of William Lane, 13E1 - 1570-1571.

[78] See above, chapter 4, pp. 197-198, fns 75-77, and chapter five, pp. 265 -267, fns 102-105 for the career of Richard Benson and below in the section 'Clerical Families'.

[79] TNA PROB 11-34-459-348-Register: Bucke, Will of Hugh Dowsing, 1.9.1551, probate 14.11.1551.

Of the ninety-five bequests in Dowsing's will, thirteen were to seven fellow clerics (none of whom are known to have been former chantry priests): Hugh Wall, the rector of Hasfield (though possibly absent and resident in an Oxford benefice),[80] William Molle, curate of Chaceley, Thomas Bell (possibly Ball), curate of Little Malvern, Thomas Lytell, vicar of Stanway, William Inman, vicar of 'Gowarne' (an unidentified placename), the unnamed vicar of Ashleworth and James Suffild whose whereabouts Dowsing does not give. Trynley, where he had been vicar since sometime between 1535 and 1540, is close to the Gloucestershire/Worcestershire border, Hasfield and Ashleworth are its near Gloucestershire neighbours, and Chaceley is in Worcestershire but only just.[81] Dowsing's early career, as curate and chaplain, was spent in Castle Morton, a Worcestershire parish about 15 miles from the Gloucester border: its adjoining parishes are Little Malvern, where Thomas Bell was curate, and Birtsmorton. James Suffild, to whom Dowsing left a 'furred gown of brown colour', was rector of Birtsmorton in 1561 so is likely to have been a friend from the 1530s.[82] It has not been possible to identify William Inman's parish of 'Gowarne' but by 1561 he was rector of Avening near Stroud, so likely to be another Gloucestershire friend.[83] The one known 'outlier' of this group is Thomas Lytell whose Gloucestershire parish of Stanway is some 20 miles to the east of the Trinley, Hasfield and Ashleworth group. Dowsing gave all of his clergy friends an item or

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[80] Baskerville, states that Wall also had an Oxford benefice and was there in 1551. The CCEd shows Wall was back in Gloucestershire as rector of Notgrove. The entry also states he was a pluralist, still holding the rectory of Hasfield and resident there, he was unmarried and did not preach. Baskerville, 'Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester under Bishop Hooper' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 44 (1929) pp. 1-32 (p. 27); CCEd Record ID: 126676 for Notgrove, CCEd Person ID: 48367 for all Wall's entries, citing CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey) 1561, last consulted 22.10.09,

[81] Dowsing was in Castle Morton in the Valor of 1535 but is recorded in 1540 visitation records as the vicar of Trynley (Trynley-now Tirley). WRO 802/2764 Acts Book of Bishop John Bell pp292-252,

[82] CCEd Liber Cleri 1561 and 1563, James Suffild, Rector of Birch Morton (Birtsmorton) until his death, replacement instituted there 30.6.1571, CCEd Person ID: 66593 for Suffild, last consulted 19.01.2010.

[83] CCEd Liber Cleri 1561 has William Inman as rector of Avening in 1561, death noted at institution of next incumbent in 1577. CCEd Person ID: 45870 last consulted 19.01. 2010.

items of clothing (quite often of his 'best') with both Hugh Wall and Thomas Bell receiving an additional sum of money, 6s.8d and 20s respectively. Dowsing was particularly generous in his bequests to William Molle, curate of Chaceley, who received 'my best buckskin coat, two shirts, my best cloak, one of my best coppers and 6s.8d'. [84] Molle is one of two clerics who are named as witnesses of the will so he may have been the scribe and was being rewarded accordingly. (The second priest in the witness list, Sir Thomas Dobyns, does not appear as a beneficiary).[85] Hugh Dowsing's career covered a relatively small geographic compass, which may have been his home territory; certainly he had maintained links with parishes and clergy he had known for some years and developed working relationships with those from the parishes to which he had been a neighbour for over ten years. The overall impression from this list is of Dowsing's possession of a close knit network of clerical friends whose places as beneficiaries had been earned through friendship, a shared profession and some shared experience of the church's reformation.

A crossover between this present study and Cooper's work provides similar evidence of a close-knit group of clerical colleagues and friends. Cooper cites the will of Richard Hatton, a curate of Shifnal in Shropshire from 1533 until his death in 1560 when he named fellow priest Michael Howell as his executor and a second, John Moreton, as witness. In 1548, the Shropshire survey records Michael 'Howle' holding a service in Idsal near Shifnal endowed by Thomas Howle for 120 years.

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[84] CCEd has a William Molle, curate of Harvington, Worcestershire, dated 20.9.1563. This is the only entry for this name CCEd Person ID: 84719 last consulted 4.3. 2010.

[85] Dowsing resigned his vicarage at this date, no doubt because of his illness, and was replaced by Thomas Dobyns who was deprived under Mary for his marriage. For Dowsing's resignation and Dobyns institution see CCEd Record ID: 314507, Dobyns' deprivation, CCEd Record ID: 314590 last consulted 19.01.2010.

These two pieces of evidence suggest that executor 'Howell' and service priest 'Howle' were one and the same and that by 1560 Howle's association with the parish and Hatton was of long-standing. John Moreton's 1548 role was as Warden of Newport College but he had been appointed vicar of Idsal in 1532, was rector of neighbouring Stockton from 1537 and still held both posts at the time of witnessing Hatton's will. Confirming his close association with the locality, Moreton was rector of Shifnal itself by June 1561.[86] As with Hugh Dowsing's, this will is evidence of friendships and a network of working and social relationships built up and maintained over many years.

Though not in Dowsing's will, chantry and service priests or collegiate colleagues do appear in the clerical wills of this study. Robert Oswen, described as 'clerk prebend' of St Mary's college in Shrewsbury in 1548, died in 1551 aged 57. He remembered two former members of the college who had also been named in the survey, Master Leche (Thomas Leche) and Sir Thomas Wodman, both of whom had been vicars-choral: Leche received a sarsnett tippett (a neck collar) and Wodman 40s.[87] William Taylor had held the 'Trinity Guild or Service' in St Mary Brodegate in Gloucester and in his will of 1556, Sir John Myrrye, once of Our Lady Crippa,

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[86] Moreton also appears in Cooper's study as executor and beneficiary of the will of John Holwaye, rector of Hinstock from 1526, who also died in 1560. Hinstock was another parish in the same part of Shropshire as Idsal, Stockton and Newport. Moreton's and Holwaye's friendship was also of long-standing as Holwaye had stood proxy for Moreton on his appointment as warden of Newport College. From Holwaye, Moreton received 'numerous bequests' including a black colt. It seems likely that Moreton was also associated with John Hosyer, formerly a prebendary of St Chad's in Shropshire and from 1544 Rector of Handsworth, near Sheffield, a John Moreton both preceded and succeeded Hosyer to Handsworth and on Moreton's appointment to Longford in 1554, one of his sureties was Thomas Lorde, yeoman, of Handsworth in Yorkshire. LRO B/A/1/14if48v Idsall 2.3.1532; LRO B/A/1/14iii f32r Stockton 7.9.1537; Lipkin *C&L Institutions* p. 106; CCEd Liber Cleri for 1558 and 1561; TNA E334/3 f13v Compositions Book 7.5.1544 for appointment to the College in Newport; TNA E301/41 - Chantry Certificates for Shropshire, certificate 3; TNA E334/4 f175r Compositions Book 7.7.1554 as rector of Longford near Newport, Shropshire; CCEd Person Ids 28307 and 28278 Liber Cleri occurrences in 1558 and 1561; Cooper, *Last Generation*, pp. 149-151, p. 187,

[87] TNA PROB 11-34-479-365 Register Bucke; Will of Robert Oswen will 21.6.1551, probate 24.11.1551.

appears in the witness list and received a surplice as a bequest. Both Taylor and Myrrye had been in Gloucester since at least 1532 when they both occur in the subsidy records.[88]

Henry Beardsmore, possibly a former inmate of the monastery of St Anne, Alcester and later a guild priest in Henley in Arden, was the 'poor priest' assisted by John Court and John Fyssher around 1561 when his pension was in arrears, (see chapter five pp. 239-241). According to that evidence his pension had not been paid for some time, possibly not since 1556. If that is the case, then the 1557 bequest from Edward Alcock, vicar of Wooton Wawen and once 'sub-guardian' of the College of Stratford upon Avon, of his 'black gown faced with worsted and my best sarcenet tippett, my best cap, my pair of pattens' must have been very welcome.[89] Beardsmore's younger colleague in the Henley guild in 1548 had been John Whateley who died as vicar of Crowle in 1565 leaving Beardsmore 1s 8d.[90]

Thomas Perepyn left the parson of Stratton in Gloucestershire his 'exposition of the bible' in 1564 and Richard Wever alias Mathewe left all his books with his apparell and £20 to his brother John, also a priest, and executor with their sister Anne of Richard's will.[91] There is no inventory available for Wever's PCC will but where

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[88] Will of William Taylor dated 16.4.1556,GRO 1556/131. There are other examples of continuing friendships from this study: Henry Hoop, former chantry priest of Mitcheldeane in Gloucestershire, was parson of nearby Blaisdon at his death in 1558. One of his bequests was of his 'best short gown' to Sir Edward Fryer of Newnham who had been the priest of 'King Edward's Service' in Newland ten years before. Nicholas Capenhurst, whose will is discussed above, passed on to Sir Thomas Warde (witness and possible scribe of his will), 'my short gown that was Sir Richard Branker's'. Branker had died in 1557, he was a fellow chantry priest of Capenhurst's in the Trinity church in Coventry, and preceded Capenhurst as vicar of Corley.
[89] WRO 008.7BA3950/2 fo157 Will of Edward Alcock, vicar of Wooton Wawen, 12.8.1557.
[90] WRO 008.7BA3950/2 fo28 Will and Inventory of John Whateley, vicar of Crowle, 10.4.1565.
[91] GRO 1563/152 Will of Thomas Perepyn, 29.1.1564; TNA PROB 11/56 403-327 Register: Martyn, Will of Richard Weaver, 13.5.1574, probate 25.8.1574.

books do appear in such documents, they are rarely treated with any care.[92] Only one

book appears with any form of title and that is James Morgan's bequest to William

Smallman, clerk, of his best cloak and 'my book of marmalat of St Matthew'.[93] It has

not been possible to precisely identify this work but the likeliest is that is a work by

the French evangelical martyr Marlorate who wrote on the gospels.[94]

5.3   Clerical Creditors and Debtors

Bequests to fellow clerics, while also being the final gestures of friendship,

could also arise from a sense of obligation, the repayment for services rendered.

Laurence Johnson's will, despite his years (late seventies) and its declaration that he is

'whole and perfect in mind and of my time healthy in body considering the time of

death to be uncertain do make my last will and testament' has the air of being made

under pressure. Originally serving as schoolmaster in Bucknell, Johnson was curate

of Ratlinghope, Herefordshire, and left all his goods to William ap Tider, parson of

Bedstone, Shropshire (close to Bucknell and part of Hereford diocese) in 1565. Ap

Tider was also made executor and the preamble continues 'such goods as god hath

laude ([allowed?]) unto me I commit to the discretion of William ap Tider, parson of

Baston [Bedstone] in the said diocese, clerk, in recompense for the travel costs &

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[92] The books in the inventory attached to the will of Sir John Marshall of St Chad's in Shrewsbury are variously described as 'certain books and trifles' and 'certain books, written papers and other trumpery'. These are just two of a number of similar entries in this frustrating inventory which also includes 'certain communion books' and 'certain images and other trumpery', the latter a favoured and rather unsympathetic word frequently applied in the inventory. LRO Doc Ref B/C/11 1564 Will of John Marshall of Shrewsbury 10.9.1564,

[93] HRO Will 30/3/63 Will of James Morgan, parson of Wheathill dated 25.1. 1575,

[94] Marlorate's work *'A catholike and ecclesiasticall exposition of the holy Gospell after S. Mathewe',* had been translated from Latin into English by Thomas Tymme and published in 1570.

business that the said William had at diverse & sundry times taken in my behalf conditioning that the said William be good to Mary Bowdler my servant'.[95]

Whatever services ap Tider was owed for (we cannot know if they were related to the church or private business) they may have occurred over a number of years. Johnson's will catered for two obligations, that owed to his old colleague and, importantly for Johnson, that to his servant Mary, if ap Tider did as he was asked and was good to her. George Wollat's bequest to the parson of Aston is a final example of a priest meeting his obligations both to another cleric and his own parishioners. Wollat had been 'Soul Priest' in the chapel of the Lee in Linton, Gloucestershire, and died as its curate in 1558. His will stated that 'the parson of Aston shall have 12d for every week that he serves here for me', suggesting that Wollat had ensured that his parishioners had the care of a locum during his final illness.[96]

If these last two instances are evidence of debts of duty being repaid, other more formal debts appear in the wills.[97] It is not possible here to address debt relationships with laity though it can be said that seventeen wills of the forty-five in this study contain details of lay debts owed to and by testators.[98] The principal focus of this present consideration is the relationships between clerics and debts that feature the church or other clergy. Such debts are in the minority: six wills produce eighteen

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[95] HRO WI 25/3/19 Will of Laurence Johnson, curate of Ratlinghope, 21.11.1565,

[96] GRO 1559/48 Will of George Wallet (Wollat), curate of the Lee, 19.10.1558,

[97] Though there is evidence in several wills of debts owed to and by the laity (particularly this latter category), this interesting subject must unfortunately to be omitted from this thesis. It is hoped that the material will form part of future work as the most common occurrence is of money owed to the priests by those of their communities, clerical and lay, who have borrowed sums of money or purchased goods or services.

[98] Although I have done so in a paper given in the History of Religion seminar series at the University of Birmingham, in November 2007,and hope to return to it.

instances of debt owed to the testator by fellow clerics and two wills have between them five debts owed to the church by the priest concerned.

Edward Alcock, formerly sub-guardian of the college of Stratford upon Avon and now vicar of Wooton Wawen, owed his maid servant for her wages, three others for purchases of rye, malt and coal, 3s 4d to the sister of his will overseer, together with eleven shillings owed to 'mother Jane living in the almshouses in Stratford upon Avon', perhaps charity he had collected on her behalf.[99] Alcock also owed 6s.8d to Robert Parrett (Parrott) of Stratford upon Avon, presumably the same Robert Parrot from whom he had leased a house there in 1550. According to Robert Bearman, Parrett left a reformed will and their association and the lack of any traditional elements in Alcock's own will leads Bearman to suspect Alcock as being similarly inclined.   However, there are three other debts added after his death for charges against the estate for sums due to Wooton church: at Alcock's funeral, 15 shillings, the costs of his month's mind and year's mind, 2 shillings, and 19 shillings due to his successor as vicar. No assessment of the tone of his funeral is possible, and we do not know what made up the funeral costs, but the charges for the month's and year's mind do not support a reformed or neutral stance; indeed these memorials would suggest otherwise.[100] If specified by Alcock, it was by previous arrangement and not written up in his will, though why that would have been necessary in 1557 is hard to see. Another possibility is that these events were more important to his friends who wished him to have the support, once more acceptable, of the traditional service. But would his executors have organised them without Alcock's prior sanction or if they had known that his sympathies were otherwise? These are questions we are left with,

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[99] WRO Worcestershire Wills, Vol. 1(ii) p. 178, n157, Will of Edward Alcock 12.8.1557.
[100] Bearman, 'The Early Reformation Experience', *MH,* pp. 68-110.

together with wondering if this happened often, a safety-first approach posthumously applied.

James Morgan, parson of Wheathill and Burwarton in Shropshire, owed Thomas Osterland, vicar of Highley, 5 shillings and the church of Wheathill '16 shillings which I had of Mr Warley'. In addition to these, seven other debts were due by Morgan, two of which were owed to the men who had been patrons for his appointment to Wheathill, William Holland and Robert Detton or Dytton, and a third to another of the Holland family, Thomas. No reasons are given for any of Morgan's debts which ranged in value from 5 shillings to £2.5s.0d, but these few entries, plus the bequest of the 'ambling colt' to Morgan's godson, George Holland (likely to have been the son of one of the Holland gentlemen) and the record of Morgan's institution to his rectory, show the closeness and complexity of social and professional relationships.[101]

There is evidence in these debts of overdue pensions and money owed to the current office of the dying priest. Both of Roger Hewster's pensions were overdue: one from his post as vicar choral in St Chad's, Shrewsbury was outstanding 'since Michaelmas last past' (about two months as his will was made in November) and the second from the Shoemakers' Service he had held in the same church which was ' to be received at the hands of Mr Basle (abr) Mr Sackvylle's man, 40s in part payment of my pension which is due unto me'.[102] Hewster was a Shrewsbury man, requesting

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[101] James (though he is entered as John) Morgan to Wheathill, 31.7.1566, patrons Mr Robert Detton and William Holland (both styled Gentlemen) Bannister, *Institutions – Hereford* p. 17, HRO Will 30/3/63 Will of James Morgan 24.1.1574/75.

[102] Equally this is confirmation of the continued payment of pensions thirteen years after their award. 'Mr Basle' must be an abbreviation of Mr John Baskerville who was the local receiver for the Court of Augmentations, hence his description as 'Mr Sackvylle's man', Richard Sackville being the Chancellor

burial in St Chad's near to his father and mother, who must have continued to work in the town: at the time of his death he was owed 'three parts of the carter's box in St Julian's with three offering days which is due unto me' there is also a bequest of to a woman friend or servant made up of clothes and an item related to his stall in St Julian's (where he was curate) though the detail is not legible.[103] Richard Holynshed noted precisely 'in the hands of Gilbert Sargerne forman of Edgecombe, 25s due to me the said Richard Holynshed at the feast of the annunication of Our Ladie last past for my quarters wages the due & for the space of 8 weeks from then next & immediately following': Lady Day being 25th March this matches nicely the date of his will, 22nd May (1560).[104]

Of debts to other clerics, there is one minor example and one major. Thomas James, priest of Bromsgrove, provides the minor key. Of the five debts listed in his will and inventory, four are owed by the Roose or Rose family and amongst them is one for 20s owed by William Roose, 'ye clerk': not willing to write this sum off but equally not wanting to overburden Roose, James says this debt can be repaid over the three years following his decease, a noble at a time.[105]

Henry Tanner who, in 1548, was the chantry priest of Our Lady in Hereford's All Saints, and awarded a pension of £5, left a will dated 17 April 1580 in which he is described simply as a clerk of the cathedral church of Hereford.   However, Tanner

of the Court of Augmentations at this date. 40s was a half-year's pension for Hewster's Shoemakers Service.
[103] LRO B/C/11/1561/35b Will of Roger Hewster alias Lancastell, 10.11.1561.
[104] LRO Doc Ref B/C/11 1560 Will of Richard Holynshead, priest of Edgecombe, 22.5.1560,
[105] WRO 008.7 1/1557 Will of Thomas James, clerk of Bromsgrove, 24.1.1557, inventory 29.1.1557, the date is written as January 1557 but probate is clearly 1556.

was, as his will testifies, a serious moneylender to laity and clergy alike.[106] The parson of St Owens in the city owed Tanner 10 shillings, as did 'Master Mason' (Richard Mason, a fellow Hereford vicar choral). Master Cowper, who 'oweth four pounds and has also one standing piece with a cover, one flat piece with a cover, one salt celler with a cover', could be Edward Cooper who was 'prebend episcopie' in the Cathedral or Walter Cowper who had held a chantry post in All Saints, Hereford, alongside Tanner in 1548. Master Aldridge, who 'hath a salt with a cover parcell gilt and six spoons and a flat bowl and oweth in money about four pounds', was Richard Aldridge a prebendary of Hereford Cathedral.[107]

These debts must both indicate and have supported Tanner's standing in the cathedral network, in the city itself and beyond. Tanner was well educated, possibly a bachelor of canon law, and in 1548 when aged 28, had been at the start of his clerical career. Appointed to his city chantry in All Saints only two years before the dissolution, his first cathedral appointment was as vicar choral in 1553. This was followed by two cathedral prebends in 1557 and 1568, a Pembrokeshire rectory, Stackpole Elidor in 1559, and two Herefordshire rectories, Little Marcle in 1571 and Fownhope in 1575: his patrons and sureties were all Herefordshire men except one

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[106] Only debts owed to Tanner by other clergy are discussed here, but Tanner had a considerable credit relationship with the laity. His will is in a PCC book and one section is described as 'part of the goods and debts of the said Henry Tanner'. The implication is that there was much more, perhaps the scribe did not want to spend time listing everything. What were recorded however were the details of nineteen outstanding debts, which refer to stables, leases, bills of hand and what must be items 'in gage' against money owed. For example, 'Mr Bowth oweth £40 by specialtie and had a salt with cover parcel gilt and had a standing cup with a cover': there are six similar entries for different individuals. In addition, there were debts of cash, three others for the supply of wheat and one for the supply of a 'load of tyle'. Master Lurens (Lawrence?) owed him for the 'tyle' and Tanner was holding of him 'five silver bowls, the one silver gilt and the others not'. The debts owed to Tanner totalled £129.0.0, which is a very large sum indeed, and, it should be remembered, this was only part of his story. TNA PROB 11/62/249/12 Register Arundell; Will of Henry Tanner 17 April 1580, see also Appendix V pp.387-388.
[107] Richard Aldridge, Bachelor of Divinity, University of Oxford, 22.6.1585, said to be a prebendary of Hereford 1560, vicar of Bicester, Oxon, 1564, rector of Fringford, Oxon, 1565: Foster, *Alumni Oxiensis, 1500-1714,A-K,* p. 6. In 1567 he was also Rector of Byford, Herefordshire and Great Rissington, Gloucestershire and still prebendary in Hereford Cathedral, CCEd Record ID: 155833

and he (Walter Jones LLB) was from no further away than Gloucester.[108] In addition to the incomes from these offices, Tanner was still in receipt of his chantry priest's pension of £5.0.0. A warrant dated 24 November 1566 includes his name with others of the cathedral clergy as 'all in perfect life and (having) no other promotions' (which must mean no promotions at the hand of the monarch) and therefore still eligible to receive a pension.   Currently it would appear that Tanner was only reliant on this pension alone for the five years of Edward's reign but, given his continued rise during Elizabeth's reign, it would be unwise to apply any confessional reason to this career gap; it is probably due to an equal gap in the evidence.   Henry Tanner was able to exploit his income sources and involve himself in the world of credit provision and lending money. In the context of a priest's life and career, the above list of items 'in gage', the sums owed against them and those for goods purchased, can appear an unattractive litany, but debts did not make up the whole of Tanner's will. He made bequests of clothes, money and goods to his servant William Kedward, gave the lease of a stable to Kedward's son and left gifts to other members of the Kedward family, in addition to various bequests to the poor and to the commons of the Cathedral vicars choral.

6.   **CLERICAL FAMILIES**

Though not of the formal, theologically correct categories of the poor and the church, there is one element of the reformed clerical life which this study has to recognise: the innovation of the clerical family through marriage. Though only two of

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[108] Henry Tanner: as Chantry Priest in All Saints, Hereford, 10.6.1546, TNA E334/3 f. 90r; as Vicar Choral, Hereford Cathedral, 11. 8.1553, TNA E334/5 f.124v; as Rector, Colwall 6 Apr 1557, Bannister, *Hereford Institutions, p.12;* as Rector, Stackpole Elidor, 21.11.1559, TNA E334/7 p.32v; to the prebend of Wellington, Hereford Cathedral, 19.10.1568, Bannister, *Hereford Institutions, p. 18;* as Rector of Little Marcle, 12.5.1571, Bannister, *Hereford Institutions,* p. 20; as Rector of Fownhope, 14.9.1575, Bannister, *Hereford Institutions,* p. 23.

the five deprivations above have been identified as due to marriage, there is evidence for twelve priests of this total cohort as married men: a legal status which, despite the long history of clerical concubines and cases such as that of Gilbert Fowler was not necessarily easily adopted or accepted.[109]

Richard Benson's will reflects the ambiguity of the relationship between a first-generation married priest, his wife and their children: it certainly gives a feeling for the complexity of the relationships. Benson and his wife had four children (three sons and a daughter, Anne) and he had fathered a 'base' daughter (Mawde) who also appears in the will.[110] In the first instance, Benson refers to his wife Anne as 'Anne Hawkins afterwards Benson' and then calls her Anne Hawkins for the remainder of the document, referring in turn to Anne's three sons, James, Samuel and Tymothy, as each being 'the son of Anne Hawkins'.[111] Then, at the end of the will, comes the statement which clearly claims the boys as his own: 'I will that Sir William Pyrke parson of Kinnersley shall have the governance of my three children James, Samuel and Tymothy, until they come to the age of 14 years and to find them meat drink and clothes having therefore yearly out of my lands and leases £10 yearly to be paid by my executor'.

Benson's friendship with William Pyk must have been close for the latter to be entrusted with the care of his children. It is suggested here that they shared a religious sympathy, which combined with Pyk's former role as Kinnersley's schoolmaster to

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[109] See chapter four, pp. 205-206.

[110] I suggest that Anne is Benson's daughter but she is referred to as Anne Hawkins' child throughout. Benson leaves her £20 from property 'to the performance of her marriage' but nowhere does he say that she is his child, although the implication, given the size of the bequest, is that she must be and thus legitimate. He also acknowledges his daughter Mawde, she is his and 'base' and is to have £10 also 'to the performance of her marriage'. HRO HD4/1/134 1558/4 Will of Richard Benson, 10.12.1558

[111] Will of Richard Benson see note above.

encouraged Benson to leave his sons to Pyk's guidance.[112]   The earnest preamble to Benson's will with its praise of God as his 'creator and redeemer' and the request for his body 'to be buried in the earth' shares something with Pyk's own will written in 1566. [113]   Pyk's preamble declares 'first and principally I commend my soul unto almighty god my only creator and redeemer and my body to Christian burial in sure hope and certain expectation of the resurrection at the last day'.[114] Unlike Benson, Pyk had both a curate and a clerk in his list of witnesses, so who wrote the document is not known but it appears to be a clear statement of belief in the new ways rather than the old.

If the age of thirty-eight in the 1548 certificates is correct, Benson would have been still under fifty at his death in December 1558, the year of high mortality, so his death is likely to have been unexpected. Richard Benson obviously cared about children and their mother: in the end he denied none of them.[115] Although Elizabeth was now Queen her reign was less than a month old at the date of the will and no one could yet have known what her reaction to married priests and their families was likely to be.

Including Richard Benson, wills have been found for six of the twelve priests for whom there is evidence of marriage all six naming wives and/or children. At the relatively late date of 1574, the probate records for the administration of George

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[112] Whether it was scholarship or the religious education of his sons with which Benson was most concerned the implication of the bequest appears to be that the boys should board with Pyk rather than with their mother so the level of friendship and sympathy between the two men must have been significant.

[113] For Benson's will preamble see chapter five, p.267, fn 105.

[114] HRO 35/2/25 1566 Will of William Pyk 10.3.1566.

[115] Benson also left his wife Anne his house in Almeley, with arable land and property, as long as she did not re-marry, and it is poignant to read his direction of money and instructions to his executors requiring them to weatherboard the house and finish the building of the barn. HRO HD4/1/134 1558/4 Will of Richard Benson.

Pomfray's will, though difficult to read, name Margaret Pomfray as the executrix and call her 'vidua' (widow) with Richard Pomfray as executor. Neither of these names appeared in any capacity in the will made in August the previous year when Pomfray named George and John, 'my brother's sons', as executors. Whether Pomfray and his wife had regularised a pre-existing relationship after making the will or perhaps had been separated and estranged, the lack of any acknowledgement may indicate that in some cases a clerical marriage was still not an easy matter to resolve or publicise.[116]

Histories such as these remind us once more of the individual circumstances that lie beneath the superficial order imposed by tables and statistics. The will of Richard Benson is explicit in its demonstration of his divided attitude to his wife and children, a mix of denial and acknowledgement, care and duty, while that of George Pomfray may hint at a deeper divide. Both could be described as family stories, and we can only speculate in Pomfray's case, but Benson's sits squarely in the context of the Reformation and the influence of religious-political events on his life is evident if only in the fact of his marriage. When did he marry? The later period of 1547 to 1549, when the favourable trend towards clerical marriage became obvious, is most likely: certainly this is the first point with any feeling of security about it. Confirmation came with the ruling of 1549 so perhaps this is the date we should opt for but there is no way of knowing the length of his relationship with Anne Hawkins; nor are we given the ages of his children, except that the boys are not yet fourteen and the girls unmarried.[117] At some point prior to this date there was also the relationship

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[116] GRO 1574/40 Will of George Pomfraye, 15.8.1573.

[117] Confirmation may be too strong a word here. Helen Parish suggests that confidence in the marriage of clergy was a very tender shoot and widespread nervousness lay behind the 1552 Act confirming that such marriages and resulting children were legitimate. But if Benson did have genuine evangelical views then this would have been the date at which he could legally take this step, outwardly showing his allegiance. This would make him a candidate for the views of David Peet whose argument that

that produced Mawde, his 'base daughter', whose mother is unknown. It is most likely that his marriage to Anne occurred after 1549 and the status of their four children was legalised by the act of 1551: Mawde's status is 'irregular' and evidence of a fall from grace. Benson's career, however, is described above and at no point does it show any sign of failing until 1553-54. Of a reforming tendency he might have been but it was those aspects of the Reformation, which attempted to address the celibate status of priests and to regularise their sexual relationships with women, which had the most direct effects on Benson's career. With Mary's attempts to turn back the reforms of her brother's government and her demand that clerical wives be given up, Benson's formal clerical career ended, though the tone of his will does not suggest an unambiguous attitude to his wife. Benson was not unique in this dilemma and at the end he did acknowledge Anne and all his children and provided for them.[118] Perhaps the will and probate evidence of George Pomfray hide a similar story but with a different outcome? Impossible to say, but if so then the division and its consequences obviously cut much deeper and persisted.

Four other clerics from this study left wills acknowledging and supporting wives or children. Two of the four, William Marbury and Thomas Perepyn, may have been ex-religious, Marbury of Dore Abbey in Herefordshire and Perepyn of Flaxley,

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married clergy should be accepted as reformist simply by virtue of this action, Parish discusses. The opposite view is that (as with preambles) unless there is supporting evidence to the contrary such priests should be numbered amongst the conservative. Parish's view is that neither of these approaches is correct, 'it is unwise to assume', she says, that their responses to reform or theological controversy were on the one hand 'sympathetic or hostile' or on the other 'rigidly defined or static'. Given the doubts and ambiguity shown here, she is probably right. Helen L Parish, *Clerical Marriage And The English Reformation: precedent, policy and practice* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) p. 200.

[118] As the marital history of Paul Bush, first Bishop of Bristol shows. Having voted against clerical marriage in 1549, Bush married very soon after its legalisation in a move which might have been a rush to conform in order to preserve his position and diocese. Though he was widowed four months after Mary's accession, his breaking of his original vows of celibacy made his deprivation inevitable. Following this, Bush wrote in defence of the traditional mass and the doctrine of the real presence and, unlike Richard Benson, left a very traditional will on his death in September 1558. Will of Paul Bush in J H Bettey, ed. *Records of Bristol Cathedral*, Bristol Record Society Vol. 59, (2007) pp. 25-28.

Gloucestershire.[119] Aspects of Thomas Perepyn's will have been discussed above in this chapter. It makes no mention of his wife so one assumes he was widowed by this date (January 1563/64 when he was aged about 74). He cites as his principal beneficiary and executrix his daughter, Margaret Perepyn, to whom he leaves the majority of his goods and clothes.[120] By contrast, William Marbury's wife must have been some years his junior and still living when he made his will, aged 72, in 1584.

Marbury had survived his less than flattering description in the survey, 'of small learning and little honesty, not mete to keep a cure', and did keep a cure: that of Peterchurch in Herefordshire where he is recorded in the Liber Cleri of 1567 and where he was living at his death.[121] How long Marbury had been married is not known but, given his age of 72, he had come late to family life: he left a wife, Johan, and an adolescent son, Edward. Marbury's annual income would have been made up of his Peterchurch stipend, which at the time of the Valor paid its incumbent £4.16s.0d net of the 10ths taxation, and his pensions of £3.19s.5d out of his chantry post, the usual ex-religious pension would have given him an additional £5, giving him a possible maximum formal annual income of £13.15s.5d. Paying such a low annual stipend, it is likely that Peterchurch was a vicarage which could only be served

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[119] Marbury: Dispensation to Monks of Abbey Dore, Hereford, 20 May 1537 - includes the name William Marbye (as Marbury is sometimes written) to hold benefice and change habit. Perepyn: Thomas Parpyn, 'monk of [the] Cistercians', Flaxley, was dispensed to hold benefice with change of habit, 20 Sept 1536. Skeeters suggested an alternative identification, Thomas Perin, a Dominican of London, but given the coincidence of name and county Flaxley seems the likelier location. Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers,* p. 73 (Parpyn) p. 99 (Marbury).

[120] Skeeters' biographical note for Perepyn refers to his appointment to the rectory of Saltford in Somerset from 1556, following the deprivation of the previous incumbent. Perepyn then lost this place on Elizabeth's accession by which date he may have already been in Cirencester. The CCEd records a Thomas (surname illegible) as perpetual curate there in 1561, resident, unmarried (if this is Perepyn, perhaps he was so described if he was a widower at this date) and non-preaching. GRO 1563/152, Will of Thomas Perepyn; Skeeters', *Community and Clergy',* Appendix 1, p. 185; Baskerville, 'Dispossessed Religious', p. 108; CCEd Record ID: 126559, citing CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey), last consulted 22.10.2009.

[121] CCEd Record ID: 155845, citing CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey) 1567, as Morbery, HRO 28/4/45, Will of William Marbury, 1.11.1584.

by a priest who had some other source of income, such as an ex-religious or chantry pension. There are only three bequests in Marbury's will, testifying to his relative poverty and the importance of caring for his wife and son. After leaving one shilling to his parishioners, all his goods 'moveable and immoveable' went to Johan and he left just £4 'of English money' to be delivered to Edward when he reached the age of sixteen.[122]

The simplest will of all, even more so than William Marbury's, belongs to Thomas Test, clerk of Berkeley. Test's will is dated 8 November 1554 and contains one bequest leaving all his goods to his wife, Jane, whom he makes his executrix. [123] Test served St Andrew's chantry in Berkeley until its dissolution and was curate of Hill Chapel, still in Berkeley parish, in 1551. His answer to Bishop Hooper's questions had been much like the majority, the examiner noting that he 'answered like the minister of Stone'. Test knew the number and place of the Ten Commandments but could not repeat them; for the creed, he could repeat but not prove it; finally he repeated the Lord's Prayer and knew it was our Lord's Prayer 'because delivered by Christ to his apostles but where written down he knows not'.[124] The preamble to Test's will is more fulsome in its acknowledgement of the Queen on earth than it is to the Queen in heaven and all her company. In an ambiguous elaboration which contrasts with the simplicity of the soul bequest, ('my soul to almighty god and my body in Christian burial') and the gift of all his goods to his wife, Mary Tudor and her consort are given all their titles in full.[125] This and his wife might imply spiritual

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[122] Will of William Marbury, 1.11.1584; Vicarage of Peterchurch, Valor Ecclesiasticus, Vol. 3 Diocese of Hereford, p. 31.
[123] GRO 554/128 – Will of Thomas Test, 8.11.1554.
[124] Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation' p. 119.
[125] Will of Thomas Test – Mary and Philip's titles here stretch as far as Burgundy, Brabant and 'counties' of 'Haspurge' (Hapsburg) including Flanders.

sympathy with the stance of his (very married) Bishop Hooper and the late king but it recognises where temporal power lay.

Thomas James of Bromsgrove died in 1558 aged 80, leaving bequests to his children, his grandchildren and his now widowed son-in-law. Given his age and the lack of any mention of his wife, James is also likely to have been a widower. As none of his children are described as 'base' one must assume that there had been a wife and they were of legal status. Exactly when James married is not known but it must have been some years before it was clearly legal for a priest to do so, a possible explanation being that he took orders after being widowed. Despite his marriage, one cannot look to the preamble of this will for evidence of an evangelical outlook: James leaves his soul 'to almighty god, my maker & redeemer & to our blessed lady Saint Mary & to the blessed company of heaven'. This conforming preamble might confirm that a priestly vocation arose after his wife's death but given that the date of his will is January 1558, almost a year before Queen Mary's death, perhaps it is as likely to be indicative of 'safety' as anything else. If his marital status had made his position vulnerable, what would a fervent evangelical declaration have meant for his children and grandchildren?[126] Legally, it is unlikely that there would have been any issue, but locally it might have caused ripples.[127] Christopher Marsh, amongst others, has commented that for the laity at least the preamble was not an essential platform for a fervent confessional declaration and that it is unlikely that the majority of will makers

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[126] Duffy in his discussion of wills makes the point more than once that reticence was the stance adopted by those of the traditional faith through difficult periods, an approach which could equally be adopted by evangelical sympathisers. Duffy, *Stripping the Altars*, pp. 504-523; WRO 008.7/BA3950 parcel 2 f.14 Will and Inventory of Thomas James, 24.01.1557/58.

[127] The only known case of legal problems arising from a will preamble is that of William Tracy whose will of 1531 resulted in a posthumous heresy trial, exhumation and burning. See Litzenberger, pp. 29-31 and Marsh, Christopher, 'In the Name of God', p. 238.

felt that it was worthwhile making waves.[128] Against this speculation of concern for

his neighbours however is an indication of local sympathy with the new thinking for

Bromsgrove had a second married priest who must have been known to James: John

Tybson who died in 1557. Identified in the formal listings of Worcestershire wills as

'Sir John Tybson, clerk of Bromsgrove', Tybson's will is damaged but his

identification of himself, as priest is just readable. Tybson left a wife, Margaret, and

three daughters and a son all under sixteen.[129] Having more than one married priest in

close proximity matches the findings of Parish in her work on clerical marriage.[130] In

parishes around Bromsgrove, married priests were deprived of posts (but some only

temporarily) as instances of domino-like deprivations and installations occurred in

1554. Thomas Tyrer, vicar (unmarried) of Pedmore northwest of Bromsgrove, was

appointed to Frankley on 4 October when William Wyllys was deprived for marriage.

To the south of Bromsgrove, Robert Moreton was deprived for marriage of his post in

Stoke Prior, to which on 11 October, William Wyllys moved in. [131] As discussed in

the case of Richard Benson previously, it is possible that Tybson had only married

after the passing of the 1549 Act (four children in eight years is not impossible).

Perhaps James had set an early example, which Tybson was ready to follow, but if not

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[128] Marsh, 'In the Name of God', p. 238.

[129] WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 f.178 Will and Inventory of Sir John Tybson, clerk of Bromsgrove

[130] Parish discusses the evidence for clusters of married priests in the dioceses of her study (Chichester, Lincoln, Salisbury and Winchester). She notes that married priests and subsequent deprivations can be identified in both areas of evangelical support and more traditional parishes. Parish, *Clerical Marriage* pp. 217-219.

[131] Baskerville noted the same pattern of events in the diocese of Norwich, believing that almost all those deprived were found new livings within a relatively short time. Parish cites similar evidence in her own study. The injunctions issued at the start of Mary's reign made it clear that if a wife were given up then the priest would be employed in another parish. The parishes of Frankley and Stoke Prior are about ten miles apart, hardly a prohibitive distance for couples or families who wished to keep in contact. It is also interesting to note that it is the same patron involved in both parishes, John Lyttleton, a member of the same Catholic family who became heavily involved in the Gunpowder Plot nearly sixty years later. Baskerville, 'Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese, 1555-part 1', *EHR*, Vol. 48, (1933), p. 45, Parish, *Clerical Marriage*, p. 190, WRO Davenport 266, 4.10.1554 Thomas Tyrer appointed to Frankley by John Lyttleton on deprivation of William Wyllys for marriage. WRO Davenport 272, 11.10.1554 William Wyllys appointed to Stoke Prior by John Lyttleton on Robert Moreton's deprivation for marriage.

James, then there were others in the region that had taken the opportunity for marriage and family life.

7.   CONCLUSION-A GOOD END?

A theme of this thesis has been to consider the consequences for individuals of the responses demanded by new ideas and those by imposed change events: aspects of these consequences are externalised in the wills highlighted here. Though never homogenous or untroubled, the church and its relationships with government, clergy and parishioners, was established and familiar at the start of most of the clerical careers examined here: since then it had been re-fashioned by the Crown, its servants and by members of that same church. The wills in this chapter are partial evidence, at the end of their lives, of how the experience as priests living and working under the Tudors marked them: to live within this new world at large required each one to refashion their own inner world.

Whether the choice was to retire quietly and live on a pension or to continue as an active priest, accommodations were necessary for all. This would have been true for Henry Saunders, who accepted his continued appointment as schoolmaster in King's Norton but whose subsequent history and will shows him resolute in his attachment to traditional faith, and for William Queneborough, who opted for the safety of a chaplaincy with the like-minded family who were his patrons and friends. In opposition to this, the appearance of clerical wives and children is a most explicit example of refashioning. For those committed to reform, to present oneself as a married priest within a parish may have been an affirmation and a reason for joy but

would still have demanded personal adjustment and we have seen that this was not easy.

The ambiguity demonstrated in the preambles and mix of bequests in the documents discussed here is evidence of the difficulty achieving accommodation and transition. The endeavours by some to hang on to traditional ways (gifts to re-founded religious houses 'if any there be erected or set up again' and the desire for funeral prayers) show the lingering ties to known forms. The shifts in giving to the church and to the poor as they reflect the narrowing and differing emphasis of holy giving, the waxing and waning within regimes, are also indicative of the ways in which structures evolve. Charitable giving to the church and the poor had always been acceptable: unlike purgatory it had biblical sanction. Though the evangelical perceptions of their worth to God and the individual differed, such activity was not discredited but became instead an alternative, proper channel for the funds and emotions once directed to soul salvation. This could be described as one of the 'novelties bonded with pre-existing aspirations and experiences' that underlay, in Shagan's view, the lay population's response to the reformation.[132] But as with the laity, how much more so for the majority clergy, successful transformation into the reformed world was grounded in the old. They worked with what they had to facilitate continuity, though equivocation may have been the most many could safely manage.

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[132] Ethan Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) p. 310.

Conclusion

1.   **CHANGE MANAGEMENT AND STATE FORMATION**

The methodology outlined in chapter one suggested a particular perspective from which to consider the Reformation operations of the Court of Augmentations and the management of change principally in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI.   It particularly discussed the dimensions of leadership needed for both the initiation and the bringing in of cultural change, this in itself it is suggested adds to the general discussion of why and how change happens. The discussion then moved on to the phases which successful implementation demands: though perhaps fortuitous, there is evidence for both the dimensions of leadership and phases of activity until the end of Edward's reign.   For Mary Tudor returning to the traditional church was not 'change' but recovery, that it might require the same strategy as reformation was not recognised. Such an approach would have been difficult for a Queen to whom the new theology was heresy.[1]   Elizabeth had her own religious agenda and an approach fired by experience of the previous reigns but was more fortunate than her sister in that her state management was under the eye and hand of William Cecil. In religious sympathy with reform and a career wholly within the Reformation context, Cecil's closest friends and colleagues included Walter Mildmay whose own career had developed within the new courts of Surveyors and Augmentations and the posthumous legacy of Thomas Cromwell.

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[1]Though Mary's government machinery had in its personnel many ex-Edwardine councillors and civil servants, the faith and the allegiance of the Queen to Rome made the direction of travel obvious to all.

It is suggested here that examining the reforming activities of the governments of Mary and Elizabeth from the change management perspective might reward another study. Either or both would produce valuable insights in their own right but would also further the close investigation of state formation, a conceptual framework to which this study it is believed makes a positive contribution. Braddick's conclusion to his book describes the behaviour of the officials as 'actions without design, patterns without blueprints'; the evidence here for active change management supports this expression for the period under review. Today we have the blueprints as a result of various disciplines addressing why and how change happens – early modern officers did not but were instead responding, as human beings do, to the problems presented to them by firstly, a monarch who definitely wanted answers and solutions (Henry VIII) and secondly, by one who had a Godly kingdom to bring in (Edward VI).

2.   CHANGE MANAGEMENT AND INDIVIDUALS

Following the discussion of the methodological background, attention focussed very much on the centre and the Edwardine government's approach. After chapter two and the grand ideals of reforming intent and implementation, the focus narrowed to the detail of what was being dissolved and the lives affected. It then glanced back in the careers of the survey priests before facing forward again in the final two chapters with their post-1548 lives and deaths, ending over forty years from the events which are at its heart: the Act for the Dissolution of the Chantries, passed in 1547 and its implementation in 1548. It has endeavoured to produce a narrative based using the available original documents and anecdotes to describe what

happened to some of the priests directly affected by these events. It has also, in its discussion of two very different forms of change management, aimed to set these in the context of the 'macro' (cultural) background and the 'micro' (psychological) experiences of the priests who were the collateral targets of the removal of purgatory and soul memorials. In his conclusion to Giovanni Levi's discussion of microhistory, Burke commented that 'we' (historians, sociologists and anthropologists) should be considering the value of linking 'the microsocial with the macrosocial, experiences with structures, face-to-face relationships with the social system or the local with the global': such a marriage has been attempted here.[2]

The prosopographical aspect of this thesis continues and supports the work of other historians of Reformation clergy. At the detail level, as discussed en route, it agrees some findings (ages, stipends, titles to orders, for example), highlights where differences might be found or examined in future work (regional numbers of ex-religious in memorial posts compared to the clerical population as a whole, the county differences in the type of posts on offer and thus local memorial preferences). Evidentially, however, examination shows that this group of men was not 'special': as individuals they each have a story to tell, some more interesting than others, but overall they provide a good representation of the population of working priests of their period. We meet poor priests and those better off, the educated and those 'indifferently learned (but) of honest conversation', some for whom the posts were sinecures, others who mixed memorial posts with other livings and those in just a single post: working in cathedrals, colleges, churches and chapels, some were former monastics, most were secular. Being a purgatory priest, serving a chantry or service,

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[2] Peter Burke 'The Microhistory Debate (P.B.)' pp. 115-117, a concluding commentary to: Giovanni Levi 'On Microhistory' in Peter Burke ed. 'New Perspectives on Historical Writing', (2nd edition), Polity Press (Cambridge), 2001 pp. 97-120.

was one of the openings available to working priests: it was a critically defining characteristic only in the context of the Reformation and the changing theology which then singled out their category of service. This portion of the Tudor clergy found themselves of contemporary significance because of their place at a particular time: a place that then led them to inclusion here.

Purgatory and the relief of the soul had a strong hold on the contemporary mind and imagination. The evidence of the lesser endowments described in the survey demonstrates the readiness to invest even small amounts of capital, be it money, land or stock, to provide some post-mortem remembrance and peace of mind, albeit for some it may have been in much the same vein as today's non-churchgoers have children baptised: 'better safe than sorry'. Accommodating the loss of customary sources of spiritual support was just one aspect of the transition demanded by the English Reformation of its parishioners both clerical and lay: as heavily emphasised in this study, for the priests of the surveys it was compounded by the loss of place, income and, for some, status. As an aid to understanding exactly what this might mean, an analogy has been drawn with today's ministers of the Church of England and the reaction following the agreement of 1992 to admit women to the priesthood and the first ordinations in 1994.

Against the background of this mixed approach, a balance of narrative and anecdote with analysis of facts and figures has been the intention. Burgess and Kümin have exchanged views on such approaches that might be roughly summarised as a preference for either a 'one to many' (Burgess, extrapolating wider implications from a select few, thoroughly mined, sources) or 'many to one' (Kümin) approach. For

Kümin, quantitative methods applied to a variety of sources provide historians with the 'descriptive tools to clarify the contents of serial records'.[3] There are limitations to be acknowledged, missing documentary evidence being one part of the argument (known, evocatively, in prosopography as the 'dark number'). We also have to account, in some way, for other forms of 'dark number': the 'unknown unknowns', small events of everyday life that affect those larger events (the ordination title, the new appointment, the court case or the will) which we do then get to know about. Attempting to quantify the evidence, though, is an exercise that should not be ignored even if flawed: there is a case for the value of statistical evidence but it cannot stand alone. As with arguments regarding the value of will preambles (that is only if and when they can be combined with a nice examination of text and context) similar contextual support and wider analysis are demanded. At one level, it can be shown that John Ree, schoolmaster and chantry priest of Rock, was allowed to continue as schoolmaster and was paid his stipend regularly from 1548 onwards. He and others appear in the Augmentation payment rolls and so can be counted and tabulated accordingly. But to this apparently smooth record can be added the texture provided by the letters of Ree's that survive in the National Archives and show the effort involved on the part of an elderly priest (Ree was already said to be seventy years old in 1548) to collect his money once or twice a year.

Through such examination and narrative tracking, the professional lives of a small proportion of the clerical population have been highlighted, men whose various

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[3] Clive Burgess and Beat Kümin, an exchange of articles and views in the *English Historical Review,* Burgess, 'Pre-Reformation Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Lessons from London and Bristol', *EHR* Vol 117, No. 471 (2002) pp. 306-332; Kümin, 'Late Medieval Churchwardens' Accounts and Parish Government: Looking Beyond London and Bristol', *EHR* Vol 119, 480 (2004) pp. 87-99; Burgess, 'The Broader church? A Rejoinder to 'Looking Beyond', *EHR* Vol 119, 480 (2004) pp. 100-116.

careers progressed during the whole period of reformation, from its Henrician inception to its Elizabethan settlement. Having determined the geographic boundaries of the research, no other boundary was set: no attempt was made to exclude any of the men whose names and details were recorded in the chosen county surveys, the intention was to be inclusive just as the Act itself was and to consider the ramifications for the range of men it covered. For some, the economic effects were minimal: Thomas Magnus, an eminent figure within state administration, was at the end of his diplomatic career and had a wide range of income sources; Hugh Coren continued his career path in the higher echelons of the church in England and Ireland, ending his life as Bishop of Oxford in 1568. But it would be wrong to assume that there were no consequences at all for these men and the intention has also been to consider, given modern research, the psychological reverberations of human reaction to change and its management.

3.   **LOSS, CHANGE, ACCULTURATION, NEGOTIATION**

All shades of response are suggested as one gets closer to individuals, from the rejection of new ideas (Henry Saunders) to their adoption (Richard Wever, given his will preamble and legacy for 'godly, charitable deeds')[4] but 'tentative', 'ambivalent' and 'equivocal' are the adjectives that most readily come to mind. [5] Which is not surprising for this generation of clerics having to adjust and re-adjust with church and monarch. Norman Jones has written of the importance of time, of generation change and acculturation in the acceptance of English Reformation, but it is those who were

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[5] For Henry Saunders' employment and deprivation, see chapter five, p.248, fn. 70; for his Will and bequests, see chapter six pp. 282-288, 299,302,303,328, for a chronology of his career see Appendix V, pp. 385-386; for the Will of Richard Wever (Weaver) alias Mathewe, chapter six pp. 300-301,303,312.

making the first steps who have been considered here, those who were in the thick of it: how they handled their own acculturation and accommodation. In addition to his work on loss and change, discussed in chapter one, Marris has written of the attachment of individuals to institutions and the importance of this attachment to personal constructions of cultural meaning. In his assessment of attachment and the control of uncertainty, Marris refers to the way in which individuals continue to maintain their links with the source of their attachment even if the support offered changes. A strategy is sought in order to maintain association with another person or institution with which there is strong identification: this is essential in the control of uncertainty.[6] In the mix of career steps and will evidence one can see the personal strategic ploys which enabled connection, controlled uncertainty, maintained continuity and thus, their own and successors' 'acculturation', however, it is well to consider Marris' observation that 'though we can form new attachments, we can never lose one without grief'. [7]

At a distance from the personal to the state, acculturation occurs as one of the five phases that Bate identifies in his analysis of successful strategies for change. In order these phases, deformative, reconciliative, acculturative, enactive and formative underlie the five dimensions, outlined in chapter one, required to implement cultural innovation.[8] In the discussion of the first 'deformative' phase, it is made clear that it is this phase which jolts the existing culture and its members into awareness of the proposed transformation and what this means for traditional beliefs and structures.

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[6] Peter Marris, *The Politics of Uncertainty: attachment in public and private life,* (USA and Canada Routledge, 1996) p. 52.
[7] Marris, *The Politics of Uncertainty,* p. 55.
[8] For the phases of change strategy, see Bate, *Cultural Change*, pp 217-234; the five dimensions are: aesthetic, political, ethical, active and formative, see chapter one of this thesis pp. 31-38, Bate*, Cultural Change,* pp. 238-288.

Bate refers to writings which cite how an individual 'need not be conscious of holding a basic belief…he thinks and acts in accordance with such a basic belief as if it were true' and 'Commitment to these beliefs is so fundamental that people usually go through life without needing the opportunity to express them explicitly'. The religious ideas of the Reformation and the propositions of the cultural change introduced by Henry VIII and Cromwell, by Cranmer, Edward VI and his uncles, and implemented by the Court of Augmentations, provoked individuals into a consideration of both belief and commitment. These were serious matters: not only intellectual ideas for an academic or clerical elite to discuss, but the monuments, rituals and events which governed how life and death were approached and managed, the framework lived alongside and within by all, whether clerical or lay, as the vicars of Morebath and Much Wenlock and many parochial churchwardens attested in their accounts. Reformation, in its altering of 'the rhythms, tempos and bar lines of life' undermining the known, the dependable, appeared also to overturn the 'common sense' of life: the norm, how things have always been and always will (should) be.[9]

The individuals in this study, the priests named in the 1548 survey and their pre- and post- survey careers, chronologically span over a century and from the medieval world to the early modern: the earliest related record found is dated 1491 for Roger Salter, aged 80 in 1548 and born therefore around 1468 under a Plantagenet king, while the latest date is that for the death of John Buttry, aged 40 at the time of the survey, dying an Elizabethan aged 83 in 1591.[10] Buttry would have obtained the age for priesthood (23) in 1531, the time of the Reformation parliament, as the issues

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[9] Bate, *Cultural Change,* quoting Parrett, p. 220.

[10] The death of John Buttre is recorded in the parish registers of High Ercal in 1591 when, if the age given in 1548 were correct, he would have been 83 and had served the parish 37 years. Gilbert H F Vane, ed. 'The Parish Registers of High Ercal' *TSANHS* second series Vol 5 (1893) pp. 296-343.

surrounding Henry VIII's divorce and the supremacy were moving forward: did beginning a clerical career at this period of theological volatility and the anxieties of the king influence Buttry's approach and expectations, or was his religious faith coupled with an equally strong belief in 'common sense'? A further quote offered by Bate proposes that this latter expectation is that which is most hard to dispel: Arthur Koestler ascribed his inaction in the face of danger, to 'common sense', the 'smiling voice' which 'deep down' told him 'that the tomorrow will be just as yesterday'.[11] In 1548 John Buttry was pensioned off from his two college fellowships and there is no employment record until his appointment in 1554 to the vicarage of High Ercall: he may have, as others in this study appeared to do, spent the intervening six years waiting for common sense to prevail.[12] His contemporary, Robert Joseph of Evesham, was convinced that this would be so as 'God who so loved His Church, would never have permitted it to fall into error for so many years', a view which can be matched to those of the twentieth-century bishops quoted in Ian Jones report who, though having to make plans for female ordination, 'didn't seriously believe it would happen' or the clergy who after the event opted to stay in the church, 'to play for time', to see how and if it all worked out perhaps with the belief it would finally revert back to the traditional ways.[13] The reconciliative phase of cultural change enables the various reactions to the shock of first experience to shake down: members of the changing community attune themselves to the new, the ideas and impositions, assess their own response and affiliation, for and against, along the spectrum of

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[11] Bate, *Cultural Change,* quoting Koestler pp. 220-221.

[12] The evidence from Buttry's father's will suggests a background comfortable and traditional and that High Ercall was the family parish. John Buttry senior died in 1557, he left legacies 'in gold' to family members, cited his 'ghostly father', Sir Davyd ap Griffith, as a witness and left instruction for 'mass & dirige with all & so many priests and clerks as come and penny dole dealt to as many as shall come to my burial to pray for my soul and all Christian souls'. LRO, B/C/11 1558 Will of John Butterye, 26.2.1557/58.

[13] The second of these two groups would then have been adopting the third option proposed in William Oddie's 1997 work *'The Roman Option',* see Jones, *Women and the Priesthood,* pp 23, 27-29.

change. This is where sympathies and interest, antipathy and revolt from below, meet the ideals and intent coming down. By its challenges to established religious thought and thereby in the circumstances of the time, public conversation and behaviour, the Reformation forced men and women into conflict: there were those who no doubt found it easier to dismiss or agree with the ideas than others, but all had to come to a position to which they could reconcile themselves or, at least, live with.

Though not found in this study, there were heroes, heroines and martyrs of traditional and evangelical persuasion, whose personal reconciliation would produce defiance, death or exile. For those for whom it meant remaining in service to God within their own communities, then Norman Jones' description of Robert Joseph as 'pragmatic, prudent, and unheroic', is one that may stand for them and the majority of their contemporaries.[14] Following on from this, acculturation would seem the inevitable outcome and so for many it was.   Bate's interpretation of the 'acculturation' phase of change is as that within which individuals derive 'a framework of personal commitments and obligations ….around which they feel a sense of ownership'.[15] Such a description would also match the psychological analysis of Marris and Murray Parkes of their research into individual acculturation after bereavement and other forms of trauma. Would it not also support the commitment an honest priest, wrestling with the conflicts of change and service, might come to in order to be able to carry on? Following this through both methodological sequences, the next phase, the 'enactive' sees the active exchange of the old cultural patterns for the new. In this study, it is the physical outcome of the changed theology which colours this phase: the new patterns of liturgy, of scriptural

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[14] Norman Jones, *The English Reformation,* p. 8.
[15] Bate*, Cultural Change* p. 227.

understanding and preaching, of new approaches to charity and married priests, a new religious culture 'not made but still in the making'.[16] The final 'formative' phase is concerned with these new cultural patterns being fixed, 'capturing and freezing a message or idea in structural form': change becomes stable, what began with dissolution, ideally ends with resolution or at least a workable 'durability'.

But to talk of resolution in the context of the English Reformation would be dangerous talk indeed, as it would if one considers the current debates around women priests and bishops. The phrase 'first define your terms' comes to mind, for what does 'resolution' mean? It is possible to claim it for individuals, who simply by the demands of living have to achieve a personal resolution to carry on, but this need not mean acceptance: it can mean resistance. Vivid examples of today's opponents' reactions to reform can be found in the articles of Forward in Faith's 'New Directions' magazine, more measured and thoughtful examples and analysis in Ian Jones' report cited previously. In the former, one writer sees women's ordination as resulting 'in provisional or doubtful sacraments'. What were ordained to be 'certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace' are no longer so. Such an action 'overthroweth the nature of a sacrament'.[17] In the latter, the responses from those both for and against are quoted, from one bishop who said 'I found all the arguments against so totally incomprehensible, actually, even though I recognise, of course, that they were deeply held' to a vicar who believes that the same debate if had now (in 2002-2004) would 'be blown out of the water…..because the particular planks on which it was built were an illusion'.[18] In the sixteenth century resistance to the

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[16] Bate, *Cultural Change* p. 228.
[17] Geoffrey Kirk, 'No Woman is an Island' in *New Directions, December 2002,* Trushare File No: 91, last consulted 20.11.09.
[18] Quotes 35 and 36 Jones, *Women and Priesthood,* p. 65.

established church in its ultimate form of rebellion, whether armed with weapons or words, could lead to exile or death or at the least, deprivation from a living. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries resistance to the established church is not terminal nor need it mean dismissal but it might lead to internal segregation by the adoption of the opt-out Measures passed in 1993 or to a form of 'exile': 'jacking it in' and moving to the Lutherans or Roman Catholics.

It is worth noting that the two opposing clergy cited above were still, at the time of the report's writing, practising ministers in the Church of England and we may put them alongside the men in this study. Henry Saunders, once of King's Norton and later of Oldberrow, when deciding to accept the continuing but 'lesser' role of schoolmaster (lesser in that it no longer carried with it a priest's duties) in 1548, might well have been trusting in some future return to 'common sense'. A view resonating with ideas of Edwardine Catholic passivity as they waited, perhaps 'in miserable silence' for Edward to grow up (in all senses maybe) and return to traditional ways.[19] This return is what Saunders would have anticipated with Mary's accession and when he gained his rectory in 1554 probably with relief at serving a church facing Rome once more. For another four years Saunders lived and worked in his Oldberrow parish under the Marian regime: when this ended his beliefs marked him out and deprivation was the eventual outcome.[20] Even with this however, Saunders remained in the area and his will of 1570, discussed in chapter six, shows him publicly maintaining his traditional stance to the end.[21] William Weston, having apparently abstained from serving Edward's church, took up a place under Mary and

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[19] Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation* (Great Britain: Pearson Education Limited 2009) pp. 164-165.
[20] For Saunders' career see chapter five, p.248, fn. 70 and chapter six pp. 282-288, 299,302,303,328; for a concise chronology of his career see Appendix V, pp. 385-386.
[21] For Saunders death, see chapter six, p.283 and Appendix V, p.385-386.

then kept it under Elizabeth. He, for one, decided that one act of 'rebellion' was enough and continued to serve the church and his parishioners. Unheroic perhaps, not martyrs certainly, but neither were they as prudent or pragmatic as many either. But the evidence for these two men shows that they both had the support mechanism of a network to draw on.

4.   **NETWORKS**

Weston's network may have had a confessional sympathy but the evidence here is its professional efficacy. His appointments in 1554 and 1558 were local to his 1548 location of Bewdley (Worcestershire), the first, Kinlet, five and half miles away, the second, Arley, six and half miles distant. In the latter case, his patron for the post was Roger Walker, a cleric and rector of Martley, also in Worcestershire and just over eleven miles from Bewdley, while his sureties (in addition to himself) were both men from Arley itself, Hugh Pullen and Humphrey King.[22] Saunders' network support is more interesting and suggestive because it firmly indicates a Catholic confessional base and is a hint of its focus being Bidford Grange and the Badger family. Bidford Grange, outside Stratford on Avon, was a former monastic property owned by Thomas Badger, another who kept to his traditional beliefs until his death in 1571. Badger cited a noted Catholic, Thomas Throckmorton, as 'his especial friend', and made him his executor, while one of the witnesses of his will was Robert Whateley, likely to the be 'the old massing priest' of the same name recorded in the recusant rolls of 1592. Badger's descendants also kept the faith, appearing with Whateley in the same roll and persistently in subsequent recusancy records into the seventeenth-

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[22] TNA E334/4 f.216v, William Weston to the vicarage of Kinlet, 15.12.1554; for the Arley post, see WRO Davenport 397 for Weston's appointment by Roger Walker, cleric and rector of Martley, and 398 Bond of William Weston of Mitton, Hugh Pullen of Arley and Humphrey King of Arley 25.10.1558, Davenport 745 sequestration dated 4.3.1576/77.

century.[23] More dangerously and further evidence of the strength of confessional network ties, his son George was touched by involvement 'in a minor way' with the Gunpowder Plot.[24]

The value to individuals in this study of a network of clerical and lay friends and contacts is very evident and not only for Weston and Saunders. The list of fellow clerics in Hugh Dowsing's will, is important, as is his mention of Thomas Throckmorton 'the younger' (perhaps also Thomas Badger's 'especial friend?'); the neighbours who vouched for John Ree so that he could be paid his stipend, those contacts who helped Henry Beardsmore with his unpaid dues and Henry Tanner's long list of debtors – all emphasise the point.[25] But networks also have a value for social historians. Recognising that analytical methodologies have to carefully and flexibly applied, analysis will encourage the discovery of what unifies a network membership. The reasons for membership may vary from person to person and may even be multiple but there is likely to be a spirit of mutuality upon which members could draw. While this writer is aware that further work remains to be done on the evidence here, its strength is that it serves to emphasise the returns such work might provide.

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[23] Bearman, 'The Early Reformation Experience', pp. 89, 106.
[24] Bearman, ibid. p.78.
[25] For chronologies and information on Dowsing, Ree, Beardsmore and Tanner, see Appendix V, pp.379, 380, 383, 386-388.

5.   SUMMING UP

5.1   Prosopographical Findings

One of the decisions taken at the outset of this study was that this would be an inclusive exercise, that none of the 427 individuals named in the surveys would be absolutely excluded. However, though never wholesale, at certain points in the empirical analysis (highlighted in both text and tables) some exclusion became necessary if anomalies were to be avoided. The names which come to mind here are those from the extreme ends of the study group: Thomas Magnus, Dean of the College of St Mary Magdalene in Bridgnorth, his collegiate fellow Hugh Coren – both men were so much more than their entries in the survey imply – and the four adolescent choirboys of the College of Stratford on Avon, the twelve-year olds William Allen and William Locke, and Thomas Akerley and Thomas Perin, aged 13 and 14 respectively. But, in addition to the demands of quantitative analysis, there is the exclusion created by lack of records and inevitably the issues of record survival arise and have been discussed throughout the thesis. What is worth saying here, however, is that for only three of the men in the survey has no other career information been uncovered - all were in Shropshire and low-paid and two were from the same parish: Thomas Docksey, aged seventy, of Culmington in Shropshire was only paid 2s 6d for a stipendiary service, Roger Bolte, chaplain of Longdon who was paid 2s 10d, and William Bower who was paid 4s as the stipendiary priest of Our Lady, both served in Pontesbury parish – perhaps the reality of their employment was similar to that of Sir John Huntbache, who served on regular but infrequent occasions

in Halesowen and did not achieve entry in the survey.[26]   The prosopographical

findings that have been discussed throughout this thesis, therefore, are based on the

evidence for a solid core of men who were making a clerical career during the

Reformation period.   Before 1548, almost 52% (eighty-five of 164) of those for

whom earlier employment has been found were employed in stipendiary posts.[27]

After 1548, the evidence suggests that this level of employment, as stipendiaries,

curates and clerks, was still the likeliest, with 42.24% of the individuals identified

appearing in this role. If schoolmasters are included the figures show 54% of the men

here holding non-beneficed roles at some point in their post-dissolution careers.[28]

At the end of their lives, there is ambiguity demonstrated in the preambles and

mix of bequests in the documents discussed in chapter six. This ambiguity is

exemplified perhaps by the highly suggestive volatility of the figures for bequests to

church and poor, particularly the striking lack of any bequests to the church in any

wills here of Edward's reign. These increased in the two following reigns with forty-

seven bequests from eighteen wills in the thirty years between 1554 and 1584.[29]

The pattern of bequests to the poor reflects the influence of the Reformation

activities on church and state. In 80% of the wills in the years of Edward's reign the

poor were remembered, a significant drop came in Mary's reign when only 50% of

the available wills show gifts to the poor, a drop which only recovered in the last

years of this study, when 76.9% of testators left such gifts. However, one area that

did maintain its strength was the gifts of these men to their fellow clerics. The point

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[26] For Huntbache, see chapter four, pp.201-202. For Bolte and Bower and Docksey, see TNA E301/ 41
- Chantry Certificates for Shropshire-1548, cert 21 (Pontesbury) and cert 38 (Culmington).
[27] See Table 4.7 in Appendix II, p. 360.
[28] See Table 5.10 in Appendix III, p.368.
[29] See Table 6.8 in Appendix IV, p.375.

is made in chapter six, and as seen from the discussion on networks above, that in the midst of change the giving and receiving of friendship is likely to have been critical. This is supported most strikingly in Hugh Dowsing's will but over 70% of the wills here have bequests to fellow clerics in various capacities as family, friends, colleagues and as will officials.[30]

At the end of this empirical examination, one has to suggest that the evidence here supports the view of this clerical population as consisting in the main of 'rough but serviceable wood' rather than priests made of desirable 'glittering gold' that John Fisher lamented and which Marshall believes were always in short supply.[31]

5.2   Consequences, Complexity and Reformation

The findings discussed above provide evidence for the working population of priests as they responded to the actions of those in authority and the ebb and flow of Reformation change. As such, they support the intentions expressed in the closing paragraph of chapter one of this study stated that this thesis would be informed by the consequences, for one part of the clergy population, arising from the demands of Henry VIII's reign, the management skills of Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer's commitment as theologian, royal mentor and guide. These consequences have been considered through the career evidence of the priests involved (the collegiate, chantry and service priests named in the 1548 survey) and the management of cultural change for both the state and the individual, highlighted by the experience of modern ministers in a reforming Church of England.   No claim is made that this

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[30] See Table 6.11, Appendix IV, p. 375.
[31] Marshall, *The Catholic Priesthood,* p.236.

relieves discussion of the English Reformation of any complexity but it is hoped that it does introduce some ideas for the way in which the management of 'religious revolution, demolishing the traditional church to build another' was attempted and what it meant for the individuals rebuilding their faith.[32]   In an article published in 2004, Cunich described the complex make-up of the consequences of dissolution in a long sentence which by the nature of his discussion encompasses all the matters touched on in this thesis: ' "Reform" of belief and practice brought purely religious and cultural changes; a fundamental revolution in land ownership resulted in wide-ranging social, economic and political upheavals; while individual men and women had their lives turned upside down in the 1530s and 1540s'.[33] In earlier articles cited at various points in this study, Cunich had acknowledged the importance of the psychological consequences of the Reformation experience but considered them unknowable.   However, while he is right that we cannot know precisely how an individual responded, his statement that 'men and women had their lives turned upside down' contains an implicit assessment of a human reaction to a particular set of events.   Drawing on the work of experts in other disciplines, this thesis has proposed a form of analysis that, used carefully, allows us to consider the way in which a life 'turned upside down' might be made the right way up again, or if not wholly the right way at least level enough.

Furthermore, both sides of the change management analysis here has implications for observations such as Shagan's conclusion that the, 'English Reformation was not done *to* people, it was done *with* them' (his italics), and his argument that it is 'only ….by exploring popular politics that we can begin to

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[32] MacCulloch, *Tudor Church Militant,* p. 158.

[33] Cunich, 'The Dissolutions and their Aftermath' in Robert Tittler and Norman Jones, eds, A *Companion to Tudor Britain,* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004) p.235.

understand the English Reformation'.[34] It is suggested here that popular politics is indeed a discourse through which the Reformation may be examined but why the 'only' one?   Shagan acknowledges the 'uneasy relationship between the internal experience of belief and the external environment'.   For the priests of this study, the mix of internal belief and the external environment had a particular resonance and one could quite easily say that Reformation was 'done to' them, in that they lost jobs, income and homes. More is needed than the exploration of popular politics alone and more can be gained by spreading the disciplinary net wider as has been attempted in this thesis.

There is much in the implementation of the reform programme modern change management would recognise; there is much in the lives of those who lived through it, priests and parishioners, with which we can empathise though the realities of their experience were far sharper than any we are likely to know.   Despite new insights, there is much that remains outstanding in our appreciation of the experience of the English Reformation, a reformation that has never fully achieved the desired final phase of cultural change, resolution, though one can argue for durability.

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[34] Shagan, *Popular Politics,* pp. 25, 310.

Appendix I

Tables for Chapter Three

<u>Surveying the Evidence and Certifying the Foundations</u>

<u>Guide to Source Documents</u>

The source documents for all tables in Appendix 1 (pp.351-356) are the original chantry surveys undertaken in 1548 that are retained in The National Archives (TNA).

The relevant references for the counties appearing in this thesis are as follows:

TNA E301/22 and E301/23 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire, E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire, E301/41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire, E301/53 and E301/57 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire, E301/60 and E301/61 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire.

Appendix I

Tables for Chapter Three

Table 3.1 Foundations and Individuals by County (p. 114)	Gloucestershire (GLO)	Herefordshire (HER)	Shropshire (SHR)	Warwickshire (WAR)	Worcestershire (WOR)	Cert Total
Foundations	119	64	115	96	49	443
Individuals	116	63	105	95	48	427

Table 3.2 *Foundation Posts by Type by County (p. 114)	GLO	HER	SHR	WAR	WOR	Totals
Chantries	52	39	14	32	20	157
Chapels**	6	0	14	1	2	23
Colleges	0	0	47	16	0	63
Guilds/Frat	8	0	4	40	1	53
Preachers	0	0	0	1	0	1
Priests***	2	3	1	4	12	22
Schools	3	3	0	0	1	7
Services	48	19	29	0	13	109
Trade Chantry	0	0	0	1	0	1
Trade Services	0	0	6	0	0	6
Trade Guild	0	0	0	1	0	1
Totals	119	64	115	96	49	443

*to ensure posts in types of foundation are reflected as accurately as possible, those described as 'incumbents' have been assigned to the foundation type is this given, ie the 'incumbent' of St Blasé's Chantry is counted as a chantry priest and the 'incumbent' of Fforthey's Service is counted as a Service post.
**includes free chapels
***included are those who are described as simply 'priest' or 'stipendiary' in the certificates and those whose foundation or formal title is missing

Appendix I

Table 3.3 Age Groups by County (p. 124)

	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-92	Totals	Med	Mean	Mode
GLO	0	7	36	38	29	3	3	116	52.5	52	60
HER	1	10	13	14	15	4	3	60	51	52.13	60
SHR	1	13	22	22	14	6	5	83	50	51.81	60
WAR	0	11	25	18	13	4	3	74	50	50.4	40
WOR	0	3	6	17	10	4	3	43	56	55.53	50
Total Indv	2	44	102	109	81	21	17	376			
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+				
Age Groups for Ex-Religious	0	7	23	22	17	5	3	77			

Table 3.4 *Age By Foundation Type (p. 126)

	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80+	Totals	Mean	Median
Chantries	1	16	44	35	37	10	9	152	52.79	52
Chapels	0	1	3	7	2	1	3	17	57.35	55
Colleges	0	7	12	13	6	4	3	45	52.44	50
Guilds/Frat	0	7	9	16	7	2	0	41	47.82	54
Preachers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	57	57
Priests	0	1	5	5	7	1	0	19	53.26	55
Schools	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	4	60.75	57
Services	1	15	31	35	19	4	2	107	49.89	50
Trade Chantry/Service	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	6	52.5	52
Trade Guild	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	56	56
Totals	2	47	106	117	81	23	17	393	51.76	53

* Assignment of individuals to foundation is as described for Table 3.2
Note: 393 posts with ages - this includes duplicate names hence more posts than individuals

Table 3.5 Character Assessments (p. 132)

*County - no. of records / no. of individuals	Well-learned	Competently Learned or Learned	Indifferent-learned or Little Learning	Little Learning & Small Honesty	Honest Conversation	Keep Cure - yes	Keep Cure - no	Totals
GLO 3/116	1	1			1			3
HER-45/63	7	15	4	1	36	10	4	77
SHR-1/105						1		1
WAR-1/95	1				1			2
WOR-44/48	3		4		37	3	10	57
TOTALS	12	16	8	1	75	14	14	140

Note: totals may not reflect the number of individuals described - more than one of these assessments could be made of the same person.

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Table 3.6 Stipends by County (p. 139)			
	Stipend £sd	**Other Income £sd**	**Total £sd**
GLO	646.17.0	157.7.5	804.4.5
HER	292.18.11	37.9.6	330.8.5
SHR-All	475.10.4	236.16.8	712.7.0
*SHR	423.12.2	236.16.8	669.8.10
WAR –All	576.13.1	103.0.8.	679.13.9
*WAR	504.8.0	103.0.8.	607.8.8
WOR	265.4.9	55.6.8	320.11.5
TOTAL	2257.4.1	590.0.11	2847.5.0
436/443 Stipends	Overall average single stipend = 5.3.6		
*430/443 Stipends	Overall average single stipend =4.19.3		

excluding Magnus (Shropshire), Barker and choristers of Stratford College (Warwickshire)

Table 3.7 Average Stipends by County (p. 139)			
	Avg Stipend	**Median**	**Mode**
GLO	5.8.9	5.10.4	6
HER	4.13.0	4.7.8	4.0.0
SHR-All	4.2.8	3.9.2	4.0.0
*SHRe-less TM	3.13.8	3.7.4	4.0.0
WAR-all	6.2.8	5.6.8	5.6.8
*WAR -less AB & Choirboys	5.13.4	5.6.8	5.6.8
WOR	5.17.11	6.0.0	5.6.8
All-(with TM & AB & choirboys)	*Overall average single stipend = 5.3.6*		
*All-(less TM & AB & Choirboys)	*Overall average single stipend = 4.19.3*		

excluding Magnus (Shropshire), Barker and choristers of Stratford College (Warwickshire)

Appendix I

Table 3.8 *Total Stipends by Foundation by County (p. 142)						
Foundation/County/£sd	GLO	HER	SHR	WAR	WOR	TOTAL
Chantries	303.10.6	201.4.6	67.16.1	165.2.9.	118.3.6	855.17.4
Chapels	22.16.4	0	36.5.4	12.6.0	4.13.4	76.1.0
Colleges	0	0	242.13.8	156.4.1	0	398.17.9
Colleges Less TM and AB and choristers	*0*	*0*	*190.15.6*	*83.19.0*	*0*	*274.14.6*
Guilds/Frat	49.12.10	0	11.13.10	204.12.0	6.13.4	272.12.8
Preachers	0	0	0	6.13.4	0	6.13.4
Priests	8.18.2	7.14.8	1.12.9	22.9.6	64.3.10	104.18.11
Schools	27.10.0	9.12.11	0	0	0	37.2.11
Services	234.9.2	74.6.10	92.16.4	0	71.10.9	473.3.1
Trade Chantry/Service	0	0	22.12.4	5.6.8	0	27.19.0
Trade Guild	0	0	0	3.18.1	0	3.18.1
Totals	646.17.0	292.18.11	475.10.4	576.13.1	265.4.9	2257.4.1
Totals Less TM and AB and choristers	*646.17.0*	*292.18.11*	*423.12.2*	*504.8.0*	*265.4.9*	*2133.0.10*

Table 3.9 *Stipends by Foundation by County (p. 142)															
County	GLO			HER			SHR			WAR			WOR		
Average/Mode £sd	Avg	Mode	Median	Avg	Mode	Median	Avg	Mode	Median	Avg	Mode	Median	Avg	Mode	Median
Chantries	5.16.9	6.0.0	6.0.0	5.5.11	**n/a	4.17.2	4.16.11	5.0.0	5.0.0	5.6.7	5.0.0	5.8.6	6.4.5	n/a	6.2.8
Chapels	5.2.6	6.0.0		0	0		2.11.10	1.68		12.6.0	12.6.0		4.13.4	4.13.4	
Colleges-ALL	0	0		0	0		5.3.4	1.6.8		9.15.3	1.0.0		0	0	
Colleges Less TM and AB and choristers	*0*	*0*		*0*	*0*		*4.1.2*	*1.6.8*		*5.6.8*	*5.6.8*		*0*	*0*	
Guilds/Frat	6.4.2	5.0.0		0	0		2.18.6	3.18.7		5.4.9	5.6.8		6.13.4	6.13.4	
Preachers	0	0		0	0		0	0		6.13.4	6.13.4		0	0	
Priests	4.9.1	n/a		2.11.7	n/a		1.12.9	1.12.9		6.11.4	5.10.8		5.16.9	5.6.8	
Schools	9.3.4	n/a		3.4.4	n/a		0	0		0	0		0	0	
Services	4.17.9	5.6.8	5.6.8	3.18.3	n/a	3.19.2	3.4.1	4.0.0	3.11.4	0	0	0	5.10.1	5.6.8	5.6.8
Trade Chantry/Service	0	0		0	0		3.15.5	4.0.0		5.6.8	5.6.8		0	0	
Trade Guild	0	0		0	0		0	0		3.18.1	3.18.1		0	0	
Overall - Avg/Mode	5.8.9	6.0.0		4.13.0	4.0.0		4.2.8	4.0.0		6.2.8	5.6.8		5.17.11	5.6.8	
Avg/Mode Less TM and AB and choristers							*3.13.8*	*3.7.4*		*5.6.8*	*5.6.8*				

Note: * for Tables 3.8 and 3.9 assignment of individuals to foundation is as described for Table 3.2

** n/a indicates where individual amounts are too varied for the mode to be calculated

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Table 3.10 Pay Bands - All Counties – All Foundation Types (p. 143)							
	GLO	HER	SHR*	WAR*	WOR	Totals	%
1s-£1	3	3	16	3	0	25	5.73
£1<£2*	2	4	18	4	0	28	6.42
£2<£3	10	7	12	6	2	37	8.49
£3<£4	5	8	19	4	3	39	8.94
£4<£5	11	18	16	8	5	58	13.30
£5<£6	**35**	**6**	**16**	**42**	**11**	**110**	25.23
£6<£7	34	5	10	13	14	76	17.43
£7<£8	10	6	0	4	4	24	5.50
£8<£9	5	6	3	1	4	9	2.06
£9<£10	3	0	0	0	1	20	4.59
£10<£11	1	0	2	3	1	2	0.46
£11<£12	0	0	0	1	0	3	0.69
£12<£15	0	0	0	4	0	1	0.23
£15<£25**	0	0	2	0	0	2	0.46
£25<£75***	0	0	1	1	0	2	0.46
Totals	119	63	115	94	45	436	100

Table 3.10 at * includes the four choirboys of the College of Stratford upon Avon, Warwickshire, who earned £1 each, at ** Hugh Coren's £20 as prebendary of the College of St Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth, Shropshire and at *** Thomas Magnus's £51.18s 2d as Dean of the same, and Anthony Barker's, £68 5s 1d as the Stratford upon Avon College Warden. In all three tables, the figures in **red** show the highest number of occurrences of these Pay Bands.

Table 3.11 Chantry Stipends - Pay Bands by County (p. 143)						
	GLO	HER	SHR	WAR	WOR	Totals
1s-£1	1	0	0	1		2
£1<£2	0	0	0	0		0
£2<£3	2	5	3	2	1	13
£3<£4	2	4	0	2	1	9
£4<£5	3	**11**	3	7	1	25
£5<£6	14	4	4	**9**	4	35
£6<£7	**19**	4	3	5	**6**	**37**
£7<£8	6	6	0	4	2	18
£8<£9	4	4	1	0	3	12
£9<£10	0			0	1	1
£10<£11	1			0		1
£11<£12				1		1
£12<£25						
Total	52	38	14	31	19	154

Table 3.12 Service Stipends - Pay Bands by County (p. 143)						
	GLO	HER	SHR	WAR	WOR	Totals
1s-£1	2	2	6	0	0	10
£1<£2	2	3	2	0	0	7
£2<£3	2	0	3	0	0	5
£3<£4	3	4	5	0	1	13
£4<£5	8	6	8	0	2	**24**
£5<£6	**18**	1	3	0	4	**26**
£6<£7	**10**	1	2	0	6	19
£7<£8	3	0	0	0	0	3
£8<£9	0	2	0	0	0	2
£9<£10	0	0	0	0	0	0
£10<£11	0	0	0	0	0	0
£11<£12	0	0	0	0	0	0
£12<£25	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	48	19	29	0	13	109

Appendix I

Table 3.13 Percentage of Town and Rural Posts to County (p. 160 fn.143)						
Town(s)/Posts			Rural Parishes/Posts			Total County Posts
County: Gloucestershire						
Town(s)	Number of Posts	Posts %	Number of Rural Parishes	Number of Posts	Rural Posts%	
Bristol	32	26.9				
Gloucester	12	10.1				
Cirencester	7	5.89				
Totals	51	42.89	40	68	57.14	119
County: Herefordshire						
Town(s)	Number of Posts	Posts %	Number of Rural Parishes	Number of Posts	Rural Posts%	
Hereford	17	26.15	39	47	73.43	64
County: Shropshire						
Town(s)	Number of Posts	Posts %	Number of Rural Parishes	Number of Posts	Rural Posts%	
Bridgnorth	10	8.70				
Newport	5	4.35				
Shrewsbury	52	45.21				
Totals	67	58.26	33	48	41.73	115
County: Warwickshire						
Town(s)	Number of Posts	Posts %	Number of Rural Parishes	Number of Posts	Rural Posts%	
Birmingham	8	8.33				
Coventry	30	31.25				
Stratford upon Avon	21	21.87				
Warwick	4	4.16				
Totals	63	65.61	18	33*	34.39*	96
*Knowle, with only 360 houseling people, had both a college and a guild, each with three posts. Removing it and its posts from the figures gives a percentage of 28.12						
County: Worcestershire						
Town(s)	Number of Posts	Posts %	Number of Rural Parishes	Number of Posts	Rural Posts%	
Worcester	11	22.49	26	38	77.51	49
Totals – No of Towns =12	**209**	**47.17**	**91**	**234**	**52.82**	**443**

Appendix II

Tables for Chapter Four

<u>Careers In Changing Times</u>

<u>Guide to Source Documents</u>

The sources for the Charts and Tables in Appendix II (pp. 358-363) are as follows; full details of location or authors, editors and publications can be found in the List of Abbreviations and Bibliography:

Charts 4.1 and 4.2 - Ordinations

This comparison with Cooper is based on his discussion of the numbers of ordinands and the patterns of ordination Cooper, *Last Generation,* pp. 30-36.
Chart 4.1: Cooper, *Last Generation,* Graph 3, p. 31;
Chart 4.2: Bath and Wells: Martha Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c1530-1579,* Coventry and Lichfield: LRO B/A/1/12 1480-1490,B/A/1/13 1493-1502,B/A/1/14i, 14ii, 14iii 1503-1543; Hereford: A T Bannister, ed, *Registers of the Bishops of Hereford (Mayew, Bothe, Foxe, Boner)*, Canterbury & York Series Vol 27-28 (1921); London: Virginia Davis, *Clergy In London In the Late Middle Ages - 1361 – 1539*; Worcester: WRO Bishop's Register 716.093/2648/9/i 1522-1535'.

Tables 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 - Ordinations

Bath and Wells: Martha Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c1530-1579;* Coventry and Lichfield: LRO B/A/1/12 1480-1490,B/A/1/13 1493-1502,B/A/1/14i, 14ii, 14iii 1503-1543; Hereford: A T Bannister, ed, *Registers of the Bishops of Hereford (Mayew, Bothe, Foxe, Boner)*, Canterbury & York Series Vol 27-28 (1921); London: Virginia Davis, *Clergy In London In the Late Middle Ages - 1361 – 1539;* Worcester: WRO Bishop's Register 716.093/2648/9/i 1522-1535.

Tables 4.4, 4.5,4.6,4.7,4.8 – Pre-1548 Employment

Gloucestershire: GRO GDR/2 Visitation 1542-1545; GDR/9 Visitation and Court Book 1531-1579; Geoffrey Baskerville, 'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucester'.

Herefordshire: A T Bannister, ed, *Registers of the Bishops of Hereford (Mayew, Bothe, Foxe, Boner)*; E N Dew, ed, *Extracts from the Cathedral Registers, AD 1275-1535, Diocese of Hereford*; M A Faraday, ed, *Herefordshire Taxes in the reign of Henry VIII;* Francis T Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses: and other antiquarian*

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memorials of Hereford; Joyce Horn, *Fasti Ecclesia Anglicanea, 1300-1541,*Vol 2 Diocese of Hereford.

Shropshire and Warwickshire: LRO B/A/1/12 1480-1490; B/A/1/13 1493-1502; B/A/1/14i- iii 1503-1543; Clergy Subsidy Lists B/A/17/1 1531-1533; B/A/2ii/11538-1592; Bishop's Visitation B/V/1/1-3 1516-1560; Consistory Court Books B/C/2/1-3 1524-1531; B Jones, ed, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae,* 1300-1541, Vol 10 Coventry and Lichfield; Joel A Lipkin, *Institutions in the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, 1480-1543* (May 1979) (unpublished); SCA BRT/3/195 Guild of the Holy Cross - Deed dated 20th March 35HenVIII.

Worcestershire: WRO 732.4/2337/2 –12 c1544-1584 Presentation Deeds including mandates; 778.7324/2442 Calendar of Worcester Institutions 1526-1699; 794.011/2513/1/ii 1540-1550 Act Book; 795.02/2123 1545-1820 Consistory Court Papers; 795.02/290516th cent - 18th cent Consistory Court Papers; 802/2764 c1520-c.1541Visitation Act book of Bishop John Bell; M A Faraday, ed, *Worcestershire Taxes in the 1520s: The Military Survey and Forced Loans of 1522-23 and the Lay Subsidy of 1524-27*.

Various Counties*:* TNA E334/2 Compositions Book 1541-1543; E334/3 Compositions Book 1543-1547; E334/4 Compositions Book 1547-1554; Virginia Davis, *Clergy In London In the Late Middle Ages - 1361 – 1539;* J H Bettey, ed, *Calendar of the Correspondence of the Smyth family of Ashton Court 1548-1642;* D S Chambers, ed, *Faculty Office Registers, 1534-1549;* Martha Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c1530-1579,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

Appendix II

Graphs and Tables for Chapter Four

Graph 4.1 and 4.2 – Patterns of Ordination[1] (p159)

Graph 1- Ordinations-Coventry & Lichfield from Tim Cooper

Graph 2 -Ordinations by Diocese-This Study

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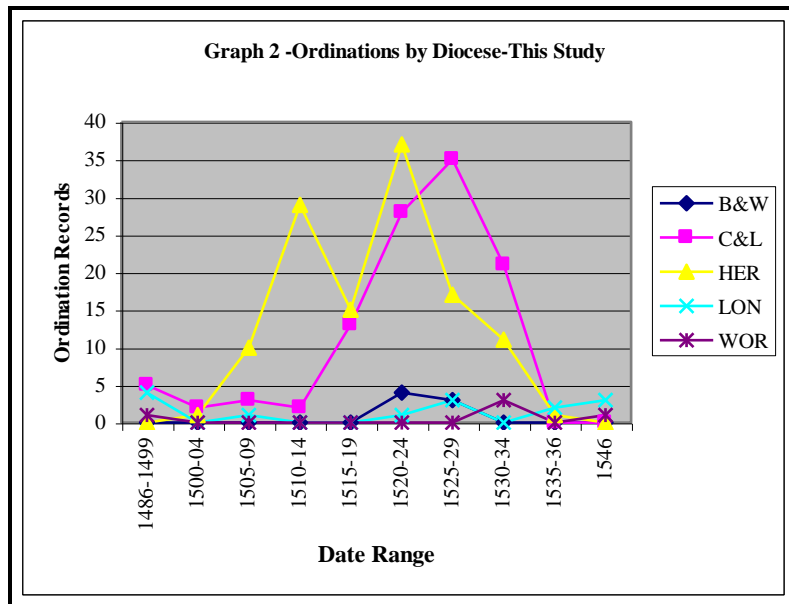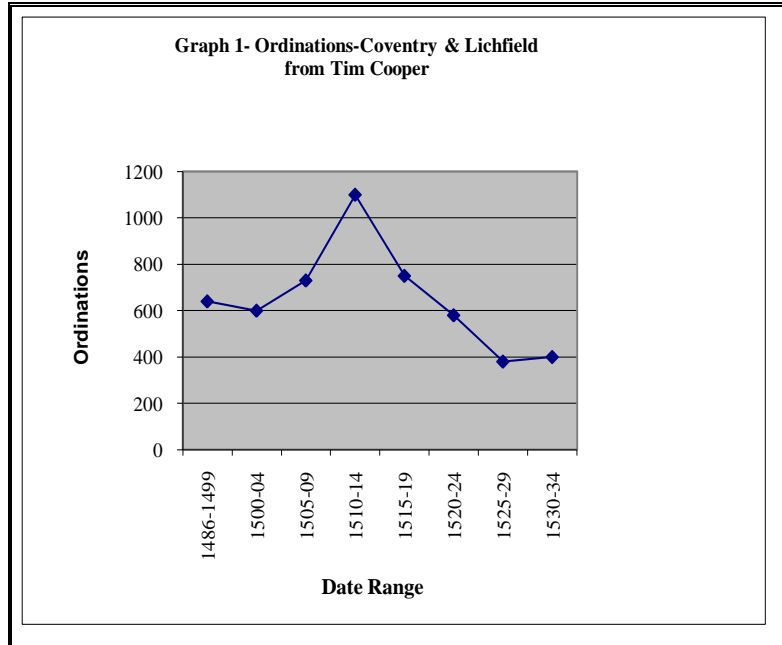
[1] The source material for Graphs 4.1 and 4.2 is as follows. The comparison with Cooper is based on his discussion of the numbers of ordinands and the patterns of ordination Cooper, *Last Generation,* pp. 30-36. Graph 1: Cooper, *Last Generation,* Graph 3, p.31; Graph 2: Coventry and Lichfield: LRO B/A/1/12 1480-1490,B/A/1/13 1493-1502,B/A/1/14i, 14ii, 14iii 1503-1543; Worcester: WRO Bishop's Register 716.093/2648/9/i 1522-1535; Hereford: A T Bannister, ed, *Registers of the Bishops of Hereford (Mayew, Bothe, Foxe, Boner)*, Canterbury & York Series Vol 27-28 (1921); Virginia Davis, *Clergy In London In the Late Middle Ages - 1361 - 1539*, (Great Britain: Centre for Metropolitan History - University of London, 2000); Martha Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c1530-1579,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993)

Appendix II

Table 4.1 Ordinations By 1548 County (p. 176)						
	GLO	HER	SHR	WAR	WOR	ALL
1486-99	0	3	3	2	2	10
1500-04	0	1	1	1	0	3
1505-09	5	4	3	2	0	14
1510-14	1	29	1	0	0	31
1515-19	9	6	6	5	2	28
1520-24	24	23	13	9	1	70
1525-29	16	20	14	1	7	58
1530-34	5	8	13	5	4	35
1535-36	0	1	0	2	0	3
1546					4	4
Total Records	60	95	54	28	19	256
Total Individuals	27	40	29	14	13	123
Regulars-records	12	3	2	8	2	27
Regulars- individuals	6	2	1	4	2	15
Seculars- records	47	90	52	18	17	224
Seculars- individuals	20	36	28	9	11	104
Status unknown-records				2		2
Status unknown - indiv				1		1
Ltrs Dim. only-records	1	2	0	0	0	3
Ltrs Dim. only – indiv	1	2				3

Table 4.2 By Ordination Diocese (p. 176)						
	LON*	WOR	HER	C&L	B&W	ALL
1486-99	4	1	0	5	0	10
1500-04	0	0	1	2	0	3
1505-09	1	0	10	3	0	14
1510-14	0	0	29	2	0	31
1515-19	0	0	15	13	0	28
1520-24	1	0	37	28	4	70
1525-29	3	0	17	35	3	58
1530-34	0	3	11	21	0	35
1535-36	2	0	1	0	0	3
1546	3	1	0	0	0	4
Total Records	14	5	121	109	7	256
Total Individuals**	7	5	52	58	3	125 (123)
Regulars-records	0	0	12	13	2	27
Regulars- individuals	0	0	5	9	1	15
Seculars- records	12	4	107	96	5	224
Seculars- individuals**	6	4	45	49	2	106 (104)
Status unknown-records	2					2
Status unknown - indiv	1					1
Ltrs Dim. only-records		1	2			3
Ltrs Dim. only – indiv		1	2			3

Note: *London diocese is included on this table only with regard to identified priests
from this study whose ordinations took place there.
   ** Two individuals appear in more than one diocese.

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Table 4.3 Provision of Titles at Ordination (p. 178)					
Entitlement Source	Records	Individuals	Regulars Individuals	Secular Individuals	Ex-religious*
Augustinian	65	33	2	30	1
Cistercian	42	23	3	20	
Benedictine	34	18	2	15	1
Hosp & colleges	13	6	0	5	1
Premonstratensian	12	6	0	6	
Carthusian	6	2	2	0	
Cluniac	6	5	0	5	
Personal	9	5	0	5	
Friars	4	3	3	0	
Total	191	101	12	86	3
*where religious status is unknown but later evidence suggests ex-religious					

Table 4.4 Earliest known Year Employed-for 1548 Certificate Post (p. 185)							
Year/County	GLO	HER	SHR	WAR	WOR	Totals	Actual Institutions Records
1491-1509	0	0	1	1	0	2	1
1510-14	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
1515-19	0	0	3	2	0	5	2
1520-24	4	0	0	0	2	6	0
1525-29	2	1	0	1	0	4	1
1530-34	18	2	2	2	12	36	4
1535-39	4	6	10	15	3	38	6
1540-44	28	2	7	8	6	51	28
1545-48	5	14	6	5	2	32	21
Totals	61	25	29	36	25	176	63
Total Records 176 (175 individuals – one has two posts)							

Table 4.5 Known Minimum Years of Service in 1548 Post (p.185)			
Number of Years in Post	Number of Individuals	Number of Years in Post	Number of Individuals
50+	1	21-25	4
46-50	1	16-20	25
41-45	0	11-15	43
36-40	2	6-10	36
31-35	2	1-5	52
26-30	9	<1	1
	15		161
Total No. of Individuals in Posts 176			

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Table 4.6 Pre- 1548 Employment (p. 190)

Titles	Canon /Prebend	Chantry Priests	Chaplain	Curate	Dean	Diocesan Post	Fellow	Master	Minor titles	Pensioner
Occurs/	17	41	22	37	2	4	5	2	2	2
Names	13	31	14	28	2	3	3	2	2	2

Titles	Priest/Clerk	Rector	Monastic/ex-religious	Royal Post	Stipendiary	Vicars Choral	Vicar-parish	Warden	Not Known	Total Occurrences/ Individuals (Actual 164)
Occurs/	15	41	8	2	40	5	51	2	28	326
Names	14	25	6	2	27	4	34	2	21	235

Table 4.7 Pre-1548 Employment Categories (pp. 190-192)

Employment Categories	Occurrences	Individuals
Cathedral	22	17
Chantry Posts	41	31
Collegiate	11	9
Diocesan Officials	4	3
Monastic	8	6
Parish Clergy - Beneficed	92	59
Parish Clergy - Stipendiaries	116	85
Pensioner	2	2
Royal Court Posts	2	2
Total identified titles	298	214
Unidentified titles	28	21
Total	326	235
Actual Individuals		164

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Table 4.8 Occurrences of pre-1548 Employment (p. 190)								
Year/County	GLO	HER	SHR	WAR	WOR	Total Records	No. of Individuals	Institution Records
1491-1509			3			3	2	1
1510-14		1	1			2	2	2
1515-19		2	0		1	3	3	1
1520-24	13	2	0	2	2	19	18	2
1525-29	1	1	1	1		4	4	2
1530-34	56	2	7	1	26	92	55	4
1535-39	13	14	30	19	6	82	65	4
1540-44	63	3	24	2	6	98	68	6
1545-48	10	5	2	1	5	23	18	4
Totals	156	30	68	26	46	326	235	26
Actual No. of Indiv.	70	19	31	22	22		164	25
Total Records/Individuals	326/164							

Appendix III

Tables for Chapter 5

Working in the New World

Guide to Source Documents

The principal sources for the Tables in Appendix III (pp. 367 -370) are the original documents retained in The National Archives (TNA). Full details of the locations and document references or authors, editors and publications can be found in the List of Abbreviations and Bibliography.

Tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3 – Pensions

All TNA: E101/75/13 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Gloucester and Bristol; E101/75/15 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Hereford; E101/75/28 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Shropshire (Salop); E101/76/4 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Warwick; E101/76/7 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Worcestershire; E101/76/14 6EDWVI Commission & Returns as to monastic and chantry pensions – Gloucester; E314/27 Part 1/2 - Monastic Pensions etc Salop 1 EdwVI - 1 Mary; E135/22/14 Letters Patent for the Pension of John Leveson of the College of St Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth, Shropshire 2EdwVI; E164/31 Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole with return of all fees, annuities, corrodies and pensions payable to religious persons in England and Wales. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary (1555-1556); LR6/123/1   Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue and predecessors: Receivers' Accounts, Series I, Her/Shr/Wa/Wo- 1552-53: mm. 19-31v, 45v-52v, passim; LR5/23 Certificates and Warrants for Monastic Pensions temp. Eliz I; SC6/EDWVI/708Glos - 1549-50; SC6/EDWVI/709Glos - 1550-51; SC6/EDWVI/710Glos - 1551-52; SC6/PHil&Mary/490Glos - 6EdwVI-1Mary 1552-1553 & July 1553-July 1554; SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo-1547-48; SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo-1548-49; SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50; SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo-1550-51; SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo-1551-52; SC6/ Phil&Mary /491Glos - 4&5 & 5&6 - 1557-1558 & July 1558-Nov 1558; SC6/Phil&Mary/492 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1M & 1&2 P&M 1553 &1554-1555; SC6/ Phil&Mary /493 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1&2 & 2&3P&M-1&2(1554-1555)& 2&3P&M (1555-1556); SC6/ Phil&Mary /494 inc. H/S/Wa/Wo-3&4 & 4&5P&M-1556-1557 & 1557-1558;

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Tables 5.4, 5.5 – Warrants to Continue

All TNA: E319/15/5 Commissioners Warrants (to Continue) Hereford - 20 July 1548; E319/15/6 Commissioners Warrants (to Continue) Warwickshire and Coventry - 20 July 1548; E319/15/11 Commissioners Warrants (to Continue) Worcestershire - 20 July 1548; SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo-1547-48.

Tables 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9, 5.11 – Post 1548 Employment

Gloucestershire: GDR/9 Visitation and Court Book 1531-1579; Geoffrey Baskerville, (1)'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucester', (2) 'Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese 1555'.

Herefordshire: A T Bannister, ed, *Institutions etc AD 1530-1900* (Hereford: Diocese of Hereford 1923) pp. 1-26; Francis T Havergal, *Fasti Herefordenses: and other antiquarian memorials of Hereford;* F C Morgan and P E Morgan eds. *Pensioned Nuns, Priests and Monks Recorded in the Hereford Cathedral Archive.*

Shropshire and Warwickshire: LRO B/A/2ii/11538-1592; Bishop's Visitation B/V/1/1-3 1516-1560; SCA BRU15/12/15 Indenture 1&2Philip and Mary; ER1/1/26 Grant to new Schoolmaster 20.12.1554; ER1/1/27 Annuity agreement – from new Schoolmaster to predecessor 1.1.1555; ER1/1/28 Grant indented by the bailiff and burgesses of Stratford upon Avon.

Worcestershire: WRO 732.4/2337/2 –12 c1544-1584 Presentation Deeds including mandates; 778.7324/2442 Calendar of Worcester Institutions 1526-1699; 794.011/2513/1/ii 1540-1550 Act Book; 795.02/2123 1545-1820 Consistory Court Papers; 795.02/290516th cent - 18th cent Consistory Court Papers.

All Counties*:* TNA C1/1369/47-49 Court of Chancery - Six Clerks Office - Dispute of Humphrey Maltell & Thomas Hopkyns; C1/1394/31-35 Court of Chancery - Six Clerks Office - Dispute of John Whateley & John Combe; E135/1/22 Warrants for discharge of pensions- for new post or transferring the charge from the queen to others -2 Eliz 1559/60; E178/3239 Concerning Stipends and Annuities payable out of certain lands 13 & 16 Eliz1; E319/15/1a Court of Augmentations - re: Unpaid Stipends & Authorisation to resume - 24.2.1561; E334/4 Compositions Book 1547-1554; E334/5 Compositions Book 1552-53; E334/6 Compositions Book 1555-56; E334/7 Compositions Book 1559-1563; E334/8 Compositions Book 1563-1573; E334/9 Compositions Book 1573-81; J H Bettey, ed, *Records of Bristol Cathedral;* G.A.J Hodgett, ed, *The State Of The Ex-Religious And Former Chantry Priests In The Diocese Of Lincoln: 1547-1574;* Martha Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c1530-1579.*

Appendix III

Table 5.1 Known Pensions paid -1548-1553 (p. 231)						
County/No.&Year	1547-48	1548-49	1549-50	1550-51	1551-52	1552-53
GLO/116	76	*n/a	107	99	98	116
HER/63	9	46	53	49	48	48
SHR/105	88	92	89	90	81	75
WAR/95	72	9	66	77	75	69
WOR/48	1	31	34	35	33	30
Totals	246	178	349	350	335	338
% of all individuals (427)	57.6	41.7	81.7	82	78.5	79.2

Table 5.2 Known Pensions paid -1553-1558 (p. 231)				
County/No.& Year	1553-55	1554-56	1554-1556	1555-58
GLO/116	*n/a	n/a	86	0
HER/63	22	44	38	2
SHR/105	36	77	55	0
WAR/95	44	64	62	0
WOR/48	15	25	23	5
Totals	117	210	264	7
% of all individuals	27.4	49.2	61.8	1.64
			1556 = Cardinal Pole's List	

Table 5.3 Known Pensions paid -1560-1569 (p. 231)			
County/No.& Year	1560-62	1561-66[1]	1561-69
GLO/116	*n/a	n/a	n/a
HER/63	n/a	11	24
SHR/105	4	11	22
WAR/95	6	10	8
WOR/48	2	4	7
Totals	12	36	61
% of all individuals	2.81	8.43	14.28

Note: *n/a throughout denotes counties where records do not exist for these dates
Table 5.3 1] TNA E135/9/17 A list of pensioners appearing before Commissioners to testify and receive their pensions. This is dated only as 'Eliz' and has been placed between these given dates based on dates of death and other information gathered on named individuals

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Table 5.4 Warrants to Continue - Titles and Age Groups (p. 246)							
	Not Known	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	Total
Asst/Curate	1	1	5	3	4	0	14
Schoolmaster/Usher	2	3	5	4	5	2	21
Vicar	1						1
Totals	4	4	10	7	9	2	36

Table 5. 5 Warrants to Continue - Titles and Counties (p. 246)						
	GLO	HER	SHR	WAR	WOR	Total
Curate	4		1	5	4	14
Schoolmaster/Usher	3	10	0	3	5	21
Vicar				1		1
Totals	7	10	1	9	9	36

Table 5. 6 Later Employment of 1548 Continuants – Title and Reign (p. 248)														
	1550	1551	1553	1554	1555	1556	1558	1561	1562	1563	1573	1574	Titles	Names
Clerk							1						1	1
Curate		2			1					2			5	5
Rector				2				1			1	1	5	4
Vicar	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1			12	9
Totals: Number of Titles/Names	1	3	1	4	2	2	2	2	1	3	1	1	23	19

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Table 5.7 Employment by Reign with Post Location (p. 250)						
Reign	Names Occurrences	Posts	Names First Occurrences	*New Title Same Parish (inc Continuants)*	*New Title Same Town or City*	*New Title New Location*	*Totals*
Edward-including Continuants	118	138	118	*61*	*13*	*64*	*138*
Mary	83	99	51	*11*	*9*	*79*	*99*
Elizabeth	42	58	18	*4*	*7*	*47*	*58*
Totals	243	295*	187*	*76*	*29*	*190*	*295*

Note: *187 individuals 'sharing' 295 posts = 1.57 posts - see p. 245.

Table 5.8 Reign of Edward VI New Posts - not created by Warrants to Continue (p. 250)			
Year	Posts	Names Occur	Of which=Beneficed posts including cathedral prebends and private chaplains
1547	3	3	2
1548	20	19	7
1549	11	10	11
1550	15	14	11
1551	30	30	8
1552	13	12	10
1553	8	8	5
Actuals Posts/Individuals	100	96/(84)*	54

Note: * 84 individuals - including three continuants who obtained new posts.

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Table 5.9 Distance between new and old places of employment (p. 256)										
Miles	1-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-59	60-79	80-99	100-130	130-160	190
Instances	70	38	28	18	14	7	5	6	1	1

Table 5.10 New Posts - by type (p. 256)	
Cathedral/Diocesan Posts	24
Curate inc Asst and Clerk	59
Not Given	17
Preacher	1
Private Chaplain	3
Reader	1
Rector	78
School Governor	1
Schoolmasters & Usher	22
Stipendiary	20
Vicar & Perpetual Curates	69
Total Posts	295

Appendix IV

Tables for Chapter 6

The End of Things: Last Wills and Testaments

Guide to Source Documents

The principal sources for the Tables in Appendix IV (pp. 372-379) are the original documents retained in local record offices and The National Archives (TNA). Full details of the locations and document references or authors, editors and publications can be found in the List of Abbreviations and Bibliography.

All Tables – Wills

GRO 154/128 Thomas Test 8.11.1554
GRO 1555/73 Richard Berye 1.6.1555
GRO 1556/131 William Taylor 16.4.1556
GRO 1558/110 Henry Hoop 11.8.1558
GRO 1559/48 George Wollatt 1.10.1558
GRO 1563/152 Thomas Perepyn 29.1.1563/4
GRO 1563/36 Henry Jones 20.2.1562/3
GRO 1573/185 Thomas Marshall 16.12.1573
GRO 1573/31 Edward Fryer 16 .12.1572
GRO 1574/40 George Pomfraye 15.8.1573
HRO 28/4/45 William Marbury 1.11.1584
HRO 35/2/25 William Pyk 10.3.1566
HRO 41/2/15 Edward Toye 15.4.1558
HRO Faraday &Cole 572/6 William Aphuy 1572
HRO HD4/1/134 1558/4 Richard Benson 10.12.1558
HRO WI 20/5/40 Rowland Harley 24.12.1583
HRO WI 25/3/19 Lawrence Johnson 21.11.1565
HRO WI.19/2/28 Sevecre Gogh 28.1.1561/2
HRO Will 30/3/63 James Morgan 25.1.1574/75
HRO Will 31/3/32 Henry Mynde 30.3.1579
HRO Will 33/4/23 Robert Phylpott 2.9.1568
LRO B/C/11 1558 William Queniborowge 20.1.1558
LRO B/C/11 1564 John Marshall 10.9.1564
LRO B/C/11/1551/26b Thomas Corvyn 13.9.1551
LRO B/C/11/1551/32 Richard Marshall 30.9.1551
LRO B/C/11/1555 Richard Hill (2) 31.5.1555
LRO B/C/11/1557/92 William Cureton 2.1.1557
LRO B/C/11/1558 Nicholas Capenhurst 13.12.1558

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LRO B/C/11/1558/143 William Marshall 19.10.1558
LRO B/C/11/1558/153b Henry Randall 12.1.1558
LRO B/C/11/1560 Richard Holynshed 22.5.1560
LRO B/C/11/1561/26 Thomas Eyton 28.12.1561
LRO B/C/11/1561/35b Roger Hewster 10.11.1561
LRO B/C/11/1566/22b Humfrey Ketcherewe 29.5.1551
LRO B/C/11/1569/116 William Churchley 14.8.1569
TNA PROB 11/16/15/12 Register Arundel John Myrrye 11.4.1579
TNA PROB 11/34/459/348-Register Bucke Hugh Dowsing 1.9.1551
TNA PROB 11/34/479/365 Register Bucke Robert Oswen 21.6.1551
TNA PROB 11/42a/15/13 Register Welles Robert Glaseman 20.9.1556
TNA PROB 11/56/403/327 Register Martyn Richard Wever 13.5.1574
TNA PROB/11/34/339/261 Register Bucke Thomas Tonge 20.8.1551
TNA PROB/11/48/455/393 Register Crymes & Morrison Richard Cornwall 5.3.1566
TNA PROB11/33/156/133 Register Coode William Tommyns/Comyns 23.4.1550
TNA PROB11/62/249/212 Register Arundell Henry Tanner 17.4.1580
WRO 008.7,BA3950 parcel 2 fo212c & 213 William Ball 29.3.1557
WRO 008.7/BA3950 parcel 2 fo14 Thomas James 24.01.1557/58
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo fo 28 John Whateley 10.4.1565
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo106A Hugh Pryne 15.9.1556
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo110 William Lane 13E1-1570-1571
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo1105 William Wyllye 8.12.1548
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo122H John Sutleyo(n)r 1.3.1564
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo157 Edward Alcock 12.8.1557
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo161 William Paytwyn 22.6.1555
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo308 Danyell Tybbott 31.8.1558
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo39 Henry Saunders(2) 20.4.1566
WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo719 Gilbert Gybbyns 17.4.1558

Table 6.1 – Dates of Death

Wills as listed above;

All TNA: E101/75/13 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Gloucester and Bristol; E101/75/15 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Hereford; E101/75/28 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Shropshire (Salop); E101/76/4 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Warwick; E101/76/7 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Worcestershire; E101/76/14 6EDWVI Commission & Returns as to monastic and chantry pensions – Gloucester; E314/27 Part 1/2 - Monastic Pensions etc Salop 1 EdwVI - 1 Mary; E135/22/14 Letters Patent for the Pension of John Leveson of the College of St Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth, Shropshire 2EdwVI;

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E164/31ndenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole with return of all fees, annuities, corrodies and pensions payable to religious persons in England and Wales. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary (1555-1556);
LR6/123/1   Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue and predecessors: Receivers' Accounts, Series I, Her/Shr/Wa/Wo- 1552-53: mm. 19-31v, 45v-52v, passim; LR5/23 Certificates and Warrants for Monastic Pensions temp. Eliz I; SC6/EDWVI/708Glos - 1549-50; SC6/EDWVI/709Glos - 1550-51; SC6/EDWVI/710Glos - 1551-52; SC6/PHil&Mary/490Glos - 6EdwVI-1Mary 1552-1553 & July 1553-July 1554; SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo-1547-48; SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo-1548-49; SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50; SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo-1550-51; SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo-1551-52; SC6/ Phil&Mary /491Glos - 4&5 & 5&6 - 1557-1558 & July 1558-Nov 1558; SC6/Phil&Mary/492 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1M & 1&2 P&M 1553 &1554-1555; SC6/ Phil&Mary /493 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1&2 & 2&3P&M-1&2(1554-1555)& 2&3P&M (1555-1556); SC6/ Phil&Mary /494 inc. H/S/Wa/Wo-3&4 & 4&5P&M-1556-1557 & 1557-1558; E178/3239 Concerning Stipends and Annuities payable out of certain lands 13 & 16 Eliz1; Geoffrey Baskerville, (1)'The Dispossessed Religious of Gloucester', (2) 'Married Clergy and Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese 1555'; G.A.J Hodgett, ed, *The State Of The Ex-Religious And Former Chantry Priests In The Diocese Of Lincoln: 1547-1574;* Martha Skeeters, *Community and Clergy: Bristol and the Reformation c1530-1579.*

Tables 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, 6.7, 6.8, 6.9, 6.11, 6.13.

Wills as listed above;

Table 6.5

Wills as listed above; Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation And The Laity-Gloucestershire, 1540-1580.*

Tables 6.6, 6.10.

Wills as listed above; Lorraine Attreed, 'Preparation for death in Sixteenth Century Northern England'.

Table 6.12

Wills as listed above; Lorraine Attreed, 'Preparation for death in Sixteenth Century Northern England'; Tim Cooper, *Last Generation,* Appendix: Clerical Wills and Inventories.

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Table 6.1 Year and Age at Death (p. 274)								
	Not Known	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-102	Totals
1548-49		1	1	4	6	1	1		14
1550-51	1	3	2	4	5	2	4		21
1552-53	1		1	2	3				7
1554-55	1	1			5		1		8
1556-57			2	4	5	1	1		13
1558-59	2		2	6	7	4	2		23
1560-61				2	1	2	1		6
1563-64				4	2	2			8
1565-66			1	1		3			5
1567-68	1				5	2			8
1569-70	1				5	1		1	8
1571-72	1				1	3		1	6
1573-74					3	4	1		8
1575				1	1	1	1		4
1577-78					1	2			3
1579-80					2	1	1		4
1581-82						2	1		3
1583-85					1	1	1		3
1591							1		1
Totals	8	5	9	28	53	32	16	2	153
ApproxDates Only									
1553-55 (1)			1						1
1554-1556(1)							1		1
1556-1574 (1)	1								1
1558-68 (1)	1								1
1560-69 (1)						1			1
Totals-All	10	5	10	28	53	33	17	2	158

Table 6.2 Year and Number of Wills and Administrations (p. 279)											
Year	1548-51	1552-55	1556-59	1560-63	1564-67	1568-71	1572-75	1579-81	1582-84	Total	Wills/ Admin
Number	7	5	17	5	8	3	6	3	2	56	45/11
Highest Number/Year	5/1551	3/1555	11/1558	2-1561	3 each/ 1564 & 1566		2 each/ 1572 & 1573		2/1580		

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Table 6.3 Number of Preambles by Type by Reign (pp. 287-289)				
	1548-53-Edward	1553-1558-Mary	1558-1584-Elizabeth	Total
Ambiguous	3	9	18	30
Evangelical	0	0	4	4
Traditional	2	5	4	11
Totals	5	14	26	45

Table 6.4 Number of Preambles by Type by County (pp. 287-289)					
	GLO	HER	SHR	WAR	WOR	Total
Ambiguous	12	7	4	2	5	30
Evangelical	0	1	2	1	0	4
Traditional	2	0	3	1	5	11
Totals	14	8	9	4	10	45

Table 6.5 Preamble Source (pp. 287-289)				
Source/Percentages	Ambiguous	Traditional	Evangelical	Number of wills
Litzenberger-GLO Laity 1548-1580	78.56	17.79	3.64	2169
Clerics from this study - all Counties - 1548-1584	66.66	24.44	8.88	45

Table 6.6 Number of Wills with Bequests to Church, Clergy and the Poor (pp. 290-292)			
	1548-1553	1554-1558	1558-1584
Church	0	7	11
% value	0	50	42.30
(Attreed)*	(34.7)	(62.2)	(17.2)
Clerics	5	11	16
% value	80	78.57	61.53
(Attreed)*	(14.2)	(18.4)	(10.2)
Poor	5	7	20
% value	80	50	76.92
(Attreed)*	(49)	(24.6)	(38.5)
Number of wills available	5	14	26
Attreed	305	500	423

Note: * these figures are extracted from Attreed's table of
testamentary bequests, see Attreed, ibid, Table 2,
Testamentary Bequests, 1525-1588, p46

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Table 6.7 Number of Bequests by Category by Reign (pp. 290-292)				
	1548-1553	**1554-1558**	**1558-1584**	**Totals**
Church	0	18	29	47
(Religious Houses)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(2)
(Church Repairs)	(0)	(1)	(10)	(11)
(Church Support)	(0)	(15)	(19)	(34)
Clerics	22	20	45	87
Education/Apprenticeship	1	1	4	6
Family	43	70	174	287
Funeral	2	6	8	16
Godchildren	16	9	26	51
Memorials/ Soul Bequest	1	4	0	5
Misc Personal Bequests (relationship unknown)	61	85	227	373
Of Age or Dowries	7	0	4	11
Poor	6	19	70	95
Roads&Bridges	2	0	4	6
Servants	23	8	47	78
Total	184	240	638	1062
Number of Wills per reign	5	14	26	45

Table 6.8 Number and Type of Bequests to Church or Religious Institutions (pp. 291-292)			
	1554-1558	**1558-1584**	**Number of Bequests**
Books	parchment or vellum books to religious house		1
Wills	*1/7*		
Household Goods		1st & 2nd best carpets for communion tables	2
Wills		*1/11*	
Money (bequests)	£2.17s.6d (16)	£7.9s.8d (26)	42
Wills	*6/7*	*11/11*	
Vestments	Alb	One Set	2
Wills	*1/7*	*1/11*	
Number of Bequests	18	29	47

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Table 6.9 Number and Value of Monetary Bequests to Church (pp. 291-292)			
	1554-1558	1558-1584	Total
Up to 1s	2	5	7
1s.0d	8	2	10
1s to 5s	3	6	9
5s	1	2	3
5s to 10s	0	7	7
10s up to £1	1	2	3
£1	1	1	2
£2	0	1	1
Total	16	26	42
median	1s.0d	4s.2d	
mode	1s.0d	6s.8d	
average	3s. 9d	6s.2.5d	

Table 6.10 – Number of Clerics as Will Officials (pp. 304-305)				
Clerics- Will Role/Year	1548-1553	1553-1558	1558-1584	Total
Executor Only	0	1	1	2
Overseer Only	1	2	1	4
Witness Only	5	4	6	15
Witness is also Executor and/or Overseer	0	0	1	1
Total Instances	6	7	9	22
All wills	5	14	26	45
%	100	50	34.6	
% Attreed for Clerical Witnesses*	41.6	43.4	18.9	

Note: *these figures are extracted from Attreed, see Attreed, ibid, Table 1, of Preambles and Clerical witnesses, 1525-1588, p40

Table 6.11 Number of Bequests to Clerics (pp. 304-305)				
Clerics - Bequest Category/Years	1548-1553	1553-1558	1558-1584	Total
Funeral Doles or Funeral Service/(wills)	0	4 (2)	7(4)	11(5)
Memorial Mass/(wills)	0	3(3)	0	3(3)
Personal Bequests to clerics as Kin/(wills)	0	2(1)	4(1)	6(2)
Personal bequests to clerics by Name/(wills)	20(4)	7 (7)	26(12)	53(23)
Personal bequests to clerics by Title/(wills)	2 (1)	2(1)	8(5)	12(7)
As Executor or Overseer/(wills)	0	2(2)	0	2(2)
Totals	22	20	45	87
No of Wills (All Wills)	4(5)	11(14)	17(26)	32(45)

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Table 6.12 Number and Type of Bequests to Clerics - Goods (pp. 304-305)				
	1548-1553	**1553-1558**	**1558-1584**	**Totals**
Books		1	3	4
Foodstuff			1	1
Brewing Equipment		1		1
Clothes	15	6	11	32
Furniture			3	3
Household Stuff	1			1
Lease			4	4
Money	6	11	17	34
(Funeral Doles)		**(4)**	**(7)**	
(Memorial Mass)		**(3)**		
(As Will Official)		**(3)**	**(1)**	
(Personal)	**(6)**	**(1)**	**(8)**	
(Guardian of Children)			**(1)**	
Plate			1	1
Residue of Goods		0	1	1
Stock-Horses			1	1
Vestments		1	2	3
Firewood			1	1
Total	22	20	45	87
No Wills/All Wills	4/5	11/14	17/26	
	80	78.57	65.38	
% wills v (Attreed)*	**(14.2)**	**(18.4)**	**(10.2)**	

Note: * As in the discussion of the role of fellow clerics as will officials, Tim Cooper's findings should be noted. Cooper states that of the fifty eight wills of his sample, 90% involved clerical beneficiaries, which is close to the evidence from this present study, but the same issues with comparisons apply: the majority of his wills occur before the dates of the present study (36 before 1547, 22 between 1547 and 1567) and there is no examination over time. Cooper, ibid, p149 and Appendix: Clerical Wills and Inventories Cited in the Text – for date range. For Attreed's figures, see Attreed, ibid, Table 2, p. 46.

Table 6.13 Number and Type of Bequests to Clerics – Money (pp. 304-305)				
Value	**1548-1553**	**1554-1558**	**1558-1584**	**Totals**
0.1s 8d		1	1	2
0.5s 0d	0	0	2	2
0.10s 0d	2	0	2	4
£1.0.0	1	0	0	1
£2.0.0	3	0	2	5
£20.0.0*			1	1
Totals	6	1	8	15

Appendix V

<u>Select Biographies</u>

The following selected biographies bring together the information and sources for certain of the priests mentioned in this thesis. Principally, those chosen for this appendix are nine of the individuals cited throughout for whom particular details are known and who provide some indication of the varied lives and careers of those who had been employed as memorial priests. The names of those included in this appendix with dates of birth and death and titles in 1548 are listed below. In the subsequent biographies, a chronology of career dates with relevant source material is provided followed by supplementary information. Full details of the locations and document references or authors, editors and publications can be found in the List of Abbreviations and Bibliography.

William Abel, c1499-1557, Priest of St Michael's, Coventry, Warwickshire.
Henry Beardsmore, c1491- >1565, Priest of the Guild of Henley in Arden, Warwickshire.
Richard Benson of Herefordshire, c1510-1558, Chantry Priest of Beupie's Chantry, Ludlow, Shropshire.
Hugh Dowsing, c1482-1551, Chantry Priest of St George of Pauntley, Gloucestershire.
Roland Lymell, c1500-c1556-61 Preacher of the Corporation Chantries, St Leonard's, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.
William Queneborough, unknown -1559, Chantry Priest of Percey's (alias Perey/Pryce) Chantry, Holy Trinity, Coventry, Warwickshire.
John Ree BA, c1478 or 1498-1572, Chantry Priest of Our Lady and schoolmaster of Rock, Worcestershire.
Henry Saunders, MA, c1508 – 1570, Chantry Priest and Schoolmaster of King's Norton, Worcestershire.
Henry Tanner, c1520-1580, Chantry Priest of Our Lady, All Saints, Hereford.

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William Abel, c1499 – 1557, Priest of St Michael's, Coventry, Warwickshire.

Ordained **sub-deacon regular** at Lichfield Cathedral, 15.3.1522, as **deacon regular** on 8.6.1522 and **priest regular** on 3.5.1523, as 'Frater' (brother) of the Priory of St Anne, the Charterhouse of Coventry, his date of birth has been estimated from his ordination as priest, LRO B/A/1/14i-iii 1503-1543. Awarded **faculty** to change habit and hold benefice, 20.10.1538, Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers, 1534-1549;* **Vicar** of the Coventry Charterhouse, signed dissolution document 1539, 'Houses of Carthusian monks: Priory of St Anne, Coventry', *A History of the County of Warwick: Volume 2* (1908), pp. 83-86, awarded **pension** £6, payments recorded, 1548 – 1554/56: TNA SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo-1547-48; TNA SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo-1548-49; TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50; TNA SC6/Phil&Mary/492 inc. H/S/Wa/Wo -1553&1554-1555; SC6/ Phil&Mary/493 inc. H/S/Wa/Wo 1554-1556; recorded in Pole's pension list as pensioner of the Charterhouse: TNA E164/31 Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole 2 &3 Phil&Mary 1555-1556. **Beneficiary** in will of Elizabeth Swillington, 30.11.1546, TNA PROB /11/31/392/297 Register: Alen; **Priest** of St Michael's, Coventry, 1548, a post endowed for twelve years by Elizabeth Swillington, stipend £6.1s.6d, no pension award: TNA E301/53&57 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire, Cert 2. **Chaplain** to the Swillington household, 1548, Upton, *Parochial clergy of the archdeaconry of Coventry, c.1500-c.1600,* p.98; **died** 'in the fourth year of the reign of Queen Mary' (July 1556 -July 1557), TNA E178/3239 Schedule of stipends paid to parsons and schoolmasters (and) certificates of the deaths of pensioners, 13 &16 Elizabeth, (1571 to 1574).

Abel's career is closely entwined with that of William Queneborough and the Swillington family of Coventry (see below). Queneborough was sympathetic to the Carthusian order and also witnessed the wills of Ralph Swillington, the recorder of Coventry who died in 1525, and his wife Elizabeth in 1546. Ralph left 20s to the houses of friars in Coventry, Greenwich, London and Richmond, 40s to the Charterhouse of Coventry and 20s to the Charterhouse of London. Elizabeth, in her will dated 30.11.1546, left Abel 'my chaplain' £5 with £72 to endow a priest to 'sing for my soul and the souls of my ancestors and kin and for grace rather for them that be in life for the space of twelve years' with a stipend of 9 marks (£6). Abel must have taken the place immediately as the dissolution certificate of 1548 states that he had received £8 'the whole' for the 'one year and four months ended at Easter' that he had been in post. No pension award is recorded for this post although the payment of his religious pension appears regularly in the records (see above) and his eligibility was also noted in the list drawn up for Cardinal Pole. Abel died sometime in the fourth year of Mary's reign.

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Henry Beardsmore, c1491- >1565, Guild Priest of the Guild of Henley in Arden, Warwickshire.

Chaplain of Henley in Arden, Warwickshire, Diocese of Worcester, in 1532, see WRO 802 2764 Act Book of John Bell c1520-1541, Archdeaconry of Worcester, f.42, (1532). **Guild Priest** of the Guild of Henley in Arden, aged fifty-six years, stipend £5.10s.0d, TNA E301/53 and 57 - Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire-Cert 21; **Curate** of Henley in Arden, stipend £5, warrant to continue, TNA E319/15/6 20.7.1548. **Beneficiary** in the will of Edward Alcock, vicar of Wooton Wawen, formerly 'sub-guardian' of the College of Stratford upon Avon, who left him a black gown faced with worsted, his best sarcenet tippett, his best cap and a pair of pattens, WRO 008.7BA3950/2 f.157, Will of Edward Alcock, vicar of Wooton Wawen, 12.8.1557. **Re: unpaid pension/stipend** (for full account, see Chapter 5, pp. 222-224) LR5/23/66 and 67, dated 24.12.4Eliz (1561) undated letter from John Court to John Fyssher LR5/23 350; commission of enquiry re: pensions and annuities c1563, TNA E135/9/17 'names of persons who appear to receive pensions or annuities and the sums - Eliz' (undated). **Curate** of 'Owlesbarrow' (Oldberrow), Warwickshire, 20.9.1563 (during vacancy due to deprivation of Henry Saunders – see below) see CCEd Record ID*: 199327. **Beneficiary** in the will of John Whateley, vicar of Crowle, his former colleague in the Guild of Henley, who left him 1s 8d, WRO 008.7BA3950/2 f.28, Will and Inventory of John Whateley, vicar of Crowle, 10.4.1565.

Richard Benson of Herefordshire, c1510-1558, Chantry Priest of Beupie's Chantry, Ludlow, Shropshire.

Possibly **curate** of Richard's Castle, Shropshire, 1543, when stood surety for Richard Benson senior as Vicar of Shinfield with Swallowfield in Berkshire in 1543; TNA E334/2 Compositions Book 1541-1543 f.145r 30.04.1543. **Rector** of Kinnersley, 1544, TNA E334/3 Compositions Book 1541-1543 f.9v 20.3.1544, **deprived** 1554 - his successor, William Pyke, compounded in October 1554; TNA E334/3 f202v, 11.10.1554. **Chantry Priest** of Beupie's Chantry, Ludlow, stipend £6.9s 3d, awarded £5 pension; TNA E301/ 41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire-1548, Cert 37; described as Rector of Kinnersley and chaplain to Sir Hugh Seymour, uncle of King Edward, Benson was dispensed to hold further offices 2.3.1549; Chambers, *Faculty Office Registers,* p. 318. **Vicar** of Shinfield with Swallowfield in Berkshire, compounded 2.3.1549; TNA E334/4 2.3.3E6 f. 23v, **deprived** 23.8.1554, CCEd Record ID*: 77752 citing W&SRO, D1/2/16 (Register). **Vicar** of Dorstone, Herefordshire; TNA E334/4 29.6.1553 f123r, **deprived** 1554 - his successor, David ap Ellys, compounded in November 1554; TNA E334/3 f212v 23.11.1554. **Married:** Anne Hawkyns, perhaps 1549, one daughter, Anne, three sons, Timothy, Samuel and James (all under fourteen years in December 1558), one base daughter Mawde. Left his sons to the guardianship of William Pyke, his successor as Rector of Kinnersley and formerly its schoolmaster. Died December 1558, will dated 10.12.1558, HRO HD4/1/134 1558/4.

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Benson is likely to be the 'cosyn' (nephew perhaps?) appointed as executor by Richard Benson who died in 1549 as a residentiary canon of Hereford Cathedral. Benson senior had previously held Beupie's Chantry, appointed on 25.10. 1518, Bannister, *Registers of the Bishops of Hereford,* Bothe, p. 332, and the vicarage of Shinfield with Swallowfield in Berkshire from 1543 (when Benson junior stood surety). The CCEd record of his Shinfield institution states that he was already canon residentiary of Hereford and notes his renunciation of the Pope. CCEd Record ID: *77425* citing W&SRO, D1/2/16 (Register); TNA E334/2 Compositions Book 1541-1543 f.145r 30.04.1543). Will dated 16.10.1548, probate 22.2.1549, TNA PROB 11/32/361/269 Register: Populwell.

Hugh Dowsing, c1482-1551, Chantry Priest of St George of Pauntley and Vicar of Trynley, Gloucestershire.

Curate of Castle Morton, Worcestershire from at least 1532 until sometime between 1535 and 1540: WRO 802 2764 Act Book of John Bell c1520-1541, Archdeaconry of Worcester, 'Morton Castell', ff. 33-47, (1532) and ff.49-66 (1534); *The Valor Ecclesiasticus* 1535 Vol III, Diocese of Worcester, County of Worcestershire, Castle Morton, p. 247. **Vicar** of Trynley (now Tirley) before 1540: WRO 802/2764 c.1520-c.1541 Visitation Act book of John Bell, Bishop of Worcester, pp. 292-252. **Chantry Priest** of St George of Pauntley (Pauntley is about 7.5 miles from Trynley/Tirley), aged sixty years, TNA E301/22 Chantry Certificates for Gloucestershire-1548, Cert 70. **Died** September-October 1551 - will dated 1.9.1551, **resigned** his vicarage 2.9.1551, probate dated 4.11.1551, TNA PROB 11-34-459-348-Bucke, Will of Hugh Dowsing; resignation CCEd Record ID: 314507, last viewed 22.9.2010.

Hugh Dowsing's network of family and friends though primarily local did stretch to the capital through his brother, Thomas, who lived in London with his large family but was present when Hugh made his will. Money was left to 'Mr Thomas Throckmorton the younger', indicating a connection with local gentry, yet Dowsing's will is more evocative of the friendship amongst a community of priests, particularly those associated with parishes adjoining his Gloucestershire parish of Trynley but also with others outside his immediate area, (for full account see Chapter 6, pp. 290-291). This is exemplified by the list of clerics whom he names in his will identified as follows:

Hugh Wall, the rector of Hasfield, possibly absent and resident in an Oxford benefice, see Baskerville, 'Elections to Convocation in the Diocese of Gloucester under Bishop Hooper' p. 27.

William Molle, curate of Chaceley and possible the later curate of the same name in Harvington, Worcestershire, see CCEd Person ID: 84719 last viewed 4.3.2010.

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Thomas Bell (possibly Ball) named as curate of Little Malvern, the next parish to Castle Morton.

Thomas Lytell whom Dowsing names as the vicar of Stanway, a post he had held since at least 1548, see CCEd Record ID: 140001.

William Inman, vicar of 'Gowarne' (an unidentified place name), possibly identified with William Inman, rector of Avening in 1561, death noted at institution of next incumbent in 1577. CCEd Person ID: 45870 last viewed 19.01. 2010.

The unnamed vicar of 'Arlesworth', probably Ashleworth, three miles from Trynley and possibly John Knowllys, who was the vicar there in 1548. His apparent successor was appointed in 1558: for Knowllys see CCEd Record ID: 139735, successor appointed 31.10.1558, CCEd Record ID: 315331.

James Suffild whose whereabouts Dowsing does not give but who may have already been Rector of Birtsmorton, where he was from at least 1561 until his death in 1571: see CCEd Person ID: 66593 for Suffild, last viewed 19.01.2010.

Sir Thomas Dobyns witnessed Dowsing's will and was appointed his successor on 2.9.1551 (shared with Dowsing's resignation). Dobyns was deprived of the vicarage for marriage in December 1554, Dobyns deprivation, CCEd Record ID: 314590, last viewed 22.9.2010.

Roland Lymell, c1500-c1556-61 Preacher of the Corporation Chantries in St Leonard's, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

Ordained **priest secular** on 24.9.1524 at Rugeley in Staffordshire, Coventry and Lichfield Dioceses, with entitlement from Buildwas Abbey, his date of birth has been estimated from this date: LRO B/A/1/14i- iii 1503-1543. **Pensioner** - received a pension of £6.13.4 granted by order of the Court of Augmentations dated 4th July 31HVIII (1540) paid out of the receipts of the manor of Netherwinchend parcel of the former monastery of Notly, Buckinghamshire, the pension was granted on condition that he serve the parish church of Chearsley, (Chardisley), Buckinghamshire: Hodgett, *Ex-religious and Chantry Priests – Lincoln* p. 120. **Preacher** of the Corporation Chantries in St Leonard's, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, stipend £5, awarded £5 pension, TNA E301/41 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire 1548, Cert 25. Pension paid from 1548 until 1554-1556 but is absent from Cardinal Pole's pension list of 1556. TNA SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo (1548-49); TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo (1549-50); TNA SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo (1550-51) TNA SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo (1551-52);TNA LR6/123/1 H/S/Wa/Wo- 1552-53; TNA SC6/PHil&Mary/492 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1M & 1&2 P&M (1553 &1554-1555); TNA SC6/PHil&Mary/493 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1&2 & 2&3P&M-1&2 (1554-1555) & 2&3P&M (1555-1556). **Rector** of Beckingham,

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Lincolnshire, 25.8.1548 with sureties from Nicholas Holte and Fulco Lee, both gentlemen of Bridgnorth: TNA E334/4 25.8.2E6 f. 13v Composition Book and Hodgetts, ibid.

Leased tithes of Beckingham to Court of Augmentations official in 1549: A12721 and A12727 in H. C. Maxwell Lyte ed. *A Descriptive Catalogue Of Ancient Deeds* Vol 5 pp. 366. **Deceased** c1500-c1556-61,successor appointed 1561; CCEd Record ID: 119434.

The Lymell family connection with Bridgnorth and a religious house of area is shown by the Bond between a weaver of Bridgnorth named Thomas Lymell and Lilleshall Abbey in 1498; 'Demise by Robert Fitzjohn, the abbot, and the convent, of St. Mary's, Lilleshull, to Thomas Lymell of Brugenorth, 'wever,' 13Henry VII: bond number C. 3454. H. C. Maxwell Lyte ed. *A Descriptive Catalogue Of Ancient Deeds* Vol 3, pp. 363-374. Having acquired his Beckingham benefice of £41 per year, Lymell then arranged to lease the tithes to William Rigges, Court of Augmentations auditor for Lincolnshire, in February and March 1549. The agreement between the two is outlined in a bond and demise for the lease of the tithes for the parsonage of 'Bekyngham' in which Rigges agreed to pay £30 per year from 'St. Mark's day next for twenty-one years', 'over and besides the finding of one honest priest or curate at Straglethorpe'. Lymell's death is likely to have occurred between 1556 and 1561, no evidence remains of any pension payment beyond 1556 and the records show that by 1561 the Rector of 'Beckingham with Fenton and Straglethorpe' was Roger Bromhall, who was also non-resident (he was resident in Lincoln) - a situation the parishioners of Beckingham were now long accustomed to.

William Queneborough, ?-1559, Chantry Priest of Percey's (alias Perey/Pryce) Chantry, Holy Trinity, Coventry, Warwickshire.

Witness of the will of Ralph Swillington of Coventry, as 'Sir' William Queneborough so priest by this date, 11.7.1525. One of two **Chantry Priests** of Percey's Chantry, Holy Trinity, Coventry, by 1535, their stipends are said to total £10.10s, *The Valor Ecclesiasticus* Vol III, Diocese of Worcester, County of Warwick, p. 60 (1535); **Witness and supervisor** of the will of Elizabeth Swillington of Coventry, 30.11.1546, TNA PROB /11/31/i392/297 Register: Alen. Still **Chantry Priest** of Percey's Chantry, age not given, each priest now said to receive £5.14s.10d, pension award of £5, TNA E301/53 and 57 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire, Cert 16; received pension from 1548 until 1556 and eligibility recorded in Cardinal Pole's list: TNA SC6/EDWVI/714 H/S/Wa/Wo-1547-48; TNA SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo-1548-49; TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50; TNA SC6/Phil&Mary/492 inc. H/S/Wa/Wo -1553&1554-1555; SC6/ Phil&Mary/493 inc. H/S/Wa/Wo 1554-1556; TNA E164/31 Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole 2 &3 Phil&Mary 1555-1556. **Private Chaplain** to the Household of Ralph Swillington-Recorder of Coventry, 1548, Upton, *Parochial clergy of the*

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archdeaconry of Coventry, c.1500-c.1600, p.98. **Tenant** of property which formerly had belonged to the Guild of Holy Trinity and was then sold in 1548, *CPR* 2EdwardV1 - Part IV pp. 389 mm32; SCA DR10/414 23.10.1548. **Died** 1559, will dated 20.1.1558 (1559). LRO B/C/11 1558 Will of William Queneborough 20.1.1558.

Queneborough's will (see Chapter 6, pp. 277-278) confirms his association with the Swillington's, the Carthusian order and his affiliation to traditional religion. His instructions to his nephew Henry requires that the latter employs, in return for the inheritance of his uncle's house in Grey Friars' Lane, 'an honest priest which was never married [to] say mass daily as his conceding(?) shall serve him and also dirge with all the sufferage 2 days in the week that is Wednesday & Friday for my soul and for the souls of my good Master & Mistress Rauff Swillington & Elizabeth his wife and all christian souls ii whole years in the Mercers chapel and he to have for his wages by the year £6 to be paid quarterly by mine executors and he to begin shortly ….after my death'. This priest was to sing in the Mercer's Chapel of St Michael's church in Coventry, where Queneborough had requested to be buried next to the tomb of his mother. The re-founded Charterhouse of Sheen was left 20s.

That the Swillingtons had been 'good Master and Mistress' to Queneborough is shown by their wills. Queneborough witnessed Ralph's will in 1525 and is likely to be the 'Sir William, my chaplain' bequeathed 'the advowson and farm of the chapel of St Thomas The Apostle and St Anne in Bosworth during his years'. Elizabeth in her will of 1546, of which Queneborough was both witness and joint supervisor, gave him '20 marks (£13.6s 8d) and a close in Stichall (Stivichall) called the Little Rydings for his life without rent'. Elizabeth also called Robert Walker, the priest who shared the chantry in Holy Trinity with Queneborough, 'my chaplain' and left him £5.

Queneborough appears in the historic record associated with one other aspect of the dissolution process: the sale of land and property that had previously supported the memorial endowments. Dated 23.10.1548, a document confirms a feoffment from Thomas Downes, an innholder of Coventry, to Thomas Gregory, gentleman, also of Coventry (who was also the second supervisor with Queneborough of Elizabeth Swillington's will) of a messuage and tenement in the tenure of William Queneboroughe. This property was in Warwick Lane, Coventry, and had belonged to the Holy Trinity Guild in Bablake. Other ex-Guild properties appear in the agreement and these are said to have come to Thomas Downes by the gift of William Boxe on 1.10.1548 whose ownership was by letters patent granted on 15.9.1548. These same properties and the names of Downes and Queneborough are amongst those listed in a sale of Chantry Lands to William Boxe, a grocer of London, for the sum £427.19.9d on 15.9.1548, suggesting that Boxe was the London agent through which local sales were made and transferred into new ownership.

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John Ree BA, c1478 or 1498 -1572, Chantry Priest of Our Lady and schoolmaster of Rock, Worcestershire.

Ordained **priest secular** 18.6.1519 - John Ree, Hereford diocese ordained priest, – entitlement Monastery of Whiston, (diocese of Worcester), Lichfield Cathedral, LRO B/A/14i. **Rector,** Free Chapel of Hampton Wafer, Herefordshire, 23 Jan 1530/31 by Sir Humphrey Coningsby, knight, on death of David Bazhe**:** Bannister, *Registers of the Bishops of Hereford,* Bothe, p. 344. **Cantarist** in Rock by 1535, Valor Ecclesiasticus, 1535, Vol III, Diocese of Hereford, County of Worcestershire.
Chantry Priest of Our Lady and schoolmaster of Rock, Worcestershire, aged seventy years, stipend £5 14s: TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire 1548 – Cert 24. **Schoolmaster** of Free Grammar School of Rock, warrant to continue, stipend £5 14s: TNA E319/15/11 20.7.1548. Stipend payments recorded continuously from 1549 –1554/56: TNA SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50; TNA SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo (1550-51) TNA SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo (1551-52);TNA LR6/123/1 H/S/Wa/Wo- 1552-53; TNA SC6/PHil&Mary/492 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1M & 1&2 P&M (1553 &1554-1555); TNA SC6/PHil&Mary/493 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1&2 & 2&3P&M-1&2 (1554-1555) & 2&3P&M (1555-1556). **'Pension'** certificate in Hereford Cathedral archive, dated c1554 confirms status: HRO Morgan and Morgan - Ex-religious and Chantry Priests of Hereford, p. 85. **Letters and receipt** re: the collection of his stipend, 23.10.1569: LR5/23/219; LR5/23/298; LR5/23/299. **Died** 1572 –John Ree 'scholemeister' buried Rock, 26.12.1572. WRO Potter, ed, *Parish Registers of Rock* Vol 1-1547-1812 (unpublished, un-paginated).

For all that his ordination service was held in Staffordshire, his ordination entitlement was from Shropshire and Rock, the parish in which he served most of his life was in Worcestershire, John Ree's closest associations were with Herefordshire and its diocese in which Rock lay. At his ordination, in Lichfield Cathedral in 1519, he was said to be of Hereford diocese and his patron for his appointment as rector of the chapel of Hampton Wafer in 1530/31 (a sinecure only) was Sir Humphrey Coningsby, a significant member of the Hereford gentry. Coningsby was also the founder of the chantry and free school in Rock which Ree served for forty-eight years (certificate number 219 cited above), implying an institution date around 1521. According to Leach in *English Schools at the Reformation,* p.325, the school was founded in 1509 around which date, as noted in the *Victoria County History,* Worcestershire,Vol. 4 pp.319-328, the Coningsby family also undertook considerable building work on the church. At Ree's institution Hampton Wafer refers to him as Bachelor of Arts, while the chantry certificate of 1548 calls him simply 'learned and of honest conversation', adding that the 'incumbent of the chantry hath always sithens the first foundation of the said chantry taught a Grammar school taking nothing therefore of poor men's children'.

The 1554 certificate in Hereford Cathedral Archives states that Ree had 'his licence of King Henry the eight by virtue of his letters patent there unto to be shewed remaining

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in the hands & keeping of Humfrey Conyngsby esquire his eyre *(sic)* apparent', furthermore his entitlement is £5.14s and he has never had another living and never married. This makes no mention of the chapel of Hampton Wafer.

The three documents surviving in the National Archives in LR5/23 are two letters in Ree's own hand, and one from the curate and three parishioners. Ree's letters apologise for his age and infirmity, which prevent him from coming in person 'as of duty I ought'. He goes on to say that he has never had any other living but 'the house I dwell in' and £5.14s, paid twice a year. His servant Edward Croker, confirming his collection of the full sum on Ree's behalf, receipted both letters. Ree further says that Croker will pay the receiver, Mr George Ley, 'all such duties that as of you shall demand' and closes by committing Mr Ley 'to God who have you now and ever in his merciful keeping'. Alongside his signature Ree states that he has been schoolmaster there for forty-eight years, confirming that 'schoolmaster' had long been part of the role simply described as 'cantarist' in the Valor. Unfortunately, this letter though dated 26 October lacks the year and the other two, both dated 23 October 1569 do not indicate his years in the school. Crucially for the payment of his stipend, the parishioners of Rock confirmed that Ree 'continually doth teach our free school of grammar' which, given his recorded age of seventy in 1548, makes him a very active ninety-one year old. However, if he was ordained priest at something close to the customary age of twenty-four in 1519, this suggests a man in his fifties in 1548 rather than the 'three score and ten years' given in the certificate and may reflect doubt on the age record. Nevertheless, Ree was certainly ageing by the late 1560's and could genuinely have had difficulty travelling. The first letter is directed for delivery to the receiver or his deputy at Bridgnorth nearly seventeen miles from Rock and the second for delivery to the receiver this time in Bewdley, only six miles distant. Ree died in 1572, aged somewhere between eighty and ninety-four, and was buried in Rock which had been his home for probably fifty years.

Henry Saunders MA, c1508 – 1570, Chantry Priest and Schoolmaster of King's Norton, Worcestershire Norton, Worcestershire

Chantry Priest and Schoolmaster of King's Norton, Worcestershire**,** described as Master of Arts, stipend £10, TNA E301/61 – Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire 1548, Cert 10. **Schoolmaster** of King's Norton, warrant to continue, stipend £10, TNA E319/15/1; **Rector** of Oldberrow, Worcestershire, 13.6.1554, WRO 732.4/2337/4 1553-54 Davenport 214 and WRO 732.4/4 doc. 214, own bond for Oldberrow (spelt Ullebrogh) as Harry Saunders of King's Norton; **deprived** 1561, Oldberrow rectory is recorded as vacant in November 1561 and September 1563. Geoffrey Heath was inducted into the rectory on the deprivation of Henry Saunders in August 1565; for Oldberrow vacancies see CCEd Record ID: 148493 citing CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey) November 1561, CCEd Record ID: 199326 20.9.1563; for Saunder's deprivation and Heath's see CCEd Record ID: 132972 and WRO 732.6-BA.2511. It was during the vacancy of 1563 that Henry Beardsmore of Henley in

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Arden (above) was recorded as curate. Will made 20.4.1566, this includes a reference to another document (not surviving) in which he had made provision for the poor, **died** August 1570, WRO 008.7BA3950 parcel 2 fo39 (Fry p216) Will of Henry Saunders, 20.4.1566 and inventory, 13.8.1570, probate 1570 (year only available).

Saunders' will has a traditional preamble that adds to the evidence of his deprivation confirming his allegiance to the old form of religion. Thomas Badger, who shared Saunders allegiance but had purchased Bidford Grange after the dissolution of Bordesley Abbey, its monastic owners, witnessed the will and, it appears, had offered Saunders accommodation. The inventory attached to Saunders' will contains a section listing clothing and money, including 'cash in his purse' which were at Bidford Grange. Badger maintained his Catholic faith, leaving a very traditional will of his own in 1571 with the Catholic Thomas Throckmorton as his executor and one witness, Robert Whateley, probably the 'old massing priest' of the same name, recorded as recusant in the rolls for Stratford on Avon in 1591. Thomas's son, George, had some involvement with the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 and the family appeared in recusancy rolls until 1606/07. Will of Thomas Badger 13.10.1571, probate 6.5.1572, Bearman, 'The Early Reformation Experience in a Warwickshire Market Town: Stratford upon Avon, 1530-1580' in *Midland History* Vol 32, (2007) passim.

Henry Tanner, c1520-1580, Chantry Priest of Our Lady, All Saints, Hereford.

Chantry Priest in All Saints, Hereford, 10.6.1546: TNA E334/3 Composition Book f. 90r. Still **Chantry Priest** in All Saints, Hereford, aged twenty-eight, in 1548, salary £7.1s 10d, **pension** awarded £5: TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire – 1548, Cert 2; **pension** paid 1548 – 1554-1556 and 1566, eligibility confirmed in Pole's list 1555-1556: SC6/EDWVI/715 H/S/Wa/Wo-1548-49;SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50; SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo-1550-51; SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo-1551-52; SC6/Phil&Mary/492 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1M (1553) & 1&2 Phil&Mary (1554-1555); SC6/ Phil&Mary /493 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor- 1&2 Phil&Mary (1554-1555) & 2&3 Phil&Mary (1555-1556); TNA E164/31 Indenture between King and Queen and Reginald, Cardinal Pole 2&3 Phil&Mary (1555-1556). **Vicar Choral,** Hereford Cathedral, 11.8.1553, TNA E334/5 f.1.24v. **Rector** of Colwall, 6 .4.1557, Bannister, *Hereford Institutions,* p.12*.* Rector of Stackpole Elidor, 21.11.1559, TNA E334/7 p.32v. To the **prebend** of Wellington, Hereford Cathedral, 19.10.1568, Bannister, *ibid,* p. 18*.* **Rector** of Little Marcle, 12.5.1571, Bannister, *ibid,* p. 20. **Rector** of Fownhope, 14.9.1575, Bannister, *ibid,* p. 23. **Died** 1580: TNA PROB 11/62/249/12 Register Arundell, Will of Henry Tanner 17.4.1580, probate 15.6.1580.

Henry Tanner's career as a cleric in Hereford from his earliest known position as a chantry priest to his final rectory in 1575 is evident from the various institution records but it is the evidence from his will which is of particular note. His clerical debtors only are noted in chapter six, pp. 299-301, here both clergy and those not

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identified as such who must be assumed to be laity are listed. These names and details, described in the PCC will as just some of the debts owing to Henry Tanner, are highly suggestive of significant money lending and credit provision on Tanner's part. The serious management of his debts is shown by the memorandum regarding the partial repayment of sum owed by Thomas Mayland on a bond (see below) and the mention of a 'specialty' – another form of bond. The items he appears to have 'in gage' against various sums are considerable and also of interest are the nature of the debts including a pension, arrears of rent, bushels of wheat and 'a load of tyle'. Two of those owing debts to Tanner were Carodyn (the only name given) and William Hop from Little Marcle, a parish of which Tanner had been Rector since 1571. The debts owed to Tanner totalled £129.0.0, which is a very large sum indeed, and, it should be noted, not the full story as the PCC scribe recorded only 'part of the goods and debts of the said Henry Tanner'.

Clergy - with possible identification:

The parson (unidentified) of St Owens, 10 shillings.

Sir ? name missing, perhaps a cleric who owes 20 shillings.

Master Aldridge, 'hath a salt with a cover parcell gilt and six spoons and a flat bowl and oweth in money about four pounds'. Richard Aldridge, Bachelor of Divinity, University of Oxford, 22.6.1585, said to be a prebendary of Hereford 1560, vicar of Bicester, Oxon, 1564, rector of Fringford, Oxon, 1565: Foster, *Alumni Oxiensis, 1500-1714, A-K,* p. 6. In 1567 he was also Rector of Byford, Herefordshire and Great Rissington, Gloucestershire and still prebendary in Hereford Cathedral, CCEd Record ID: 155833.

Master Cowper 'oweth four pounds and has also one standing piece with a cover, one flat piece with a cover, one salt cellar with a cover'. May be either Edward Cowper (alias Cooper) Archdeacon of Hereford Cathedral (1558), prebend of Gorwall and Overbury (1585), died in 1596,: see Havegal's *Fasti,* pp. 66-67 or Walter Cowper, Tanner's fellow chantry priest in All Saints, Hereford in 1548, Cowper served the Chantry of the Roode and St James from September 1545: E334/3 Composition Book, f.66r 19.9.1545; TNA E301/24 Chantry Certificates for Herefordshire – 1548, Cert 2.

Master Mason, 10 shillings. Richard Mason - Vicar Choral of Hereford Cathedral in 1567, aged forty-six, and also Rector of Dinedor, Hereford, CCEd Record ID: 155618 citing CCC, MS 97 (Clerical Survey).

Others –presumed all laity

Master Bowth owes 'forty pounds by specialty and had a salt with a cover parcel gilt and a standing cup with a cover'.

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John Button (possibly Britten) owes £3.0.0.

Caradyn (only name given) of 'Little Markle' owes 20 shillings for 20 bushells of wheat.

Master Coren owes 'in money for 20 strikes of wheat 40s and one hundred bushells of wheat more he hath in his custody'. This debtor shares his surname (and perhaps family) with Hugh Coren, the senior Hereford diocesan figure and later Bishop of Dublin and Oxford who died in 1567.

William Hop of 'Little Markle' owes 40 shillings 'for wheat'.

Master Thomas Loddenham 'had a standing cup with a salt with a cover and a goblet with a cover and oweth £40 besides for the rent due at St Mary's day last'.

Master Lurens (Lawrence?) 'five silver bowls, the one gilt, the others not'. These must be items Tanner has in 'gage' for Master Lurens who also owes Tanner for 'load of tyle', for which no value is given.

John Malpas and William Gilbert owe forty shillings.

Hugh Roper owes 20 shillings.

Thomas Stevens owes '£4 for the last year's pension and forty shillings more is owing for this last half year's pension'.

Master Watkyns owed '£6 and hath also divers parcels of plate viz: one goblet double gilt, one lowl gilt, one salt cellar double gilt, one other salt cellar parcel gilt and one ale cup with a cover'.

Thomas Mayland. 'Memorandum that £16 the said Henry Tanner acknowledged himself satisfied of by Thomas Mayland upon a bill obligatory of £30 whereon the said Thomas with William Mayland stand bound together and so £4 (£14?) thereof oweth remaining due'.

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E301/38 Chantry Certificates for Oxfordshire
E301/40 Chantry Certificates for Shropshire 1546
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E301/53 Chantry Certificates for Warwickshire
E301/57 Chantry Certificates (Pensions) for Warwickshire
E301/60 Chantry Certificates for Worcestershire
E301/61 Chantry Certificates (Pensions) for Worcestershire
E301/74 Chantry Certificates for South Wales
E301/75 Chantry Certificates (Pensions) for South Wales
E301/76 Chantry Certificates (Pensions) for North Wales
E301/93 Chantry Certificates (Pensions) for Oxfordshire
E301/97 Certificates (Pensions) for Oxfordshire

Pensions

E101/76/4 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Warwick
E101/75/13 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Gloucester and Bristol
E101/75/15 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Hereford
E101/75/28 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Shropshire (Salop)
E101/76/7 2EDWVI Pensions assigned to the incumbents and other ministers of the late dissolved colleges, chantries, &c., in the county of Worcestershire
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SC6/EDWVI/716 H/S/Wa/Wo-1549-50: mm. 16-31v, 46-51v, passim
SC6/EDWVI/717 H/S/Wa/Wo-1550-51: mm. 16-30, 43-48v, passim
SC6/EDWVI/718 H/S/Wa/Wo-1551-52: mm. 16-28v, 42v-48v, passim
SC6/ Phil&Mary /491Glos - 4&5 & 5&6 - 1557-1558 & July 1558-Nov 1558
SC6/Phil&Mary/492 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1M & 1&2 P&M 1553 &1554-1555
SC6/ Phil&Mary /493 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 1&2 & 2&3P&M-1&2(1554-1555)& 2&3P&M (1555-1556)
SC6/ Phil&Mary /494 inc. Salop, Heref, War&Wor - 3&4 & 4&5P&M-1556-1557 & 1557-1558

Appointments

Court of Augmentations

E319/15/5 Commissioners Warrants (to Continue) Hereford - 20 July 1548
E319/15/6 Commissioners Warrants (to Continue) Warwickshire and Coventry - 20 July 1548
E319/15/11 Commissioners Warrants (to Continue) Worcestershire - 20 July 1548

Court of First Fruits and Tenths

E334/2 Compositions Book 1541-1543
E334/3 Compositions Book 1543-1547
E334/4 Compositions Book 1547-1554
E334/5 Compositions Book 1552-53
E334/6 Compositions Book 1555-56
E334/7 Compositions Book 1559-1563
E334/8 Compositions Book 1563-1573
E334/9 Compositions Book 1573-81
E336/4 Commissions of Enquiry into church livings 1544-1564

Miscellaneous

Court of Chancery

C 115/100 No. 7376-7403 Letters to John Scudamore (died 1571) of Holme Lacy – Court of Augmentations Receiver for Herefordshire1535, c 1542-1556
C1/1369/47-49 Court of Chancery - Six Clerks Office - Dispute of Humphrey Maltell & Thomas Hopkyns re: HM's pension
C1/1394/31-35 Court of Chancery - Six Clerks Office - Dispute of John Whateley & John Combe re: tithes of Crowle
C1/1501/38 Court of Chancery - Six Clerks Office - plea of John Fyssher re: institution to prebend of Underton, College of Bridgnorth

Exchequer

E134/16&17Eliz/Mich4 - The Queen, by Sir J. Husbond. v. Wm. Crowche: Wm. Crowche, a Crown debtor, late surveyor of the city of Hereford, and concerning lead from the priory of Leominster. Hereford
E135/1/22 Warrants for discharge of pensions- for new post or transferring the charge from the queen to others -2 Eliz 1559/60 -
E135/10/40 List of First Fruits & 10ths for Coventry & Lichfield - Bp Nicholas Heath
E164/34A Enrolment book of deeds of bargain, sale, leases and grants of ex-monastic and chantry lands, and of grants of offices and pensions. Includes both crown grants and private deeds
E178/3239 Concerning Stipends and Annuities payable out of certain lands 13 & 16 Eliz1
E301/26 Workbook of William Crowche King's Court of Augmentations Surveyor for Herefordshire
E302/1/25 Concealments - Various Counties including Herefordshire, Shropshire and Worcestershire. c1564-76
E302/1/27 Concealments - Various Counties including Gloucestershire and Shropshire. c1568-69
E302/1/7 Gloucestershire View of Ministers Accounts 10 and 12 Eliz
E319/15/1a Court of Augmentations - re: Unpaid Stipends & Authorisation to resume - 24.2.1561
E321/34/10 Proceedings before the Court of Augmentations 23HenVIII - 6Edw VI
E321/4 Proceedings before the Courts of General Surveyors & Augmentations 1509-58

Court of Star Chamber

STAC 2/11ff 63-73 William Crouche *(sic)* v Thomas Horner, Richard Cooke, and others re: Forcible opposition to plaintiff's claim to St. John's Hospital, Bath

Gloucestershire County Archives, Gloucester (GRO)

GDR/2 Visitation 1542-1545
GDR/3 Court Book 1548-1557
GDR/4 Visitation 1548
GDR/9 Visitation and Court Book 1531-1579

Calendar of Wills proved in the consistory court of the Bishop of Gloucester 1541-1650

Herefordshire County Archives, Hereford (HRO)

Bishop's Registers
AL19/13 1516-1538
AL19/14 1539-1552
AL19/15 1553-1580

Mayor's Court
BG11/2/8
BG11/18

Calendar of Wills

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BRT1/2/420 1 July, 1482 – Schoolmaster's Contract
BRT/3/195 Guild of the Holy Cross - Deed dated 20th March 35HenVIII
BRU15/12/15 An indenture dated 1 January, 1 and 2 Philip and Mary
ER1/1/26 Grant to new Schoolmaster 20.12.1554
ER1/1/27 Annuity agreement – from new Schoolmaster to predecessor 1.1.1555
ER1/1/28 Grant indented by the bailiff and burgesses of Stratford upon Avo

Staffordshire County Archives, Lichfield (LRO)

Ex D&C – Administration
B/A/1/12 1480-1490
B/A/1/13 1493-1502
B/A/1/14i- iii 1503-1543
B/A/17/1 1531-1533 – Clergy Subsidy Lists
B/A/2ii/1 – 1538-1592

Bishop's Visitation
B/V/1/1 – 3 1516-1560
B/V/1/5 1561
B/V/1/8 1573

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B/C/2/1-3 Consistory Court Books 1524-1531

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CR1886/BL/480 32 Henry VIII – Survey of Dissolution

DR115/82-83 1474 and 1525 14 Edward IV and 16 Henry VIII re: property left to St Nicholas's Church, Warwick for lights and lamps

Coventry –Holy Trinity
DR429/63a
DR429/64a
DR 429/74DR 581/1
DR585/45
DR801/14 1562 –1619

DRB/64/63 Solihull Town Book 1526 – 1720

Worcestershire County Archives, Worcester (WRO)

Registers of the Bishops of Worcester

716.093/2648/9/i	1522-1535
716.093/2648/9/ii	1536-1539
716.093/2648/9/iii	1539-1543
716.093/2648/9/iv	1544–1563
732.4/2337/2 –12	c1544-1584 Presentation Deeds including mandates
794.011/2513/1/ii	1540-1550 Act Book

795.02/2123   1545-1820 Consistory Court Papers
795.02/2302/1/i   1560–1685
795.02/2905   16th cent. - 18th cent Consistory Court Papers
802/2764   c1520-c.1541Visitation Act book of John Bell, Bishop
                                    of Worcester
850WORCESTERSTANDREW/4426/34
WRO 008.7/BA3950   Calendar of Wills
WRO 778.7324/2442   Calendar of Worcester Institutions 1526-1699
WRO 795.02/2905   Bonds, penances, excommunications, petitions,
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