

The Royal Almshouse at Westminster c.1500-c.1600

Christine Merie Fox



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Declaration

I confirm that the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own work.

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Date

Abstract:

The Royal Almshouse at Westminster c.1500 - c.1600

This dissertation provides a study of Henry VII's almshouse at Westminster Abbey from its foundation, c.1500, throughout the Dissolutions of the sixteenth century, up to the Elizabethan Reformation; a period covering just over a hundred years. The almshouse was built in conjunction with Henry VII's new Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey and helped to support his chantry while providing care to ex-crown officials who had served the King and Abbey loyally. Henry VII's Lady Chapel at the Abbey has been studied extensively but the almshouse has been omitted from most of these studies.

There is an extensive and diverse range of primary source material, mostly in the Westminster Muniments [WAM], and National Archive [TNA] relating to the almshouse.¹ These sources range from social, architectural, economic, and political aspects to the everyday functions of the almshouse. These sources also provide some detail about the almsmen. Surviving both the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Reformation the almshouse has a remarkable history and was able to continue its service to the Crown until its demolition in 1779.

Along with the primary source material relating to Henry VII's almshouse, a contextual study of medieval almshouses will also be provided to highlight what was distinctive about Henry's almshouse. In particular, this study intends to examine the foundations and administrations of the following almshouses: Richard Whittington's almshouse founded in 1423/4 and overseen by the Mercer's Company; God's House in Ewelme founded in 1437 by William and Alice de le Pole, and finally, St. Cross at Winchester established by Henry VII's great, great uncle Cardinal Beaufort. These were the grandest almshouses founded in England before Henry's foundation, and

¹ The British Library also has a number of important documents pertaining to Henry VII's memorial.

exercised a significant influence on the style and administration of Henry's almshouse at Westminster Abbey.

The thesis is broken into four chapters. The first chapter focuses on the foundation of the almshouse using the original indentures established by the King and Abbot John Islip. The second chapter is an analysis of the endowment for Henry VII's memorial at Westminster Abbey with a specific focus on provisions Henry made towards the almshouse. The third chapter looks at the almshouse site and buildings and how it survived the turbulent period of the Dissolution and reformations of the Abbey. Finally, the fourth chapter is an analysis of the almsmen and administration of the almshouse during the sixteenth century.

This study will contribute to current work on the transformation of medieval charity into Protestant philanthropy; the practicalities of administering almshouses on a day to day basis; the topography and development of the *vill* of Westminster and, in particular, to a deeper understanding of the piety and charity of the last medieval and first Tudor King of England.

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<i>Act Books</i>	<i>Acts of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster 1543-1609</i> , ed. by C. S. Knighton, 3 vols (Woodbridge, 1997 and 1999)
BL	British Library
CCR (1500-1509)	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Records Office, Henry VII 1500-1509</i> , no ed., vol. 2, (London, 1963)
CPR (1494-1509)	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Records Office, Henry VII 1494-1509</i> , 2 vols (London, 1916)
CSP <i>Domestic Series with Addenda</i>	<i>Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth 1601-1603; with Addenda, 1547-1565</i> , no ed. (London, 1870)
Colvin, <i>The History of the King's Works</i>	H. M. Colvin, and others eds., <i>The History of The King's Works 1485-1660</i> , no ed., vol. 3, pt. 1 (London, 1975)
Condon, 'God Save the King!'	Margaret Condon, 'God Save the King! Piety, propaganda and the perpetual memorial', in <i>Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII</i> , ed. by Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 59-98
Condon, 'The Last Will of Henry VII'	Margaret Condon, 'The Last will of Henry VII: document and text', in <i>Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII</i> , ed. by Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 99-140
Harvey, <i>Westminster Abbey and its Estates</i>	Barbara Harvey, <i>Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages</i> (Oxford, 1977)
HRO	Hampshire Record Office

Letters and Papers

Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, ed. by J. S. Brewer, J. Gardiner and R. H. Brodie, 35 vols (London, 1862-1932)

LMA

London Metropolitan Archives

Rosser,
Medieval Westminster

Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200-1540* (Oxford, 1989)

TNA

The National Archives

VCH

Victoria County History

V & A

Victoria and Albert Museum

V.E.

Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII, auctoritate regia institutis, ed. by J. Caley and J. Hunter, 6 vols (London, 1810-34)

WAM

Westminster Abbey Muniments

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Fig. 0.1 Watercolour of Henry VII's Almshouse by Dr. Claire Anne Martin.

Henry VII's Almshouse at Westminster Abbey c.1500- c.1600

Introduction

Henry Tudor, a Lancastrian, succeeded to the throne in 1485 and, by marrying Elizabeth of York (1466-1503) brought the families of York and Lancaster together ending the dynastic feuds of the fifteenth-century, and inaugurating the Tudor dynasty.¹ Although four hundred plus years have passed since the last Tudor, the conflicts which arose during their reigns still resonate in society today. In 1955, G. R. Elton published *England under the Tudors*, arguing that Thomas Cromwell was the author of modern bureaucratic government.² Elton's methodology followed a traditional format; looking at the Tudors from a political, economic and religious perspective, yet, the work he produced differed greatly from earlier discussions of the Tudor dynasty.³ Not long after Elton's publication, Jack J. Scarisbrick, a colleague of Elton's, published the definitive biography of *Henry VIII*.⁴ Scarisbrick, like Elton, followed the practices of earlier historians but balanced his research by looking at the social effects of the more traditional analyses such as those of the political and financial Tudor regime. The later 1960s and early 1970s produced a number of Tudor historians, particularly from Clare College Cambridge.⁵ By the early 1980s the narration of history took a complete turn against the old empirical methodologies towards the new post-modern micro-studies and cultural history.⁶ More recently, historians such as John Guy and David Starkey,

¹ Henry's claim to the throne was extremely weak but nevertheless he did have enough royal blood to make a claim. Elizabeth of York had much stronger ties to the throne which worked in favour of Henry Tudor. Shrewdly, after killing Richard III, Henry chose not to marry Elizabeth straight away so that his claim to the throne was established in its own right.

² G. R. Elton, *England Under the Tudors* (London, 1955, rev. edn 1974; 3rd edn. 1991).

³ A. F. Pollard, *Henry VIII* (New York, 1902; repr. 1919).

⁴ J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London, 1968; repr. 1997).

⁵ Elton, Scarisbrick, Norman L. Jones, John Guy, and David Starkey were all associated with the college.

⁶ Historians became less interested in broad studies and more interested in micro-studies, looking at such topics as contemporary clothes, music, and popular culture. Paul Spickard, James V. Spickard, and Kevin M. Cragg, *World History by the World's Historians* (Boston, 1998), p. 589.

former students of Elton, have focused their studies on specific aspects of the Tudor period; particularly the functioning of the Court, who the courtiers were, and what was their influence on society more generally.⁷ The majority of these works focus on the Court from the time of Henry VIII up to Elizabeth I, touching only briefly on the reign of Henry VII. Historians, such as Stanley B. Chrimes, Roger Lockyer, Andrew Thrush, and Steven Gunn have, however, written extensively about the reign of Henry VII.⁸ While Chrimes, Lockyer and Thrush follow the traditional style of general overview, Gunn looks more closely at the workings of Henry VII's Court and the roles played by his courtiers in central and local government. The English Reformation and sixteenth-century religion have been the focus of many Tudor studies.⁹ Of particular relevance for this study has been the discussion of the impact of the religious changes, especially the Dissolution of the monasteries and the chantries, on the provisions of relief for the

⁷ Here listed are a few of the more important publications by David Starkey and John Guy. David Starkey, *The Reign of Henry VIII: Personalities and Politics* (New York, 1986); *idem*, 'After the Revolution', in *Revolution Reassessed: Revisions in the History of Tudor Government and Administration*, ed. by C. Coleman and Starkey (Oxford, 1986), pp. 199-208; *idem*, *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (Greenwich, 1991); *The Inventory of Henry VIII*, ed. by *idem*, 2 vols (1998), I; *idem*, *The Six Wives: The Queen's of Henry VIII* (London, 2003). *idem*, *Elizabeth: The Struggle for the Throne* (London, 2007); John Guy, *The Cardinal's Court: The Impact of Thomas Wolsey in Star Chamber* (Brighton: 1977); *idem*, *The Public Career of Sir Thomas More* (New Haven, 1980); *idem*, 'The King's Council and Political Participation', in *Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics, and Reform, 1500-1550*, ed. by Alistair G. Fox and J. A. Guy (Oxford, 1986), pp. 121-47; *idem*, *Tudor England* (Oxford, 1988).

⁸ Stanley B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (London, 1972, repr. 1987); Roger Lockyer and Andrew Thrush, *Henry VII*, 3rd edn (London, 1997); Steven Gunn, *Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk c.1484-1545* (New York, 1988); *Cardinal Wolsey: Church, State and Art*, ed. by *Idem* (Cambridge, 1991); *idem*, 'The Courtiers of Henry VII', *English Historical Review*, 108 (1993), pp. 23-49; *idem*, *Early Tudor Government, 1485-1558* (Basingstoke, 1995); *idem*, 'The structures of politics in early Tudor England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 (1995) pp. 59-90; *idem*, 'Sir Thomas Lovell: (c.1449-1524): A New Man in a New Monarchy?' in *The End of the Middle Ages?* ed. by John L. Watts (Stroud, 1998) pp. 117-53; *idem*, 'Edmund Dudley and the Church', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 51 (2000) 509-26; *idem*, 'War, Dynasty and Public Opinion in Early Tudor England' *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays presented to C.S.L. Davies*, ed. by George W. Bernard and Steven J. Gunn (Aldershot, 2002) pp. 131-49; *idem*, 'Henry VII (1457-1509), King of England and Lord of Ireland', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 26 (Oxford, 2004) 510-22; *idem*, 'The Court of Henry VII', in *The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Steven Gunn and Antheun Janse (Woodbridge, 2006) pp. 132-44.

⁹ J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (London, 1992); *Humanism, Reform and the Reformation: the Career of Bishop John Fisher*, *idem* and B. Bradshaw, eds., (Cambridge, 1989); Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975); *idem*, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993).

poor.¹⁰ A number of new acts therefore, were passed to help manage poverty and vagrancy.¹¹ One of the reasons why the sixteenth century has attracted so much attention is the significant increase of documentation that survives for this period and the changes that took place during the century. All of these studies have helped to develop our understanding of the Tudors, deepening our knowledge of the period and have paved the way for more sharply-focused studies which open windows into the lives of individuals and so enlarge our understanding of the processes at work in the wider political sphere.

This thesis provides a study of a Tudor almshouse. Not just ‘a’ Tudor almshouse but ‘the’ Tudor Almshouse, founded by Henry VII as a part of his royal memorial at Westminster Abbey. Henry VII’s almshouse has a long history continuing to the present day but this thesis will focus on the first one hundred years of the almshouse’s existence and its unusual survival in a period of religious turmoil. The foundation of the original almshouse and its building (although no longer standing) generated a remarkable wealth of records relating to its foundation, endowment and everyday functioning, most of which are to be found in the Westminster Abbey Muniments. This thesis will examine why Henry VII chose to found an almshouse as part of his grand memorial; how this foundation related to the developing problems of unemployment and poverty in England; and what was traditional and what was novel in Henry’s almshouse. Moreover, the thesis will also consider how Henry’s plans, set out in his indentures, worked out in practice and how and why the almshouse survived the Dissolutions of the mid-sixteenth century.

¹⁰A. L. Beier, *The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (London, 1983); *idem*, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640* (London, 1985); John F. Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England* (London, 1986); Paul Slack, ‘Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1598-1664’, in *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, ed. by Peter Clark and D. Souden (London, 1987), pp. 49-76; *idem*, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London, 1988); *idem*, *The English Poor Laws, 1531-1782* (Cambridge, 1990); *idem*, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1999).

¹¹ Vagrancy Acts were introduced by the mid 1530s and amended in 1547 and 1549. Statutes for the relief of the poor appear in 1552 and 1563.

Henry VII's memorial at Westminster Abbey was one of the most magnificent building projects of the period. The memorial consisted of the Lady Chapel, served by three Oxford-educated chantry monks, and an almshouse, which catered for one priest, twelve almsmen and three almswomen. The monks and the almshouse were together to serve as two separate chantries for the souls of the King and his family, and to preserve his memory. Unfortunately, Henry VII's chapel at Westminster Abbey is one of the least [well] documented buildings of the King's works of the period, yet, it is also one of the most impressive. The records relating to the building of the chapel were lost to fire and misappropriation, yet a handful of sources still remain that tell us something about its building.¹² Much has already been written about the chapel.¹³ The building accounts show that no less than £22,800 was spent on the foundation and building of the chapel between the years 1502 and 1519/20.¹⁴ It is very possible that more money was spent although the records do not survive. The chapel itself has been called an 'architectural wonder' for its time, and remains a magnificent example of the complexities of medieval vaulting and stonework.¹⁵ It is clear that Henry VII wanted his chapel and memorial to be the most magnificent and splendid building of its time. The chapel displayed religious and royal symbolism from its roof, to its windows, down its columns, and to his tomb and final resting place.¹⁶ Having suffered damage over the years, the chapel was refaced between 1809 and 1822 to produce a 'faithful reproduction of the original'.¹⁷

¹² For a good overview of the chapel and Henry VII's memorial foundation see *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, ed. by Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge, 2003).

¹³ Tatton-Brown and Mortimer, *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*; and Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, pp. 210-23.

¹⁴ Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, pp. 213, 215-22.

¹⁵ Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer in the Introduction write about the grandeur of the chapel and the magnitude of the project in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, pp. 1-3; George Gilbert Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey* (Oxford and London, 1863), p. 69.

¹⁶ Two of the most frequent symbols were the rose and portcullis which were also used throughout the illuminated indentures for the memorial.

¹⁷ Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 215.

Alongside the chapel, Henry founded his almshouse chantry as part of his memorial at Westminster Abbey.¹⁸ The priest, twelve almsmen and three almswomen who were chosen to live in the almshouse were to pray every day for the King's soul and for his ancestors and relatives. The almsfolk of Henry VII came within the loose definition of the poor in the early sixteenth century. The formal indentures for the almshouse state that the almsmen were to be single, above the ages of fifty, lettered, and were to have served the Crown loyally.¹⁹ In return for their prayers and good service they were provided with a dwelling, a robe, food and fuel for their fires, and a weekly allowance. The close relationship of the almshouse with the Crown and the Abbey enabled it to survive through the Dissolution of the monasteries (1531-1540). On 17 December 1540 it was refounded as a Cathedral by Henry VIII and following his death, underwent a number of further transformations. The Reformation of Edward VI saw the Dissolution of the chantries (1547-1548) and the redistribution of their funds. This was followed by the Counter-Reformation of Mary Tudor (1553-1558) during which the Cathedral was converted back to an Abbey and eventually was dissolved and refounded by Elizabeth I in 1559/60 as the Collegiate Church of Westminster. During these years the almsmen of Henry VII continued to receive their stipends.²⁰ The survival of this institution is a reflection of the close relationship Westminster had with the Crown and proof that compliance was the best and only option.

The early sixteenth century almshouse building survived until the eighteenth century when it was torn down to expand Tothill Street along with its neighbour the Gatehouse

¹⁸ For more information regarding perpetual chantries see K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965).

¹⁹ The almshouse was established to house and care for the aged royal servants. Appendix *i*. *Abridged Transcription of BL, Harley MS 1498*, (Section B) f. 40v. lines 5-8, p. 253; f. 41v. lines 7-8, 11, p. 254; f. 59v. lines 5-7, p. 265; f. 60r. lines 13-14, p. 265-266; f. 60v. lines 1-4, 7-9, p. 266; f. 61r. lines 13-14, p. 266-267; f. 61v. lines 1-4, 267.

²⁰ See chapter 4.

Prison.²¹ After its demolition, the Queen’s Almsmen were given a stipend to subsidise their housing. They continued their services to the Dean, attending services and wearing scarlet and blue gowns with a silver badge of a crowned Tudor rose.²² Table 0.1 provides a timeline of the history of Henry VII’s almshouse at Westminster Abbey. This table illustrates the complicated identity of the Abbey during the middle of the sixteenth century but it managed to survive moderately unscathed because of its relationship to the Crown.²³

Table 0.1: Timeline for Henry VII’s Almshouse at Westminster Abbey.

1485	Henry VII succeeds to the throne.
1498	Plans begin for memorial.
1500	Abbot Fascet dies and Abbot Islip appointed. Building begins on almshouse.
1502	Almsmen appointed. Indentures codified.
1503	Elizabeth of York dies.
1503/4	Foundation stone laid for Lady Chapel.
1504	Almshouse complete. Indentures complete.
1509	Henry VII and Margaret Beaufort die. Henry VIII becomes King.
1519/20	Lady Chapel finished.
1537/8	Richard Cecil purchases a piece of land called the almshouse 'farm'.
1539	Cecil re-assigns the almshouse to Nicholas Brigham.
1539/40	Westminster Abbey dissolved.
1540-2	Refoundation and endowing of Westminster Cathedral.
1553-1558	Marian refoundation of Cathedral as an Abbey.
1559/60	Elizabeth refounds Westminster ‘Abbey’ as the Collegiate Church of Westminster and draws up new statutes for the college and almshouse.
1566	Major works done to the almshouse.
1603	Elizabeth I dies.
1778/9	Demolition of the almshouse.

²¹ WAM, 65988-66003 relate to the expansion of Tothill Street and the demolition of the almshouse in 1779. There are a number of WAM records which relate to the existence of the almsmen after the demolition of the house such as; 66035, a list of almsmen from 1799; 66463-4; 66557-8, petitions for almsmen’s places 1803-1829; 57053, stipends 1835; 34228, signatures for monies 1890-1904; 61821, supervision 1905 and 66844-66882 warrants and appointments 1911-1960.

²² L. E. Tanner, ‘The Queen’s Almsmen’, WAM Occasional Paper, 23(1969), 9-10.

²³ See chapter 2.

In the late fourteenth century poem *Piers the Ploughman*, William Langland subtly analyses contemporary ideas about the virtues of poverty, charity and poor relief.²⁴ He writes that ‘charity is a precious tree, with a root of mercy and a trunk of pity. Its leaves are the steadfast words of the Church’s Law, and its blossoms are humble speech and gentle looks. The tree itself is called Patience of Poverty of Spirit, and, by the labour of God and good men, it bears the fruit of Charity.’²⁵ At the time Langland was writing his poem the definition of poor was changing.²⁶ Prior to the Black Death (1348-1350) being poor was not just a financial condition but encompassed the lack of material possessions and wealth, deficiency in social status, insufficiency of food i.e. hunger which impacted on the quality of life and led to a lack of education and illiteracy.²⁷ After the Black Death these perceptions began to change and poverty began to be categorised into two groups; the ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ poor. Between the end of the fourteenth century and late fifteenth century there was a shortage of labour, so no one needed to be unemployed. The working poor and the elderly poor were often considered the ‘deserving poor,’ while the ‘undeserving poor,’ consisted of beggars, criminals, and able-bodied persons who were well enough to work but would not find jobs. People who were impotent, too sick to work, social outcasts, or suffering from mental or physical illness might also have been considered as deserving poor.²⁸

The poor were a part of the urban backdrop of medieval England, and while contemporaries pitied them, they did nothing to alleviate the source of the problem, but tried to deal with the symptoms by providing short term care and gifts of money and

²⁴ William Langland, *Piers the Ploughman*, trans. by J. F. Goodridge, rev. edn (London, 1966).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

²⁶ The popular image of Tudor England, overwhelmed by hordes of poor vagabonds wandering the countryside and flooding the cities looking for work, does not become a reality until after the reign of Henry VII, and was a direct result of the economic, political, and religious depression of the 1530s. Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy*, p. 37.

²⁷ Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, pp. 2-32.

²⁸ Beier, *Masterless Men*, p. xxi; Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy*, pp. 25-30; Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 9.

food. One of the main reasons for this was because the poor were an essential part of the medieval social structure. They provided an outlet for almsgiving which was a spiritual requirement for all good Christians. In St. Matthew's gospel, he relates the story of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount, where Christ lists the eight virtues of life known as the Beatitudes.²⁹ It was thought that if you followed these rules, or fell within the categories of those deserving help, then you were promised salvation in the afterlife.³⁰ So, while you were poor on earth you were rich in heaven. Moreover, St. Matthew also tells of Christ's prophecy of the Last Judgment, where six of the specific works of the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy were mentioned: feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, receiving the stranger, tending the sick, visiting those in prison; if one performed these one's soul would not go to hell and secure its place in heaven.³¹ An example of the medieval mindset towards the poor and the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy can be seen in a North Yorkshire dialect poem called *The Lyke-wake*

Dirge:

This ae night, this ae night
Every night and alle;
Fire and fleet and candle light
And Christ receive thy saule.

When thou from hence away are paste,
Every night and alle;
To whinny-muir thou comest at laste
And Christe receive thy saule.

If hosen and shoon thou ne're gavest nane,
Every night and alle;
The whinnes shall pricke thee to the bare bane;

²⁹*The Bible Authorized King James version with Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1997). First book of the New Testament, St. Matthew, Chapter 5: 3-11. Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they who mourn; for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek; for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they who hunger and thirst for righteousness; for they shall be satisfied. Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure of heart; for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called children of God. Blessed are they who are persecuted for the sake of righteousness; for theirs is the Kingdom of heaven.

³⁰ It was thought that being poor and virtuous on the earth would ensure salvation in the afterlife.

³¹ Ransom the captive is the seventh work of mercy not mentioned in the gospel of St. Matthew. *The Bible*, Chapter 25: 34-46.

And Christe receive thy saule.

From Whinny-muir when thou mayst passé,
Every night and alle;
To Brigg o' Dread thou comest at laste;
And Christe receive thy saule.

From Brigg o' Dread when thou mayst pass,
Every night and alle;
To purgatory fire thou comest at laste;
And Christe receive thy saule.

If ever thou gavest meat or drink,
Every night and alle;
The fire shall never make thee shrink;
And Christe receive thy saule.
If meate or drink thou never gavest nane,
Every night and alle;
The fire will burn thee to the bare bane;
And Christe receive thy saule.

This ae nighte, this ae nighte,
Every night and alle;
Fire and fleet, and candle lighte,
And Christe receive thy saule.³²

It is clear in this poem that the medieval mind made a connection between acts of charity and the eventual fate of the individual soul. To fail in the obligations of the seven works of mercy led to the risk of passing through the 'Brigg o' Dread' and 'purgatory fire', only to come to Hell forever. It was in every man or woman's interest, rich or poor, to undertake these seven acts of charity either individually or as a group or community: this explains why the poor were considered to be an essential part of the medieval social structure.

Poor relief became less of a problem in the later fourteenth century because of the serious depletion in population caused by the Black Death, but, by the mid-sixteenth century the population had recovered to pre-Black Death numbers. At this time there was a move from arable farming to the more profitable and less labour intensive sheep

³² Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 358-59. The poem was first printed by John Aubrey in 1686 but it was assumed to be much older.

pasturing. Many who once worked the fields and were put out of work were forced to abandon their villages and to wander around the countryside looking for work, food, and shelter.³³ These groups of poor were called vagrants, and were often considered to be dangerous.³⁴ Langland continues his story about charity where he tells of a man 'more dead than alive' lying on the side of the road in need of help.³⁵ The man lying on the side of the road and left for dead had been robbed by the evils of life. Faith is the first to see the man but runs by as does Hope, nevertheless, a Samaritan assists the man to a local inn and sees that he is cared for.³⁶ One of the many messages Langland is trying to relate in this story is that 'faith' and 'hope' alone do not cure a man's needs and that the kind actions of others are necessary. This of course coincides with Jesus' teachings, and so, Langland is making an appeal to Christians to follow the true teachings of Christ.

In pre-Reformation England, there were several different types of poor relief. Most of this relief was provided by religious institutions such as parish churches, hospitals, and monasteries which distributed alms in the form of money or food and shelter. Between the early twelfth century and mid-sixteenth century there were at least nine leper hospitals founded outside the London city walls, seven general hospitals founded within London and Middlesex, numerous churches that gave weekly alms, and at least nine unidentified houses that provided care for the poor and the sick, as well as seventeen almshouses.³⁷ Religious organizations often received their funding and support from local parishioners in the form of bequests in their wills. A hospital c.1300 was defined as 'a house or hostel for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims,

³³ Maurice Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (Stroud, 1983), p. 28. Christopher Dyer also addresses the issue in the introduction, *The Lost Villages of England*, pp. xii, xvii.

³⁴ Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, pp. 91-107.

³⁵ Langland, *Piers the Ploughman*, p. 209

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 209-210.

³⁷ Christopher Thomas, and others, *Excavations at the priory and hospital of St Mary Spital, London*, Museum of London Archaeological Service Monograph, 1 (London, 1997), p. 125.

travelers, and strangers'.³⁸ By 1418, a hospital had also come to mean 'a charitable institution for the housing and maintenance of the needy; an asylum for the destitute, infirm, or aged'.³⁹ By 1536 it would appear that hospitals were not just boarding houses for the poor but might also be a 'charitable institution for the education and maintenance of the young'.⁴⁰ Hospitals such as St. Anthony and St. Bartholomew in London were renowned for their high standards as educational establishments.⁴¹ It is clear that the medieval hospital was not just an institution of care but served a wide range of social functions. It was not until the mid-sixteenth century, that the modern definition of a hospital as 'an institution or establishment for the care of the sick or wounded, or of those who require medical treatment' became widely applicable.⁴² It is clear that religion played a major part in the administration and practices of medieval hospitals, but once hospitals began to be separated from religious houses new practices and learning were introduced.⁴³

An almshouse, or alms-house, by contrast was defined as 'a house founded by private charity, for the reception and support of the (usually aged) poor'.⁴⁴ It would appear that in the medieval period the words hospitals and almshouse were used interchangeably.⁴⁵ So, if a hospital was in fact an almshouse, why then establish an almshouse? What was the difference between the two in the eyes of the founders? It

³⁸ Online, *Oxford English Dictionary*.

http://www.oed.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/search?searchType=dictionary&q=hospital&_searchBtn=Search. [date accessed November 2009], p. 1.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Carole Rawcliffe, 'The hospitals of later medieval London', *Medical History*, 28 (1984). 1-21(p. 3).

⁴² As early as 1425 St. Bartholomew's in London was considered such an institution and by 1600 it was one of a few hospitals in London where people went to be cured. Online, *Oxford English Dictionary*.

http://www.oed.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/search?searchType=dictionary&q=hospital&_searchBtn=Search. [date accessed: November 2009], p. 1.

⁴³ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200-1500* (Oxford, 2004), p. 239.

⁴⁴ Online, *Oxford English Dictionary*.

<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/Entry/5613?redirectedFrom=almshouse#eid>. [date accessed: November 2009], p. 1.

⁴⁵ Medieval hospitals were first intended to take in anyone and everyone who needed shelter and care. Unfortunately, this was a major strain on finances and most were not able to continue this type of care but had to scale down the number of people admitted into the hospital and the types of care provided.

would appear that one difference was that if a patient, traveler, or aged poor person in a hospital could pay for their care they were expected to do so, whereas, in an almshouse, these services would be provided for them free of charge.⁴⁶ Almshouses were often established as chantries for their founders so that the alms people were expected to participate in prayers for their founders' souls. Another difference is that hospitals took in anyone and everyone, whereas almshouses cared for a chosen few. Moreover, the focus of care in hospitals was short term, while in almshouses it was long term. A striking difference between the two types of foundations was the notion of privacy. Medieval hospitals were often crowded: inmates had their own bed but no more, whereas in an almshouse each person would have been given his or her own living space with its own door, some larger than others, but nevertheless a private space in which the inmate could contemplate or pray.⁴⁷ This private house with its own door set almspeople apart from the other poor receiving care in hospitals because it gave them a sense of respectability within the community. It also gave the almspeople a sense of belonging and, in many cases, they were given gowns to help set them apart from the other poor and foster the idea of belonging to a community of their own. The poor who resided in hospitals did not have these benefits and would not have been perceived by the community as respectable.

The founding of almshouses in London was one way wealthy individuals, religious fraternities and craft guilds, could contribute to the relief of the poor and take care of the old and infirm who could no longer take care of themselves and had no one else to rely upon. In some instances such almshouses were even established by members of the

⁴⁶ It would appear that the rate for services depended upon each patient's individual wealth and what they could afford. Rawcliffe, 'The hospitals of later medieval London', p. 4.

⁴⁷At St. Mary Spital, a Augustinian priory and hospital, there were said to have been one hundred and eighty beds at the time of its Dissolution c1538, John Stow, *A Survey of London: reprinted from the text of 1603*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), I, 166-67.

local community, who were appointed as governors or overseers, and the almspeople were dependent upon the day-to-day charity of the townspeople and parish.⁴⁸ Almshouses first became fashionable in England in the fifteenth century when many guilds began to accrue enough income to establish such institutions.⁴⁹ The first of these guild almshouses was founded by John Chirchman (d.1413) for the Tailors' company c.1413.⁵⁰ Inspired by the Tailors' almshouse, many other London guilds began to found their own almshouses. The Skinners (1416 and a second house in 1523), Brewers (1423), Cutlers (1422), Mercers (1424 and a second house in 1445), Grocers (1433), Vintners (1446), Salters (1455), Parish Clerks (c.1529), Drapers (1535 and a second house 1540), Haberdashers (1539), Clothworkers (1540), and the Coopers (c.1536-1554) all began to build their own company almshouse establishments for inner-guild-security.⁵¹ These almshouses were secular in government and overseen by the lay community of the craft or fraternity. They were not part of major religious foundations, yet the almsmen lived very religious lives and this continued even after the abolition of chantries in 1548. Many almshouses founded in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century were in practice chantry foundations.⁵² Although supported and overseen by the

⁴⁸ The almshouse founded c. 1437 at Sherborne in Dorset is a prime example of this type of institution. It catered to twelve respectable poor feeble old men and five women of the *vill*. It lay in the centre of town and was overseen by twenty of its wealthy governors, who often became inmates in their later years. Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200-1520* rev. edn. (Cambridge, 1998), p. 245; Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul. The Life, Death and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital. St Giles's, Norwich, c. 1249-1550* (Stroud, 1999).

⁴⁹ Almshouses did exist prior to the fifteenth century in England. In fact, in the will of King Eadred, c. 951-95, the Anglo Saxon King has an almshouse established for twelve almsmen chosen from each of his estates and when one of those almsmen dies another appointed to his place so long as Christianity endures, for the glory of God and the redemption of his soul. *Selected English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, trans. and ed. by F. E. Harmer (Cambridge, 1914), no. 21; According to Stow there were at least 100 almshouses in the city of London at the time of his publication. It is now clear that Stow's figures were not always reliable but it could be the case that there were a number of smaller institutions that did exist but the records for these no longer exist. John Stow, *A Survey of London: reprinted from the text of 1603*.

⁵⁰ M. P. Davies, 'The Tailors of London: Corporate Charity in the Late Medieval Town', in *Crown, Government and People in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by R. Archer (Stroud, 1995), pp. 161-90.

⁵¹ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 298-99. John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven and London, 1995; repr. 2003), pp. 56-58, 163, 178, 226.

⁵² G. H. Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels* (London, 1948), p. 32.

guilds, the primary task of the inmates was to offer up intercessions and prayers for their founder's soul.⁵³ The hospital of St Katherine's by the Tower, founded in 1148 by Queen Matilda, was originally established for the general nursing of the sick aged poor, but by 1273, it had abandoned the original foundation and set up as an almshouse for eighteen bedeswomen and six poor scholars.⁵⁴ It supported a master, brothers and sisters and a number of poor people. Among its personnel were three chantry priests. The sole duty of these men and women was to pray and attend masses for the souls of Queen Matilda's two children Baldwin and Matilda.⁵⁵ It was more likely than not that an almshouse founded before the mid-sixteenth century was in essence a chantry foundation even though most were not attached to, or affiliated with, a religious institution. There were several almshouses in London which were established by parish fraternities such as the brotherhood of Our Lady in St Giles Cripplegate and the guild of the Virgin's Assumption in St Margaret's Westminster.⁵⁶ John Stow in 1598 published his *Survey of London*, and wrote that by the later sixteenth century the founding of almshouses had become a very popular form of commemoration for one's self, or for a group of individuals.⁵⁷ The reformations of the sixteenth century did not stop the foundation of almshouses but only changed the way in which the almspeople remembered their founders; from Catholic intercession to Protestant commemoration. They, of course, were not called chantries after the Protestant Reformation but did in

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵⁴ Rawcliffe, 'The hospitals of later medieval London', p. 3.

⁵⁵ Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, p. 33-4. Interestingly, c.1518 Henry VIII re-founded a chantry guild at St Katherine's near the Tower through the fraternity guild of Our Glorious Saviour Jesus Christ and of the Blessed Virgin Martyr, St Barbara' and it was said to be of great distinction. Caroline M. Barron, 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London' in *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: essays in honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, 1985), pp. 13-37 (p. 18 n. 20).

⁵⁶ Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 299; Cook, *Mediaeval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, p. 34.

⁵⁷ Stow, *A Survey of London: reprinted from the text of 1603*, I, 166-67.

practice function very much like the earlier medieval institutions.⁵⁸ Jordan estimated that between 1541 and the end of the sixteenth century, more than thirty-seven new and old almshouses had been endowed in London or elsewhere by London donors and were sustained and developed in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century.⁵⁹

Among the fifteenth century foundations associated with a city Company was Richard Whittington's almshouse, established for thirteen poor men or men and women who were to be citizens of London, members of the Mercers' Company, or elderly ministers of Whittington's College who could no longer perform their duties.⁶⁰ The almshouse was to be called 'Goddeshouse' but over time it was referred to as the almshouse or hospital of Richard Whittington.⁶¹ The almshouse was founded shortly after Richard Whittington's death c.1423/4 by his executors, John Coventry, John Carpenter, John White and William Grove.⁶² Widowed and without any children, Whittington left a large sum of money for his executors to distribute amongst the community and to the poor. The almshouse was built within the parish of St. Michael Paternoster, the church Whittington helped rebuild during his life and where he chose to be buried next to his wife Alice.⁶³ His executors were concerned that the parish church lacked the clerks to perform the necessary services so they founded a college of five secular chaplains and the almshouse to help support the memorial.⁶⁴ The oversight of these foundations was given to Richard's executors and once they died it was then the responsibility of the Mayor of London and the Mercers' Company. The initial

⁵⁸ W. K. Jordan, *The Charities of London 1480-1660 the Aspirations and the Achievements of the Urban Society* (New York, 1902; repr. 1974), p. 146.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁶⁰ M. Reddan, 'Whittington's Hospital [Almshouses]', in *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Matthew Davies (London, 2007), pp.185-186 (p. 185).

⁶¹ By the later sixteenth century it was often called Whittington's College, although they were two separate institutions. Jean Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington, a History of the Trust administered by the Mercers' Company, 1424-1966* (London, 1968), p. 49.

⁶² The significance of thirteen derives from Christ and his twelve Apostles.

⁶³ Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, p. 9.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

foundation was supported by Whittington's London properties and treasure until a proper endowment was established by his executors.⁶⁵ The annual payment made to the almshouse was £40 per year, which was just to cover the salary of the almsmen.⁶⁶ Although initially Richard Whittington's almshouse and College of Priests were two separate foundations, they eventually grew closer over time, but by the late sixteenth century, the college had been abolished during the Protestant Reformation. The almshouse survived the Reformation and stood on the same location up to the nineteenth century, but, in 1823, the inmates were moved to the parish of Islington and instead of supporting thirteen poor men from the Mercers' Company it now housed a chaplain, matron and twenty-eight almswomen.⁶⁷

In 1437, using Whittington's almshouse and statutes as a prototype, William and Alice de la Pole founded an almshouse called God's House at Ewelme in Oxfordshire.⁶⁸ This lavish chantry foundation set a high standard for devotional commemoration with its ornate buildings and detailed statutes. Similar to Whittington's almshouse, the Ewelme almshouse managed to survive the Reformation, and has continued its service to the community in the same location as its original foundation. Henry VII along with his wife Elizabeth spent a month in Ewelme at the house of John de la Pole, cousin of Elizabeth of York, in the autumn of 1490.⁶⁹ It could be that on this visit Henry was inspired by the chantry foundation of the de la Pole family because not long after he began planning his own memorial.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

⁶⁷ M. Reddan, 'Whittington's Hospital [Almshouses]', *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, p. 185. Whittington College almshouse is still running successfully today. It is located off London Road Felbridge, East Grinstead, West Sussex. There are 56 flats of both one and two bedrooms, a Chapel where regular services are held by the College Chaplain and a resident warden. The eligibility criteria are that one must be either a single woman or widowed, above the age of sixty with limited finances and no longer working. The almswomen are provided with a house and a minibus service takes residents out shopping and on mini-outings.

⁶⁸ For the foundation and functioning of this extraordinary facility see John A. A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001).

⁶⁹ Henry VIII was conceived there, David Starkey, *Henry: Virtuous prince* (London, 2009), p. 149.

Shortly after the foundation of God's House at Ewelme, Cardinal Beaufort (c.1375-1447), Bishop of Winchester and great uncle to Henry VII, founded an almshouse that was attached to the already-successful Hospital of St. Cross at Winchester to be called the House of Noble Poverty.⁷⁰ The idea for founding the House of Noble Poverty began c.1440 when Cardinal Beauford paid a visit to the Hospital of St. Cross. Beaufort intended the House of Noble Poverty to maintain two priests, thirty five brethren and three sisters.⁷¹ The brothers were to be single, members of the Beaufort family or of gentle birth who had fallen upon bad times either financially or physically. The Beaufort almshouses were provided with gowns of red with a white cardinal's hat embroidered on them.⁷² Beaufort's original intention had been to set his almshouse apart from the hospital of St. Cross, which had been founded by Henry de Blois c.1136 to cater for thirteen poor men who wore black gowns.⁷³ Moreover, the almshouses of St. Cross had single cells and a communal lavatory whereas Beaufort's almshouses had a large sitting room to the front of the house and two smaller rooms in the back, and a personal lavatory.⁷⁴ The Beaufort foundation was however never fully realised. The endowment properties Beaufort collected to maintain the almshouse did not produce the income needed to support the size of the foundation and eventually they were seized by the Yorkists.⁷⁵ Beaufort's successor, Bishop William Waynflete (1447-1487), was not in a position to refund and endow the almshouse until the very end of his life and these plans were eventually realised by his successor Peter Courtenay (1487-1493) but on a much smaller scale. Peter Courtenay was a long time friend of Henry VII and was

⁷⁰ For a short history of St. Cross see, Peter Hopewell, *Saint Cross: England's Oldest Almshouse* (Chichester, 1995).

⁷¹ A Register of Peter Courtenay (c. 1487-1492), HRO: A1/15 fo. 25-26.

⁷² H. Arthur Doubleday, 'The Hospital of St. Cross, near Winchester', in *Victoria County History: A History of the County of Hampshire*, ed. by William Page, 2 vols (Westminster: 1903), II, pp. 193-97 (p. 196).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

⁷⁴ Hopewell, *St. Cross England's Oldest Almshouse*, p. 58.

⁷⁵ Hopewell, *St. Cross England's Oldest Almshouse*, pp. 62-63.

related to Elizabeth of York.⁷⁶ Courtenay's indentures for the House of Noble Poverty established a foundation to cater only for one priest and two brethren and had new properties assigned to its endowment.⁷⁷ After Courtenay died, Thomas Langton became Bishop of Winchester (1493-1501) and continued Courtenay's oversight and administration of the House of Noble Poverty. After Langton, Richard Fox was appointed Bishop of Winchester (1501-1529) and Master of the Hospital of St. Cross (1500-1517).⁷⁸ Fox was also a close friend to the Beaufort family, a member of the Privy Council and one of the executors of Henry's will.⁷⁹ He began his oversight of St Cross whilst Henry was building his almshouse at Westminster Abbey. Is it a coincidence that Henry wanted to found an almshouse similar to the one his great uncle had intended to found but had failed? Henry's visit to Ewelme and his relationship with Courtenay and Fox suggests that he may have been influenced and inspired by these institutions when founding his own almshouse. When Whittington's almshouse, Ewelme, St. Cross and Henry's own royal almshouse are compared, interesting

⁷⁶ After a failed attempt in England to overthrow Richard III, Peter Courtenay joined Henry in exile and came across the channel with Henry landing in Milford Haven and fought alongside him at the Battle of Bosworth. Starkey, *Henry Virtuous Prince*, p. 48-50.

⁷⁷ HRO, Register of Peter Courtenay A1/15 f.25v.; Doubleday, 'The Hospital of St. Cross', p. 196.

⁷⁸ St Cross and the House of Noble Poverty survived independently until the mid-sixteenth century when they became one foundation, escaping the Dissolution of the chantries but unable to survive on its old endowment.

⁷⁹ Bishop Richard Fox (1447/8-1528) was born into an old-established family and his early education at both Oxford and Cambridge served him well in years to come. By 1458, Richard had been studying in Paris and became involved with Henry VII's campaign and return to England. Acting as secretary to the pretender, Richard was said to have drafted letters to Henry's sympathizers in England and had joined Henry at Bosworth field. After participating in the invasion, Richard drew up warrants against Richard III's supporters and eventually gained many profitable and important positions within the realm serving the King and church loyally. As one of Henry's keepers of the privy seal, Richard followed the King on many progresses and was said to have had oversight of general policies. After holding many important positions within the realm Richard was awarded the Bishopric of Winchester [1501], the richest see in England, while still keeper of the privy seal. Richard was a known friend of Margaret Beaufort and acted as executor of her will along with helping her to attend to Henry's will. Condon, 'The Last Will of Henry VII', p. 137; C. S. L. Davies, 'Bishop Richard Fox', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 20, pp. 670- 75 (p. 671).

similarities and differences between the foundations are apparent and these help to assess the intention of the King and his originality.⁸⁰

Henry VII not only established his spiritual legacy with his memorial at Westminster Abbey but earlier in his reign he had chosen to found a hospital unlike any other in England. In his will he declared:

. . . as we inwardly considere, . . .the vii workes of Charite and Mercy . . . [is to] execute the said [works] by . . .keping, susteynyng and mayntenynge of commune hospitallis, wherin . . .[the] nede pouer people bee lodged, visited in their siknesses, refreshed with mete and drinke, and if need be with clothe, and also buried yf thei fortune to die within the same; and understanding also that here be fewe or noon suche commune hospitallis within this our Realme and that, for lack of them, infinite nombre of pouer nedie people miserably dailly die, no man putting hande of helpe or remedie; we therefore of our grete pitie and compassion, desiring inwardly the remedy of the premises, have begoune to erect, buylde and establishe a commune hospital in our place called the Savoie .

. . .⁸¹

As early as 1505, Henry had begun to plan this hospital based upon the Florentine prototype, the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, which had been founded in 1288.⁸² The

⁸⁰ The statutes for Whittington's almshouse, God's House Ewelme, and Henry VII's will be examined in fuller detail in chapter one. Courtenay's indentures have been left out of this analysis because there is very little information about the almshouse itself only that it was a greatly reduced in size and number from its original founder's intentions. There are no surviving statutes for Cardinal Beaufort's original foundation at St Cross but the other three have been transcribed and printed in: Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*; Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*; and Christine Fox, 'The Charitable King' (MA, Royal Holloway, University of London 2003). Comparison chart of the three almshouses is provided in Appendix ii. *A Comparison of the Almshouse Statutes*, pp. 278-286.

⁸¹ Condon, 'The Last Will of Henry VII' p. 120-121.

⁸² Henry asked the papal protonotary, Francesco Portinari, for information about the foundation and management of the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. In response to his interest, Portinari sent a copy of the statutes for Santa Maria Nuova to Henry and his executors which, it can be assumed were used to help in planning the Savoy because of their striking similarities. There are a number of differences between the two institutions. The Santa Maria Nuova was a specialized medical facility which kept detailed records of each patient and treatment, whereas, the Savoy did not keep these same detailed accounts. Santa Maria

Savoy Hospital was founded near Charing Cross and the building began in 1509. This hospital, unlike other hospitals in the city of London, was built on a cruciform ground plan and was not attached to a monastic order.⁸³ It also had an elaborate division of labour, whereas most London hospitals were more communal in their delegation of care.⁸⁴ The Savoy provided lodging just for one hundred poor and sick men every night. The Savoy did not specify the types of poor who were to receive care, but did however give priority to the miserable poor, i. e. cripples, blind or infirm, poor beggars, and only then to all others.⁸⁵ It did not admit women nor did it take in lepers, and this was not uncommon for a London hospital, since lepers might contaminate or infect the other patients.⁸⁶ As he asserted in his will, Henry believed that the Savoy was to be a hostel for the poor and needy people, who so often died for want of shelter.⁸⁷ The Savoy was

Nuova was renowned for its continuous care of the individual person. It monitored the individual's health and the types of remedies it saw successful which could then be used again on the same patient or on other patients with similar conditions. Medical service was the main function for the Santa Maria Nuova whereas the Savoy did not have the same type of medical investment in the individual. Katherine Park and John Henderson, 'The First Hospital among Christians': the Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence', *Medical History*, 35 (1991), 164-88 (pp. 165, 168, 175-88); David Thomson, 'Henry VII and the Uses of Italy: The Savoy Hospital and Henry VII's Posterity', in *The Reign of Henry VII*, ed. by Benjamin Thompson (Stamford, 1995), pp. 104-16 (p. 108).

⁸³ Park and Henderson, "The First Hospital among Christians", p. 166.

⁸⁴ At the Savoy, there was a master who was appointed overseer of the general functions of the house and management of its properties. There were four chaplains, who were to act as steward, sacristan, confessor, and hospitaller. There were also two priests, four altar servers, a clerk of the kitchens, butler, cook, an under cook, a door keeper and an under doorkeeper, a gardener, a matron, and twelve other women. Two 'honest men' who were said to be skilled in medicine and surgery were also appointed and they were responsible for attending to the sick twice a day. A unique aspect of the Savoy was the regular attendance of surgeons and physicians, a luxury which no other medieval London benefactor could afford. Every evening before sunset, the hospitaller and matrons received the poor and sick, who, on admission were first to go to the chapel and pray for the founder's soul and then to go to the dormitory where they were allocated a bed. The inmates were then to wash while the matrons cleaned their clothes. M. Reddan, 'The Hospital of the Savoy', p. 182. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 196; Rawcliffe, 'The hospitals of later medieval London', pp. 4, 9.

⁸⁵ Park and Henderson, "The First Hospital among Christians", p. 168.

⁸⁶ Most leper hospitals were located outside the city walls to prevent the spread of the disease and contamination of the populous. There were several hospitals in the London area that specifically catered for women one being the Augustinian Hospital of St. Mary Spittle off Bishopsgate, St. Thomas's Hospital on the south bank of the Thames, and St. Bartholomew's both had maternity wards. There were also a number of leper hospitals in the area such as St. James at Westminster, St. Giles in Holborn, the Lock in Southwark, and houses in Kingsland near Hackney, Knightsbridge, Mile End, Highgate, and Hammersmith, see Rawcliffe, 'The hospitals of later medieval London', pp. 1-21; Barron and Davies, *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, p. 14.

⁸⁷ Condon, 'The Last Will of Henry VII', pp. 120-21.

unlike other London hospitals because it did not provide long term care for the poor.⁸⁸ In comparison with other hospitals, the Savoy was “regally magnificent” with its flock mattresses and feather-beds.⁸⁹ Inmates had pillows, three pairs of sheets, two blankets, linen coverlets of green and red rose embroidery, and a green and white curtain separating each bed for privacy.⁹⁰ An examination of the sources and the scale of the foundation of Henry’s almshouse at Westminster Abbey will reveal that this institution was as important to Henry VII as the Savoy Hospital.⁹¹

As early as the 1490s, Henry VII began to plan his memorial. This plan began in Windsor, adopting the Chapel of St George which was intended to house the shrine of Henry VI, once canonized, and also the tomb of Henry VII.⁹² Throughout Henry VII’s reign he tried to associate himself with his great great uncle Henry VI (1421-1471) not only to help promote his pious concerns but also to legitimize his claim to the throne.⁹³

⁸⁸As mentioned earlier, most medieval London hospitals by the time Henry VII founded the Savoy were not only looking after the sick but were also maintaining a number of poor people indefinitely.

⁸⁹ John A. F. Thomson, *The Transformation of Medieval England 1370-1529*, (London, 1983) pp. 109, 112.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112. In 1553, Henry’s grandson Edward VI decommissioned the hospital, but by 1558 it had been refounded by Mary Tudor although with less abundant funding. The building itself existed until 1702 but by this time had ceased to fulfil its founder’s original purpose. In Thomas More’s *Utopia*, he discusses the nature and structure of four hospitals built just outside the city walls of Amaurot. His example of an ideal hospital resembles that of Santa Maria Nuova and the planned Savoy hospital of Henry VII. *Utopia* was written in the summer of 1515, well after Henry VII began planning and building the Savoy hospital. The statutes of Santa Maria Nuova would have been known and assessable to him and may have inspired his ‘ideal’ public hospital because of the striking similarities. Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. by George M. Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge, 1989), p. 57-60.

⁹¹Henry intended in his will to found a further two hospitals one in York and one in Coventry to further this assistance to the poor and sick. His will states; ‘. . . and in likewise, if it be not doon by our silf, we wol that our said executours make two semblable commune hospitallis, aswel in fourme and faction, as yerely value in landis, number of priestes, ministres, servauntes, beddes for pouer folks, and statutes and ordenaunces: the oon of them to be made in some convenient place in the suburbs of our cite of Yorke, ans the other in the suburbs of our city of Coventre. . .’ neither hospital was, in fact, founded. Condon, ‘The Last Will of Henry VII’ p. 123.

⁹²When Henry VI died, his body was left at Chertsey Abbey, only to be removed in 1485 by Richard III and moved to Windsor. Colvin, *The History of the King’s Work*, p. 210; Christopher Wilson, ‘The Functional Design of Henry VII’s Chapel: a Reconstruction’, in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII* ed by Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 141-88 (p. 153).

⁹³Shortly after the death of Henry VI (1421-1471) he was nominated for canonization. Ralph A. Griffiths, ‘Henry VI’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/12953?docPos=1>. (accessed January 2010); Miri Rubin, *The Hollow Crown: A History of Britain in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 2005), p. 323. Henry VII invested considerable fortunes into many of the buildings and foundations begun by Henry VI,

The site of Henry VII's memorial to his great great uncle Henry VI at Windsor was disputed both by the monks of Chertsey Abbey, where Henry VI's body had once been buried before being transferred by Richard III to Windsor in 1484, and Westminster Abbey and, after much dispute the plans for the memorial at Windsor fell through. Westminster Abbey had been the first choice of Henry VI and had long been the burial place for English Kings, so it seemed appropriate for Henry VII to decide to focus his energies on Westminster, leaving Windsor in the hands of others.⁹⁴

The preparation for Henry VII's memorial at Westminster Abbey began as early as 1498. In about 1500, the King made a number of visits to the Abbey meeting with Abbot George Fascet and John Islip.⁹⁵ Records of these meetings show that plans for the almshouse changed over time and although less specific in the earlier drafts of c.1502, by 1504 the precise terms and conditions for the King's memorial had been set.⁹⁶ Also by this date, John Islip had succeeded George Fascet as Abbot of Westminster and he became the supervisor of Henry's memorial project. Islip had been the former warden of memorial provision for Queen Eleanor, Richard II, and Henry V at Westminster

such as King's College Cambridge, and Richmond Palace, see Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, pp. 187-96.

⁹⁴Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 61-63. Henry VII still wanted to be buried near to King Henry VI so he sought papal consent to transfer Henry VI's body to Westminster Abbey. Westminster was said to be the original burial place which Henry VI had supposedly wanted for himself. Tim Tatton-Brown, 'The Building History of the Lady Chapel' in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII* ed by Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 189-204 (p. 192). Consent for the transfer of Henry VI's body was achieved by 1500, when Westminster Abbey was required to contribute £500 over a three year period, funds which the Abbey did not recover until after Henry VII's death. TNA, SC 7/4/1. See also Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 60. For one reason or another, Henry VI's body was never finally translated from Windsor to Westminster. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 219. It is likely that the person with the greatest say in the transfer to Westminster Abbey would have also been the person Henry VII had left in charge of his memorial, Abbot John Islip. Why Islip never had Henry VI's body translated to the Abbey is not known.

⁹⁵WAM, 33320 f. 35. At this meeting the Abbot had purchased additional pewter plates and the men ate fish, strawberries, bread, and drank wine.

⁹⁶WAM, 6634 The interim agreement made between Islip and Henry was not specific in 1502 regarding payments for prayers said, or an actual date for his anniversary observances. Also, in the final copy the cost of the gowns and pittances had been added with an increase in the provision and extension of the anniversary ceremonies. The first section of this document discusses the valuations of the granted properties and where the annual income from these sources was to be spent. The payment to the almsmen and women was accounted for along with the cost of their gowns and 'schochins'. Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 67-8.

Abbey, and although these were very different from Henry's proposed memorial, Islip knew and understood the terms and conditions involved in such a foundation, and this made him particularly suited to realise Henry's ambitious plans.⁹⁷

When John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, entered the monastery in 1480, he showed great capacity and went on to hold many offices within the Abbey such as warden of the new works and the Abbey's sacrist. In 1498 Islip was elected prior and by 1500 he had become Abbot. Not only did Henry give Islip the oversight of building his memorial, he also gave him the oversight of the manors and churches which were to fund the memorial of which the total value estimated by Henry and Abbot Islip was approximately £800 per annum. Henry also gave the Abbey another £5000 to invest in endowment properties.⁹⁸ John Islip was given the oversight of these funds along with the responsibility for purchasing and maintaining the additional endowment lands.⁹⁹ On 24 January 1503, he along with several others, laid the foundation-stone of the new chapel.¹⁰⁰ To understand the importance for the King of the memorial at Westminster

⁹⁷ Abbot Islip [d.1532] was also one of three monks at the Abbey who had acquired a bachelorship or doctorate in theology which Henry deemed as an important qualification for those overseeing his foundation, although he may not have acquired it at Oxford. See *CCR (1500-1509)*, p. 139 and Barbara Harvey, 'The Monks of Westminster and the University of Oxford', in *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack*, ed. by F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline Barron (London, 1971), pp. 108-130 (p. 127 fn. 64 and 65).

⁹⁸ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 199.

⁹⁹ See chapter 2.

¹⁰⁰ As a result of his competence in managing the works at Westminster, Abbot John Islip was able to make the most of his authority not only within the Abbey, but also as a religious figure outside Westminster working for the Crown. According to all accounts, Islip was a careful administrator in his duties and for his good service was appointed a member of the Privy Council in 1513 by Henry VIII. He served as one of the triers of petitions to Parliament, and also served on the Commission of the Peace for Middlesex. Islip assisted Cardinal Wolsey as Commissioner in the affairs of the monastery of Glastonbury, and was commissioned by Wolsey to search for heretics among the Hanseatic merchants of London. He often sat in the consistory court of London to judge English heretics, and in 1527 was elected president of the English Benedictine order. In a letter to the Pope, in 1531, Henry VIII referred to Islip as a 'good old father' and praised his devotion to the realm and to the church. Islip died on 12 May 1532 and was buried at the Abbey. For more information regarding Abbot Islip see: Barbara Harvey, *The Obedientaries of Westminster Abbey and Their Financial Records, c.1275-1540* (Woodbridge, 2002), and Barbara Harvey and Henry Summerson, 'John Islip', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/14492>. (accessed, January, 2010).

Abbey and more specifically, the almshouse, one has only to look at the surviving records.¹⁰¹

Table 0.2 Henry VII's Bipartite and Septipartite Indentures.¹⁰²

Bipartite Indentures: Includes 1: Foundation indentures, 2: almshouse, 3: indenture of abstract, 4: inspeximus of indenture of penalties.

King's copy: TNA, E33/1

Westminster Abbey's copy: BL, Harley 1498

Septipartite: Includes only the indenture of penalties, indenture 4 in the bipartite copies.

King's copy: TNA, E33/2

+Westminster Abbey

+Canterbury Cathedral

+Winchester Cathedral

St Paul's Cathedral, London: St Paul's Library Case C

St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster: BL, Additional MS 21112

+City of London

+/- no longer extant.

Quadripartite¹⁰³

The most remarkable sources relating to the foundation of Henry VII's memorial at Westminster Abbey are the indentures.¹⁰⁴ This collection of sources originally consisted of two bipartite indentures, seven septipartite indentures, and twenty quadripartite indentures, see Table 0.1.¹⁰⁵ The two bipartite indentures were between the King and Westminster Abbey and each contains four separate indentures for the foundation of

¹⁰¹ For an analysis of all the indentures relating to Henry VII's memorial see Appendix *i*. *Abridged Transcription of BL, Harley MS 1498*, pp. 251-77.

¹⁰² This is an abridged version of the table in Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 95-7.

¹⁰³ There are twenty quadripartite indentures that address the anniversary masses and prayers to be said after the King's death. They are referred to as the Foreign Obits (this term is used by Margaret Condon). These indentures are between the King, Westminster, third party, and the City of London. The third parties involved are Abingdon Abbey, St. Alban's Abbey, Bermondsey Abbey, Cambridge University, St Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, Austin Friars in London, Carmelites in London, Charterhouse in London, Christchurch alias Holy Trinity in London, Friars Preachers in London, St Stephen's in Westminster, the Abbey of St Mary Grace's in London, Grey Friars in London, St Paul's Cathedral in London, Oxford University, Rochester Cathedral, Sheen Priory, Syon Abbey, and St. George's Chapel in Windsor. There is also an additional manuscript similar to the quadripartite indentures found in the Staats-Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, MS a.49 which is described as an agreement between the King and a priory in Winchester for services at Westminster Abbey. See Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 59-98

¹⁰⁴ This discussion of Henry VII's establishment of his memorial owes much to the seminal work of Margaret Condon, see Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 59-98.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-7. Table 0.1, p. 18.

Henry VII's entire memorial including the chapel and almshouse and other charitable works, and a description of the liturgical memorial to be observed, the statutes for the almshouse and their provisions, an abstract summary of the foundation, the penalties if the King's wishes were not met, and finally an indenture which reiterates the King's wishes and addresses the obligations of the other institutions who were designated sites for Henry's memorial set out in the indentures septipartite.¹⁰⁶ Both of the bipartite indentures still exist. The seven septipartite indentures were between the King, Westminster Abbey, Canterbury Cathedral, Winchester Cathedral, St Paul's Cathedral London, St Stephen's Chapel Westminster, and the City of London.¹⁰⁷ The King's copy, St. Paul's copy and St Stephen's Westminster's copy still exist but they do not address the almshouse statutes only the obligations and penalties of the parties involved.¹⁰⁸ They will be briefly mentioned to help demonstrate the difference between the bipartite and septipartite indentures and the magnitude of Henry's memorial preparation.¹⁰⁹ The twenty quadripartite indentures will not be addressed because, although important to the overall memorial, they are not relevant to the study of the almshouse. In the case of all the indentures, the King and the individual religious institutions involved were provided with a copy of their indentures together adding up to nearly eighty copies. Unlike other indentures, they were all bound in codex form. Velvet bindings, illuminated capital letters, and many other ornate features helped safeguard the texts from forgery.¹¹⁰ Each

¹⁰⁶ King's copy TNA, E33/1 and Westminster Abbey copy BL, Harley 1498.

¹⁰⁷ The initial agreements of the septipartite indentures were between King Henry, the Abbot John Islip, William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London, Edward Underwood, Dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster, and the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London. TNA, E33/2 is the King's copy of the septipartite indentures and a sister copy to BL, Additional MS 21112, which belonged to St. Paul's Cathedral.

¹⁰⁸ King's copy is found at the TNA, E33/2, St Paul's London copy is found in St Paul's Cathedral Library Case C, and St. Stephen's Westminster's copy is found at the British Library, Additional MS 21112.

¹⁰⁹ For the best overview of all the indentures see Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 59-98; and Condon, 'The Last Will of Henry VII', pp. 99-140.

¹¹⁰ A brief introduction looking at the details of the manuscripts is given in Appendix *i. Abridged Transcription of BL Harley MS 1498*, pp. 258-84.

indenture was created almost identical to the others but with subtle differences between the bipartite, septipartite, and quadripartite versions.¹¹¹

Although all the indentures played an important role in the overall memorial, the bipartite indentures are most significant for this study because only they include the detailed statutes and ordinances governing the almshouse.¹¹² The almshouse indentures are placed within the context of the overall memorial, specifically, the indentures for the chapel, the duties and penalties of the Abbot and monastery and prayers and remembrances to be celebrated on the King's anniversary. The bipartite indentures are also one of the main sources that tell about the almshouse and its importance to the King. These sources play an important role in the memory and history of the almshouse because they have survived, whilst the almshouse no longer does.

Little is known about the survival of the two bipartite copies for Henry's memorial. According to inventories taken after the death of Henry VIII, the manuscript belonging to the King (The National Archives E33/1) was said to have been removed from the palace after the Dissolution and kept on the top shelf in a 'little' study near to the King's old bed chamber at Westminster Palace.¹¹³ Yet, according to the National Archive custodial history, the E33 records, which contain many documents regarding the foundation of Henry VII's memorial, were transferred to the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer in 1505, and housed, in the Chapel of the Pyx, at Westminster Abbey.¹¹⁴ It has been suggested that the E33 documents were originally stored in Lady Margaret Beaufort's chest, E27/6, and that according to an inventory taken in 1610 they were still

¹¹¹ See Appendix *i*. pp. 251-77. The quadripartite indentures are covered in bluish-coloured velvet while the bipartite and septipartite indentures are covered in a burgundy-coloured velvet binding.

¹¹² BL, Harley MS 1498 [Westminster Abbey's copy] and TNA E33/1 [King's copy].

¹¹³ Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 73; David Starkey, *Inventory of King Henry VIII: The Transcription*, 2 vols (London, 1998), I, (nos. 11036: study next to the King, p. 246; 15906: in the lytle study next to the King's old bedchamber, p. 398; 16747: same as 15900, p. 416); James Carley, *The Books of King Henry VIII and his Wives* (London, 2004), p. 34.

¹¹⁴ TNA Series details E33, online (accessed December 2009).

there but were later moved to the Exchequer of the Receipt, in the Chapter House at Westminster, where they remained until 1856 when they were finally transferred to the Public Record Office.¹¹⁵ The Abbey's copy (BL Harley MS 1498) would have remained within the Abbey until the Dissolution when it was said to have been seized by William Cecil who then assumed ownership and oversight of the indenture.¹¹⁶ What happens next is a little more complicated. What is known is that in the later sixteenth century the manuscript belonged to the Hoby family and was then sold sometime within the later seventeenth century to the Harley family, who eventually donated the collection to the British Library. So how did the Hoby family acquire the manuscript? One possibility is through their family relations. Cecil's sister-in-law was Lady Elizabeth Hoby the wife of Sir Thomas Hoby of Bisham [Bysham] (1530-1566) who was a known collector of fine manuscripts and kept a diary of his collection, now in the British Library.¹¹⁷ It is also possible that Hoby acquired it through his close relationship with the Crown and with Westminster. However he acquired the manuscript, it most likely came into his possession shortly after Elizabeth I had re-founded the Abbey as a college and almshouse in 1559 and had established her own statutes which made the old indentures obsolete. This is the period during which the Hoby family were influential at court and it is likely that such a fine manuscript as the indentures would have been a valuable

¹¹⁵ TNA, E27/6. There is one of Margaret Beaufort's chests still at Westminster Muniments in the library.

¹¹⁶ William Cecil plays an important role in the history of the royal almshouse. This relationship will be developed in chapters 3 and 4 but is mentioned here to place him within the context of the history of the surviving indentures. See: Julia F. Merritt, 'The Cecils and Westminster 1558-1612: The Development of an Urban Power Base', in *Patronage, Culture and Power The Early Cecils*, ed. by Pauline Croft (New Haven and London, 2002), pp. 231-46 (p. 236); Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'William Cecil', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/4983?docPos=1>. (accessed November 2009); and David Loades, *The Cecils Privilege and Power behind the Throne* (Kew, 2007).

¹¹⁷ L. G. Kelly, 'Sir Thomas Hoby', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/13414>. (accessed September 2012); *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols (London, 1808-12), II, pp. 74-8; BL, Harley MS. 2148. The diary itself is difficult to read due to age and a very untidy hand. Deciphering at times was impossible and it was difficult to ascertain from the text whether the indentures were a part of the collection.

acquisition. At a later date, BL Harley MS 1498 was given to or purchased by the Harley family from the collection of Sir Thomas Hoby.¹¹⁸

In addition to the indentures, there is valuable material at the National Archives at Kew. There are documents relating to the almshouse kept in to the Court of Augmentations and the works of the General Surveyors; two courts set up in 1536 which dealt with the disputes and confiscated monastic lands of the Dissolution. By 1547, the two courts were amalgamated to become the 'Court of Augmentations and Revenues of the King's Crown', and eventually were absorbed into the Exchequer in 1553. Two of the documents that specifically relate to Westminster Abbey and its Dissolution are LR2/111 and E315/24. E315/25 provides a list of the almsmen in 1540 and shows how much they were being paid quarterly and annually. LR2/111 is an inventory account of Westminster Abbey between 1540 and 1543 and provides the names of the almsmen and women who received a stipend during those years and also shows the women receiving their pension before being released from the Abbey. In addition to the Exchequer manuscripts and the information found in the records of the 'Court of Augmentations' there are a number of sixteenth century records at the National Archive that relate to the almshouse and range from payments for the building foundation E101/415/3, income for the endowments SC7/4/1, and goods and properties seized during the Dissolution of Westminster Abbey E318/7/275.¹¹⁹

The largest and most important collection of material for the study of Henry VII's memorial is kept at the Westminster Abbey Muniments (WAM). The fires of 1512 and 1834 at Westminster Palace destroyed many documents but many of the Abbey's

¹¹⁸ This purchase would have been in the early eighteenth century either by either Robert Harley (1661-1724), or his son Edward Harley (1689-1741). The Harley collection was finally catalogued in 1808, giving brief descriptions of the manuscripts and the information they contained, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*.

¹¹⁹ TNA, E/101/415/3, ff. 13, 80, payment for the building of the almshouse; SC7/4/1, transfer of funds for the endowment and E318/8/275 the purchase of the almsmen's farm along with other properties in Westminster by Richard Cecil.

records survived. The collection of material for Henry's foundation is extensive, yet by no means complete. Nevertheless, there are adequate records to build up a picture of the evolution of the almshouse and its precinct; its development, funding, building, and administration. The archive houses a large number of detailed accounts for the foundation and building works, the letters of the almsmen, together with a number of surveys and petitions for almsmen's places, payments, and gowns.

There have been several studies of Westminster Abbey, Henry VII's memorial, and the town of Westminster which have made use of the material at the Westminster Abbey Muniments. Sir Howard Colvin oversaw and wrote most of the definitive history of English royal buildings as *A History of the King's Works* in six volumes covering the period from the early Middle Ages to the nineteenth century.¹²⁰ In volume three, Colvin devotes an entire section to the buildings of Henry VII, specifically the chapel of King's College Cambridge, Richmond Friary, the Savoy Hospital, and Henry's memorial at Westminster Abbey comprising the chapel and almshouse. Colvin used many of the records from the muniments, most specifically WAM 5398, the building contract for the almshouse, stable, and barn. The document is undated but it is assumed to have been drawn up between the years 1500 to 1502.¹²¹ Colvin analyzed this source from the perspective of an architectural historian considering what the building cost, the types of materials used, and the wages of the tradesmen. But the document can also be used to answer further questions about the King's objectives and the men he used to help him to achieve them.¹²²

¹²⁰ Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, pp. 187- 222.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

¹²² See chapter 3.

Recent historians have examined the history of the *vill* of Westminster and the Abbey itself.¹²³ Charles S. Knighton in 1998 was responsible for the calendaring of State Papers and Chancery documents and, he also worked extensively on the documents at Westminster Abbey Muniments and in 1998 edited and published the *Acts of the Dean and Chapter*; a record series covering changes in the Abbey from the Reformation to the Civil War.¹²⁴ Dr. Richard Mortimer, the Keeper of the Muniments of Westminster Abbey, in 2003, together with Knighton, edited *Westminster Abbey Reformed 1540-1640*, a collection of essays which examines the corporate history of the Abbey from the Reformation to the Civil War.¹²⁵ Both works address Henry VII's memorial at Westminster Abbey highlighting the political aspects of the foundation rather than the architectural analysis on which Colvin had focused. Richard Mortimer with the help of Tim Tatton-Brown, the consultant archaeologist to Westminster Abbey, has also edited a collection of essays entitled *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII* that specifically looks at the fabric and history of the Chapel.¹²⁶ In this collection of essays, Margaret Condon, a retired keeper from the National Archives, has written two chapters examining the will of Henry VII and also the memorial indentures.¹²⁷ Condon's work is extremely thorough but although she examines the foundation of Henry VII's memorial, she does not address its history beyond the period of the foundation. Barbara Harvey

¹²³ C. S. Knighton, 'Westminster Abbey from Reformation to Revolution' in *Westminster Abbey Reformed 1540-1640*, ed. by C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (London, 2003), pp. 1-16; C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer, eds. *Westminster Abbey Reformed 1540-1640* (London, 2003); C. S. Knighton, 'Collegiate Foundations, 1540-1570, with Special Reference to St. Peter in Westminster' (unpublished PhD, Cambridge University, 1975); Tatton-Brown and Mortimer, *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*.

¹²⁴ *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series: Reign of Edward VI, 1547-1553*, ed. by C. S. Knighton (London, 1998); *idem*, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic Series: Reign of Mary I, 1553-1558* (London, 1998); *idem*, *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) 1422-1485*, vol. VIII (London, 2003); *Act Books*.

¹²⁵ Knighton and Mortimer, *Westminster Abbey Reformed 1540-1640*.

¹²⁶ Tatton-Brown and Mortimer, *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*.

¹²⁷ Condon, 'God Save The King!', pp. 59-97; Condon 'The last will of Henry VII', pp. 99-140.

has written extensively about Westminster Abbey.¹²⁸ In her book *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540* she gives a thorough account of the daily life of the Westminster monks.¹²⁹ In the chapter which addresses charity, Henry VII's memorial is briefly considered in its relationship to the Abbey and the ways in which the monks oversaw the foundation. Her monumental works on the Abbey estates and obedientaries also discuss the endowment and finances of the memorial but she is not concerned with the detailed workings of the almshouse itself.¹³⁰

Gervase Rosser and Julia F. Merritt have both written detailed studies of the urban government of medieval and early modern Westminster.¹³¹ Their works are an important contribution to the study of Westminster between 1200 and 1640, integrating different types of source material and discussing the impact on Westminster of its close proximity to London and to the Court, and aristocracy. They examine the Abbey, trades, poor relief, how the city supported itself, and the struggles it faced as it grew in size. Both studies address Henry VII's memorial, specifically the almshouse, in the context of the *vill* of Westminster, but in neither case was the almshouse the focus of their studies.¹³² Little has been written about the importance of the almshouse building and its relationship both to the Abbey and to the town of Westminster. Neil Rushton, in his doctoral thesis on the Almonry at Westminster Abbey, addresses the striking differences between the King's almshouse and the Abbey almonry complex, both physically and

¹²⁸ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*; *eadem.*, 'The Leasing of the Abbot of Westminster's Demesnes in the Later Middle Ages', *Economic History Review* 22 (1969), 17-27; *eadem.*, 'The Monks of Westminster and the University of Oxford', in *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. by F. R. H. Du Boulay and Caroline M. Barron (London, 1971), pp. 108-130; *eadem.*, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540, The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1989); *eadem.*, *The Obedientaries of Westminster Abbey*.

¹²⁹ Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540*.

¹³⁰ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*; *eadem.*, *The Obedientaries of Westminster Abbey*; *eadem.*, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540*.

¹³¹ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*; J. F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester, 2005), pp. 263-64; *eadem.*, 'The Cecils and Westminster'.

¹³² Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 297; Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster Abbey*, pp. 263-64.

symbolically.¹³³ His study of the almshouse is set within the context of its relationship to the Almonry and is not concerned with the detailed workings of the almshouse itself.

The thesis is divided into four chapters, of which the first chapter establishes the context of the royal almshouse in its surroundings and compares it to other similar foundations. The main focus of this chapter is an analysis of the statutes and ordinances as laid down by Henry VII. The second chapter looks at the original almshouse endowment and the properties and goods accounted for in the Court of Augmentations. The third chapter examines the site and the building of the original almshouse. This chapter employs a wealth of building sources relating to the foundation but also uses documents relating to later works carried out at the almshouse, to shed light on the structure of the original building. The fourth chapter addresses the almsmen and the administration of the almshouse during the turbulent period of the later sixteenth century. Although there are limited sources for this period there are enough to piece together an idea of the life of an almsman and the precarious position of the almshouse during the Dissolution of Westminster Abbey and this royal chantry. The conclusion will touch briefly on the new foundation during the early seventeenth century and up to the Civil War, to show how this almshouse continued to adapt its purposes to meet the needs of the times and the demands of its patrons.¹³⁴

¹³³ Neil S. Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provision in Later Medieval England c. 1260-1540' (unpublished PhD, Cambridge; 2002), pp. 152-60.

¹³⁴ The almshouse was never dissolved or disbanded and survived in the same location until its demolition in 1779.

Chapter 1

Founding an Almshouse: A Study of the Indentures for Henry VII's Memorial

Henry VII's almshouse had symbolic significance for the Tudor dynasty. For this reason it survived the Dissolutions of the mid sixteenth century. It was caught in the complicated relationship between the Crown, the Abbey and the City of Westminster. These relationships will be examined further in this thesis but it is important to place the almshouse in the context of charitable provision in the *vill* of Westminster and compare it to other contemporary almshouse foundations to discern the particular qualities of Henry's foundation.

i. Medieval Westminster

The town of Westminster had always been an important location for the Crown because of its close proximity to London and position on the Thames. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, when Henry VII was planning and building his memorial at Westminster Abbey, the *vill* of Westminster was undergoing a transformation of its own. It was no longer a small London suburb, made up largely of fields, but was becoming a significant urban centre in its own right, prompted by the activities of the Crown and the Abbey.¹ The Court of Henry VII had grown significantly. People from all over England and Europe began settling in the town, hoping to benefit from the growth of the Court.² This established a service-based economy where most were barely earning enough to survive. The expansion of the Court also drew in merchants, and a number of skilled tradesmen all demanding shop space and affordable housing. The demands of the Court on the *vill* of Westminster had

¹ The relationship between the Crown, Abbey, and the local government of Westminster is a complicated subject: see Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*; and Julia F. Merritt, *The social world of early modern Westminster Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester, 2005), p. 53.

² James A. Williamson, *The Tudor Age* (London, 1964), p. 4.

begun as early as the thirteenth century, when the Abbey began buying up property and fixing long term rents.³ By the mid fourteenth century, there was a greater demand for housing, and the Abbey, seeing the possibility of profit, began shortening the length of leases, adjusting the terms and payments.⁴ By 1410 the market began to slump causing the Abbey to readjust the leases to longer terms which still provided the Abbey with a steady income but gave them less responsibility for maintenance. Nevertheless, many were still unable to afford the rents and became creative in where they could afford to live renting out barns and stables and subdividing larger houses to accommodate more people.⁵ After the death of John Pacche, esquire, in 1476, for example, his mansion was divided into three houses by Thomas Hunt, the steward of Westminster Abbey, to help provide smaller more affordable accommodation.⁶

By the end of the fifteenth-century, the demand for affordable housing had become so great that the Crown and the Abbey, the two most influential authorities in the area, had to reduce their rentals significantly due to the majority's inability to pay the higher prices.⁷ An example of this price reduction is best seen at the Saracen's Head located beside Westminster Palace gate. Built before the fifteenth century, this house was valued and leased at £8 per annum in 1400; but because of the lack of demand to support such living; by 1409 its rent had been reduced to under £6 per annum and did not rise until the end of the century.⁸ The later history of the Saracen's Head also demonstrates the way in which Westminster Abbey both acquired property and used it to supply smaller houses and tenements to meet the demands of the expanding Court in

³ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85. For more information regarding the population increase in Westminster see *Ibid.*, pp. 167-225.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86; WAM, 17878.

⁷ Some properties had even become untenanted due to the inability of people to pay and this then caused the rents to drop from £8 to £3 and £4 in certain tenements, Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, pp. 75-79. Building accounts for Westminster WAM, 23470-23593.

⁸ Because the Court was still growing there were only a handful of wealthy individuals that could afford such dwellings in the town. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 79.

the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Property owners would often sell their land and homes to the Abbey in return for care and accommodation in old age, thus securing a form of insurance policy for their lifetime.⁹ This type of land exchange for lifetime care was known as a corrody and it was by this means that the Saracen's Head had come under the ownership of the Abbey by 1486-7, along with four adjacent small houses which were leased separately.¹⁰ The Saracen's Head needed significant repairs and refitting to house more tenants so it underwent rebuilding financed by the Abbey. This ultimately cost a total of £230, nearly the full annual budget for new building works and was a sum that the Abbey would never recover and eventually had to write-off.¹¹ The completion of the work saw the house divided into five cottages with an upper hall and inner parlour where thirteen tenants were said to have lodged.¹² This was principally a dwelling for the officers of the royal court and before the Dissolution, the rent for each dwelling never exceeded £6 13s. 4d.. The division of larger homes was one way the *vill* of Westminster was able to cope with housing the numbers of less affluent courtiers and servants who had relocated to the area. By subdividing the larger homes, which most could not afford to inhabit on their own, space and costs were saved.

Almshouses were not new to the area, and Henry VII was not the first King to erect a royal almshouse in Westminster. Henry III when making improvements to the royal palace, had an almshouse constructed which not only looked after several almsmen, but also helped distribute alms to the local poor and was supervised by the King's almoner.¹³ Along with this royal almshouse, there were several other local hospitals: the

⁹ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 96.

¹⁰ For more information regarding corrodies see Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993, repr. 2002), pp. 179-209.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

¹³ This almshouse was later known as the royal almonry. *Ibid.*, p. 296. See Neil Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provisions in Later Medieval England c.1260-1540' (unpublished PhD, Cambridge University, 2001), pp.79-160. In 1234, Henry III also founded an almshouse called God's House in Ospringe Kent. This almshouse was built in conjunction with the Hospital of St John's in Cambridge and often is

Hospital of St. James, established by the citizens of London to look after leprous women, and also the financially precarious hospital of St. Mary Rounceval founded c.1230 by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke [d. 1231] which helped cater to the needs of the poor intermittently for three hundred plus years.¹⁴ Located by the Thames at the bend of the river near Charing Cross, St. Mary Rounceval suffered from the financial instabilities of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, exacerbated by mismanagement.¹⁵ Despite these problems, when funds were available, the hospital did support a small almshouse. Not until Henry VI granted the house in 1453 to Jasper Tudor [d.1495], his half brother and uncle to Henry VII, did the hospital and almshouse begin to prosper.¹⁶ The hospital was also supported by the guild of Our Lady which in 1475 received a royal charter allowing them to purchase rents to support three chantry priests at St. Mary Rounceval.¹⁷ Jasper was probably responsible for the reorganization of the hospital and for helping secure sufficient rents to support the three chantry priests along with its original function as a hospital for the poor sick.¹⁸

Henry VII's father, Edmond Tudor, died in 1456, shortly before Henry was born on 28 January 1457. His mother Margaret Beaufort was only thirteen when her first husband died. Margaret was in a vulnerable position because of her bloodline which then put her unborn child, Henry, at risk. She sought shelter with her husband's brother

catalogued together in St. John's College Cambridge archives. God's House in Ospringe catered for retired servants of the royal household and was dissolved in 1516 due to insufficient endowment. St John's College, Cambridge, MS. 2/1/2; 2/1/3. G. H. Smith, 'Excavation of the Hospital of St. Mary. Ospringe', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 95 (1979), pp. 81-185 (p. 84).

¹⁴ Although the Hospital of St. James was founded by the citizens of London, throughout its existence it received considerable support from the Crown and the parishioners of St. Margaret's in Westminster. M. Reddan, 'The Hospital of St. James, Westminster', in *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Matthew Davies (London, 2007), pp. 177-81.

¹⁵ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 310.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 314. Due to many years of mismanagement in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, St Mary Rounceval had significantly cut back its service to the poor sick people of Westminster. With Jasper Tudor's patronage, the hospital and guild of St Mary Rounceval regained its popularity with the community. The membership numbers increased as did the number of bequests made to the fraternity. *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

Jasper Tudor, at Pembroke Castle where Henry was born and raised. In 1471, when Henry was only seventeen, he and Jasper fled the country and became exiled in Brittany. They would remain together on the Continent for fourteen years. It is not clear how much contact Henry had with his uncle Jasper before their exile. What is clear is that their fourteen years of exile, when they were used as pawns in the political games of Brittany, France and England, formed a strong bond between the two of them. Bearing this in mind, it is possible that Jasper had an influence over Henry which may have extended as far as charitable projects.¹⁹ It is possibly that Henry VII took inspiration from St Mary Rounceval when planning and designing his own hospital The Savoy founded near Charing Cross.²⁰

The guild of St. Cornelius in the church of St. Margaret at Westminster also maintained a hospital that catered to the sick, specifically epileptics. The poor of the guild of St. Cornelius would be considered the “deserving poor” and along with their care, they received an allowance of 6s. 8d. each quarter from the guild for their own use.²¹ The largest Westminster parish guild, Our Lady’s Assumption owned and maintained a row of almshouses near King’s Street, Westminster, in an alley called Our Lady’s Alley.²² Although the guild had owned this property since the middle of the fifteenth century it was not until 1474 that four of the cottages in the alley were converted into an almshouse. Although the religious guilds were often not as wealthy as the trade guilds, they did offer spiritual and physical assistance to the poor and sick of London and Westminster.

¹⁹ R. S. Thomas, ‘Jasper Tudor’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/27796?docPos=1>. [date accessed: January, 2010], p. 1.

²⁰ For more information about the Savoy Hospital, see Colvin, *The History of the King’s Works*, p.210. For the chantry monks see *CCR (1500-1509)*, p. 139.

²¹ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 321.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 321.

The largest institution in Westminster that distributed alms outside the Court was of course the Abbey. Neil Rushton's study of Westminster Abbey's Almonry suggests that by the time Henry VII was founding his almshouse c.1500 the distribution of alms in Westminster and elsewhere was becoming more discriminating.²³ In the thirteenth and fourteenth century hundreds of poor people would line the streets receiving alms every day in the form of food and money.²⁴ By the later fourteenth and early fifteenth century, it has been estimated that the Abbey spent a tenth of its revenue on a variety of charitable schemes but these were focused specifically on the inmates of the Almonry almshouse and the poor householders within Westminster rather than scattered indiscriminately to crowds of anonymous beggars as it had done earlier.²⁵ This is most likely because of a scarcity of resources and because after the Black Death, c.1350-1400, there was a shortage of skilled workers and labourers and thus able bodied beggars were seen as less needy than those who were blind, crippled or ill. The Abbey had a long history of distributing alms to anyone and everyone who sought aid.²⁶ This service had now been greatly reduced from serving all who sought aid to a selected group of individuals whom the Abbey deemed acceptable such as the almsmen, the poor householders, and the poor people within the Abbey and *vill* of Westminster.²⁷ By the later fifteenth century, the Almonry site was no longer a large sheltered sanctuary of almsgiving but was now made up of a series of smaller spaces, set apart from one

²³ Neil Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provisions in Later Medieval England c.1260-1540', p. 150; also in Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp. 7-33.

²⁴ Neil Rushton, 'Spatial Aspects of the Almonry Site and the Changing Priorities of Poor Relief at Westminster Abbey c. 1290-1540', *Architectural History*, 45 (2002), pp. 70-5. Rushton discusses the special aspects of the Almonry and the large numbers (thousands) of poor people flocking to the Almonry for distributions of money, food and drink, Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provisions in Later Medieval England c.1260-1540', p. 150.

²⁵ Christopher Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages c.1200-1520*, rev. edn (Cambridge, 1998), p. 312.

²⁶ This of course was assisted by its Royal patronage and memorial services which the Abbey was responsible for overseeing, including the distribution of alms in the name of those remembered.

²⁷ Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages c.1200-1520*, p. 312.

another, and separated by the Abbey's rental shops and houses.²⁸ Rushton points out that at this time the Almonry complex was in desperate need of repairs and that many of the shops had become abandoned because of the high rental prices and the Abbey's inability to repair the empty tenements that had become structurally unsound.²⁹ It is not surprising therefore that Henry VII wanted to found an almshouse outside the Abbey Almonry, and removed from the entrenched administrative errors and run-down buildings, and to build a distinctive new almshouse.³⁰ In the mid-fifteen-thirties, Thomas Cromwell instructed monastic institutions to pay special attention to the deserving householders who could not by their own labour secure enough income to support themselves and their families.³¹ Westminster Abbey had already begun to restrict the charitable provisions in the late fifteenth century, reducing its daily alms to twice weekly and deflecting post-obit income to their song school.³² Moreover, upon its Dissolution and refounding as a cathedral, Henry VIII directed that the new Cathedral of Westminster should give £100 per annum to poor householders out of the income of the Cathedral's new endowment, similar to the way the Abbey had distributed alms before the Dissolution.³³

²⁸ Rushton, 'Spatial Aspects of the Almonry Site', p. 79. For an in depth study of the Almonry see: Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provisions in Later Medieval England c.1260-1540', pp. 79-160.

²⁹ Rushton, 'Spatial Aspects of the Almonry Site', p. 81.

³⁰ Henry VII also chose to build the almshouse out of brick, offsetting it from its neighbour the Almonry, which was made of stone. Henry VII's almshouse backed Blacks Ditch which separated the site from the Abbey's Almonry. At the time of Henry's almshouse foundation, the Almonry was distributing alms twice weekly to the poor who would line-up outside the Almonry walls waiting for their dole of food or money. The almsmen would have been able to look out their back windows which faced the Almonry site and see these poor destitute people. William and Alice de la Pole's almshouse in Ewelme Oxfordshire was also built of brick. John A. A. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 14-15.

³¹ Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp. 32-33.

³² *Ibid.*, p.32.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 33. See chapter 3 for the location of the almshouse in respect to Westminster Abbey and the Abbey's almonry.

*ii. Henry VII's Statutes for the Westminster Almshouse*³⁴

As mentioned in the introduction, the wording and structure of Henry VII's statutes and ordinances, and the arrangements made for the management of the almshouse, were clearly influenced by earlier foundations such as Richard Whittington's almshouse administered by the Mercers' company in London, God's House at Ewelme in Oxfordshire, founded by William and Alice de la Pole, and the original, unrealised intentions for Cardinal Beaufort's House of Noble Poverty located at the Hospital of St. Cross in Winchester.³⁵ It is clear that the Westminster almshouse statutes evolved as a result of the trials and errors of many earlier almshouse foundations. Richard Whittington's almshouse was one of the first successful foundations and his statutes, drawn up by his knowledgeable executors, John Coventry, John White, John Carpenter and William Grove, became the template for later almshouse foundations.³⁶ Throughout this examination of Henry VII's statutes, comparison will be made with reference to the chart provided in Appendix *ii. A Comparison of the Almshouse Statutes* to demonstrate the similarities between the earlier almshouse statutes and also to highlight the distinctiveness of the arrangements for Henry VII's almshouse.³⁷

The statutes for Henry VII's almshouse provide a full description of every possible aspect of the almshouse administration, daily life, maintenance, and funding. The

³⁴ This section should be read with reference to Appendix *ii: A Comparison of the Almshouse Statues*, pp. 278-86.

³⁵ See introduction, pp. 29-30.

³⁶ John Carpenter (*d.* 1442) was a common clerk of London and the main executor of Richard Whittington's will. He was deeply involved in the workings of the city of London and was responsible for building up Richard Whittington's endowment. It has been suggested that many of the works performed under the name of Whittington were in fact Carpenter's aspirations, see Matthew Davies, 'John Carpenter', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/4728?docPos=2>. [date accessed: January 2010]. John Coventry was a fellow Mercer, an Alderman of London, and a former Sheriff of London. It is assumed that he was chosen as an executor to act as an intermediary between the Mercers' Company and the Corporation of London. John White was the Master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London, who it can be assumed was chosen as an executor for his knowledge of founding and running a hospital, and William Grove was a Scrivener. Jean Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington: A history of the Trust administered by the Mercers' Company 1424-1966* (London, 1968), p. 13.

³⁷ Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, pp. 107-21. Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, pp. 223-55. Appendix *ii*. pp. 285-93.

building of the almshouse began c.1500 and was in the final stages by 1504. The almshouse was founded for thirteen almsmen, one of whom was to be a priest, who was to have the direct oversight of the almsmen and three almswomen. Both Ewelme and Whittington's almshouses catered for thirteen poor men, a standard number for contemporary almshouses and symbolised Christ and his twelve Apostles but, unlike Ewelme, Henry's almshouse, had almswomen as did Whittington's.³⁸ At Ewelme, they were to be, in addition to the thirteen poor men, two priests who were to oversee the almshouse, lead the men in prayer and teach grammar to the almsmen and children of Ewelme. Whittington had already established a College of Priests in addition to his almshouse so he did not appoint a priest but he did appoint a tutor from amongst his almsmen to have direct oversight and to set an example of virtue and cleanliness for the other men.

According to the accounts kept by the Warden of the Manors of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, there were already three almsmen appointed by June 1502, five by August of that year and all twelve by November when they received their first payment and livery robes on the feast of All Saints.³⁹ To qualify for admission, almsmen had to have served the Crown loyally, to come from the local area or from the precinct of the monastery, to be unmarried or widowed, literate and able to sing mass, at least fifty years old, and unable to support themselves. The priest of the almsmen was to be over the age of forty-five, a good grammarian, of good name and fame and able to lead the men in their prayers. The priest was to be paid *4d.* a day for his service along with

³⁸ In the early years of Whittington's foundation there were not many women admitted into the almshouse. In 1581/2 there was an almswoman who continued to be warned by the overseers for wasting wood and coal when washing her clothes, and because she did not amend her ways, she was removed from the almshouse, and from that point up to 1675 there were no women admitted into the house. Nevertheless, by 1700-1710 this had changed and there were eleven women and one man in the almshouse, which caused such a stir that by 1711-1720 there were no women admitted. Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, p. 54.

³⁹ WAM, 24236; Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 91. More information regarding these accounts is found in chapter 2.

special payments for anniversaries services to total approximately £6 a year.⁴⁰ The earlier almshouse indentures do not specify a specific age for admittance for their almsmen, only that they were to be respectable individuals, unable to provide for themselves and special preferences would be given to those who lived within the local area or had served the family or craft loyally. The immediate oversight of Henry's almshouse resided in the hands of the priest. Above the priest a good and honest monk from the Abbey was to be appointed by the Abbot each year and paid 40s. or £2 per annum at Michaelmas, and at Easter, in even portions, to oversee the functioning and discipline of the almshouse.⁴¹ Above the monk the oversight of the almshouse, was given to the Abbot of Westminster, who would share this duty with the King until his death.

At Ewelme, the direct oversight was given to the first priest who was called the Master. The Master was the chief authority at the almshouse and was responsible for leading the men in prayer, taking the household inventory and was the first resort when an almsmen broke the rules. The Master of Ewelme was to be a learned man from Oxford University and over the age of thirty. In return for his services he was paid £10 per annum, a considerable sum but comparable to other churchmen at the time.⁴² On top of his salary the Master was allowed a second income from another benefice as long as it did not conflict with his duties at *God's House*. It can be assumed that this was done because a learned man from Oxford University could expect a more lucrative appointment elsewhere and so by allowing a second income it made the position more

⁴⁰ The actual payments to the priest and almsmen will be discussed in chapter 4. See Appendix v. *Expenses for Henry VII's Memorial at Westminster Abbey, Warden's Accounts 1502-1533*, pp. 293-294; Appendix i. *Abridged Transcription of BL Harley MS 1498 (Part B)*: f. 41v lines 24-25, p. 254; f. 42r lines 7-13, pp. 254-55; f. 43v lines 15-20, p. 256; f. 61v lines 16-18, p. 267. The priest at the Savoy Hospital received £3 6s. 8d. a year for his service which was closer to what Henry's almsmen and women received each year. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 182.

⁴¹ Appendix i: 49r line 5, p. 259; 62v lines 8-10, p. 268; 75v lines 16-19, p. 276.

⁴² Anyone who earned £10 per annum would have been considered wealthy. In 1535, most parish clergy incomes ranged between five and twenty pounds with a great proportion in the region of ten pounds per annum, Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 18, 19, 32, 42.

desirable. Directly below the Master at Ewelme was the Teacher. The Teacher was also paid £10 pounds per annum and was allowed a second income as long as it did not conflict with his duties of teaching grammar to the almsmen and children of Ewelme for free. The Teacher did not have to have an Oxford education but was to be a highly qualified grammarian and also able to say mass and lead the men in prayer on occasions where the Master was away.⁴³ The ultimate oversight at Ewelme lay with its founders Alice and William de la Pole, but after their deaths this responsibility was to pass to their kin or to the lord and lady of Ewelme.⁴⁴

When founding his memorial at Westminster Abbey, Henry VII may have been inspired by the Ewelme chantry not just because of the almshouse but also because alongside his almshouse Henry founded another chantry at the Abbey that was served by three Oxford educated priests.⁴⁵ The priests were paid £5 a year for their daily participation in three chantry masses, similar to his almsmen, starting at 7 am in honour of the Virgin, a requiem mass at 8 am, and a third immediately after the high mass.⁴⁶ Henry's chantry priests were to sit near to his almsmen, under the lantern, before Henry's chapel was finished, and after its completion, they were to sit around the tomb with the almsmen near the altar in the Lady Chapel.⁴⁷

Whittington's almshouse was rather different to the other two houses because it was more a supplement to his chantry college and not a chantry foundation on its own. The Tutor who had oversight of the men was not a priest nor did he lead the men in prayers or teach them to read. He was paid 16*d.* a week, only two pence more a week than the

⁴³ It would appear that the Master went away quite often on almshouse duty and was given a special stipend to cover his travelling fees, for which he was to submit receipts.

⁴⁴ See Appendix *ii.* pp. 278-286.

⁴⁵ BL, Harley MS f. 48v lines 1-5. These folios have not been provided in the transcription. See *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 139-43.

⁴⁶ *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 139-40. If the monastery did not have monks qualified and educated at Oxford to maintain Henry's chantry, a part of the endowment was to go towards their education. At Ewelme the almsmen were paid every Friday before 'Chaucer's stone', Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, p.112.

⁴⁷ *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 139-42.

other almsmen. He was basically ‘head boy’ and although he was responsible for taking the inventory of the almshouse and overseeing minor disputes, the oversight of the almshouse fell into the hands of the executors of Richard Whittington, mainly John Carpenter, whilst they were alive, and was then handed over to the Mercers’ Company and the Mayor of the City of London.

Henry’s almsmen were expected to help the priest sing mass, and to sing perfectly the psalm of *De profundis clamavi*. This was to be sung forever for the soul of the King during his life and after his death, for the prosperity of the realm, and for the souls of the princess Elizabeth, the late Queen of England, their children, and for the father, progenitors and ancestors of Henry VII. Also to be included in these prayers was the noble princess Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, after her death, and also all Christian souls. The almsmen of Ewelme and Whittington were also required to perform certain prayers for their founders but their statutes do not make the singing of commemorative masses one of the qualifications for admission.⁴⁸

It is clear that all founders were concerned with the overall functioning of their almshouse and its administration. William and Alice de la Pole seemed to leave nothing to the imagination when listing their rules and regulations for the almshouse.⁴⁹ It is interesting to observe that at both Ewelme and at Whittington’s almshouses, almsmen were allowed to leave their designated almshouse area and mingle with the outside community. All three sets of statutes require that their almsfolk acquire licence before leaving, but the Ewelme and Whittington almsfolk were expected to leave the almshouse regularly to obtain their food and hence their statutes contain extensive details about how they were to conduct themselves outside the almshouse. Henry’s

⁴⁸ See Appendix *ii*. pp. 278-286.

⁴⁹ See Appendix *ii*. pp. 278-286.

almsmen on the other hand had all their food provided and cooked for them and were not to leave the precinct of the almshouse unless absolutely necessary.

Henry left the management of his almshouse to John Islip [d.1532], the Abbot of Westminster, and his successors. Islip was responsible to the King for securing and overseeing all sources of money to be paid to the almsmen, and for the maintenance and repair of the almshouse.⁵⁰ Since this was of great importance to the King, if there was any negligence in the administration of the almshouse, the Abbot was given three chances to redeem himself, and if not reformed, he would then be removed from all his positions. It is not clear whether this applied only to his oversight of the almshouse or also the removal from his role as Abbot, most likely the former. The Master and Teacher of Ewelme and the Tutor of Whittington's almshouse were all given certain responsibilities or duties to perform. If they did not fulfil these duties in both almshouses they were warned and their wages were docked in accordance with the offence and only after a number of citations were they to be expelled.

One of the first tasks of the Abbot at Westminster was to provide a copy of the statutes and ordinances for the almshouse on two tablets, one within the chapel of the almshouse, and another in the chapel of Our Lady at the Abbey when it had been built. The ordinances were to be set in a convenient place so that the almsmen could refer to them and reflect on what their duties were to the King, in return for their care.⁵¹ The Abbot was responsible for reading the ordinances aloud to the almsmen yearly, or as often as needed.⁵² This rule coincides with the expectations of the other almshouse regulations but, at Ewelme the rules were to be read out three times a year and each month a few of the rules would be chosen randomly and read aloud to the almsmen,

⁵⁰ See Appendix *i. f.* 59v lines 17-20, p. 265. See introduction p.35, fn. 100.

⁵¹ This ordinance also suggests that Henry VII's almsmen could read.

⁵² See Appendix *i. f.* 51v lines 15-20, p. 260.

while at Whittington's almshouse the rules were to be read quarterly and a copy was to be made accessible for the almsmen and Tutor to read at their leisure.⁵³

Henry established a system of checks and balances whereby many people were held responsible for the care and administration of the almshouse. The Abbot had the total oversight of the almsmen, while the elected monk would have the oversight under the Abbot. If the Abbot was abroad, the prior of the monastery would then fill his place. In addition to the set hierarchy, once a week a steward was appointed from among the almsmen themselves. The most senior in admission to the almshouse was first to be responsible for the allocation of money for food and for the oversight of the other almsmen for one week. This duty was then handed down each week to the next almsmen in order of their admission into the almshouse. At Ewelme they too had an almsman with oversight of the other men but this duty was held for the year. He was responsible for presenting any faults of the other almsmen to the Master, ringing the almshouse bell, maintaining the grounds, and locking the gate at night. In return for his service for that year he was to be paid £3 9s. 4d. per annum, roughly 8s. a year more than the other almsmen who were to be paid £3 8d. per annum, similar to that of Whittington's almsmen. In England, generally, the average payment for an almsman was around 1d. per day to total £1 10s. 5d. annually.⁵⁴ This would have provided a small amount of meat, bread, and ale.⁵⁵ The Tutor at Whittington's almshouse was paid the same as the Minister at Ewelme, 16d. a week (1s. 4d.), while the almsfolk at Ewelme and Whittington's almshouse received 14d. a week (1s. 2d.), for their services. Every Saturday after Evensong in the monastery, Henry's almsmen would gather around the lantern place in the Abbey or around his tomb in the Lady Chapel once it was built and

⁵³ This also suggests that possibly Whittington's almsmen could read. The Ewelme statutes can still be read on two tables outside the almshouses.

⁵⁴ Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages c.1200-1520*, p. 253.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

receive their pay. They were to be paid at the rate of 4*d.* per day for the priest, totalling 2*s.* 4*d.* a week, and for the other twelve almsmen 2½*d.* a day for the week totalling 1*s.* 5*d.*⁵⁶ Henry's almsmen received one penny more a week than the Ewelme and Whittington almsmen; possibly a reflection of inflation between the dates of the foundations. One penny more a week might not appear to be a major discrepancy between the foundations, nevertheless, the differences in the qualities of life between the three houses becomes more apparent when looking at the other provisions Henry made for his almsmen.

The Ewelme and Whittington almsmen were provided with basic almshouse provisions such as single cell rooms, a bed, some light furnishings, a chimney and a communal privy and well.⁵⁷ The Master and Teacher at Ewelme would appear to have had grand living spaces which contained their own chamber, hall, kitchen, and garden. It must be emphasised that these two priests were not almsmen but members of the clergy who were being paid a considerable amount to oversee and run the foundation. Whittington's almsmen, including the Tutor, were given single cell dwellings and although the Tutor was given the responsibility of taking the annual inventory and had the oversight of the other men, his housing provisions were the same as theirs.

⁵⁶ For a more detailed account of expenses see Table 1.0 p. 73. See Appendix *i.* f. 41v lines 24-25, p. 254; f. 42r lines 7-13, pp. 254-255; f. 43v lines 15-20, p. 256; f. 44v lines 10-14, p. 257; f. 47v line 15, p. 258; f. 48v lines 16-19, pp. 258-259; f. 49r lines 5, 8-9, p. 259; f. 61v lines 16-18, p. 267; f. 62r lines 20-22, pp. 267-268; f. 74r lines 1-2, 8-10, p. 274. What the almsmen were actually paid will be discussed in chapter 4. In 1502, the average carpenter in London earned 4*d.* to 6*d.* a day including meals, whereas, a servant of one of these carpenters was making 2½*d.* a day including meals. Keeping in mind that the almsmen had a house, fuel for their fires, clothing and people attending on them this would have been a reasonable amount of money to pay for the little extras they may have wanted, James Edwin Thorold Rogers, *A History of Agriculture and Prices In England from the year after the Oxford Parliament (1259) to the Commencement of the Continental War (1793)*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1882), II, p. 618. By the late fifteenth century, labour services were valued at around 2½*d.* a day and probably not far off what they had been earning prior to their admission when considering that they were also provided a house, clothing, and food. Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 11.

⁵⁷ At Whittington's almshouse the men/women were to provide their own food out of their pensions, Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, p.34. Often, Whittington's almshouse received funds from the young men of the company who were paying off the interest on loans they had taken out for their trade. These funds helped augment the almsmen's diets and provided them with fuel for communal and personal use. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65. By 1611, Whittington's almspeople were being provided with dinner, and supper at nights, except on Friday, and they received an increase in their allowances. *Ibid.*, p.60.

The founding of single sex almshouses in many instances was the ideal but gender roles in the middle ages made this difficult because women were needed in male institutions to cook, clean the rooms and tend to the almsmen's needs. The almsmen at Ewelme had to take care of themselves, while at Whittington's almshouse, the almswomen, who were given a place, were entrusted with weekly duties such as dressing the meat and attending to the sick.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the number of women appointed to alms places was very inconsistent.⁵⁹ In such instances, where women were not present in the almshouse, Whittington's statutes specify that the almsmen who were in better health were required to assist the other inmates who were not. The overall design of Henry's almshouse was intended to create a comfortable life for its occupants. The men who were chosen for these positions had served the crown and court loyally and in return for their service received particular care. Three 'honest and sad' women, of 'good name and fame', and of 'good conversation' were thus employed to help look after the almsmen.⁶⁰ These women were to be at least fifty years old and they were responsible for dressing the meat and preparing the drink for the almsmen and themselves, washing their clothes, cleaning, and attending to the men in their sickness.⁶¹

Initially, the women were chosen by the King, and after his death this duty fell to the Abbot and Prior of the monastery. In return for their services the three women were to receive 16*d* weekly, which they were to be paid every Saturday after Evensong and they were also to be provided with shelter and food.⁶² This works out at just over 5*d*. weekly, for each almswoman and £1 2*s*. 11*d*. a year, per almswoman, a total, £3 9*s*. 4*d*. per

⁵⁸ Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, p.53.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.53.

⁶⁰ See Appendix *i*. f. 44v lines 10-20, p. 257; f. 49r lines 8-9, p. 259; f. 62r lines 10-22, pp. 267-268.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* For food see Appendix *i*. f. 74r lines 10-20, p. 274; f. 74v lines 3-20, pp. 274-275; f. 75r lines 1-5, p. 275.

⁶² For Almswomen's pay see Appendix *i*. f. 44v lines 10-14, p. 257; f. 49r lines 8-9, p. 259. According to the statutes they were to be provided with a room outside the almshouse near to the priest. Rushton assumes that they must have lived in existing housing in the courtyard east of the almshouse, Rushton, 'Spacial Aspects of the Almonry Site', p. 82. This will be discussed in chapter 3.

annum, all together.⁶³ According to the indentures the almswomen were responsible for the purchasing and preparation of food for the almsmen. Sharing the responsibility of oversight, the women supervised themselves on a weekly rota, beginning with the most senior almswoman according to her date of admission into the house. This woman was then referred to as the ‘caterer’ and was responsible for the purchasing and catering of the almshouse for the week, providing the almsmen with bread, ale, and other daily victuals. She was to receive the money for this on the Thursday before her duty week. The money allotted to the women was to be the same each week, and distributed by the steward. The other two women were to help in looking after the men and the preparation of the food, but it was the caterer’s job to purchase and have delivered all parcels of food for that week.⁶⁴ The women were also responsible for looking after the household drapery and utensils, which were to be kept in a chest in the chapel and an inventory was to be taken quarterly.⁶⁵ Both Ewelme and Whittington’s almshouses had a common chest where their common seals and jewels and other valuables belonging of the almshouse were stored. Henry provided the almshouse with an iron trunk to store the valuable belongings of the almshouse which was to be kept within the chapel, bound with an iron lock. This lock was to have three keys, one of which remained with the prior, the second with the monk, and the third with the priest of the almsmen. At Ewelme and Whittington’s almshouses an annual inventory was kept, and their valuables were to be kept in their common chest, similar to Henry’s, and each of the three keys at each institution was given to a different person so that no one person had more than one key within his possession. The personal belongings of deceased almsmen

⁶³ For the Caterer see Appendix *i*. f. 74v lines 1-3, pp. 274-75. See Table 1.0, p. 73 for more information regarding payments.

⁶⁴ For weekly food payments and preparations see Appendix *i*. f. 74r lines 10-20, p. 274; f. 74v lines 3-20, pp. 274-75; f. 75r lines 1-5, p. 275.

⁶⁵ Upkeep of utensils see Appendix *i*. 75r lines 18-21, p. 275; 75v lines 14, 20, p. 276; 76r lines 1-10, pp. 276-77. If the women were responsible for keeping inventories it can be assumed they must have been literate.

and almswomen were to be sold and used for maintenance, repairs, and renewal of the drapery and utensils.⁶⁶ Finally, the women were expected to attend to the sick. If one of the almsmen was too ill to join the men in the common hall for dinner, then it was the women's duty to take his food to his chamber. If an almsman was not hungry, or for some reason could not attend dinner, then his food was to be taken to his room for supper, and it would remain there throughout the evening. The women were always to ensure that the men and their rooms were clean, including their privies, sheets and bedding, and that they had enough food and drink in their rooms to keep them through the night.⁶⁷ It is apparent that the almswomen had many responsibilities within the almshouse, and since they were to be at least fifty years old, they may sometimes have found it difficult to carry out these duties.⁶⁸

Like the men, the almswomen were to be single, or widowed, and their personal income was to be less than £4 per annum. It is clear that the almswomen were not independently wealthy but, like the men, would have served or worked for the crown in some capacity. Since the indentures strictly forbade the almsmen from leaving the almshouse, the women were responsible for providing all the food stuffs needed. Every Thursday after dinner, the steward was to give the caterer 9s. 7½d., which was to cover all the cost of the food for the next week including delivery.⁶⁹ This works out to be 7½d. per man and 6d. per woman a week totalling £ 1 11s. 6d. per man per annum and £1. 5s. per woman per annum to total £25 6d. per annum spent on food altogether.⁷⁰ In

⁶⁶See Appendix *i*. f. 76r. lines 15-18, pp. 276-77. In the seventeenth century the funds from the common chest were also to help provide a proper burial, WAM, 5348. It is not clear in the surviving records for the sixteenth century whether the Abbey/Cathedral provided funds for burial or if these costs were covered by the common chest.

⁶⁷ See Appendix *i*. f. 44v lines 3-10, p. 257; f. 62r lines 19-20, pp. 267-68.

⁶⁸ The statutes do not record what is to happen if an almswoman became ill, and there are too many variables to make any assumptions.

⁶⁹ See Appendix *i*. f. 74r lines 10-20, p. 274; f. 74v lines 3-20, pp. 274-75; f. 75r lines 1-5, p. 275; f. 75v lines 8-12, p. 276.

⁷⁰ The daily food provision for each monk at Westminster Abbey was 7d. per day, Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, p. 36.

providing his almsmen with caretakers and food, Henry was distinguishing his almshouse from the two earlier foundations. The food provisions would have improved the quality of life of Henry's almsmen, and, when considering that they also were paid one penny a week more than Whittington and Ewelme's almsmen, the differences become clearer, nevertheless, inflation at the beginning of the sixteenth century was beginning to bite and thus may not have had a great impact on the quality of life.

Henry's statutes state that at dinner, directly after high mass, unless sick, the almsmen were required to sit together in rows of four, around the main table in the hall of the almshouse just as they did at Mass. Whittington's almsfolk were also to eat together but, as mentioned earlier, they were responsible for providing their own meals.⁷¹ At Ewelme the men were not required to eat or prepare food communally.⁷² Each of Henry's almsman were to receive at dinner a farthing loaf of bread, and a quart of ale costing a farthing, with as much 'cates' flesh or fish as the season required at the cost of a halfpenny.⁷³ 'Cates' was another way of saying provisions, dainties, or victuals distinguished from, and usually of better quality than, those made at home.⁷⁴ According to the indentures, the money was to be allocated as follows: 3½d. was to be spent on oats, most likely used in the pottage, 1d. on salt, 1d. on mustard, which was to be served with fish. At every dinner, each almsman was to be provided with a half

⁷¹ Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, p.19.

⁷² Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, p. 114.

⁷³ See Appendix i. f. 74r lines 10-20, p. 274; f. 74v lines 3-20, pp. 274-275; f. 75r lines 1-5, p. 275; f. 75v lines 8-12, p. 276. Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 57. In London in 1507 fifteen gallons of ale cost 1s. 6d. Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices In England*, p. 279.

⁷⁴ 'Cates', *Oxford English Dictionary*, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, 2 vols (Oxford, 1989), p. 984. Within the original foundation of St. Cross hospital, circa 1132-1136, Henry de Blois made provisions for his alms people to be provided 'sufficient food' including a loaf of wheaten bread of 3lb. 4oz, in gallon a half of good small beer, potage composed of milk called *mortrel* and wastebred, and a dish of flesh of fish for supper. F. T. Dollman, and J. R. Jobbins, *An Analysis of Ancient Domestic Architecture*, vol. 1 (London, 1861), pp. 9-11.

penny worth of meat or fish, or roughly one pound of meat.⁷⁵ The total spent on meat and fish would have been 6½d. a day or 3s. 9½d. a week, while the total spent on ale was 3¼d. per day on the almsmen and priest, to total 1s. 10¼d. a week and £4 18s. 10¼d. per annum. A quart of ale per almsman would total about 3.25 gallons of ale drunk a week and about 169 gallons drunk each year by the almsmen and priest. Medieval ale was drunk throughout the day and the alcohol level would have been similar to the modern day pale ale but with considerably more calories because of its thick porridge texture.⁷⁶ The monks at Westminster Abbey received a gallon of ale each a day and the total cost per annum is said to have been £100.⁷⁷ Dividing that total by the number of monks residing in the Abbey, fifty, the average spent on each monk on ale alone would have been £2 per annum, a little under half the budget for ale for the entire almshouse. The almsmen's farthing loaf of bread was most likely made of wheat and would have weighed at least two pounds.⁷⁸ This would total 3¼d. a day or 1s. 10¼d. a week spent on bread just for the almsmen and priest. Henry's statutes specify that payments to the bakers and brewers were to be made by the caterer within fifteen days of their services.⁷⁹ The overall total costs of all these food stuffs for just the almsmen and priest was 7s. 11½d. a week. If the almswomen were provided the same amount of food as the almsmen, which would have totalled 1s. 8d. a week, then the difference between the total money allocated for food, 9s. 7½d., and what was actually spent on the men 7s. 11½d., would have easily covered both the men and women's weekly food costs, leaving a remainder of 2d. which possibly was used for delivery fees or possibly

⁷⁵ The almsmen and women would not have just eaten herring but would have had a varied diet of fish. This figure has been worked out from a larger total provided by Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp. 68-69.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 37.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59, and Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 253. A two pound loaf of bread would have been good sized and maybe it is possible that the bread was used as a trencher.

⁷⁹ See Appendix i. f. 75v lines 8-10, p. 276; Caterer: f. 75v lines 10-12, p. 276.

inflation in food prices.⁸⁰ It has been calculated that each monk at Westminster Abbey c.1495-c.1525 was allocated 7*d.* per day, or 4*s.* per week for victuals alone, seven times the amount being spent weekly at the almshouse.⁸¹ Harvey's research shows that the diet of a monk at Westminster Abbey would have been comparable to that of the gentry or urban elite but she also suggested that the monks probably only consumed 60% of what was allocated to them.⁸² Even so, considerably more was spent on feeding the monks than on feeding Henry's almsmen and almswomen.⁸³

In most medieval households food often accounted for more than half the budget.⁸⁴ Most food stuffs were made within the household, particularly ale, bread and pottage, which was made up of oats, peas, beans and sometimes the dregs of what was left over in the kitchen. At Westminster Abbey their pottage even contained fish.⁸⁵ Pottage was a cheap and easy way of feeding many and was highly calorific so was often a primary source of food in an almshouse or distributed to the poor.⁸⁶ Although served daily at the Abbey, Harvey suggests that pottage was on its way out of the diet of the monks by the late fifteenth early sixteenth century and that their calorie intake was becoming more protein based.⁸⁷

It would appear that the majority of the calories the almsmen consumed came from carbohydrates, such as bread, ale and pottage. Meat, fish, beans and pulses would also

⁸⁰ In 1437-38 the Sherborne almshouse in Dorset, established for the deserving poor of the community, provided 7½ *d.* for food a day for each of the 12 almsmen and 4 almswomen. They were also given 6*s.* 8*d.* to cover the costs of gowns and were also given a house with a bed, Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 245.

⁸¹ Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, p. 36.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 64.

⁸³ The Warden of the Manors for Henry VII and Elizabeth of York lists the income and output for the memorial at Westminster Abbey. Within these accounts there is no mention of the Thursday payments the steward made to the almswomen for the funding towards food. WAM, 24236-24250. Possibly this expense came from another source and the documentation for those funds no longer survives.

⁸⁴ Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, pp. 55, 154.

⁸⁵ Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, p. 43.

⁸⁶ Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 55.

⁸⁷ Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, p. 43.

have contributed to their protein intake.⁸⁸ Barbara Harvey estimated that a modern day man the size, age, and activity level of one of the monks at Westminster would need to consume roughly 3,158 calories a day to maintain his weight.⁸⁹ In her research based on the monk's actual daily consumption of food the total calorie intake of a monk would have been 3,723, a difference of 565 calories.⁹⁰ Since the monks were on average moderately overweight to obese, this excess of calorie intake would have maintained that weight. Henry's almsmen and women were retired servants of the crown and their intake of food would have been considerably less during their service. Moreover, they would have been reasonably active in this service so one may assume that the men and women would have been of average to slim build. In the early sixteenth century, the average male's height was roughly 5'3" to 5'5" tall.⁹¹ A modern-day man, this same size, age and a sedentary lifestyle would need to consume about fifteen hundred calories a day to maintain a healthy weight.⁹² Based on Harvey's calorie consumptions differences between the required intake of a medieval monk and modern day man, Henry's almsmen would have needed a little more than 2,000 calories a day to maintain a healthy lifestyle. Since a farthing loaf of bread would have weighed about two pounds and contained roughly 2,000 calories, the almsmen could have survived on bread alone and the additional provisions of ale, pottage, and meat would definitely have been sufficient to maintain a healthy weight for the men and women.⁹³ Fish would have been

⁸⁸ Harvey estimates that the monk's diet was made up of 33.5% carbohydrates, 27% fat, 20.5% protein, and 19% alcohol. This was based on the fact that they only consumed 60% of what was allotted to them. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, pp. 64-65.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁹¹ Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, pp. 316-17.

⁹² This figure was based on a man who was 5'5" tall and weighed roughly around 125 to 130 pounds. http://www.freedieting.com/tools/calorie_calculator.htm. [date accessed: December, 2009].

⁹³ Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages c.1200-1520*, p. 253 (weight of bread), pp. 297-98 (type of bread), p. 153 (number of calories). The women, of course, were performing more laborious jobs and would have needed more calories than the men, but taking into consideration that the women were smaller than the men and women's calorie intake is much less, this calorie intake would have been sufficient to maintain a healthy weight.

served at least twice a week, on Fridays and Saturdays and, in some institutions, also on Wednesdays unless fasting for Lent.⁹⁴ As for the other days, pork would have been the easiest and longest lasting meat provided and could also have been kept as livestock in the almsmen's stable and barn to help supply fresh meat through the winter and also keep food costs down.⁹⁵ Dyer however suggests that pork had become unfashionable and meats such as beef and mutton had become the primary staples.⁹⁶

According to the statutes, it would appear that the almsmen ate well, with a reasonable variety of good and wholesome foods.⁹⁷ Along with the almshouse, stable and barn, the almsmen were provided with a two gardens.⁹⁸ One of the gardens was for their pleasure and the other it can be assumed was used to produce at least the basic food stuffs such as onions, leeks, garlic, cabbage, and possibly apples and pears, making a valuable contribution to the diet of the almsmen and once again keeping down the cost of food.⁹⁹ If, by chance, an almsman required more food than had been provided, the 'caterer' was responsible for the purchasing and purveying of this for the almsman, but he was to pay for it with his own money.¹⁰⁰ Most medieval almsfolk would have either received funds for food or would have been provided food rations, mostly bread and pottage.¹⁰¹ The total amount spent on meals each week at Henry's almshouse was considerably more than what the almsfolk of Whittington and Ewelme received as their

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59, 154. For site information see the building plans in chapter 3. Chickens were also possibly kept in the almsmen's barn and stable but because they are smaller and would have only needed a shed to live in it can be assumed that the almsmen's barn and stable were not just used for keeping chickens.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁹⁷ After the Black Death, c. 1350 the medieval diet began to change. People linked the illness with the lack of meat or protein within their diet and began to balance their protein consumption with what they were consuming in carbohydrates. *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 160.

⁹⁸ Both Whittington and Ewelme almshouses' had gardens.

⁹⁹ These fruits and vegetables would have been found growing in the average peasant garden. *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix i. 74r lines 15-20, p. 274.

¹⁰¹ Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, pp. 58, 154.

weekly salary.¹⁰² It is clear that they lived on very little when considering this money was to cover the cost of food, fuel and any other required provisions.¹⁰³

According to Henry's indentures the almsmen were to receive 80 quarters of good coals, which would have cost approximately 52*d.*¹⁰⁴ This coal was to be used in their rooms, and in the hall and kitchen.¹⁰⁵ The almsmen were also to be provided with one thousand "good and able faggots" which would have cost roughly 7*s.* 4*d.*¹⁰⁶ These shipments of wood and coal were to be delivered yearly in the last week in October.¹⁰⁷ The fuel allowance was to cover the communal usage of the almsmen and also their personal usage. Where and how this fuel was to be divided is not clear in the indentures, but, within the Warden's Accounts for the Manors of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, it would appear that the almsmen received approximately £3 1*s.* 8*d.* each year to cover the cost of wood, carbon/coal and carriage.¹⁰⁸ The cost of heating and lighting for the average household would have been less than 4% of the total expenditure per annum.¹⁰⁹ Although it took 13.7 faggots to bake a loaf of bread and ten faggots to brew 100 gallons of ale, the statutes state that the bread and ale were to be purchased from a local baker and brewhouse and paid within fifteen days of service, so it is clear that the fuel was not being used in the kitchen for bread and ale, or at least not much of it was being

¹⁰² The weekly amount spent on food at Henry's almshouse was 7½*d.* per head, while the weekly pay for the almsmen at Ewelme was 1*s.* 4*d.* and Whittington's was 1*s.* 2*d.*, which would have provided at least a farthing loaf of bread and ale per day.

¹⁰³ Whittington's almshouse sometimes received bequests or outside funds from the company to supplement their diet, but the statutes clearly state that the almsmen were to provide their own food from their pensions, Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, p. 34. Henry's almsmen's payments for food appear to be pretty standard. In 1437-38, the 12 almsmen and 4 women at Sherborne in Dorset received 7½*d.* per week for food, 6*s.* 8*d.* For clothing and a new bed annually, Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 245.

¹⁰⁴ This was to cover all of the almsmen's needs in the almshouse. It is to be assumed from the price that this refers to a quarter of a tonne. In London c.1506 twenty-seven quarters of coal cost 4½*d.* Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices In England*, pp. 265-66.

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix *i.* f. 45r lines 5-15, pp. 257-258; f. 62v lines 1-8, p. 268.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix *i.* f. 45r lines 5-15, pp. 257-258; f. 62v lines 1-8, p. 268. In 1503, at King's College in Cambridge 1000 faggots cost 7*s.* 4*d.*, Rogers, *Agriculture and Prices In England*, pp. 265-66.

¹⁰⁷ The second week before the feast of All Saints Day.

¹⁰⁸ WAM, 24236-24250, 28043. This works out to be roughly 4*s.* 8*d.* per almsman. More detailed accounts of fuel payments will be given in chapter 4.

¹⁰⁹ Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 73.

used for this purpose.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, cooking the almsmen's meat, fish, and pottage would have used some of the fuel. The almsmen's chapel would also not have been heated, nor the Lady Chapel within the Abbey. The only areas which would have used the fuel would have been the common hall for dinner and the almsmen's personal houses. It can be assumed that because the men were in the common hall for such a short period of the day that most of the fuel allowance would have been used in the almsmen's houses. Fuel was a product that fluctuated in price each year depending on its availability and quality. Faggots were often measured in units of 100 made up of brushwood, rods, and sticks, measured to the same size and would set light quickly and burned quite hot.¹¹¹ By the sixteenth century charcoal was becoming more popular than coal and wood, and in fact, charcoal was the preferred fuel allowance given to Westminster Abbey's corrodians.¹¹² In London, in the early fourteenth century the average bundle of 100 faggots cost approximately 4s.¹¹³ By the mid-fourteenth century, a short bundle of 100 faggots was said to have sold for 4s.¹¹⁴ It can be assumed that Henry had not foreseen the possibility of sixteenth century inflation and that he believed his fuel provisions suitable.¹¹⁵ In the inventory taken at Ewelme, February 1455, it was recorded that there was 4*d.* worth of wood within the almshouse common chest.¹¹⁶ This does not seem to be very much; hence it can be assumed that Ewelme's almsmen were

¹¹⁰ James A. Galloway, Derek Keene and Margaret Murphy, 'Fuelling the city: production and distribution of firewood and fuels in London's region, 1290-1400', *Economic History Review*, 49 (1996), 447-72 (p. 469). Payments to the baker and brewer see Appendix *i. f.* 75v lines 8-12, p. 276. The ale was most likely purchased from the Abbey's brewhouse.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

¹¹² Harvey, *Living and Dying in England*, p. 202.

¹¹³ Galloway, Keene and Murphy, 'Fuelling the city', pp. 457, 451, fn. 35.

¹¹⁴ Galloway, Keene and Murphy, 'Fuelling the city', pp. 457, 451, fn. 35.

¹¹⁵ The income from the manor and advowson of Chesterford in Essex, which was purchased as an endowment property to support Henry's memorial at Westminster Abbey, came from the sale of wood. Possibly, the almshouse received its wood from this endowment land and that is why a fixed sum to be spent on wood and coal is given, just the amount to be delivered. See Appendix *i. f.* 45r lines 5-15, pp. 257-58; *f.* 62v lines 1-8, p. 268; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 149.

¹¹⁶ Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, p. 268.

expected to provide their own fuel out of their weekly salaries.¹¹⁷ Once again it is apparent in the foundation indentures that Henry wanted to found an almshouse that was on a completely different scale to the earlier foundations. He not only provided them with spacious dwellings and a healthy diet, but he also gave them fuel and paid them a more generous weekly salary than the two earlier foundations.

A characteristic provision made for almsfolk was the allocation of communal gowns. These gowns were to be worn by almsmen to distinguish them from the other poor, and to remind all who saw them of their particular role. The almsmen and women of Henry VII were to have a long gown and hood, made from three yards of brown russet.¹¹⁸ Whittington's and Ewelme's almsmen also wore brown russet gowns and while Whittington's would appear to be quite plain, the almsmen at Ewelme were to have a hood and tabard with a red cross. The priest of Henry's almsmen also received a gown and hood, but his gown was made up of four yards. Three yards would have provided enough cloth for at least two garments so it can be assumed that the gowns were quite a generous length.¹¹⁹ The cost of the cloth was estimated at 3s. per yard, and every gown was to be lined with black 'fryse', a heavy napped woollen cloth commonly used for gowns, and was to have a 'Scochyne' or escutcheon (badge) embroidered: a crowned red-rose which was to be sewn onto the left shoulder of each gown, at a cost of 20d. per gown.¹²⁰ Brown russet and black fryse would appear to have been popular and inexpensive materials used in gowns of this kind. The price for the cloth Henry had allocated for the gowns would have been a little above the average for such an inexpensive woollen product, but this probably does not mean that it was to be of a

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 268. Whittington's almsmen were not provided with fuel in the foundation but were often given bequests of fuel, Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, p. 34.

¹¹⁸ See Appendix *i*. f. 42r lines 15-23, pp. 254-55; f. 44v lines 15-20, p. 257; f. 62r lines 10-22, pp. 267-68.

¹¹⁹ Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 78.

¹²⁰ See Appendix *i*. f. 42r lines 15-23, pp. 254-255; f. 44v lines 15-20, p. 257; f. 62r lines 10-22, pp. 267-268.

higher quality.¹²¹ According to the indentures, the cost of the almsmen and women's gowns was 10s. 8d. per gown and the priest's 13s. 8d., amounting to £8 spent annually on the gowns for all the inhabitants of the almshouse.¹²² It can be assumed that, because the almsmen participated in religious ceremonies each day, the gowns were to be worn daily, and because new gowns were to be given each year at Easter and on the feast of All Saints, this suggests that they would have needed replacing and therefore were not just worn four times a year at special remembrances. The illumination in the initial letter of both indentures shows the almsmen wearing the gowns.¹²³ The statutes for the Ewelme and Whittington's almshouses do not give any details about the cost, length nor lining of their almsfolks' gowns, which again highlights another difference between the quality of life Henry provided for his almsmen compared with that of the other two earlier foundations.¹²⁴ It is also possible that because Henry's almsmen had a more ceremonial role, their gowns were more important to the founder and were perceived as a representation of him after death.

On special holidays, and remembrances such as Michaelmas and Easter the almsmen would receive additional alms; no more than 2d. each for their participation in the services.¹²⁵ The memorial celebration for Elizabeth of York was held on the 11 February, and while Henry VII was still alive, he celebrated his own memorial on this day. Several of the almsmen were given or appointed the responsibility of holding the torches around the tomb during the service, there were to be twenty-four torches each of which weighted twenty-four pounds and they were paid an additional 6d. for this

¹²¹ Fryse can also be spelt fresse, frisium and also frieze, Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 79.

¹²² More information regarding the actual costs of gowns will be given in chapter 4.

¹²³ See title page for image of almsmen in their gowns.

¹²⁴ For comparison chart see Appendix ii. pp. 278-86.

¹²⁵ *CCR (1500-1509)*, p. 143.

service.¹²⁶ The indentures laid down that there were to be additional ceremonies held at Westminster Abbey, while the King was alive. These services were to be held once a week and fell upon the same day of the year as the anniversary memorial of Elizabeth of York, i.e. if her anniversary fell on a Tuesday, then on Tuesday of each week there was a special service held for Elizabeth. For participating in these additional ceremonies, the almsmen were to receive an additional 1*d.*¹²⁷ After Henry VII died, his official memorial celebration was held on 11 May, unless that day fell on a Sunday in which case it would be celebrated on the preceding Saturday.¹²⁸ The almsmen were paid 2*d.* to hold the torches for the celebration, in addition to their weekly salary, as a part of the Abbey's obligation to provide alms for the poor.¹²⁹

In total, the almsmen would each have received about £4 per annum prior to the King's death and about £3 17*s.* 2*d.* after his death.¹³⁰ The decrease in income is due to the amalgamation of celebrations for both Henry and Elizabeth, so that the weekly celebrations for the late queen no longer took place, hence reducing the weekly income of those that were participating in her services. These totals correlate with the almsmen's requirements for qualification; not to have personal wealth beyond £4 per annum.¹³¹ If they became wealthy, or if they came into any property, then the Abbot or prior was required to remove the almsman and elect another in his place. If an almsman's wealth upon entry exceeded £4 per annum, then he was required to relinquish the excess of these funds. Henry's almsmen were expected to be solely dependent upon the alms provided by the Abbey and the King's memorial. The almsmen at Ewelme and Whittington's were also restricted as to how much they were

¹²⁶ *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 143.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹³⁰ See Table 1.0, p. 73.

¹³¹ It must be recognised that this is only what the statutes had stipulated and possibly not what happened in reality.

allowed to earn beyond their annual stipend. In both almshouses they were not to receive a private income above six marks a year and if they were to receive a single sum exceeding five marks, then that money would be divided equally, one half going to the common chest and the other to the individual almsman. The priest of Henry's almsmen on the other hand was not restricted to £4 per annum and would have been able to earn an additional £6 6s. 1d. during the King's life and, after his death, £6 2s. 6d.¹³² The average spent on wages for the almshouse memorial, including the priest, almsmen, women and the monk, before and after the King's death would have been roughly £60 per annum. The amount spent on wages per annum at Ewelme was around £60, of which £20 was spent on the salaries of the two priests.¹³³ The wages spent each year on Whittington's almsmen totalled about £40 but they did not have a priest or monk.

Table 1.0 Almsmen's Wages.¹³⁴

Weekly Wage	2½d. a day totalling 910d. per annum (£3 15s. 10d.)
Torches	6d. twice yearly after the death of Henry VII totalling 12d. (1s.)
Additional Alms Anniversary	1d. twice yearly after the death of Henry VII totalling 2d.
Michaelmas	1-2d. depending on the duties during the services.
Easter	1-2d. depending on the duties during the services, plus a gown.
Obits	1d. weekly during the life of Henry VII 50d. (4s. 2d.) This figure does not include the anniversary weeks.
Total and Women	The overall total before Henry's death would have been roughly £4 per annum and after his death the total would have been just less than that, roughly £3 17s. 2d. *The women received 15d. a week, i.e. 5d. per almswoman a week. The overall total each woman received in a year was £1 2s. 11d.

¹³²At Henry's Savoy Hospital, the master with the oversight received a stipend of £30 per annum, while the chaplains received £4 per annum, similar to Henry's almsmen's wages after remembrances and holidays. The priests of the Savoy earned £3 6s. 8d. per annum which was roughly what the almsmen made a year before special occasions and remembrances after Henry's death. Reddan, 'The Hospital of the Savoy', *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, p. 182.

¹³³ See Appendix ii. pp. 278-86.

¹³⁴ See Appendix i: Payments: ff. 59r-76v, pp. 264-77.

All three almshouse statutes specifically state that no infectious men or women were to be admitted into the almshouses. They then address what should happen if an inmate fell ill. In Henry's almshouse the sick man was to remain within his almshouse and would be attended by the almswomen until he either recovered or died. He was required to seek a pardon from the priest for his failure to attend mass, and if excused, he would still be able to receive his wages, and his meals would be brought to him in his almshouse. This policy even applied to the priest, regardless of his inability to perform his duties. If and when one of the almsmen departed, died or was removed from the almshouse, his portion would be divided equally amongst the other almsmen. The founders of both Ewelme and Whittington's almshouse made provisions for the poor men who become too ill to maintain themselves: they were relocated to a more suitable location where they would still receive their stipend and were considered a member of the brotherhood until their deaths.

The statutes for Henry VII's almshouse are much more specific about the daily ordering of the life of the almsmen than the earlier almshouse statutes leaving no room for deviation or misinterpretations on the part of the overseers. In fact, a large part of the bipartite indentures addresses the specific prayers to be said in the almshouse chapel, and in the Lady Chapel of Henry VII, once built, and the times at which the almsmen were to attend these services and prayers, see in Table 1.1 and 1.2.¹³⁵ The additional prayers said in each almshouse were roughly the same, only differing in quantity and location. Whittington's almsmen were to say privately three *Salve Reginas* and three *Our Fathers* beside their beds in the morning, while Henry's were to join together in their common chapel and say *Salve Regina* and then the psalm of *De*

¹³⁵ See Table 1.1, p. 76 and Table 1.2 p. 77.

profundis clamavi before entering the Abbey for the first morning mass.¹³⁶ But the structure of their days was similar. The almsmen in all three houses attended three masses in the morning and Evensong in the afternoon. Each almshouse had a bell which was to be rung before each service.¹³⁷ Henry's was hung in the chapel of the almshouse. The purpose of the ringing of the bell was not just to remind the almsmen to attend their services but was also intended to remind others outside of the almshouse when they heard the bell, to say prayers for the founders. The responsibility of ringing the bell in Henry's almshouse was divided amongst the almsmen. At Ewelme the duty was given to the annually-elected almsman called the minister. Whereas in Henry's almshouse the duty of ringing the bell began with the almsman most recently admitted into the house. Henry's bell ringer was responsible for the ringing of the bell for one week and in response to the bell ringing the men were expected to be in the chapel before the last bell had finished.¹³⁸ If an almsman was unable to fulfil his duties within the almshouse, such as the ringing of the bell, he was expected to pay another almsman from his own money, at the rate of a $\frac{1}{2}d.$ for every day the other almsman had replaced him.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ See Appendix *i.* f. 42v lines 1-5, p. 255; f. 64r lines 1-23, p. 270; f. 64v lines 1-14, pp. 270-71; Prayer, times or services, almsmen's places, and illness see Appendix *i.* ff. 65r-76v, pp. 271-77.

¹³⁷ One of Henry's three chantry monks was to ring one of Westminster Abbey's bells before services and was paid £1 6s. 8d. a year for their service. *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 142.

¹³⁸ See Appendix *i.* f. 63r 17-23, p. 269; f. 70v lines 6-9, p. 272; f. 71v lines 18-19, p. 273. There is no other reference to the bell being rung throughout the day.

¹³⁹ See Appendix *i.* f. 63r 17-23, p. 269; f. 70v lines 6-9, p. 272; f. 71v lines 18-19, p. 273.

Table 1.1 Time Table for the Almsmen.¹⁴⁰

6:00	First bell rung.
6:15	Second bell rung.
6:30	Final morning bell and almsmen in almshouse chapel.
7:00	In the Lady Chapel. (First chantry mass, 50-60 minutes to say psalms)
8:00	In the Lady Chapel (Second chantry mass 50-60 minutes)
9:00	Almsmen attend High Mass. (Third chantry mass, 50-60 minutes)
10:00-2:30	The almsmen return to the house for dinner.
2:30	Bell rung to remind men for Evensong.
2:45	Bell rung again
3:00	Evensong (In the Abbey 30-40 minutes, no sermon, Anthem or Psalm of Virgin Mary in Lady Chapel and an additional <i>Placebo</i> and <i>Dirige</i> and on special occasions and anniversaries a requiem mass.)
3:40-6:30	Men return to almshouse for quiet contemplation. Supper in common hall.
6:30	Last bell is rung for final prayer service in the chapel (20 minutes)
7:00	Return to their houses for bed.

¹⁴⁰ See Appendix *i*. ff. 59r-76v, pp. 264-77 or *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 151-52.

Table 1.2: Weekly Mass Time Table for Henry's Almsmen:¹⁴¹

First Chantry Mass 7:00am (Honor of the Virgin)*

Henry VII chantry monks:

Sunday: Assumption
Monday: Annunciation
Tuesday: Nativity
Wednesday: Conception
Thursday: Purification
Friday: Visitation
Saturday: Commemoration

Almsmen: The almsmen's priest says matins, primes and hours. Each of the almsmen will say the whole *Psalter of our Lady*.

Second Chantry Mass 8:00am*

Henry VII's chantry monks: *Requiem Mass*

Almsmen: Those that could say the seven Psalms and Litany while the others repeat the *Psalter of our Lady*.

High Mass 9:00am**

Sunday: Mass of the Holy Spirit [or Trinity]
Monday: Mass of Angels
Tuesday: Mass of the Holy Ghost
Wednesday: Mass of *Salus populi* (fish may be served)
Thursday: Mass of *Corpus Christi* (steward gave the 'caterer' money for food stuffs)
Friday: Mass of the Name of Jesus (fish served)
Saturday: Mass of the Commemoration of Our Lady. (fish served, salary distribution)

*= Mass said by Henry VII's chantry monks.

**= Mass said by the Almsmen's priest.

The life of an almsman began at six o' clock when the first bell of the almshouse was sounded, and was rung again at quarter past and finally at half past six. Henry followed the bell-ringing practice of Ewelme, but at Whittington's almshouse there is no reference to a bell ringer. This is perhaps because of the close proximity of the almshouse to his College of priests so their lives may have been regulated by the College bell. Henry's almsmen and priest were to rise and enter the almshouse chapel by half past six, where they were to say five *Pater Nosters*, five *Ave Marias*, and one

¹⁴¹ CCR (1500-1509), pp. 140-46, 151-52.

Apostles Creed.¹⁴² At Ewelme and Whittington's almshouse the almsfolk were to pray while kneeling besides their beds rather than in a chapel. From the chapel Henry's almsmen were to leave in pairs, starting with the youngest in order of admission, followed by the other almsmen and finally the priest. Once inside the Abbey the almsmen were to enter the Lady Chapel, once built, or gather under the lantern before the chapel's completion, sitting or kneeling around the tomb, six at either side with the priest at the west end. Ewelme's almsmen attended services at St. Mary's church opposite the almshouses, and Whittington's men proceeded to the College church of St Michael Paternoster. Once sitting or kneeling, Henry's almsmen were to attend three chantry masses, the first beginning at seven o'clock and the second at eight o'clock and the third at nine o'clock.¹⁴³ After the three chantry masses the almsmen could either return to the almshouse or remain in the chapel. The first two chantry masses were to be led by Henry VII's three chantry monks, see Table 1.2 for themes and daily services.¹⁴⁴

Whilst listening and participating with the chantry monks, the almsmen and the almsmen's priest were to say additional prayers, see Table 1.2.¹⁴⁵ According to the indentures, during the first two morning masses the almsmen were to listen to the Priest say the matins, primes and hours, and each of the men was to say the whole Psalter of Our Lady.¹⁴⁶ During the second mass, *Requiem Mass*, the almsmen were to say as many of the seven Psalms and Litany as they could, while those who could not were to repeat the Psalter of our Lady. After the third and final mass, High Mass, which was to be lead by the almsmen's priest, the almsmen were to return to the almshouse precinct

¹⁴² At Ewelme they said three *Pater Nosters*, three *Ave Marias*, and three *Apostles Creeds* but not in their own chapel but kneeling beside their beds, Goodall, *God's House Ewelme*, p. 232; *CCR* (1500-150), p. 151.

¹⁴³ See Appendix *i*. f. 42v lines 1-5, p. 255; f. 64r-76v, pp. 270-77.

¹⁴⁴ Table 1.2, p. 77.

¹⁴⁵ Table 1.2, p. 77.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix *i*. ff. 64r-76v, pp. 270-77. This would appear to be that treadmill of prayer services, Carole Rawcliffe, 'The Hospitals of Later Medieval London', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), 1-21 (p. 12).

and sit together in their common hall around the common table in the same order as they were in the Lady Chapel, to say grace and eat. After the dinner the men would say the psalm *De profundis clamavi* and then retire to their rooms. At half past two, the almsmen's bell would be rung again to remind the men to attend Evensong at three o'clock within the Abbey. At the service the men were to say the anthem of *Our Lady* and the *De profundis clamavi*.¹⁴⁷ It is not clear if these prayers were to be said during, after, or in conjunction with, Evensong. After the service the almsmen were to retire to their rooms for private contemplation. At half past six the almsmen's bell would be rung for its final time that day to remind the almsmen to come to their almshouse chapel and say the anthem *Salve regina* and recite aloud:

God save the King our sovereign lord and founder King Henry the Seventh and have mercy of the soule of the moste excellent Princes Elizabeth late quene of England his wife and of the soules of their children and of their issue and of the progenitours and auncestours of the same King our sovereign lord and all Christen soules'; or after the King's death 'God have mercy upon the soule and of Elizabeth...'¹⁴⁸

After attending the final prayers for the day the men were to return to their rooms for quiet contemplation and sleep. It is not clear whether the men received their 'supper' in their chambers before or after their final service in their chapel, only that they were to receive this meal in their chamber, unlike their dinner which they were to eat together in their common hall.¹⁴⁹ This schedule, of course, varied between the almshouses and was adapted for special remembrances and saints days. Although routine based, many of the specific details of the services were quite personal to the founders. For instance,

¹⁴⁷ See Appendix *i*. ff. 71r-76v, pp. 272-77. The *CCR* says they were to attend Evensong and say the Psalter of our Lady. *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 152.

¹⁴⁸ *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 152.

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix *i*. f. 75r lines 5-10, p. 275; f. 75v lines 1-3, 14-16, p. 276.

Henry VII's patron was the Virgin Mary, and his first mass of the day was based upon different episodes of the Virgin story. He also chose the Psalter of our Lady as the basic prayers the almsmen were expected to say daily if they could not perform the other services, see Table 1.2.¹⁵⁰

The remainder of the text of Henry's second indenture focuses on additional alms which were to be distributed to the poor on special anniversaries, such as Michaelmas and the anniversary of the King's death, at the Abbey and across the realm. Monetary rewards were to be provided to anyone who participated in prayers for the King or attended his anniversary masses, and although the almsmen were already obliged to participate in these services, they were to receive additional pay for their attendance at these special remembrance ceremonies.¹⁵¹

So, the actual time table for the almsmen's structured prayer was at best an all day occupation with short breaks after the three morning masses, see Table 1.1 and 1.2.¹⁵² Each almsman was obliged to maintain these observances in return for shelter and care. The only exception was in the case of sickness or feebleness, when the almsmen had to demonstrate that they were sufficiently incapacitated, and they were then responsible for letting the Abbot or prior, minister, or tutor know in advance.¹⁵³ If they had not given sufficient proof of illness, they were either warned, stripped of their stipend or finally, if not reformed, they would be expelled.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ Table 1.2, p.77. There are no special directions in Whittington's statutes, nor in the Ewelme statutes that specify which patron saint they were to be associated with only that they participate in divine services and the daily matens held within their churches, Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, p. 115, and Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, p. 244.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix *i*. f. 51v lines 4-15, p. 260; ff. 64r-76v, pp. 270-77.

¹⁵² Table 1.1, p. 76 and Table 1.2. p. 77.

¹⁵³ See Appendix *i*. f. 64v lines 14-22, pp. 270-71; f. 75v lines 4-6, p. 276.

¹⁵⁴ The statutes for both Whittington and Ewelme's almsmen state that if an almsman becomes infectiousy ill they are to be removed from the houses and found a suitable place to live and receive their stipends. Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, p. 118, and Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, p. 248.

The running costs for Henry's almshouse would have been approximately, £85 per annum which covered the cost of food and the salaries of the monk, priest, almsmen and women. The assumed cost for the almshouse fuel per annum is 11s. 8d. and the known cost of the all the almsmen and women's gowns is £8 a year, which added together with the known costs would total approximately £94 a year.¹⁵⁵ Considering the fluctuating price of fuel, the overall running costs would have probably been closer to £100 per annum. This total does not include the maintenance of the building because this cost was to be met by the sale of the belongings of deceased almsmen. The overall running costs for Ewelme (£60 per annum) and Whittington's (£40 per annum) almshouse were in comparison much less because they were only providing a weekly stipend and a gown to each of its almsmen and overseers. Even wealthy merchants or nobles could not afford to fund projects on the same scale as the King.¹⁵⁶

The magnitude of Henry's preparations, and the intentions for his funeral and memorial were not only codified in the indentures, but were reiterated in his will. By 1504, the almshouse had been completed, and it was fully functioning as an almshouse chantry by the time Henry died in 1509. The Lady Chapel, on the other hand was still being completed and so Henry chose to reiterate his intentions and wishes for his memorial at Westminster Abbey within his will.

iii. The Will of Henry VII and his Memorial

Henry VII's codified indentures (c.1502) and final will (c.1509) must be considered together in order to understand, the creation and completion of the memorial at

¹⁵⁵ St. John's Hospital in Cambridge, founded in the late twelfth/early thirteenth century and re founded by Henry's mother Lady Margaret Beaufort was said to have spent, in 1484-85, £5 per annum on fuel, a mere 7% of its total running costs which were said to be about £72 per annum. Possibly, Henry drew inspiration from his mother's re foundation of St. John's Hospital in Cambridge, Dyer, *Standards of living in the later Middle Ages*, p. 70.

¹⁵⁶ Not even Cardinal Beaufort, one of England wealthiest medieval church men could afford to fund his almshouse of Noble Poverty.

Westminster.¹⁵⁷ Like icing on a cake, the will was the finishing touch to a plan that had begun a decade before.¹⁵⁸ Henry VII's will is only one of four medieval royal wills to have survived in the original.¹⁵⁹ The final revised will, written in Latin, is dated 31 March, 1509, three weeks before the King's death. Very much like the indentures, the thirty-seven page manuscript is embellished with large initial letters, and Tudor symbols. Unfortunately, the original will has suffered damage as a result of time, damp, and poor restoration. The estimated folio size for the original text must have been around 264mm x 240mm.¹⁶⁰ The script itself is legible although sections appear less clear due to the silk screening and age of the parchment. Mildew and other environmental factors have also affected the legibility of the text along with primitive archival preservation. The text is written in English, and the script is in half uncial, with good spacing between letters, words, and lines. The ink is a brownish-black colour but has most likely faded over the years. A full transcription of the text has been available since Thomas Astle's edition of the will which he published in 1775.¹⁶¹ An abridged version of the text was provided in the *Calendar of Close Rolls of Chancery* published in 1963.¹⁶² In 2003, Margaret Condon published an important article 'The Last Will of Henry VII: Document and Text' in which she not only analysed the document, but also provided a full translation.¹⁶³

In a similar manner to Henry's almshouse indentures, his will follows a common format. There is nothing out of the ordinary other than the fact that the will is many

¹⁵⁷ Henry VII's will: TNA, E23/3.

¹⁵⁸ The history and preservation of Henry's will plays an important role in the overall story of the almshouse and for the best overview and study of the will see Condon, 'The Last Will of Henry VII', pp. 112-40.

¹⁵⁹ For information regarding the history of the will see: Condon, 'The Last Will of Henry VII', pp. 99-140. Henry VII's will: TNA, E 23/1-4. The other three royal wills were those of Richard II, Henry V, and Henry VIII. Condon, 'The Last will of Henry VII', p. 101.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

¹⁶¹ Thomas, Astle, *The Will of King Henry VII* (London, 1775).

¹⁶² *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 138-55.

¹⁶³ Condon's, 'The Last will of Henry VII', transcription is preferred to that of Astle's not only because of its accessibility but also for its insights into the history and content of the will.

times longer than most other wills of its time. The first section of the will focuses on Henry's funeral arrangements. These observances, as mentioned earlier, were also mentioned in the statutes and ordinances.¹⁶⁴ Some of Henry's arrangements were on a massive scale: 10,000 masses were to be said for the remission of his sins throughout the Kingdom: 1,400 masses in honour of the Trinity, 2,500 in honour of the Five Joys of Our Lady, 450 in honour of the Patriarchs; and 600 in honour of the Twelve Apostles. After the number and types of prayers were established, the King set out the plans for the location of his tomb, which was to be placed in his new chapel at Westminster Abbey. Henry's will refers directly to the statutes already established for the King's memorial, reiterating his wishes for the chapel and almshouse, and also the final codification of his plans at Westminster. The will of Henry VII does not provide any new information about his intentions for his almshouse, but reinforces the magnitude of the whole memorial project and its importance to the King.

v. Conclusion

Henry established an almshouse at Westminster Abbey to house poor deserving servants of the crown. It would appear that medieval charity had already been moving in that direction, especially at Westminster Abbey, i.e. it was becoming more discriminating against the undeserving poor, and institutions that once catered to all poor were becoming more restrictive as to who received care. It is also clear that the planning of the foundation was important to the King. Much thought went into its design from the poor who were to be catered for, the location of the buildings, and the rules and regulations the almsmen were to follow. These plans were not only set out in

¹⁶⁴ CCR (1500-1509), pp. 140-46, 151-52.

Henry's will but also in the memorial indentures which were drawn up on the grandest of scales and using the highest quality materials.

Almshouse foundations were precarious institutions to endow because there were often extra costs which could not be met out of the original endowments causing many to fail. Richard Whittington's almshouse in London and William and Alice de la Pole's almshouse at Ewelme were the prototypes for successful almshouse foundations and Henry's statutes were clearly influenced by them; nevertheless, there were major differences between the almshouse foundations especially when it came to the quality of life provided by the founders for their almspeople. Henry not only provided his almsmen with food, fuel but he also gave each man a gown and a spacious house made up of two rooms, a fireplace and a privy, along with employing three 'good and honest' almswomen to cook, clean and look after the almsmen. The almsmen of Ewelme and in Whittington's foundation were living in single celled rooms and lacked many of the luxuries Henry VII had provided his almsmen and women.

Every aspect of Henry's almsmen's daily life was laid out meticulously within the indentures leaving no room for misinterpretation. The statutes of both Whittington and Ewelme, although very comprehensive, lack the depth of detail which Henry's statutes provide. For instance, Henry's statutes gives the type, and lengths, of the material to be used in the almsmen's gowns along with the exact amount to be paid per yard together with details of the embroidered badge which was to be sewn onto the left shoulder. The earlier statutes mention that their almsmen and women were to be provided a gown which was to display the symbol of its founder but they do not give any more details regarding the lining, size or cost of the gowns. The almsmen and women of Whittington and Ewelme's foundations would have been considered respectable poor people of their communities who deserved support. Henry's almsmen and women were not only

respectable individuals but they were also ‘honourable’ ones, set above all other contemporary almshouse foundations.¹⁶⁵ Loyal members of the Court continued to petition for almsmen’s places throughout the sixteenth century because it was prestigious to be of the chosen few who received care.¹⁶⁶ The almshouse building itself would have stood out against the old stone buildings of the Abbey and Almonry and the annual running costs were more than double that of Whittington’s almshouse and just less than double that of Ewelme’s.¹⁶⁷ Henry was able to provide such comparative luxuries for his almsmen and women because of the large endowment he left the Abbey for his memorial. Chapter two will examine the endowment Henry VII provided for his memorial. It will look at the properties given by the King and at those which Abbot Islip purchased with the funds Henry had left him for this purpose.

¹⁶⁵ After the completion of the Henry’s almshouse at Westminster c.1504 the King gained possession of the patronage of the Ewelme almshouse which had been confiscated with the de la Pole property. Goodall, *God’s House at Ewelme*, pp. 120-21.

¹⁶⁶ See chapter 4.

¹⁶⁷ This difference in annual running cost could be inflation in the sixteenth century, see John Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England*, 2 edn (London, 1986) pp. 10-12.

Chapter 2

The Endowment for Henry VII's Memorial at Westminster Abbey

i. The Logistics of an Endowment

‘The perpetual chantry foundations of the late Middle Ages were probably the single most important objects of patronage in the period.’¹ Institutions, such as a chantry almshouse, served several different purposes; they functioned not only as a place of perpetual memory and patronage but were also symbols of power and importance which supported a loyal retinue and created a legacy where the founder’s family could continue to be provided with prayers in the hope of spiritual reward.² The initial investment when founding a chantry almshouse was great and was often a financially precarious adventure, especially when trying to gauge the appropriate level of endowment, which would have to cover both the initial building costs and provide an income for repairs and for the maintenance of inmates and their living arrangements, along with funding the salaries of those participating in the chantry services and all the supplies needed for these ceremonies. One of the reasons for the failure of almshouses as chantries was inadequate endowment, leaving many almsmen to fend for themselves once the monies ran out.³ Both Richard Whittington’s executors and William and Alice de la Pole took great care when founding and endowing their almshouses.⁴ In both these cases, the founders supplied their institutions with a substantial endowment of lands and

¹ John Goodall, *God’s House at Ewelme: Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 2.

² In addition to providing prayers for the founder, the additional chantry priest or alms people would support the parish church by helping to sing the liturgy and teach the parishioners writing, grammar and singing religious songs and stories, Peter Cunich, ‘The Dissolution of the Chantries’, in *The Reformation in English Towns 1500-1640*, ed. by Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 159-74 (p. 163).

³ Henry VII’s great uncle Cardinal Beaufort’s almshouse, The House of Noble Poverty, founded at St. Cross in Winchester was underfunded and mismanaged, eventually causing it to downsize from his grand foundation and become a part of the already existing almshouse and hospital at St. Cross. Peter Hopewell, *Saint Cross England’s Oldest Almshouse* (Chichester, 1995). See introduction and chapter 1.

⁴ See chapter 1.

also created contingency funds in case some of these properties were no longer able to support the needs of their foundation.⁵

Establishing an almshouse was a complicated matter. Decisions such as location were often not straight forward. Most foundations were associated or connected to a religious institution of which the founder was often a patron. This of course did not always work, even for a King; for instance, Henry VII's original intention had been to establish his memorial at Windsor.⁶ When these plans fell through, Westminster became his final resting place. Once the decision about location was settled, the land would then have to be purchased, a building licence obtained, builders and materials found and the house built. Once the physical memorial was built the ideology had to be established, usually expressed in the statutes and ordinances for the foundation. Then it was necessary to find a good, competent and trusted administrator/s to observe and implement the statutes in order to meet the founder's expectations and finally, to identify the right type of 'poor person' to inhabit the establishment. Along with these major tasks there were also other tasks, such as procuring supplies and furnishings for the almshouse, obtaining fuel, clothing, and food provisions. A more intangible but important objective of the statutes was to decide how the souls of the benefactors were to be remembered. The establishing of a chantry almshouse was a major undertaking and if not properly endowed, all this effort and planning would be in vain.

This chapter looks at Henry VII's endowment for his memorial at Westminster Abbey. Barbara Harvey has provided an analysis of Henry VII's endowment of the almshouse based on the Warden's Accounts for the Manors of Henry VII and Elizabeth

⁵ John Goodall, *God's House at Ewelme*, pp. 1-23, 257-69; Jean Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington: A history of the Trust administered by the Mercers' Company 1424-1966* (London, 1968), pp. 16-37.

⁶ Margaret Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 60.

of York preserved in Westminster Abbey Muniments.⁷ In her work Harvey considers the accounts from the perspective of how they fit into the larger picture of endowments at Westminster Abbey during significant points in its history. Her analysis of Henry VII's endowment looks primarily at the early years of the foundation of the almshouse in the years 1500-1504 and again at the Abbey's final years before its Dissolution, specifically the year 1535, in order to gauge the value of the original endowment and how it had increased or diminished over three decades.⁸ Nevertheless, embedded in the Warden's Accounts for Henry VII's memorial there are more detailed records for the income and expenses on the entire memorial endowment from 1500 to 1535, and although not complete, there is enough information to provide a good understanding of the endowment from year to year up to the time of the Abbey's Dissolution.⁹ This chapter will study the first ordinance in the bipartite indentures found in BL Harley MS 1498 and then make use of all the surviving accounts between 1500 and 1535 to assess how far Henry VII's intentions were realised in practice. These sources will be used to analyse how the endowment was first established, how the monies collected were being spent year by year and, finally, how successful the original endowment was in providing for Henry's memorial in the first thirty years of its existence.¹⁰

⁷ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 198-202, 399-426. The Office of Manors of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York was overseen by Abbot John Islip. Barbara Harvey, *The Obedientiaries of Westminster Abbey and Their Financial Records, c.1275-1540* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 165-68.

⁸ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 198-202; Harvey, *The Obedientiaries of Westminster Abbey and Their Financial Records*, pp. 165-68.

⁹ WAM, 24236-24250, and 28043. These documents are dated 1502-1506 and then there is a gap but they start again in 1515 and continue to 1519 with another brief gap and begin again in 1523 to 1524 and then 1531-1533. It can be assumed that the missing years have been lost. Altogether, there are eleven documented years that span over thirty years.

¹⁰ See Appendix i. *Abridged Transcription of BL Harley MS 1498* (Section B) ff. 52v-56r, pp. 260-64.

ii. The Sources

The first indenture of the bipartite indentures (specifically folios 52 verso to 56 verso) sets out Henry's intentions and provisions for the endowment of his memorial.¹¹ According to Condon's research, the manuscript itself was written shortly after the endowment had been settled so the information provided was not speculative but records the actual valuations of what was gifted by the King, what had been spent by the Abbey, and what the Abbey received in return for their purchases.¹² This section of the indenture is written in two parts; the grants of land made by the King, and then the lands purchased by Abbot Islip with the monies Henry VII had provided for this purpose.¹³

The second source used in this analysis is the series of Warden's Accounts for the Manors of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. These documents cover the first thirty three years of Henry's memorial at Westminster Abbey.¹⁴ Within this collection there are two different types of accounts; the Abbot's annual accounts and the Receiver's annual accounts.¹⁵ There are eleven rolls in total for the Abbot's Accounts between the years 1502/3 and 1532/3, only missing the years between 1506-1515, 1519-1523, and 1524-1531. The first section of the Abbot's Accounts addresses the endowment lands and their income. On the left side of each account the properties are listed in roughly the same order from year to year, stating whether it is a manor, a free chapel, an advowson or rectory. Along the right side of the accounts the total annual income for each property is given. The second section of the Abbot's Accounts lists the total monies spent on the

¹¹ See Appendix *i*. ff. 52v-56r, pp. 260-64.

¹² Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 62.

¹³ This information is relevant because it sets out Henry's intentions and used with the other sources one can provide an indication of whether or not Henry's foundation was successful in its original intentions.

¹⁴ WAM, 24236-24242, 24244, 24246, 24248-24249, 24243, 24245, 24247, 24250, and 28043 are a series of rolls written on parchment varying in length but all measuring just over a foot wide apart from WAM, 28043 which has been put together in a book format. In most instances the hand is quite legible and written in Latin with some French and English when the scribe may not have known the Latin name or term. There are subtle variations in the spelling of each property but for the most part the documents always list the properties in the same order and only occasionally stray from this format.

¹⁵ The Abbot's Accounts: WAM, 24236-24242, 24244, 24246, 24248-24249. The Receiver's Accounts: WAM, 24243, 24245, 24247, 24250, 28043.

memorial for a given year.¹⁶ The order of this second section is less formulaic over the course of the thirty years but the majority of the accounts list the amount paid to the Abbot for maintaining the memorial, including the monies spent on candles and the poor, the annual stipend of the almsmen and women, the cost of the almsmen and women's gowns, followed by a section for miscellaneous expenses including monies spent on the almsmen's fuel, the income and stipends for Henry's three Oxford scholars and, finally, the monies spent on the students of Elizabeth late queen of Henry VII (studying at Cambridge).¹⁷

The second group of documents found within the Warden's Accounts are the Receiver's Accounts. These only survive for the three years 1515-1518 and provide a list of properties and their annual income together with the name of the person who made the payment for each individual property. The Receiver's Accounts do not list the monies spent on the memorial, nor do their totals always coincide with those in the Abbot's records. The discrepancies between the two types of accounts vary from year to year, neither one of them being consistently up or down from its counterpart.¹⁸ Moreover, the Receiver's Accounts also list the income from a number of different properties which are not listed or accounted for within the Abbot's Accounts.¹⁹ One explanation for this may be that some properties were consolidated within the listed manors recorded in the Abbot's Accounts. It is also possible that certain properties had

¹⁶ See Appendix v. *Expenses for Henry VII's Memorial at Westminster Abbey, Warden's Accounts 1502-1533*, pp. 293-94. This section will be discussed in chapter 4.

¹⁷ See Appendix v. pp. 293-94.

¹⁸ See Appendix iii. *Warden's Account Chart 1502-1533*, WAM, 24236-24242, 24244, 24246, 24248-24249, pp. 287-91, and Appendix iv. *Receiver's Accounts for Henry VII's Memorial*, WAM, 24243, 24245, 24247, 24250, 28043, p. 292. Between the dates 1515-16 and 1516-17 the difference between the two records for those years show that the Abbot collected approximately £20 more per year than the receiver, but in 1517-18 the receiver's accounts show £20 more than the Abbot's Accounts.

¹⁹ See Appendix iii. pp. 287-91 and Appendix iv. p. 292. Random property incomes listed in the receiver accounts are; Elsenham which was part of the purchase of Pinchpol and Bullington but was listed separately in the Receiver's Accounts (see Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p.425), and Wickham which was part of the purchase of Plumsted and Boarstall but was listed separately in the Receiver's Accounts (see Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 426).

been allocated to the memorial for a particular year to help make up for income loss from other allocated properties but were not granted to the memorial long-term. Nevertheless, the information found within the Receiver's Accounts will be used alongside the other sources to assess the financial success of the overall endowment.

There are discrepancies between the two main sources; i.e. between the endowment incomes listed in the indentures and those that appear in the Warden's Accounts. For the sake of clarity, Table 2.0: *Indentures vs. Warden's Accounts* lists all the endowment incomes that appear in both source.²⁰ An X is shown next to the endowment income if it appears in the specific source shown at the top of the column. Endowments shown with an asterisk are auxiliary revenues that contribute to a larger endowment income. It is clear that both sources show information appropriate to their purpose, nevertheless, the source that is most relevant for this study is the Warden's Accounts because they show what actually occurred financially every year.

²⁰ See Table 2.0, pp. 92-93.

Table 2.0: Endowment of Henry VII's Memorial at Westminster Abbey: Properties Listed in the Indentures (BL, Harley MS 1498 ff. 52r-56v) and the Warden's Accounts (WAM, 24326-24250, 28043).

Endowment income	Indentures	Warden's	Endowment income	Indentures	Warden's
St. Martin le Grand [K]	x	x	Lessnes** [I]	x	
Hoddesdon Priory * [K]		x	Great Chesterford [I] manor	x	x
Newwerk in Good Easter*[K]		x	Burton Stather and Halton [I]	x	x
Fawkeners* [K]		x	Brodewaters [I]		x
Burghs [Bowers]* [K]		x	Remyhnam [I]		x
Passellouse [Paslowes]* [K]		x	Fenne and Skreyne [I]	x	x
Tolleshunt*[K]		x	Boston*** [I]	x	
Keton* [K]		x	Skirbeck*** [I]	x	
Cowpes* [K]		x	Fishtoft*** [I]	x	
Imbers*[K]		x	Butterwick*** [I]	x	
Norton Newerks* [K]		x	Bennington*** [I]	x	
St. Andrew's in Good Easter* [K]		x	Sibsey *** [I]	x	
Bassingbourn* [K]		x	Alkborough*** [I]	x	
Crishall [Chrishall]* [K]		x	Belchford*** [I]	x	
Newport Pound* [K]		x	Winterton*** [I]	x	
Whitham [Witham]* [K]		x	Theilby*** [I]	x	
Crassing* [K]		x	Hailbalested*** [I]	x	
Luffield Priory [K]	x	x	Barnaby*** [I]	x	
Playdon besides Rye [K]	x	x	Eirby*** [I]	x	
Tikehill [K]	x	x	Conysby*** [I]	x	
Swaffham Market [K]	x	x	Cresseby*** [I]	x	
Stanford-in-the-Vale [K]	x	x	Emmote*** [I]	x	
Uplambourn [K]	x	x	Dymmyngton*** [I]	x	
Pleshey [K]	x	x	Oswald Beck Soke [I]	x	x
Great Chesterford rectory [K]	x	x	Southloke**** [I]	x	
St. Brides in London [I]	x	x	Wheteley**** [I]	x	
Fulham		x	Stretton**** [I]	x	
Boundfeld		x	Southleverton**** [I]	x	
Pinchpol and Bullington [I]	x	x	Fenton**** [I]	x	
Clavering [I]	x	x	Coton *** [I]	x	
Ugley [I]	x	x	Clarburgh**** [I]	x	
Langley** [I]	x		Wellum**** [I]	x	
Berdon Wicken** [I]	x		Moregate**** [I]	x	
Manewden** [I]	x		Ernley**** [I]	x	

Endowment income	Indentures	Warden's	Endowment income	Indentures	Warden's
Fernham** [I]	x		Wyston**** [I]	x	
Clecheden** [I]	x		Wodehouse**** [I]	x	
Henham** [I]	x		Litelburgh**** [I]	x	
Elsenham** [I]	x		Tewkesbury Abbey [I]	x	x
Plumsted** [I]	x	x			

*Subsidiary property of St Martin le Grand

** Subsidiary properties of Pinchpol, Bullington, Clavering and Ugley

*** Subsidiary properties of Fenne and Skreyne

**** Subsidiary properties of Oswald Beck Soke

[K] = Granted by Henry VII

[I] = Purchased by Abbot Islip

iii. Funding the Endowment of the Westminster Memorial

Henry VII had originally intended that his memorial should be established in the Lady Chapel of St. George Chapel in Windsor.²¹ In 1501, work on the chapel and tomb had already begun. Henry had obtained papal bulls in 1494 and 1498 outlining his intentions which demonstrated that he had acquired a sufficient endowment to support a hospital or almshouse outside the walls of Windsor castle.²² When the Windsor plans fell through the location of the memorial was changed to Westminster Abbey and the formal indentures had been drawn up by the 7 July 1502.

In December 1502, the Treasurer of the King's Chamber recorded the transfer to the Abbey of a lump sum of £30,000 for the purchase of lands for the memorial at Westminster Abbey.²³ In addition to this transfer of money, thirteen pairs of trussing coffers were purchased at the time probably to hold this large sum of money.²⁴ It is assumed that this money was to cover the costs of the building of the chapel and

²¹ See chapter 1.

²² Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 60-61; *Feodera, Conventions, Literae et cujuscumque generis Acta Publica etc.*, ed. by T. Rymer, 3rd edn. 20 vols (1735-45), XII, pp. 563-66; Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, pp. 308-15.

²³ Individual purchases were recorded continuously as outgoings in the King's books, Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 67.

²⁴ Exchequer records for 1500-1506: BL, Additional MS 7099 (draft) and BL Additional MS 59899, f. 7v, Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 67.

almshouse together with purchasing the endowment properties to help maintain the memorial.²⁵

According to the indentures, £5150 of the £30,000 was given to Abbot John Islip specifically for purchasing manorial estates for the endowment.²⁶ On top of this money, between 1500 and 1504 Henry had given the endowment a number of spiritual incomes. There was no particular strategy employed in purchasing the properties for the endowment except that the total annual value should supply the Abbey with the necessary funds to support the entire memorial. It is clear that Henry wanted to have the endowment of the memorial established before he died: perhaps to give him peace of mind for his security in the afterlife.

This urgent need for a suitable endowment made the Abbey look for property well outside the area in which it had normally held land. The memorial endowment consisted of manors scattered from Yorkshire to Essex, together with free chapels, church advowsons, corn tithes, land rents and tenements.²⁷ Although Abbot Islip was responsible for purchasing the additional properties, it is probable, considering the speed of acquisition, that the King assisted the Abbot in this task. Moreover, several of the people who sold properties to Abbot Islip owed the King money, or were trying to buy favour to return to the Court. These men were George Neville, lord Bergavenny,²⁸

²⁵ Margaret Condon suggests that it is likely that this lump sum of money was reserved and chested for distributions over the next few years, Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 67.

²⁶ The indentures were written after the endowment had been settled so the estimated total value and monies given were actually what the King contributed and not just an estimate. BL Harley MS 1498 f. 54r lines 1-5; *CCR (1500-1509)*, pp. 148-49; and Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 199. In 1503 an abbreviated quadripartite indenture was drawn-up between the King and John Islip reminding Islip of his responsibilities to the memorial. WAM, 14650.

²⁷ See Fig. 2.0. p. 97. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 200.

²⁸ George Neville, third Baron of Bergavenny [c.1469-1535] was a close family relation to the King through his wife Elizabeth of York and helped Henry VII defeat the Cornish uprising in Blackheath in 1497. He was a member of the King's council but fell out of favour shortly after this land purchase in 1506 because of his illegal retainer of over 470 dependants. Henry VII fined the baron the extortionate amount of £100, 000 and prohibited him from travelling to many parts of the country but once the King died Henry VIII cancelled his fine, granting him pardon and bringing him within his own royal council, Alasdair Hawkyard, 'George Neville', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/19935?docPos=4>. (accessed May 2010).

Sir John Cutte,²⁹ William Esyngton³⁰ and Maurice, Lord Berkeley.³¹ Barbara Harvey has provided a list of all the properties given to, and purchased by, the Abbey to fund the many chantries and the services they held for Henry VII.³² Using the information given in the bipartite indentures for Henry VII's memorial, the Warden's Accounts for Henry VII's memorial (1502-1533), and entries in the *Close Rolls* and the *Patent Rolls* it has been possible to reconstruct a list of the endowment properties that provided for the entire memorial, i.e. not just the chantries and services, and their value during the first thirty years of the memorial's existence.³³ In the indentures for the memorial, the endowment lands were divided into two groups; those granted by the King as a gift and those purchased by the Abbot.³⁴ Although the bipartite indentures follow this division of the endowment, the Warden's Accounts order the income based upon the types of endowment, for example manors, free chapels or prebends, although this ordering is not always followed.³⁵ The overall endowment consisted of ten manors, three free chapels and two advowsons, ten prebends, two parsonages, ten rectories, three land rents, and

²⁹ John Cutte was a royal servant and a citizen of London. His wife's name of Elizabeth was also included on the property grants to the King's memorial, WAM, 5211. Probably he is the John Cutte, fishmonger, who had entered the Fishmonger's guild but may not have been an active member in London. In the early years of Henry VII's reign John served as a commissioner of the peace in Yorkshire and Essex. By 1508, it would appear that he relocated from the north to the southeast of England where he was referred to as one of the King's councillors and the sub-treasurer of the exchequer, and he was also one of the King's executors. *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London, Letter Book L, Edward IV-Henry VII*, ed. by Reginald R. Sharpe (London, 1921), p. 316; *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 63, 66, 313, 589, 313, 639, 667, and 669, Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 84.

³⁰ Not much is known of William Esyngton other than he was a gentleman with large amounts of land in Lincolnshire, and that he served in the Commissions of the Peace in Huntingdonshire. *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 375, 644; *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 101, 149, 160.

³¹ Maurice Berkeley was the brother of William Berkeley [1426-1492] and came from a long line of landed gentry who, over the years, due to the lack of male heirs had lost much of their family's wealth and property. Although Maurice was not the sole heir of the Berkeley clan nor was he responsible for the family losing its favour in the Court, he must have felt obliged to sell his land to help repair the damages suffered by his brother William's settlement after his skirmish in 1470 during Edward IV reign at Nibley Green with Thomas Talbot, Viscount Lisle, where Lisle met his end. Rosemary Horrox, 'William Berkeley', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/50216?docPos=2>. (accessed August 2010).

³² See Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 399-412.

³³ *CPR* (1494-1509); *CCR* (1500-1509). See Appendix *iii*, pp. 287-91 and Appendix *iv*, pp. 292; for charts and expenses see Appendix *v*, pp. 293-94, and for transcription of BL, MS 1498 ff. 52v – 56r see Appendix *i*, pp. 260-64.

³⁴ See Appendix *i*. Gifted: ff. 52v-53v, pp. 260-61; Purchased: ff. 54r-56r, pp. 262-64.

³⁵ See Appendix *iii*, pp. 287-91.

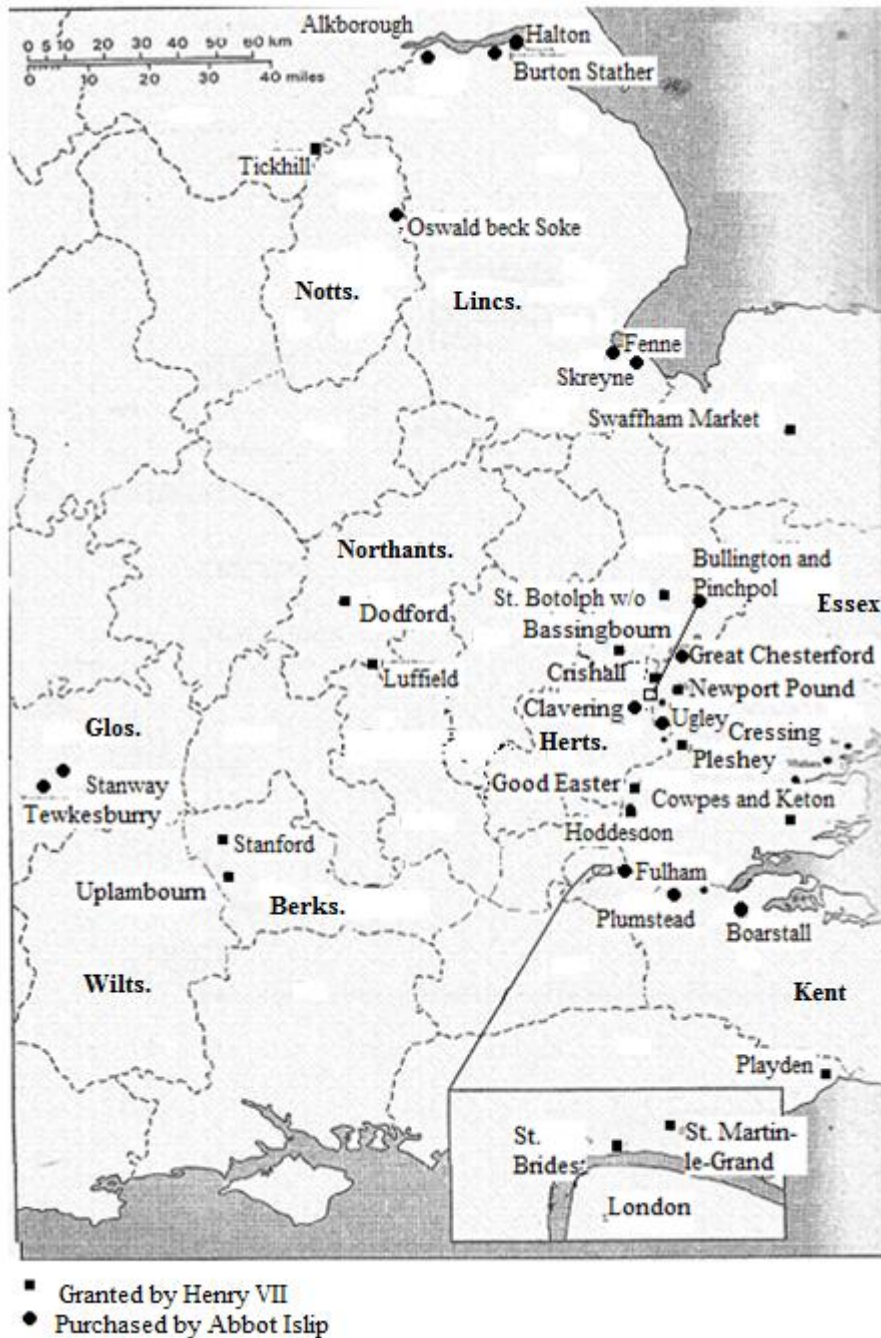
one corn and wool tithes.³⁶ There is nothing distinctive about these types of income nor is it unusual to have such a random collection of endowments.³⁷ What is unusual is how broadly scattered across the country these endowment lands were and how many of the larger landed endowments were found well outside areas in which Westminster Abbey had a previous interest.³⁸

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ St. Martin-le-Grand before being assigned to the memorial at Westminster was a functioning and lucrative establishment with a number of different types of income, secular and non-secular. See Minnie Reddan, 'The Collegiate Church of St. Martin Le Grand', in *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Matthew Davies (London, 2007), pp. 196-206.

³⁸ See Fig. 2.0 p. 97.

Fig. 2.0 Map of Endowment Lands for Henry VII's Memorial at Westminster Abbey c.1500-1530.³⁹



³⁹ Black dots represent locations of endowment incomes. This map has been adapted from Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 474.

*iv. Endowment Properties*⁴⁰

Section A: Spiritual Properties Granted by Henry VII

In 1500, the advowson of the church in Stanford-in-the-Vale located in the diocese of Salisbury in Berkshire was given by Henry to his endowment for his memorial with a licence to appropriate, provided that a vicarage was ordained.⁴¹ The value of the rectory in 1504 was £28 per annum but in 1535 it was worth only £26. 13s. 4d.⁴² From year to year this property brought a steady income for the memorial but its total worth did vary.⁴³ The overall estimated value of the property based upon the Warden's Accounts was just over £22 per annum and amounted to just over 4% of the average total annual income of the endowment.⁴⁴ Also in the diocese of Salisbury in the county of Berkshire the free chapel located in Uplambourn was given by the King in 1501 valued at £6. 13s. 4d. per annum.⁴⁵ Although only contributing to 1% of the overall endowment income, this free chapel was valuable to the endowment because of the consistency of the income.⁴⁶

In 1503 Henry VII also gave his memorial the advowson of the free chapel of Playdon Hospital located in the Diocese of Chichester in Sussex.⁴⁷ This land was not formally appropriated until 1521 but its annual income of £10 remained the same as it

⁴⁰ Although the structure of listing the memorial income here is based around the indentures, Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91 lists the properties based upon their types of income to help make the information clearer, i.e. all the properties associated with St. Martin-le-Grand have their own chart, as do the manors, and the religious incomes and rents.

⁴¹ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 410; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 148; *CPR* (1494-1509), p. 201; Appendix *i*. f. 53r lines 6, 17, p. 261.

⁴² Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 410; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 148; *CPR* (1494-1509), p. 201; Appendix *i*. f. 53r lines 6, 17, p. 261.

⁴³ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁴⁴ This amount was taken from the total income over the thirty years divided by nine (the number of recorded income). See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁴⁵ WAM, 6634; Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 411; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 148; *CPR* (1494-1509), p. 245; Appendix *i*. f. 53r lines 6, 17, p. 261.

⁴⁶ It brought in a steady income for ten of the eleven years documented and only fluctuating in its worth between the years 1504-1506 when it worth documented to be £6. 3s. 6d.. See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁴⁷ Appendix *i*. f. 53r lines 8, 19, p. 261.

had been at the time of the original grant until to 1535.⁴⁸ Over the thirty years documented in the Warden's Accounts, the advowson of Playdon provided one of the most consistent incomes for Henry's memorial; never missing a payment nor did its income vary.⁴⁹ Although Playdon only contributed to 2% of the overall income its consistency would have been seen as a valuable asset.⁵⁰

In 1503, Henry VII gave the endowment the dissolved Benedictine Priory of Luffield in Buckinghamshire.⁵¹ The properties that belonged to the priory stretched across Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Buckinghamshire with rectories in Dodford, Northampton, and Buckingham.⁵² Luffield Priory provided one of the largest sources of income for the endowment and maintained a consistent source of revenue up to the Abbey's Dissolution.⁵³ The overall income from Luffield Priory amounted to £616 over the thirty some odd years, averaging around £44 per annum and accounted for 8.6% of the total income for the endowment.⁵⁴

Also in 1503, Henry VII gave to the endowment the free chapel in Pleshey Castle located in the diocese of London in Essex.⁵⁵ This property was valued at £6 per annum but in 1535 its recorded worth was only £3 12s. 6d..⁵⁶ The income from the free chapel in Pleshey varied from year to year although over the thirty years it averaged the

⁴⁸Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 403; *CPR* (1494-1509), p. 303; *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 148-49; Appendix *i*. f. 53r lines 8, 19, p. 261.

⁴⁹ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-291.

⁵⁰ For more information about Playdon see Gillian Draper, *Rye A History of a Sussex Cinque Port to 1660* (Chichester, 2009).

⁵¹Luffield Priory had originally been a part of the Windsor endowment but was transferred to Westminster Abbey when the memorial was moved. The land and new Bull was finally granted by 1503 and by this date it was contributing to the income of the new endowment. See Appendix *i*. f. 53v lines 2-5, p. 261.

⁵² The valuation for this property was not individually given but considered a part of the entire Luffield gift which was said to total £40 per annum in 1503. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 404-05; *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 304, 375-376; *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 148-49. See Appendix *i*. f. 53v lines 2-5, p. 261 and also see Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁵³ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁵⁴ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91. For an overview of Luffield see David Smith, *Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 1377-1540*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 2008), II, pp. 49-50.

⁵⁵ Appendix *i*. f. 53r lines 7-8, 19, p. 261.

⁵⁶ WAM, 6634; Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 409; Appendix *i*. f. 53r lines 7-8, 19, p. 261.

expected £6 per annum, contributing 1% to the overall endowment. Pleshey appeared in ten out of the eleven accounts that still survive and although its contribution was less than the free chapel in Playdon.⁵⁷

Sometime between 1502 and 1503 the King gave his memorial the rectory of Swaffham Market in Norfolk.⁵⁸ This property was valued at £40 per annum but it would appear that by 1504 the rectory of Swaffham Market was worth only just over half this amount and by 1535 was estimated to be worth only £22 per annum.⁵⁹ Like many of the other properties Henry granted the memorial, the income varied from year to year. Nevertheless, Swaffham Market rectory contributed just under 4% per annum to the overall income for the memorial.

In 1503, the free chapel in Tickhill Castle, in Yorkshire, was given by the King to his memorial at Westminster Abbey valued at £40 per annum, but by 1535 its value had risen to £45 per annum.⁶⁰ According to the Warden's Accounts, this property yielded one of the most consistent incomes and generated one of the largest sources of finance for the endowment.⁶¹ The income generated from this one property over the thirty years was approximately £535, which represented nearly 8.6% of the overall income for the entire memorial.⁶²

Henry also granted his memorial the Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-Grand in 1503 which, according to the indentures, included the rectories of St. Botolph without

⁵⁷ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁵⁸ Appendix *i*. 53r lines 5, 16, p. 261 also see Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁵⁹ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-291. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 410; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 148; *CPR* (1494-1509), p. 378 also see Appendix *i*. f. 53r lines 6, 18, p. 261.

⁶⁰ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 412; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 148; *CPR* (1494-1509), p. 304; See Appendix *i*. f. 53r lines 4-5, 16, p. 261 also see Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁶¹ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁶² This total has been calculated by taking the overall income of Tickhill over the thirty years documented and compared to the entire memorial total income over the thirty years. Both Tickhill and Uplambourn, mentioned earlier, were granted by letters patent in 1503 to the Abbot of Westminster. This patent included a free chapel in Tickhill, an advowson in Uplambourn and the free chapels and advowsons along with parcels of land within Pleshey Castle in the county of Berkshire. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 412; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 148; *CPR* (1494-1509), p. 304.

Aldersgate in the diocese in London, St. Andrew's Good Easter, Newerk in Good Easter, Newport Pound, and Whitham all located within the Diocese of Ely in Cambridge.⁶³ This grant also included the chapel of Cressing, the rectory of Crishall, and prebends/clergy stipends of the churches Cowpes, and Keton (diocese of London), along with all the other possessions of the church of St. Martin-le-Grand.⁶⁴ For some reason, within the Warden's account there are a number of incomes, properties and spiritualities that formed a part of the St. Martin-le-Grand endowment and were listed separately.⁶⁵ These incomes were from a corn and wool grab tithe at Hoddesdon Priory, the prebends in Fawkeners, Burghs, Paslowes, Tolleshunt, Imbers, Norton Newerks, and a rectory in Bassingbourn.⁶⁶ There are also a number of tenements in London and elsewhere that do not appear in the indentures or the Warden's Accounts that are associated to the endowment/funding of St. Martin-le-Grand.⁶⁷ Barbara Harvey suggests that St. Martin-le-Grand was the largest of the property grants for the endowment with a total value of £343 per annum in 1535.⁶⁸ This total however includes the costs of maintenance of the secular canons within the college, approximately £170 per annum.⁶⁹ According to the Warden's Accounts, the average estimated total value of

⁶³ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 403; See Appendix *i*. f. 52v lines 8-19, p. 260; f. 53r lines 1-4, p. 261; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 148. These rectories minus St. Botolph without Aldersgate have been listed separately from St. Martin-le-Grand in the Wardens Accounts, see Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁶⁴ The value of this property in 1535 was £42 16s. 8d. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 403; See Appendix *i*. f. 52v lines 8-19, p. 260; f. 53r lines 1-4, p. 261; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 148.

⁶⁵ These incomes are shown as subsidiary incomes for St. Martin le Grand in Table 2.0, pp. 92-93.

⁶⁶ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91. WAM, 13313: A list of incomes for the college circa 1505. For more information regarding lands relating to St. Martin-le-Grand see Reddan, 'The Collegiate Church of St. Martin-le-Grand', pp. 196-206, and Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 408.

⁶⁷ These were a pension of 6s. 8d. from St. Katharine Coleman, 20s. from St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, 60s. from St. Nicholas Shambles and the advowsons of St. Agnes, St. Leonard Foster Lane, St. Alphage, and a chapel in Bonhunt. Along with these spiritualities there were also several manors known to be a part of the endowment/funding of St. Martin-le-Grand but not mentioned in any of the funding documentation for Henry VII's memorial. These manors are located in Paston, Mashbury, Maldon and North Benfleet. See Reddan, 'The Collegiate Church of St. Martin Le Grand', pp. 196-206.

⁶⁸ Barbara Harvey must have been looking at the overall income of St. Martin-le Grand before its basic maintenance costs. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 408, fn .7; See Appendix *i*. f. 52v lines 8-19, p. 260; f. 53r lines 1-4, p. 261. Total gifted: see Appendix *i*. f. 55v lines 12-19, p. 263; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 148.

⁶⁹ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 408, fn .7.

St. Martin-le-Grand to the memorial over the thirty years documented, including the separately listed incomes was roughly £168 per annum.⁷⁰ If one adds to this the total costs for maintaining the canons the amount is approximately £338, only five pounds short of the original estimated value. It can be assumed that the other properties/incomes that belonged to St. Martin-le-Grand that are not mentioned in the indentures or the Warden's Accounts were used to supplement the income of the canons there and did not go towards funding the memorial at Westminster Abbey.⁷¹

The total average annual income from the King's gifted spiritual properties was approximately £323, see Table 2.1.⁷² The total overall income from both gifted and purchased spiritual properties was approximately £597 per annum.⁷³ This would make the King's gifted properties worth approximately 54% of the total income for the endowment each year. All of Henry's gifted endowments for his memorial were spiritual incomes.

⁷⁰ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁷¹ This would agree with Minnie Reddan's estimated valuation of these other properties.

⁷² According to an interim agreement between the Abbot and the King in 1502 the estimated worth of these gifted lands was £385 6s. 7d. WAM 6634. See Table 2.1, p. 103.

⁷³ See Table 2.1, p. 103. There is a discrepancy of £27 between the total average income of all the properties from Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91 and Table 2.1 because the averages from Appendix *iii*. were taken individually each year and for each property and then added together, whilst the average from Table 2.1 was taken from the overall average income from each of the properties over the eleven years documented. For the sake of this analysis Table 2.1 will be used for the analysis of this section.

Table 2.1 Total Average Income gifted by Henry VII and purchased by Abbot Islip for the Memorial. (Warden's Accounts) FC*= free chapel **=See Burton Stather and Halton.

Henry VII Gifted Income	Average income per year over 12 documented years.	Abbot John Islip Purchased Income	Average income per annum over 12 documented years.
Stanford-advowson	£22	Great Chesterford-rectory	£23
Uplambourn-fc*	£6	Great Chesterford-manor/ rectory	£66
Playdon-Hospital/fc*	£10	Oswald Beck Soke- manor	£34
Luffeld Priory	£44	Brodewaters-manor	No considered only 1502
Pleshe Castle-fc*	£6	Remynham-manor	Same as above
Swaffham Market-rectory	£22	Plumsted-manor	£11
Tickhill-advowson/fc*	£45	Fenne Skybek-manor	£30
St. Martin Le Grand	£168	Burton Stather and Halton-manor	£30
		Fulham-land rent	£3
		Boundfeld-prebend	£5
		Pynchepole Bolynton-rent	£17
		Clavering	
		Ugley-land rent	
		Tewkesbury Abbey-rent	£26
		St. Brides-London	£29
Total Average Gifted Income	£323 per annum	Total Average Purchased Income	£274 per annum

Section B: Spiritual and Temporal Properties Purchased by Abbot John Islip

With the capital sums of money Henry VII gave the Abbey to spend on his endowment, Abbot Islip purchased a number of valuable properties.⁷⁴ The first of these purchases occurred in 1503/4 when Abbot Islip purchased the manor of Oswald Beck Soke from George Neville, third Baron of Bergavenny [c.1469-1535].⁷⁵ Also included in this purchase were the manors of Alkborough, Burton Stather and Halton with a third part in Belchford.⁷⁶ Together, these lands were valued by the monks at £64 per annum.⁷⁷ These manors purchased from Neville are listed individually in the Warden's Accounts apart from Burton Stather and Halton which are listed together.⁷⁸ The average total income for the manor of Oswald Beck Soke based upon the thirty years documented was approximately £34 per annum.⁷⁹ Added together with the total estimated income of Burton Stather and Halton, which was just under £30 per annum, the total of these two separately listed incomes amounted to just over £64 per annum, the value provided by the monks.⁸⁰ The sum paid to Neville for these manors is not known, but it can be assumed that the amount paid was based upon the total income that he would have received over twenty years.⁸¹ If this were the case, then the owner would have expected at least £1,200 for the property, approximately 23% of the capital sum Henry had left

⁷⁴ The capital sum of money was £5,150. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 202

⁷⁵ Appendix *i*. f. 54r lines 12-20, p. 262; f. 54v line 1-3, p. 262; f. 55r line 11, p. 263. This manor consisting of 8 messuages, 300 acres of land, 100 acres of meadow, 100 acres of pasture and £20 of rent from Wheatley, Strarton le Steeple, South Leverton, Fenton, Cottam, Claborough, Welham, Moorgate, Little Gringley, Wiseton, Clayworth Woodhouse and Littleborough in Nottingham. These individual properties are not listed in the Warden's Accounts. *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 375, 378.

⁷⁶ These manors consisted of 40 messuages, 40 acres of land, 100 acres of land, 200 acres of pasture and £20 rent in West Halton, Akborough, Burton upon Stather, Winterton, Thealby, Hibaldstow, Barnetby le Wold, Irby, Conesby, Crosby, Gunness, Bottesford, Belchford and Donington in the county of Lincolnshire. *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 375, 378.

⁷⁷ Appendix *i*. f. 54r lines 12-20, p. 262; f. 54v line 1-3, p. 262; f. 55r line 11, p. 263.

⁷⁸ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ WAM, 14624; Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 425; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 149; *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 350-51; See Appendix *i*. f. 54r lines 12-20, p. 262; f. 54v line 1-3, p. 262; f. 55r line 11, p. 263.

⁸¹ Most property purchases of the time were based upon the total value of the property over twenty years. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 413-27.

Abbot Islip. Harvey believes that Neville was given a fair and generous price for his properties.⁸²

The second and third major purchase of endowment lands was from Sir John Cutte and his wife Elizabeth in 1504.⁸³ Most of the land purchased from John Cutte by Abbot Islip for Henry VII's memorial was located in the southeast of England.⁸⁴ These lands consisted of the manors of Bullington and Pinchpol in Essex.⁸⁵ In the Warden's Accounts the incomes for Bullington and Pinchpol have been listed together. Ugley, and Clavering are listed separately within the accounts but with no recorded income.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, in the Receiver's Accounts there are several noted incomes for each of these properties but not consistently.⁸⁷ These manors were purchased for £400, twenty times their value of £20 per annum.⁸⁸ According to the Warden's Accounts, the total estimated income for these properties over the thirty years documented was just over £17 per annum, not a large variation from Henry and the monks' total estimated value.⁸⁹ However, in 1503/4, Abbot Islip also purchased from John Cutte the manors of Plumsted and Boarstall in Kent at the cost of £400, and valued at £20 per annum.⁹⁰

⁸² Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 198-202.

⁸³ WAM, 5211 and 5242 deeds for land grant between John and Elizabeth Cutte and Abbot Islip. See footnote 36 for more information on John Cutte. See Appendix *i*. 54v lines 9-16, p. 262; 55r line 15, p. 263.

⁸⁴ See Fig. 2.0 p. 97.

⁸⁵ These manors consisted of 6 messuages, 410 acres of land, 98½ acres of meadow, 200 acres of pasture, 32 acres of wood and 63s. of rent and rent of garland of roses, two cloves of gilliflowers and one capon in Clavering, Langley, Berdon, Wicken Bonant, Manewden, Ugley, Farnham, and Elsenham. According to letters patent in 1504, John Cutte sold four messuages, 60 acres of land, 8½ acres of meadow, 42 acres of pasture, 4 acres of wood and 19s. of rent in Plecheden, Henham and Elsenham in Essex. *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 342, 378. These figures differ from those mentioned in 1503 where it is recorded that there was 42 acres of wood and 20s. of rent and no mention of pasture land. *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 305, 375.

⁸⁶ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-291.

⁸⁷ See Appendix *iii* pp. 287-291 and Appendix *iv*. p. 292.

⁸⁸ WAM, 5242; covenant between the vendors and Abbot, 1 Feb 1505; WAM 5211; Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 425; *CPR* (1494-1509), pg. 342, 375; *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 148-49; See Appendix *i*. f. 54v lines 9-16, p. 262; f. 55r line 15, p. 263. Harvey mentions that there was a transaction fine relating to this purchase of £100. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 425 fn.3.

⁸⁹ See Appendix *i*. f. 54v, p. 262. This total includes Bullington, Pinchpol, Ugley, Clavering, and Elsenham. See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁹⁰ These manors consisted of 4 messuages, 2 cottages, 240 acres of land, 24 acres of meadow, 50 acres of pasture and 20 acres of wood in Plumsted, Boarstall, Erith, Lessness, Crayford, Wickham, and East Wickham. WAM, 5242 and 5211 covenant between vendors and Abbot, 1 Feb. 1504. WAM, 6634; *CPR*

According to the Warden's Accounts, the total estimated income for these properties was just over £11 per annum, a significant discrepancy from Henry and the monks' valuation.⁹¹ In fact, Boarstall ceased to provide an income after it is first mentioned in 1502 in the Warden's Accounts. There are no listings within the accounts for the other properties within this manor, so it can be assumed that this was the actual income for Plumsted. Although only a £9 discrepancy, the total income over the thirty years shows that the value of the properties was just under £350, a loss of £50 from its purchase price. The total spent on properties purchased from Sir Jon Cutte was £800, 15.5% of the capital sum of money given by Henry to Abbot Islip.

The fourth major purchase of land was from Maurice, Lord Berkeley, in 1504.⁹² These properties were the manor and advowson of Great Chesterford in Essex.⁹³ The total valuation of the property was £66 13s. 4d. per annum, exclusive of the sales of wood. The manor of Great Chesterford provided a consistent income for the memorial over the entire period within the Warden's Accounts at the average annual income of £66, 11.5% of the overall annual income for the entire memorial.⁹⁴ Moreover, this purchase remained the most lucrative independently listed income for the entire memorial. It is not known what Lord Berkeley received for this lucrative property but Barbara Harvey argues that the sum Berkeley received for the manor and advowson was a fair price considering his relationship with the Court and Crown at the time.⁹⁵

In 1504, the rectory of Great Chesterford was appropriated in accordance with a royal licence and required the ordination of a perpetual vicarage and yearly distribution

(1494-1509), pp. 305, 375, 378 and 342; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 149. See Appendix *i. f.* 54v, p. 262. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 425-26.

⁹¹ See Appendix *iii.* pp. 287-91.

⁹² See Appendix *i. f.* 54v, p. 262.

⁹³ This manor consisting of 20 messuages, 600 acres of land, 10 acres of meadow, 600 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood and £10 rent *CPR* (1494-1509), p.378.

⁹⁴ See Appendix *iii.* pp. 287-91.

⁹⁵ Since the other lands purchased were based upon a calculation of the total annual income over 20 years, Lord Berkeley should have received a minimum of £1300. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 426, 202; *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 365, 375; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 149. See Appendix *i. f.* 54v, p. 262.

of alms from the issues of the rectory at the cost of £22 per annum, nearly 4% of the total annual income for the endowment.⁹⁶ In the Warden's Accounts this spirituality contributed around £23 per annum contributing over 4% to the overall endowment over the thirty years.⁹⁷ This advowson was purchased directly by the Abbot from the church of Great Chesterford once the manor had been purchased from Lord Berkeley.⁹⁸

The fifth purchase of land was in 1502/3 from William Esyngton 'gentliman' and his wife.⁹⁹ This purchase consisted of the manors of Fenne and Skreyne in Lincolnshire for the sum of £578, 11% of the capital sum given to the Abbot by the King, and was valued at £34 per annum.¹⁰⁰ The Warden's Accounts show that these manors consistently contributed to the income of the memorial but not always at the expected valuation. Overall, the average total income from the manors of Fenne and Skreyne over the thirty years was £30, only £4 less than the original valuation.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, this manor would have accounted for just less than 6% of the average annual income for the memorial and thus it would have been considered one of the more valuable assets of the endowment.

In 1504, Abbot John Islip purchased from the Abbot of Tewkesbury a rent in Stanway, in Gloucestershire, valued at £26 13s. 4d. per annum and was purchased at the

⁹⁶ Its value in 1535 was £21. 6s. 8d. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 405-06; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 149; *CPR* (1494-1509), p. 364. See Appendix *i*. f. 56r, p. 264.

⁹⁷ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

⁹⁸ See Appendix *i*. f. 56r, p. 264.

⁹⁹ See Appendix *i*. ff. 54v-55r, pp. 262-63.

¹⁰⁰ These manors were made up of 21 messuages, one mill, one dovecot, one garden, 620 acres of land, 600 acres of meadow, 1,100 acres of pasture and £6. 4s. of rent in Fishtoft, Boston, Skibeck, Frieston, Bennington, Butterwick, and Sibsey and the advowson of the chapel of Fenne. By looking at Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91 one can see that between 1502-1503 there was no payment made for Fenne and Skreyne. Nevertheless, c. 1503 it is recorded that there was a late payment for £34 made to the Abbey from Fenne and Skreyne, WAM, 14708. If this purchase was based upon a twenty year value then Esyngton should have received £680, a £102 difference from what he did receive. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 426; *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 342, 378-79; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 149. See Appendix *i*. f. 54v, p. 262.

¹⁰¹ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

cost of £533, 10% of the capital sum granted to the Abbot.¹⁰² This rent in Tewkesbury provided a constant income over the thirty years and did not fluctuate in its annual value.¹⁰³ Its overall contribution to the memorial was just under 5% per annum of the total endowment income each year.

Finally, in 1504, Abbot Islip with the help of the King purchased the rectory of St. Bride's, in Fleet Street, London valued in 1504 at £26 13s. 4d., but according to the Warden's Accounts it provided a very inconsistent income for the endowment, only appearing in six out of the eleven remaining Abbot's Accounts.¹⁰⁴ The overall average contribution St. Bride's made to the endowment over the first thirty years was approximately £29 per annum, just over 5% of the total income for the endowment in the years it appeared in the accounts.

Within the Warden's and Receiver's Accounts there are several manors, prebends and land rents listed but not mentioned in indentures nor in any of the listed accounts for any of the other properties granted, or purchased, by the King and Abbot. They are Brodewater (manor) Remyngham (manor) Fulham (land rent) and Boundfeld (prebend). Brodewater and Remyngham only appear in the year 1502/3 and together contribute approximately £70 towards the overall income of £340 15s. 3d., 20% of the total income that year but then cease to appear in any further accounts. Fulham and Boundfeld contribute to the income of the memorial throughout the thirty years

¹⁰² This purchase price would have been based on a twenty years lease and appears to have taken account of possible inflation because of the £13 surplus over the valuation. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, pp. 202, 427; *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 353, 379; *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 149; Appendix *i*. f. 55r, p. 263. In the listed estates granted and given to the Abbot of Westminster there is one manor that appears to be missed out in all other documents but by looking at the Patent Roll accounts it is likely that it was intended to be a part of the endowment and inevitably the funds were used elsewhere. The manor of Beveryngton in Sussex was granted along with several other properties from the late William Radmyld, knight, estates which was licensed to the Abbey in 1504 by William Bishop of Lincoln, consisted of 4 messuages, 200 acres of land, 60 acres of meadow, 300 acres of pasture, 2 acres of wood and 20s. rent in Lannsyng and Beveryngton. *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 304-05, 351, 378.

¹⁰³ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

¹⁰⁴ Payments were recorded in 1500, 1515-1516, 1516-1517, 1517-1518, 1518-1519, and 1523-1524, 1531-1532. See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91. By 1535 the vicarage alone was worth £16 per annum but the overall value of the property had dropped to £18 18s. 5d. by 1535. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 407; *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 149-50. See Appendix *i*. f. 56r, p. 264.

recorded. Fulham's contribution to the annual income of Henry's memorial, over the eleven years documented was approximately £3 5s. 5d. only .5% of the average total annual income, whilst Boundfeld's average annual contribution was approximately £5 4s. 10d., just under 1% of the total average income for the memorial.¹⁰⁵

According to the Warden's Accounts, the overall total annual income for the memorial from the manors, land rents and other spiritualities purchased by Abbot Islip amounted to approximately £274 p.a., nearly 46% of the total annual income for the entire memorial, a difference of about £43 from the total estimated worth of these properties made in 1504 which was £231 6s. 8d. see Table 2.1.¹⁰⁶ Abbot Islip spent approximately £3,111 of the £5,150 that was given to him by Henry VII in purchasing these properties for the support of the memorial at Westminster Abbey.¹⁰⁷ This total does not include the cost of the manors purchased from Maurice, Lord Berkeley.¹⁰⁸ Harvey suggests that Lord Berkeley received a fair price for his purchase and if based upon the standard land purchase of twenty times the annual income from the time of its purchase, Lord Berkeley would have expected to be paid roughly £1,300.¹⁰⁹ If this were true, Abbot Islip would have spent approximately £4,430 of the £5,150 gifted to him, leaving a difference of £720. Harvey estimated that the *ad hoc* expenses for all the properties granted and purchased for the memorial cost approximately £626, thus leaving around £94 after all expenses had been paid.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ These properties have been included in the income from the purchased properties in Table 2.1, p. 103 and are listed within their given types of income in Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91 and Appendix *iv*. p. 292.

¹⁰⁶ Appendix *i*. f. 55v, p. 263. See Table 2.1 p. 103.

¹⁰⁷ Neville received £1,200, Cutte received £800 total for both major purchases, Esyngton received £578 and the Abbot of Tewksbury received £533.

¹⁰⁸ There is no reference in any of the sources to the amount paid for this purchase.

¹⁰⁹ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 426.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

v. *Further Analysis*

By 15 July 1504 the Abbey was granted customary privileges over all lands for the new endowment.¹¹¹ According to the indentures, the overall endowment income gifted and purchased by the King and Abbot Islip together was calculated by the monks to be worth £668 13s. 4d., 87% of which was allocated towards the funding of the almshouse.¹¹² This total does not include the later purchases of the rectory of St. Brides worth £26 13s. 4d. nor the rectory of Great Chesterford worth £22 per annum.¹¹³ If these later purchases are included, the total annual income for the memorial according to the indentures would have been £717 6s. 8d. According to the Warden's Accounts the total average income for the entire memorial is between £522 to £597 per annum.¹¹⁴ The difference between the monk's estimate in the indentures and what actually was recorded over the first thirty years within the Warden's Accounts was between £120 to £195.¹¹⁵ It must be remembered that the monks' estimates in the indentures do not include the other expenses which had to be covered by the endowment incomes. St. Martin-le-Grand's received approximately £170 per annum to maintain the house, which, if subtracted from the monks' estimated total annual income, the endowment would be worth approximately £547 per annum, which is close to the middle of the estimated total average income shown in the Wardens' account.¹¹⁶ What can be concluded from these figures is that the monks had a very good understanding of the

¹¹¹ *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 245, 303-5, 364, 365, 374-9; Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 62.

¹¹² Appendix *i*. f. 55v, lines 12-19, p. 263. This total does not include the rectory of Great Chesterford nor the rent from St. Brides in Fleet street London, which were purchased later and were to be used as backup income for the memorial. Appendix *i*. f. 56r, p. 264.

¹¹³ Appendix *i*. ff. 55v-56r, pp. 263-64. According to the indentures, after all the purchases had been made, there was a surplus of £86 12s. 8d. (the monks' total was actually £87. 6s.). The King allowed the Abbey to hold onto these funds and helped Abbot Islip in purchasing two further properties; the rectory of Great Chesterford and the rectory of St. Brides London in Fleet Street. These further properties along with the surplus funds were to be used in case one of the other incomes failed to materialize because of a disaster such as a fire or robbery.

¹¹⁴ This estimated total was taken from the actual annual total incomes found in Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91 added together and then divided by eleven. The range will vary significantly from year to year so the total average income gifted and purchased has been incorporated, see Table 2.1, p. 103.

¹¹⁵ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

¹¹⁶ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, p. 408, fn .7.

value of property and that the endowment was clearly a success for the first thirty years of its existence.

Table 2.2: Average Annual Income Comparisons between Warden’s Accounts and Receiver’s Accounts (1515-1518).¹¹⁷

Total Average Income Per Annum: Warden's Accounts		Total Average Income Per Annum: Receiver's Accounts	
St. Martin le Grand	£166	St. Martin le Grand	£160
Manors	£184	Manors	£150
Religious Rents	£245	Religious Rents	£262
		Miscellaneous	£6

Table 2.2 demonstrates that religious rents and incomes contributed the most to the memorial, around £245-£262 per annum. Although there are subtle discrepancies between the Receiver’s Accounts and Warden’s Accounts, they both show that St. Martin-le-Grand made a consistent contribution to the memorial of around £160 to £166 per annum, followed by the manors purchased to support the memorial, between £150-£184 per annum. Given that many of the incomes listed within St. Martin-le-Grand were from religious institutions it is clear that the majority of funds supporting the memorial were from rectories, prebends, free chapels, parsonages and advowsons.¹¹⁸ What this might tell us about the memorial and the endowment is that on the eve of the Dissolution of the chantries and monasteries, religious institutions had a consistent and lucrative income but that by the 1530’s this income became less reliable. Nevertheless, the income from properties did not drop significantly showing the financial stability within religious institutions at the Dissolution.

¹¹⁷ The averages shown are taken from the total annual incomes from each type of source of income from Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

¹¹⁸ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

vi. *Interim Periods and Refoundations 1540-1559*

In 1532 Abbot Islip died and along with him many of the medieval characteristics of the Abbey also begin to disappear.¹¹⁹ Thomas Cromwell's official 'Visitation of the Monasteries' was completed in February 1536 and was quickly followed by the Dissolution of the lesser houses.¹²⁰ In April of that same year the Court of Augmentations was established by the Crown to help process and account the possessions of the lesser houses. By 1537 the Dissolution of the greater monasteries had begun.¹²¹ In the spring of 1537, Westminster Abbey was also undergoing a number of financial changes.¹²² The ancient multiple financial system of accounting channelled through several independent departments, headed by competent monks, disappeared. The Warden's Accounts that meticulously documented the first thirty years of the memorial of Henry VII and its estates, were amalgamated into the rest of the Abbey's estates, including the Abbot's household accounts, and overseen by the Abbot's receiver, John Moulton.¹²³ There are four financial sources that survive for this period

¹¹⁹ Since the late fourteenth century Westminster Abbey had a relatively consistent number of monks, around forty-six counting the prior and Abbot. As the 1530s progressed and the inevitable Dissolutions crept closer these numbers decrease significantly and by 16 January of 1540, the date of the official surrender of the Abbey, only twenty five monks had signed their names upon the surrender documents, see Barbara Harvey, 'The Dissolution and Westminster Abbey', *A Paper Given at the Special Centenary Conference of the English Benedictine Congregation History Commission at Westminster Abbey* (The English Benedictine Congregation Trust: Thursday 22 November 2007), pp 1-10 (p. 6); TNA, E 322/260; *Letters and Papers*, vol. 15, 69. Many of the monks had received *pro hac vice* grants to leave the Abbey and changed their habits. C. S. Knighton, 'Westminster Abbey from Reformation to Revolution' in *Westminster Abbey reformed 1540-1640*, ed. by C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (London, 2003), 1-16 (pp. 16-17). This exodus was possibly instigated by Cromwell's assessments circa 1535 that showed the Abbey's income, not including running costs for St. Martin-le-Grand, to be £3,470 2s. 1/4d. C. S. Knighton, 'King's College' *Westminster Abbey reformed 1540-1640*, ed. by C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (London, 2003), 16-37 (p. 19).

¹²⁰ The Visitation of the Monasteries was not a thorough investigation of the monasteries and their wealth. Inventories were made but apparently they were only estimates, see Harvey, 'The Dissolution and Westminster Abbey', pp.1-10.

¹²¹ For further studies of the Dissolution see Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars Traditional Religion in England 1400-1580* (London, 1992), pp. 377-448.

¹²² Harvey, 'The Dissolution and Westminster Abbey', p. 7.

¹²³ By January 1539 the Abbot of Westminster was on a fixed allowance and received an annuity from the Court of Augmentations even though the Abbey had not yet been dissolved. Harvey, 'The Dissolution and Westminster Abbey', p. 7.

covering the years 1532-1539.¹²⁴ They are the draft copy and final copies of receipts for the endowments of the new Westminster Abbey, received by John Moulton, showing where and how the moneys were collected and distributed.¹²⁵ According to these sources, it would appear that whereas the properties purchased by Abbot Islip for the memorial no longer contributed to the Abbey's income many of the spiritual properties granted by Henry VII do still appear in the Abbey's records, see Table 2.3.¹²⁶

According to these accounts, the receiver/steward, John Moulton, received most of the revenues of the monastery, less several properties in London and Westminster, and then responsibly allocated the money towards the functioning of the greatly-reduced Abbey.¹²⁷ Henry VII's endowment properties were pooled together with the rest of the income for the Abbey and then allocated to contribute to its basic needs. Table 2.3 shows the accounted incomes from a number of the surviving properties: it would appear that the properties were generating the same annual incomes they had done in the early part of the sixteenth century and, in fact, they appear to be even more lucrative than when last recorded in the Warden's Accounts five years earlier.¹²⁸

¹²⁴ WAM, 9502, 43947, 43988, 33332.

¹²⁵ Draft: WAM, 9502, final copies: WAM, 43947, 43988 and 33332.

¹²⁶ It is not clear in Westminster Abbey records where the rents from these properties went. Possibly the Court of Augmentations divided the income amongst its loyal agents. WAM, 43947, 43988 and 33332. Table 2.3, p. 114.

¹²⁷ Some of the lesser properties held in London and Westminster were still organised under the old system of prior, sacrist, almoner, domestic treasurer, keeper of the lady chapel, chamberlain and keeper of the new works. TNA, SC6/Hen. VIII/2415, 2416, 2417; Knighton, 'King's College', p. 21.

¹²⁸ See Appendix *iii*, pp. 287-91: Warden's Account WAM, 24250.

Table 2.3: Henry VII Memorial Endowment Properties' Contribution to the Income of Westminster Abbey 1537-1539: WAM, 33332, 43947-8.

Endowment Properties	1538	1539
Burton and Halton	£30 p.a.	
Tolleshunt	73s. 4d.*	73s. 4d. *
Uplambourne	£6. 13s. 4d. p.a.	
Tickhill	£22. 10s.*	£22. 10s.*
Keton Cowpes	£12. 10d.*	
Imbers	£4. 10s. * and £6 **	£6**
Norton Newerke	66s. 8d. p.a.	66s. 8d. p.a.
Newerke in Good Easter	£7. 18s. 8d.*	£8*
Fawkeners	£8. 13s. 4d.*	
Passellouse	£6. 13s. 4d. p.a.	
Playdon	£6. 5s. 8d. p.a.	
St. Martin-le-Grand	40s. * and £11. 15s. 9d. **	
Luffield	£45 **	
Newport Pound	£9 p.a.	
Great Chesterford		£50 p.a.
Crishall		£14. 2s. p.a.
Whitham and Cressing		£13. p.a.
Total income	£186 11d. p.a.	£120. 12s. p.a.
Payment made to memorial	Henry VII foundation £46	

This table does not show the entire endowment income for Westminster Abbey only the properties once associated or connected to Henry VII's memorial. Payments were taken every six months. The incomes from properties were recorded for one half of the year or per annum. *= first half of the year (6 months) **= second half of the year (6 months) and p.a. = per annum (12 months).

The sources of income for the numerous royal anniversaries held at the Abbey had also been amalgamated, apart from Henry VII's memorial which was listed separately in these accounting documents.¹²⁹ It is clear that by 1537 the Abbey was fully aware that it would be dissolved and that, administratively, much was already underway by the time of its official suppression on 16 January 1540. It would also appear that the financial oversight of the Abbey and the Court of Augmentations were intertwined.

According to the Receiver's Accounts, John Moulton, addressed the Abbot as his 'lord' but also addressed John Carleton, a receiver of the Court of Augmentations, as his

¹²⁹ WAM, 43947, 43988, 33332. The almsmen were not listed separately in these sources only the total payment for the memorial. See Table 2.4, p.118.

‘master’.¹³⁰ Together, these two men were joint receivers at the Abbey prior to its Dissolution.¹³¹

After the Abbey’s suppression in 1540 all its estates, income, upkeep and salaries were administered by the Court of Augmentations.¹³² Between 1540-1542 the Abbey underwent a transformation from an Abbey to a cathedral. The transformation from Abbey to Cathedral appears to have gone quite smoothly. This was assisted by the continuity of personnel and endowment lands. Abbot William Boston assumed his birth name and became Dean William Benson. Six monks from the old foundation became canons in the new Cathedral along with several others who served in lesser positions.¹³³ These men served within the Cathedral throughout Edward VI’s reign but those who survived were eventually removed in the Marian Dissolution of the Cathedral in 1556 when the Queen refounded the Cathedral as a Benedictine Abbey. The records show that during this interim period, 1540-1542, the Court of Augmentations was channelling money directly from the Abbey’s old endowment back into the funding of the new cathedral.¹³⁴

Between 1540 and 1542 six quarterly accounts of payments to the chapter have survived.¹³⁵ Although the Dean and Chapter were legally constituted in December 1540, not until 5 August 1542, when Westminster Cathedral received its endowment charter,

¹³⁰ WAM, 43947, 43988, 33332; Harvey, ‘The Dissolution and Westminster Abbey’, p. 7; John Carleton later became the chapter’s steward of the lands, WAM 37041; Knighton, ‘King’s College’, p. 19.

¹³¹ The Abbey’s records for this period are signed by John Moulton but the identical records for the Crown are overseen by John Carleton.

¹³² Under the control of the Court of Augmentations the management of the Westminster estates became even more centralized pooling the estates together and listing them by county. Knighton, ‘King’s College’, p. 19.

¹³³ Knighton, ‘Westminster Abbey from Reformation to Revolution’, p. 12.

¹³⁴ WAM, 37043.

¹³⁵ TNA, E315/24 f. 5v; TNA, LR 2/ 111 ff. 57, 60, 63, 66, 69, 72; These documents are a compilation of receiver accounts in nineteenth century bindings. Oddly at the end of LR 2/111 there is a rough draft of the Treasurer Accounts for Westminster Collegiate Church in the year 1596 which shows payments to the almsmen and mirrors the final draft which is held at the Abbey, WAM, 33650; Knighton, ‘King’s College’, p. 21. WAM, 37041-46.

could they make leases, appoint estates or exercise ecclesiastical patronage.¹³⁶ Liturgical observances continued throughout this period and even on the day of its suppression, 16 January 1540, the Abbey participated in normal prayer services.¹³⁷ These services also included the obit of Henry VII on May 11 which was attended by the Lord Chancellor in 1541 and again in 1542.¹³⁸ It should also be noted that payments towards the salaries of the almsmen and women continued throughout this period of oversight.¹³⁹ For a number of reasons, the new endowment for the Cathedral was not fully functional until 1545.¹⁴⁰ Before this only a number of properties of the new endowment, had been contributing to the funding of the Abbey/Cathedral. From July to September 1543, ten of Henry VII's original endowment properties had been mentioned in the accounts overseen by the Court of Augmentations as income for the Abbey/Cathedral.¹⁴¹ This demonstrates how valuable, consistent, and lucrative the income from Henry VII's memorial was and why it had been chosen for his endowment. This may also explain why his memorial was able to maintain its own identity within the Abbey records throughout the Dissolution while a number of other royal memorials had been amalgamated into a single account.

In comparison to the other major re-foundations from Abbeys to cathedrals, during the Henrican Dissolution of the greater houses, such as Gloucester and Chester, Westminster was one of the very first refounded, yet, it was also the last to receive its

¹³⁶ Knighton, 'King's College', pp. 19, 31. WAM LXXXV; *Letters and Papers*, vol. 17, 714.

¹³⁷ Knighton, 'King's College', p. 23.

¹³⁸ *Letters and Papers*, vol. 17, 258; *Letters and Papers*, vol. 18, 231; *Act Books* (vol. 1), 78, n. 26. pp. 42-43. The anniversary celebrations took place on the date of the King's burial and not death: *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 142; WAM, 37573.

¹³⁹ See chapter 4. WAM, 37045 f. 4; TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/ 2421, m. 5d; Knighton, 'King's College', p. 21

¹⁴⁰ WAM, 6478.

¹⁴¹ Uplambourne: £6 13s. 4d., Stanford: £13 6s. 8d., Burton Halton: £35, Pleshey: £2, Tollyshunt: 74s. 4d., Crishall: £13 6s. 8d., Keton and Cowpes: £12 11d., Pinchpol Clavering: 66s. 8d., Bullington Ugley: 40s. and Fulham: 30s. WAM, 37043.

endowment.¹⁴² There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, there was a financial advantage to the Crown in having access to these funds and, secondly, Westminster Abbey estates were unusually spread throughout the country and not centred in or around its own locality.¹⁴³

So, although Westminster Cathedral had received the charter for its endowment in 1542, it was not fully functioning until 1545.¹⁴⁴ The property profile of the new Cathedral mirrored that of the old Abbey. Many of the new endowment properties were located near, or next to, several of the old endowment lands, scattered across the realm but on a smaller scale.¹⁴⁵ In total, the new endowment income for the entire Cathedral and its functionings amounted to £2,164 2s. 2d. p.a., this was said to include all its properties in London, Westminster and across the realm.¹⁴⁶ A number of Henry VII's endowment incomes appear in the records for the new endowment.¹⁴⁷ These properties' total contribution to the new endowment for the Cathedral was £360 9s. 1d., in all 16.6 % of the total income for the new endowment. In many later accounts for the Cathedral income, these properties hardly varied from their original valuations circa 1500-1502.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴² Winchester Cathedral took just under one month for this transition while Westminster took nearly two years (17 December 1540 to 5 August 1542); Knighton, 'King's College', p. 20. WAM, 6478: Henry VIII's new endowment income.

¹⁴³ Knighton, *Westminster Abbey Reformed 1540-1640*, p. 8.

¹⁴⁴ WAM, 6478.

¹⁴⁵ Knighton, 'King's College', p. 31.

¹⁴⁶ WAM, 6478, ff. 6-14v.; TNA, E315/24 5v, 37, 81-82; Knighton records the scribe's total as £2, 598 3s. 5d., but says the calculation is not right. Knighton, 'King's College', p. 31. Possibly the scribes were accounting for the additional £434 from eight other great houses that was later granted to Westminster, £266 of which went to paying the stipends of the professors and students at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Edward Carpenter, *A House of Kings* (London, 1967), pp. 112-13.

¹⁴⁷ See Table 2.4, p. 118.

¹⁴⁸ See Appendix *iii*. pp. 287-91.

Table 2.4 Henry VII's Memorial Endowment Properties which Formed Part of the New Endowment for Westminster Cathedral, 1545: WAM, 6478.¹⁴⁹

New Endowment Property, 1545	Annual Income
Passellouse [prebend]	£10
Imbers [prebend]	£10
Tolleshunt [prebend]	£6
Ugley [manor]	£4
Bullington and Clavering [manor]	£6 5s. 2d. ob
Pinchpol [manor]	£3 14s. 9d. ob
Cressing [rectory]	£10
Newport Pound [rectory]	£10
St. Boltophs w/o Aldersgate [rectory]	£12 3s. 2d.
Stanford [rectory]	£26 13s. 4d.
Burton Halton [manor]	£30
Fenne and Skreyne [manor]	£33 6s. 8d.
Pleshey [chapel]	£1 3s. 4d.
Good Ester [rectory]	£40 12s. 6d.
Newport Pound [rectory]	£7 6s. 8d.
Crishall [rectory]	£14 13s. 4d.
Keton Cowpes [prebend]	£24 1s. 8d.
Whitham [rectory]	£1 13s. 4d.
Pinchpol and Clavering [manor]	£2 18s. 6d. ob
Plumsted [manor]	£5 6s. 8d.
Oswald Beck Soke [manor]	£30 13s. 4d.
Tikehill [rectory]	£45
Uplambourn [chapel]	£6 13s. 4d.
Swaffham [rectory]	£18 3s. 4d.
Total income	£360 9s. 1d.

No final statutes survive for Henry VIII's foundation of Westminster Cathedral, but, there are three draft copies and although they are not complete they provide an insight into the administrative structure of the new cathedral, office holders and their pay.¹⁵⁰ The importance of the Abbey to Henry VIII, in particular his father's memorial and Lady Chapel, is made clear in these documents.¹⁵¹ According to the draft copies of the endowment, it was initially suggested that the special provision of £60 was to be

¹⁴⁹ This table does not show the entire endowment of Westminster Cathedral, only the properties once associated with Henry VII's original endowment.

¹⁵⁰ Knighton, 'King's College', p. 22.

¹⁵¹ WAM, 6478, ff. 6-14v.

allocated towards the obit of Henry VII, but, eventually it was decided that £40 was to be spent on his anniversary, in addition to the provisions for the cost of wax.¹⁵² It is not known whether this was also meant to cover the salaries of the almsmen. The new accounts for the Cathedral were no longer enrolled in the obedientiary accounts but now fell under the administration of the Chapter and were recorded in their *Act Books*.¹⁵³ The *Act Books* of the Dean, and the Treasurer's Accounts, record all income and outgoings, including payments to, and appointments of, the almsmen.¹⁵⁴ In the early years, the term treasurer, surveyor, and receiver were interchangeable.

In 1545 Henry VIII, with the assistance of Parliament, began the process of dissolving the chantries. The Chantry Act of 1545 stated the grounds for this Dissolution based upon the argument that the chantries were representing misapplied funds and misappropriated lands.¹⁵⁵ Henry VIII did not live long enough to see many of these establishments dissolved but, by 1547 a new Chantries Act had been passed by his successor, Edward VI, spurred on by the vigilant Edward Seymour, Lord Protector and Duke of Somerset. By 1548, under this new Act, over 2,374 perpetual chantries and guild chapels had been dissolved.¹⁵⁶ Much like the Dissolution of the lesser monastic houses, small county commissions were formed to take inventories of the chantries. Once the inquests had finished the reports were then sent to the central commission to decide which lands to expropriate and what pensions should be paid. The new Act also stated that the Crown was to provide for all chantry priests displaced. Henry VII's

¹⁵² Harvey, 'The Dissolution and Westminster Abbey', p. 9; WAM, 6478, ff. 6-14v; Knighton, 'King's College', p. 31.

¹⁵³ TNA, SC6/Hen. VIII/2415, 2416, 2417; Knighton, 'King's College', p. 21; These have been calendared in *Act Books*.

¹⁵⁴ There are no details regarding payments for food or fuel in these accounts only the quarterly and annual payments to the almsmen. Later records provide names, see chapter 4.

¹⁵⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 454; H.A. Colvin, 'The Origin of Chantries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 163-73.

¹⁵⁶ WAM LXXXV: the Dissolution of the chantries at Westminster Cathedral. This document is dated 5 August 1542 but then also states that it was approved by Edward VI in 1547; Cunich, 'The Dissolution of the Chantries', p. 165.

almsmen's priest and three women were all offered a pension and dismissed from the almshouse, nevertheless, twelve almsmen continued to be funded by the Cathedral throughout this turbulent period, each receiving £6 13s. 4d. per annum.¹⁵⁷

Many Crown officials benefitted from the wealth of the Dissolution of the monasteries and chantries, especially those within the King's 'privy chamber'. In 1540 Richard Cecil was listed amongst the thirty-two gentlemen of the privy chamber and it was this honorary position which most likely allowed him access to much of the land and possessions of Westminster Abbey after its Dissolution.¹⁵⁸ Between 1546 and 1547 Richard Cecil was granted much of the western portion of the Abbey grounds.¹⁵⁹ In return for access to these grounds he was responsible for contributing to the endowment income of the new Cathedral.¹⁶⁰ One of his many acquisitions on the western portion of the Abbey was Henry VII's almshouse buildings.¹⁶¹ Cecil granted a section of the grounds to David Vincent, Esquire, who then sold the property on to Nicholas Brigham.¹⁶² Brigham converted this portion of the almshouse into his dwelling house

¹⁵⁷ It can be assumed that the almsmen were no longer allowed to perform intercessory prayers for the late King Henry VII but did participate in commemoration services held at the Abbey after its Dissolution. See chapter 4.

¹⁵⁸ See David Loades, *The Cecils: Privilege and Power behind the throne* (Kew, 2009), p. 16. TNA E315/67: sale of chantry lands. See Julia F. Merritt, 'The Cecils and Westminster 1558-1612: The Development of an Urban Power Base' in *Patronage, Culture and Power The Early Cecils*, ed. by Pauline Croft (New Haven & London, 2002), pp. 231-46.

¹⁵⁹ WAM, 5321 and TNA, E318/7/275.

¹⁶⁰ WAM, 6478.

¹⁶¹ See chapter 3.

¹⁶² The cost of this transaction is unknown. WAM 5325. In 1547 David Vincent, Esquire, was paid £40 for making a conduit at Westminster for the use of the almsmen and thus providing a good water supply to the converted home of Nicholas Brigham. WAM 5390. Brigham was said to have served in the household of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk and studied at the Inns of Court. In 1545 he was fourth junior teller and by 1555 had become first teller. By 1558 he had become the principal receiver of the loan raised in the city of London and was said to be scrupulously honest in his position. His wife Margaret, daughter of Richard Warner, exchequer teller, was said to have been involved in the 'Dudley conspiracy', a plot to rob the exchequer with her second husband William Hunnis with whom she was accused of having an affair in 1556, two years before Nicholas Brigham had died, James P. Carley, 'Nicholas Brigham', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/3414>. [date accessed: November 2011], p. 1.

and was required to pay his rent of 6s. 5d. per annum towards the foundation income of the new Cathedral.¹⁶³

One loss resulting from the suppression of the chantries was education.¹⁶⁴ A chantry priest's main duty was to say intercessory prayers for his founder/s, nevertheless, when not participating in these prayers chantry priests were often expected to participate in their parish services, i.e. helping sing the liturgy prayer services and the education of the parishioners.¹⁶⁵ The new Chantry Act specified that the money from the confiscated property should be used for the continuance of educational works.¹⁶⁶ At Westminster Cathedral, shortly after the Dissolution of the chantries, a number of endowment lands were redirected towards the readers, students and scholars in Oxford and Cambridge.¹⁶⁷ In accordance with this new diversion of the endowment for Henry VII's chantry, the income from Oswald Beck Soke, Tikehill, Pinchpol, Bullington and Ugley, Good Easter, Newport Pound, Cressing and Uplambourne were all to be used to contribute to funding the education of these university students.¹⁶⁸ The total value of this grant was £167. 18s. 11½d. p.a., a sum strikingly similar to the original provisions made by Henry VII and Elizabeth of York towards their memorial at Westminster Abbey. It is clear that these properties were chosen to fund the readers, students and scholars at Oxford and Cambridge because of their association with the original memorial. This being the case, the request for funding of these students is significant because the original purpose in

¹⁶³ WAM, 5321, 5325, 6478. See chapter 3.

¹⁶⁴ According to the Court of Augmentations 2,800 chantry priest were awarded pensions and only 250 were reallocated as vicars, curates and schoolmasters. The impact this must have made on education and the sense of community to a parish would have been significant. Cunich, 'The Dissolution of the Chantries', p. 171.

¹⁶⁵ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 114, 139-40, 517.

¹⁶⁶ TNE, E301, E179; WAM, LXXXV and WAM, 12960. W. K. Jordan, *The Charities of Rural England 1480-1660* (London, 1961), pp. 303-327.

¹⁶⁷ WAM, 12960. Although there is no date provided in the source for this request there are several clues within the text that suggest that it was made shortly after the Dissolution of the chantries in 1547 by Edward VI. WAM, 12960. This is assumed because of a reference to a rent that was to be paid by Nicolas Brigham for a portion of the almshouse at the rate of 6s. 5½d. a year and that these funds were to be applied towards the funding of those studying at the university. Nicholas Brigham does not receive access to this land until after 1547. WAM, 5325. See chapter 3.

¹⁶⁸ WAM, 12960.

funding those studying at Oxford was that they might then become chantry monks within Henry VII's chapel at Westminster Abbey.¹⁶⁹ The sole purpose of their studies at Oxford had been one day to oversee and perform chantry masses in Henry VII's Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey. It can be assumed that Edward VI did not intend these scholars to function as chantry monks, but he continued to fund their educations at these universities because of their close links to his grandfather, Henry VII.¹⁷⁰ The impact of the Dissolution of the chantries on the provision of education has been disputed amongst those who have studied the period.¹⁷¹ It is clear from the case of Henry VII's memorial that the educational provision of his chantry priests had not been disrupted and that their studies at Oxford must have been redirected from practising intercessions, to studying and practising the new religious commemoration services and preaching of the new Edwardian reformed church. It is not clear whether Henry's chantry monks were an exception to the Dissolution of the chantries or an example of what happened to those willing to conform.

Not much can be said about the way the Cathedral and its endowment functioned between 1547-1550. Rents and money were collected and dispersed amongst the many functions of the new Cathedral.¹⁷² The almsmen continued to receive their pay each year of £6 13s. 4d., an increase of nearly £2 per annum since the original foundation.¹⁷³ It can be assumed that the increase was due to the loss of the services of the almswomen and the provisions of their food.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ After completing their studies, Henry's three Oxford scholars were to become priests in Henry's chapel at the Abbey and say masses for him daily. BL, Harley MS 1498 ff. 4v-11v, 33v-40r.

¹⁷⁰ The colleges in Oxford and Cambridge survived the Dissolution of the chantries because many had been founded by Edward's family members or close royal servants and because their foundations were seen to not be misappropriating funds.

¹⁷¹ Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 454-55.

¹⁷² WAM, 333353, 33603-17, 37709, 37713-14, 54001.

¹⁷³ BL, Harley MS 1498, WAM, 6478, 33603, 33604 etc. See chapter 4 for almsmen's payments.

¹⁷⁴ WAM, 37045, last payment to almswomen (Westminster copy). TNA, LR 2/111 last payment to almswomen (Court of Augmentation's copy) and TNA, LR6/61/1-2. This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

In 1550, Westminster Cathedral under the new direction of Dean Richard Cox [c.1500-1581], tutor and almoner to Edward VI and a vigilant Protestant, lost its diocese and was assumed into the diocese of London.¹⁷⁵ A special Act of Parliament allowed Westminster Cathedral its autonomy within the diocese of London and according to C. S. Knighton, the Cathedral went about its business as usual ‘somewhat after the fashion of a decapitated chicken’.¹⁷⁶ This remained the case until 1555/6 when Mary revived the monastery and the canons were once more replaced by a Benedictine Abbot and monks.¹⁷⁷ In the history of the Abbey and Cathedral, the Marian re-foundation appears to be the longest period of ambiguity because of the lack of continuity among the higher personnel.¹⁷⁸ Whilst the first Dissolution of the Abbey in 1540 was an upheaval, the changeover of personnel and functioning went comparatively smoothly. Moneys were being allocated and there was a clear governing body for oversight, and group of individuals who had served in the Abbey, continued their service in the new Cathedral foundation. This continuity of personnel did not survive for the Marian re-foundation of the Abbey. Nevertheless, during this chaotic period, the clergy, lay choristers, bell ringers, scholars, and almsmen remained on the payroll, receiving the same rate of pay as they had done for the decade before, and many of these individuals remained to serve in Elizabeth’s re-foundation.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁵ Carpenter, *A House of Kings*, pp. 116-19. Dean Richard Cox was an ardent reformer, selling off possessions of the Cathedral and dismissing loyal officials such as John Moulton, who had served as steward of the Abbot’s household during the turbulent Dissolution of the Abbey and who responsibly helped to maintain the Abbey financially through this turbulent period.

¹⁷⁶ Carpenter, *A House of Kings*, pp.118-19; Knighton, ‘Westminster Abbey from Reformation to Revolution’, p. 9.

¹⁷⁷ On the 27 September 1556 the Edwardian Cathedral was dissolved and the Marian Abbey installed. Carpenter, *A House of Kings*, p. 113.

¹⁷⁸ Knighton, ‘Westminster Abbey from Reformation to Revolution’, p. 12.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10. See chapter 4.

In 1559/60 Elizabeth I dissolved the Marian Abbey and re-founded it as a Collegiate Church.¹⁸⁰ The foundation was a recreation of her father's Cathedral, only twenty years earlier, and aimed to set out his original intentions but, rather than a Cathedral, Westminster became a collegiate institution.¹⁸¹ Elizabeth's new collegiate foundation was intended to mirror certain aspects of her father's and brother's foundations, but, her foundation focused more on education.¹⁸² The new foundation charter begins by listing the members and their allocated positions and then addresses the sources of income for the new Collegiate Church. The list of the endowment properties is nearly identical to that of the earlier foundations. A number of the lands once allocated to Henry VII's memorial are mentioned but no valuation for these incomes and lands is given.¹⁸³ The Elizabethan charter granted the Dean and Chapter all the lands within the actual precinct of the Collegiate Church, including those which had gone into secular hands after the Dissolution, including the area where the almshouse complex stood.¹⁸⁴ The charter also addresses the obligations of the new Dean of the Collegiate Church and allocates to him the oversight of all the functioning of the college from overseeing the appointment of new prebendaries and the maintenance of the endowment lands to the oversight of the poor persons living within the Cathedral grounds, i.e. Henry VII's almsmen.¹⁸⁵ Within the re-foundation charter there is no mention of the actual running costs, or maintenance, of the almshouse or even a total given for the entire endowment. Shortly after the charter was granted, Elizabeth established new statutes for the almsmen.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁰ The Abbey was dissolved 10 July 1559 and the new charter granted 12 May 1560. Carpenter, *A House of Kings*, p. 112-13. The charter has been transcribed and digitalised in the archives at WAM, CJV/NFL1/423169.01.

¹⁸¹ Knighton, 'King's College', p. 16.

¹⁸² See charter 4.

¹⁸³ Mentioned are St. Botolph's, St. Martin-le-Grand, Burton Halton, Swaffham Market, Crishall, Bassingbourne and Stanford. Elizabeth's Charter WAM CJV/NFL1/423169.01. pp. 6-19.

¹⁸⁴ Elizabeth's Charter WAM, CJV/NFL1/423169.01. p. 8.

¹⁸⁵ It is not clear in the document whether these were the almsmen or actually poor people living within the precinct of Westminster Collegiate Church. Elizabeth's Charter WAM, CJV/NFL1/423169.01. p. 34.

¹⁸⁶ WAM, 5288, 5268.

These statutes briefly address the new qualifications of the almsmen and the rules they were to follow but they do not specify their actual salaries nor their living arrangements. Nevertheless, after its refoundation circa 1560, the *Act Books* of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Collegiate Church consistently record payments to the almsmen.¹⁸⁷

vii. Conclusion

The success of the original foundation of Henry VII's memorial was due to Henry's meticulous attention to detail and his careful supervision, together with the steadfast management of Abbot Islip. The survival of the almshouse and almsmen during the disruptive period of the Dissolution of the greater houses and chantries, 1536-1550, is due to the importance of Henry VII's memorial to the Tudor dynasty. The amalgamation of the Abbey's estates, and its Dissolution and refoundation as a Cathedral, spanned just over five years and although the Abbey had lost a number of its monks, and its wealth, it would appear that it kept much of its earlier identity as a 'House of Kings', a respected institution with close associations with the Crown, and an iconic structure that survived when other great houses were dissolved. The survival of the almshouse and almsmen of Henry VII can be attributed to the well thought-out foundation and the endowment that Henry VII and Abbot Islip had provided.

¹⁸⁷ More information regarding payment to almsmen will be given in chapter 4. TNA, E 323/Part 1-2; *Act Books* (vol. 1), 15, pp. 14-15; *Ibid.*, 95-99, pp. 50-56. WAM, 33603, 33604, 33617, 37642B, 37709, 37713, 37714, 40093, 54001. This will be discussed in chapter 4.

Chapter 3: The Almshouse Site and Buildings:

i. The Expansion of Westminster

The town of Westminster had always been an important location for the Crown because of its close proximity to London and position on the Thames. In the late fifteenth century Westminster was undergoing a transformation from a small London suburb, much of which was made up of fields, to an expanding urban centre. People from all over England and Europe began settling in the town, hoping to benefit from the growth of the Court and many men and women both rich and poor were employed in royal service but much work was needed to prepare Westminster for this onslaught of newcomers.

Westminster was flooded with royal servants and tradesmen who supported the Court, all of whom needed places to live. Initially, this resulted in an increase in its rents and a handful of people benefited from this but many found it difficult to survive. From the late fourteenth century, when the Court first began its expansion, there was a need for cheap housing.¹ Barns and stables were rented out to men in the King's household, while larger houses were subdivided into several rooms.² After the death of John Pacche, esquire, in 1476, for example, his mansion was divided into three houses by Thomas Hunt, the steward of Westminster Abbey, to help provide smaller more affordable housing.³

By the end of the fifteenth century, the housing situation had become so difficult that the Crown and Westminster Abbey, the two most influential authorities in the area, set a cap on rents of £6 per annum, and then bought up most of the property in the area and

¹ Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 9-33.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 167-225.

³ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 86. WAM, 17878.

rented it out at this fixed rate.⁴ An example of this price capping is seen best at the Saracen's Head located beside Westminster Palace gate. Built before the fifteenth century, this house was valued and leased at the price of £8 per annum in 1400; but because of the lack of demand by 1409 its rent had been reduced to under £6 per annum and did not rise until the end of the century.⁵ The later history of the Saracen's Head also demonstrates the way in which Westminster Abbey both acquired property and used it to supply smaller houses and tenements to meet the demands of the expanding Court in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Property owners would often sell their land and homes to the Abbey in return for care and accommodation in old age, thus securing a form of insurance policy for their lifetime.⁶ This form of land transaction was called a corrody. It was by this means that the Saracen's Head had come under the ownership of the Abbey by 1486/7, along with four adjacent small houses which were leased separately. The house needed significant repairs and refitting to house more tenants so it underwent rebuilding financed by the Abbey. This ultimately cost a total of £230, nearly the full annual budget for new building works and was a sum that the Abbey would never recover and eventually had to write off.⁷ The completion of the work saw the house divided into five cottages with an upper hall and inner parlour where thirteen tenants were said to have lodged.⁸ This was principally a dwelling for the officers of the royal Court and before the Dissolution, the rent for each dwelling never exceeded £6 13s. 4d. The division of larger homes was one way the *vill* was able to cope with the number of less affluent courtiers and servants who had relocated to the area. By subdividing the larger homes, which most could not afford to inhabit on their

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 79. Building accounts for Westminster WAM, 23470-23593.

⁵ Because the Court was still growing there were only a handful of wealthy individuals that could afford such dwellings in the city. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

own, space and costs were saved. The Saracen's Head is the most notable rebuilding and refurbishing project of one of the older grand homes in Westminster during the fourteenth and fifteenth century but there were many other lesser building and refurbishing works going on at this time.

So, whilst larger homes were being subdivided to benefit more people, the need for shops and other buildings also increased. During the period between 1485 and 1525 Westminster underwent significant physical change as houses, shops, and other such buildings were erected. The town of Westminster, as it would have then been known, was quickly becoming the sister city to London.⁹ During the last decade of the fifteenth century, Westminster Abbey and its grounds were also undergoing their own transformation. To best understand the physical history of the almshouse and almshouse site, one must first understand the relationship and role the almshouse played in the history of Westminster Abbey and the complications it posed during the Dissolutions and reformations of the sixteenth century. These complications are played out in a series of land exchanges and disputes, going back as early as c.1500 when the land had been chosen as the location for the King's almshouse. It is necessary, before entering into a description of the physical buildings, to first understand the oversight and management of Westminster Abbey and what subsequently happened to the Abbey and almshouse lands after the dissolutions and reformations of the sixteenth century.

ii. Ownership and Management of Westminster Abbey and the Almshouse Site

The oversight of the town or "vill" of Westminster was rather different from many other towns in England. The Abbot of Westminster not only had oversight of the Abbey, but he also governed the town. He did not relinquish this government until after

⁹ The city of London with its advanced governmental structure, guilds, and river access often overshadowed its close neighbour, and in many instances Westminster has been included in studies of medieval London when, in fact, it was a separate town.

the Dissolution when control of the ‘vill’ passed to the laity.¹⁰ During the building of Henry VII’s Memorial, the Abbot was John Islip. He was given the title of Overseer of the King’s Works not just in Westminster but throughout the realm.¹¹ He helped acquire land for the King’s memorial foundation and administered the funds once gathered. He also oversaw all building works on the chapel and almshouse and worked closely with Henry’s contractors Thomas Lovell and Richard Guildford.¹² The original almshouse site stood on the north-western perimeter of the Abbey precinct, see Fig 3.0 and 3.1.¹³ The site contained four main buildings and two gardens.¹⁴ The almsmen’s living accommodations stood on the most western border of the almshouse site, abutting Black’s Ditch, whilst the remaining buildings (chapel, priest’s house, almswomen’s accommodation, hall and other auxiliary buildings) stood on the eastern boarder of the almshouse site, separated by a large garden. By about 1504 the building of the almshouse complex had been completed.¹⁵

¹⁰ Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 226.

¹¹ For Abbot Islip, see chapter 2.

¹² Colvin, *The History of the King’s Works*, pp. 209-10.

¹³ Fig. 3.0: Henry Keene’s Map WAM, 34508 ff. A-J. (c.1775), p. 130; Fig. 3.1: A. E. Henderson, *The Abbey of St. Peter and Palace of Westminster about the year 1532* (Westminster, 1938) (WAM, Picture Neg. no Box 82); See Appendix i. *Abridged Transcription of BL, Harley MS 1498* (Part B) f. 59v lines 18-20, p. 265: mentions that the almshouse site was within the precinct of the Abbey.

¹⁴ More details regarding the site and buildings, p. 146.

¹⁵ WAM, 5398.

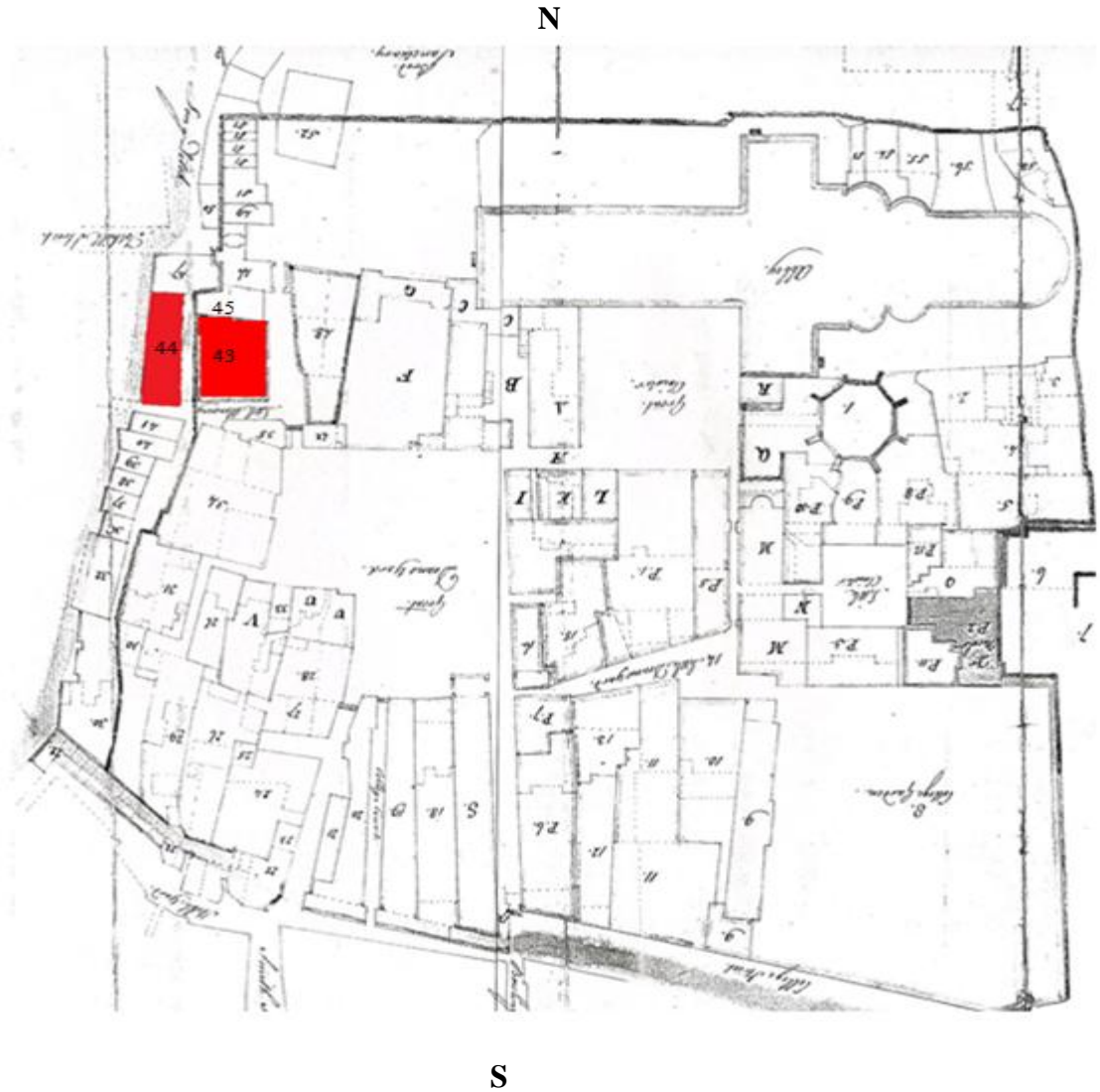


Fig. 3.0 Henry Keene's Map WAM, 34508 A-J (c.1775).¹⁶

¹⁶ The supplementary document associated with this map, WAM, 34508 lists the objects numbered in the sketch. This document has not been provided but the relevant buildings are the western almshouse, or the almsmen's living accommodations number 44, coloured in red, the eastern section of the almshouse surrounded by a thick wall numbered 43, and the site where the chapel stood numbered 45 (not in red). Keene's Map can also be found in Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, p. 209, and H. F. Westlake, *Westminster: A Historical Sketch* (London, 1919) inside the back cover. Henry Keene, surveyor, plan of the Close of the College of St. Peter Westminster as described in the Act of the 5th of Edward 6th: created in 1755. This sketch plan's main emphasis is not to show the small details of individual buildings but to show an accurate scale of the Cathedral's lands and rental properties shortly after its re-foundation by Edward VI in the year 1552. Although the plan was made nearly 230 years later, Henry Keene records that the information was gathered by looking at present leases and that it is a 'faithful examination' of the surviving sources which have been 'compared together' with the present, 1775, land leases to provide a clear image of the 'Bounds and Close of the College of St. Peter Westminster'. Henry Keene's sketch plan of the Cathedral precinct is an invaluable source when determining the scale of the almshouse and

The red buildings show the almshouse complex, both the western buildings (the almsmen's houses) and the eastern section (where the hall, priest's house, garden and chapel stood). The dividing wall was built by Richard Cecil and Nicholas Brigham c.1547.

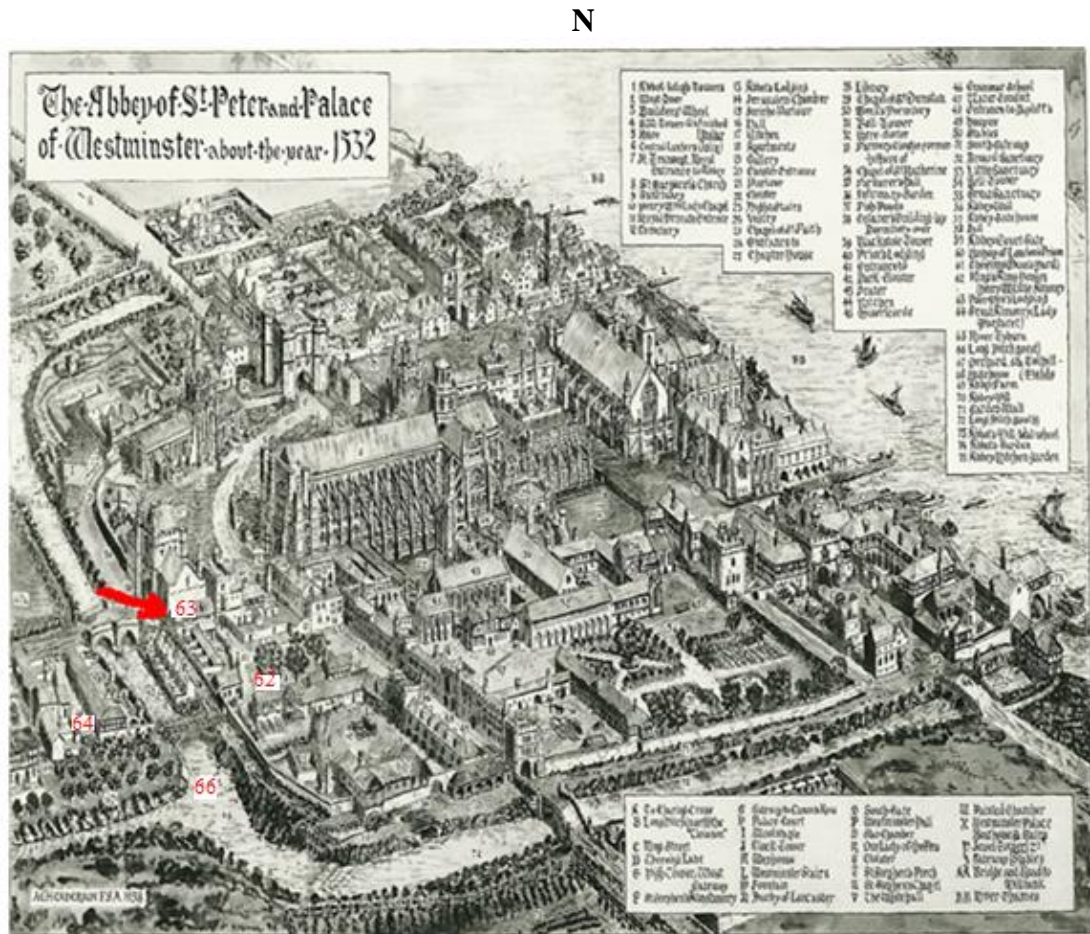


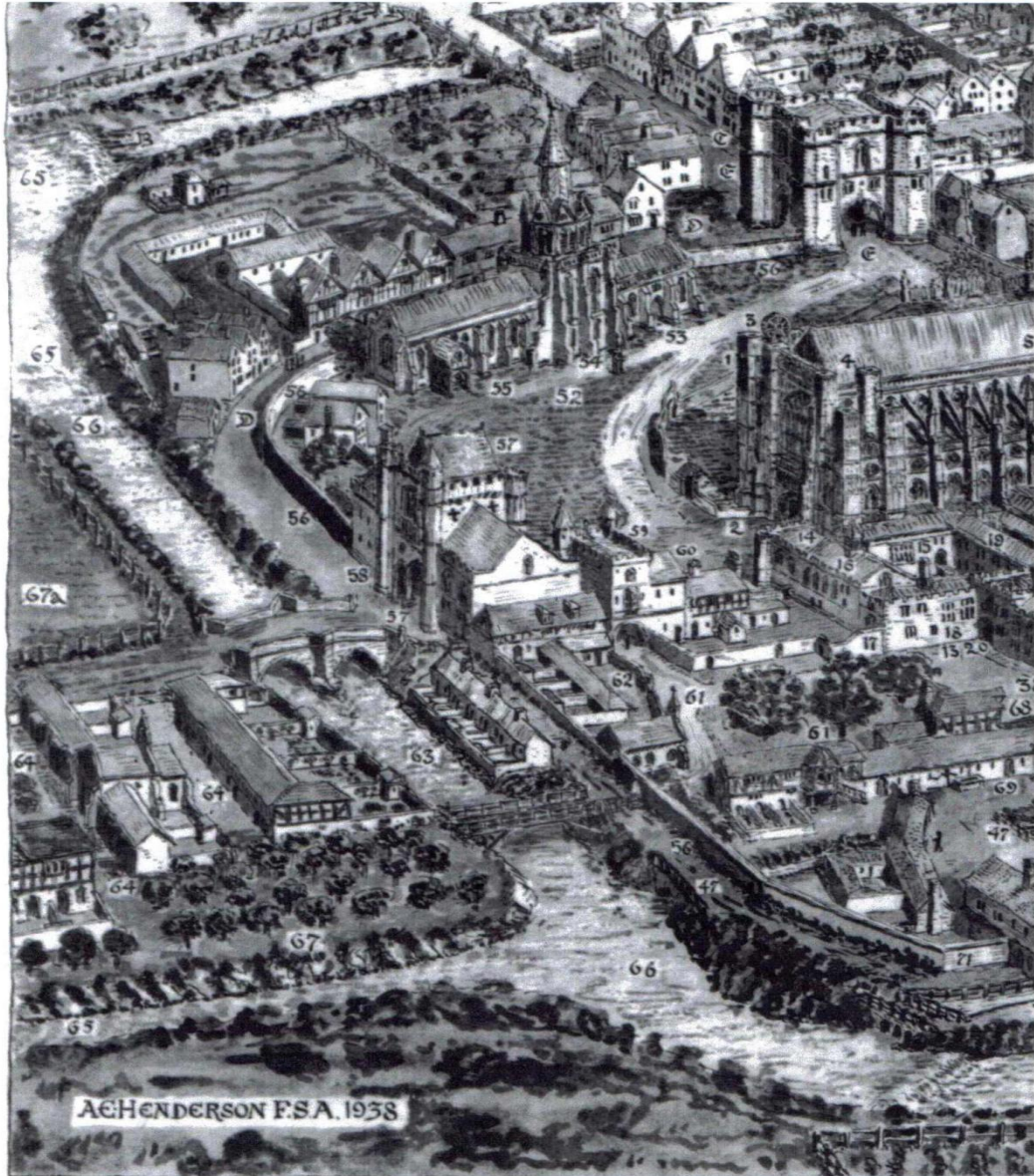
Fig. 3.1 (A) A. E. Henderson's Map (Reconstruction of Westminster Abbey c.1532 Drawn 1938).

Red arrow points to the almshouse site.¹⁷

almshouse complex in relation to each other and to the Abbey but it only shows perimeters of areas and not the smaller details within.

¹⁷ Henry's almshouse is seen here directly under the red arrow in the bottom left hand corner of the picture next to the bridge from the Abbey's western gatehouse, abutting Black's Ditch or Long Ditch (labelled 66). Across from the almshouse, opposite the ditch is the Abbey almonry (labelled 64) and directly above the almshouse, number 63, is Henderson's interpretation of the eastern part of the almshouse site inside the walls (labelled 62). A. E. Henderson, *The Abbey of St. Peter and Palace of Westminster about the year 1532* (Westminster, 1938) (WAM, Picture Neg. no Box 82).

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Fig. 3.1 (B) Southwest Corner of A. E. Henderson's Map.

Abbot Islip's dedication to the project did not stop when the memorial was built. He was then given ultimate authority over the entire memorial at Westminster Abbey and was responsible for the oversight of the almsmen and almshouse; a task which he performed until his death in 1532. This responsibility then passed to his successor,

Abbot William Boston, until the Dissolution of the Abbey in 1540.¹⁸ During the Dissolution of Westminster Abbey, 1540-1542, all its possessions were overseen by the Court of Augmentations, a body established by the Crown to help assist in the administration of the lands of the dissolved monasteries.¹⁹ The endowment lands that supported the Abbey and memorial were amalgamated and the funds were channelled through the Court of Augmentations. The Abbey grounds were divided and the revenues were given to the Crown which, once assessed, were reallocated back to the new cathedral, but, in some instances many properties located on the western side of the Abbey were divided amongst crown officials in payment for their loyalty and service.²⁰ The almshouse site was one of these areas confiscated by the Crown and Court of Augmentations. Shortly after the Dissolution of the chantries, c.1547, the almshouse, chapel, stable and barn, and all other buildings associated with the almshouse were given or sold to the rising young courtier, Richard Cecil, father to Lord Burghley, who had a vested interest in Westminster and was a loyal servant to Henry VIII.²¹ Richard Cecil then sold or granted several of the almshouse buildings to David Vincent, formerly an officer of the Wardrobes and Beds, for a rent to the Crown and evicted the three almswomen and priest from the almshouse.²² In 1548, the hall, chapel, and kitchen located on the eastern half of the almshouse site had been transferred by David Vincent to Nicholas Brigham, administrator to the Crown, who converted the house into his personal dwelling and, with the assistance of Richard Cecil, had erected a brick wall between himself and the almsmen for privacy, thus dividing the almsmen's grounds into

¹⁸ Barbara Harvey, *The Obedientaries of Westminster Abbey and Their Financial Records, c.1275-1540* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 6, 9. Surrender of the Abbey TNA, E322/260.

¹⁹ See chapter 2.

²⁰ *Act Books* (vol. 1), 6, 7, 44, 47, 57, 68, 72, 73, 85, 86, 88, 89, 99, 100, 105, 120, 174; pp.10-11, 26-28, 32, 36-37, 39-40, 45-50, 55-56, 59-60, 69, 93-95. See chapter 2.

²¹ The grant itself does not say why Richard Cecil wanted the property or how he was able to acquire it. It is a basic transfer of land c. 1542, WAM, 5321; WAM, 5325 copy of 5321 and WAM, 18174 is a later source, dated 1654, that explains the land transaction; WAM, 18424A-C is a description of the surrendered lands.

²² WAM, 18317 and 18397.

two sections; the eastern section and the western section.²³ Although the almshouse was not intended to be an income-generating establishment, within a year of its surrender a portion of the building was being leased out for rents to help fund the new Cathedral of Westminster, specifically the Oxford and Cambridge students founded by Henry VII and Elizabeth of York as a part of their memorial.²⁴

The Cecils were one of the most powerful political families in England during the sixteenth century.²⁵ The Cecil clan received many favours from the Crown. They embraced cultural and intellectual activities, and “dominated the property market” not only in Westminster, but elsewhere in the realm. Westminster for the Cecil family was one of their most important areas of influence because it was the seat of the government of the realm and the natural focus of political activity. When first establishing a home in Westminster, [c.1550] the Cecils settled in the Strand.²⁶ This location linked London with Westminster and eventually set the trend for other aspiring political families.²⁷ The exact location of their home was in Canon Row, within the parish of St. Margaret’s. Once established within Westminster and at Court the Cecil family began branching out, eventually acquiring houses in all three Westminster parishes.

With the family well positioned in the political arena, it is not surprising that Richard Cecil gained the possession and oversight of Henry VII’s almshouse.²⁸ There is no

²³ Colvin, *The History of the King’s Works*, p. 210. Brigham was said to have erected a memorial to the poet Geoffrey Chaucer and was referred to as an antiquary to the Crown. It is not clear what this meant, it can only be assumed he had some form of legal historical role within the Court. John Stow, *A Survey of London: reprinted from the text of 1603*, ed. by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols (Oxford, 1908), II, 111. WAM, 5325.

²⁴ See chapter 2. WAM, 12960, Brigham had to pay 6s. 5d. per annum towards the funding of the memorial for the grant of the eastern house he had converted to his personal dwelling house.

²⁵ Julia F. Merritt, ‘The Cecils and Westminster 1558-1612: The Development of an Urban Power Base’ in *Patronage, Culture and Power The Early Cecils*, ed. by Pauline Croft (New Haven & London, 2002), 231-46 (p. 231).

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ WAM 5321; Merritt, ‘The Cecil’s and Westminster’, p. 232.

mention within the property transaction documents of a price paid for the property.²⁹ This may suggest it was a gift from the Crown or simply that the price paid was recorded elsewhere. The Cecil family worked closely with the Dean of the new Collegiate Church Gabriel Goodman, [1561-1601] who was once a schoolmaster in the Cecil household and thus the Abbey enjoyed a certain autonomy and peace during the years of the Dissolution and reformations of the sixteenth century.³⁰ Dean Goodman was succeeded by Lancelot Andrewes in 1601 who had been a close friend of Goodman's and a favourite of Sir Robert Cecil [1563-1612], son of William, and at the time of Andrewes' appointment, High Steward of Westminster.³¹ In fact, during the second half of the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century, the Dean had considerable political influence within the city of Westminster and this can be attributed to the Cecils' patronage and support.

The almshouse, along with some disused buildings of the former monastery, were always at risk from greedy courtiers. Edward Seymour, Lord Protector Somerset, was one of many who took advantage of the situation.³² The Dean and Chapter of the former monastery were busy trying to preserve the holdings of the Abbey while Somerset made lavish plans for the almshouse and other Abbey buildings. Around 1549, the Dean was able to protect some lands and buildings by making a gift of twenty tons of Caen stone which, was said to have come from the Abbey and almshouse, to help build Somerset House.³³

²⁹ WAM, 5321.

³⁰ In 1561 when William Cecil became high steward, Gabriel Goodman, was appointed Dean of the Abbey. It is clear that closely connected officials in both religious and political offices in Westminster allowed for this period of diplomatic peace, Merritt, 'The Cecils and Westminster', pp. 235-36.

³¹ Edward Carpenter, *The House of Kings* (London, 1967), pp. 133- 41.

³² As soon as Edward VI gained the throne in 1547 Seymour, with the help of Archbishop Cranmer, began an accelerated campaign of further destruction of the church promoting the destruction of prayer books, abolishing old heresy laws, and eventually dissolving the chantries, Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe's House Divided 1490-1700* (London, 2003), p. 255.

³³ L. E. Tanner, 'The Queen's Almsmen', *WAM Occasional Papers*, 23(1969), 9-10 (p. 10).

The records for Westminster Cathedral are quite patchy between the years 1547-1556. There is very little documentation for the almshouse during Edward VI's reign and the Marian revival of the Abbey in 1556.³⁴ Nevertheless, shortly after 17 November 1558, when Queen Elizabeth I came to the throne, the almsmen filed a complaint to the Queen regarding their "loss of all privileges and estate granted [to] them by Henry VII and taken away by David Vincent . . . and then sold to Nicholas Brigham."³⁵ The almsmen also complained that Nicholas Brigham "converted ye same to a dwelling house for hym selfe and to his use and to take away ye armes standing and fixed over ye gate".³⁶ This complaint does not appear to have been effective because in 1558 after Nicholas Brigham died, Queen Elizabeth granted Sir Thomas Parry, the then treasurer of the household, the use of Brigham's premises, i.e. the hall, chapel, and garden.³⁷ Nevertheless, in 1559/60, Queen Elizabeth refounded the monastery as the Collegiate Church of Westminster. The almshouse was also refounded with new statutes and ordinances, and was afterwards known as the Queen's Almshouse.³⁸ This re-foundation of the almshouse did not however include access to the buildings located on the eastern half of their original foundation which, had once been granted to Brigham but were now in the possession of Parry, primarily due to complicated lease agreements. Sir Thomas Parry was still living in the house at the time and when he died in 1560 a gentleman by the name of William Hunnis, said to be of Her Majesty's Chapel, entered the premises

³⁴ Land transaction of almshouse during Edwards reign: WAM, 5307. Documentation of almshouse and almsmen during Queen Mary's reign: WAM, 54001, 37642 B, 40093, 37709, 37713-14, 5305.

³⁵ Almsmen's complaint WAM, 5325. Nicholas Brigham (d. 1558) was an administrator and antiquary and was thought to have been a member of the household of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. He served as an officer of the exchequer and was ranked fourth most junior teller in 1545 but by 1555 he had become first. Under Mary Tudor, Brigham was responsible of overseeing the sale of crown lands and was known to be a very honest man. James P. Carley 'Nicholas Brigham', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/3414>. [date accessed: January 2011].

³⁶ WAM, 5325.

³⁷ WAM, 43500, 5325 and 5397.

³⁸ WAM, 5288, 5268 and Elizabeth's Charter WAM, CJV/NFL1/423169.01; Tanner, 'The Queen's Almsmen', pp. 9-10.

claiming them by right of his marriage to the widow of Nicholas Brigham, Margaret Warner, daughter of Richard Warner an Officer of the Exchequer.³⁹ Margaret Warner and William Hunnis were both suspected of having had some involvement in the ‘Dudley Conspiracy’ (the plot to rob the Exchequer) during the reign of Queen Mary in 1556. When Brigham died Margaret had quickly married Hunnis, who then became overseer of Brigham’s estate.⁴⁰

In February of 1563 the almsmen petitioned Parliament regarding the oversight and ownership of the almshouse.⁴¹ According to their petition, the almsmen asked Parliament to evaluate the title of William Hunnis so that the “petitioners [almsmen] may be re-established in the said almshouse”.⁴² The outcome of the decision of Parliament is not known; only that because of complicated tenant leases, the chapel, hall, and kitchen (the original eastern portion of the almshouse grounds) were not restored to the Collegiate Church until 1604, and by this date, these eastern buildings were no longer in their original physical layout, nor was the fundamental framework of the almsmen’s way of life reinstated.⁴³ It is necessary to bear in mind these complicated land exchanges and disputes relating to Henry VII’s almshouse, when reconstructing the

³⁹ For more information about William Hunnis see Andrew Ashbee, ‘William Hunnis’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/14187>. [date accessed: February 2011]; Carley, ‘Nicholas Brigham’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/3414>. [date accessed: January 2011].

⁴⁰ Brigham did not leave a written will but he did leave a verbal statement in his wife's favour. He had one daughter named Rachael who died in 1557. It was also alleged that Margaret and William had had an affair in 1556. Carley, ‘Nicholas Brigham’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* [date accessed: January 2011]. Many of the original property transactions do not survive. Only later records regarding land disputes help piece together a very complicated puzzle. According to a late seventeenth century land dispute, when Margaret and William Hunnis died Vincent was said to have conveyed the house to Robert Petre, uncle of John, Lord Petre who then demised it to Margaret English, WAM, 18395 (abbreviated court case 1653). It is unclear in this source when these transactions took place. Petre then sold the building to Philip Warwick and Sir William Watkins from whom they were eventually seized for their ‘delinquency’. It is possible that at this stage it was seized and re-granted back to the almsmen by Elizabeth I. WAM, 43722. The main purpose of WAM, 18395 was briefly to document the ownership of the eastern almshouse building up to its usage by Sir Anthony Irby, c.1668. WAM, 18395. The main purpose of this source was to show who had official oversight of the land; the almsmen or Sir Anthony Irby.

⁴¹ CSP, *Domestic Series with Addenda*, p. 537-38.

⁴² CSP, *Domestic Series with Addenda*, p. 537-38.

⁴³ WAM, 42095: Dispute over the restoration of the grounds c.1625-1649.

original almshouse location and buildings, and to make use of some of the documentation generated by these later disputes.

iii. The Sources and the Site: How do we know?

In the first half of the sixteenth century, at the north-eastern corner of the Abbey precinct, St. Margaret's parish church benefited from rebuilding; at the eastern end of the Abbey itself Henry VII's chapel was being erected, and on the north-western perimeter of the Abbey precinct Henry VII's almshouse was being constructed, see Fig. 3.0 and 3.1.⁴⁴ According to the indentures, by 1502 the King had built ' . . . all suche houses and Chapell . . . within the precincte of the said monatery . . . for the saide poure men'⁴⁵ and that the ' . . . thretene poure men shall kepe their dyner togider every day in the coimen hall in the said Almeshouse'⁴⁶ and ' . . . at his costes and charges hath cause to be purveid and delyverd to the said thretene poure men sufficient drapry basens ewers and oder stuffe and utensils for their bordes in their comune hall and also their botry pantry ewery kechyn larder and lavendry.'⁴⁷ Historians have had a rough idea where these buildings stood within the precinct of Westminster Abbey but have been unclear as to their relationship to one another.⁴⁸ The indentures are a helpful source for understanding what Henry VII had built for the almsmen but do not say much about the physical structures themselves or where they were built, only that they were within the Abbey precinct. When it comes to modelling the physical structure of the almshouse complex, the detailed building accounts are invaluable.⁴⁹ Within the building records

⁴⁴ Fig. 3.0, p. 130, Fig. 3.1, pp. 131-32.

⁴⁵ Appendix *i*. f. 59v lines 18-20, p. 265.

⁴⁶ Appendix *i*. f. 75r lines 1-5, p. 275; f. 75v lines 1-3, 14-16, p. 276.

⁴⁷ Appendix *i*. f. 75r lines 1-5, p. 275; f. 75v lines 1-3, 14-16, p. 276.

⁴⁸ Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540 The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1989), p. 214 fn 3; Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, p. 297; Neil Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provisions in Later Medieval England c.1260-1540' (unpublished PhD, Cambridge University, 2001), pp. 79-160; Tanner, 'The Queen's Almsmen', pp. 9-10.

⁴⁹ WAM, 5398.

information such as how many bricks were used on each building, the amount of timber used, and the cost of supplies used to build the almshouse buildings are all documented. Nevertheless, this source fails to mention where the buildings were and only gives dimensions for a few of the structures and not the entire complex.

There are no documents which detail the site or structures of the almshouse buildings between its original foundation in 1502 and the Abbey's Dissolution in 1540. The buildings were accounted for amongst the Dissolution inventories of the Abbey and shortly after the re-endowment of the Cathedral, part of the almshouse complex had been leased for private use.⁵⁰ These inventories do not give enough information to provide a clear image of the almshouse area. Nevertheless, there are a number of documents regarding land disputes dating from the late sixteenth century up to the eighteenth century that help to shed light on the size and layout of the almshouse area.⁵¹

⁵⁰ WAM, 5321: The deed for the almshouse land drawn up between Richard Cecil and Edward VI (1547/8). WAM, 18317 and 18397: Edward VI suppression of the almsmen's priest and chapel and grant to David Vincent.

⁵¹ WAM, 18424A-C: An eighteenth century land dispute which goes over the history of the almshouse complex from its Dissolution in 1547 up to the early eighteenth century. This document lists the names of previous tenants but also give dimensions of the buildings, their locations, along with stating how the buildings were previously used. WAM, 5325: Complaint by the almsmen to Elizabeth I (1558) regarding the ownership of one of their buildings lost during the Dissolution of the Abbey in 1547. This source gives details regarding what the previous owners had done to the houses and gives details on how the land had changed during the sixteenth century. WAM, 18397: Record of a seventeenth century land dispute between the Keeper of the Gatehouse Prison and the Almsmen over a piece of land that they claimed once belong to them which the keeper had been using for his own personal garden. This source reiterates past land grants and what happened to the land and buildings during the Abbey's Dissolution. WAM, 43722: Elizabeth I land grant back to the almsmen 1604. WAM, 42095: Dispute over restoration of almshouse lands, temp. Charles I. WAM, 43500: Record of a land dispute regarding a piece of land positioned between the almshouse complex and the gatehouse prison. This source gives details of where certain buildings stood and also addresses how the almsmen entered the Abbey/Cathedral once they no longer had use of their chapel. WAM, 18406: 1657 Dispute over almshouse land claimed by a Sir Anthony Irby. WAM, 18177: Rental agreement regarding payment for use of the 'priest's house' which once belonged to the almsmen. This source also provides insight into the location of the buildings and their proximity to one another. WAM, 18174: An agreement between almsmen and the keeper of the gatehouse (Weeks) regarding the priest's house and his use of the garden referred to as a slip of land. This source restates the ownership history of the buildings after the Dissolution and also provides more information regarding the location of the buildings one another and also the condition of the buildings at the time of the agreement (dated 1654). WAM, 18398: A continuation of 18174 but provides dimensions for the almshouse complex. WAM, 5320: Dispute with the Keeper of the Gatehouse (Weeks) regarding this same property. This source gives dimensions of a number of buildings found on the site which had been built in the seventeenth century. WAM, 18395: Addresses the ownership of the almshouse after Brigham had passed away in 1558. WAM, 5368 and 5326: 1699/70 Land dispute over area between the almshouse complex and the gatehouse prison. This source gives dimensions of the area. WAM, 5340: Lease of this same

Apart from the records of disputes about land there are also a number of sources which address the later building works and repairs, and although they are much later than the original foundation, they can be used to help reconstruct the buildings and their appearance in the early sixteenth century.⁵² Although most building records are concerned with minor repairs to chimneys, roofs, rotted woodwork, door locks and keys, repainting, building obstructions, the roofs, crumbling walls, and the maintenance or cleaning of the shore/sewer adjoining the almshouse, they can be used to give a more complete picture of the almshouse complex and its furnishings.⁵³

Finally, there are also a number of drawings, maps, and surveys from the eighteenth century of the almshouse and almshouse complex which will be used to help recreate what the almshouse area looked like during the sixteenth century.⁵⁴ By using the information in the indentures, alongside the original surviving building records, that give full details of the building measurements (but not including the almsmen's hall, kitchen, butter, laundry, larder, and pantry) along with the inventories of Henry VIII and Edward VI's Dissolution of the Abbey and chantries c.1540-1547, and later records that give specific details of the almshouse sites and how it had been altered over time, and with the eighteenth century plans and surveys of the area, a reconstruction of the lay out of the original almshouse complex shortly after its construction in 1502 up to

piece between almshouse complex and gatehouse. This source gives more details of what stood on the site. WAM, 18408 and 18409: Petitions from the almsmen regarding the use of their garden.

⁵² WAM, 5303, 5375, 5359, 5332, 42241, 5344. Fallen shed see WAM, 5314. Replacement of windows WAM, see 5332F. Encroaching buildings see WAM, 5347. Erection of walls see WAM, 5340. Cleaning of the shore located on the eastern side of the almshouse see WAM, 5336. Rotted woodwork see WAM, 5328. Fallen almshouse see WAM, 5283. Almshouse 'shower' reference see WAM, 5358.

⁵³ See above. There are also a number of complaints to the Dean and Chapter from the almsmen and their neighbours regarding smoke laden windows that had been blocked by the encroachment of neighbours and their chimneys, or the activities of a certain Mr. Brian who had built so near to the almshouse and garden on the north-eastern side of the site that his house and shop hung over the almsmen's shower/watershed. Neighbours watershed see WAM, 5358, 43500, other infringements: 5347, 43500, 18397, 5320, 5283, 5340.

⁵⁴ WAM, 18410, 1719/20 sketch plan of the almshouse, Fig. 3.3, p. 150; WAM, 66003 Sketch of almshouse 1779, Fig. 3.4, p. 151.

Elizabeth's reFOUNDATION and restoration of lands in 1604 can be attempted, see Fig. 3.2.⁵⁵

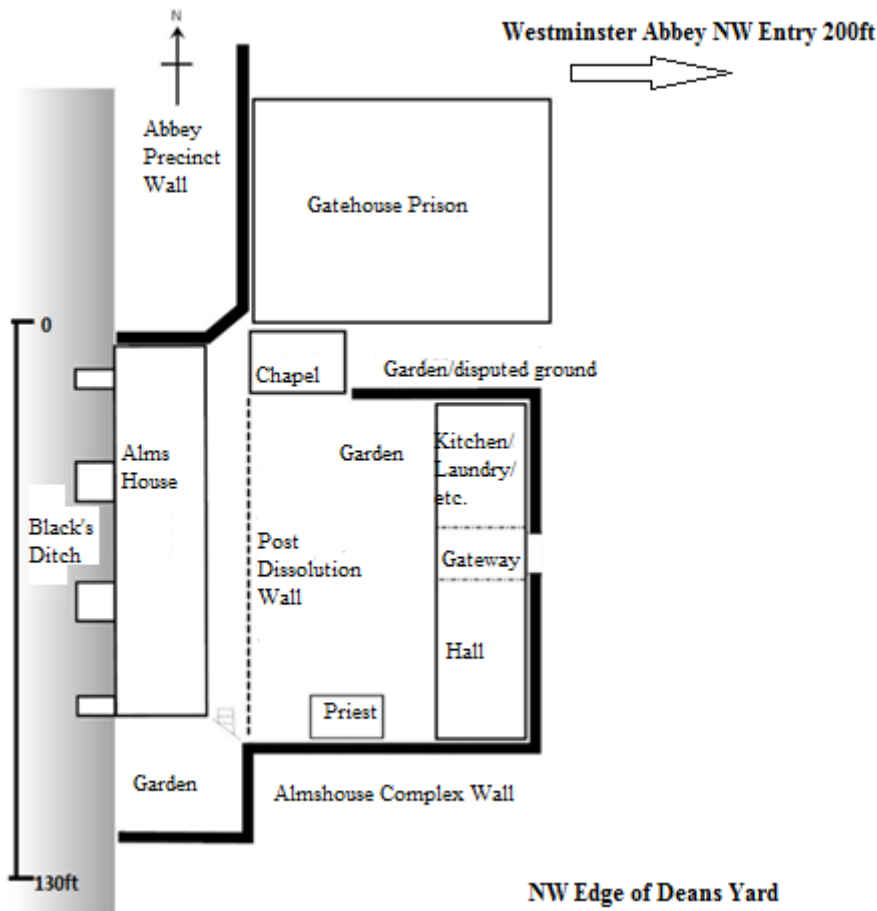


Fig. 3.2 Sketch Map of the Sixteenth Century Almshouse Complex.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ WAM, 18424A-C, 42095, 43722,43500, 18406, 18177, 18174, 5320, 18398, 18317, 18397, 18395, 5325, 18396, 5340, 18399, 18404, 18408, 18409, 5347, 34508D, 18410. A brief description of these sources will be provided later in the chapter. Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

⁵⁶ A. E. Henderson's reproduction of St. Peter and Palace of Westminster circa 1532 has been the definitive reproduction of Westminster Abbey in the later sixteenth century, see Fig. 3.1, pp. 131-32. It is clear by the details that Henderson, like Keene, closely studied the primary source documents found within the Abbey muniments for this reconstruction; nevertheless, there are a number of minor inaccurate details, specifically with the almshouse and almshouse complex. However, these minor inaccuracies do not take away from the value of this reproduction and have been used when trying to recreate an early sixteenth century plan for the almshouse complex. Fig. 3.2 is a reconstruction of the almshouse site based upon information given in the indentures BL, Harley MS 1498, the building records WAM, 5398, later property disputes WAM, 18424A-C, 5368, 5347, 5320, 5328, 18174, 43722, 18317, 5326, 5325, 18379, 18396, 18398, 18395, 18406, 18399, 18404, 18408, eighteenth century sketch plans WAM, 18410, 66003, see Fig. 3.3, p. 150 and Fig. 3.4 p. 151, and Henry Keene's sketch plans, Fig. 3.0, p. 130.

iv. The Almshouse Site and its Buildings

There are a number of sources that help shed light on the overall size of the almshouse complex.⁵⁷ Unfortunately, most of these sources do not agree exactly with one another, but, enough information can be gathered to get a rough idea within 10 ft on all sides, see Fig. 3.2. According to these sources the most easterly boundary of the almshouse site measured about 80 ft long, whilst the most southern was said to be over 86 ft long.⁵⁸ The western perimeter was anywhere from 95-120 ft long, whilst the most northern perimeter wall was said to have been about 65 ft long but does not include the chapel or the grounds lying on the western side of this building, see Fig. 3.2.⁵⁹

In 1547, Richard Cecil helped Nicolas Brigham build a dividing wall that ran north to south and separated the almshouse site into two sections: the western section, which contained the almsmen's living accommodations and small garden, and the eastern section, which had contained the almsmen's chapel, priest's house, the larger of their two gardens and their common hall, kitchen, larder, laundry, pantry, buttery and the almswomen's living accommodations and which then became Brigham's personal dwelling, see Fig. 3.2.⁶⁰ At the time of its original foundation, c.1502, this division of the site did not exist.

According to the building records, the almshouse building on the most western perimeter measured 120 ft long including its garden.⁶¹ Later sketch surveys show the almshouse building on the western boarder measuring just over 100 ft long making the

⁵⁷ WAM, 5398 (original building records), 5320, 18424A-C (later land disputes) 18174, 18398, 5325 (Dissolution documents and reallocation of lands) 18410, 34508D (land surveys).

⁵⁸ WAM, 18424A-C, 18398.

⁵⁹ WAM, 18424A-C, 18398. There are a number of conflicts within different sources regarding the length of the western perimeter. One source claims 95ft but appears to be inaccurate with its other measurements (WAM, 18424A-C), whilst the building records say it measures 120 ft long (WAM, 5398) and finally an eighteenth century survey shows the building measuring just over 100ft long (WAM, 18410). Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

⁶⁰ Fig. 3.2, p. 141. WAM, 18397: Cecil's wall.

⁶¹ WAM, 5398.

garden abutting the south side of the house about 20 ft long, see Fig. 3.2.⁶² According to these records, the entire almshouse complex, both the eastern and western sections, was surrounded by a very large wall. This wall was made of 90,000 bricks and cost £39 2s. 6d. to build.⁶³ Tudor bricks were variable in size.⁶⁴ Mortar often made up the difference in size between bricks but in general they were slightly smaller than a modern day brick which measures 8.5x4x2.5 in.⁶⁵ Bearing this in mind, if one assumes the thickness of the wall to roughly be three and a half bricks thick, similar to the almshouse, the surrounding wall based on later surveys of the area could have possibly stood about ten ft high.⁶⁶

The almshouse served many different purposes. Run as a chantry for the benefit of the King's soul, its main function was as a memorial, nevertheless, it also functioned as a retirement home for those chosen few who had served the Crown and Abbey loyally. The property acquired for the building of the almshouse was located on the eastern bank of Black's Ditch and consisted of open land with at least one known house on it.⁶⁷ Prior to the Dissolution of the Abbey, c.1540, and the division of its grounds by the Court of Augmentations and Crown officials, the almshouse buildings were located within the Abbey precinct.⁶⁸ Black's Ditch was the natural border of division on the western side of the Abbey and the almshouse stood on its eastern shore, whilst the almonry complex stood opposite, on the western shore and was said to be outside the Abbey precinct, see

⁶² See Fig. 3.2, p. 141, Fig. 3.3, p. 150 and Fig. 3.4, p. 151; Eighteenth century sketch plans WAM, 18410, 66003.

⁶³ WAM, 5398. This was a boundary wall which was built around the almshouse and not a part of the structure. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*. p. 207.

⁶⁴ John Schofield, *The Building of London* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 126-29.

⁶⁵ John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven, 1994), p. 151.

⁶⁶ The dimensions for the dissolved almshouse complex appear to be fractionally out. Nevertheless, these differences do not appear to affect the size of the wall. WAM, 18424A-C dimensions of complex; WAM, 5398 dimensions of buildings; WAM, 5320 dimensions of surrounding grounds; WAM, 18398 dimensions of complex; WAM, 18410 survey of the almshouse.

⁶⁷ See Fig. 3.0, p 130; Fig. 3.1 (A) (B), pp. 131-32; Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

⁶⁸ It is stated within the indentures that the buildings were located within the precinct of the Abbey. The building works had begun by 1500 and were completed in 1504 the same time the indentures had been completed. Appendix i. f. 59v lines 18-20, p. 265.

Fig. 3.0-3.2.⁶⁹ It is possible that this was one of the only places close enough to the Abbey to provide the required space needed for Henry VII's almshouse plans. The site of course was not entirely empty when it was acquired. It would appear from later land disputes that there was a small house located in the eastern section of the newly erected complex that once belonged to the keeper of the gatehouse [see priest's house Fig. 3.2].⁷⁰ It would also seem that after the foundation the almsmen's priest lived in this house but was later removed from it at the Dissolution when the keeper of the gatehouse was re-granted this small house.⁷¹

The relationship of the new almshouses to the pre-existing Abbey's Almonry is significant. By the time of the building of the almshouse c.1500 the Almonry was in disarray. Many of its buildings were in need of serious repair and the money given to the refurbishment of its buildings by the Crown had been mismanaged and used to fund the salary increase of the Almoners and not used towards its repairs.⁷² Although Henry, in his will, bequeathed money to the Almonry for distribution to the poor, he also chose to build his own almshouse and established very strict regulations to prevent such mismanagement. In doing so, Henry may have been indicating his disapproval of the way in which the Almonry was run. Henry's almshouse was founded as a chantry and was to cater to a different type of poor person from those supported by the Almonry and thus merited its own private space.

In many ways the design and furnishings of an almshouse can be understood as a direct reflection of the ideal life imagined and prescribed in the almshouse statutes. The communal hall with which most almshouses were furnished emphasized the idea of communal living, while separate rooms, often prescribed by the founders, stressed the

⁶⁹Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provisions in Later Medieval England c.1260-1540', p. 81. Fig. 3.0, p. 130; Fig. 3.1 (A) (B), pp. 131-32; Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

⁷⁰WAM, 18397. See Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

⁷²Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provisions in Later Medieval England c.1260-1540', pp. 152-60.

importance of solitary living for the inmates.⁷³ Following this model, every functional space in Henry's almshouse complex was designed with a purpose, from the communal hall and chapel located in the eastern section of the almshouse complex to the separate living quarters and privies located in the western section of the almshouse complex.⁷⁴ The way of life for an almsman was to remain isolated from the monastic community but to live communally. This is suggested by the fact that the almshouse complex was surrounded by a massive wall.⁷⁵ This communal living within an isolated environment is also suggested by the fact that Henry's almsmen had their own chapel and dining room within the hall, where together they would pray and eat. They were, however, still expected to participate daily in high mass within Henry's new Lady Chapel in the Abbey together with the monks and local parishioners. The gateway into and out of the almshouse's eastern section was located directly off the main pathway that led from the gate of the Abbey to the west end at the church, see Fig. 3.0 and 3.2.⁷⁶ Every day the almsmen were to walk in order to the Abbey along this path.⁷⁷ Once in the Abbey they were to assist the monks to celebrate mass and to participate in their chantry services. Yet, even in this semi-public arena, they were to remain segregated, sitting around the tomb of the King while the monks and parishioners remained at a distance. At other times, the almsmen were also segregated from each other. Having been provided with their own rooms, they were expected, when not in prayer or eating together, to retire to

⁷³ St. Cross, Ewelme and Whittington's almshouses were all furnished with communal eating halls.

⁷⁴ See Fig. 3.0, p. 130, Fig. 3.1 (A) (B), p. 131-32, Fig. 3.2, p. 141. It is not known whether there were privies on the second story since this was not a common feature found in Tudor almshouses or colleges. Nevertheless, Cardinal Beaufort's *House of Noble Poverty* at the Hospital of St. Cross in Winchester did provide these luxuries and served as a model when Henry VII was designing his own almshouse, see Fig. 3.6 (A-B), p.155. For a short history of St. Cross see, Peter Hopewell, *Saint Cross England's Oldest Almshouse* (Chichester, 1995), p. 58; F. T. Dollman and J. R. Jobbins, *An Analysis of Ancient Domestic Architecture* (London, 1861), pp. 16-22.

⁷⁵ Fig. 3.0, p. 130, Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*; WAM, 18424A-C mentions gate entrance to street; WAM, 43500 mentions east side of house abutting road, WAM, 18174 is a later dispute over where the entrance of almshouse complex should be; WAM, 5320 discusses the road or street running along the eastern boundary of disputed almshouse land.

⁷⁷ Appendix i. ff. 63r-65v, pp. 269-72.

their chambers for private meditation. This idea of “communal isolation” embodied in the statutes was reflected in the physical almshouse. It was not unique either in its purpose or its design, yet the building spoke of a new form of royal piety and charity.

The written indentures for the almshouse specified only that it was to contain thirteen poor men, one of whom was a priest, each with his own room, and that these men were to be provided with a common hall and chapel, stable and garden.⁷⁸ There is no mention of separate privies or fire places, only that the men were to receive specified amounts of wood and coal for their own personal use.⁷⁹ The detailed design of the almshouse would have been left to the surveyor’s and contractors’ interpretation of the indentures, in discussion with the King. It may be assumed that since the building of the almshouse took place during the King’s lifetime, he made a significant input into its design. This is further suggested by the number of documented visits Henry made to Abbot Islip during the building period.⁸⁰ It is probable that these meetings would have focused mainly on Henry’s chapel and tomb, but because the almshouse was linked to the royal chantry, it would also have been a subject of interest to the King.

The first part of the analysis of the buildings of the almshouse site will look at the western section: the almsmen’s main living accommodations and small garden.

A. The Western Section of the Almshouse Site

The almsmen’s living accommodations stood on the eastern bank of Black’s Ditch, also known as Long’s Ditch, directly opposite Westminster Abbey’s Almonry complex, south of the Great Gatehouse to the monastery, on the western side of the almshouse

⁷⁸ Appendix *i*. f. 75r lines 5-10, p. 275; f. 75v lines 1-3, 14-16, p. 276.

⁷⁹ This of course would suggest they were provided with their own fireplaces and they are seen in sketch plan WAM, 18140 (Fig. 3.3, p. 150) which show the fireplaces as protruding into the front room of the almsmen’s chambers and in the building works (WAM 5398) there are detailed accounts of chimney work on all the buildings. Reference to wood and coal payments: Appendix *i*. f. 45r lines 5-15, pp. 257-58; f. 62v lines 1-8, p. 268.

⁸⁰ Meetings in 1500 between Abbot George Fascet [1498-1500], Prior John Islip (whom later became Abbot Islip) and the King, WAM, 33320 f. 35; WAM, 6635.

complex, see Figs. 3.0-3.2.⁸¹ The site today is located at the entrance to Dean's Yard. Each of the significant buildings in this area of Westminster, St. Margaret's church built by its parishioners, Henry VII's chapel, and the almshouse itself, served a different purpose and these were expressed in their architectural styles. St. Margaret's parish church was a sombre later medieval stone structure funded almost entirely by the parish itself, the focus of civic pride and piety, while Henry VII's chapel was an example of the grandest style of high gothic in a ceremonial location flaunting the wealth and grandeur of the Crown.⁸² In their appearance, these two structures represent the different economic imperatives in Westminster.⁸³ Henry VII's almshouse was different in style, appearance, and usage from either of the other two buildings being neither a grand chapel nor a communal parish church. It was not made of stone, as was St Margaret's, and was not impressive in its appearance. It was built of brick and so would have appeared rather different from the surrounding buildings.

Henry was influenced and assisted by a number of people such as his advisor, Bishop Richard Fox, who was also a close spiritual friend of his mother; his uncle, Jasper Tudor [c.1431-1495], with whom he had spent many years in exile, and Margaret Beaufort his mother, all of whom had experience of funding and managing almshouses.⁸⁴ It could be argued that it was as a result of their collective experience and the known mismanagement of several important institutions such as the Almonry at Westminster Abbey and St. Cross Hospital in Winchester, that Henry, with their assistance, drew up very strict rules and regulations for the management of his own almshouse while also

⁸¹ See Fig. 3.0, p. 130, Fig. 3.1 (A) (B), pp. 131-32 and Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

⁸² Ironically, Abbot John Islip, who oversaw the building and funding of Henry's almshouse and memorial, was also the key patron of St. Margaret's parish church yet he did not have a hand in its rebuilding. A majority of the funds provided for the building of the parish church came from the community. See Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, pp. 263-74.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 266-68.

⁸⁴ See introduction and chapter 1.

receiving guidance from these other institutions when designing the physical appearance and functioning of the almshouse site.⁸⁵

The building of the almshouse complex began in the winter of 1500, and continued into the spring and summer of 1504.⁸⁶ According to the original building contracts, the site was first drained and several loads of sand were deposited to help stabilize the foundation.⁸⁷ The almsmen's accommodation, located on the western side of the almshouse complex was built of 294,000 bricks at the cost of 4s. per thousand to total £158 16s. 2d..⁸⁸ According to the original building records the almshouse measured 120 feet long and 26 feet wide and 18 feet high to the eaves.⁸⁹ The walls of the almshouse accommodation were three and a half bricks thick and thus provided insulation from the weather. The use of brick appears with increasing frequency in building records from the fifteenth and sixteenth century.⁹⁰ Most timber framed homes used brick in their underpinning and often rooms such as kitchens were fitted with brick 'reredos', but bricks were mostly used for chimney work.⁹¹ The chimneys for the almshouse accommodation building were accounted for separately together with the cost of the

⁸⁵ Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, played an important role in the foundation of Henry's memorial at Westminster Abbey. He may have recommended the main carpenter, Humphrey Coke, who later became the King's Master Carpenter and Warden of the Company of the Carpenters between 1507/8 and 1511. On 22 March of 1504, Coke received £26 12s. 4d. for 'reconyng for the kyng's almes housses' and in November of that year Richard was paid £11 14s. 2d. for the King's almshouse ...by 'boke'. BL, Additional MS 59899 f. 50; Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*. p. 209. Not only did Humphrey Coke work on the almshouse for Henry VII but also Henry's Savoy Hospital. Coke also helped with the building of many Oxford colleges, specifically Corpus Christi, founded by Richard Fox in 1517. Coke's talent was said to have equalled other great master carpenters of the time such as William Vertue, with whom he worked with on a number of great building projects and Henry Redman. He was also responsible for erecting the ornate golden pavilion in France during 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold' for King Henry VIII. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*. p. 209. See Alan B. Cobban, *English University Life in the Middle Ages* (London, 2001), p. 144; Eric A. Gee, 'Oxford Carpenters 1370-1530' *Oxoniensia*, 17-18 (1952-3), 112-88 (p. 113); John Harvey, *English Medieval Architects : a biographical dictionary down to 1550*, with contributions by Arthur Oswald, rev. edn (Batsford, 1984), pp. 64-65.

⁸⁶ WAM, 5398; and Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, pp. 207-10.

⁸⁷ WAM, 5398.

⁸⁸ WAM, 5398. See Fig. 3.0, p. 130, Fig. 3.1 (A) (B), pp. 131-32 and Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

⁸⁹ WAM, 5398.

⁹⁰ John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 151.

⁹¹ A reredos is the back of an open hearth of a fireplace. John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 151.

underpinning, lime, sand and other stuff to total £26 2s. 6d..⁹² Altogether the western site or almsmen's accommodation cost £184 18s. 8d. to build.

The exterior of the almshouse was built in brick and would have stood out from the many stone buildings in the Westminster area. Brick was not an uncommon building material, and in fact, had been used for quite some time in less visible areas of buildings; mostly employed in underpinning timber-framed buildings or for internal features.⁹³ The use of brick had several advantages. In comparison with stone, brick was fairly inexpensive and easy to maintain. It was lighter to transport, cheaper and easier to work with, and the raw material for making brick could be found near to, or within, London.⁹⁴

It is clear that Henry's almshouse statutes had been influenced by several earlier almshouses foundations such as 'God's House' in Ewelme and the *Almshouse of Noble Poverty* at St. Cross in Winchester.⁹⁵ This influence may have even crossed over into building materials and exterior appearances; both earlier almshouses had been made of brick. Henry's almshouse was therefore not innovative but rather followed a trend.

There are no surviving records that describe the bonding or pattern of the bricks used for the building, and there are no sketches that show these details.⁹⁶ Although it was very common for Tudor religious buildings to have patterns within the brick, decorative bricks did not become popular on secular houses until the mid sixteenth century. It can therefore be suggested that the exterior would probably have had no patterns or special detailing, yet this lack of detail did not mean it was not seen as a lavish establishment.

⁹² WAM, 5398. It has been assumed that this payment was for the main almshouse or living accommodation's chimneys and not for other buildings located on the eastern side of the site which appear to be addressed separately.

⁹³ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 150-52.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 147; WAM, 5398; Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provisions in Later Medieval England c.1260-1540', p. 152.

⁹⁵ See chapter 1.

⁹⁶ Hampton Court and its chimneys are good examples of the details and bonding being used for prominent buildings of the time.

The Lady Chapel, Henry's main project, was built in stone and it can be assumed that this was done because it was an extension of the stone Abbey and nearly impossible to recreate the gothic arches and tracery in brick and would have stood out otherwise. Furthermore, the almshouse was built to support the chapel, not to overshadow it.

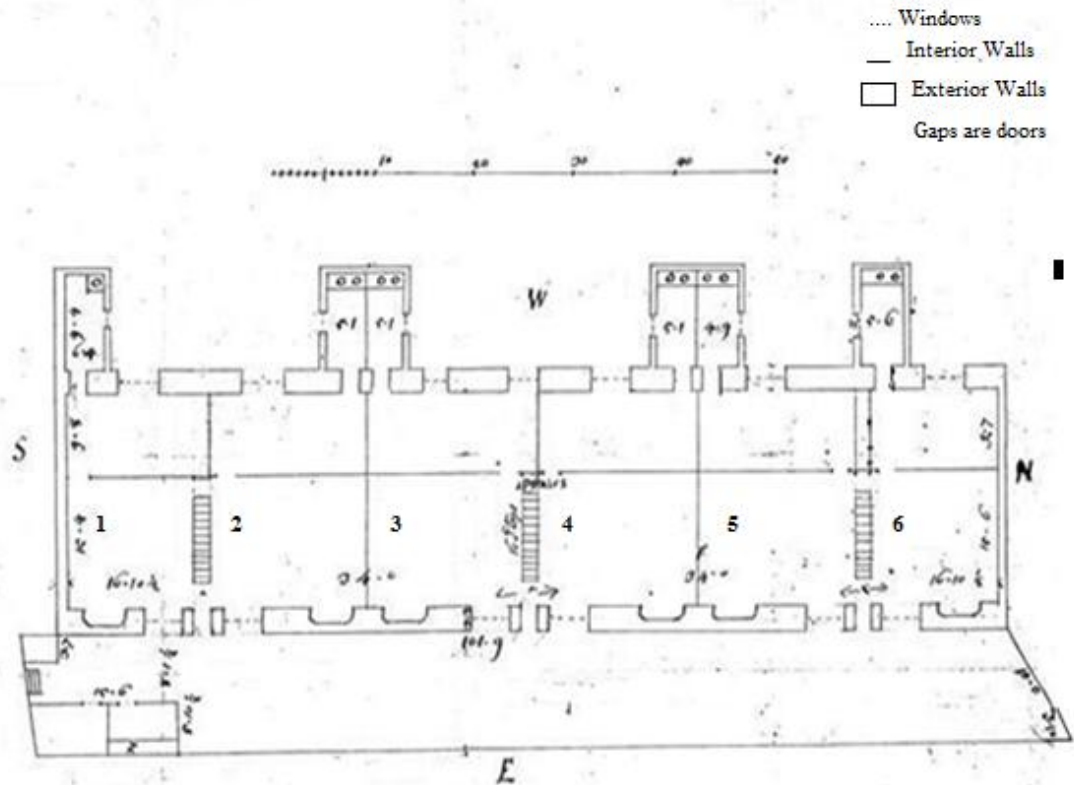


Fig. 3.3 Sketch Plan of the Almshouse c.1719/20 (WAM, 18410).⁹⁷

Although the western almshouse no longer exists, there are the two detailed surveyor's plans from the eighteenth century that do survive and will be used to help reconstruct the plan of the almsmen's living accommodation circa 1504, see Figs. 3.3-3.4.⁹⁸ These plans will be used along-side the records of the original building works and later building works to reconstruct the appearance of the sixteenth century almshouse.⁹⁹ The first sketch plan used in this reconstruction was produced on 24 March 1719/20 and gives details of the length of the building, layout of the rooms, and the location of

⁹⁷ Colvin suggests this plan was made by the Abbey's surveyor William Dickinson. Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, p. 209

⁹⁸ Figs. 3.3, p. 154, Fig. 3.4, p. 151.

⁹⁹ WAM, 18410, 66003, 5398, 18424A-C, 38547-9. See Fig. 3.3, p. 150.

privies and chimneys, see Fig. 3.3.¹⁰⁰ This plan is invaluable for helping us understand the layout of the almshouse, but, unfortunately, it neglects to show the second storey. It would appear that the plan was initially drawn-up by a surveyor commissioned by the Dean of Westminster, after several petitions from the almshouse had been sent to the Dean about the need for repairs. Although drawn-up nearly 200 years after the original foundation, the sketch plan in Fig.3.3 can be considered a good indication of the almshouse in the later sixteenth century because after Elizabeth I's renovations to the almshouse, c.1566, there are no major building works documented, but only minor repairs to individual almshouses.¹⁰¹

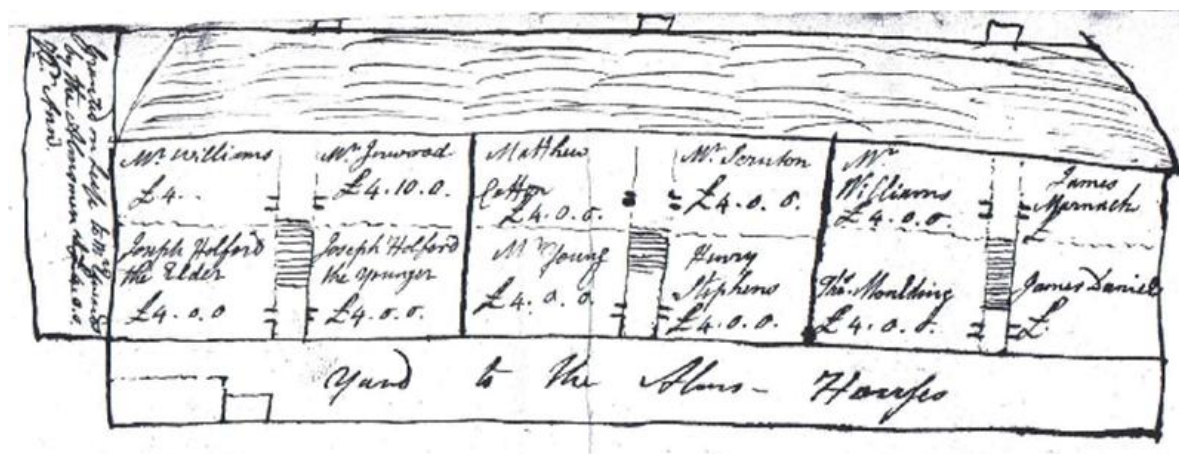


Fig. 3.4 Sketch Plan of Almshouse c.1779 (WAM, 66003).

The second sketch plan used to create a reproduction of the almshouse is sketch plan WAM, 66003, see Fig. 3.4. This plan was drawn sixty years after WAM, 18410 and supposedly after the building had been torn down in 1778/9 to expand Tothill Street.¹⁰² Fig. 3.4 appears to have been drawn freehand and intended to show financial and administrative details about the residents rather than the exact dimensions of the

¹⁰⁰ Fig. 3.3, p. 150; WAM, 18410. A reproduction of the plan can be found in Colvin, *History of the King's Works*, p. 209, and in Rushton, 'Monastic Charitable Provisions in Later Medieval England c.1260-1540', p. 153.

¹⁰¹ Fig. 3.3, p. 150.

¹⁰² WAM, 65988-66002.

physical structure. These two eighteenth century plans have made it possible to reconstruct the western almshouse floor plan using modern architectural programs, See Fig. 3.5.¹⁰³

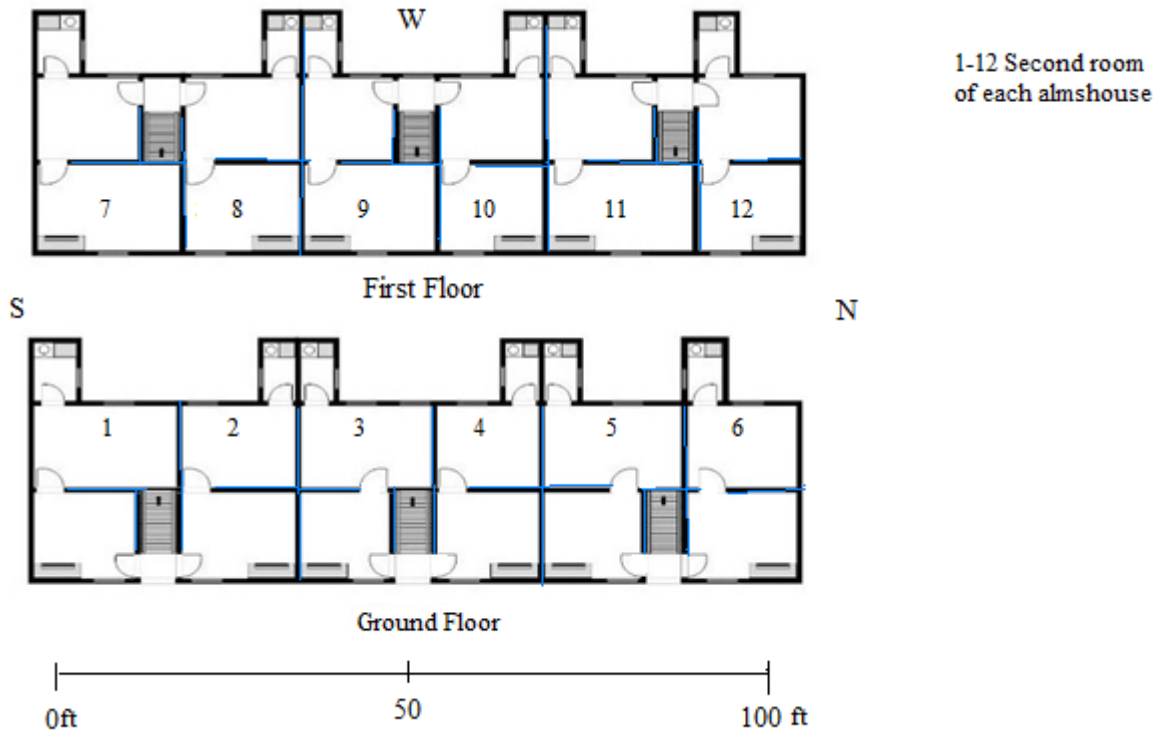


Fig. 3.5 Reconstruction Sketch Plan of the Almsmen’s Living Accommodation Sixteenth Century.

Interior walls are shown in blue whilst the exterior walls are shown in black. Privies are shown on the western side of the building whilst the fireplaces are located on the eastern side of the almshouse.

While the first plan WAM, 18410 (Fig. 3.3) shows the outline of the almshouse and rooms on the ground floor, including dimensions, the second plan WAM, 66003 (Fig. 3.4) omits dimensions but includes both stories and gives more information regarding the rectangular space running along the eastern side of the almshouse, whilst also

¹⁰³ Fig. 3.5, p. 152.

providing the names and rates/rents of each almsman's house.¹⁰⁴ Fig. 3.3 only shows the ground level but gives a number of clues to what the upper story must have looked like.¹⁰⁵ The original building records confirm that the 'house' or range of buildings measured 120 ft long and 26 ft wide between the walls and 18 ft high to the eaves.¹⁰⁶ According to the sketch plan in Fig.3.3 the almshouse building measured approximately 101 ft 9 in. long, north to south, and an estimated 25 ft wide, east to west, not including the privies which over hung on the back of the almshouse.¹⁰⁷ The larger measurements of the building documents may have taken into consideration the garden located on the south side of the almshouse which was said to have been built-up or raised to the level, or near the level, of the almshouse with loads of sand.¹⁰⁸ According to the Dissolution assessments of the almshouse area the western boundary of the almshouse site measured 95 ft.¹⁰⁹ This assessment probably did not include the garden area.¹¹⁰ Loads of sand had to be delivered to the site to help stabilise the land because it was built on the swampy shores of Black's Ditch.¹¹¹ The almshouse building had two stories with six individual apartments on each floor.¹¹² Each apartment contained two rooms. For descriptive purposes these apartments will be numbered one to six starting with the most southern almshouse. Fig.3.3 shows exterior walls as solid wide structures and the interior walls

¹⁰⁴ The area labeled 'yard to the almshouse' suggests that the long rectangular image drawn in on WAM 18410 is actually some form of paved or hard surface outside the almshouse separating it from the road which ran along the walled Abbey and the almshouse itself. WAM 66003. This sketch plan has not been published or reproduced elsewhere.

¹⁰⁵ Fig. 3.3, p. 150; Fig. 3.5, p. 152.

¹⁰⁶ WAM, 5398 and Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 207. This does not agree with the almshouse surrender documents c.1540-47 that calculates the perimeter line on the western side of the almshouse complex to be about 95 ft. WAM, 18424A-C.

¹⁰⁷ These dimensions do not include the yard located on the front of the building (eastern side) nor the privies on the back (western side) of the building overhanging Black's Ditch.

¹⁰⁸ WAM, 5398.

¹⁰⁹ WAM, 18424A-C.

¹¹⁰ We will never know the correct measurement of the western boarder of the almshouse site it can only be assumed that running north to south total the area measured between 95 and 120 ft long.

¹¹¹ WAM, 5398.

¹¹² WAM, 18140.

as single lines.¹¹³ The six apartments on the lower story came with private privies and it is assumed that the upper story privies would have coincided with these. Each chamber appears to have been divided into two parts by a partition wall running north to south.¹¹⁴ Apartment one measured roughly 25 ft long and was divided into two parts; the front room measured 15 ft 4 in. long and the back room measures 9 ft 8 in. long. The apartment was divided by a thin interior wall with a small door on the left hand side of this wall. The width of both rooms in apartment one was 16 ft 10.5 in. wide. The six apartments on the first floor were similar in their physical make-up, except that the doors of entry into the privies, second rooms, and front rooms varied depending on which side of the staircase they were on. Apartment one, on the most southern side of the almshouse, and apartment six, on the most northern side of the almshouse, appears to have been the same overall length, but due to time and settling, apartment six's front room measured 15 ft 6 in. long and its back room measured 9 ft 7 in. long.¹¹⁵ Apartments two through five appear to be consistent with their measurements with apartments one and six.

¹¹³ Fig. 3.3, p. 150.

¹¹⁴ According to the sketch plan WAM, 18410, the six privies varied slightly in size.

¹¹⁵ WAM, 18410.

The amenities Henry VII provided, such as large rooms, privies, and fireplaces, although not necessarily provided in earlier almshouses, became common place in those founded in the later sixteenth century. Henry had probably found inspiration from earlier almshouse foundations. The amenities such as private privies and fireplaces may owe less to Henry VII's originality, and more to his great uncle Cardinal Beaufort, who had commissioned the building of the *Almshouse of Noble Poverty* at St. Cross Hospital in Winchester, see Fig. 3.6 A and B.¹¹⁷ Although St. Cross was significantly larger than Henry VII's almshouse, the similarities shown in Fig. 3.6 are striking. Richard Fox was Bishop of Winchester and had the oversight of St. Cross at the time Henry was designing and building his almshouse. It is clear that the *Almshouse of Noble Poverty* founded by Cardinal Beaufort was a major influence not only in terms of building style, but also in his philanthropic and frugal approach.¹¹⁸ The Clothworkers' almshouse, for instance, founded by the Countess of Kent circa 1540 was very similar to Henry VII's almshouse.¹¹⁹ Each of the Clothworkers' almspeople had a single story room to themselves which was furnished with chimneys and private toilets. The Clothworkers' almshouses also had a walled courtyard similar to that of Henry VII's.¹²⁰ Both Beaufort and Henry along with Richard Whittington, and the de la Poles helped set a philanthropic trend of almshouse building which continued through the Dissolution.

Within the almshouse accommodation, rounded openings that appear on the 1719/20 plan (Fig. 3.3) suggest that in the front room of each almsman's chamber there was a fireplace.¹²¹ Although the plan of 1719/20, Fig. 3.3, only shows the ground floor of the almshouse, from petitions and later documentation of repairs made to the almshouse we

¹¹⁷ Fig. 3.6 (A) (B), p. 155. See chapter 1.

¹¹⁸ Fig. 3.6, p. 155. The *Almshouse of Noble Poverty* catered for retired royal and religious servants.

¹¹⁹ *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, ed. by John Schofield (London, 1987), pp. 129-30.

¹²⁰ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 56-58; Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, pp. 129-30.

¹²¹ Fig. 3.3, p. 150; WAM, 18410.

know that the upper chambers were also fitted with fireplaces.¹²² This conclusion is further supported by the 1779 (Fig. 3.4) survey showing stairways and chimneys on both floors.¹²³ Although fireplaces suggest luxury they were not an uncommon feature in many contemporary almshouses. The *House of Noble Poverty* was furnished with personal fireplaces, see Fig. 3.6 (A), and the Clothworkers' and Smith's almshouses, both located in London, were all furnished with fireplaces.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, Smith's almshouses built c.1576 did not have fireplaces in the upper chambers, while in the Countess of Kent's (Clothworkers') almshouses, built in 1538, chimneys were provided on both the upper and lower floors.¹²⁵ Most single story almshouses would also have had their own fireplaces. The main entrance into an almsman's room was on either side of the staircase on both the lower and upper story. The front wall of the almshouse is shown as a thick exterior wall and the dotted lines would appear to be windows. Next to each front window there is a doorway in the exterior wall leading into a small hallway. From the hallway there are doors leading into the almsman's chambers and stairs leading up to the first floor chambers. According to the plan each staircase had 16 steps to the first floor.¹²⁶

Although the 1719/20 plan, Fig. 3.3, only shows the layout of the ground floor rooms it is possible to make certain assumptions regarding the layout of the upper story, see Fig. 3.5.¹²⁷ Three narrow staircases lead to the upper chambers and divided rooms one and two, three and four, and five and six. There was an interior wall which then

¹²² Fig. 3.3, p. 150; Plan WAM, 18410; CSP, *Domestic Series with Addenda*, p. 537-38.

¹²³ Fig. 3.4, p. 151; WAM, 66003.

¹²⁴ Fig. 3.6 (A), p. 155. Smith's almshouses were founded by David Smith, an embroiderer to Elizabeth I. He had commissioned the founding of the almshouse after the death of his wife Katherine and the almshouses supported six poor widows and was known as 'widdowes Alley' or 'poore widowes Inne'. The almshouse was built upon the back of Woodmongers' Hall within the parish of St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, pp. 108-09.

¹²⁵ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, pp. 183, 208. Schofield, *The London Surveys of Ralph Trestwell*, Plate 8 and pp. 108-09.

¹²⁶ Fig. 3.3, p. 150; Fig. 3.5, p. 152. WAM, 18410

¹²⁷ Fig. 3.3, p. 150, Fig. 3.5, p. 152. WAM, 18410.

separated rooms two and three and four and five. Rooms one and six had on one side a thick exterior wall. It can be assumed that the rooms upstairs were divided by thin interior walls with thick exterior walls on the north and south ends. As seen on the sketch plan, the stairs had a direct ascent to the upper story and would have led to an upper hallway with a door on either side which would have been the access into each almsman's room. The rooms on both stories would have been nearly identical other than the fact that their entry into their rooms would have been on the opposite side of their front rooms. In Fig. 3.3 the support wall on the ground floor in apartment six had been drawn in but then moved.¹²⁸ It is not clear in this sketch plan where exactly this wall would have run until one thinks about where and how the upper floor would have looked and where exactly support walls would have needed to be.¹²⁹ This subtle error in Fig. 3.3 has been taken into consideration in the reconstruction, Fig. 3.5, and in addition, the door openings have been noted in the reconstruction to show the movement within each almshouse, see Fig. 3.5.¹³⁰

The written documentation indicates that windows were located on both the upper and lower floors at the back overlooking the ditch and at the front overlooking the almsmen's 'yard'.¹³¹ Fig. 3.3 shows the lower story windows as dashed lines and they are located in the front and back of each almsmen's chamber and also a window was provided in each almsman's privy.¹³² These windows were to be cleaned 'every so often'.¹³³ Petitions from immediate neighbours in later years also refer to the almsmen's windows as intruding on their privacy, and in return the almsmen complained that the buildings which were built in the common sewer, located on the west side of their

¹²⁸ Fig. 3.3, p. 150.

¹²⁹ Fig. 3.3, p. 150.

¹³⁰ Fig. 3.3, p. 150; Fig. 3.5, p. 152.

¹³¹ The 'yard' is labelled in WAM, 66003 as a 'yard' which means an area possibly tiled or with a hard surface.

¹³² Fig. 3.3, p. 150; WAM, 18140.

¹³³ The wording does not specify when and how often. Windows WAM, 5332 A-F, and 5340.

almshouse were obstructing the light to their own windows.¹³⁴ It is not clear how the almshouse obstructed light to neighbouring properties.¹³⁵

The rooms had plastered walls, while the upper rooms had exposed ceiling beams which, by the seventeenth century, were in need of much repair and some had even fallen down.¹³⁶ By the mid-seventeenth century many of the almsmen complained to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster about the ‘lofting’ of their roofs and the stones which were falling down from them on to the lower floor.¹³⁷ Reports on several occasions called for replastering and tiling of the ‘herth-paces’, the mending of floors, and replacement of faulty tiles elsewhere in the almshouse.¹³⁸

Six privies were provided on the western side of the almshouse overhanging Black’s Ditch. Each almsman, located on the ground floor, and probably also those on the floor above, had an entrance to the privy from the back room of his chamber.¹³⁹ The privy located on the most southern part of the almshouse was a single head privy measuring 9 ft 4 in. long and 6 ft 4 in. wide. The other five privies were double head all measuring 9 ft 4 in. long and varied in width from 4 ft 9in. to 5 ft 6 in. wide. Because these toilets had double heads, this does not mean the almsmen on the lower floors had two toilets,

¹³⁴ See WAM, 5319, 5358, 5337, 5340, 5347, 5346. Also see for other details WAM, 5398, 18410, 5332.

¹³⁵ Except that the possible proximity to these other buildings caused the light to be blocked.

¹³⁶ WAM, 5340, 5347, 5328, 5319, 5283, 5289, 5290, 5345, 5314, 5363, 5332A-F, 42241, 5344, 5359, 5375, 5303, 5343, 37036, 5382.

¹³⁷ Many of the sources remain for the maintenance of the almshouse. Much can be gauged from these sources about the details of the almshouse not given in the original building contracts. The timeliness of the repairs is a reflection of the importance of the almshouse to the Abbey and later College of Westminster, and although in the early years petitions had been granted and works performed speedily, by the later seventeenth century the almshouse was falling into disrepair and the Dean and Chapter often did not acknowledge problems until they became acute, rooms falling in on themselves and abandoned for years. Although many records do not contain dates it appears that on several occasions the almsmen had send multiple petitions before any decision or act was made. The protocol usually went like this; an almsman would submit a petition to the Dean of the College for works to be done on his house. The Dean would then ask for a survey by the college surveyors. The surveyor would then survey the almshouse and report back to the Dean giving the details of the damage and total cost of works, and finally, the Dean would then make provisions for a place to stay for an almsman while their houses were being repaired. See the case of Thomas Baker or Barker [almsman], WAM, 5289, 5290, 5345, 5363.

¹³⁸ WAM, 5345, 5332 A-F, 5340, 5344, 5375, 5332, 5359, 5303, 5289, 5290, 5283 and 18424 A-C.

¹³⁹ WAM, 18140.

but, rather there was some form of plumbing chute which ran from the upper chamber privy through the lower privy and the waste was then deposited into Black's Ditch.

To the east of the almsmen's chambers fronting the almshouse was a large 'yard' area referred to in Fig. 3.4 as a 'yard to the alms houses'.¹⁴⁰ The yard measured a little over 101 ft 9 in. long, 10 ft wide.¹⁴¹ At the time of its original construction, c.1502, the almsmen would have been able walk out of their homes across their yard to their chapel or their garden located directly across from the almshouse in the eastern section and thence to their common hall, see Fig. 3.2.¹⁴² Shortly after the Dissolution, Richard Cecil alienated the lands to the east of the almshouse's yard, removed the almsmen and then sold the land to new tenants.¹⁴³ In the process of removing the almsmen he then erected a wall running north to south dividing the almshouse site. This denied the almsmen access to their garden now on the other side of the wall.¹⁴⁴

The yard fronting the almsmen's accommodation had three steps at its southern end which led to the small almsmen's garden, located on the south of the almshouse. The fact that it was a solid surface and not just dirt is shown by a single boundary line marking out the specific area, and dimensions are then noted in Fig. 3.3.¹⁴⁵ It is not known whether this yard was covered to become a porch, but if so it would have greatly reduced the light from the lower story windows on the front of the almshouse. John Schofield notes that porches were common in almshouse structures especially in the later medieval period and in fact God's House Ewelme has a covered porch fronting its

¹⁴⁰ Fig. 3.4, p. 151.

¹⁴¹ WAM, 18140.

¹⁴² Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

¹⁴³ WAM, 18174, 5325.

¹⁴⁴ Fig. 3.2, p. 141. WAM, 18397. The original ground that Henry VII had decided upon for his almshouse complex once belonged to the gatehouse. This is important to understand when later disputes over land rights arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. WAM, 18424A-C, 43722,43500, 18406, 18177, 18174, 5320, 18398, 18317, 18397, 18395, 5325, 18396, 5340, 18399, 18404, 18408, 18409, 5347.

¹⁴⁵ Fig. 3.3, p. 150. If this area were just dirt in front of the house it would not have been marked out as such nor dimensions provided.

almshouses.¹⁴⁶ In this yard area in the most south-eastern corner, in 1719 there were four unidentified structures, see Fig. 3.3.¹⁴⁷ The structures measured 15' 6" long. This area was divided into three sections the first section was located on the most south-eastern corner and was the largest of the spaces measuring 7 ft 11.5 in. wide while the other rooms were divided into two spaces the first measured 5 ft 10.5 in. wide and the second measuring 2 ft 1 in. wide, see Fig. 3.3.¹⁴⁸ It would appear that these structures, whatever they were, were located directly in front of the windows of almshouse number one and created a narrow passage way from the steps leading to the garden. The fourth non-specific structure was located in the most south-western corner of the almsmen's yard, up against the exterior wall of almshouse numbered one and opposite the other three structures. This structure measured 3 ft 7 in. wide. Two of these three structures appear to have entrances, but there is no explanation as to what they were. It is likely that they were part of the original almshouse buildings.¹⁴⁹

The almsmen's smaller garden was located on the south side of the almshouse building, seen in Fig. 3.2.¹⁵⁰ The northern perimeter of this garden abutted the almshouse building and the western border abutted Black's Ditch. Access to this garden was located on the south side of the almshouse down three steps.¹⁵¹ Very little is known about this garden. Later sources regarding the garden lying in the eastern section note that the almsmen had access to another garden located off their almshouse in the western section of the almshouse site, but little more was noted regarding this area.¹⁵² After calculating the size and length of the surrounding wall, built during the original construction phase, it would seem to have been incorporated within the original walled

¹⁴⁶ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 61.

¹⁴⁷ Fig. 3.3, p. 150.

¹⁴⁸ Fig. 3.3, p. 150. WAM, 18410.

¹⁴⁹ Possibly one may have been the watershed.

¹⁵⁰ Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

¹⁵¹ Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

¹⁵² WAM, 5325, 5368, 5326, 5340, 18177.

area of the almshouse complex.¹⁵³ Of the two sites, eastern and western, the western building has been the best-documented structure of the two almshouse sites. This is probably due to the fact that it survived from 1502 to 1779 when it was pulled down to expand Tothill Street, and so remained an almshouse for over 200 years.

B. The Eastern Section of the Almshouse Site

Unlike the western site, there is very little information regarding the layout of the eastern site. The sources that do survive are often contradictory and sometimes, deliberately mendacious. The most valuable sources we have in determining the position of the buildings and their make-up are the original building contracts, the Dissolution documents and later tenant disputes.¹⁵⁴ From these documents an idea of proximity and layout can be gained, see Fig. 3.2, and references to this plan will be made throughout this discussion.¹⁵⁵

The buildings on the eastern site appear to have been constructed primarily of wood with brick foundations and chimneys. The main building in the eastern section of the almshouse complex was located on the most eastern border of the almshouse grounds and divided into two sections; the northern and the southern, see Fig. 3.2.¹⁵⁶ According to the statutes, “the King . . . hath caused to be purveyed and delyverd to the seid xiiij poor men . . . [a] commen hall and also their Botry, Pantry, Ewery, Kechyn, Larder and Laundry”.¹⁵⁷ In the northern section of this building, stood the kitchen, buttery, larder, pantry, and laundry on the ground floor and directly above these rooms was the women’s accommodation on the first floor, see Fig. 3.2.¹⁵⁸ The almsmen’s common hall

¹⁵³ See Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

¹⁵⁴ See pp. 137-38.

¹⁵⁵ Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

¹⁵⁶ Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

¹⁵⁷ Appendix i. *Abridged Transcription of BL, Harley MS 1498* (Part B) f. 75r lines 5-10, p. 275, f. 75v lines 1-3, 14-16, p. 276; also see *CCR* (1500-1509), p. 153.

¹⁵⁸ Fig. 3.2, p. 141; WAM, 18424A-C and WAM, 18177 location of door in eastern part; WAM, 18398 mentions the chambers above the rooms; WAM, 5325 is the surrender of the building with description of rooms.

was located to the south of this building.¹⁵⁹ The total cost for carpentry for this building was £121 11s. 8d. and an additional £27 6s. 8d. was spent on the chimneys, ironwork, digging, and the making of the almsmen's eastern garden to a total of £148 18s. 4d.¹⁶⁰ An estimated 35,000 bricks were used in this building which included the foundation work and chimneys. No dimensions are provided for this building, nevertheless, later Dissolution documents provide rough dimensions (80 ft to 100 ft long) of the most eastern perimeter of the almshouse complex, where the building stood.¹⁶¹ These measurements do not tally exactly with later land dispute sources and the original building records but it can be assumed that the building was roughly 80 feet long, give or take 10 feet either way.¹⁶² There is not enough information regarding this structure in the original building records, nevertheless, later sources would suggest that there was an arched gateway through the middle of the building separating it into north and south sections and allowing access to one of the almsmen's gardens, and above this gateway Henry VII's arms were displayed.¹⁶³ It is most likely that the north section of this building used more of the bricks in its foundation and interior features than the south section because of the brickwork needed in building a kitchen. Nevertheless, it can be

¹⁵⁹ This information regarding the north and south sections of this building have been pieced together from a number of later documents. Where this information is less clear is whether there was a port or gate through the middle of the building which allowed the almsmen access into their garden and other grounds and if so would the almswomen who prepared the food in the kitchens have to depart from the south section through a door to the outside where they would again have to enter into the north section hall through a door located directly across from the south section of the building. WAM, 18424A-C and WAM, 18177 location of door in eastern part; WAM 18398 mentions the chambers above the rooms; WAM, 5325 is the surrender of the building with description of rooms.

¹⁶⁰ WAM, 5398. It is assumed that the chimney expenses for the almsmen's hall, kitchen and other rooms did not cost as much as the main almshouse living accommodation's and thus its total was included with other miscellaneous payments.

¹⁶¹ WAM, 18424A-C.

¹⁶² As mentioned before the original building records do not give the dimensions of this building but do provide some information regarding several of the other buildings. The dimensions given in the building records do not comply with the later sources and thus it is to be assumed the hall and auxiliary buildings measured around 80 feet long. WAM, 5398, (building records), 18424A-C (Dissolution property grants) 34508D (1719/20 Keene sketch plan of the Abbey).

¹⁶³ Fig. 3.2, p. 141; When this building was seized during the Dissolution of the chantries Nicholas Brigham converted it to his personal dwelling house and took down Henry VII's arms which stood above the gateway. WAM, 5325. Building layout: WAM, 18424A-C, 43500, 18406, 18177, 18174, 5320, 18398.

assumed that the hall to the south used no more than 12,000-14,000 bricks in its foundation work.¹⁶⁴ This is further supported by the fact that many of the guilds had halls built in or around this time such as the Draper's hall in 1535 which used 12,000 bricks for its foundation work and chimneys.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately there is not enough information to provide an idea of the width or height of the building.

According to the building records the almsmen had their own chapel which was located between the eastern and western side of the complex on the most northern perimeter, see Fig. 3.2.¹⁶⁶ The chapel was made of wood but had a brick foundation similar to the almsmen's hall. According to the records, the cost for carpentry and building the almsmen's chapel was £5 not including its foundation work, i.e. not the masons' stone work, underpinning and other miscellaneous cost which were separately accounted for in the records referred to as 'other auxiliary buildings' which included a stable, barn and the almsmen's chapel.¹⁶⁷ The chapel measured 20 ft long and 14 ft wide.¹⁶⁸ Very little else is known about this building. What we do know is derived mostly from the indentures which tell us about the services to be performed in the chapel and the bell which was to be rung throughout the day to summon the almsmen to prayer.¹⁶⁹ The purpose of this building was to provide a venue for the almsmen to perform their chantry services and this may explain why, by 1552, it was noted to be falling down.¹⁷⁰ Nevertheless, once the chapel had fallen down and the almsmen no longer could walk across their yard into their eastern garden because of the wall erected between the two sites, they began using the strip of land which lay between the eastern

¹⁶⁴ WAM, 18424A-C, 42722, 18177, 18174.

¹⁶⁵ Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, p. 151.

¹⁶⁶ Fig. 3.2, p. 141; WAM, 43722, 18317, 18397, 5325.

¹⁶⁷ The total for chimneys, underpinning and other stuff on the Barn, Stable and Chapel amounted to £62. 16s. 0d. WAM, 5398; Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 207.

¹⁶⁸ WAM, 5398.

¹⁶⁹ BL, Harley MS 1498 f. 63r lines 17-23, f. 70v lines 6-9, f. 71v lines 18-19.

¹⁷⁰ WAM, 18177, 43500, 18406, 5325; slip of ground between little almonry and gatehouse, 18174, 37036; chapel falling down 18317 and 18397.

walled almshouse complex on the south side and the gatehouse prison on the north as a causeway to the Abbey leading into the little almonry complex, much to the annoyance of the gatehouse keeper and later tenants of the gatehouse prison property, see Fig. 3.0 number 45 and Fig. 3.2 shown as garden/disputed ground.¹⁷¹

The most controversial pieces of land that belonged to the almshouse were not the almshouse buildings, nor the chantry chapel, but the gardens; one of which lay just south of the almsmen's accommodation, another was located in the north-eastern corner just outside the almshouse complex between the Gatehouse Prison and the eastern part of the almshouse and the largest of the three gardens which lay to the west of the almsmen's eastern site, see Fig. 3.2.¹⁷² Originally the entire area had belonged to the gatehouse, but when Henry VII founded his memorial at Westminster Abbey, the land was commandeered for the site of his almshouse complex.¹⁷³ According to the original building records, the cost for 'rising of the grounds' for the 'making of the garden' and 'bringing the height' of the ground up to the level of 'the house' that had already stood on the site, cost a total of £10.¹⁷⁴ This 'house' also once belonged to the gatehouse but became the almsmen's priest's house, and was located on the southern end of the eastern section of the almshouse complex, see Fig. 3.2.¹⁷⁵ After the Dissolution of the

¹⁷¹ Fig. 3.0, p. 130, Fig. 3.2, p. 141. This piece of ground went through many transformations. There were drinking houses in the later seventeenth century located on the eastern border, WAM, 5320, a shed had been build on the land and later conversions were made to this shed and at one point it appears to have become a cottage. WAM, 18406, there was also a slip of land often referred to as fallow which the almsmen used as a passage to the Abbey and to their other buildings. There were disputes over this piece of land and eventually the almsmen were asked to use the path south of the complex to enter into the Abbey and into their other grounds WAM, 18174, 18177, 43500, 18406, 5325. A. E. Henderson's plan, Fig. 3.2, shows the chapel on the other side of the eastern site but this is not correct. WAM, 18424A-C, 43722, 5320, 18398, 18395, 18396, 5340, 18399, 18404, 18408, 18409, and 5347.

¹⁷² Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

¹⁷³ WAM, 18397, land belonging to gatehouse.

¹⁷⁴ WAM, 5398.

¹⁷⁵ Fig. 3.2, p. 141. WAM, 18174, 5320, 5368, 5326, 5328. WAM 18177: location of the priest house later disputed as a part of the gatehouse keeper's dwelling.

monastery the keeper of the gatehouse prison took back this house and continued to live there up to the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century.¹⁷⁶

There are no measurements for any of the gardens. The largest of the three gardens was located in the middle of the eastern site and was said to have abutted the almsmen's chapel to the north, the almsmen's hall located on the east, and the priest's house on the south.¹⁷⁷ If this information is correct, then, the garden itself would have measured about 80 ft from north to south, see Fig. 3.2.¹⁷⁸ There are no recorded measurements for the almsmen's hall nor for the garden. Nevertheless, we know the chapel was 20 ft long and that the garden abutted up to it, so, the garden must have been at least 20 ft from east to west.¹⁷⁹ The second garden lay on the south side of the almsmen's accommodations and was estimated to measure approximately 20 ft running north to south and 26 ft running east to west.¹⁸⁰ The third garden, located outside the almshouse site to the north abutting the gatehouse was about 14 ft from north to south and about 45 ft running east to west.¹⁸¹ This garden was located outside the almshouse walls and only enters the almshouse story when the almsmen had lost use of their larger garden located in the centre of the eastern site and when their chapel had fallen down.¹⁸² Their only use for this piece of 'slip' ground was for passageway to the Abbey and to their eastern site. A number of buildings had been erected on the site over the years and disagreements about disputed rights to the ground and rights of access appear frequently in the later records.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁶WAM, 5397 (conversion of almshouse), 18424A-C, 18395 Cecil grant), 18406,18177,18174,18317, 18397, 18396 (property disagreement with gatehouse keeper).

¹⁷⁷ WAM, 34508D, 5398, 18140, 18397, 5325, 18177, 5340, 43722, 18424A-C, 18375, 5368.

¹⁷⁸ Fig. 3.2, p. 141. WAM 34508D, 5398, 18140, 18397, 5325, 18177, 5340, 43722, 18424A-C, 18375, 5368.

¹⁷⁹ WAM, 5398. 18424A-C.

¹⁸⁰ WAM, 5398.

¹⁸¹ This measurement has been calculated based on the size of the chapel and the measurements given in later property disputes regarding the length of the dissolved almshouse site. WAM, 5398 and 18424A-C.

¹⁸² WAM, 43500, 43722, 18424A-C, 18177, 18174, 5340, 18408-9.

¹⁸³ WAM, 43500, 43722, 18424A-C, 18177, 18174, 5340, 18408-9.

After the Dissolution, the Abbey and almshouse site came under the control of the Court of Augmentations and shortly after it had been granted back to the new Cathedral, Edward VI gave the site to Richard Cecil.¹⁸⁴ Richard Cecil then leased the almshouse and land to David Vincent who then sold or granted the almsmen's hall to Nicolas Brigham but Vincent held onto the garden area and was charged by the new Cathedral 39s. 5d. per annum for its use.¹⁸⁵ Around the mid-fifteen-forties, Vincent then gave the Keeper of the Gatehouse Prison permission to use the garden area.¹⁸⁶ The Keeper of the Gatehouse Prison began using it as his own personal garden because it fronted his private residence, that had once been the priest's house.¹⁸⁷ After approximately twenty years of use as a personal garden, the formal ownership of the land had become obscured. This garden was cut-off from the almsmen by the wall Richard Cecil and Nicolas Brigham had erected in the later 1540's.¹⁸⁸ It would appear that problems arose over the oversight of this garden when new houses and shops, which were erected near to the almsmen's western site, encroached upon the almsmen's other garden which abutted the house on the south.¹⁸⁹ When this began to happen it would appear that the almsmen began to use or claim access to the garden located in the eastern section of their site.¹⁹⁰ Most of the eastern site no longer belonged to the almsmen and it would have been quite difficult for them to get access to the garden unless they went through the centre gate in Brigham's house or possibly there was another entry into the area near to the dilapidated chapel or a door in the dividing wall.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁴ WAM, 18317, 18397. See p. 132.

¹⁸⁵ WAM, 18397.

¹⁸⁶ WAM, 18397.

¹⁸⁷ See priest's house: Fig. 3.2, p. 141.

¹⁸⁸ WAM, 18397.

¹⁸⁹ See Fig. 3.2, p. 141. WAM, 5347.

¹⁹⁰ WAM, 18177.

¹⁹¹ The eastern building is thought to have been divided into two sections; the hall on the south side and on the north side the kitchen and another building with some sort of gate between them.

Throughout the later sixteenth century a handful of inquisitions were made into the property granted to the almsmen by Henry VII.¹⁹² After consulting ancient deeds the Gatehouse Keeper acknowledged that he had no formal title to the garden but claimed he had the right and use of the land because this had been the situation for many years. The dispute was renewed in 1654 when both the Gatehouse Keeper and the almsmen petitioned against one another for the rights and use of the land.¹⁹³ On 14 June 1655, John Pomeroy, solicitor to the Collegiate Church of Westminster, reopened the case after finding evidence in the Cathedral's records at the time known as the 'Petty Bag'.¹⁹⁴ Arguments went back and forth for several more years with no real settlement and both parties continually petitioned the Dean and Chapter for a ruling on this matter. The Keeper of the Gatehouse Prison argued, firstly, that there was no formal deed specifying that the land belonged to the almsmen and, secondly, David Vincent and his predecessors had given the property to the Keeper of the Gatehouse for his use. The final settlement regarding the garden property did not come until the very end of the seventeenth century. By 1691 it would appear that the almsmen had regained control of the property and were then leasing it to the Keeper of the Gatehouse.¹⁹⁵ By 1699 the almsmen granted the Keeper of the Gatehouse Prison a 40 year lease of the land at an annual rent of £12.¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the Keeper was negligent in his payments and the almsmen had to petition the Dean and Chapter for the recovery of their rents.¹⁹⁷ A final recovery and agreement about payment was made in 1710 only 68 years before the entire complex was redeveloped for the expansion of Tothill Street.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹² WAM, 5397. 18424A-C, 43722.

¹⁹³ WAM, 18174, 18177, 43722.

¹⁹⁴ WAM, 5397.

¹⁹⁵ WAM, 35652.

¹⁹⁶ WAM, 5326, 5368.

¹⁹⁷ WAM, 18351.

¹⁹⁸ WAM, 18375. Tothill Street WAM 65988-66022 and 66000-66003 for the plans in 1777-79 to widen the Broad Sanctuary at the expense of the almshouse.

It is difficult to say who was in the right. The garden had once belonged to the gatehouse but had been seized by King Henry VII with the authority of Abbot John Islip and formed part of his royal endowment for the almshouse.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, after the Abbey was dissolved the land went to the King who granted the lands to private individuals who then granted the garden to the Gatehouse Keeper, thus revoking all the rights previously held by the almsmen. This usage continued for at least two generations and was then challenged. Both parties had a reasonable case in the disputes and both believed they had legitimate claim to use the land and believed it was important enough to fight over. By the mid-sixteenth century there was increasing pressure on space and a garden at this time would have been extremely desirable.

Henry VII also built a stable and a barn for the almsmen. It is not known what their use of this area would have been, nor are there many sources referring to these buildings after the original building receipts.²⁰⁰ What can be said about both buildings is that they were made of wood with brick underpinning, similar to the chapel and almsmen's hall. The stable measured 24 ft long and 20 ft wide and cost £51 6s. 8d., whilst the barn measured 60 ft long and 26 ft wide and cost £23 13s. 4d.²⁰¹ These totals included the 'tymber', the 'sawyng', the workmanship, and smaller items such as hooks and latches for doors. The cost of the chimneys and underpinning of the chapel were included in these accounts. In total these works cost £62 16s. 0d.²⁰² There are no later references to the barn or stable. In 1547/8, when Richard Cecil acquired access to much of the Abbey's western grounds he purchased a plot of land called the 'almshouse farm'.²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ WAM, 18397

²⁰⁰ WAM, 18424A-C: Surrender of the almshouse at the Dissolution of the Abbey c.1540 lists all the buildings mentioned in 5398 but neglects specifically to mention the barn and stable but refers to them as other 'curtaliages'.

²⁰¹ WAM, 5398.

²⁰² This was more than the cost of underpinning and chimneys for the almsman's living accommodation, the common hall and kitchen and auxiliary buildings. WAM, 5398; Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 207.

²⁰³ TNA, E318/7/275.

What this purchase is referring to is not known but it is possible that if it did consist of the almsmen's barn and stable then these buildings would have stood in or near the Dean's Yard, see Fig. 3.0.²⁰⁴

The almshouse had a well which was later referred to as the watershed or just the shed.²⁰⁵ The Abbey itself had a conduit which supplied its needs and in December 1543/4 Guy Gascon, head sexton or sacrist of the Abbey received £1 13s. 4d. for supervising building works, in which he hired Mr Grey, a plumber, to mend and replace the conduit head bringing water to the surrounding residential houses, and to replace all the old pipes.²⁰⁶ According to these accounts the new Cathedral paid for this work and Mr. Gascon was later appointed as the new cathedral's clerk of the works in 1548/9.²⁰⁷ In 1547 David Vincent, Esquire, who had been given the almshouse grounds by Richard Cecil, was paid £40 for making a conduit at Westminster for the use of the almsmen and thus providing a good water supply to the converted home of Nicholas Brigham.²⁰⁸

Overall, the total cost of tiling all the almshouse buildings came to £48 4s. 2d.. It would appear from the terminology used in the accounts that tiles had been imported and were not made on site as the nails and 'sprygge[s]' were.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁴ The buildings were possibly located in the eastern section of the almshouse complex shown in red number 43 in Fig. 3.0, p. 130. When first coming across the purchased 'farm' within the documents it was assumed that this was a purchase of the lands that possibly funded the almshouse, but because all the lands had been amalgamated into the entire endowment several years prior to this acquisition it was clear this was not the case. See chapter 2 regarding endowment lands.

²⁰⁵ The common well is also referred to as the water shed. WAM, 5340. There is no date on this document but there is mention of a lease on the shed in 1620 so it can be assumed the shed was built before 1620. Shed lease WAM, 43500.

²⁰⁶ The document itself reads 'pro supervisione operum'. WAM, 37043, f. 10; 33603, f. 4v. WAM, 37036, f. 1; *Act Books* (vol. 1), p. 13.

²⁰⁷ WAM, 37043, f. 10; 33603, f. 4v.

²⁰⁸ Works contract for conduit was from Nicholas Brigham. WAM, 5390. In 1691/2 a memorandum of lease from brethren of the almshouse of ground adjoining the almshouses states that there is water access in the almshouse yard. WAM 35652. It is most likely that this access point is where the watershed stood. No exact location for the access was provided other than the fact it was located in the almshouse yard which was situated fronting the western almshouse on its most eastern side.

²⁰⁹ WAM 5398. A 'sprygge' or sprig is a small slender nail, either wedge-shaped and headless, or square-bodied with a slight head on one side. Online, *Oxford English Dictionary* (accessed October 2011).

Table 3.0 Payments Made for the Building of the Almshouse and its Grounds.²¹⁰

Carpentry work on almshouse:	£121	11s.	8d.
Carpentry work on chapel:	£5	0s.	0d.
Carpentry work on stable:	£51	6s.	8d.
Carpentry work on barn:	£23	13s.	4d.
Brickwork on almshouse:	£158	16s.	2d.
Walling of almshouse:	£39	2s.	6d.
Chimney work including cost for under pinning			
Lime sand:	£26	2s.	6d.
Tiling of the almshouse:	£48	5s.	2d.
Chimney work and under pinning in the stable, chapel, and barn:	£62	16s.	0d.
Ironwork, digging, lighting, making of the gardens, and ‘appareling’ of the chimneys:	£27	6s.	8d.

The total cost of building the almshouse, chapel, stable and barn amounted to £564. 8d. but the King was only charged £500. The remaining £64 8d. was discharged by the contractors Richard Guildford and Thomas Lovell shortly after the buildings completion in 1502. It is not known why this was done. They had secured the job and had already built the almshouse complex so there was no threat of competition. Moreover, £64 8d. was not merely pocket money. It is common, even today, for a builder to round up or down to the nearest pound to lessen complications, but £64 was a sizable sum. It is easier to understand why and how these men were able to write this sum off, and why they were given the job, when one considers their past service to the Crown.

So, who were these contractors? Richard Guildford (also Guldeford and Gilford) was born circa 1450.²¹¹ Through his marriage to the daughter of an important Kentish

²¹⁰ This table is a breakdown of the original building works. WAM, 5398. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 207.

²¹¹ Sean Cunningham, ‘Richard Guildford’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/11723>. (accessed September 2011) and *CPR* (1485-1494), pp. 18, 23, 69, 140, 151, 167, 180, 205, 265, 295, 322-24, 353-56; *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 56, 285, 328, 453, 472-73, 583.

landowner, John Pympe, Richard and his father, Sir John Guildford of Rolvenden (1430-1493), became friends and conspirators with the Beaufort family. In 1483 both Richard and his father were attainted after participating in an abortive rebellion against Richard III. Richard escaped to France, joining Henry Tudor in exile. In August 1485 Richard was with Henry when he landed in Milford Haven and upon their landing was knighted. After the Battle of Bosworth, Guildford received successive promotions.²¹² In 1488 he became a knight of the King's body and received in return for his services many lucrative wardships and grants of land. By 1494 Richard had been appointed comptroller of the household and helped arrange the marriage of Katherine of Aragon to Henry's son Arthur. From 1494 to 1495 Richard served as sheriff of Kent and was MP for Kent in the Parliament held that year. In 1496 he became steward of the lands of Cecily, Duchess of York, and was made a Banneret after defeating the Cornish uprising in Blackheath in 1497. In 1500, as the building project began in Westminster, Richard was made a Knight of the Garter, and over the following years also helped supervise preparations for Katherine of Aragon's arrival in England.

Along with these titles and obligations, Richard Guildford was also placed in charge of the security of the realm. His close and long devoted service to the King made him a trusted figure within Henry's council and Court. This job would have given him the oversight of many building projects including the construction of defensive towers and the building of two ships, the *Mary Gylfod* [Guildford] and the *Regent* and he was also responsible for spy networks, military logistics, and supplying arms across the realm for its defence. Richard Guildford was, therefore, well qualified to oversee the building of the almshouse but he was not without flaws. Some of these could not be overlooked by the Crown and eventually led to his political downfall. For instance, although his

²¹² Some of the positions held by Richard were; Master of the Ordinances and Armoury in the Tower of London, Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Keeper of Kennington in Surrey, Master of Horse and Privy Councillor all by 1487.

reported income was very large, yet Richard was still able to amass numerous debts to many different individuals which eventually forced his surrender of his Exchequer post in May 1487.²¹³ During the years 1500-1504 when the almshouse was being built, Richard had to resign from many of his other positions because of his own mismanagement of personal finances. By 1505, after the completion of the almshouse project, his debts to John Naiter, a servant to George Neville, Lord Bergavenny, had become so serious that he was arrested and imprisoned in the Fleet, but released under bond to appear before King Henry VII, who eventually, in 1506, pardoned him of all debts acquired through his offices.²¹⁴ At that time, Richard elected to go on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he eventually died. It is clear that Richard Guildford owed much to the Crown, but he was also a valuable servant, able to oversee and make responsible decisions regarding the realm and the King's interests and he always remained loyal. It is evident, however, that at the time the almshouse was being built, Richard Guildford was not in a financial position to write off the excess royal debt. Nevertheless, the debt was written off, a decision which may have had less to do with Richard Guildford, and more to do with his partner Sir Thomas Lovell.

Sir Thomas Lovell (c.1449-1524) began his career at the age of fifteen studying law at Lincoln's Inn in 1464.²¹⁵ Like Richard Guildford, Thomas joined the revolt in 1483 against Richard III. In 1485, his loyalty was rewarded when he was elected Speaker of the Commons in Henry VII's first parliament and eventually became a member of Henry's innermost ring of fewer than a dozen councillors who were particularly

²¹³ The debt was back dated to 1482 and was investigated in 1486, shortly after Henry VII acquired the throne. Sean Cunningham, 'Richard Guildford', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/11723>. (accessed September 2011).

²¹⁴ Abbot Islip purchased several manors from George Neville to provide the endowment for Henry VII's memorial at Westminster, See chapter 2, pp. 104-10.

²¹⁵ S. J. Gunn, 'Thomas Lovell', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/17065?docPos=1>. (accessed October 2012) ; *CPR* (1485-1494), pp. 18, 23, 69, 140, 151, 167, 180, 205, 265, 295, 322-24, 353-56; *CPR* (1494-1509), pp. 56, 285, 328, 453, 472-73, 583.

influential. Thomas held many important offices such as the treasurer of the King's chamber in 1485, along with the chancellorship of the Exchequer. In 1487 he fought in the battle at Stoke and was knighted in France in 1492. Along with Guildford, Thomas also fought to defeat the Cornish in Blackheath in 1497 and was also made a Banneret. Along with Guildford, Thomas was also appointed in 1500 a member of the Order of the Garter. In 1503 he was treasurer of the King's household and by 1512 was appointed to oversee inland security, along with the deputy lieutenant of the Tower of London. He was the second most regular attendee at the Court of Star Chamber and also regularly attended the judicial sessions of the Council.²¹⁶ He held stewardships at both the University of Oxford (1507) and in Cambridge (1509). Unlike Guildford though, Thomas Lovell managed his finances well and by the end of his life had amassed a great fortune, serving both Henry VII and Henry VIII until 1524.

One position which would have given Thomas the experience needed for the Westminster project was his role in the construction of Richard III's tomb at the Grey Friars in Leicester.²¹⁷ This experience along with his long-term friendship with Richard Fox would have made him the perfect candidate to oversee such an important project.

Although neither Sir Thomas Lovell nor Sir Richard Guildford was qualified as a building contractor, Henry had entrusted them with many roles and duties over many years, all of which they had performed successfully. Richard and Thomas were two of Henry's most loyal and trusted servants and it is possible that they would have known many of the men who would, in the future, receive care in the almshouse. It is also possible that they might have thought that by contributing to the almshouse they were

²¹⁶ Sean Cunningham, 'Richard Guildford', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (accessed October 2012).

²¹⁷ On 12 September 2012 archeologists searching for the lost grave of King Richard III possibly found the skeletal remains of the King under a city centre car park in Leicester. The skeletal remains show evidence of a near death trauma and spinal curvature.

not only assisting the King, but also helping to build a support system for colleagues and friends.²¹⁸

During the period of building the almshouse Sir Richard Guildford was the Comptroller of the Household, while Sir Thomas Lovell held the title of Treasurer of the Household.²¹⁹ It would appear that the men had settled a building price with the King, prior to its construction and that, when the expenses of the almshouse project exceeded their original estimates, they were obliged to honour this agreement.²²⁰ This form of contracting was not customary at this period and usually the builders would have added the additional sums to the overall total and charged the patron for these extra fees. It is possible that by personally contributing to the royal memorial, both Guildford and Lovell were further cementing their relationship with the King. Whatever their motives, by 1502, the two men had received £400 of the £500 pounds agreed upon and by 1504 the final payments were made for the almshouse's construction.²²¹

v. Later History of the Almshouse and Subsequent Renovations

In 1566, six years after Elizabeth I refounded the Abbey as a Collegiate Church, the almshouse underwent serious restoration work, only sixty-two years after its completion and later occupation by multiple owners.²²² The amount of money spent at this time suggests that these works were more to reclaim and restore those areas of the almshouse

²¹⁸ Despite their major contributions there is no mention of prayers to be said for either of the men by Henry's almsmen.

²¹⁹ Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 207.

²²⁰ TNA, E 101/415/3, ff. 13, 80v; f. 13 shows that 8 January 1501 a payment of £200 was made to Master Lovell for the almshouse at Westminster and in f. 80v, 8 January 1502, another £200 was made to Lovell for the building of the almshouses. Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, p. 207.

²²¹ Colvin, *The History of the King's Works*, pp. 208-09. Sir Richard Guildford and Sir Thomas Lovell's duties of oversight not only covered the building project itself but they were also placed in charge of securing the land grants and endowments for the King's memorial at Westminster, in particular the manors of Great Chesterford, Fenne and Skreyne, which they witnessed and oversaw the legal transfer of property to the Crown. *CPR (1494-1509)*, p. 365.

²²² According to the *Act Books* of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, in September of 1566 the Dean decreed that works were to be undertaken on the almshouse. *Act Books* (vol. 2), 223, p. 25; WAM, 38547, 38548, 38549.

that had been seized during the Dissolution and used for personal residences in the previous decade, rather than for the construction of new buildings.²²³ The contracts for the 1566 renovations list the amounts paid for labour and materials, and also the names of the suppliers and workmen.²²⁴ The total repair project took about two and a half months to complete, although the original estimate had been for six weeks ending the 26 November 1566. Thomas Fowler/s Burbor (Bursbyr or Bursbor), the contractor, submitted his final account covering an additional month of work ending 26 December 1566.²²⁵ Within the first six weeks, four tilers, six labourers, and one carpenter were working on site, see Table 3.1.²²⁶ It can be assumed that because of the large number of labourers and the known fact that several of the building being repaired had fallen down or were in a very bad state, that the first stage of the project consisted mostly of clearing the site, see Table 3.1. For the first six weeks a total of £19 3s. 10d. was paid for labour and an additional £7 12s. 10d. for supplies on the site.²²⁷ Altogether the first part of the renovation project cost £26 16s. 8d.²²⁸

²²³ WAM, 18424 A-F.

²²⁴ WAM, 38547, 38548, 38549. List of names for workmen paid and contracted to the new building works are given within these documents.

²²⁵ WAM, 38547, 38548, 38549. Thomas' signature is quite difficult to make-out and varies his spelling from one document to the next.

²²⁶ Table 3.1, p. 177. WAM, 38547 Most of these men worked from 25 to 36 days, and were paid at varying rates.

²²⁷ WAM, 38547. After totaling up the accounts it would appear that the actual total spent was £18 10s. 4d. a discrepancy of a little over £1 10s. 6d.

²²⁸ WAM, 38547.

Table 3.1 First Part: Elizabethan Repairs (1566).

16 November 1566 (contract for 16 weeks) WAM 38547.

*The craftsmen were paid on average 1*s.* a day for their services. They were also responsible for procuring the supplies for the work and were paid for these supplies at the end of the job.

** Labourers on average were paid 8*d.* a day.

Carpenters:*

John Woode: 2 days-2*s.*

Tylers:*

William Seywell: 32 days-32*s.*

Thomas Mashe: 5days-5*s.*

William Rymare: 17 days-17*s.*

James Flouneys: 33 days-27*s.* 6*d.*

Labourers:**

Henry Marks: 34 days-22*s.* 8*d.*

John Gee: 28 days-18*s.* 8*d.*

Thomas Porker: 34 days-22*s.* 8*d.*

Wyllam Jarkson: 25 days- 16*s.* 8*d.*

Thomas Sumnders: 14 days-9*s.* 4*d.*

Robart Harris: 17 days- 11*s.* 4*d.*

Supplies:

William Bobmyton: plain tiles-£6 19*s.*

Lyme: £3

Thomas Fowler Bursby's total: £19 3*s.* 10*d.* (Scribe's error actual total: £18 10*s.* 4*d.* a difference of £1 10*s.* 6*d.*)

Supplies continued:

Bricks: 10*s.*

Sande: 5*s.* 10*d.*

Naylls: £3 16*s.* 4*d.*

Tyllpynes and eves borde: 48*s.* 3*d.*

Tyllpynes: 11*s.*

Bucket and paylle: 17*d.*

Thomas Fowler Bursby's total: £7 12*s.* 10*d.* Overall total for works: £26 16*s.* 8*d.* (Scribe's error actual total: £26 3*s.* 1*d.*).

For one reason or another, the project was extended, possibly because the buildings and site were in a worse condition than expected. For the next stage of the refurbishment another account was drawn up for the works and supplies.²²⁹ It would appear from the materials used and labourers and craftsmen working on the site that the main focus of this additional work was on the chapel. It is clear from an inventory made of the Abbey grounds in 1552 that the chapel tower where the bell must have hung had

²²⁹ WAM, 38548.

already fallen down into the garden.²³⁰ One can only imagine the condition of the building fourteen years later. According to these records, two carpenters, one labourer, two plumbers, one glazier and an ironworker were commissioned and paid by Thomas Fowler Bursby, the main contraction on all the refurbishment, for work undertaken on the almshouse chapel and bell tower.²³¹ Because its main purpose and usage of the chapel was to serve as a chantry, the building may have posed particular problems for its post-Dissolution users. Nevertheless, it was not torn down nor are there any records that tell us of its usage after the rebuilding. Most likely the chapel would have been easily assimilated into the new religious order, and hence Queen Elizabeth I invested monies into its repair. The only surviving reference to the later chapel was during the reign of James I, when the almsmen petitioned the King for its use.²³² There are no surviving records that tell us how it was being used before this petition.

Among the works which had to be completed on the chapel in 1566 was the replacement of tiles on the roof and the renewing of much of the chapel ironwork.²³³ According to the building works, by 1566 the bell tower that fronted the church facing east had fallen down into the garden and needed to be replaced. The bell itself also had to be equipped with new wheels and a new clapper, and new keys were required for the doors within the chapel, and the almshouse.²³⁴ The total cost of works in the chapel in 1566 for labour and supplies was £6 5s. 10d.²³⁵ Very little can be deduced about the interior of the chapel. One of the most notable objects in the chapel would have been the written copy of the indentures that would have been placed on a tablet near to the altar

²³⁰ WAM, 18177, 43500, 18406, 5325 slip of ground between little almonry and gatehouse, 18174, 37036 chapel falling down 18317 and 18397.

²³¹ WAM, 37036, WAM, 18397.

²³² WAM, 18397. Petition dated temp. James I.

²³³ WAM, 37036.

²³⁴ WAM, 38548.

²³⁵ WAM, 38548. See Table 3.2, p. 179.

for the almsmen's use. We also know that the almsmen were to sit on pews but there are no records describing the windows or religious furnishings.²³⁶

Table 3.2 Second Part: Elizabethan Repairs (1566).

Last week in November 1566, WAM 38548

*The craftsmen were paid on average 1s. a day for their services. They were also responsible for procuring the supplies for the work and paid for these supplies at the end of the job.

** Labourers on average made 8d. a day.

Ironworks on the bell and bell tower:

Works done on the bell, locks of the chapel, holsters, bell clapper, wheel and other miscellaneous metal work associated with the bell tower and chapel. 32s. 11d. In addition Henry Marks was paid 3d. for one pound's worth of candles. Total works: 33s. 5d.

Carpenters:*

John Woode: 19 days-19s.

John Martens: 5 days-5s.

Plumbers:*

John Storry: 5 days-5s.

John Richardson: 4 days-3s. 8d.

Glaser:*

John Persye: 2 days-2s.

Labourers:**

Henry Marks: 11 days-7s. 4d.

Thomas Prorker: 4 days-2s. 8d.

Supplies:

John Storry: 31 pounds of plumbing-15s. 6d.

Brick: 5s.

Lyme: 6s.

Sande: 10d.

Nails etc.: 20s. 8d.

Total works: £4 17s. 8d (this total is correct) Plus 33s. 5d. for works on bell tower equals: £6 10s. 1d. (Scribe's total: £6 5s. 10d.)

The final contract was drawn-up for the month of December 1566 and focused on new privies for the almsmen and works to the larder, see Table 3.3.²³⁷ Three carpenters, one 'sawyer' and his 'fellows', one bricklayer, one glazier, and two labourers were paid in total £3 12s., while the supplies cost 21s. 2d. to total £4 13s. 2d.²³⁸ Altogether, the two

²³⁶ Appendix i. f. 63r, p. 269.

²³⁷ Table 3.3, p. 180.

²³⁸ WAM, 38549.

and a half months' refurbishing project cost £37 15s. 8d.²³⁹ The average spent on skilled craftsmen was 1s. a day and labourers received 8d. a day. Most of the works undertaken on the almshouse, chapel and privies were performed by the same craftsmen. John Woode appears to be the main carpenter on the sites, whereas William Seywell appears to be the main bricklayer and tyler on site having been mentioned twice. James Persye appears in two of the three documents as the main glazier and John Storry as the main plumber. The number of labourers varies from one document to the next but two men, Henry Marks and Thomas Prorker appear to be the main labourers for all of the works.

Table 3.3 Third Part: Elizabethan Repairs (1566).

24 December 1566, WAM, 38549 (works done on privies)

*The craftsmen were paid on average 1s. a day for their services. They were also responsible for procuring the supplies for the work and paid for these supplies at the end of the job.

** Labourers on average made 8d. a day.

Carpenters:*

John Woode: 19 days-19s.

John Martens: 19 days-19s.

Thomas Puttrelle: 5 days-5s.

Sawyers:

William Hugges

And his fellows: 2 days-4s.

Bricklayers:*

William Seywell: 8 days-8s.

Glasyer:*

James Persye: 1 day-12d.

Labourers:**

Henry Marks: 19 days-12s. 8d.

Thomas Prorker: 5 days-3s. 4d.

Scribe's total: £3. 12s.

Supplies:

Lyme: 6s.

Henges and bolts: 12s.

Candell etc.: 3s. 2d.

Scribe's total: 21s. 2d.

Overall total: £4 13s. 2d.

²³⁹ For this total the scribe's totals have been used because they are only slightly inaccurate.

Most repairs undertaken on the almshouse and adjacent buildings after 1566 were carried out at the request of a particular almsman who would petition the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Cathedral or later the Dean and Chapter of the new Collegiate Church. The Dean in return would send in a surveyor to assess the damage. Often the almsmen had to write several times to the Dean before any action was taken but once the surveyor had given his account and building estimate, the work was usually carried out. These were usually small works such as repairing faults in the tiling and door locks. Only a small number of works appear to have been more structural.²⁴⁰ These repair works seem to have continued throughout the later sixteenth century and then more work was carried out in the mid-seventeenth century, when many medieval almshouses appear to have fallen into great disrepair and several of the houses were uninhabitable.²⁴¹ There is no recorded major renovation works carried out on the house after the remodelling of 1566. After that date, responsibility for the upkeep of the almshouse fell into the busy hands of the Dean, who had other priorities.²⁴²

vi. Almshouse Interior

The building sources and later surveys have been invaluable for the reconstruction of the physical appearance of the almshouse and the reconstruction of the buildings on the site. Nevertheless, these sources only help illuminate the physical structure and practical arrangements of the almshouse, and its surroundings. Very little is known about the furnishing of the accommodation. Can it be assumed that each almsman was at least provided with a bed? In the Savoy Hospital, Henry VII had made provisions for each of

²⁴⁰ WAM, 5345

²⁴¹ WAM, 5359, 5303, 5322, 5283, 5328, 5347, 5340, 5314, 5332A-E.

²⁴² C.1566, the properties which the Abbey previously held, such as the almshouse, were re-acquired from private ownership, minus a few buildings, and given into the oversight of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey and School. At this point the King's Almsmen then became the Queen's Almsmen although still very much known as Henry VII's almshouse and men. Elizabeth established new statutes and ordinances for the almshouse.

the one hundred poor sick inmates to have clean sheets and beds.²⁴³ Would Henry have not provided his thirteen almsmen with the same type of provisions? The indentures mention that ‘. . . at his costes and charges [the King] hath cause to be purveid and delyverd to the said thretene pore men sufficient drapry [,] basens [,] ewers and oder stuffe and utensils for their bordes [and] in their comune hall . . .’²⁴⁴ and that he ‘. . . ordeyneth and establissheth that the said thre pore women shall [,] as often as it shall need [,] wasshe the drapry of the said Almeshouse and the clothes of the said thretene pore men [and] make their beddes’.²⁴⁵ So, according to the indentures the almsmen would have at least been provided with a bed and the basic bedding/drapery in their rooms and in the common hall, each man would have had a basin and ewer to wash and the women and men would have had the basic utensils to cook and eat with.²⁴⁶ It is very interesting that during the Dissolution of the monastery in 1540, when all its chapels, belongings and buildings were being assessed and inventories were made that the almshouse and its possessions do not appear in any of the surviving inventories.²⁴⁷

We also know that the almsmen had a large table in the hall and in 1565 one Alexander Perin, ‘clerk’, hired the table from the ‘Receiver’ of the College of Westminster from 16 July to the 5 August for 40s. and again from 12 August to 22 September, and finally again until 30 of September 1565, a year before Queen Elizabeth’s major refurbishing.²⁴⁸ It would make sense that the almsmen did not need this table during that period because they no longer had a common hall. It is not known whether this table was re-established in the hall after 1604 when the almsmen received

²⁴³ Colvin, *The History of the King’s Works*, p. 196.

²⁴⁴ Appendix *i*. f. 75r lines 5-10, p. 275; f. 75v lines 1-3, 14-16, p. 276.

²⁴⁵ Appendix *i*. f. 75r lines 18-21, p. 275; f. 75v lines 14, 20, p. 276; f. 76r lines 1-10, pp. 276-77.

²⁴⁶ Ewers are tall vessels, often lidded, with a spout, used for containing water for hand-washing.

²⁴⁷ M. E. C. Walcott, ‘The Inventories of Westminster Abbey at the Dissolution’, *Transactions of London & Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 4 (London, 1871), 313-64.

²⁴⁸ Location of the table within the hall is mentioned in the *CSP, Domestic Series with Addenda*, pp. 537-38. WAM, 5377, 5378, 5379. It is uncertain where the table would have been located after the almsmen’s hall had been converted to the personal dwelling house of Nicholas Brigham c.1558-1565.

the hall back in a grant from Elizabeth I.²⁴⁹ Among the belongings of the almshouse was a common chest where the almswomen were to keep the utensils, moneys and other personal belongings of the almsmen and almshouse.²⁵⁰ The chest was most likely located in the common hall and the women were to take an annual inventory of the belongings within the chest and renew all items which needed renewing.²⁵¹

vii. Conclusion

The sixteenth century was a very difficult period for religious institutions, even for those that had the favour of the Kings and Queens. Westminster Abbey and Henry VII's almshouse posed a particular problem for the Crown because of their royal associations. The almshouse was, after all, the memorial for the first Tudor King, and yet its very purpose and function lay uneasily alongside the new Protestant ideas. However, its second function as a house for retired and loyal servants to the Crown was still needed, and remained an important priority for the Crown.

By the end of the Elizabethan period, the almshouse, once surrounded by open spaces and fields to the southwest, would have been surrounded by ramshackle buildings, thrown up as quickly and cheaply as possible. The most significant building encroachment was on Black's Ditch on the western side of the house where the almshouse privies and windows were located. Tall structures were being built which obstructed the almsmen's light, while the chimneys from these same residential and industrial buildings, (one was a washhouse), filled the air with soot, obscuring and damaging the windows.²⁵² The almshouse enclosure that was once a sanctuary for retired royal officials, was now crowded and rundown. Nevertheless, people still

²⁴⁹ WAM, 43722 and 42095.

²⁵⁰ See Appendix *i. f.* 76r lines 10-22, 16-17, pp. 276-77; *f.* 76v 1-4, p. 277.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² Replacement of windows WAM, 5332F, 5347; Encroaching buildings see WAM, 5347, 5320, 5346, 5358, 5283. Erection of walls WAM, 5340.

petitioned the Dean of the College to be admitted as almsmen because the house provided security.²⁵³ Even after the Dissolution, the almshouse survived, was refounded by Elizabeth I, and the Dean and Chapter of Westminster retained the oversight and funding responsibilities for the almshouse.

Nonetheless, the maintenance of the almshouse eventually became less of a priority to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. By 1779 when it was demolished the state of the house can be summed up in one word: dilapidated. Its walls had fallen onto the banks of Black's Ditch and several of the rooms had been uninhabitable for years.²⁵⁴ This dilapidation can be attributed to age and time, but it can also be attributed to the neglect and maladministration during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The almsmen of the time were supposedly moved to another house nearby within the parish of St Stephen's in Westminster and continued well into the twentieth century, yet this study ends with the refoundation under Elizabeth I. Although intended to last in perpetuity, Henry VII's almshouse survived in its original form for less than forty years, although it continued to provide relief for royal and Abbey servants for several hundred more years. The building itself survived for over 200 years but had fallen into disrepair on several occasions, thus limiting its usefulness for the almsmen. Nevertheless, for nearly 300 years the almshouse remained as a memorial to Henry VII's charitable intentions.

In comparison to Henry VII's other charitable foundations, such as the Savoy Hospital, built to support one hundred sick and poor Londoners, the almshouse was not particularly generous. It only catered for thirteen courtiers who had served the Crown

²⁵³ Unlike privately funded and company almshouses, Henry VII's almshouse was founded and supported by the Crown and Westminster Abbey.

²⁵⁴ WAM, 5363. The almshouse remained at least partially operational until 1779, when the building was demolished to make way for a widened entrance into Broad Sanctuary from Tothill Street. At that time there were only six almsmen living in the almshouse. WAM, 65988-66022 and 66000-66003 for the plans to widen the Broad Sanctuary at the expense of the almshouse, 1777-1779.

for many years, and who in repayment for their loyal service were given a place to live and be cared for into their old age. The almshouse appears to have served an important purpose at the time and filled the much needed demand for care and housing of retired Court servants.

Chapter 4

The Almsmen and Administration

The final analysis of Henry VII's almshouse, during the first one hundred years of its existence, is a study of the people who inhabited it; their rules and regulations, their daily routine, provisions granted to them by the Crown and Westminster Abbey (c.1502-1540), Cathedral (c.1540-1556), Marian Abbey (c.1556-1558) and eventually the Elizabethan Collegiate Church (c.1560- 1600), along with their patrons in the royal household and within the religious institution itself.

The first part of this analysis will briefly readdress the regulations Henry VII laid out in his statutes and ordinances for the almshouse memorial. The second section of this chapter will focus on the sources that can tell us something about the almsmen. There are limited sources that tell us about the everyday functioning of the almshouse. What survives are mostly financial records that reveal something about the success of the almshouse, but less of how the almsmen interacted with one another and the Abbey. There are, nevertheless, a few petitions from the almsmen from the later sixteenth century, which provide an understanding of the almshouse buildings and how they were used and also give a voice to the almsmen.¹ Finally, within the numerous financial sources that survive from the first one hundred years of the almshouse's existence, there are lists of almsmen's names. In addition to these lists of names, a number of petitions for almsmen's places survive, along with personal letters in support of these petitions from prominent people in the Court; such as Princess Mary Tudor, Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, and Queen Elizabeth. By using all this information an understanding of what it meant to be an almsman can be attempted.

¹ These sources will be used together with later sources to help gauge how much influence the almsmen had over their site, lives, and their financial support. Complaints and petitions from or against the almsmen: WAM, 5362, 5325, 5289, 5283, 5327, 5328, 5329, 5358, 5382, 5397, 18175, 18351, 18394, 18398, 18408-9, 43722.

i. Daily Life in the Almshouses According to the Statutes

The original almshouse foundation of Henry VII consisted of thirteen almsmen one of whom was a priest, and three almswomen. The priest was to be above the age of forty-five, a good grammarian, widowed or unmarried, and of good name and able to lead the men in prayers. The other twelve men were to be aged at least fifty, widowed, have served the crown or lived within the local area or precinct, and were to be able to sing the mass, especially the psalm *De profundis clamavi*. The three almswomen were also to be aged at least fifty, sad and honest, of good name and fame and of good conversation. The Abbey appointed a good and honest monk to help with the oversight. Not one of these almspeople was allowed to have an outside income, nor was their personal income to exceed £4 per annum. The priest and the Abbey monk were exempt from these limitations.

The King and Abbot of Westminster were responsible for appointing new almsmen and when the Abbot was away the Prior was then responsible. The almsmen were to seek licence if they intended to be absent from the almshouse, and if absent without licence a new election was to take place within eight days of the almsman being absent. The oversight of the almshouse was conducted by a system of checks and balances. No one person had the overall responsibility. This prevented mismanagement and ensured the longevity of the foundation.² The King oversaw the entire memorial and appointments, the Abbot of Westminster oversaw the monk and helped appoint new almsfolk, the monk from the Abbey oversaw the priest and almsmen. The priest oversaw the almshouse and men. The steward, appointed weekly from amongst the almsmen, oversaw the other men. The caterer, one of the three women who was appointed weekly, headed and oversaw the duties of the women for that week.

² Both Richard Whittington and William and Alice de le Pole had a similar governing structure for their almshouses, see chapter 1.

The almsmen and women were to be provided with 80 quarters of good coals and 1000 good faggots per annum. Each almsman, priest and almswoman was given a gown at a total cost of £8 per annum. The almsmen and women were also provided with food at a total cost of £25 6*d.* per annum. In addition, each man was to have his own house with two rooms, a fireplace, and a private privy. They were provided with a bed and light furnishings and sufficient ‘drapery’, basins, ewers, and other stuff, and utensils.³

According to the statutes, in addition to these provisions the almsmen were also to receive an annual income. The monk with the oversight of the almshouse was to be paid 40*s.* per annum or £2 in addition to his salary from the Abbey. The almswomen were to each receive 5*d.* a week to total £3 8*s.* 9*d.* each per annum. The almsmen were to receive 2½*d.* a day plus additional money on special anniversaries to total £4 each per annum. The priest of the almsmen was to receive £6 per annum including money received from anniversaries. The estimated total spent on wages each year, according to the statutes would have been £60. In return for their care and upkeep the almsmen were expected to participate in chantry services for the King. The statutes stated that the almsmen must attend all religious services and if absent they must have permission from the priest. Absence was only allowed if an almsman was too ill to participate.

The almsmen’s day and week was based around a treadmill of religious services: three chantry masses in the morning, evensong in the afternoon and private and group prayers in their own chapel in the evening before bed.⁴ Their day would have begun at six o’clock in the morning when the first bell was rung. By six-thirty the almsmen were to be in their chapel saying a prayer for their founder and by seven o’clock they were to be sitting around Henry VII’s tomb in the Lady Chapel in the Abbey, saying the first of three masses. This first service would have lasted fifty to sixty minutes. Immediately

³ Appendix i. *Abridged Transcription of BL, Harley MS 1498 (Part B) f. 76r lines 10-22, pp. 276-77; f. 76v lines 1-4, p. 277.*

⁴ See chapter 1 Table 1.1, p. 76 and Table 1.2, p. 77.

after this service, at eight o'clock, the second chantry mass was said, and the third at nine o'clock, High Mass. Again this service would have lasted fifty to sixty minutes. From ten in the morning to two-thirty in the afternoon the almsmen were to return to their houses, eat dinner together in their common hall and were expected to keep to themselves after meal time in thoughtful prayer. At two-thirty the almshouse bell was to be rung summoning the men to their final service in the Abbey, namely Evensong. This began at three o'clock and lasted thirty to forty minutes. Following this service the men were to return to their homes, eat supper together in their common hall and after the meal time return to their rooms and sit in quiet contemplation. At six-thirty the final bell was to be rung summoning the almsmen to their chapel where they were expected to say their final prayers for their founder, Henry VII and by seven o'clock they were to retire to their personal dwelling houses for bed.⁵

In addition to their religious duties each almsman and woman had duties to perform within the almshouse. A steward was to be appointed once a week from amongst the men in order of his admission into the house, who would have the oversight of the almsmen and women. He was responsible for overseeing payments for food on Thursdays and for settling any disputes within the house. The almsmen were also to be responsible for the ringing of their chapel bell. The bell ringer would be appointed once a week in the same way as the steward and he was responsible for ringing the bell before the services to remind the almsmen of where they needed to be.⁶ The almsmen's priest was responsible for leading the daily prayers, saying the third chantry mass and for dispensing payments on Sunday. He was also to assist the steward in settling any disputes within the almshouse. It was everyone's duty to pray for the King and attend all services designated in the indentures.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ For bell ringing see chapter 1 Table 1.1, p. 76.

The almswomen's responsibilities differed from those of the men. Their duties were less spiritual and more menial. Once a week, a 'caterer' was appointed from amongst the three women. This appointment rotation began with the most senior almswoman. She was to be responsible for providing and making the food for the almshouse that week. Nevertheless, it was the duty of all the almswomen to provide the food for the week, dress the meat, make pottage, clean the house, wash the clothes and look after the men, especially when they were ill. In addition, the household inventory was to be kept quarterly by the women which suggests that the women were expected to be literate and able to write, although this was not specified within their qualifications.⁷ This inventory was to be consulted when the almshouse needed maintenance, or when the drapery and utensils needed to be replaced.

Strict rules and regulations were placed upon the almspeople in order to create a structured way of life and prevent mismanagement. Henry VII, with the help of Abbot Islip, was meticulous in laying out the strict and detailed regulations of the almshouse. Once a year within the Abbey, two days after the King's anniversary (11 February before Henry's death and 13 May after) the abstract or abbreviated version of the indentures was to be read aloud.⁸ The indentures were to be set upon two tablets within the almsmen's chapel and also in the Lady Chapel so that the rules were accessible. In addition to the rules being read aloud annually, the regulations were to be renewed or amended at least twice a year, or as many times as required, and the almsmen were to swear an oath upon the gospels to observe the ordinances. The men were required to attend all services, unless ill, and were not allowed to leave the almshouse at any time

⁷ Possibly the women were taught to write within the almshouse or one of the women was required to be able to read and write. It is also possible that the steward compiled the inventory and the women helped administer the process.

⁸ The dates for the memorial service at the Abbey were first based upon the death of Henry VII's wife Elizabeth of York (11 February 1503), and later changed to 13 May, the date of Henry VII's funeral, after Henry VII died (21 April 1509).

without a licence. If any of the rules were broken or responsibilities not met, the priest, almsmen and almswomen were given three chances to redeem themselves and then they were to be expelled.

The duty of the bell ringer was an important job. If an almsman was unable to ring the bell, another was to take his place and in return would receive $\frac{1}{2}d.$ each day from the almsman whom he replaced. If an almsman or woman was too ill to attend mass, they had to be granted a pardon by the priest and as far as they could, they were to pray for themselves and for the King's soul within their almshouse. They were also allowed to stay in their almshouse and be tended by the almswomen.

There are no contemporary sources telling us about what actually happened day to day within the almshouse, nevertheless, the indentures were very clear about what was expected of the men and women. Every aspect of their lives was laid out for them; from their prayer services to their meals, to what they should wear and how they were to behave themselves. Henry VII left nothing to the imagination. The lack of surviving records for the first thirty years of the almshouse might suggest that under the oversight of Abbot Islip the almshouse functioned as it was intended. This is supported by the fact that in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century there are a number of complaints from the almsmen regarding the observance of their statutes, and the granting of licences.⁹ This could be due to the fact that the rules and regulations had changed and that the new statutes established by King Henry VIII and his son Edward VI did not provide the same detail as King Henry VII's had done and were not as meticulously observed as they had been under Abbot Islip.¹⁰

⁹Complaints: WAM, 5362, 5325, 5289, 5283, 5327, 5328, 5329, 5358, 5382, 5397, 18175, 18351, 18394, 18398, 18408-9, 43722.

¹⁰ Henry VIII and Edward VI's statutes will be discussed later in the chapter. It is not clear what relationship Henry VIII had with his father's almshouse. It appears he made sure it was maintained but there was not a lot of effort made to preserve its lands and buildings. It is interesting that in 1544 Henry VIII founded an almshouse in Woolstaple in Westminster for seven decayed men, the endowment of

Nevertheless, there are a few surviving records for the mid-sixteenth century that shed light on the administration of the almshouse and the role that it played at Westminster Abbey and in the lives of the Tudor family. Between May and September of 1554 Queen Mary sent a letter to the Dean of Westminster regarding the admission of the almsmen.¹¹ The letter opens with . . .

‘Trusty and welbelovyed we grete you well. And for as moche as dyverse letters have byn directyd to yow by us for the preferment of certen poore men to the romes of bedmen or almesmen wythin owre cathedrall church of Westm’ according to your foundation, and that some of the same letters have byn written in suche forme that the partie for whome they were wrytten shulde be plasid at the next avoydaunce of any of the said romes, so that suche poore men as by us since the begynnyng of owre raygne hadd former letters grauntyd to be preferred to any of the said romes shulde by that meanes be disapoyntyd, we therefore, desyryng to see a good order taken and kepte in that behalfe, wyll and commawnde you that from hensforth all suche poore men as by our letters have byn hereafter shalbe appoyntyd to any of the said romes of bedmen or almesmen, in what forme or maner so ever they be wrytten, be plasyd in the said romes accordyng to the date of the same letters, to thentent that thos that have the fyrst graunte orderly may be fyrst preferryd, and those shalbe unto you at all tymes a sufficient warraunt and discharge in that behalfe.’¹²

which totaled £742, securing a payment of £5 6s. per almsman each year. Moreover, he also endowed the College of Windsor with £666 6s. 8d. per annum for the support of thirteen poor knights who were said to be ‘decayed in wars and such like service of the realm’. This almshouse served its function until 1830 when it was pulled down and the almsmen were given life annuities of £3 each. W. K. Jordan, *The Charities of London 1480-1600* (London, 1974), pp. 140-41. Henry VIII, by maintaining his father’s almshouse was doing his kingly duty of preserving what had come before but it is clear that by establishing these other almshouses he was creating his own a spiritual, economic, and visual memorial for himself.

¹¹WAM, 5369; *Act Books* (vol. 1), 155, p. 86.

¹²WAM, 5369; *Act Books* (vol. 1), 89, 155, p. 86.

It would appear that Queen Mary had to send this letter because almsmen were being admitted at random, possibly based on favour and less on when they had applied for positions. The letter does not mention anything about the stipulations or conditions for admission into the almshouse, nor does it address the regulations the men were to follow once admitted, nor how these rules would be supervised. Possibly the requirements and regulations for becoming an almsman had changed little during the reigns of Henry VIII and his son Edward VI.¹³

It appears that, the qualifications for admission into the almshouse, after the Dissolution, were the same as earlier, although there were no longer any almswomen to look after the men, nor a priest to provide and lead chantry masses. Prospective almsmen would petition for a place and would have to have been supported by someone of some standing. There are no surviving records for the Henrican and Edwardian re-foundation of Henry VII's almshouse; nevertheless, when Elizabeth I refounded the Marian Abbey as a Collegiate Church on the 12 May 1560 she also re-established the almshouse, and drew-up new almshouse statutes. It has been said that her re-endowment and re-foundation of the Collegiate Church at Westminster mirrored her father's less than twenty years earlier.¹⁴ The Elizabethan Charter acknowledges the refoundation as a 'restoration' of the Dean and Prebendaries of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Peter Westminster which was established by Queen Elizabeth and Parliament.¹⁵ The formal charter for the new foundation appointed the twelve Prebendaries to their offices and lists their duties to the church and Crown from that day forth: they were to be known as

¹³ The rules for participating in chantry services would have changed during the Edwardian period.

¹⁴ WAM, LXXXVII, the Charter for Queen Elizabeth I's foundation of Westminster College, 1560. There is no surviving formal endowment for Henry VIII's Westminster Cathedral only incomplete draft copies which do not address the almsmen. WAM, 5268: Grant from Queen Elizabeth to the Dean and Prebends and almsmen of the Collegiate Church of Westminster.

¹⁵ WAM, LXXXVII.

one body called the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Collegiate Church.¹⁶ The document then grants the Dean and Chapter ‘... All our Church of the late Monastery of Saint Peter Westminster now dissolved, And all ... ancient Privileges Liberties and free Customs of the same late Convent or Monastery, And all the Church there together with all the Chappels, Lead Bells, Belfreys, Cloysters, Dormitories, Refectories, Church Yards, Gates, Bakehouses, Brewhouses, Horse Mills, prisons, Granaries, Vaults or subterraneous places, Messuages, Houses, Edifices, Structures, Curtilages, Garden Grounds, Gardens Orchards, Ponds Pools, ways, Paths, and all other Easements Grounds places, Lands and Territories within the said ... Precinct of the said late Convent or Monastery...’¹⁷ Within this formal endowment there is no mention of the almshouse, nevertheless, a seventeenth century copy of an appendage to the endowment document survives and this addresses the almsmen’s new statutes.¹⁸

There are a number of similarities between Elizabeth’s statutes and those of Henry VII (see Appendix *i.* and *vi.*).¹⁹ One striking difference between the two statutes is the length of the document and detail provided. The Elizabethan statutes were less than a page and a half long whereas those of Henry VII were thirty-four pages long.²⁰ The lack of detail in Elizabeth’s statutes could be one reason for the increase in the number of complaints against, and by, the almsmen to the Dean, but it could also be that within the original Elizabethan statutes there had been more details and instruction, and that the seventeenth century transcription is an abbreviated account of more extensive Elizabethan statutes which no longer survive for the almshouse.

¹⁶ WAM, LXXXVII.

¹⁷ WAM, LXXXVII.

¹⁸ See Appendix *vi.* *The Transcription of the Seventeenth Century Copy of the Statutes of the Queen’s Almsmen at Westminster Collegiate Church*, pp. 295-96.

¹⁹ Appendix *i.* pp. 251-77.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

If we were to compare the two texts there are a number of similarities and differences. For instance, the qualification for admission into the almshouse appears to have changed. According to the Henry VII's statutes his almsmen were to be aged fifty or over, able to help the priest say prayers, of good name and fame, lettered, and unable to look after themselves with a personal income of less than £4 per annum.²¹ According to the Elizabethan statutes, her almsmen were to be those who found themselves in poverty or broken, maimed in war or worn out with old age and brought to misery.²² Nowhere does it state they were to be royal servants or able to read and write.

One similarity between the two sets of statutes is that both Henry VII's and Elizabeth's almsmen were to attend a number of daily services in the medieval Abbey and later the Elizabethan Collegiate Church; Elizabeth's almsmen were to attend two services in the morning and one in the evening whereas Henry's were to attend three chantry masses in the morning and Evensong in the late afternoon.²³ Elizabeth's services were of course not chantry masses but the normal services held in the Collegiate Church celebrating the life of the current monarch and those who had come before her.

Another difference was that Elizabeth's almsmen were allowed to be married and have a family, who were all allowed to live in the house together.²⁴ The increase in numbers coexisting in the later almshouse could also be a reason why there are more disputes in the later period. Several of the petitions are based on complaints from almsmen regarding their wife's right to the almshouse after they had died and also petitions from the wives demanding their husband's pension.²⁵ Henry's almsmen were

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² See Appendix vi. lines 4-6, p. 295.

²³ See Appendix vi lines 8-11, p. 295.

²⁴ See Appendix vi lines 17-18, p. 295. WAM, 18395: Case in 1653 against almsmen regarding ancient lands and customs. It mentions that marriage of the almsmen had become ancient habit by this date. It would appear that the almsmen had wives as early as the 1540s. WAM, 5305. See the case of John Ager pp. 222-24.

²⁵ WAM, 5291: A Petition from Edward Capcott to the committee of Westminster College to refrain from paying the widow of Richard Keymor his predecessor, his last quarter's pension. [Commonwealth,

required to be widowed or unmarried and to live privately in their homes, and they were not allowed to keep another person within the almshouse. If an almsman was caught doing so he would have been reprimanded, possibly lose his pay for the week, and if not reformed he would be removed from the almshouse.²⁶ Both sets of statutes agree that the almsmen were to have three chances to redeem themselves after being reprimanded for breaking the regulations and if they did not reform they were to be removed from the house and another elected in their place.²⁷ The Elizabethan statutes state that this removal was for the betterment of all others living in the house.²⁸ The almsmen were not to be ‘farting drunk’ or ‘infamous’ or commit any notable crime and if they transgressed they were required to clear the matter with the Dean, or Archdeacon if the Dean were away.²⁹

Henry’s almsmen elected a weekly steward who was to have the oversight of the men. Richard Whittington’s almsmen also had a Tutor who had the oversight of his almsmen and was elected from amongst them because of his worthy behaviour.³⁰ Elizabeth’s almsmen were also to appoint a Guardian to help with the oversight of the almshouse.³¹ This Guardian was chosen by the Dean or Pro-Dean in the Dean’s absence and not elected by the almsmen. The Guardian was deemed to be the most prudent, in gravity and virtue over the others.³² The Guardian’s duties were to make sure that all

c.1638-60]. Attached is the widow’s account. WAM, 5385: Petition from Ellinor Cullins, widow of Thomas Collins, to the same committee for her husband’s Almsman’s gown and his quarter pension. [Commonwealth, c.1638-60]. WAM, 5389: Petition from Ellinor Cullins, widow, of Thomas Cullins, almsman, to the committee of Westminster college for 36s. the price of his gown and her quarter pension [Commonwealth, c.1638-60]. WAM, 5362: Petition from Mary widow of Richard Keyme, almsman, to the committee for half a year’s lodging wages and fees according to ancient custom. Certification in her favour for her petition from almsmen July 30 1646.

²⁶ The almsmen’s pay is listed but the first number is illegible and the only figure which is clear is that they received at least *2d.* a year. Appendix *vi.* line 28, p. 295 and also see Appendix *ii.* *A Comparison of the Almshouse Statutes*, pp. 278-86.

²⁷ Appendix *vi.* lines 20-21, 26, p. 295.

²⁸ Appendix *vi.* line 27, p. 295.

²⁹ Appendix *vi.* lines 22-25, p. 295.

³⁰ Appendix *ii.* pp. 278-86.

³¹ Appendix *vi.* lines 29-37, p. 295.

³² Appendix *vi.* lines 29-35, p. 295.

other men observed the statutes, and he was also responsible for locking the ‘commongate’ at the predetermined hour together with the College porter.³³ The Elizabethan statutes then state that if an almsmen were absent from divine prayer or ‘lay out of their lodgings’ he was to be corrected by the Dean.³⁴ It is to be assumed that they were given three chances to redeem themselves and if not they were removed from the almshouse. Nevertheless, if the Guardian did not perform his duty properly he too was to be corrected at the ‘pleasure’ of the Dean.³⁵

In like fashion to Henry VII’s almsmen, Elizabeth’s almsmen were to receive and wear a gown during the church services, and their gowns were to be of the same colour and design as Henry’s, with the rose badge.³⁶ It is not known when the colour of the Queen’s Almsmen’s gowns changed from their brown russet to the scarlet and blue gowns they wear today with a little silver crowned Tudor rose on the shoulder.³⁷ One thing not included within Elizabeth’s statutes was the provisions of food. Henry’s statutes provide great detail regarding the types of food to be provided to his almsmen, together with fuel provisions. It would appear that these provisions were lost after the Dissolution of the Abbey and were not returned to the men when Elizabeth re-founded the almshouse. One reason for this might be because they no longer had almswomen overseeing the food preparations nor a common hall in which to share the fuel allowances.

Overall, the statutes for the Elizabethan almshouse were very similar to those of her grandfathers’ created only sixty years early. Nevertheless, there were two major

³³ Appendix *vi*. lines 36-37, p. 295.

³⁴ Appendix *vi*. lines 38-40, p. 295.

³⁵ See Appendix *vi*. lines 41-41, p. 296. It is assumed the word ‘pleasure’ refers to how the Dean will deal with the error, i.e. instant removal or a reprimand.

³⁶ See Appendix *vi*. lines 44-48, p. 296.

³⁷ L. E. Tanner, ‘The Queen’s Almsmen’, *WAM Occasional Papers*, 23 (Westminster, 1969), 9-10. In 1749 there is an order for blue and purple cloth for the almsmen’s gowns. WAM, 46755. Possibly they may have already been that colour for some time.

changes; the introduction of married couples/families and the loss of communal life and the loss of the chantry services which was the essence Henry VII's memorial foundation.

ii. Payments and Provisions

According to the statutes of Henry VII, the almsmen were to receive a salary of £4 per annum. This included their weekly pay of 1s. 5½ d. per week, plus the extra payments they received for participating in additional prayer services for the King.³⁸ In addition to their salary, every year, each almsman, woman and priest was to receive a gown at a cost of £8 per annum.³⁹ The statutes also stipulated that the almsmen and women and the priest were each provided with food at a cost of 9s. 7½d. a week and also fuel for their personal and communal use up to the value of 11s. 8d. per annum. The overall running costs for Henry VII's almshouse as set-out in the statutes, would have been £94 to £100 per annum.⁴⁰ But it is not clear, whether or not Henry VII's almsmen, women and the priest actually received these provisions after the foundation.

In 1502, when the almshouse building was said to have been complete, Abbot Islip and Henry VII drew-up an additional contract recording the Abbot's responsibilities for payments and upkeep of Henry's memorial; specifically payments towards prayer service, alms to the poor, Henry's Oxford College priests, and his almsmen.⁴¹ According to this contract, the Abbot was given £58 10s. 5½d. to cover the payments for Henry's thirteen almsmen's salaries and their gowns and an additional £14 2s. to cover the costs of the almswomen's salaries and gowns.⁴²

³⁸ See chapter 1 Table 1.0, p. 73.

³⁹ See chapter 1.

⁴⁰ See chapter 1.

⁴¹ WAM, 6634: Interim agreement between Abbot and Henry VII 1504.

⁴² *Ibid.*

On the 17 October 1502, the King made several payments to Abbot Islip in addition to the lump sum he had already provided for the memorial.⁴³ On 1 January 1503 the Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts show that Henry had made a payment of £1 13s. 4d. towards the almsmen's gowns.⁴⁴ Then on 25 March 1503 (Lady Day) Henry also made a payment to the priest for the gowns of the King's almshouse at the cost of a further £27 19s. 2d. and an additional payment to the thirteen poormen of £3 8d.⁴⁵ In addition to these payments, on 22 December 1503 the almsmen were again given a payment of 10s., and, an additional £4 3s. 4d. for wages and gowns.⁴⁶ Payments of this kind extend up to 1504 and do not seem unusual amongst the many other payments within the Treasurer of the Chamber's Accounts. These are by no means large sums of money, but, it is not clear whether these payments were coming directly from the King, or from the memorial endowment. The answer may be that the endowment, although granted and purchased by 1504, may not yet have been providing its full estimated income and thus the King had to supplement the endowment with additional payments until it was fully functioning. Between 1503 and 1504, Henry VII made additional payments to Abbot Islip towards the building of the memorial in addition to the £30,000 he had originally provided to the Abbot for the building costs.⁴⁷

The additional contract that Abbot Islip and Henry VII had made in 1502, which listed the payments made to the Abbot for the upkeep of the King's almsmen, also specified that the Abbot was in future to be responsible for keeping a record of all the

⁴³ BL, Additional MS 59899, f. 8; The King gave Islip an additional £40 for the building of the Lady chapel and another £33 6s. 8d. for provisions for the chapel. There was also a bill for Henry's hearse at the cost of £63 16s. 8d.

⁴⁴ BL, Additional MS 59899, f. 9

⁴⁵ BL, Additional MS 59899, f.16

⁴⁶ BL, Additional MS 59899, f. 40v; On the 24 March 1504 there is a payment to the 'poormen' of 10s. from the King. BL, Additional MS 59899, f. 55v.

⁴⁷ BL, Additional MS 59899, f. 7v; 16 December 1502: Payment for King's works: £61 2s. 4d., Priest for some work at Abbey: £133 6s. 8d., King's tomb: £10; April 8, 1503: Payment to Abbot: £333 6s. 8d. Individual purchases were recorded continuously as outgoings in the King's books. Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 67.

income and output from year to year for Henry VII's endowment and all payments made towards his memorial.⁴⁸ In response to this injunction, Abbot Islip established the office of Warden of the Accounts for the Manors of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, which he directly controlled. The Warden's Accounts cover the first thirty-three years of Henry VII's memorial at Westminster Abbey.⁴⁹ These accounts disappeared shortly after Islip's death in 1532, when the Abbey was beginning to amalgamate its income into one single endowment.⁵⁰ There are eleven rolls surviving for the Warden's Accounts between the years 1502 and 1533.⁵¹ The first section of the Warden's Accounts; the endowment lands and their income have already been discussed.⁵² The second section of the Warden's Accounts which lists the total monies spent annually on the individual elements that made up Henry VII's memorial will be examined here.⁵³ While the first section of the Warden's Accounts was quite formulaic, the second section is much less so. Over the course of the thirty years, most of the accounts list the amount paid to the Abbot for maintaining the memorial, the sums spent on candles and the poor, the annual stipend of the almsmen and women, the cost of their gowns, and a miscellaneous list of expenses which included monies spent on the almsmen's fuel, the income and stipends for Henry's three Oxford scholars, and finally, the sums spent on the students of Elizabeth, late queen of Henry VII (studying at Cambridge).⁵⁴ The eleven surviving records for the first thirty years of Henry VII's memorial at

⁴⁸ WAM, 6634.

⁴⁹ WAM, 24236-24242, 24244, 24246, 24248-24249, 24243, 24245, 24247, 24250, and 28043 are a series of rolls written on parchment varying in length but all measuring just over a foot wide apart from WAM, 28043 which has been put together in a book format. In most instances the hand is quite legible and written in Latin with some French and English when the scribe may not have known the Latin name or term. There are subtle variations in spelling of each property but for the most part the documents always list the properties in the same order and only occasionally stray from this format.

⁵⁰ See chapter 2.

⁵¹ The years that are missing are 1506-1515, 1519-1523, and 1524-1531.

⁵² See chapter 2.

⁵³ See Appendix v. *Expenses for Henry VII's Memorial at Westminster Abbey, Warden's Accounts 1502-1533*, pp. 293-94.

⁵⁴ See Appendix v. pp. 293-94.

Westminster Abbey have been analyzed into a Table.⁵⁵ This Table shows the total sum spent on each expense mentioned in the Warden's Accounts for the specified year.⁵⁶ In Table 4.0 a breakdown of the almsmen's expenses has been provided which is derived from the Warden's Accounts.⁵⁷

Table 4.0: Money Spent on the Almsmen Per Annum.

This information has been taken from the Warden of the Manor Accounts of Henry VII's Memorial: WAM, 24236-24250. Only ten years are shown here because in 1532/3 the almsmen were not mentioned in the accounts.

Date	Stipend	Gowns	Wood, Coal and Carriage	Miscellaneous	Total Spend
1502/3	£47 6s. 5 1/2d.	£20 5s. 11d.	£1 16s. 10d.	1s. 4d. for an almsman's 'mat'.	£69 10s. 6 1/2d.
1503/4	£52 8s. 10d.	£11 2s. 3d.	£3 8d.		£66 11s. 9d.
1504/5	£61 19s. 4d.	£13 19s. 6d.	£2 19s. 2d.	£2 18s. 8d. for tables and £1 13s. 4d. for books.	£83 10s.
1505/6	£61 19s. 4d.	£17 10s. 10d.	£2 19s. 2d.		£82 9s. 4d.
1515/16	£61 19s. 4d.	£11 16s. 6d.	£3 1s. 8d.		£76 17s. 6d.
1516/17	£61 19s. 4d.	£12 7s. 6d.	£3 1s. 8d.		£77 8s. 6d.
1517/18	£61 19s. 4d.	£11 17s. 6d.	£3 1s. 8d.		£76 18s. 6d.
1518/19	£61 19s. 4d.	£12 4s. 8d.	£3 6s. 8d.	£4 19s. 1/2d. chimney work done on almshouse.	£82 9s. 8 1/2d.
1523/24	£61 19s. 4d.	£16 1s. 6d.	£3 6s. 8d.		£81 7s. 6d.
1531/32	£61 19s. 4d.	£11 19s. 10d.	£3 6s. 8d.		£77 5s. 10d.

According to the Warden's Accounts in the year 1502 the income from the endowment was £340 15s. 3d., £69 10s. 6 1/2d. of which was spent on the almsmen.⁵⁸ Of this money £47 6s. 5 1/2d. was spent on their stipend, £20 5s. 11d. for gowns and £1 16s. 10d. for wood, coal and carriage, plus 1s. 4d. for an almsmen's 'mat', see Table 4.0.⁵⁹ It is not clear whether these totals included the costs of the priest or almswomen. The overall total shows that not all the appointments had been made for the almshouse and not until 1504/5 does the total spent on the almshouse reflect the cost estimated in the

⁵⁵ See Appendix v. pp. 293-94.

⁵⁶ See Appendix v. pp. 293-94.

⁵⁷ See Appendix iii. *Warden's Account Chart from 1502-1533*, WAM: 24236-24242, 24244, 24246, 24248-24249, pp. 287-91.

⁵⁸ Appendix v. p. 293-94 and Table 4.1, p. 203.

⁵⁹ WAM, 24236

indentures.⁶⁰ It appears that between the dates 1502 and 1504 the King was supplementing the endowment, because, at that time, the endowment was not generating its expected income. But, by 1504/5, it would appear that all the almsmen and women had been placed in the house and that the entire almshouse and the endowment were now properly established. This is suggested by the fact that the almsmen's stipends of £61. 19s. 4d. match the estimated provision made within the indentures.⁶¹ From 1504 until 1531/2 the almsmen's stipends, according to the Warden's Accounts did not fluctuate and remained the same until the end of the accounts.⁶² The average total spend on the almsmen over the thirty years documented was £77 14s. 3d. per annum. The annual total spend according to the statutes and Henry VII's wishes, was to have been £93 16s. 2d.⁶³ Possibly this difference is explained by the cost of the food, which was intended to be covered by Henry VII's memorial endowment, but there is no sign of these payments within the Warden's Accounts.⁶⁴

From year to year the total spent on the almsmen fluctuated between £66 11s. 9d. in 1503/4 to £82 9s. 4d. in 1505/6.⁶⁵ This variation mostly occurs in the payments for the gowns. The cost of gowns varied significantly from approximately £20 in 1502 to approximately £11 in 1503.⁶⁶ There are a number of explanations for these variations; the price of cloth may have varied from year to year, but it is also possible that some almsmen did not require new gowns every year and that if there were vacancies the gowns may have been passed down to new almsmen, or no gown was needed because there was a vacancy.

⁶⁰ Appendix v. pp. 293-94.

⁶¹ Appendix v. pp. 293-94 and Table 4.2, p. 206.

⁶² See Table 4.1 p. 203.

⁶³ See Appendix ii. pp. 278-86.

⁶⁴ See Appendix ii. pp. 278-86. According to the indentures £25 6d. was to be spent on the almsmen's food each year. See chapter 1.

⁶⁵ See Appendix v. pp. 293-94.

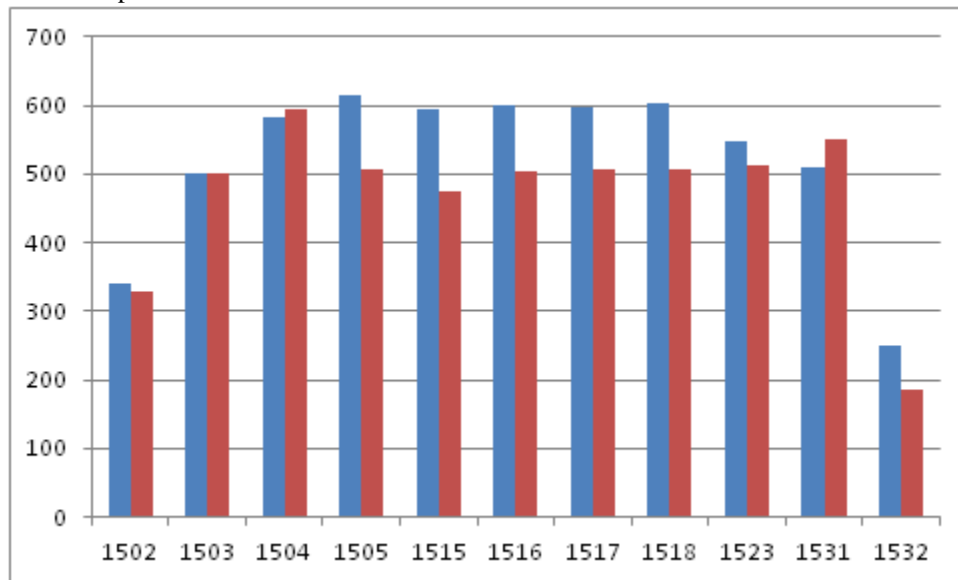
⁶⁶ See Table 4.1, p. 203.

Although we know that fuel prices fluctuated considerably from year to year during the sixteenth century, nevertheless, these fluctuations are not reflected in the Warden's Accounts.⁶⁷ The price spent yearly on fuel for the almsmen varied little with an average of £3 per annum over the thirty years.⁶⁸ According to the statutes, Henry had specified how many faggots and how much coal the almsmen were to be given, but it may be that the Abbot decided that instead of providing these stipulated amounts, a set sum of money was given instead.

Table 4.1
Expenditure Versus Income Per Annum in Pounds for Henry VII's Memorial.⁶⁹

*Blue = Income

*Red = Expenditure



According to the Warden's Accounts, the fluctuations of costs from year to year did not occur only in the almshouse. Table 4.1 shows that the overall expenditure for the entire memorial fluctuated from year to year. Other than the year 1504-5 and 1531-2, the total income from Henry's endowment exceeded that of its costs.⁷⁰ After Islip died

⁶⁷ See chapter 1.

⁶⁸ See Table 4.1, p. 203 and also chapter 1.

⁶⁹ WAM, 24236-24250.

⁷⁰ See Table 4.1, p. 203.

in 1532, it would appear that the accounts were being neglected.⁷¹ The documentation for Henry VII's memorial became quite sparse until the Abbey's Dissolution in 1540 when the accounting was taken over by the Court of Augmentations. There are only four financial documents surviving for the period between Michaelmas 1532 and 1539.⁷² Three of these sources list the income of the entire Abbey and then in rare instances, some of the expenses which the Abbey was still maintaining with these funds. Of the three surviving accounts only one mentions payments for Henry VII's memorial.⁷³ The first reference is on the 23 November 1538 when a payment of £36 was made towards Henry VII's foundation by John Moulton, who was overseeing the endowment and the funding of the Abbey at the time.⁷⁴ The second payment towards the foundation was on 25 December 1538. This payment of £10 was made to the master clerk (monk) who had the oversight of Henry VII's foundation.⁷⁵ Other than these four financial records nothing else survives for the medieval foundation of Henry VII's memorial at Westminster Abbey. The overall success of the memorial during the first thirty years of its existence can be attributed to the careful oversight of Abbot Islip and the establishment of the Warden of the Manor Accounts.

iii. The Management of the Almshouse in the Period 1540-1545/6

When Westminster Abbey was dissolved in 1540 the oversight of the basic functionings of the Abbey passed into the hands of the Court of Augmentations. Careful financial documentation was carried out by the Abbey's receiver/steward John Moulton, who worked alongside John Carleton, one of the receivers of the Court of

⁷¹ No Warden's Accounts survive after this period suggesting they may have been neglected after Abbot Islip's death. See Appendix v. pp. 293-94.

⁷² WAM, 9502, 43947, 43988, 33332.

⁷³ WAM, 43947, f. 3.

⁷⁴ See chapter 2 for more information on John Moulton.

⁷⁵ WAM, 43947, f. 4.

Augmentations.⁷⁶ Meticulous lists were made of the Abbey's endowed lands and the Abbey's basic running costs. Within these accounts are lists of almsmen and women who received payments from the Court of Augmentations between the dates 1540 and 1546, see Table 4.2.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ WAM, 43947, 43988, 33332; Barbara Harvey, 'Dissolution and Westminster Abbey' *A Paper Given at the Special Centenary Conference of the English Benedictine Congregation History Commission at Westminster Abbey* (The English Benedictine Congregation Trust: Thursday 22 November 2007), pp. 1-10, (p. 7); John Carleton later became the chapter's Steward of the lands. WAM, 37041; and C. S. Knighton, 'King's College', in *Westminster Abbey reformed 1540-1640*, ed. by C. S. Knighton and Richard Mortimer (London, 2003), pp. 16-37, (p. 19).

⁷⁷ Table. 4.2, p. 212. Court of Augmentations: Last quarter of 1540 is TNA, SC6/Hen. VIII/2415; 1540-1542 is TNA, LR 2/111 ff. 56-76 and last quarter of 1542 is TNA, SC6/Hen. VIII/2421. In 1542 the Abbey's financial oversight went back into the hands of the new Cathedral treasurer and the sister copy of TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2421 at WAM is 37045.

Table 4.2 Almsmen List: Court of Augmentation Accounts 1540-1546.

Quarterly Accounts: each almsman was paid 33s. 4d. a quarter.⁷⁸

Names in bold show when they first appear in the documents.

1546: WAM, 37060 records only the sum paid (£78. 6s. 8d.).

1540	1541	1542	1543	1544	1545
TNA, E315/24 SC6/Hen. VIII/2421	WAM, 6478, TNA, LR2/111	TNA, LR2/111 SC6/Hen. VIII/2421	WAM, 37045; TNA, LR2/111	WAM, 37043; TNA, LR2/111	WAM, 37044
Richard Bayle	x	Thomas Ballard (priest)	x	x	
William Fyshes	x	x	x	x	x
William Brown	x	x	x	x	x
Thomas Reymare	x	x	x	x	x
Thomas Anley	x	x	x	x	x
Nicholas Robynson	x	x	x	x	x
George Cunningham	x	x	x	x	x
Richard Robinson	x	x	x	x	x
William Nutting	x	x	x	x	x
John Page	x	x	x	x	x
William Cappes	x	John Wylle	x	x	x
Robert Cotehill	x	x	x	x	x
			Thomas Owen	crossed out	
	Agnes Bird	x	x	crossed out	
	Anye Jurye	x	x	crossed out	
	Margaret Whyte	x	x	crossed out	
Total paid	£80	£80	£80	£80	£80

Eighteen almsmen and women received payments from the Court of Augmentations between the years 1540 and 1546. Thomas Ballard who first appears in the accounts in 1542 was noted as being the ‘priest’ of the almsmen.⁷⁹ He does not appear in the

⁷⁸ TNA, E315/24 shows each almsman receiving £6 13s. 4d. per annum. The total overall payment to the almsmen was said to be £80 per year, nearly a £2 difference from their salaries when totalled. According to TNA, LR2/111 the almsmen were paid 33s. 4d. a quarter and in the last quarter of 1541 the men were said to have been given £26 13s. 4d. The total cost for the almsmen and women that quarter would have been £23 17s. a difference of £3 17s. 4d. By the end of 1543 the women were no longer receiving a stipend and the overall quarterly payment to the almsmen was said to be £20, a discrepancy of 20s. from what the almsmen should have actually received. It is clear that the annual total of £80 came from the rounding off of each quarterly account from £19 1s. to £20.

⁷⁹ TNA, SC6/Hen. VIII/2415; 1540-1542 is TNA, LR 2/111 ff. 56-76.

records earlier possibly because he was paid separately.⁸⁰ There were always at least twelve men living in the almshouse at one time, sometimes there is overlap within the year when one man's name disappears and another name replaces it. For instance, William Cappes first appears in 1540 but after the first quarterly account for 1542 his name disappears and John Wylle's name appears.⁸¹ It can be assumed that William either died or left the almshouse. The women are shown in the accounts from 1541 to 1544 but this does not mean they were not there earlier. Possibly, as in the case of the priest, they were being paid separately. In 1543 the records for the Court of Augmentations show that the women's names have been crossed out and noted to have been given their pensions of £6 13s. 4d., the same rate as the almsmen's annual stipend.⁸² In addition to the women's names, a gentleman by the name of Thomas Owen appears in the accounts directly above the women but his name is also crossed out. His name does not appear in the accounts earlier, possibly he had died or was removed before receiving his first quarterly payment. It is not known what happened to the almswomen once they were removed from their responsibilities at the almshouse. The almshouse complex eastern section where they lived had yet to be seized and it is possible the women were allowed to stay within their living quarters above the almsmen's kitchen until Richard Cecil acquired the buildings circa 1546/7.⁸³ It is interesting that within the Benedictine monastic precinct women had been acceptable and served a useful role, yet, in the collegiate foundation there was no longer any use

⁸⁰ A Thomas Ballard appears in the burial records for St. Margaret's Parish church in 1545. It is not clear whether this is the same person but there is enough evidence to suggest that many of the almsmen were buried in St. Margaret's Parish graveyard. *Findmypast*. http://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/parish-records/results?event=D&recordCount=-1&forenames=Thomas+&includeForenamesVariants=true&_includeForenamesVariants=on&surname=Ballard&includeSurnameVariants=true&_includeSurnameVariants=on&eventYear=1540&eventYearTolerance=10&birthYear=&birthYearTolerance=5&county=&place=. [date accessed 7 March 2013].

⁸¹ See Table 4.3, p. 210.

⁸² WAM, 37045 f. 4, TNA, SC6/Hen VIII/2421, m. 5d.. Knighton, 'King's College', p. 21.

⁸³ Richard Cecil acquisition on almshouse lands: TNA, E 318/7/275, 5321. c.1546.

for their services.⁸⁴ The annual income for an almsman in 1541 was £6 13s. 4d., nearly £2 a year more than they had been allocated in the indentures, and had been documented for the first thirty years in the Warden's Accounts.⁸⁵ Possibly this difference in income covered the almsmen's food and fuel provisions, which would have cost approximately £2 a year.⁸⁶

Overall, the interim period of the oversight of the transition from Abbey to Cathedral by the Court of Augmentations appears to have been reasonably smooth; the only people affected appear to have been Henry VII's almshouses. It would appear that the men who lived in the almshouse during the Dissolution (and probably earlier) continued to live within the almshouse throughout the period when it was administered by the Court of Augmentations and after the Cathedral had been granted its autonomy c.1545. The continuity of personnel probably made it easier to continue the normal functioning of the almshouse up to the Dissolution of the chantries in 1547 when it might have been expected that the almshouse would have been dissolved but, on the contrary, it continued to function.

iv. The Management of the Almshouse 1545/6-1557/8

Although Westminster Cathedral was granted its endowment in 1542, it did not have autonomy over its income and expenses until 1545, when the role of documenting the income and output of the new Cathedral church passed from the Court of Augmentations to the first Cathedral Treasurer/Receiver, John Moulton, who had worked closely with the Abbey and Court of Augmentations during the Abbey's

⁸⁴ Knighton, 'King's College', p. 21.

⁸⁵ Breakdown of payments see Table 4.0, p. 201 and Table 4.2, p. 206.

⁸⁶ Each almsman received approximately £1 11s. 6d. worth of food per annum and roughly 4s. 8d. worth of wood and coal for heating their almshouse.

Dissolution.⁸⁷ The Treasurer's Accounts are almost continuous from c.1560 up to the later eighteenth century. Along with the Treasurer's Accounts, the Dean also kept detailed records of the new Cathedral's legal and financial obligations which were compiled in the *Act Books* which replaced the medieval Abbey's obediatory accounts.⁸⁸ The information from these sources has been divided into two time periods 1546-1558 and 1558-1600. The first period 1546-1558 covers the history and accounting of the almshouse during the reigns of Edward VI [1547-1553] and Mary Tudor [1553-1558]. This period was the least well documented and the most turbulent for the Cathedral and the almshouse.⁸⁹ However, there is enough information within the Treasurer's Accounts and the *Act Books* to understand how Henry's almsmen survived, the money each man was paid, the length of their stay within the almshouse, the process of admission and, finally, something about who these men were.⁹⁰ This information is provided in Tables 4.3 and 4.4 which tabulate who received moneys from the Cathedral/Abbey, the years they appeared within the accounting records, when they were preferred to an almsman's place and who referred and supported their nominations. In Table 4.3 the almsmen are listed in order directly under the accounting year. Men whose names appear in bold are those who joined the almshouse that year and those in normal font are either provided with a date after their name showing when they entered the almshouse or a cross has been provided showing that they were living in the almshouse in the following years. When an almsman's name disappears from the records, a new man's name is shown in bold. This new man is assumed to have replaced the missing almsman's name. In the Treasurer's Accounts there appears to be no

⁸⁷ By June of 1564 John Moulton had died and according to the *Act Books* he had left a number of debts which the Dean discharged by 'virtue of office'. *Act Books* (vol. 2), 204, pp. 15-16.

⁸⁸ See *Act Books*. One positive change at the Dissolution of the Abbey was the streamlining of the oversight and financial documentation of the new cathedral.

⁸⁹ See Edward Carpenter, *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1966), pp. 110-30.

⁹⁰ For the sake of clarity the spelling of the individual almsmen's names in the *Act Books* will be used.

standard order for listing the names, but sometimes, the senior members of the house appear first.

Table 4.3 Almsmen Payment List: Treasurer Accounts and Act Books 1547-1558.⁹¹

The format chosen for this table is to show all twelve men, priest, and almswomen living in the house at the same time.

Names in bold show when they first appear in the documents.

At the bottom of the chart the overall payment is shown.

*The accounts record payments but no names. ** No surviving records.

1547*	1548*	1549*	1550 - 51**	1552*	1553	1554*	1555*	1556	1557*	1558**
WAM, 37112	WAM, 33603	WAM, 33603		WAM, 37382	WAM, 54001	WAM, 37551	WAM, 37660	WAM, 37709, 37713	WAM, 33714	
					William Brown (1540)			x		
					William Nutting (1540)			x		
					Thomas Anley (1540)			Steven Bull		
					John Long			John Elton		
					Edward Hawthorne			x		
					Thomas Baker			Robert Kyland		
					Henry Fynche			John Dytton		
					John Day			John Foster		
					William Bowdeler			x		
					John Baye			x		
					Patrick Maude			x		
					Thomas Bronger (Hungry Tom)			Thomas Besmyer		
£80	£80	£80		£80	£80	£80	£80	£80	£80	

⁹¹ The accounts for these years are quarterly and show each man receiving 33s. 4d. a quarter to total £6 13s. 4d. a year.

Table 4.4 Referral and Admittance of Almsmen According to the *Act Books* 1546-1558.⁹²

Admitted Almsmen	Referee/Notes	Date	Source
John Ager	Princess Mary (personal letter) Displaced for absence w/o leave.	pre 1547	WAM, 5305
Robert Audas (of Mulsey)	Royal Warrant (by the King)	19 March 1546	WAM, 5369
John Day	Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, personal letter (2)	11 May 1547 and 2 May 1549	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 1), 278, p. 102 WAM, 5308
Cardif		1547	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 1), 279, p. 103
William Bowdeler	Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, personal letter (2)	11 May 1547 and 2 May 1549	WAM, 5308
William Parason	Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, personal letter	22 May 1547	WAM, 5307
Patricke Maude	Replacing Cardif	10 Feb. 1547	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 1), 279, p. 103
John Elton		27 March 1550	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 1), 282, p. 107
John Robynson	Late 'alderman'	1553	<i>Act Books</i> (vol.1), 281, p.105
Thomas Bronger	Queen Mary , replacing John Robynson	18 Sep. 1553	<i>Act Books</i> (vol.1), 281 p. 105
John Burton	Queen Mary, Letter was lost but found and acknowledged 28 May 1561.	19 Nov. 1553	WAM, Lease Book V, p. 10
Steven Bull	6 September 1554 Nomination letter from Queen Mary in her own hand. Replacing Fynche.	7 May 1554	<i>Act Books</i> (vol.1), 282, p. 106
Davy Lewys	Replacing Long	7 June 1554	<i>Act Books</i> (vol.1), 282, p. 107
John Dytton		7 January 1554	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 1), 282, p. 107
John Foster	Replacing Edward Hawthorne	1 May 1556	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 1), 282, p. 107

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 make clear the consistency of payments to the almsmen each year. Although the men's names may not always have been provided in these accounts, yet their annual salary of £6 13s. 4d., and total annual income of £80 was always

⁹² *Act Books* (vol. 1), pp. 102-07.

provided.⁹³ Although the almsmen's stipends would have totalled just over £78 per annum, nearly a £2 difference from the £80 which was recorded in the accounts.⁹⁴ According to the *Act Books*, in 1561 it was decreed that once every month after the Communion service the Dean would award additional funds to those present; the bedesmen/almsmen were to receive 4*d.* for their participation in the daily prayer services held within the new Collegiate Church.⁹⁵ This would total 48*d.* a year or 4*s.* additional to their income which then brought their total annual income to £6 17*s.* 4*d.* If we take this additional payment into consideration the overall payment to the almsmen would be £81 2*s.* Possibly, this was already occurring in the almshouse between the dates 1547 and 1558 and the *Act Books* were only recording what had been happening for some time.

The consistency of payment is interesting when one considers that the Cathedral was going through the Edwardian Dissolution of the chantries in 1547 and the Marian refoundation of the Abbey between the years 1552 and 1556. Both events were major upheavals for the religious institutions of the time. The almshouse itself was a chantry foundation and the Marian refoundation dismantled the entire new administration of the Cathedral, and replaced those overseeing the Edwardian Cathedral with monks. Nevertheless, the day to day payments and oversight of the endowment income did not falter. It is clear that the first priority for the success of an institution is its endowment and careful oversight of its funding and thus it is to be expected that this was a priority for both the canons and monks, and is reflected in the Treasurer's Accounts for those years.

⁹³ In 1551 there are no surviving records but it can be assumed from the other records that the almsmen continued to be paid the same rate as the year before and following years.

⁹⁴ See p. 212, f. 12.

⁹⁵ *Act Books* (vol. 2), 189, pp. 3-4.

These sources also show the length of time spent by individual almsmen in the almshouse; some men living there for fifteen years possibly longer, and some only appearing in the accounts for a year. Between the years 1546-1552, 1554-1555 and 1557-1559 no names are recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts, only the money that was paid to the almsmen.⁹⁶ It is clear in Table 4.3 that some of the men who appeared in the accounts for 1553 were still there in 1556. Nevertheless, there are a few men who only appear in 1553 and do not appear in the records for 1556.⁹⁷ This could be due to the fact that they had died or possibly, were removed from the house when the Cathedral was changed back into an Abbey.

It is interesting to note the time between an almsman's nomination seen in Table 4.4 and when they received a salary recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts in Table 4.3. In most accounts it would appear to be a straightforward situation. A man was nominated and within months he would be placed within the almshouse. This is seen in the case of Thomas Bronger, nominated by Queen Mary in 1553 who replaced John Robynson that same year. Another illustration of this smooth transition is John Foster who was nominated in 1556 and replaced Edward Hawthorne in the same year. But there are cases that do not appear so straightforward, such as John Day and William Bowdeler both nominated twice for almsmen's places, once in May of 1547 and again in May of 1549, but neither is recorded as receiving his stipend until 1553. It is not known why there was a two year gap between nominations or if there had been other applicants who had been preferred for places in the almshouse above these two men. Unfortunately, the first surviving list of names in the Treasurer's Accounts appears in 1553 by which time both men were receiving a salary.⁹⁸ It would be interesting to know when exactly they

⁹⁶ No accounts survive for the year 1551. See Table 4.4, p. 211.

⁹⁷ There are no names in the accounts for the years 1558-1559, see Table 4.6, pp. 225-26.

⁹⁸ The Treasurer's Accounts for the years 1547-1552 only show payments and no names.

had been admitted into the almshouse and whether there were others chosen above them during that period.

Not much more is known about the almsmen who lived in the almshouse between the years 1546 and 1558. It has not been possible to trace a will for any of these men, nevertheless, within the *Act Books*, there are a few snapshots of individual almsmen that provide some details about them, their condition when they entered the almshouse, and what they had done prior to entering the almshouse. For example, c.1553 a John Robynson was noted to have been an alderman.⁹⁹ There was no such man serving as an alderman in the city of London at this time.¹⁰⁰ Westminster in 1540 had become a city by custom at the creation of the Diocese, and although abolished in 1550, Westminster retained its courtesy title 'city and liberty'.¹⁰¹ Julia F. Merritt has suggested that during this period the government of Westminster was complicated and contemporaries appeared to share in this confusion.¹⁰² There are not enough surviving records to be clear on how the 'city' functioned or whether there were attempts to mirror the city government of London by appointing aldermen. Is it possible that John Robynson had been given the 'honorary' title of alderman? In 1585, the Westminster Court of Burgesses was established in response to the growing problems of immigration, poverty and immorality.¹⁰³ The parishes were divided into twelve wards, each of which had a burgess and deputy burgess, appointed and chaired by the Dean and High Steward. The power or authority of a burgess was similar to that of a deputy alderman in London, dealing directly with the wards and helping settle disputes, but came with a more

⁹⁹ *Act Books* (Vol. 1), 281, p. 105.

¹⁰⁰ Alfred B. Beaven, *The Alderman of the City of London*, 2 vols (London, 1913).

¹⁰¹ Westminster City Libraries Archive Department, *Court of Burgesses of the City and Library of Westminster Records 1610-1901*, 'Westminster Pre-Council Official Records', p. i.

¹⁰² Julia F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525-1640* (Manchester, 2005), p. 71.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

prestigious title.¹⁰⁴ The Court of Burgesses was similar to a manorial court but met weekly and was responsible for appointing constables, regulating the night watch, appointing and overseeing the beadle, who was to report lodgers and new immigrants, drive out vagrants and beggars, and basically prevent ‘disorders’.¹⁰⁵ The court's authority overlapped the powers of the parishes and Justices creating conflicts between the different jurisdictions, and the burgesses were the least influential of the three. It may be that on the eve of the creation of the Court of Burgesses, Westminster had been trying to establish an authoritative body similar to London and in doing so, appointing titles to people who may or may not have actually been performing the duties that went along with the title.

The Treasurer's Accounts and *Act Books* also provide a few details of individual almsmen such as Robert Audas and Thomas Bronger. In 1546 a Royal Warrant was issued by Henry VIII for Robert Audas, also known as Robert of Mulsey.¹⁰⁶ According to this royal warrant, the King descried Audas as ‘worn and spent’.¹⁰⁷ It is not known what the relationship of Audas was with the King but it can be assumed that the King knew of him well enough to know that he was ‘worn and spent’. Within the Treasurer's Accounts, in 1547 there is also an almsman by the name of Thomas Bronger and noted alongside his name is ‘also known as Hungry Tom.’¹⁰⁸ It may be imagined what Thomas Bronger's nickname meant.

Before 1547, Princess Mary Tudor wrote a personal letter on behalf of a man named John Ager, who appears to have been absent from his almshouse for one month and thus the Dean had during that time allocated his house to another.¹⁰⁹ The letter states that

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 225-56.

¹⁰⁶ WAM, 5369.

¹⁰⁷ WAM, 5369.

¹⁰⁸ WAM, 54001.

¹⁰⁹ WAM, 5305.

Ager had received a licence to travel to Bristol, and that while in Bristol he received a letter from his brother demanding his urgent presence in Bologna, so Ager, travelled by sea to Rome during which time his licence had lapsed and the Dean had replaced him in the almshouse according to the rules.¹¹⁰ It is not clear in the letter why his presence was required so urgently, but, it must have been of some importance. According to the letter, Mary was asking the Dean to admit not just John Ager but also his wife, back into the almshouse with all the rights and income he had once possessed. This suggests that almsmen were allowed to be married and that their wives had been living in the almshouses as early as the 1540s. It is not clear if these allowances came after the Dissolution of the monastery or if Henry VII's regulations were simply not being observed. What can be said is that in the letter from Princess Mary, the issue of having his wife living with him in his almshouse did not appear to be the cause of his removal, or even an issue at all. Mary urged the Dean saying that she was 'moved with pity' and 'praying' the Dean, whom she considered a 'worthy' man and 'friend', to admit this 'poor ageing man' back into the almshouse and that at no fault of his own had found himself homeless with no place to go.¹¹¹ Mary suggested that once Ager was re-admitted, if he broke any other rule of the almshouse, he should be thrown-out and used as an example. The letter does not mention Ager's relationship with Mary nor is it known if he was re-admitted into the almshouse. No names survive in the records for 1546-1552. His name does not appear in the records during the Dissolution of the Abbey suggesting he was placed in the almshouse after 1545 but before 1547, and thus, had not lived long in the almshouse before his departure and replacement.¹¹² Not much

¹¹⁰ Possibly Ager's brother had been ill and Ager was required to deal with his brother's estate.

¹¹¹ WAM, 5305. The Dean would have been William Benson, the once Abbot of Westminster who had changed his name from William Boston and assumed his birth name Benson after the Dissolution.

¹¹² There is a John Agers noted as being buried in St. Margaret's Parish in 1549. *Findmypast.com*.

<http://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/parish-records/results?event=D&recordCount=->

[1&forenames=John+&includeForenamesVariants=true&_includeForenamesVariants=on&surname=Ager](http://www.findmypast.co.uk/search/parish-records/results?event=D&recordCount=-1&forenames=John+&includeForenamesVariants=true&_includeForenamesVariants=on&surname=Ager)

more can be ascertained from the surviving records, but, what the case of Ager tells us is that almsmen had to seek permission to travel and that they did travel, sometimes as far as Rome. This letter also tells us that the almsmen were no longer required to be unmarried.¹¹³ Possibly, this was allowed because of the loss of the almswomen and the need for female servants to cook, clean and tend to the ill men. The evidence of the *Act Books* and the Treasurer's Accounts suggests that the rooms were filled quite quickly after an almsman had died. Were the wives forced to move out of the almshouse and receive care elsewhere? We know that in the later sixteenth century and early seventeenth century a number of wives petitioned for their husband's almshouses, stipends and robes but what the status of the wives of the almsmen before these petitions is not clear.¹¹⁴ What can be said is that the surviving Treasurer's Accounts always record twelve men receiving a stipend and that no women's names appear in the records after 1543.

Very rarely almsmen's names appear elsewhere. Between 1545 and 1546 four almsmen's names appear in the *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic* for that year.¹¹⁵ John Long, who appears in the Treasurer's Accounts in 1553 (no surviving names from 1546-1553), was said to have received an almsman's place because he had lost his leg in the late wars against Boloigne (Boulogne).¹¹⁶ A man by the name of John Allen was also given a place in the almshouse in that year but does not appear in the accounts for 1553.¹¹⁷ It can be assumed he had died before 1553 but was said to have

&includeSurnameVariants=true&_includeSurnameVariants=on&eventYear=1547&eventYearTolerance=10&birthYear=&birthYearTolerance=5&county=&place=. [date accessed: 7 March 2013].

¹¹³ This letter came before Elizabeth's new statutes c.1560.

¹¹⁴ See footnote 25 p. 200.

¹¹⁵ *Letters and Papers*, 35 vols. (online) XX, Part 2: 23, 24, and 26. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=80420&strquery=westminster%20almsman>. [date accessed: 2 March 2013].

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

lost his hand in the late wars against France.¹¹⁸ Another man by the name of Robert Woulf was also given an almsman's place in 1545 but he also does not appear in the Treasurer's Accounts and there is no further information provided in the *Letters and Papers* regarding his placement.¹¹⁹ Robert Audas, mentioned earlier, was shown to have received a place in the *Act Books* but does not appear in the Treasurer's Account for 1553 but he is recorded in the *Letters and Papers* as having received an almsman's place at the request of Sir Thomas Heneage (1482-1553) in April of 1546.¹²⁰ These four cases shed light on the qualifications for the men entering the almshouse, two of whom were war veterans with severe injuries. Considering that three of the four men do not appear in the accounts for 1553 it can be assumed that they were either very old, sick or severely injured themselves and had died shortly after their admittance.

Between 1545 and 1558, Edward VI, Edward Seymour, Lord Protector, and Princess Mary Tudor were writing personal nomination letters in support of different almsmen for places within the almshouse.¹²¹ These three individuals were of very different religious persuasions. Was there a line drawn between Protestants and Catholics when it came to the almshouse, or were there men living side-by-side during this turbulent time with religious views on both sides of the spectrum, and, if so, how would this have played out in the everyday lives of the men? No statutes survive telling us about the religious expectations of the almsmen during this time period. We know that up to

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Letters and Papers*, 35 vols. (online) XX, 20 Part 2: 26. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=80427&strquery=almsman+westminster>. [date accessed: 2 March 2013].

¹²⁰ Sir Thomas Heneage was a courtier of Henry VIII and Edward VI. See Micheal Riordan, 'Sir Thomas Heneage', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/12920?docPos=1>. [date accessed: 2 March 2013];

Letters and Papers, 35 vols (online), XXI, Part 1: 16. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=80847&strquery=audas%20almsman>. [date accessed: 2 March 2013].

¹²¹ WAM, 5307: Personal letter from Seymour for an almsman nomination. WAM, 5305: Personal nomination letter from princess Mary Tudor for John Ager (1547) for an almsman's place. The letter was written to the Dean and signed 'your frend Mary'.

1546/7 the almsmen would have been participating in chantry services, yet, it is not clear what happened after the abolition of chantries. The Elizabethan statutes state that the men were to participate in church services during the day and it is assumed that Edward's almsmen would have done the same. Nevertheless, when Mary refounded the Abbey it would be interesting to know whether she reintroduced the chantry services into the daily life of the almsmen. If she did so this might explain the exodus of men and influx of new names between 1556 and 1560.¹²²

What is clear however from the surviving sources is that although the Cathedral and Abbey were undergoing major changes, the almsmen continued to receive their salaries and nominations and appointments to almsmen's places were maintained. The question to be asked is what happened after the Marian Abbey was refounded as the Collegiate Church of Westminster?

v. The Management of the Almshouse 1558-1600

In 1558 the Marian Abbey was dissolved and Elizabeth refounded it as a Collegiate Church. This period is very well documented in the Treasurer's Accounts only missing records between the dates 1558-1559, 1581-1582, 1586-1587, 1590 and 1592. Other than those years, the records are complete, listing the names of the almsmen and their rates of pay (see Tables 4.5 and 4.6).¹²³

¹²² See Table 4.3, p. 210 and Table 4.5 (Parts 1-5), pp. 220-24.

¹²³ Table 4.5 (Parts 1-5), pp. 220-24 and Table 4.6, pp. 225-26.

Table 4.5 Almsman Payment List: Treasurer's Accounts 1560-1600 (Parts 1-5).

The format chosen for this table is to show all twelve men living in the house at the same time.

Quarterly Accounts: 33s. 4d. paid to each man. Total £6 13s. 4d. a year.

Names in bold show when a man first appears in the Treasurer's Accounts.

No surviving records for 1558-1559, 1581-1582, 1586-1587, and 1590, 1592.

Spaces left blank show no entry for that year of an almsman.

Part 1

Half way through 1565 Jeffery Goodman is replaced by Ennes. In 1565-66 there appears to have been overlapping tenure for almsmen's places.

1560	1561	1562	1563	1564	1565	1566
WAM, 33617	WAM, 33617	WAM, 33619	WAM, 33620-21	WAM, 33622-23	WAM, 33624	WAM, 33625
Steven Bull (1556)	x	x	x	x	x	x
Christopher Wilson	x	John James	x	x	x	x
John Goodman	x	x	x	x	x	x
Thomas Harrison	x	x	x	x	x	x
Thomas Besmyer (1556)	x	x	Jeffery Goodman	x	x/Ennes	x
George Cramok	x	x	x	x	x	x
Richard King	x	x	x	x	x	x
James Ferman	x	x	Lawrence Leneham	x	x	x
William Bowdeler (1553)	x	x	x	x	x	x
Robert Kylner (1556)	x	x	x	x	Richard Cuthbert	x
John Elton (1556)	x	John Dove	x	x	x	x
Thomas Williams	x	Robert Albey	John Jones	x	x	x
					Richard Knolles	x
Total Pay	£80	£80	£80	£80	£80	£80

Table 4.5 Almsman Payment List: Treasurer's Accounts 1560-1600 (Parts 1-5).

Part 2

In 1567 there appears to be overlap in tenure for almsmen's places.

1567	1568	1569	1570	1571	1572
WAM, 33626	WAM, 33627	WAM, 33628	WAM, 33629-30	WAM, 33631	WAM, 33632
Steven Bull (1556)	William Young	x	x	x	x
Richard Knolles (1565)	x	x	x	x	x
John Goodman (1560)	x	x	x	x	x
Thomas Harrison (1560)	x	x	x	x	x
	John Gammon	x	x	x	x
George Cramok (1560)	John Christopher	x	x	x	x
Richard King (1560)	x	x	x	x	x
Lawrence Leneham (1563)	x	x	x	x	x
William Bowdeler (1553)	x	x	x	x	William Wallys
Richard Cuthbert (1565)	William Bawland	x	John Hudson		Matthew Lipps
John Dove (1563)	x	x	x	x	x
John James (1562)	x	x	x	x	x
John Jones (1563)	x			John Appleby	
Total Pay	£80	£80	£80	£80	

Table 4.5 Almsman Payment List: Treasurer's Accounts 1560-1600 (Parts 1-5).

Part 3

Richard Thompson and John Stakes entered the almshouse in the middle of the year 1580. In 1580-83 there appears to be overlap in tenure for almsmen's places.

1573	1574	1575	1576	1577	1578	1579	1580	1583
WAM, 33633	WAM, 33634	WAM, 33635	WAM, 33636	WAM, 33637	WAM, 33638	WAM, 33639	WAM, 33640	WAM, 33641
William Wallys (1572)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
John Christopher (1568)	x	x	x	x	Thomas Luskyn	x	x	x
John Goodman (1560)	x	x	x	x	x	x	Walter Jones	William Cubbin
Richard King (1560)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Thomas Harrison (1560)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	John Cox
John James (1563)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Lawrence Leneham (1563)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	John Bartholimew
Richard Knolles (1565)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
John Gammon (1568)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
William Young (1568)	x	x	x	x	John Philipps	x	x	x
John Dove (1563)	x	x	x	x	Hugh Lewes Gwyn	x	x	x
Matthew Lipps (1572)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
							Richard Thompson	x
							John Stakes	x
Total Pay	£80	£80	£80	£80	£80	£80	£80	£80

Table 4.5 Almsman Payment List: Treasurer's Accounts 1560-1600 (Parts 1-5).

Part 4

No records for 1581-1582 or 1586-1587.

1584	1585	1588	1589	1591
WAM, 33642	WAM, 33643	WAM, 33644	WAM, 33645	WAM, 33646
William Wallys (1572)	x	x	Robert Copley	x
Thomas Lusky (1578)	x	x	x	x
William Cubbin (1583)	x	x	x	x
Richard King (1560)	x	x	x	x
John Cox (1583)	x	George Benson	x	Thomas Moorye (old Morgan)
John James (1563)	J. Whitefield	x	x	x
John Bartholimew (1583)	x	x	x	William Sampson
John Whitefield		John Adams	x	
John Gammon (1568)	x	x	x	x
John Philipps (1578)	x		Thomas Tubman	x
Matthew Lipps (1572)	x	x	x	x
Richard Thompson (1580)	x	x		George Adamson
John Stakes (1580)	x	x	x	x
Total Pay	£80	£80	£80	£80

Table 4.5 Almsman Payment List: Treasurer's Accounts 1560-1600 (Parts 1-5).

Part 5

No records for 1590 and 1592.

1593	1594-1595	1596	1597	1598	1599	1600
WAM, 33646	WAM, 33648	WAM, 33650	WAM, 33651	WAM, 33652	WAM, 33653	WAM, 33654
Robert Copley (1589)	x	x	x	x	x	x
John Stakes (1580)	x	x	x	x	x	x
Thomas Luddington	x	x		Phillipe Chamberlain		
John Whitefield (1584)	x	x	x	J. Whitefield and Richard Altham	x	x
William Cubbin (1583)	x	x	x	x	x	x
Thomas Moorye (old Morgan) (1591)	x	Richard Morgan	x	x	x	x
John Gammon (1568)	x	x	x	x	33s. 4d.	
Matthew Lipps (1572)	x	x	x	x	William Reynolds: 3/4 pay	Francis Scilia
Thomas Tubman (1589)	x	x	x	x	x	x
William Sampson (1591)	x	John Jones	x	x	x	x
Thomas Luskyn (1578)	x	x	Humfrey Lewis	x	66s. 8d.	Richard Arton
George Adamson (1591)	x	x	x	x	x	x
		George Sante	x	x	x	x
		John Kydd	x	x	x	x
Total Pay	£80	£80	£75 6s. 6d.	£84 13s. 6d	£80	£80

Table 4.6 Referral and Admittance of Almsmen According to the *Act Books* 1558-1600¹²⁴

Admitted Almsmen	Referee/Notes	Date	Source
John Dove	next vacant	14 Nov. 1560	WAM, Lease Book V, p. 5
William Bawland		22 June 1566	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 121, p. 24
John Gammon		22 June 1566	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 121, p. 24
William Young	Queen Elizabeth, resignation of John Jones	17 Feb. 1567	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 130, p. 36
John Hudson	Replaces William Bawland	1570	WAM, 33630
John Appleby	Queen Elizabeth, replace John Hudson	22 Sep. 1571	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 144, p. 54
Matthew Lipps	Dies in 1598.	1572	LMA, MS DL/C/213, WAM, 39074
John Cox	Queen Elizabeth, replace Thomas Harrison	24 March 1581	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 178, p. 98
John Bartholimew	Queen Elizabeth, replace Richard Butcher	11 Jan. 1583	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 180, p. 100
William Cubben	Queen Elizabeth, replace Hugh Evans	8 Feb. 1583	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 184, pp. 105-06
John Whitefield	Queen Elizabeth, replace John James.	12 June 1585	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 200, p. 113, WAM, 33642-33647, 33650-33652, Muniment Book 15 f. 95v-99.
George Benson	Queen Elizabeth, replace John Cox	28 Dec. 1586	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 206, p. 120
Thomas Moorye	Queen Elizabeth, replace John Bartylmewe	15 March 1591	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 220, p. 140
George Adamson	Queen Elizabeth, replace Thomas Luskyn	10 April 1591	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 220, p. 141
Thomas Luddington	Queen Elizabeth replace Richard King	25 Sep. 1591	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 222, p. 144
Richard (Rice) Morgan	Queen Elizabeth, replace Thomas Morrey	23 June 1593	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 228, p. 152
John Jones	Queen Elizabeth, replace William Sampson	1 Nov. 1593	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 228, p. 153
George Sante	Queen Elizabeth, replace Thomas Luddington	23 June 1596	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 242, p. 167
John Kydd	Queen Elizabeth, replace John Adams	7 August 1596	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 242, p. 168
Humfrey Lewis	Mr Doctor Cesar, replace Matthew Lipps.	13 June 1597	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 248, p. 175
Richard Altham	Queen Elizabeth, replace John Whitfield	18 March 1597	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 252, p. 180
John Goodman	alas Copperas, yeoman of Westminster.	11 July 1598	WAM, 39074

¹²⁴*Act Books*.

Admitted Almsmen	Referee/Notes	Date	Source
Phillip Chamberlain	Mr Doctor Cesar and Phillip Scudamor. Petition for another place.	30 Nov. 1597 and Dec. 1597	WAM, 5366, 5365
Thomas Marshall	grant of room	3 July 1597	State Papers 1595-1597, p. 449.
Edward Long	grant of room	3 July 1597 and 21 March 1600	State Papers 1595-1597, p. 449. <i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 519, p. 196
Richard Arton	Queen Elizabeth, replace Lewys Humphrey. Surrender of Lewys's place	31 March 1599	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 256, pp. 185-86
Francis Scalia	Mr Doctor Cesar, replace William Reynouldes.	6 April 1599	<i>Act Books</i> (vol. 2), 256, p. 186
Thomas Lyllie	Queen Elizabeth reversion	13 July 1599	WAM, 5354B
Roger Harris	Queen Elizabeth reversion	20 Aug. 1599	WAM, 5354B
Coke	Queen Elizabeth reversion	24 March 1599	WAM, 5354B
Larys Fowfewell	Queen Elizabeth reversion	20 July 1600	WAM, 5354B

Tables 4.5 and 4.6 have been compiled from information found in both the Treasurer's Accounts and the *Act Books*. In most instances the two sources agree with one another, nevertheless, there are several discrepancies between nomination names and dates found in the *Act Books* and those provided in the Treasurer's Accounts. These discrepancies will be discussed later. There are several individuals with nominations for places within the almshouse shortly before 1600 who do not appear in the Treasurer's Accounts because they received their places after 1600.¹²⁵

It is notable that many of the names that appear in the records for 1556 reappear in 1560. Steven Bull, Thomas Besmyer, William Bowdeler, Robert Kylner and John Elton all continued living in the almshouse during the transition period between Mary Tudor and Elizabeth I. The almsmen received the same rate of pay from 1542 up to 1600. The almsmen's salary annotated in the Treasurer's Accounts remains consistent from the

¹²⁵Thomas Marshall, Edward Long, Thomas Lyllie, Roger Harris, Coke, and Larys Fowfewell all received places after 1600 and thus do not appear in the Treasurer's Accounts for this analysis, see Table 4.5 (Parts 1-5), pp. 220-24.

1540s up to 1600.¹²⁶ Nevertheless, in 1597 the overall total of money paid to the twelve almsmen living in the house that year was £75 6s. 6d., and in 1598 the almsmen received a total of £84 13s. 6d..¹²⁷ It may be that either the scribe or treasurer simply rounded the total, and may or may not, have given the almsmen £80, or that the scribe and treasurer for the years 1597 and 1598 was more precise in his accounting.

In several years more than twelve almsmen were receiving stipends. In 1565 there is an additional almsman who appears in the accounts, yet, the overall total payment remains at £80 that year.¹²⁸ This occurs because John Ennes replaced Jeffery Goodman halfway through that year. Again in 1580, there are fourteen almsmen listed and the total annual payment recorded was £80.¹²⁹ Richard Thompson and John Stakes first appear in this year and appear to have replaced Richard Knolles and Lewys Groyn.¹³⁰ In 1596 there are also additional almsmen shown in the accounts, yet again the total amount noted in the Treasurer's Accounts says the almsmen still received £80 that year.¹³¹ According to the *Act Books* we know that John Jones replaced William Sampson and that Thomas Moorye was replaced by Richard Morgan, and that there is overlap between Thomas Luddington who was said to have been replaced by George Sante. There are some odd transitions: John Kydd was said to have replaced John Adams, but he had disappeared from the accounts five years earlier in 1591.¹³² In 1597 there is also overlap between Humfrey Lewis and Matthew Lipps whom we know had died at the end of 1597.¹³³ In 1598 and 1599 there is also a different kind of overlap when the Treasurer's Accounts record that Phillipe Chamberlain received a portion of his stipend,

¹²⁶ There is a £2 discrepancy between quarterly payments and the sum noted in the Treasurer's Accounts.

¹²⁷ WAM, 33651 and 33652. See Table 4.5 (Part 5). p. 224.

¹²⁸ WAM, 33624, Table 4.5 (Part 1), p. 220.

¹²⁹ WAM, 33639, Table 4.5 (Part 3), p. 223.

¹³⁰ WAM, 33639-40, Table 4.5 (Part 3), p. 223.

¹³¹ WAM, 33650, Table 4.5 (Part 5), p. 224.

¹³² See Table 4.5 (Part 5), p. 224 and Table 4.6, pp. 225-26.

¹³³ WAM, 33651. Table 4.5 (Part 5), p. 224.

Richard Altham and John Whitefield received half their annual pay (66s. 8d.), William Reynolds received three quarters of his pay (100s.), and that Humfrey Lewis received half his annual pay of 66s. 8d.¹³⁴ This detailed information shows that the almshouses were not left unoccupied, and that positions were filled as soon as they became empty and that the stipends were adjusted accordingly.

Since the later sixteenth century experienced significant inflation it is difficult to imagine how the quality of life during this period must have changed within the almshouse itself.¹³⁵ The Elizabethan statutes made no stipulation regarding the outside income of the almsmen upon their admission into the almshouse. Henry VII's almsmen had not been allowed to have an outside income above £4 per annum. Unfortunately, there is not enough information to know for certain whether the almsmen were allowed a separate income beyond their almsman's salary, nevertheless, there is an example of an almsman named Matthew Lipps, who was a witness to the marriage contract in 1588 of John Payne and Susan Atkinson in a case at the Consistory Court of London.¹³⁶ According to his witness statement, Lipps had been born in the parish of Elsham in Lincolnshire.¹³⁷ He was said to have been living in the almshouse for eighteen years, aged forty, and was reported to have a personal worth in moveable goods, beyond his pension, of around £8 per annum.¹³⁸ The name of Matthew Lipps as an almsman appears in the Treasurer's Accounts from the years 1572-1597.¹³⁹ This unique piece of information not only tells us about the personal income of one almsman but it also

¹³⁴ WAM, 33652-33653, Table 4.5 (Part 5) p. 224.

¹³⁵ John Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England*, (Harlow, 1986) pp. 10-12.

¹³⁶ LMA, MS DL/C/213 (microfilm X079/1). I am forever indebted to Dr. Jessica Freeman for coming across this almsman's reference during research at the LMA.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ See Table 4.5 (Part 2-5), pp. 221-24. The dates of Matthew appearing in the Treasurer's Accounts and those provided in the court case do not exactly match-up. It is possible that he had entered the almshouse at the very end of 1571 and that it was late in the year of 1588 when he was a witness in court. Matthew appears in the Receiver's Accounts for the college in 1598 only receiving £4 13s. 6d., suggesting that he died after the third quarter payment. WAM, 40628.

highlights the new regulations and restrictions on age, personal autonomy of an almsman, their access and interactions outside the almshouse, and the length of time an almsmen could live in the almshouse and receive his pension.¹⁴⁰

The time spent in the almshouse varied significantly from almsman to almsman; some only survived a year whilst the others, such as Lipps, went on to live in the almshouse for another nine years after the court case, to total twenty-five years. John Gamon received a pension from the almshouse from 1568 to 1599, a total of thirty-one years, and Richard King received a stipend from 1560 to 1591 also thirty-one years.¹⁴¹ This raises the question; how old were these men upon entering the almshouse? Before the Dissolution the men were suppose to be at least forty-five years of age.¹⁴² Lipps was reported in the marriage case to be forty years old and had been living in the almshouse for nearly eighteen years which would have placed him in the almshouse at the age of twenty-two.¹⁴³ This departure from the earlier age requirements is confirmed by a petition in 1599 from Dr Julius Caesar on behalf of a young man named Francis Scalia, son of Anthonie Scalia, who was said to be twelve years of age at the time of this request for an almsman's place.¹⁴⁴ Dr Caesar was petitioning the Dean, for Scalia to

¹⁴⁰ There is a burial reference for a Mathewe Lippes at St Margaret's parish church in Westminster on 17 October 1596. It is not clear whether or not this is the Matthew Lipps (almsman). According to the Treasurer Accounts, Matthew received an almsman's payment up until 1597. If this is Matthew Lipps (almsman), this possibly suggests that he may have had a wife who received this payment in his place or that he received his quarterly payment prior to his death. It is likely that most of the almsmen were buried in St. Margaret's parish graveyard. The statutes do not specify where the men are to be buried only that the costs were to be covered. A number of the names of possible almsmen appear in these records but do not specifically state whether or not they were almsmen, only the date they were buried.

Findyourpast.com. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/records/parish-records/details/D/490840154?e=D&fY=1592&tY=1602&bYT=50&iSnV=true&sn=LIPPS&fns=MATTHEW&snNXF=true&fnNXF=true&cy=LNP&rC=2&locale=en>. [date accessed: 7 March 2013].

¹⁴¹ See Table 4.5 (Part 1-5), pp. 220-24. There is also a Richard King buried at St. Margaret's Parish church in 1591. *Findmypast.com*. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/records/parish-records/details/D/701218698?e=D&fY=1580&tY=1600&bYT=50&iSnV=true&sn=KING&fns=RICHARD&snNXF=true&fnNXF=true&cy=LNP&rC=14&locale=en>. [date accessed: 7 March 2013].

¹⁴² Appendix *i*: f. 59r lines 13-15, p. 264, f. 59v lines 5-7, p. 265.

¹⁴³ LMA, MS DL/C/213 (microfilm X079/1).

¹⁴⁴ *Act Books* (vol. 2), 256, p. 186. Dr Julius Caesar was a civil lawyer who was born in Tottenham but his father Dr Adelmare Caesar was a subject of the republic of Venice. Julius emigrated back to England c.1550 and served as an advisor in Mary's and Elizabeth I's court. Alain Wijffels, 'Dr Julius Caesar',

have the place of William Reynolds.¹⁴⁵ It is not clear why young Francis Scalia was being referred to an almsman's place. Perhaps he was very ill or mentally or physically challenged and so unfit, or unable, to maintain himself. It is difficult to suggest an average length of stay within the almshouse because of the gaps within the documentation, nevertheless, bearing this in mind, the estimated duration of time according to the surviving records would be around six years. It may also be noted that in 1562, 1563, and in 1568 there were a number of new placements into the almshouse.¹⁴⁶ According to the *Act Books*, between 1563 and 1568 the Westminster grammar school had been evacuated at least twice during this time due to plague.¹⁴⁷ The almshouse may also have been affected by this same plague but the almsmen were less able than the grammar school boys to leave.

No wills have been found for any of the almsmen, and this would be expected because, in theory, their personal belongings were to revert to the almshouse and were to be used towards repairs. In a few cases it is possible to know a little more: John Dove, for instance, first appeared in the Treasurer's Accounts in 1563 and received a stipend until 1577.¹⁴⁸ He had been nominated by Queen Elizabeth on the 14 November 1560 but little else is known from this nomination about who he was, or why he had been nominated.¹⁴⁹ In the *Act Books* in March of 1570, a John Dove was referred to as an under almoner for Westminster Collegiate Church responsible for cleaning the

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/4328?docPos=6>. (accessed August 2012).

¹⁴⁵ *Act Books* (vol. 2), 256, p. 186.

¹⁴⁶ See Table 4.5 (Part 1-2), pp. 220-21.

¹⁴⁷ *Acts Books*, (vol. 2), 248, p. 42 and 252, p. 45.

¹⁴⁸ See Table 4.5 (Part 3), p. 222.

¹⁴⁹ WAM, Lease Book V, p. 5.

cloisters.¹⁵⁰ It is likely this is the same John Dove who was living in the almshouse, and we know that other almsmen were performing tasks beyond their almsman's duties.¹⁵¹

In the case of the appointment of Thomas Moorye in 1591, not only had Queen Elizabeth written a letter on his behalf, but, her privy council had also signed the support letter suggesting that this man may have had a close relationship with her and her most intimate circle of advisors.¹⁵²

There are traces of information about the almsmen in a number of political and financial records for the time.¹⁵³ In 1577 Katherine [Bertie] Willoughby (1519-1580), Duchess of Suffolk, reported to the Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, regarding the personnel at St. Peter's Westminster.¹⁵⁴ This account lists all the men living in the almshouse at the time, together with those who were waiting for placement within the house and held references from the Queen herself. All the names listed appear in the Treasurer's Accounts for that year and a majority of the listed men who were awaiting placement into the almshouse appear to have received their houses within the next few years. Thomas Luskyn, John Philipps, and Hugh Lewes Gwyn who were all listed as

¹⁵⁰ *Act Books* (vol. 2), 263, pp. 51-52.

¹⁵¹ There was a John Dove recorded in parish burial records for St. Margaret's church in Westminster 19 January 1577. It is likely that this is the same John Dove that lived in the almshouse. I am indebted to Professor Matthew Davies for finding this reference. *Findmypast.com*. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/records/parish-records/details/D/490834239?e=D&fY=1576&tY=1578&sn=DOVE&fns=JOHN&fnNXF=true&cy=LN&P&rC=3&locale=en>. [date accessed: 7 March 2013].

¹⁵² Lord Archbishop, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord Admiral, Lord Buckhurst and Mr Vice Chamberlain had all signed the letter. *Act Books* (vol. 2), 421, pp. 140-41.

¹⁵³ *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House with Addenda*, ed. by E. Salisbury, 24 vols (1915), XIII, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/search.aspx?query1=almsman+westminster&rf=pubid:1164>. [date accessed: June 2012].

¹⁵⁴ Katherine Willoughby was a very wealthy protestant patron of reformist publications. Her mother Lady Maria de Salinas was a Castilian noblewoman and maid of honour to Katherine of Aragon. Her father William Willoughby, eleventh Baron Willoughby de Eresby, held land in Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, worth over £900 per annum. Her close ties with the Crown and her vast wealth allowed her many privileges within the Court. Her strong religious views alienated her from politics for many years, especially during the reign of Mary, and her non-conformist approach made her relationship with Queen Elizabeth I strained. It is not clear why Katherine was writing to Lord Cecil regarding the inmates of the almshouse. It can be assumed that her interest was less with the almsmen and more with the everyday functioning of the Collegiate Church and its reforms. For more information regarding Katherine Willoughby see Susan Wabuda, 'Katherine Willoughby', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy01.rhul.ac.uk/view/article/2273?docPos=1>. [date accessed: September 2012].

awaiting a house in 1577 appear in the Treasurer's Accounts in 1578. Walter Jones, Richard Thompson appear in 1580. Hugh Evens, John Warren, Thomas Warde, Richard Fluyde, Harry Robinson, however, who all appear as hopefuls in the Duchess's list, never appear in the Treasurer's Accounts. Possibly they had died before receiving a house, or other men more in need had been placed in the house before them. Finally, John Cox and John Stakes also appear among the listed men awaiting houses and appear in the Treasurer Accounts in 1583. Although this does not tell us a lot about individual almsmen it does show that most of the men who received a nomination from the Queen would eventually receive a place in the house, some right away, whilst others had to wait a few years.

One of the almsman about whom we know a little more is John Whitefield, who first appears in the *Act Books* in 1584 and continues to appear in the accounts until 1598.¹⁵⁵ Queen Elizabeth had requested that John Whitefield be admitted into John James' room on 12 June 1585 and she sent Edward Charleton, groom of her chamber, with a ring from Lady Stafford and Mrs Blanch Parrye signifying her majesty's pleasure for admitting John into the almshouse.¹⁵⁶ Dorothy, Lady Stafford was a mistress of the robes and the grand-daughter of the last Stafford Duke of Buckingham and Mrs Blanch Parrye was the chief gentlewoman of the Privy Chamber and the Queen's jewels were in her care.¹⁵⁷ It is not clear why Queen Elizabeth sent the Groom of her Chamber with a ring from Lady Stafford and Mrs Blanch Parrye on behalf of Whitefield. Did this almsman have certain connections with these two women, or their families, or was his relationship with the Queen herself? Both Lady Stafford and Mrs Blanch Parrye would have been accustomed to performing duties such as these, so it is possible that there was

¹⁵⁵ See Table 4.5 (Part 4-5), pp. 223-24.

¹⁵⁶ *Act Books* (vol. 2), 200, p. 113.

¹⁵⁷ *Act Books* (vol. 2), 378, p. 113; Pam Wright, 'A change in direction: the ramifications of a female household, 1553-1603', in *The English Court: from the Wars of the Roses to the Civil War*, ed. by David Starkey (London, 1987), 147-72 (p. 150).

no connection between either of these women and Whitefield, and that Whitefield was being referred to the place directly by the Queen herself. John had begun to receive an almsman's stipend as early as 1584.¹⁵⁸ It is not clear why John received his nomination in 1585 when he had already been receiving a stipend. Possibly he was going to lose his place to another man and the Queen was moved to intervene. By 1598 Whitefield is shown to have received only half his annual income from the almshouse, suggesting that he may have left again or died halfway through that year.¹⁵⁹ Little more can be said about John Whitefield and his relationship with the Court.

One of the more interesting but complicated cases is that of John Goodman. He first appears in 1560 and last appears in the accounts in 1579.¹⁶⁰ In July 1598 another John Goodman receives a nomination letter into the almshouse.¹⁶¹ In this letter this John Goodman is referred to as a 'yeoman of Westminster'. It is very unlikely that these two are the same man, although, in 1572 the first John Goodman was also mentioned as a 'yeoman of Westminster' whilst living and receiving an almsman's stipend.¹⁶² Apparently Goodman and a gentleman named Andrew Holbarn, also a yeoman of Westminster, oversaw a number of payments that were due to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.¹⁶³ Is it likely that there were two John Goodman's who were both 'yeomen of Westminster' in the sixteenth century? The description 'yeoman' could mean that they were both land owners or possibly they worked within the Collegiate Church. It may be significant that Gabriel Goodman, was the Dean of the Collegiate Church at the time, and that the Goodman family was a renowned church family and had very close

¹⁵⁸ WAM, 33642.

¹⁵⁹ WAM, 33652. There is a reference to a burial of a John Witfield in 1598 in the parish records for St. Margaret's church in Westminster. It is likely that this is the same John Whitefield (almsman). *Findmypast.com*. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/records/parish-records/details/D/701211631?e=D&fY=1588&tY=1608&bYT=50&iSnV=true&sn=WHITEFIELD&fns=JOHN&snNXF=true&fnNXF=true&cy=LNP&rC=6&locale=en>. [date accessed: 7 March 2013].

¹⁶⁰ WAM, 33617. 33639.

¹⁶¹ WAM, 39074.

¹⁶² WAM, 39074

¹⁶³ WAM, 39074.

associations with the Cecils.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, the *Act Books* record many occasions when Gabriel Goodman rented property to a number of different Goodmans.¹⁶⁵ From 1563-1565 a gentleman by the name of Jeffrey Goodman also received a stipend.¹⁶⁶ In the Treasurer's Accounts John and Jeffrey Goodman's names were written together, often in brackets, suggesting they were related.

So, the records all suggest that almsmen's places were valuable and important to the Crown and to the Collegiate Church, and as soon as a place was empty or available it was quickly filled by someone who might have been waiting two to three years. Comparing the Tables 4.5 (Parts 1-5) and 4.6 one can see that most of the people mentioned in the *Act Books* received a place in the almshouse, some sooner than others. John Dove was nominated in November 1560 and was noted as being placed in the next available almshouse. John Dove does not appear in the Treasurer's Accounts until 1562, suggesting that if one wanted to be an almsman of the Queen, one would have to plan ahead; at least for two years. William Bawland also received a nomination in 1566 but does not appear in the Treasurer's Accounts until 1568. Another example is John Cox, who was nominated in 1581 by Queen Elizabeth but did not appear in the Treasurer's Accounts until 1583.¹⁶⁷

The duration of time between the appointment of an almsman and his receiving a house and stipend was mostly down to chance. Some received a house right away whilst

¹⁶⁴ See chapter 3.

¹⁶⁵ According to the *Act Books* there was a Godfrey Goodman senior, his wife Jane Goodman and their two daughters Catherine and Susan Goodman, and their son Godfrey Goodman junior, who later became Bishop of Gloucester, a Thomas Goodman, another Gabriell Goodman, not the Dean, all renting different tenements from the Dean of Westminster. *Act Books* (vol. 2), pp. 143, 178, 179, 198.

¹⁶⁶ WAM, 33620 -33624, Table 4.5 (Part 1-2), pp. 220-21.

¹⁶⁷ This discrepancy is due to the fact that no records survive for the years 1582, and 1583. Cox was said to have replaced Thomas Harryson, who appears in the records for 1580, but is absent in 1583, suggesting Harrison died between 1581 and 1582. There is a John Cox who appears in the burial records for St. Margaret's church in 1586. There are no surviving Treasurer Accounts for 1586-1587 and Cox's name does not appear in 1588. It is likely that Cox died in 1586 and was buried at St. Margaret's church Westminster. *Findmypast.com*. <http://www.findmypast.co.uk/records/parish-records/details/D/701204607?e=D&fY=1573&tY=1593&bY=1530&bYT=50&iSnV=true&sn=COX&fn s=JOHN&snNXF=true&fnNXF=true&cy=LNP&rC=22&locale=en>. [date accessed: 7 March 2013].

others had to wait a few years. It would appear that for most of the almsmen, they would live in their houses and receive their stipend until they died. There is one almsman whose name does not appear in the Treasurer's Accounts but is mentioned in a nomination from Queen Elizabeth in 1583.¹⁶⁸ The letter is a nomination for William Cubbin who receives his first stipend in 1583.¹⁶⁹ Cubbin was said to have replaced a man by the name of Hugh Evans.¹⁷⁰ Hugh does not appear in any of the Treasurer's Accounts and thus it is possible that he may have received a place in the almshouse but was removed before receiving his stipend.¹⁷¹

Between 1560 and 1600 there were quite a few men who had lived in the almshouse together for a number of years. John Goodman, Thomas Harrison George Cramok, Richard King, Laurencio Laman, William Bugler/Bowdeler, John Dove, John James, John Gamond, Richard Knolles, and Matthew Lipps lived for nearly two decades together.¹⁷² This suggests that there was stability within the Cathedral administration and within the almshouse. The continuity from year to year possibly allowed the men a sense of community and family, something which they may not have had outside of the almshouse.

v. Conclusion

Henry VII and Abbot John Islip took a great deal of trouble in creating Henry's memorial at Westminster Abbey. We know that before the Dissolution the almsmen's

¹⁶⁸ *Act Books* (vol. 2), 184, pp. 105-06; See Table 4.6, pp. 225-26.

¹⁶⁹ WAM, 33641, Table 4.5 (Part 4), p. 223.

¹⁷⁰ *Act Books* (vol. 2), 184, pp. 105-06; See Table 4.6, pp. 225-26.

¹⁷¹ There are also a number of almsmen who appear in the Treasurer's Accounts but were either never formally nominated or their nominations and referrals have been lost over time. In this situation it is most likely that either Queen Elizabeth or the Dean had filled a void almsman's place.

¹⁷² Table 4.5 (Parts 1-5), pp. 220-24.

lives would have been filled with prayer services.¹⁷³ We also know that after the Dissolution, the almshouse was no longer functioning as a private chantry for Henry VII. The almsmen's days were no longer regulated by a strict prayer routine, but they were expected to attend several daily services in the Cathedral church.¹⁷⁴ We know that after the Dissolution the almshouse grounds were divided into two sections and that the almsmen only had access to their homes located on the western side of these grounds. We also know that in the later sixteenth century, the almsmen wanted access to their garden and other buildings and spent at least sixty years arguing for the right to the land and buildings.¹⁷⁵ The almshouse building underwent considerable building works in 1566 six years after Elizabeth had refounded the Marian Abbey as a Collegiate Church. The financial documentation for the almshouse has been well preserved and it is clear that the Abbey/Cathedral paid careful attention to its endowment and the funding of the almshouse. The almsmen's wages rose from approximately £4 per annum to approximately £6 per annum after the Abbey's Dissolution and the increase in pay was probably due to the fact that the men no longer had the services of the almswomen, nor were they provided with their food and fuel. We know that women were present and played an important role in the medieval Abbey and almshouse but were no longer acceptable within the new foundations although the almsmen were allowed to be married and that their wives lived with them in their almshouses. It is clear that the almshouse remained important to the Crown and the Abbey/Cathedral, for both religious and political reasons. The maintenance and appointment of almsmen appears to have been important not only to Henry VII but to his son and grandchildren.

¹⁷³ There is one random bill in 1534 from a John Askew, said to be 'a pore dayle bedman', for expenses incurred in serving R. Callowe, kitchener at the Abbey which was paid by W. Vertue. WAM, 32279. It is not clear whether this bedesman belonged to Henry VII's almshouse or lived within the Abbey's almonry.

¹⁷⁴ See Appendix vi. pp. 295-96. In the 1660s lists of almsmen were made who had not attended services, said to be 'their duty' to attend. On the left of each man's name is an annotation whether he was sickly or had just failed to appear. WAM, 5330.

¹⁷⁵ WAM, 5325, 18395. See chapter 3.

Conclusion

The planning of his memorial was of the utmost of importance to Henry VII. Much thought went into its design from the categories of poor to be catered for, the location of the buildings, the acquisition of papal support, the means of funding, and the oversight of the almshouse once the King had died. These plans were not only codified in Henry's will but also in the indentures which were undertaken on the grandest of scales using the highest quality of materials.

There are a number of questions that arise after studying the foundation and history of Henry VII's almshouse; the main question is why did Henry VII go to such trouble and expense to fund this institution? How did his almshouse fit into the bigger picture of royal spiritual foundations of the time? How does it fit into Henry VII's self-image and how did it fit into his larger spiritual and royal agenda?

Henry VII's will and testament, and his charitable undertakings before and after his death, make it clear that the King was deeply concerned about the physical and spiritual preservation of his body and soul in the afterlife. On the eve of the Reformation, and at a time of changing religious mind-sets, Henry VII appears to have embraced his dynastic duty but also his spiritual duty, and so went to great expense to preserve his spiritual body, 'his soul' in the afterlife.¹ To understand Henry VII's motivations for building and establishing one of the grandest memorials of the medieval period, it is important to understand the medieval mind-set of the later fifteenth century regarding the fate of the body in the afterlife.

Death is at the centre of salvation in Christianity. The incarnation of Christ, that is the spoken word of God becoming flesh, opened the doors to a certain form of mysticism within the church. This mysticism evolved around the unanswerable

¹For the definition of both 'Body natural' and 'Body politic' see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 7-23.

questions of what happened to the mortal human being after death, and why it was necessary for people to live good and honest lives, and the repercussions if they did not. The church developed a metaphysical view of the individual person that was based upon a hierarchy of separate elements; the soul being the person's finest part. Depending on the perception of this hierarchy, the soul was either something that existed ontologically; above the body or within it. By acknowledging this mystical body (the soul), and by creating a place, or places, for it to reside after death, the church then developed the concept of the afterlife or, basically, life after death.

This afterlife became rather more complicated when the normal individual was replaced by a monarch. The question of where power was located during the period between the death of one monarch and the inauguration of another caused further metaphysical issues for the church. Nevertheless, the Catholic Church came up with an ingenious solution by devising the idea of the dual understanding of the body politic which emerged between the fourteenth and fifteenth century in political and juridical thinking and which Kantorowicz discussed in his book *The King's Two Bodies*.² In short, the monarch's entity or body was double; one part was eternal (the office) the other mortal (the body). This idea of the King's two bodies does not address the deeper and finer part of the monarch's person; that of his or her soul. It appears however that Henry VII was a devout Christian and was very much concerned with this third entity; his soul, and its fate in the afterlife.

The medieval mind-set regarding the afterlife focused on penance, purification, and purgatory. According to church doctrine, it was impossible to go directly to heaven unless you were a saint. Many believed that no matter how good and religious their lives they were still born with original sin and thus doomed to hell. It is not clear when, or

² Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, pp. 193-272.

where, the concept of Purgatory originated, some say it first appears in the 2 Maccabees 12: 44-45.

[44] ‘For if he had made a gathering throughout the company to sum of two thousand drachms of silver, he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering, doing therein very well and honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection: [45] And also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for those that died godly, it was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin.’

Within this text it tells of a man feeling remorseful for his sins, paying money for his salvation and offering prayers for those who have died ‘godly’ and that these acts ‘might’ deliver him from sin.³ It was thought that in purgatory, the soul could achieve the holiness necessary to enter heaven. In life, Christians could help themselves by being baptised, confessing their sins, saying prayers, and having others say intercessory prayers for their souls after death, and by righting their wrongs by participating in the seven corporal acts of charity and mercy; i.e. feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the naked, receiving the stranger, tending the sick, visiting those in prison and burying the dead. Six of the seven acts, all except burying the dead, are first mentioned in the Gospel of St. Matthew: 25; 34-43.⁴ Even the King himself was not above the judgement of God, nor could he stand apart from the Seven Acts of Charity and Mercy. By looking at Henry VII’s will, written shortly before his death, c.1509, it is clear that he was deeply concerned about his soul and those of his family in the afterlife.⁵

³*The Bible Authorized King James version with Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1997), p.242.

⁴*The Bible*, pp.37-38.

⁵ See p. 243.

. . . as we inwardly considere, . . .the vii workes of Charite and Mercy . . . [is to] execute the said [works] by . . .keping, susteynyng and mayntenynge of commune hospitallis, wherin . . .[the] nede pouer people bee lodged, visited in their siknesses, refreshed with mete and drinke, and if need be with clothe, and also buried yf thei fortune to die within the same; and understanding also that here be fewe or noon suche commune hospitallis within this our Realme and that, for lack of them, infinite nombre of poure nedie people miserably dailly die, no man putting hande of helpe or remedie; we therefore of our grete pitie and compassion, desiring inwardly the remedy of the premises, have begoune to erect, buylde and establishe a commune hospital in our place called the Savoie.⁶

It is obvious here that Henry was concerned about fulfilling the Seven Acts of Mercy and Charity. While pagans hoped for a quick death, Christians hoped for just the opposite. A good Christian wanted a ‘good death’ and this was done by setting out your intentions early and seeking forgiveness for the sinful acts committed during your life. Henry VII went to great lengths to undo his wrongs, and so he spent much of the latter part of his reign focussing on the protection and purification of his spiritual body, ‘the soul’ in the afterlife.

Henry’s preparations for his death began as early as 1494, fifteen years before he died. His original intention for his memorial had been to rebuild the Lady Chapel at St George’s in Windsor, modelling it on the chapel of Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey, but centred around the tomb of Henry VI, who had originally been buried at Chertsey Abbey but had been moved in 1485 to St George’s Chapel, in Windsor Castle, by Richard III. Henry VII had been campaigning for a number of years

⁶ Condon, ‘The Last Will of Henry VII’, pp. 120-21.

for the canonization of Henry VI.⁷ There are a number of reasons for this commitment to his late half uncle, in part because of Henry VI's known piety, and in part because Henry VII's claim to the throne had derived from him. Although work had already begun in Windsor, in 1498, the monks of Chertsey Abbey and Westminster Abbey agreed that Westminster was to be the appropriate location for Henry VII's memorial and that the body of Henry VI would be translated to the Abbey. There were a number of reasons for this change of location. Monastic orders often competed for the rightful resting place of the King and certainly Westminster Abbey was the *House of Kings*.⁸ By 1500 the old Lady Chapel at Westminster had been torn down and work had begun on Henry VII's new Lady Chapel which was now designed around the translation of the body of Henry VI and was to match that of Edward the Confessor's chapel at the Abbey.⁹ Henry VI's tomb was to be placed at the most eastern point of the Lady Chapel, where now Henry VII and Elizabeth of York's tomb stands.¹⁰

Together with preparing for his royal burial, Henry VII began preparing for the well-being of his spiritual body by setting in motion a number of charitable building projects, one of which was his Savoy hospital built in London and mentioned earlier in his will.¹¹ The Savoy was based upon the innovative hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence and was to cater for 100 poor and sick men every night. This hospital was to be different

⁷ Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 60-61; Edward Carpenter, *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey* (London, 1966), pp. 91-92.

⁸The concept of Westminster Abbey being the 'House of Kings' was an ancient idea and was reiterated in John Flete's history of the Abbey in the mid fifteenth century, but, the term was most notably associated with Edward Carpenter's book title *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey*, p. 5.

⁹ From 1501-1509/10, payments were made for the translation of Henry VI's body from Windsor to Westminster Abbey, but, it is not clear if his body was ever fully exhumed and transferred. During the Dissolution of the monasteries, Henry VI's image had been completely removed from the Abbey, although graffiti identifies the location of his altar in the eastern apsidal chapel. Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 60-61; Griffiths records his official burial to be in St. George's Chapel in Windsor. R. A. Griffiths, 'Henry VI', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (accessed August, 2012).

¹⁰ The second half of the fifteenth century saw a decline of royal tombs. There are a number of reasons for this; mostly due to the instability of the Lancastrian and Yorkist regimes; tombs were expensive and took a long time to build, something which both households never seemed to have. Nevertheless, Richard II and Henry V had spectacular tombs.

¹¹ See introduction.

from the other hospitals in London and in England because it was intended to be a medical establishment and not just a place of hospitality. Patients were only allowed to stay for one night where they were to be provided with clean clothes, fed and treated for their ailments and then required to leave the next morning. The inmates were to be of the 'poorest' but 'deserving' background. Once admitted into the hospital for the night, the inmates were attended to by doctors and it was one of the first such secular hospitals of its kind in England. There was, however, a chapel attached to the hospital where each patient, before receiving food and care, was to say an intercessory prayer in gratitude to its founder Henry VII. According to his will, the Savoy hospital was to be one of three Henry had intended to build across the realm.¹² By building a hospital for the poor and sick and by providing them with food, shelter and clean clothes, Henry was undertaking three of the seven corporal acts of mercy and charity and doing it on a very grand scale and, in addition to these acts, he was securing a large number of intercessory prayers for himself.

In addition, Henry VII also helped to build new houses for the Friars Minors or Observants in Richmond and in Sheen, and he financed the completion of Henry VI's College at Cambridge, now known as King's College, where Elizabeth his wife had paid for the education of a number of chantry priests. In return for his financial assistance the members of the Friars Minors and those studying at Cambridge would again say a number of intercessory prayers for their benefactor. Henry also left a significant amount of money to the prisons in London and provided annual alms to the poor after his anniversary services at Westminster and across the realm in the hope that they would remember him and offer prayers of thanks for his support.¹³

¹² See introduction, pp. 32-33.

¹³ Condon, 'The Last will of Henry VII', pp. 95-97.

In addition to the Westminster Lady Chapel, the Savoy hospital, the colleges and religious houses, Henry VII also built his chantry almshouse where almsmen and women were to say a number of intercessory prayers and masses every day for the soul of the King. Along with the chantry almshouse, Henry VII provided funds for three chantry monks to be educated at Oxford and who would eventually attend to his chantry in the Lady Chapel at Westminster. These men were not only to receive an education but they were to pray daily for the King's soul.¹⁴

These provisions were codified in two bipartite, and four quadripartite indentures (a massive endeavour in themselves).¹⁵ In these indentures, Henry specified a number of intercessory anniversary services that were to be said in twenty different religious institutions across the realm from Abingdon Abbey to Bermondsey Abbey to Rochester Cathedral, Syon Abbey and across London at the larger religious houses.¹⁶ The Abbot of Westminster Abbey, John Islip was given oversight of Henry's entire memorial and much of its success can be attributed to his careful understanding of the King's wishes and to the large endowment, amounting to over £5000 pounds, the King provided for the Abbey to maintain these services and institutions.¹⁷

So, by establishing the hospital, where more than a hundred individuals prayed daily for the King's soul, the three chantry masses said daily for the King by his almsmen, the chantry services held by his three Oxford priests, the prayers of the poor debtors in prison and those of the students at Cambridge and Friars Minors, Henry had established a continuous prayer machine which offered nonstop intercessions for his 'spiritual body' before and after his death.

¹⁴ See chapter 1.

¹⁵ See chapter 1.

¹⁶ Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 97-98.

¹⁷ See chapter 2.

The funeral of Henry VII was an expensive and elaborate event, it cost over £7000.¹⁸ The funeral procession had over 400 torchbearers as it approached Westminster Abbey.¹⁹ The light show was intended to be the most extravagant made by man's hand.²⁰ In addition to the perpetual prayer machine he had already established before his death, Henry paid for an additional 12,000 masses to be said shortly after his death; 2000 of which were to be said in London, 8000 at the two universities, and an additional 2000 by the Friars Minor/Observants.²¹ Henry VII spent his last fifteen years trying to right his wrongs; wrongs that occurred as a result of fulfilling his kingly duties. The great question of medieval kingships was; how to defend his country and himself from attack, and yet still be saved? Henry VII's attempt to answer this conundrum was to build the most expensive and elaborate memorial of the medieval period. Henry was not going to be taking a stairway to heaven; he was building an intercessory lift.

¹⁸ Condon, 'The Last will of Henry VII', pp. 104-06.

¹⁹ Condon, 'The Last will of Henry VII', pp. 104-06.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*



Fig. 5.0: An Intercessory Lift ²²

The question might be asked whether these designs and ideas for the saving of his soul were his own or whether they were assisted and inspired by others. Almshouse foundations were precarious institutions because there were often extra costs which could not be met out of the original endowments, causing many to fail.²³ Richard Whittington’s and William and Alice de la Pole’s almshouses were the prototypes for conventional almshouse foundations and Henry’s statutes followed a very similar structure; nevertheless, there were differences between the almshouse foundations, especially when it came to the quality of life envisaged by the founders. Henry provided his almshouses with food, fuel, a gown, and a stipend, and his almshouses were

²² Fifteenth Century Poem of Relief of Souls from Purgatory:BL, Additional MS 37049 f. 24v. In this image one can see souls being lifted out of the purgatory fires towards Jesus in heaven in a bucket by people saying the mass and taking the Eucharist and by people giving food to the poor.
²³ See chapter 1.

spacious; they had two rooms, a fireplace and a privy, and the almsmen had three ‘good and honest’ almswomen to cook, clean and look after them.²⁴

Henry’s almsmen’s daily life was meticulously set out within the indentures leaving no room for misinterpretation. The prototype statutes of both Whittington and Ewelme, although very comprehensive, lack the depth of detail which Henry’s statutes provide. The almsmen and women of Whittington and Ewelme’s foundations would have been considered as respectable poor people within their communities, deserving their privileged position. Henry’s almsmen and women were not only respectable individuals but they were also honourable ones, set above all other contemporary almshouse foundations.²⁵ The brick almshouse building itself would have stood out against the old stone buildings of the Abbey and the money spent on maintaining his almsmen would have allowed them a comfortable living having been provided with annual gowns, food and fuel provisions, and women to look after them, all supported by the very large endowment Henry VII had left the Abbey for his memorial.

The overall success of the first thirty years of the almshouse was due to the rich endowment and to the careful oversight of Abbot John Islip. Religious rents gifted by the King made the largest contribution and many of those gifts continued to help support the Abbey and new Cathedral after its refoundations, and reallocations of endowment income in the second half of the sixteenth century. They may tell us something about the success of a religious institution during the turbulent period of the sixteenth century, which depended upon its endowment, and upon careful administration.

²⁴ See chapter 1 and 3.

²⁵ It may be noted that the almshouse at Ewelme may have inspired Henry VII when founding his memorial at Westminster. See introduction pp. 15-16. After the completion of Henry’s almshouse at Westminster c.1504 the King gained possession of the patronage of the Ewelme almshouse which had been confiscated with the de la Pole property. John A. A. Goodall, *God’s House at Ewelme Life, Devotion and Architecture in a Fifteenth-Century Almshouse* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 120-21.

The sixteenth century was a very difficult period for religious institutions, even for those that had the favour of the Kings and Queens. Westminster Abbey and Henry VII's almshouse posed a particular problem for the Crown because of their symbolic significance. The almshouse was, after all, the memorial for the first Tudor King, and yet its very purpose and function lay uneasily alongside the new Protestant ideas.²⁶ However, its second function as a house for retired and loyal servants to the Crown was still needed, and remained an important priority for the Crown.

We know that the almsmen's wages were maintained throughout the turbulent period of the Dissolutions of Westminster Abbey and Cathedral, and their rate of pay moved from approximately £4 per annum to approximately £6 per annum after the Abbey's Dissolution, an increase that can be attributed to the loss of the almshouse fuel and food stipend and the almswomen who, according to the statutes, would have overseen those provisions during the first half of the sixteenth century.²⁷

The transformation of the rules and regulations that occurred in the second half of the sixteenth century was based around the change in prayer services and the new regulations that allowed the almsmen to be married, to have an outside source of income, and to interact with the community outside the almshouse.²⁸

By the end of the Elizabethan period, the almshouse site and buildings had undergone a number of transformations. Divided into two sections in the mid-sixteenth century (the eastern portion and the western portion), the almsmen were forced from their lands and buildings and were confined to live within the western half of the site.

²⁶ Henry VII's memorial and chantry almshouse represented the three main features which the Protestant Reformation wanted to overturn; the existence of purgatory and the need for intercessory prayers, the sacrificial efficacy of the Mass and the remission of one's sins through these services, and the role of saints as intercessors between humans and God. Peter Cunich, 'The Dissolution of the Chantries', in *The Reformation in English Towns 1500-1640*, ed. by Patrick Collinson and John Craig (Basingstoke, 1998), 159-74 (p. 161).

²⁷ See chapter 4.

²⁸ See chapter 4.

After changing hands a number of times and after several petitions to the Dean and Queen Elizabeth, the almsmen were finally granted back their lands and what remained of the original buildings. During this period, the maintenance of the western almshouse eventually became less of a priority to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster and Elizabeth's Collegiate Church. In 1779, when the almshouse was demolished, the almshouse was almost completely derelict. Its walls had fallen onto the banks of Black's Ditch and several of the rooms had been uninhabitable for years.²⁹ This dilapidation can be attributed to age and time, but it can also be attributed to the neglect and mismanagement during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It is clear that the almshouse played an important role for the Crown and the Abbey/Cathedral; religiously and politically. The link between the royal family and the almshouse has never been broken since the sixteenth century. While the rules and regulations have moulded to the times, the overall idea and purpose of the almshouse has remained the same. Although intended to last in perpetuity, Henry VII's almshouse survived in its original form for less than forty years. Nevertheless, the greatly reduced almshouse of Elizabeth I's refoundation continued to provide relief for royal and Abbey servants for another two hundred years, although by the end it had fallen into disrepair limiting its usefulness for the almsmen.

Although this study focuses on the first 100 years of Henry VII's almshouse, its story does not end with the Tudors.³⁰ In January 1643, Charles I, when at Oxford during the Civil War found time to sign a warrant to admit a soldier in the royal army to an

²⁹ WAM, 5363. The almshouse remained at least partially operational until 1779, when the building was demolished to make way for a widened entrance into Broad Sanctuary from Tothill Street. At the time of its Dissolution only six men were living in the house. WAM, 65988-66022 and 66000-66003 for the plans to widen the Broad Sanctuary at the expense of the almshouse, 1777-79.

³⁰ WAM, 5329. During the later part of the seventeenth century there are a number of petitions from the almsmen to the Right Reverend Father, Lord Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster for late payments due to them, suggesting that during this period the attention of the Collegiate Church had waned.

almsman's place.³¹ When the almshouse building was torn down to expand Tothill Street c.1778/9, the almsmen were temporarily moved to another location, and then once those men had died, the almsmen no longer were provided with a house, but were provided with a stipend to help subsidise their housing and expenses. From the late eighteenth century up to the late twentieth century the Queen's Almsmen were chosen from ex-navy or old sailors and soldiers. Westminster Abbey Muniments holds a number of warrants from King George V counter-signed by Winston Churchill, as Home Secretary, and one signed by the Queen, Edward, Prince of Wales, and Stanley Baldwin during the King's illness in 1929.³² There are several warrants signed by King Edward VIII, one dated only three weeks before the Abdication. There are also a number of warrants signed by King George VI and Queen Elizabeth II.³³ In fact, the Queen's Almsmen still exist today. The almsmen attend the Dean at Matins and Evensong on Sundays wearing red gowns with blue hoods and blue trim around the sleeves with a crowned silver Tudor Rose on their left shoulder.³⁴ In return for their assistance at services the almsmen receive a pension of £3-4 a quarter and an additional £2.60 for each service they attend.³⁵ This stipend does not reflect Henry VII's original intentions fully to support a group of poor deserving men who had served the Court and Abbey loyally, but, today, receiving an almsman's place is still a sign of prestige and respect. There are now only six almsmen but they are still appointed by Royal Warrant on the recommendation of the Dean and Home Secretary. For many years the benefaction was confined to old sailors and soldiers but in recent years the almsmen's

³¹ L. E. Tanner, 'The Queen's Almsmen', *WAM Occasional Papers*, 23 (Westminster, 1969) 9-10 (p. 10).

³² Tanner, 'The Queen's Almsmen', p. 10.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ See Fig. 5.1, p. 250. Up until 1965 the almsmen's gowns were purple decorated with a silver Tudor Rose. This design dates back to the Elizabethan era. The almsmen's gowns are held at the Abbey and no longer belong to individual men.

³⁵ Edwin Samuel, 'The Administration of Westminster Abbey' *Public Administration in Israel and Abroad*, 13 (1972), 168-217 (pp.185-86).

places have been held by ex-laymen who once worked for the Abbey. Although the almsmen no longer participate in commemoration services for their founders Henry VII and Elizabeth I their existence recalls the pious and charitable concerns of the Tudor memorial.³⁶

Fig. 5.1 Queen's Almsmen c.1966³⁷



³⁶ Fig. 5.1, p. 250.

³⁷ This image comes from WAM archive photographs.

Appendix:

i. Abridged Transcription of BL, Harley MS 1498.¹

Section A: Introduction and Description of the Manuscript

BL, Harley MS 1498 is an exceptionally beautiful manuscript. It has a burgundy chemise binding with green, silver and gold thread around the border and attaching five silver skippets holding and protecting its green wax seals.² The silk lining on the inside of the manuscript has faded to a light burgundy almost yellow in colour, with stitched floral and pineapple patterns.³ According to the memoranda of the chamberlains of the Exchequer in 1505, the colour of the lining was said to be purple.⁴ In the four corners of the front cover there are badges of gilded silver showing the portcullises of the Beaufort family, a standard symbol of Henry VII. Within the gilded silver badges there is green and white enamel and in the middle of the cover there is another badge made of gilded silver displaying a crowned Tudor crest with remnants of blue and red enamel within the crest, a greyhound on the right and a dragon on the left which appears to have once been covered in white enamel. The time and effort that went into its creation are fully apparent, and the scribes and illuminators were very skilled and accurate, and must have worked closely with one another in its preparation.⁵ It must also be said that the people and institutions that have had this manuscript within their care, have gone to great lengths to keep it in such fine shape, especially the more fragile details. It is not certain when, and by whom the indentures were drawn up and crafted. There appears to have been no one person who was exclusively responsible for the project, yet there are several individuals and accounts which shed light on the subject. In 'Piety, Propaganda, and the Perpetual Memorial', Margaret Condon provides a detailed account of the indentures, physically and contextually.⁶ For the sake of brevity a brief description of the content of the indentures follows.

Completed in c. June 1504, BL, Harley MS 1498 consists of 129 folios and measures 70cm long and 30cm wide, not including the dimensions of the chemise binding.⁷ The manuscript is divided into four sections. Each section of the manuscript is a separate indenture of the King's memorial although there are cross-references between them. At the beginning of each of the

¹ This copy originally belonged to Westminster Abbey, given by Henry VII to the Abbot of Westminster, John Islip, while the King himself possessed a sister copy now a part of the Exchequer (Treasury of Receipt) E331 at the National Archive.

² In TNA, E 101/415/3, financial accounts for the King between 28 February 1500 to 28 February 1502, there are a number of payments made to goldsmiths and other trades and craftsmen regarding payments for the 'King's boke'. These accounts do not specify what this 'boke' was or if it referred to a number of different books. Henry VII did have a considerable collection of great books, nevertheless, there is a payment of £10 for the making of the clasps of the 'King's boke' (f. 46, 25 May 1501). It is known that there were a number of indentures, and that these indentures were secured with clasps, and that these clasps mirrored one another, and so, it is possible that this large payment made for the making of the clasps for the 'King's boke' was actually referring to those made for the indentures.

³ The patterns were not individually sewn, but more likely made within the stitching itself just on a different gage.

⁴ F. Palgrave ed., *The Ancient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, 3 vols, (1836), III, 76. Condon, 'God Save the King!', p. 71.

⁵ A picture of the chemise binding is in Michelle Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts A Guide to Technical Terms* (London, 1994), p. 38. The illuminated page for the almshouse, f. 59 has been used in Janet Backhouse, 'Illuminated Manuscripts associated with Henry VII and Members of his Immediate Family', *The Reign of Henry VII Proceedings of the 1993 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Benjamin Thompson (Stamford, 1995), pp. 175-87. Backhouse refers to the illumination page as the formal indenture of Henry VII's chapel, but it is really the indenture for the almshouse which was a part of the overall indenture for his memorial which included the chapel.

⁶ Condon, 'God Save the King!', pp. 59-98.

⁷ Its sister copy TNA, E33/1 consists of 128 folios and its borders measure 393 x 267 mm, not including chemise cover.

four sections there is an illuminated text page, written on vellum, with many illuminated principal letters. Folios 1-58 relate to the establishment of Henry's chantry, obits, and services at Westminster, specifying the dates of his anniversary, and payments to be made to the poor and to those who participated in the services. Within the first indenture, folios 40r through 49v address the almshouse as a part of the overall memorial at Westminster Abbey.⁸ In this same indenture, folio 52v through 58v lists the estates and monies given to Westminster Abbey for the endowment of the memorial. Between each indenture there is a gold thread tag marking the end of the indenture. The second indenture, folios 59r-75v, addresses Henry VII's chantry almshouse. The third indenture, folios 76r-97v, contain an abstract of the earlier indentures. The illumination on folio 76, shows the Abbot reading aloud the indentures to the monks.⁹ Finally, folios 98r-129v address the overall memorial not just at Westminster but throughout the realm.¹⁰ For example, a scholarship at Oxford, associated with Margaret Beaufort, services held at a Carmarthen chantry, along with a grant of land and or endowment to help support the building and maintaining of Henry VII's chapel and almshouse and finally reiterates the responsibility the Abbot has for the memorial. See title page of the illuminated letter T in TNA, E33/2 f. 59r.

Section B: Transcription

This is an edited transcription of the BL, Harley MS 1498. The transcribed folios are directly related to the footnotes in chapters one through four. Italics have been used to show when a letter has been illuminated and capitalized. Latin text has been put into monotype corsiva font to help highlight the change within the text. Expanded abbreviations have been underlined, double letters symbolizing capital letters have been kept in their original form, just as the spelling has been kept exactly as in the text. A brief description of the information found within each folio has been provided next to the folio number to help guide the reader and at the bottom of each folio page the location of where this text appear within *CCR* has also been provided.¹¹

⁸ The first refence to the almsmen in the first indenture is on f. 40r at the bottom of the page. The men themselves are not mentioned on this page, only the King and Abbot's wishes and responsibilities are listed. I have left this folio out because the actual first mentioning of the thirteen poor men begins on the following folio 40v.

⁹ The Abbot was obliged to read the indentures to the monks and almsmen annually.

¹⁰ TNA, E33/1 ff. 97-128.

¹¹ *CCR* (1500-1509), pp. 138-57.

Indenture 1

40 verso (v): Thirteen poormen and qualifications.

these presente that they above the nombre of the poor men that they fynde or- be bounden or ought to fynde in the said monastery or without the same shall from the date of these present have and fynde thretene poore men oon of theym beynge a preste at the tyme of his admission a good gramarien and of good ~ name having
5 no benefice ne any oder lyvlehod spirituall ne temporall and above thage of fyve and forty yeres and thother xij of theym havynge no wives and being lettred and at the lest can help a preste to synge masse and perfitely sey the psalme of De profundis clamavi perpetually whill the world shall endure in such house and houses as our said soverayn lord the kyng hath bylded and provyded for the
10 inhabitation of the said xiiij poor men within the precyncte of the said monastery to pray duryng the lif of the said kyng our soverayne lord for the good and prosperous estate of the same kyng our soverayn lord and the prosperite of this his realme and for the soule of the said moost excellent Princesse Elizabeth late Quene of England his wif and for the soules of thar children and issue And for
15 the soule of~ the said fader progenitors and anncestres of the same kyng our soverayne lord and for the soule of the said Princesses mother to the same kyng our soverayn lord after hir decease And after the decease of the same kyng our soverayne lord then and from thenfforth spiritually and principally to pray for the soule of (thorn) the same kyng and also for (thorn) the soule of (thorn) the said
20 quene and for the soules of thair children and issue and the oder soules afore rehersed and for all cristen soules And that the same Abbot Priour and Convent and thair successors shall susteyne repayre and kepe sufficiently and conveniently all suche houses as the saide kyng our soveraigne lorde hath buylded within the precyncte of the saide

CCR, pp. 146-47.

41 recto (r): Thirteen poormen rules of departure and death.

monastery of Westminster for the said xiiij poore men in like lenght and brede and with asmany particions as they nowe bee and suffre and cause the said xiiij poore men to dwell and inhabite in the same houses without any thing payeng therfor to the said ∞ Abbot Prior and Convent or thair successors or any of theym or to
5 any other persone And that the same xiiij poore men shalbe named and called the almesse men of the said kyng our soverayne lord that is to saye the almesse men of kyng Henry the vij th And that every of the same xiiij poore men shall have for his lyving and sustenannce of the same Abbot Prior ∞ and Convent and thair successors suche money and other ∞ thinges as hereafter in this Indenture be
10 specified and declared And that the first xiiij poore men that shalhave and enjoye the said almesse be named and appoynted by the said kyng our soverayne lord And whensoever any of theym decease or of ∞ his free will departe from the said almessehouse or almesse or be put out or remoeved from the said almessehouse or almesse for any cause hereafter in this Indenture specified or declared that
15 then duryng the lif of the said kyng our soverayne lord the same kyng our soverayne lord shall name electe and chose ∞ such an other poore man in the place of hym soo deceased ∞ departed or remoeved as shall please the same kyng our ∞ soverayne lord And after the decease of the same kyng our soverayne lord

then fromthenfforth whill the world shall endure The Abbot of the said monastery of Westminster for tyme

CCR, pp.146-47.

41v: Rules for replacing an almsman and their weekly pay.

beyng and in the tyme of vacacion of the said Abbathie or when the Abbot of the said monastery for the tyme beyng shalbe absent then (thorn) the Prior of (thorn) the same ∞ monastery for the tyme beyng shall without fraudelent dilaye within eight dayes then next ensuyng name electe and chose another poor man in (thorn) the place of hym soo deceased departed or removed (thorn) this is to say in the place of every preste so deceased departed and removed to name electe and chose an other preste that shalbe of thage of xlv yeres or above a good gramarien and of good name then havynge no benefice ne any oder lyvlehod spirituall ne temporall And in the place of every of (thorn) the oder xij to name electe and chose another
5 poor man then having no wif beyng lettred and at (thorn) the lest can help a preste to synge and perfytely can saye the psalme of De profundis clamavi and benig of thage of fyvety yeres or above and shalbe thought by the same Abbot or Prior best and most convenient without anythyng havynge or takynge by theymselves or by any other persone for any such nomenclacion election or choise Preferryng at all suche
10 seasons in such nomenclacions elections and choise such as be or have been or hereafter shalbe menyall Servante to the said kyng oure soverayn lord if any such there be of the said age and unmarried and in nede willyng to have the said almesse and desire to have the same And the said Abbot Prior and Convent covenanntes and granntes and theym and thair successours bynden to (thorn) the said kyng our soverayn lord his heires and ∞ successors by these present that they and their successours shall pay to every of ~ the said xiiij pore men from (thorn) the tyme (thorn) that any such pore men shalbe admitted to (thorn) the said almessehouse and almesse till he decease or departe or be removed from (thorn) the same for thair lyvynge and sustannice for every day in the yere that is to sey to hym of
15 them (thorn) that shalbe preste iij d and to every of the other xij ij d ob of

CCR, pp. 146-47.

42r: Almsman's pay and gowns.

lauffull money of Englande and shall pay or do to be paied wekely to every of the said thretene pore men every Satreday after evensong doon in the said monastery aboute the herse there till the Chapell of our lady in the same monastery be bilded and the said tombe therein made for thenternment of the body of oure saide
5 soverayne lord the King by the same oure soverayn lord the king or his executors and after that in the same Chapell before the same tombe asmoch money as shalbe to theym due for that Satreday and sixe dayes then next before after the rate of iij d to hym of theym that shalbe prest and to every of thoder xij two pens halfpeny that is to sey to hym of theym that shalbe prest ijs fourepens and to
10 every of thoder xij asmeny of theym as shalbe there present xvij d ob for the hole weke and the same almesse of ijs foure pens by the weke to be payed to the said prest if he be sikke and impotent in the said almesse house and xvij d ob to every

of thoder xij benig sikke and impotent in (thorn) the said almshouse the same
 15 Saterdag before night And the said Abbot Prior and Convent and their
 successours shall above this geve and~ delyver or cause to be delyverd to every of
 the said thretene pore men ∞ yerely agenst the fest of Ester a long gowne and a
 hode of browne russet that is to sey to the prest a gowne and a hode redy made
 conteynyng foure yerde of brode cloth and to every of thoder twelve a gowne and
 20 a hode redy made conteynyng thre yerd of brode cloth every yerd therof to be of
 the value of thre shelynge and every of the saide gownes to be lyned with blak frise
and a scochygn to be made and set upon every of (thorn) the said gownes and a
 red rose crowned and embrodered therupon of (thorn) the price of xx d to be set
 on (thorn) the left shulder of every such gowne And (thorn) the said Abbot

CCR, pp.146-47.

42v: Prayer services said by almsmen and priest. Statutes placed on two tables one in the almshouse chapel and the other in the Chapel of Our Lady.

Prior and Convent covennanten and grannten and theym and thair successours
 bynden to the saide kyng oure soverayne lord his heires and successours by these
 presente that they and their successours shall endeavor theymsel that the said prest
 shall sey masse such prayers suffrage and divine service within and aboute the
 5 said tombe and the said other xij pore men such observance and prayers and do
and behave theym in all other thinge from tyme to tyme as is couteyned in an
 Indenture of ordinannce of the same pore men ~ herunto annexed And that the
 same Abbot Prior and Convent shall sette or cause to be sette a copy of the same
 ordinannce in two tables wherof the oon shalbe sette in the Chapell of the said
 10 almshouse and the other in the said Chapel of oure lady when it shalbe bylded in
 some convenient place within the same Chapell and in the meane - tyme upon oon
 of the pylers of the said herse to thentent that the said xiiij pore men may resorte
 therunto and see what shalbe thair dutie to do in that behalf And that the said
 tables shalbe renued and sette in the same places by the said Abbot Prior and
 15 Convent and thair successours from tyme to tyme as often as nede shall require whill
 the worlde shall endure And the same Abbot Prior and Convent grannten and
 covenanntes and theym and their successours bynden to the said kyng oure
 soverayne lord his heires and successours by these presents that they shall cause
every of the said xiiij pore men whensoever any of theym shalbe of newe admitted
 20 to the said almshouse to make at thair first admission thereunto afore thAbbot or Prior
 of the said monastery for the tyme benig and two oder of the saddest monke of
 (thorn) the same monastery an othe upon (thorn) the holy evangeliste (thorn) that
 (thorn) they shalsey such prayers and do such observannce and other

CCR, pp. 147-48.

43r: More qualifications of almsmen admittance.

thynges at suche tyme and place and kepe observe such rule and ordre as is
 conteyned in the said ordinance And the saide Abbot Prior and Convent
 covenanntes and grannten that they shall see and cause asmoche as in theym is the
 said thretene ∞ pore men to holde kepe and observe the same And if any of the

5 said thretene pore men for the tyme benig after his admission to the said almesse or
allmessehouse be mariedde ∞ have or be avanced to any landes or tenemente or
the yerely profite to the yerely ∞ value of foure pounde or above or if any suche
lande or tenamentes or yerely profite grown or come unto any of theym by any
meane that then he so maried or avanced be furthwith after that the Abbot or
10 Prior of the same monastery for the tyme benig have knowlege therof putte and
removed from the saide almessehouse and almesse and an other chosen admitted
and putte in his place in maner and fourme afore rehersed And if and whensoever
any of the said thretene pore men for the tyme benig departe and absente
theymsel from the said almessehouse without licence of the Abbot of the said
15 monastery for the tyme being or of the Prior of the saide monastery in the tyme of
vacacion of the said Abbathye or in the absence of the said Abbot or if any of the
same thretene pore men be founden vehemently suspecte ~ or gilte of any great or
notable cryme or offence or remisse in sayeng of the said prayers or doying of the
said observance or other thinge conteyned in the said ordinnance except it be by
20 occasione of siknesse or feblenesse sufficiently shewed and

CCR, pp. 146-48.

43v: Responsibility of Abbot and prior for granting leave to almsmen and replacing men if they do not follow the rules.

known to the Abbot or Prior of the same monastery for the ∞ tyme beyng And he
absentyng hym self or benig soo founden beheviently suspecte or gilte negligent
or remisse after thre severall monitions or warnyngs geven to hym by the Abbot
or Prior of the said monastery of Westminster for the tyme being woll not amende
5 ne refourme himself therin – that then he be furthwith putte oute and removed
from the said almshouse and almesse for ever and an other to be putte and
admitted in his place in suche maner and ordre as is aforesaid And ∞ the said
Abbot Prior and Convent of the said monastery of Saynt Petre of Westminster
covenannted and theym and thair ∞ successours bynden to the said kyng oure
10 soverayne lord his heires and successours by these presentes that whensoever any
of the said thretene pore men decease or be putte oute or ∞ removed from the said
almesse or almessehouse for any cause afore rehersed or of his free wille departe
from the same that then if any daye or dayes after any of the saide poore men ∞
decease departe or be putte or removed from the said almesse and almshouse
15 passe before a newe in his place be provided and admitted in fourme aforesaid
that then the porcion of the said almesse ~ that is to saye foure pens to hym of
theym that shalbe prest- and two pens halfpenny to every of thoder twelve for every
day during the tyme of suche vacacion shalbe delyvered and paied to ~ the residue
of the same thretene pore men then being in the same almesse or
20 almshouse eqally emonge theym to be devidid (thorn) the same payment

CCR, pp. 146-48.

44r: Appointment of honest, sad and discrete monk to look after the almsmen.

to be made to the same poore men at the same tymes and place and in the same
maner that thair other almesse is to be or shalbe payed and delyvered to theym

soo that said Abbot Prior ∞ and Convent nor their successours shall not take any
 avantage for retaynyng of any suche almesse duryng any such vacacion And the
 5 said Abbot Prior and Convent of the said monastery of Saynt Petre of
 Westminster covenannten and grannten and thaym and thair successours bynden
 to the said kyng oure soverayne lord his heires and successours by these presentes
 that thay and thair successours shall from tyme to tyme appoynte ∞ and assigne an
 honnest sadde and discrete monke of the same monastery to cause asmoche as
 10 in hym is the said xiiij poure men to saye kepe-doo and observe the said
 observannces prayers ruelles and other thynges as is conteyned and specified in ∞
 the said ordannances And if any of theym be founden in any defaulte therin to
 enfourme the Abbot and Prior of the same monastery therof to thentent that they
 maye see a due reformacion of ~ the same accordyng to thentent and effecte of
 15 these Indentures And the same Abbot Prior and Convent and thair ∞ successours
 shall cause every suche monke at suche tyme as he shalbe admitted appoynted or
 assigned therunto to make a solemne othe upon the holy evangelies truely to doo
 his ∞ devoure therin and for his said attendancc and laboure they shall geve
 yerely unto hym xl s at the festes of Saynt Michaell and Ester by evyn porcions
 20 And the same Abbot

44v: Three almswomen and their responsibilities within the almshouse.

Prior and Convent grannten and covenannten and theym and thair successours
 bynden to the said kyng oure soverayn lord his heires and successours by these
 presentes that they and thair successours shall coutynually fynde thre women of
 good name and fame and beyng of good conversacion of the age of L yeres or
 5 above to purveye ordeigne and dresse mete and drynke for the said xiiij poore men
 and washe thair clothes and kepe thair house ∞ and kepe theym in thair siknesse
 and the said thre pore women and every of theym to be named and chosen by the
 kyng oure soverayne lord duryng his lif and after his decease by the Abbot of the
 said monasterye of Seynt Peter of Westminster or the Prior ∞ therof in the tyme of
 10 vacacion and thair successours for evermore And the same Abbot Prior and
 Convent and thair successours shall gyve to every of the said thre women every
 weke xvj d ~ for thair mete drynke and wages and the same xvj d to be payed
 wekely every Satyrdaye And the same Abbot and Prior ∞ and Convent and thair
 successours shall above this geve and delyver or cause to be delyvered to every
 15 of the said thre poore women yerely agenst the fest of Ester a gowne of browne ∞
 russet conteynyng thre brode yerdes every yarde therof benig of the value of iij s
 lyned with black fryse redy made with a ~ scochyne and rede rose crowned
 embrodered therupon price xx d to be sette upon the left shulder of every suche
 gowne~ And also the said Abbot Prior and Convent of the said ∞ monastery of
 20 Saynt Petre of Westminster covenannten and grannten

CCR, pp. 146-48.

45r: Almsmen's fuel allowance.

and bynden theym and thair successours to the said kyng oure ~ soverayne lord
 his heires and successours by these presentes ∞ that the same Abbot Prior and
 Convent and thair successours~ shall yerely every yere whill the world shall
 endure delyver or cause to be delyvered in and at the said Almessehouse to

5 (thorn) the said xiiij poore men for the tyme beyng in the same frely without any penny or other charge to be payed or borne by the said poore ∞ men or any of them for the same lxxx quarters of good and ∞ sufficient charre coles And oon thousande good and hable ∞ fagottes suche as usually be and shalbe sold to any persone in the said towne of Westminster or the citie of London in fourme ∞

10 folowyng That is to saye yerely in the weke next before the fest of all Sayntes xl quarters of the said charrecoles and fyve hundreth of the said fagottes and yerely in the weke next before the fest of the birthe of oure lord Jhesu Criste the other xl ∞ quarters of the said charrecoles and the other fyve hundreth of the said thousand fagottes for the comen expenses of fewell for the said poore men by them to be

15 used and spent in the halle and kechynne of the said Almesse house as nede shall ∞ require It is also covenanntes and agreed betwene the said kyng oure soverayne lord and the said Abbot Prior and Convent of the said monasterye of Saynt Petre of Westminster by these presentes That where oure said souverayne lord the kyng wisseth and entendeth by goddes grace to be buried and enterred

20 within the said monastere of Westminster as ys

CCR, p. 147.

47v: Payment for participation in sermons on Good Friday (Easter week) and the Feast of Our Lady every Sunday. Also payments toward lights, tapers, and torches.

Shelynge foure pens for his rewarde Item I shall holde and kepe and cause to be holden and kepte a perpetuall and solempne Anniversarie for the said Kyng and for the other soules afore ~ rehersed in the churche of the saide monastery in suche maner ∞ fourme and ordre and with suche speciall divine services ∞

5 prayers observannces and cerymonies and with lightes of ~ a hundreth Tapers and twenty and foure torches and with ~ the distribution of almesse of twenty ponde and suche other rewardes at every suche Anniversarie as is conteyned in the same Indentures Item I shal cause every persone that ∞ shall preche and saye the sermone used to be sayed at Paules crosse and also every persone that shall preche

10 and says the ∞ sermone in the saide monastery the Sondag next before every suche Anniversarie to warne the people there beyng openly by suche prayers as be conteyned in the saide Indentures of the verey daye that every suche Anniversarie shalbe ∞ holden and kepte upon and content and paye to every persone that shall make any suche sermone at Paules crosse and ~ geve suche warnyng of the saide

15 Anniversarie thre shelynge foure pens And also that I shall content and paye ~ all the somes of money at every suche Anniversarie ∞ to the Chanceller or keper of the great seale Tresourer of Englande chief Justices and other Persones named ∞ in the Indentures as often as they shalbe there ∞ present in such fourme as is specifed in the same Indentures

CCR, pp. 139-41.

48v: The two bretheren conversers and Oxford chantry monk scholars. Anniversaries to be held at both universities (Oxford and Cambridge).

two bretherne like lyving mete drynke clothyng lodgyng and all other thinges as any other brother called a converse hath used to have in the said monasterye And

also I shall provide fynde and have in the universite of Oxouford thre ~ monkes
 scolers of the said monastery over and besides three ∞ monkes scolers of the same
 5 monastery which ought to be ∞ founden there before the makynge of the said
 indentures and ∞ there to contynue in studie and lernynge in the science of ∞
 Divinite in suche maner and fourme as is conteyned in the same Indentures and to
 gyve to every of theym yerely for his ∞ exhibicion x L as long as he shall ther so
 contynue Item I shall well and truly content and paye all suche severall somes of
 10 money as be appointed to be paied for xx severall solempne Anniversaries to be
 holden and kepte for the said ∞ kyng in severall cathedral churches monasteries
 colleges ∞ priouries Abbasye places of freres and in the universites of Oxouford
 an Cambrige and other places in such fourme ~ as is conteyned in the same
 Indentures Item I shall provide and susteine within the said monastery in the ∞
 15 Almshouses there therfor made and appoynted by the said kyng thre pore
 men oon of theym beyng a preste and the oder xij havynge noo wives in suche
 maner and fourme as is conteyned in (thorn) the same Indentures and geve to
 every of theym that is to say to hym of them (thorn) that shalbe prest for every day
 in (thorn) the weke iiii d and to (thorn) the oder xij of theym for every day in
 20 (thorn) the weke ij d ob to be paied every Satreday and every yere such clothyng
and fewell as is

CCR, pp.139-41.

49r: Sad monk's pay for oversight of almsmen. Description of Almswomen and their duties and pay.

conteyned in the said Indentures And also I shall depute and ordeigne a sadde and
 discrete monke of the said monastery to have the ruele and gouvernanne of the
 saide thre pore men and to see that they shall kepe all suche statutes and
 ordinances prayers and observances as be to theym appoynted and assigned
 5 And I shall geve to every suche monke yerely for his labour forty shelynge And
 also shall provide and fynde thre ∞ hounest sadde and discrete women to dresse
 mete and drynke for the said thre pore men and kepe theym in thair
 sikennesse and geve to every of the said thre women wekely sixteen pens and ∞
 every yere a gowne redy made for thair labour accordyng to the tenore and effecte
 10 of the said Indentures Item I shall cause the abstracte conteynyng the effecte of
 the saide Indentures annexed to the same Indenture to be openly and distinctly
 redde in the ∞ Chapitrehouse of the said monastery yerely within two days next
 before every suche Anniversarie in suche fourme and maner as is conteyned in the
 same Indentures And I shall cause every Priour of the said monastery to make
 15 solempne othe in the Chapitre house of the same monastery within eight dayes
 next after he ∞ shalbe made Priour of the same monastery to see and cause all the
 premisses and all other thinges conteyned in the said Indentures to be observed
 and kepte aswell in the tymes of vacacion of the said Abbathie as other tymes And
 I shall also well and truly kepe and perfourme and see and cause to be truly
 20 kepte and ∞ prefourmed all and every of the premisses and all other thinges ~

CCR, p.145.

51v: Payments to those who participate in the annual reading of the abstract.

shall content and paye to every suche chief justice if he be present or in his absence to the kyngs attorney for the tyme beyng or in the absence off theym bothe to the recorder of the said cite of London for the ∞ tyme beyng twenty shillynge And to the steward of the lande of the said monastery for the tyme

5 beyng at the redyng ∞ therof if he be present thretene shelynge foure pens or they departe oute of the same chaptrehouse And that every Abbot of ∞ the same monastery for the tyme beyng that shalbe present at the redyng therof shalhave at every suche tyme when he shalbe there present thretene shelynge foure pens and the priour of the same monastery if he be present thre shelynge foure pens and the

10 monke that shall rede the said abstracte indented thre shelynge foure pens and every other monke of the same monastery beyng a preste and ∞ present at the redyng therof twelve pens and every monke professed beyng no prest eight pens and all the said somes to be contented and paid to the same Abbot priour and convent that is to saye to asmeny of theym as shalbe there present at the redyng

15 of the said abstracte or they departe oute of the said chaptrehouse and as sone as the said abstracte shalbe redde in the chaptrehouse and the said somes distributed to the heres therof Then the same Abbot priour and convent or asmany of theym as ∞ shalbe then there present shall immediately goo furth in ordre in procession from the same chaptrehouse sayeng these psalmes Verbe mea etcetera

20 Deprofundis clamavi etcetera and Voce mea ad dium clamavi etcetera to the said herse unto the tyme the said

CCR, pp. 147-48.

52v: King's endowment grants (St. Martin le Grand).

Administration at thair liberte of all and every of the said somes of money assigned by this indenture to be delivered to theym aswell in and at every of the said anniversaries and wekely obites as at the redyng of the said abstracte and elleswher for any other ∞ cause expressed in this indenture without letteor

5 impediment of the said Abbot priour and convent or thair successours ∞ And the said kyng our soverayne lord for the causes and consideracions afore rehersed hath geven and granted and caused to be geven and granted to the said Abbot priour and convent and thair successours the advouson of the deanry of saynte martens le grannde in the cite of London and of all chanouries prebende

10 churches and chapelle of the same and hath caused the said deanry and all the said chanouries ∞ prebende churches chapelle and all lande tenamente and possessions with all profite commodities enolumente and appartenances of the same deanry chanonries prebende and other premises excepte the prebende of Newelonde Founded by ∞ Herberte to be appropred buied and annexed to the said

15 Abbot priour and convent and thair successours at the ∞ proper costes and charges of the same kyng oure soverayn lorde whiche deanry chanonries churches chapelle and ∞ prebende and the lande and tenement and possessions with all ∞ profite commodities enolumente and appartenance of the same excepte before excepted the said Abbot priour and convent by thair owne assent and

20 consent have accepted and taken at

CCR, p. 148.

53r: King's endowment grants (Tikehill, Swaffham Market, Stamford, Plesshe, Playdon, Rye, Uplambourne and their annual worth).

the yerely value of two hundredth thre score sixe pounce thretene shelynge foure pens over and besides all yerely charges And also the same kyng oure soverayne lorde hath geven and granted to the same Abbot priour and convent and thair successours the advowsons of the prebende of Tikehill in the countie of Yorke
5 and the personage of Swafham market in the countie of ∞ Norffokke and the personage of Stamforde in the countie of Berkshire and of the free chapell of Uplambourne in the countie of Berkshire and of the free chapell in the manor of Plesshe in the countie of Essex and of the free chapell of Playdon besides Rye in the countie of Sussex And also hath caused all the same prebendes personages
10 churches and free chapelle to be lafully appropred unite and annexed to the same Abbot priour and convent and thair successours at the proper coste and charges of the same oure soverayne lord the kyng whiche prebende personage churches and free chapell the said Abbot priour and convent by ∞ thair owne assent and consent have accepted and taken at the ∞ yerely value of a hundredth and thretty pounce
15 thretene shillynge foure pens over and besides all charges that is to saye the saide ∞ prebende of Tikehill at forty pounce the personage of Swafham market at forty pounce. the personage of Stamford at eight and twenty pounce and thesaid free chapell of Uplambourne at sixe pounce thretene shelynge foure pens and thesaid free chapell of Plesshe at sixe pounce and the said free chapell of Playdon
20 besides Rye at tenne pounce yerely over and beside all charges ∞

CCR, p. 148.

53v: King's endowment grants (Luffield, Dodford, and Thorneburgh).

And over that the said kyng oure soverayne lord hath geven and granted to the said Abbot priour and convent and thair ∞ successours the priory of Luffeld and all the manors landes and tenement rents reversions services and advowsons in the counties of Norhampton Oxforde and Bukkyngham late belonging to the prior
5 and priory of Luffeld afore saide or parcell therof and thadvouson of the church of Dodford in the countie of Northampton and thadvowson of the church of Thorneburgh in the countie of Bukkyngham which advousons were lately belonging to the said prior and priory and the church of theym appropred to the same priory all whiche ∞ priory and manors lande and tenement rente reversions
10 ∞ services and advowsons belonging to the same late come to the hands and possession of our said soverayne lorde the kyng because the said priory was and is utterly dissolved as by office of recorde more plainly appereth And the same oure ∞ soverayne lord hath caused the same churches of Dodford and Thorneburgh to be of newe appropred to the same Abbot ∞ priour and convent
15 and thair successours at the proper coste and charges of the same oure soverayne lorde the kyng which manors londe tenement and churches late belonging to the said priory the said Abbot priour and convent by thair owne assent and consent have accepted and taken at the yerely value of forty pounce on and above all charge And also hath geven and caused to be delyverd unto the said Abbot prior
20 and convent

CCR, p. 149.

54r: King's endowment grants and ready money given to Abbot Islip to purchase endowment incomes (purchase from George Neville).

Oute of the cofers of the same kyng oure soverayne lorde of redy money five thousand an hundredth and fyfty poundes to purchase and buye manors londe and tenement rente and service to theym and their successours for ever to bere susteyne and kepe perpetually whille the worlde shall endure all suche charges as
5 bene before in these indentures particularly rehersed and also for a rewarde to the said Abbot priour and convent and their successours ∞ over and above all the said charges to thentent that they shall the more surely and truly observe kepe and perfourme all the promises perpetually whille the worlde shall endure whiche
10 somes of money the said Abbot priour and convent have ∞ receved and confesse and knowlege by these presente to have receyved of the saide kyng oure soverayne lord to and for ∞ the same entent and with the same some of money the saide ∞
15 Abbot priour and convent have to and for the same entent ∞ purchased and bought of George Nevill of Burgevenny knight the manoir of Estwardessersoke with thappatenamice with certayn lande rentes tenement and service with
thappointemannte in ∞ Southloke Wheteley Stretton Southleverton Fenton Coton
∞ Clarebrugh Wellum Moregate Erenley Wiston Wodehouse and Litelbrugh in the countie of Notyngnam and the manors of Halton Aukebarowe Burton Stather the thirde parte of the manor of Belchefeld with certeyn londe and tenement rente
and service in Halton Aukebarowe Burton Stathor Wynterton Theilby
20 Hailbalestede Burnaby Eirby Conysby Cresseby Emmote ∞

CCR, p. 149.

54v: Abbot Islip purchases (George Neville, Maurice Berkeley, John Cutte and William Esyngton).

Bolcheforde and Dymmyngton in the countie of Lincoln whiche manerslonde and tenement be of the yerely value of thre score and foure ponde over and above all yerely charges And also hath purchased and bought of Maurice Berkeley lord Berkeley the maner of Chesterford with thappointemennte in the countie of
5 Essex with thadvowson of the churche of Chesterford in the same countie which maner with thappointemennte of the ∞ yerely value of thre score and sixe ponde thretene shelynge foure pens over all charges and beside the wode sale of the same And also thesaid Abbot priour and convent have ∞ purchased and bought to theym and thair successours with the said some of money of John Cutte the
10 maners of Pynchepole and Bolington with dyvers lande and tenement in Claveryng Langley Garden Wykyn Maneden Ugley and Fernam in the countie of Essex ∞ and also dyvers lande and tenement in Clecheden Henham ∞ and Elsyngham in the said countie of Essex whiche be of the yerely value of twenty ponde over all charges and the ∞ maner of Borstall with dyvers lande and tenement rente and
15 services in Plumstede Lesnes Borstall and Erith in the countie of Kent which manors lande and tenement be of the yerely value of twenty pound over and above all charges And ∞ also the saide Abbot priour and convent with the said money have purchased of William Esyngton the maners of Fenne and Skreyng with thappointemennte with dyvers lande and tenement rente revisions and service with
20 thappointemennte in Fenne Skreyng (CCR, p. 149.)

55r: Abbot Islip purchases (William Esyngton, George Neville, Maurice Berkeley, John Cutte and the Abbot of Tewkysbury).

Boston Skyrbek Fryston Butterwik Bennyngton and Sybsey with thadvouson of the church or chapell of Fenne in the saide countie of Lincoln which maners londes and tenement soo ∞ purchased of the said William Esyngton be of the yerely value of thirtty and foure ponde and above over all charges. And also
5 thesaid Abbot priour and convent with the said some of money have purchased to theym and thair successours of the Abbot and covnent of the monastery of oure lady of ∞ Tewkysbury an annuell rent of twenty and sixe ponde thretene shelynge foure pens oute of the maner of Stanewell in the ∞ countie of Gloucestr with a clause of distresse in the said maner and a forfeitur of a payne of a
10 hundredth shelynge for lat of eny ∞ payment of the same of all which maners londe and tenement and other premises severally purchased of the said George Nevill lord Burgevenny Maurice Berkeley John Cutte William Esyngton and the Abbot and convent of Tewkysbury. The same Abbot ∞ priour and convent have severall sufficient and lanfull estate and grannte made to theym and their
15 successours from the same George lord Burgevenny Maurice Berkeley John Cutte William Esyngton and the Abbot and convent of Tewkysbury and other - persones as by severall and sufficient evidence therof made more pleyntyly appereth And also our seid soverayn lord the kyng for the more perfitte suretie of the said Abbot prior and convent and thair successors to have and enioye the purchusses hath caused
20 all lorde mediatt and immidiat of whom any parte of the said maners londe and

Close Roll, p. 149.

55v: Tewksbury purchase. King's gifted properties estimated worth £231. 6s. 8d. plus Islips's purchase to total before running costs £668. 13s. 4d. and after £582. 8d.

Tenement advousons and other premises be holden to geve thair licences for the said estate to be made to the said Abbot priour - and convent and thair successours And also the saide kyng oure soverayne lord sithens all the said granntes and - estate hath pardoned remitted and quiete claymed by his letters patentes to the
5 same Abbot priour and convent and thair ∞ successours all entrees and intrusions at eny tyme made unto the premises or eny parcel of theym. And also all alienacions into mortmain and oder alienacions purchases giftes and ∞ granntes in eny wise had or made of the premysses or eny ∞ parcel of theym as in the same letters patentes more pleyntyly appereth all whiche maners londe tenement and rent
10 in ∞ fourme aforesaid purchased and bought with the said somes of money yeven and delyverd by the saide kyng oure soverayne lord to the said Abbot priour and convent to the same entent extende to the yerely value of two hundredth and thretty and oon ponde sixe shelynge eight pens and soo the londe and possession spirituall and temporall above rehersed extende to the yerely value of sixe
15 hundredth thre score and eight -pounde thretene shelyng foure pens over all charge and so they by all likelyhod shall contynne for ever and all the said yerely charge to be doon kept and perfourmed by the said Abbot priour and convent and their successours conteyned in these indentures extende not at moost to the some of five hundreth ∞ foure score two ponde eight pens by the yere and so

CCR, p. 150.

56r: Payment to Abbot £87. 6s. and licence without fine or fee of church of Chesterford and St. Brides in London.

the saide Abbot prour and convent have to theym and thair ∞ successours of the gift and provision of the saide kyng ourre ∞ soverayne lorde yerely foure score and seven pound and sixe shelyng over and above all the said charges whiche some of foure score and seven ponde and sixe shelynges and a licence without
5 fine or fee to appropre to the saide Abbot priour and convent the saide church of Chesterforde to the yerely value of twenty and two ponde over the indowment of the vicare of the same and tenne ponde geven to the saide Abbot - priour and convent for the costes of the appropriation of the same and an other licence without fine or fee to appropre to theym the churche of Seynt Bride n the cite of
10 London of their owne patronage to the yerely value of twenty and sixe ponde thretene shelynge foure pens over the indowment of the vicar of the same. The same kyng ourre soverayne lorde hath geven and granted to the said Abbot priour and convent and to their successours to thentent that they shall the ∞ more surely and intierly observe and kepe and cause to be ∞ observed and kepte all the saide
15 covennante conteyned in these ∞ indentures without eny omission for eny maner of cause ∞ what so ever may falle of happen hereafter according to - theeffecte and entent above rehersed and according to the said hooly will and devoute mynde of ourre said soverayne lorde the kyng and for suche casuell losses and charges as ∞ may fortune to fall in and for the vacacions of the said lyvlehod

CCR, p. 150.

Indenture 2

59r: Abbot to find thirteen poor men.

This indenture made betwene the ∞ moost excellent and moost cristen Prince kyng Henry the seventh by the grace of godde kyng of Englande and of ffrance and lorde of Irelande the sixtene day of July the ~ nyntene yere of his moost noble reigne of the oon partie and John Abbot of the monastery of Seynt Peter of
5 Westminster and the Prior and Convent of the same monastery of the oder partie. Witnesseth that where said Abbot Prior and Convent by other Indentures made betwene theym and the saide kyng ourre soverayne lorde beryng date the saide day and yere where unto these Indentures be annexed ∞ have covenannted and granted emonge other thinge and bounden theym and thair successours to the saide kyng
10 ourre soverayne ∞ lorde his heires and successours that the same Abbot Prior and ∞ Convent and their successours above the noubre of the pore men ∞ that they nowe fynde or be bounde or ought to fynde in the saide ∞ monastery or without the same shall from the date of the same Indenture fynde thretene poore men of good and virtuose disposicion within the precincte of the saide monastery
15 perpetually whill the worlde shall

59v: Qualifications of the thirteen poor men.

endure in suche house and houses as oure saide soverayne lorde the kyng hath there bylded and provided for their inhabitation oon of theym beyng a preste at the tyme of his admission a good gramarien and of good nature havynge then noo benefice nor other lvylehod spirituall ne temporall and above the age of forty and

5 fyve yeres to say suche masses prayers suffragies and divine services as ben hereafter expressed in these Indentures of ordinannce and the other twelve of theym ∞ havynge noo wifes and beyng lettred and at the lest can helpe a preste to syng masses and perfytely sey the psalme of De profundis clamavi and beyng of thage of fyvety yeres and above to sey and doo suche prayers and observannces

10 as ben in these Indentures of ordinannce also expressed for the good and prosperite estate of this same king our soverayne lorde during his life and the prosperite of this his realme And for the soules of the moost excellent princesse ∞ Elizabeth late Quene of Englande his wif and of their children and (thorn) the issue And for the soules of the fader progenitours and Ancestres of the saide kyng oure

15 soverayne lorde and of the noble Princesse ∞ Margaret Countesse of Richemount and Derby his mother after~ hir decease And for the soule of the same kyng oure soverayne lord after his decease and the other soules before rehersed and for all ~ cristen soules And that the same Abbot Priour and Convent ∞ and their successours shall susteyne repaire and kepe sufficiently and conveniently all

20 suche houses and Chapell as the saide kyng oure ∞ soverayne lord hath bylded within the precincte of the said monatery of Westminster for the saide poure men in like lenght and brede and with asmany particious as they nowe be and suffice the said pore men ∞

CCR, pp.151-52.

60r: Living accommodations for the poor men and rules of departure.

to dwell and inhabite in the same houses without eny thing payeng~ therfor And that the same poore men shalbe named and called the ∞ almesmen of the said kyng oure soverayne lord that is to sey the ∞ Almesmen of kyng Henry the seventh And that all the saide thretene poore men shalbe named elected and

5 chosen and putt unto the saide Almshouse by the said kyng oure soverayn lorde duryng his lif ∞ And that whensoever any of the saide poore men shall decease or of his free will departe from the saide Almshouse or be putte oute or removed from the same for any cause in the saide other Indentures specified that then the same kyng oure soverayn lorde duryng his lif shall name electe and chose suche

10 an other pore man in the place of hym so deceased departed or removed that is to sey in the place of every prest so deceased departed or removed to name electe and chose an other preste that then shalbe of thage of forty and fyve yeres or above and in the place of every of the of the other twelve to name electe and chose an other poore man havynge no wif and then benig of thage of fyvety yeres or

15 above And after the decease of ∞ the same kyng oure soverayn lorde then and from then fforth whill the worlde shall enture the Abbot of the said monastery of Westminster for the tyme beyng and in tyme of vacacion of the saide Abbathye ∞ or when the Abbot of the saide monastery for the tyme beyng shalbe absent the Priour of the saide monastery for the tyme beyng shall without fraudelent delaye

20 within eight dayes next after the decease departyng or removing of every of the
said poore men name electe and chose an other pore man in the place of hym soo
deceased departed or removed that is to seye in the place of every of theym that
shalbe

CCR, p.152.

60v: Priest of the poormen and his qualifications and duties. Abbots duties to maintain the house.

endure in suche house and houses as our saide soverayne lorde the kyng hath
there bylded and provided for them in habitation oon of theym being a preste at
the tyme of his admission a good gramarien and a good name having then no
benefice nor other lyvlehod spiritually no temproall and above the age of forty and
5 five yeres to say suche masses prayers suffragies and divine services as ben
hereafter expressed in these indentures of ordinance and the other twelve of theym
∞ having noo wifes and being lettred and at the lest can helpe a preste to syng
masses and perfectly sey the psalme of De profundis clamavi and being of thage of
fyvety yeres and above to sey and doo suche prayers and observances as ben in
10 these indentures of ordinance also expressed for the good and prosperous estate of
the same kyng∞ our soverayne lorde during his lif and the prosperite of this ∞
his realme. And for the soules of the moost excellent princesse ∞ Elizabeth late
Quene of Englande his wif and of their children and theyr issue. And for the
soules of the fader progenitours and anncestres of the saide kyng our soverayne
15 lorde and of the noble princesse ∞ Margaret Countesse of Richemount and Derby
his mother after ∞ hir decease. And for the soule of the same kyng our soverayne
lord after his decease and the other soules before rehersed and for all ∞ christen
soules. And that the same Abbot priour and convent ∞ and their successours shall
susteyne repaire and kepe sufficiently and conveniently all suche houses and
20 Chapell as the saide kyng our ∞ soverayne lorde hath bylded within the precinct
of the said monastery of Westminster for the saide pouremen in like length and
brede and with ∞ as many particious as they nowe be and suffice the said
poremenn∞

CCR, p. 146.

61r: Naming of the poor men, qualifications of men and priest, and departure rules.

To dwell and inhabite in the same houses without eny thing paying ∞ therfor. And
that the same poore men shalbe named and called the ∞ almesmen of the said
kyng our soverayne lord that is to sey the∞ Almesmen of kyng henry the
seventh. And that all the saide thretene poore men shalbe named elected and
5 chosen and putt into the saide ∞ Almshouse by the said kyng our soverayne
lorde during his lif ∞ And that whensoever any of the saide poore men shall
decease or of his free will departe form the saide almshouse or be putte oute or
removed from the same for any cause in the saide other indentures specified that
then the same kyng our soverayne lorde during his lif shall name electe and
10 chose suche an other pore man in the place of hym so deceased departed or
removed that is to sey in the place of every preste so deceased departed or

removed to name electe and chose an other preste that then shalbe of thage of
forty and five yeres or above and in the place of every of the other twelve to name
electe and chose an other poore man having no wif and then benig of thage of
15 fyvety yeres or above. And after the decease of ∞ the same kyng oure soverayne
lorde then and fromthenfforth whill the worlde shall endure the Abbot of the said
monastery of Westminster for the tyme beyng and in tyme of vacacion of the said
abbathye ∞ or when the Abbot of the saide monastery for the tyme being shalby
20 absent the prior of the saide monastery for the tyme beyng shall without
fraudulent delaye within eight days next after the decease departyng or removyng
of every of the said poore men name electe and chose an other pore man in the
place of hym soo deceased departed or removed that is to seye in the place of
every of theym that shalbe

**61v: Qualifications of priest, nominations of appointments, payments to priest and
poormen.**

prest an other prest beyng a good gramarien and of good name havyng ∞ then no
benefice ne other lyvlehod spirituall ne temporall and of thage of forty and fyve
yeres or above and in the place of every of the oder twelve an other pore men
havyng no wif beyng lettred and at the lest can helpe a prest to synge and
5 perfytely sey the psalme of De profundis clamavi and beyng of thage of fyvety
yeres or above as shalbe thought by the same Abbot or Priour best and moost
convenient without anything havyng or takyng by theymselvf or by eny oder for
eny suche nominacion ∞ election or choise preferryng at all suche seasons in
suche nominacions ∞ eleccions and choise such as be or have ben of hereafter
10 shalbe servante to the said kyng oure soverayn lord if eny suche then be of the said
Ages and that shalbe lettred and at the lest can helpe a prest to synge ∞ masse and
perfyteley can sey the psalme of De profundis clamavi willing to have the saide
Almesse and desire to have the same And that the said Abbot Priour and Convent
and their successours shall pay to every of the said pore men from the
15 tyme that eny – of theym shalbe admytted to the said Almesse till he decease or
departe or be removed ∞ from the same that is to saye hym of theym that shalbe
prest for- every day foure pens and to every of the oder twelve for every daye two
pens halfpeny of lauffull money of Englande all the same somes to be payed
20 wekely to every of the said thretene pore men every ∞ Satreday after evensong
doon in the said monastery aboute the herse there till the chapell of oure lady in
the same monastery whiche ∞ the said kyng oure soverayne lord hath nowe begon
be bylded by the same kyng oure soverayne lorde or his executours and tombe
therin made for thenternment of the body of oure saide soverayne

CCR, p.152.

**62r: Where and when the poor men and priest were to be paid. What to do in case
of sickness, almsmen's gowns, and the qualifications of almswomen.**

lorde the kyng And after that in the same Chapell before the same tombe as moche
money as shalbe to theym due for that Satreday and sixe dayes then next before
after the rate of foure pens to hym of theym that shalbe prest and to every of the
oder twelve two pens halfpeny that is to sey to hym of theym that shalbe

5 preste two shelynge foure pens and to every of the oder twelve as meny of theym
 as shalbe ∞ there present seventene pens halpenny for the hole weke And the same
 Almesse of two shelynge foure pens by the weke to be payed to the said preste if
 he be sike and impotent in the said Almessehouse and ∞ seventene pens halpenny
 to every of the oder twelve beyng sike and impotent in the said Almshouse the
 10 same Satreday before night ∞ And the said Abbot Priour and Convent and their
 successours shall above this geve and delyver or cause to be delyvered to every of
 the said thretene pore men yerely agenst the fest of Ester a long gowne and a
 hode redy made of browne russet that is to sey to the prest a ∞ gowne and hode
 redy made conteynyng foure yerds of brode clothe and to every of the oder
 15 twelve a gowne and hode redy made ∞ conteynyng thre yerde of brode clothe
 every yerde therof to be of the value of thre shelynge and every of the said
 gownes to be lyned with blake ffryse and a scochyn to be made and sette upon
 every of the said gownes and a redde rose crowned and embrodered therupon of
 the ∞ price of twenty pens to be sette on the lefte shulder of every suche ~ gowne
 20 And also fynde thre honest and sadde women to dresse their mete and kepe them
 in thair siknesse and to geve and pay in ~ every weke on every Satreday to every
 of the said thre women for their wage and labour sixtene pens and every yere to
 every of them a gowne

CCR, pp.152-53.

62v: Almsmen fuel provisions and the monk with the oversight.

redy made And also shall delyver or cause to be delyverd to the said thretene
 poure men yerely foure score quarters of good chair coles and a thousande of
 good ffagotte to their owne uses that is to sey fortye ∞ quarters of the said coles
 and five hundredth of the said ffagotte yerely in the weke next before the fest of
 5 all Seynte And other forty quarters of ∞ Coles and fyve hundredth ffagotte in the
 weke next before the fest of the Nativite of oure lorde Jhesu Criste for their comen
 expenses in the hall ~ and kechyn of their mansion And also that the same Abbot
 Priour and Convent and their successours shall alweyes ordeyne depute and cause
 a sadde and discrete monke of the said monastery to have the ~ ruele and
 10 oversight of the said thretene poure men and to see that ∞ they and every of them
 shall sey that is to sey the preste such masses suffrage prayers and divine services
 and the other twelve suche ∞ prayers and observance And also shall kepe all
 suche ruelles and ordinance as be appoynted by the saide kyng oure soverayne
 lorde and in these Indentures expressed wherupon the said kyng oure ∞
 15 soverayne lorde to the pleasure of Almighty god and for the encrease of the merite
 of his soule by the mediation of good prayers and good lyvyng of the saide
 thretene pore men And for the good ordering of~ them perpetually to be kept and
 contynned maketh ordeyneth and establisseth his ordinance in that behalf in
 20 suche fourme as hereafter ensueth First the said kyng oure soverayne lorde by
 these ∞ presente ordeyneth and establisseth that the said thretene poure men and
 every of them shalbe of good and vertouse disposicion and compacion and to be
 named and chosen in fourme afore rehersed and that they ∞ and every of them
 immediately before they shalbe admitted to ∞

CCR, pp. 152-55.

63r: Almsmen swear an oath to observe rules of almshouse and to keep prayers services. The bell hung in the almshouse chapel and the order and time for ringing the bell.

the said Almesse shall make solempne othe upon the holy evangeliste before the Abbot or Pryour of the saide monastery and the monke that for the tyme shall have the ruele of the same pore men in the Chapell of the said Almshouse and all the oder saide pore men then beyng present that they shall truely observe and kepe all the statute and ordinannc^e ensuyng and shall contynually abide and be resident in the said Almeshouse and doo [∞] sey observe and kepe that is to sey every of theym that shalbe prest shall sey all suche masses prayers suffrage and divnie service and the oder twelve all suche prayers observannc^e and cerimonies in the churche of the said monastery and within the precyncte of the said monastery and in the said Almeshouse in suche maner fourme ordre tymes and places as hereafter doth ensue and to be obedient to the Abbot and Priour of the saide monastery for the tyme beyng and to the monke that shall have the ruele of theym in every behalf And shall also truely observe and ~ kepe all suche ordinannc^e as hereafter shalbe made by the said Abbot and Priour or every of their successours for the good order^{yng} of the same thretene pore men by reason of thes statute of ordinannc^e made by the said kyng oure soverayne lorde Item where as oure said soverayne lorde the kyng hath provided and ordeyned and caused to be hanged a bell in the Chapell of the said Almeshouse the same kyng oure soverayne lorde ordeyneth and establisseth that oon of the said thretene pore men begynnyng at the youngest of theym in his admission and soo astendyng upward to the eldest of theym in admission shall ryng^e~ the said bell everyday duryng oon weke and to begynne at the houre of sixe of the clok before none and then to ryng by the space of half a ~ quarter of an houre at the best to warne all the residue of the same

63v: Daily schedule of prayers and services the almsmen were to participate. The ringing of the bell to remind the men to attend services. Order in which they were to enter their chapel.

thretene pore men to ryse and make theym redy to come to the said Chapell And also shall ryng the same bell agen at the half houre before the houre of seven contynnyng the same rynging by the space of half a quarter ~ of an houre at the lest to gyve theym warnyng to come unto the said Chapell And that all the same pore men shall come and be in the same Chapell before the same bell shall cesse And if it shall fortune eny of ~ the said pore men to be seke or have every oder lauffull impediment wherby he shall not mowe to ryng the said bell at his tor^{ne} that then the [∞] next pore man in ordre that then shalbe able so to do shall ryng the said bell at the said tymes before rehersed And that the same [∞] poure man whiche ought to ryng the same bell as in his tor^{ne} shall paye to hym of the same pore men that shall so ryng the said bell for hym a halfpeny for every day of his salarye Item our said soverayne lorde the kyng ordeyneth and establisseth that every of [∞] the said thretene pore men so assembeled in the said Chapell shall every day whill the worlde shall endure at ther first assemble within the said Chapell there knele downe on their knees and then callyng to their myndes and remembrance the passion of oure lord Jhesu Criste oure sayvour sahlly devoutely in the honore of hym sey for the god (good) and [∞] prosperous estate of the said

kyng oure soverayne lorde kyng Henry the seventh duryng his lif and the prosperite of this his realme And for the soules of the moost excellent Princesse
20 Elizabeth late Quene of Englande his wif and of their children and their issue And for the ∞ soule of the noble Prince Edmund late Erle of Richemount (Richmond) fader to the said kyng oure soverayne lorde and for the soule of the excellent Princesse Margaret Countesse of Richemount (Richmond) and Derby moder to ∞

CCR, p.152.

64r: Number, time, and types of prayers to be said by the almsmen in their chapel and around the King's tomb.

the same kyng oure soverayne lorde after hir decease And for the soule of ∞ the said kyng oure soverayne lorde after his decease And for the soules~ afore rehersed and for all cristen soules fyve Pater nosters fyve Avees and oon Crede and then departe and goo from thens togedir in ordre by two and two the yongest
5 of theym in admission to goo before and the oder to ∞ folowe after the age of their admission and the prest to goo behynde into~ the saide churche unto the Tombe and Aultier there provided and sette by the saide kyng oure soverayne lorde undre the lantern place in the same churche for thre daily Channtry masses there to be said for the said kyng oure soverayne lorde till the said Chapell of oure lady in
10 the said monastery which oure said soverayn lorde the kyng hath nowe begonne be fully edified and bylded at the coste and charges of oure ∞ said soverayne lorde the kyng or his executors And a tombe there made fore thenternment of his body and closure of metall in maner of a Chapell made theraboute and an Aultier enclosed within the same for the said thre Channtrye masses there daily to be
15 saide for the said kyng oure soverayne lorde perpetually from thenfforth whill the world shall endure And that all the same pore men shalbe at the some herse ∞ or Tombe before seven of the klok and before the first of the saide thre ∞ Channtry masses shall begynne and sixe of theym to knele or sitte on the oon side of the said herse or Tombe and the other sixe to knele or sitte on the oder side of the
20 said herse or Tombe and the prest to knele or sitte at the west ende of the same herse or Tombe to have speciall respecte and regarde of their demeanors And the same prest and ∞ pore men shall there soo contynue in prayer from the begynnyng of the same first masse unto the tyme the secunde masse of the saide

64v: Prayer services to be attended and said by almsmen and what the men were to do in case of sickness.

thre channtrye masses shalbe finisshed and ended and that the said prest shall daily at the begynnyng of the said first masse there begyn to sey matens of the day and so contynue till he have seid matens prime and houres and every of the other twelve in the tyme of the firste ∞ Channtrye masse to saye the hoole saultier
5 of oure lady And also as meny of the said other twelve as can soo doo shall at the begynnyng of the said secunde masse begyn to sey two and two to theym togeder the seven psalmes and so contynue till they have saide the seven ∞ psalmes and lateny and the residue of the said thretene pore men that cannot sey the seven psalmes and the lateny shall sey in the tyme ~ of the said secunde Channtrye masse
10 the hoole saulter of oure lady with suche other prayers and or acions as ther devotion shall moeve theym unto for the good and prosperous estate of oure said

soverayne lord the kyng duryng his lif and for the soules afore rehersed And after
 his decease for the soule of the said kyng oure soverayne lorde and for the other
 soules afore rehersed and all cristen soules *Item* that every of the saide thretene
 15 pore men that may not for impotency and siknesse shewed and knowen as is
 aforesaid be at the said two masses shall in the tyme of every of the same masses
 sey in the said Chapell if he may soo doo or els within the precyncte of the saide
 Almeshouse the all like prayers as be afore rehersed with suche ∞ other prayers as
 his devotion shall move hym unto specially ∞ and principally for the prosperite of
 20 the said kyng oure soverayn lorde duryng his lif and the other soules before
 rehersed and for the soule of the same kyng oure soverayne lorde after his decease
 and for the oder soules afore rehersed and all cristen soules And

65r: What almsmen were to do between masses. The weekly high mass scheduel of prayers with an additional prayer for the King.

after the same secunde masse fynysshed then all the saide pore men beyng in the
 said churche to be at their libertie there to abide or to retorne to ∞ the said
 Almeshouse and there to be occupied in vertue and good maner till the high masse
 in the said monastery shall begynne *Item* it is ∞ ordeyned and established by the
 5 said kyng oure soverayne lorde that the prest oon of the said thretene pore men
 shall dispose hymself to say masse everyday And that he in everyday that he is
 desposed shall at the houre of nyne of the clok at the Aultier before the said herse
 or tombe sey masse that is to sey in the Sondag the masse of the holy spirute
 Monday of Angelle Tuysday of the holy gost Wednnsday Salus populi Thursday
 10 de ∞ corpore cristi ffryday of Jhesu and Satreday of the Comemioracion of oure
 lady And that the same prest in every suche masse shall durnig the lif of the saide
 kyng oure Soverayne lorde sey for the good and prosperice estate of the same
 kyng oure Soverayne lorde and prosperice of his realme this collecte *Quesumus*
 omnipotens et misericors deus ut rex et fundator noster Henricus ∞ Septimus qui
 15 tua miseracione regni suscepit gubernacula virtutum omnium percipiat
 incrementa quibus decenter oranatus viciorum voraginem devitare corporis
 incolumitate gaudere hostes superare et in tranquilla pace dum in ∞ humanis aget
 tam feliciter sua tempora possit¹² pertransire ut post hujus vite decursum ad te qui
 via veritas et vita es graciosus valeat pervenire with this secrete *Munera*
 20 *quesumus* domine oblata sancti fica ut nobis unigeniti tui corpus et sangius fiant
 et famulo tuo Henrico Septimo regi et ∞ fundatori nostro ad optimendam anime
 corporis^{que} salutem et

65v: Continuation of additional prayers to be said at high mass.

ad peragendum in firma fide et solida pace injuctum sibi officium te largiente
 usque^{que} proficiant and with this post comyn *hec* domine salutaris
 sacramenti percepcio famulu tuum Henricum Septimum regem et fndatorem
 nostrum ad omnibus *quesumus* ~ tueatur adversis quatenus diuturnam et
 5 prosperam vitam in tranquillitate eccesiastice pacis optineat et post hujus vite ∞
 decursum ad eternam beatitudinem tua gracia cooperante perveniat And after the
 said colect of *Quesumus* omnipotens deus et to sey at every of the saide masses

for the soule of the said Quene this ∞ colecte Inclua domune aurem tuam ad
 preces nostras quibus miam tuam supplices deprecamur ut ammam familie tue
 Elizabeth nuper Regine Anglie consortis Henrici septium regis et fundatoria
 10 nostri quam de hoc seculo nigrare nissisti in pacis ac lucis regione constituas et
scorum tuorum nibeas esse consortem with this secrete Ammam familie tue
 Elizabeth nuper regnie Anglie cnsortis Henrici septium regis et fundatoris ∞ nostri
 ab omnibus vicus et peccatis humane condicois quesumum domune hec absoluat
 oblacio que tibi miniolata totuis unundi tulit peccata And with this post comyn
 15 Amuie nobis ~ domine ut amuia familie tue Elizabeth nuper rgnie Anglie ~
 consortis Henrici septium regis et fundatoris nostri remissione quam optamt
 mereatur precipere peccatorum And after the saide collecte of Inclua domine
 aurem tuam et seyed for the soule of ∞ the said Quene then to sey for the soule of
 the said noble Prince Edmond late Erle of Richmond fader to the said kyng oure
 20 ~ Soverayn lorde and the soules of the other Ancestours and

70v: Grace to be said in hall before and after dinner by the almsmen. Ringing of the bell for Evensong. Prayers to be said in their chapel before Evensong in the Abbey. Order of seating around the tomb in Abbey.

sey grace after the use of the churche of Salisbury and name diatly after every
 suche dyner and grace shall sey and helpe to sey openly the said psalme of De
 profundis clamavi with the saide oracions and speciall collecte and speciall
 prayers at thende therof as is afore rehersed to be seid at the same psalme aswell
 5 in the lif of the said kyng oure Soverayne lord as after his decease Item that oon of
 the said thretene pore men shall in like wise as is afore rehersed begynne to ∞
 ryng the said bell of the said almshouse at half an houre befor the begynnyng of
 Evynsong in the said monastery and so to ∞ contynue rynging by the space of half
 a quarter of an houre at the lest to gene the said oder pore men warnyng to come
 10 into the saide Chapell before the same bell shall sease and there knelyng on their
 knees and then callyng to their remembrance the passion of oure lorde Jhesu
 criste our savyour shall in the honour of hym and for the good and prosperous
 estate of our said Soverayne lord the kyng duryng his lif and for the soules afore
 rehersed And after the decease of the same kyng oure ∞ Soverayne lord then for
 15 his soule and the soules afore rehersed and all cristen soules to sey fyve pater
 nosters fyne Aves and oon Crede and goo from thens to evensong everyday in
 suche fourme and ordre as is afore rehersed And to be at every begynnyng of
 every suche evensong And then the same pore men knelyng or sittyng aboute the
 said herse or Tombe in fourme afore rehersed the saide prest shall then begynne
 20 and sey evensong or complyon of the day And the saide other

71r: Almsmen's positions around the tomb before Evensong and prayers to be said before the service and what to do in case of sickness.

pore me then knelyng or sittynge aboute the saide herse or ∞ Tombe shall sey
fyvetene pater nosters fyvetene Aves and thre Crede with suche other prayers as
their devotion shall ∞ move theym unto for the prosperous estate of the said kyng
oure Soverayne lorde duryng his lif and for the soules afore rehersed and for the
5 soule of the same kyngoure Soverayne lorde after his decease and the other soules
afore rehersed and all cristen ∞ soules And as often as Placebo Dirige and masse
of Requiem ∞ shalbe songen in the saide monastery at every of the said wekely ∞
obites or Anniversaries of the fundacion of oure seid soverayn lord the kyng All
the same thretene pore men that shall not be letted by impotency and siknes shall
10 there be and there contynue duryng all the tyme of all the service therof and in the
same tyme of ∞ Placebo and Dirige every of theym that is to sey as many of
theym as can so doo shall devoutely there sey two and two of theym ∞ togider
Placebo Dirige and laudes And the residue of theym the hole saulter of oure lady
and in the tyme of the said masse of ∞ Requiem every of theym to sey also the
15 hole saulter of oure lady for the prosperite of oure seid Soverayne lorde the kyng
duryng his lif and the soules afore rehersed and for the soule of the same kyng
oure Soverayne lorde after his decease and the ∞ soules afore rehersed and all
cristen soules And after every such Placebo Dirige and laudes And also after
every of the saide ∞ evensonge finisshed as often as there shalbe there no suche
20 Placebo Dirige and laudes All the same pore men aboute the said herse or Tombe
shall daily whill the worlde shall endure devoutely sey

71v: Prayers to be said around the tomb before and after Evensong. Last prayer sevice held in almsmen's chapel before men retire to their rooms for bed.

the said psalme of De profundis clamavi with the said oracions accustomed
therunto and with the speciall collecte afore ∞ rehersed and with all like
exortacion of prayer to be seid and made before the same psalme of De profundis
and after as is afore rehersed for the prosperite of the saide kyngoure soverayn
5 lord duryng his lif and for the soules afore rehersed And for the soule of the same
kyngoure Soverayne lorde after ∞ his decease and for the oder soules afore seid
and all cristen soules and then immediatly all the saide pore men shall goo from
thens togedir unto the said Almshouse in such a maner fourme and ordre as is
afore rehersed Item the saide kyngoure Soverayne lord ordeyneth and
10 establissheth that as meny of the saide poremen as may not for impotency and
siknesse shewed and knowen as is aforesaid be at the saide Evensonge and Dirige
and masse of Requiem shall in the tyme of every suche evensonge sey within the
said almshouse ∞ fyvetene Pater nosters fyvetene Aves and thre Crede and in
the tyme of Diriges sey Placebo and Dirige if they can so doo and they that
15 cannot so doo shall sey the holy saulter of oure blisshed lady and in the tyme of
masse of Requiem shall sey also the holy saulter of oure lady Item the said kyng
oure Soverayne lord ordeyneth and establissheth by ∞ these presente that oon of
the said pore men as his torne shall fall in suche fourme as is above rehersed shall
wekely every night at half houre before seven of the clokke at after none ryng the
20 said bell of the said Chapell and countynue the ryngyng

72r: Last prayer in chapel before bed and what to do in case of sickness.

thereof by the space of half a quarter of an houre at the lest to gif all the said pore men warnyng to come into the same Chapell And that all the said pore men as shall not be lette with siknesse and infirmite shewed and knowen as is aforeseid shall come and be in the same Chapell before the same bell shall cesse and then

5 and there the pore men then beyng in the same Chapell shall devoutly soberly ∞ and distinctly with an audible voice that may be openly herde devoutely sey the Antem of oure lady called ∞ Salve regina with a convenient pause at thende of every verse with all the preces and collecte duryng the lif of oure said Soverayne lorde the kyng as herafter ensueth Salve regina mater none vite dulcedo et spes

10 nostra salve ad te clama mus exules filii eve ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lachriman valle eva ergo aduocata nostra illos tuos ∞ misericordes oculos ad nos coverte et Jhesum benedictum fructus ventris tui nobis post hoc exilium ostende O clemens O pia O dulis maria Virgo mater ecclie eterna porta ∞ glorie esto nobis refugium apud patrem et filium O clemens virgo clemens virgo pia virgo Dulcis O maria exaudi preces omni ad te pie clamancuis Apud funde

15 preces tuo nato ∞ crucifixo vulerato et pro nobis flagellato spuus puucto felle potato Odulcis gloriosa dei mater cuius natus extat pater ora pro nobis omnibus qui tuam memoriam agmuis O maria dele culpas cuiserorum terege sordes peccatorum dona nobis beatorum vitam tuis precibus Omitis ut nos salvat a peccatis pro amore sue matris et ad regnum claritatis

74r: The appointment of steward of the almsmen, weekly payment, and food provisions to the men and women. No man to wander from the almshouse without permission.

the same thretene pore men exceptyng always the prest of theym shalbe steward wekely to the residue of the same pore men and the thre poure women the eldest of the same pore men in his admission to the said almesse excepte that he shalbe letted by ∞ siknesse to begynne and take uppon hym the said office of steward

5 ship the first weke And if he be seke then the next of the same ∞ pore men after there seniorite in their admission shalbe steward for the same weke And after that every of theym oon after ∞ an oder after their seniorite in their admission to the same ∞ Almesse shall so contynue wekely for ever And that there shalbe paid wekely every Thursday immediatly after dyner and the grace seid at the same

10 dynner to the same steward for themporions and provisions of brede ale and oder vitaille for ∞ the said pore men and women for the same weke by every of the same pore men seven pens halfpeny and by every of the said pore women sixe pens And to thentent that the same thretene pore men shall not for any light causes be wandering or ∞ goyng forthe oute of the precincte of the said monastery and

15 ∞ Almshouse The kyng oure said Soverayne lord in like wise ∞ ordeyneth and establissheth that nether the said steward nor noon other of the same pore men shall take uppon hymn ne in any wise be suffered to bye or provide bred ale or oder vitalle for theym but that oon of the same thre pore women begynnyng at the eldest of theym in admission to the said Almesse except she be letted by siknesse

20 and if she be seke the begynnyng at the next of the same thre pore women after their seniorite

74v: Appointment of caterer from the almswomen and duties of providing food and ale for the men. When the caterer was to receive weekly payments towards food from the steward. The amount to be spent on these provisions and what they were to eat weekly.

And after that oon of theym after oder destendyng after their ∞ seniorite in their admission shall wekely be cater for the saide pore men and women and bye provide for theym brede ale and oder vitalle and cates And that the said money that shalbe receyved the said Thursday by the said steward for the next weke
5 folowyng shalbe delyverd by parcels from day to day as themportions of brede ale and vitaille shall require to the same pore women to whom their torne shall fall to be cater for the same weke ~ folowyng And oure saide soverayne lord in like wise ordeyneth and establissheth that every of the same pore men be ∞ served at every dyner with a ferthyng lofe a quarte of ale price the ferthyng with as moche of
10 cates flesshe or fissue as the season shall require as shall coste and be worthe an halfpeny and that there shall sytte foure of the same pore men atte lest at a melle Also the said pore women shall provide and make good and holsome potagies for the said pore men and their self and serve every of theym at their dyner with oon melle of the same potage and for the performyng and seasonyng of the same
15 potagies she that shalbe cater for the weke shall bye asmoche ottemell as shalbe worthe thre halfpens and as moche of salt as shalbe worthe a peny And when they shalbe served with saltfisse or heryng they shalbe served with musterd for the provision wherof the said cater shalbe wekely allowed a peny All whiche particular somes of money to be employd uppon their brede ale and vitalle as
20 before is rehersed amounteth wekely in the hole to the some of nyne shelynge seven pens helfpeny which is wekely for every of

CCR, p.153.

75r: Money spent on food provisions. If the men require more food or are sick.

the said thretene pore men seven pens halfpeny and for every of the said thre pore women sixe pens accordyng to the said some ~ delyverd to the said steward the forseid Thursday after dyner Also for asmoche as it is thought that the said pore men by cause of their great Sondry ages shall not be all of like disposition and
5 appetite to their soppers The kyng oure seid soverayn lorde in like wise ∞ ordeyneth and establissheth that every of the said pore men shall have provided and brought unto his chamber by the said cater ∞ for the tyme being oon potte of ale of suche mesure and price and asmoche brede as the said pore men or any of theym shall lyste ∞ resonably to name and appoynt the same brede and ale to
10 remayne in their chambers to serve theym for their soppers and drynkinge besides their dyner And in like wise the same cater for the tyme beyng shall wekely bye and purvey all suche cates for every of the said pore men for their seid soppers as every of theym shall resonably lyst to appoynte and none oder wise but if the same pore men and every of theym that woll desire the said cater to bye and
15 provide for theym or any of theym the said potte of ale brede and achates for their soppers and beverage do delyver to the same cater before hande asmoche redy money as shall serve for ∞ themportions and provisions of the same pottes of ale brede and achates Also the said kyng oure Soverayne lord in likewise ordeyneth and establissheth that the said thre pore women shall as often as it shall nede

20 wasse the drapry of the said Almeshouse and the clothes of the said thretene pore men make their beddes kepe theym in their siknesse dresse their mete aswell for their

CCR, p. 153.

75v: Dinner in the common hall and sopper in their chambers. Payments to the baker and brewer. Almsmen were to be provided drapery, basins, ewers, and other stuff and utincels for common hall, buttery, pantry, ewery, kitchen, larder, laundry.

dyners as soppers and serve theym with the same that is to sey for their dyner in their commune hall and for their soppers in ∞ their chambers under the maner and fourme before rehersed ~ Provided always that suche of the said pore men as for siknesse or oder impotencie may not come into the hall to dyner be served by the

5 said pore women in their chambers for their ∞ dyner with like porcion of bred ale potagies and achates that other of the company be served within the said comun hall Item it is in likewise ordeyned and establissed that the monke havynge the ruele of the said pore men and women shall cause the baker and bakers brewer and brewers that shall serve the said pore men and women of brede and ale

10 continually oons within ∞ fyvetene days atte farrest to be truely and hooly content and~ payed by the said cater for the tyme beyng of all suche somes of money as then shalbe dewe to theym for the said brede and ale Item where also oure saide Soverayne lord the kyng at his costes and charges hath cause to be purveid and delyverd to the said thretene pore men sufficient drapry basens ewers and oder

15 stuffe and utensils for their bordes in their comune hall and also their botry pantry ewery kechyn larder and ∞ lavendry as by Indenture therof made betwene the monke havynge the ruele and oversight of the same pore men on the oon partie and the priest oon of the same pore men and ----- an other of theym and eldest of theym in admission to the said Almesse on the other partie playnly appereth Oure

20 seid ~ Soverayne lord willeth and ordeyneth that the thre pore women

CCR, p. 153.

76r: Poor women to keep and look after these belongings. Every quarter to renew if needed with moneys and possessions left by deceased almsmen. These moneys were to be stored in a common chest located in the chapel which would have been bound with iron locks with three keys. Allocation of chest keys.

shalhave the ruele and keyng of all the said drapry stuffe and utensils and geve accounte for the same to the same pore men before the monke then havyne the ruele and oversight of theym atte lest at every ende of every quarter of the yere Item for the mayntenences repairyng and renewyng of the said drapry stuffe and

5 utensille as often as nede shall require The saide kyng oure Soverayne lord ordeyneth and establisseth that every pore man and pore women admtyted into the said Almeshouse shall leve all suche goode to the said Almeshouse as it shall happen hym to have then benig oon of the same Almesmen the tyme of his decease without any testament or any last wille makynge or gevyng away the same

10 goode or any parcell~ therof And furthermore oure seid Soverayne lord hath
caused to be provided and fast sette within the Chapell of his seid almeshouse oon
boxe surely bounded with iron lokked with thre keys one of ∞ the same keys to
remayne with the Priour of the said monastery the secunde keye with the monke
havng the ruele of the said thretene pore men And the thirddde with the prest oon
15 of them to thentent that as often as any of the said thretene pore men decease the
goode of every of them so deceasing after the resonable expenses for their
funeralle don shalbe solde by the prest beyng oon of them and ∞ oone of the said
thretene pore men therto to be named by the ∞ remanent of the same pore men or
the more parte of them by the oversight and comptrolment of the monke havng
20 the ruele of them And the money receyved and taken for the same goode ∞ furth
with upon the receipte therof to be putte into the saide ∞ boxe and the said
drapery and stufte and utensille as often~

CCR, pp. 153-54.

**76v: Moneys in chest allocated for the repar of drapery and utincels. License
required for almsmen to leave the house. All agree to rules and regulations
upon admission into almshouse.**

as nede shall require to be repaired and renued with the same money by the same
persones that be appoynted for the sale of the saide goode And that no parte of the
said money be in any wise converted to any other use then is before rehersed Item
the kyng oure Soverayne lorde ordeyneth and establissheth that none of ~ the
5 saide thretene pore men goo furthe oute of the precincte of the said monastery for
any maner of cause but if the same cause be before shewed to the monke havng
the ruele and oversight of them and approved by hym and thereupon licence
geven by the same ∞ monke to hym of the pore men that shalhave such cause ∞ In
witnessse of all whiche premisses and every of ∞ them and that all the same
10 premisses and every of them be by the said parties fully and perfutely agreed
accorded and ∞ concluded the said kyng oure Soverayne lorde to the oon parte of
these Indentures remaynyng with the said Abbot Priour and Convent hath sette
his great seale and to the other parte of these Indentures remaynyng with the said
kyng oure soverayn lorde the said Abbot Priour and Convent have sette their
15 comen seale the day yere aboveseid

CCR, p.154.

Appendix

ii. A Comparison of the Almshouse Statutes

*The information for this table has been taken from BL, Harley MS 1498, Jean Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington*, pp. 107-121, and John Goodall, *God's House Ewelme*, pp. 223-55.

	Richard and Alice Whittington c.1424	William and Alice de la Pole c.1437	Henry VII c.1502
	God's House or Hospital of Richard Whittington	God's House	Royal Almshouse
Where	London	Ewelme	Westminster Abbey
Type	Chantryhospital	Chantry	Chantry
MonkPriest		2 priests (master and teacher)	1 monk from the Abbey for oversight. Lived in the Abbey. 1 priest to live amongst the men.
Almsmen	13 poor folks	13 men	12 men
Almswomen	Took in both sexes	0	3
Appointment	Richard Whittington and his executors and after that the Mayor of the City of London or keepers of the city shall oversee along with the Mercers company. *A new tutor or almsfolk to be appointed within twenty days of absence by death or removal.	The founders Alice and William de la Pole and their progenitors or the lord and lady of Ewelme. Places must be filled within a month of the death or leaving of an almsman.	The King and Abbot of Westminster. When Abbot away the Prior was responsible for electing a new almsman within eight days of the absent almsman's place.
Qualifications	Tutor: Set an example of virtue and cleanliness for the other almsfolks. Almsfolks: needy and devote poor folks of good conversation and honesty. * Meek of spirit and destitute of temporal goods. *Chaste in body and name. *Preference will be	Master: the first priest of the almshouse. He was responsibility for the temporal possessions of the almshouse and was to be of unimpeachable personal qualities. He should also be a learned man from Oxford University and over thirty. Teacher: Did not have to be an Oxford student but was to be highly qualified	Priest: Above the age of forty-five a good grammarian, widowed or unmarried and of good name and able to lead the men in prayers. Almsmen: fifty and above, widowed, served the crown or have lived within the local area or precinct, and able to sing the mass especially the psalm <i>De profundis clamavi</i> . Almswomen: fifty and above, sad and honest woman of good name and fame and of good

	<p>given to craftspeople of mercers or livery men or any other crafts people of the city or from Whittington's College.</p> <p>*If and when a Tutor leaves by death or removal his position could be filled by a qualified almsman.</p> <p>*No person income over five mark or else he will be ejected.</p>	<p>to teach grammar. He was also required to lead the men in prayers when the Master was away or ill.</p> <p>Minister: one of the poor men.</p> <p>Almsmen: clean and gracious poor men. Poor in temporal goods and meek in spirit, unable to support themselves. Men who have been tenants in Ewelme in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, along with men broken in service to the de la Pole family, or men from the manors belonging to the almshouse shall be given preference in appointments.</p> <p>*No age was required or specified other than for the priest.</p> <p>*If an almsman received a private income over six marks a year they would be replaced.</p>	<p>conversation.</p> <p>Monk: good and honest monk from the Abbey.</p> <p>*No one was allowed an outside income, nor were their personal income to be over £4 per annum apart from the priest.</p>
Oversight	<p>Tutor: oversee the goods of the almshouse and enforce charity and peace among the inmates.</p>	<p>The de la Pole family or the lord and lady of Ewelme.</p> <p>Master: chief authority of the foundation and whose decisions must defer.</p> <p>Teacher: is to be master's substitute when master is gone, saying the Divine Services.</p> <p>Minister: responsible for presenting any faults of the other almsmen to the master.</p>	<p>King: Oversaw the entire memorial and appointments.</p> <p>Abbot: of Westminster to oversee the monk and to help appoint new almsfolks.</p> <p>Monk: from the Abbey to oversee the priest and almsmen.</p> <p>Priest: oversight of the almshouse and men</p> <p>Steward: appointed weekly amongst the almsmen. To oversee the other men.</p> <p>Caterer: one of the three women who was appointed weekly and headed the duties of the women for that week.</p>

<p>Provisions</p>	<p>Houses: Tutor and almsfolk free individual dwellings with lights windows, gutters waterfalls, chimneys, privy well and furnishings. Dress: dark brown colored cloth.</p> <p>A garden.</p>	<p>Master: his own chamber, hall, kitchen and garden within the precinct of the almshouses. He was provided a bed and furnishings. Teacher: his own chamber, hall, kitchen and garden within the precinct of the almshouses. He was provided a bed and furnishings. Almsmen: a little house or cell or chamber with chimney where they can eat and drink by themselves and rest, contemplate and pray. Their houses would have a bed and light furnishings. Dress: each man was given a gown, tabard and hood with a red cross sewn on it.</p> <p>A garden.</p>	<p>Fuel: 80 quarters of good coals and 1000 good faggots. Gowns: Each almsman, priest and almswoman were given a gown which total known cost for all per annum was £8, not including the fur lining which would bring the cost up significantly. Food: each man and woman was provided with food at the total yearly cost of £25 0s. 6d. House: each man had his own house with two rooms, fireplace and a private privy. *It is not stated in the indentures where the women or priest would have lived, but according to later sources the priest had his own house within the almshouse grounds and the women lived in the eastern building above the kitchen and other auxiliary rooms. *They were provided a bed and light furnishings and sufficient ‘napery’, basins, ewers, and other stuff, and utensils. They also had a Buttery, Pantry, ‘Ewery’, Larder, Laundry, Barn, Stable, Hall, Kitchen and 2 Gardens.</p>
<p>Payments</p>	<p>Tutor: 16d. a week to total £3 9s. 4d. per annum. Almsmen: 14d. or 1s. 2d. weekly to total £3 0s. 8d. per annum. Estimated total spent on wages per annum: £45 1s. 4d.</p>	<p>Master: £10 per annum plus expenses paid for while away on almshouse duties. In order to attract a learned man from Oxford University, the master is allowed to enjoy the income of another benefice or prebend as long as it does not interfere with his duties at God’s House. Teacher: £10 per annum. In order to attract the best man the teacher was also allowed another income as long as it did not</p>	<p>Monk: 40s. per annum or £2. Almswomen: 16d. a week total so about 5d. a week each to total £1 2s. 11d. per woman per annum. To total £3 8s. 9d. per annum. Almsmen: 2½ d. a day to total 1s. 5½d. per week, but were given money on special anniversaries; their total income after all payments would have been nearly £4 per annum. Priest: 4d. a day and including anniversaries would have made over £6 per annum. Estimated total spent on</p>

		interfere with his work with the school and almshouse. Minister: £3 9s. 4d. per annum Almsmen: 14d. weekly or £3 0s. 8d. per annum. Estimated total spent on wages per annum: £64 12s. 8d.	wages per annum: £60
Religious Obligations	*Attend matins, mass and Evensong at the College Church.	*No man should be absent from any of the prayer services withing their chapel unless for good reason and consent from the master. *Wages docked if they are late to services and if an almsman was absent without permission then he would lose his wages in proportion to the crime as seen fit by the master.	*Must attend all religious services in their own chapel and in the Abbey and if absent they must have permission from the priest. Absence was only allowed if an almsman was too ill to participate.
Leaving the Almshouse	*Must seek permission to leave almshouse for any reason or length of time. *Even with license an almsfolk cannot be gone more than twelve days total a year. *If an almshouse is vacant for more than fifteen days a new inmate will be installed. *No poor person other than the Tutor be out at night in the City or suburbs without reasonable cause.	*If an almsman left for more than a quarter of a year he would lose his place.	*Almsmen were not allowed to leave the almshouse and if so needed to get a licence.
General Rules	*Tutor and almsfolks maintain their cells and live peaceably and quietly and do not disturb his/her fellow inmates.	*The almsmen were not to roam around the parish or leave the almshouse for more than an hour without seeking the permission of the master,	*Yearly within the Abbey two days after the anniversary (13 February before Henry's death and 13 May after) the abstract indentures shall be read aloud. *Two tables of the indentures

	<p>*Occupy themselves in prayer or in labour of their hands or in some honest occupation.</p> <p>*Able bodied, especially the women, must help the other inmates.</p> <p>*No begging.</p> <p>*No person income over five mark or else he will be ejected.</p> <p>*If any person of the said house comes into one larger sum above five marks then it will be divided equally, one half placed in the common chest and the other with the almsman.</p> <p>*No drunk gluttony or haunting taverns, or be unchaste of body walking or gasing in the Streets of the City or Suburbs day or night. Nor them participating in any defaming or evil vices.</p> <p>*Must not destroy the houses or goods of the almshouse.</p> <p>*Rules to be read out aloud every quarter of the year and a copy will be provided so that the Tutor and almsfolks can read them at their leisure.</p>	<p>nor were they to involve themselves with quarrels or misconduct inside or outside the almshouse precinct.</p> <p>* If absent more than an hour, even with permission, they would receive no wages. *The men must always wear their habit to church.</p> <p>*They must live peacefully and not disturb one another.</p> <p>*They must avoid wrangling, chiding, and evil living. They must be discreet and not gossip and be satisfied with their stipend and not beg or perform manual labour or take services for money.</p> <p>*They must not foul the building, keep their own space clean and the common space clean, or else they could lose their wages.</p> <p>*They shall help one another especially the able bodied.</p> <p>*No women in chambers.</p> <p>*If an almsman received a private income over six marks a year they would be replaced.</p> <p>*If a man receives a single sum exceeding five marks it shall be divided in two and one half going to the common chest the other to the almsman.</p> <p>*The almshouse was not to fall into decay and that everyone was responsible for its upkeep.</p> <p>*Rules to be read by one of the priest to the almsmen at least three</p>	<p>were to be made and placed in the chapel of the almshouse and in the Lady Chapel and these were to be renewed at least twice a year or many times as required and the almsmen were to swear an oath upon the gospels to observe the ordinances.</p>
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		<p>times a year and that each month a few rules be chosen and read aloud by one of the priests.</p> <p>*There must be a copy of the statutes so that the almsmen can read at the leisure.</p>	
Daily Routine	<p>Attend matins, mass and Evensong.</p> <p>*Pray for the founder's soul when they rise and before they go to bed. One <i>Pater Noster</i> and an <i>Ave Maria</i>.</p> <p>*In their free time between masses say three or two <i>Psalters of Our Lady</i>, one <i>Ave Maria</i>, fifteen <i>Pater Noster</i>, and three <i>Creeds</i>.</p> <p>*Gather round the tomb of Richard Whittington and say <i>De profundis</i>, three <i>Pater Noster</i>, three <i>Ave Maria</i>, and one <i>Creed</i>.</p>	<p>Pray beside their beds when they get up. (3 <i>Paters</i>, 3 <i>Ave's</i>, 3 <i>Creeds</i>) The master is to say <i>Deus Misereatur</i>.</p> <p>Common bell rung soon after six o'clock to warn the men for Matins. The men array themselves in their habits and proceed to church by the second bell. They then attend Matins, Prime and other Canonical Hours. At three o'clock after two more peals on the bell the men attend Evensong and remain there until Compline, except for Lent. They had a very strict prayer regime throughout the day which continued on and off up until six o'clock when they would say fifteen <i>Ave's</i> and then they would retire.</p>	<p>Attend chapel in the morning at six thirty and three masses during the morning. One at seven, one at eight, and the the final mass at nine. They were then to eat dinner together, dinner, and then attend Evensong at three o'clock. They were then allowed to remain in their rooms until evening chapel at six o'clock and then to return to their almshouses for the night.</p>
Duties	<p>Tutor: oversight of the almsfolks.</p> <p>*Take an inventory</p> <p>Almsfolks: obey the Tutor.</p> <p>*All to attend daily matins in the College Church, mass and Evensong.</p> <p>*Pray for the souls of the founders.</p>	<p>Priests: Daily pray for the living and dead for their patrons de la Pole family.</p> <p>Master: was responsible for the Christian life of the foundation. Any almshouse business sometimes away. At nine o'clock say Mass in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. On Holy Days he is to say Matins and Evensong in the chancel with the parish priest.</p>	<p>Steward: Once a week a steward was appointed oversight of the almsmen and women and he was responsible for overseeing payments for food on Thursdays and any disputes within the house.</p> <p>Bell ringer: Once a week one of the other men would be chosen to ring the bell in their chapel before the masses.</p> <p>Caterer: Once a week, one almswoman was appointed the oversight of the other women. She was referred to as the</p>

		<p>Within a month after his appointment he must take an inventory of the common goods. He holds the right to expel an almsman after all the procedures have been followed with consent of the founders.</p> <p>Teacher: responsible for teaching grammar to all the children of Ewelme and all the almshouse estates for free. Must join the master and the parson in their office on Holy Days. If there are less than four children learning grammar than the teacher must join the master and poor men at Matins and Evensong every day. He must also ensure that his scholars do not disturb the house.</p> <p>Minister: ringing the almshouse bell and warden of the almshouse building. Was responsible for locking the almshouse gates each night.</p> <p>Almsmen: Daily pray for the living and dead for their patrons de la Pole family, the King, and all Christian people.</p>	<p>‘caterer’ and it was her duty to provide and make the food for the almshouse that week.</p> <p>Priest: The Priest was responsible for leading the daily prayers and for dispersing payments on Sunday. He was also to settle any disputes within the almshouse.</p> <p>All: It was everyone’s duty to pray for the King and attend all services designated in the indentures.</p> <p>Almswomen: The almswomen provided the foods for the week, dress the meat, made pottage, cleaned the house, washed the clothes and took care of the men in sickness.</p>
Running costs	£40 per annum. not including the price of gowns.	£60 per annum, not including the price of gowns.	Approximately, £93 16s. 2d. per annum not including fuel costs or building repairs.
Punishments	Almsfolks: If broken one of the rules then first the Tutor corrects them, twice he withdraws a portion of his wages he sees fit. These then go into the common chest. If offended three times	Almsmen: If an almsman is to break a rule he will first be admonished by the master. If he continues to break the rules he will be cautioned before the master, teacher, and two poor men and lose his income for a week. If he	*The priest, almsmen and almswomen were given three chances to redeem themselves and then were expelled. Bell: If an almsman was unable to the ring the bell, another was to take his place and in return would receive ½ d. each day from the almsman that he replaced.

	<p>then they are removed by the Tutor, and Conservators.</p> <p>*If an almsfolk destroys or damages the goods of the almshouse, voluntarily, then they will be convicted and ejected.</p> <p>Tutor: If he were to default in his duties and not reformed he would be corrected and punished by overseers and withdraw a portion of his income at the discretion of the overseers. If not resolved then he will be removed of his office and pension.</p>	<p>still persists in fault he shall be called before the same and with more men and admonished in the common hall and lose his income for a month. If all these warnings fail to work he will be expelled.</p> <p>Master or Teacher: If they default in their responsibilities they shall be examined on the day the founders visit. On the first occasion he shall be cautioned and told to mend his ways. If he continues, at the next visitation he shall be admonished and lose his wages for a month. If he still continues he will be admonished and lose his wages for a quarter of the year. If he does not amend his behaviour after all this he would be expelled.</p>	
Inventory	<p>*Tutor in a month after his admission with two of the most discreet almsfolks take an inventory of all the almshouse goods.</p> <p>*This should be done once a year and after taken let it be openly known to all inmates.</p> <p>*Common chest and common seal. With three keys and three locks, one kept by the Tutor, another kept by the eldest man of the almshouse, and the third by one of the other almsmen, chosen each year. No one man can hold</p>	<p>*Taken by the master within one month of his admission before the teacher and two poor men. The accounts were broken into two parts; one part going to the master and the other to the treasury, which is kept in the common chest. This was to be done annually between St. Luke's Day (18 October) and Christmas (25 December).</p> <p>*The reckonings shall be recited before the almsmen within eight days of their completion.</p> <p>*A pair of indentures will then be made recording the house's income from its possessions.</p>	<p>*Women were to keep quarterly inventories.</p> <p>*In case of maintenances on the almshouse or of replacement of drapery and utensils the belongings of the deceased almsmen would be sold to pay for it. The remainder of funds would then be kept in the common chest, which had three keys, each key given to the priest of the almsmen, the prior, and the monk of the Abbey.</p> <p>*All possessions of the poor men will be passed to the house upon their death.</p>

	<p>more than one key. *All money and goods kept in the common chest. *All possessions of the almsfolk are passed to the house upon their death.</p>	<p>*There is to be a common chest with three keys which will be held by the master, teacher, and minister. No one shall hold more than one key at a time. *All the money, jewels, and treasure shall be counted annually and brought forth. *All possessions of the poor men are passed to the house upon their death.</p>	
Sick	<p>* No mad, leprous or infected persons admitted into the almshouse but if a poor man succumbs to disease then he shall be removed from the house to a more suitable place and receive a poor man's stipend and considered one of the brotherhood during his life.</p>	<p>*No mad, leprous or infected persons admitted into the almshouse but if a poor man succumbs to disease then he shall be removed from the house to a more suitable place and receive a poor man's stipend and considered one of the brotherhood during his life. This also includes the priests.</p>	<p>*Men were allowed to stay in the almshouse and be tended by the almswomen. *If they were too ill to attend mass then they were to seek pardon by the priest and as much as they could pray for themselves and for the King's soul within their almshouse. *No mention of cases of leprousy.</p>
Other		<p>The indenture describes the grounds of the almshouse and lists the lands and building assigned to the almshouse. It then goes on to explain what should happen if someone were to try and steal the endowment. The indentures also address the faults of other almshouse foundations and how they will try and amend these faults by visiting the almshouses at least once a year. It also addressed how they are to be received by the master, teacher, minister, and almsmen.</p>	<p>In the first indenture in the bipartite there is a list of properties for the endowment but do not specify where the monies are to go directly only that they shall cover the cost of the memorial.</p>

Appendix iii. Warden's Account Chart from 1502-1533 WAM, 24236-24242, 24244, 24246, 24248-24249.

Endowment Properties Gifted by Henry VII and Purchased by Abbot Islip

* Properties listed separately but a part of the St. Martin-le-Grand endowment income.

[K] = Gifted by the King

[I]= Purchased by Islip

St. Martin-le-Grand, London [K]	Type	1502-3	1503-4	1504-5	1505-6	1515-16	1516-17	1517-18	1518-19	1523-4	1531-2	1532-3
St. Martin-le-Grand							£17. 3s. 9d. ob	£13. 2s. 9d.	31s. 10d.		£17	
Hoddesdon Priory*	Corn wool tithes			20s.	20s.	20s.	20s.	20s.	20s.	20s.	na	
Newerk in Good Easter*	Prebend	£15	£15	£15	£15	£14. 6s. 8d.	£14	£14	£15	£15	£15	£7
Fawkeners*	Prebend	£8 6s. 8d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£7 3s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.
Burghs [[Bowers]*	Prebend	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 17s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£7 14s. 6d.	£7 3s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.	£8 13s. 4d.
Passelloues [Paslowes]*	Prebend	£9 6s. 8d.	£9 6s. 8d.	£9 6s. 8d.	£9 6s. 8d.	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	
Tolleshunt*	Prebend	£5 5s.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.
Keton*	Prebend	£9 11s. 3d.	£12 15s.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.
Cowpes*	Prebend	£10 19s. 4d.	£11 3s. 4d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.	£12 10d.
Imbers*	Prebend			£12	£12	£12	£12	£12	£8 13s. 4d.	£12	£12	£12
Norton Newerks*	Prebend	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	

St. Martin-le-Grand, London continued: [K]	Type	1502-3	1503-4	1504-5	1505-6	1515-16	1516-17	1517-18	1518-19	1523-4	1531-2	1532-3
St. Andrew's in Good Easter*	Rectory			£6 6s. 8d.	£6 6s. 8d.	£4 18s. 2d.	£6 5s. 8d.	£6 5s. 8d.	£6 5s. 8d.	£6	£6 5s.	£6 5s. 10d.
Bassingbourn*	Rectory		£23 17s. 4d.	£32	£42 5s.	£23 10s. 2d. ob	£27 10s. 2d ob	£27 10s. 2d ob	£30 19s. 3d	£38 15s. 10d	na	
Crishall [Chrishall]*	Rectory		£18 2s.	£14 2s.	£14. 2s.	£14 2s.	£14 2s.	£14 2s.	£14 2s.	£14 2s.	£14 2s.	
Newport Pound*	Rectory		£17 8d.	£17 6s. 8d.	£17 2s. 6d.	£8 6s. 8d.	£8 6s. 8d.	£8 6s. 8d.	£16 13s. 4d.	£17 6s. 8d.	£17 6s. 8d.	£17 6s. 8d.
Whitham [Witham]*	Rectory		£10	£10	£12	£3 13s. 8d.	£3 13s. 4d.	£3 13s. 4d.	£6 14s. 4d.	£7 3s. 8d.	£7	
Cressing*	Rectory		£4	£4	£6	£6	£6	£6	£6	£6	na	
Total income for St. Martin-le- Grand		£73 12s. 7d.	£152 7s. 8d. 4d.	£176 14s.	£190 11s. 2d.	£153 5s. 8d. ob	£175 9s. 11d. 2ob	£171 8s. 11d. ob	£171 9s. 3d.	£177 16s. 6d.	£154 2s.	£91 7s. 6d.

Endowment Properties Gifted by Henry VII and Purchased by Abbot Islip

* *This total is correct. Possibly the scribe wrote it down incorrectly.

Income from land rents, free chapels, rectories, parsonages and advowsons	Type	1502-3	1503-4	1504-5	1505-6	1515-16	1516-17	1517-18	1518-19	1523-4	1531-2	1532-3
Luffield Priory [K]	Lands, advowsons, etc.	£41	£40	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	
Playdon besides Rye county Sussex [K]	Free chapels	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10	£10
Tikehill, county York [K]	Advowson rectory	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	
Swaffham Market county Norfolk [K]	Parsonage s rectory		£23 8s. 10d.	£22 13s. 6d.	£25 2s. 11d.	£19 10s.	£19 10s.	£19 10s.	£17 19s.	£22	£22	£11
Stanford county Berkshire [K]	Parsonage s rectory		£19 13s.	£28 10s.	£28 3s. 10d.	£25 8s. 8d.	£25 12s. 10d.	£25 12s. 10d.	£19 14s. 1d.		£26 13s. 4d.	£11 6s. 8d.
Uplambourn county Berkshire [K]	Free chapels	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 3s. 6d.**	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.	na	£6 13s. 4d.
Pleshey county Essex [K]	Free chapels	£4 4s. 10d.	£3 10s. 10d.	£3 10s. 10d.	£3 10s. 10d.	£7 8s. 4d.	£7 5s. 8d.	£7 5s. 8d.	£7 8s. 4d.	£7 8s. 4d.	£3 12s.	
Great Chesterford county Essex [K]	Rectory			£26 13s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.	£22	£21 13s. 4d.	£21 13s. 4d.	£21 13s. 4d.	£24	£23 6s. 8d.	£26 13s. 4d.
St. Bride's in London in Flettestreet [I]	Rectory					£33 6s. 8d.	£27 14s. 4d.	£27 14s. 4d.	£28 3s. 6d.	£31 6s. 6d.	£31 14s. 5d.	
Fulham	Land rents	£3 11s.	£4	£2 13s. 4d.	£2 13s. 4d.	£3 2d.	£3 2d.	£3 2d.	£3 11s. 2d.	£3 11s. 10d.	£3 8s. 10d.	£3 3s. 10d.
Boundfeld	Prebend	£5 6s. 8d.	£5 6s. 4d.	£5 1s.	£5 1s.	£5 6s. 8d.	£5 6s. 8d.	£5 6s. 8d.	£5 6s. 8d.	£5 6s. 8d.	£5	
Tewkesbury Abbey [I]	Rent		£26 13s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.	£26 13s. 4d.	na	
Total income from land rents, free chapels, rectories, parsonages and advowsons.		£115 15s. 10d.	£184 . 2s. 8d.	£221 19s. 10d.	£224 11s. 7d.	£249 . 7s. 2d.	£243 9s. 8d.	£243 9s. 8d.	£237 2s. 3d.	£227 0s. 0d.	£215 19s. 3d.	£68 17s. 2d.

Endowment Properties Gifted by Henry VII and Purchased by Abbot Islip

Income From Manors	1502-3	1503-4	1504-5	1505-6	1515-16	1516-17	1517-18	1518-19	1523-4	1531-2	1532-3
Great Chesterford county Essex [I]		£66 13s. 4d.	£66 13s. 4d.	£66 13s. 4d.	£67 6s. 8d.	£67 6s. 8d.	£67 6s. 8d.	£67 6s. 8d.	£17 6s. 8d.	£36 13s. 4d.	£73 6s. 8d.
Burton Stather and Halton [I]	£28	£15	£25	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30	£30	
Oswald Beck Soke in Nottingham [I]	£30	£25	£34	£34	£34	£34	£34	£33	£34	£34	
Brodewaters [I]	£50 3d.										
Remynham [I]	£20										
Plumsted [I]	£3 7s. 7d.	£11 15s.	£15 4d.	£20	£11 14s. 1d. ob	£9 3s. 9d.	£9 3s. 9d.	£12 18s. 10d.	£13 6s.	na	
Fenne and Skreyne [I]		£30 16d.	£34	£30 7s. 2d.	£30 2s. 4d.	£26 2s.	£26 2s.	£34 11s.	£32 14s. 10d.	£20	
Pinchpol and Bullington [I]	£20	£20	£18 16s. 4d.	£20	£18 9s. 6d.	£14 9s. 8d.	£14 9s. 8d.	£18 2s. 8d.	£17 6s. 8d.	£18 6s. 7d.	£18 6s. 6d.
Clavering [I]											
Vyley (Ugley) [I]										na	
Total income from Manors	£151 7s. 10d.	£168 8s. 8d.	£183 9s. 0d.	£200 20s. 6d.	£191 12s. 7d. ob	£181 1s. 1d.	£181 1s. 1d.	£195 19s. 2d.	£144 14s. 2d*	£138 19s. 11d.	£91 13s. 2d.

Endowment Properties Gifted by Henry VII and Purchased by Abbot Islip

Overall totals for the entire endowment	1502-3	1503-4	1504-5	1505-6	1515-16	1516-17	1517-18	1518-19	1523-4	1531-2	1532-3
Scribes total for the year	£331 4s. 3d.	£526 2s. 6d.	£577 11s. 11d.	£614 5s. 11d.	£594 6s. 6d.	£544 10s. 1d. ob	£596 8d. ob	£605 3d. ob	£664 10s. 1d.	na	£251 18s. 10d.
Actual total	£340 15s. 3d.	£502 19s.	£582 1s. 2d.	£616 1s. 3d.	£594 5s. 5d. 2ob	£600 1s. 8d. ob	£596 8d. ob *	£604 10s. 8d.	£549 10s. 8d.	£509 . 2d.	£251 16s. 10d.

- Average income from St. Martin –le-Grand over the 11 recorded dates was approximately £168 per annum.
- Average income from land rents, free chapels, rectories, parsonages and advowsons over the 11 recorded dates is approximately £202 per annum.
- Average income from manors over the 11 recorded dates was approximately £166 per annum.
- Average Total Income for Henry VII's Memorial: £522 per annum.

Appendix

iv. Receiver's Account for Henry VII's Memorial, WAM, 24243, 24245, 24247, 24250, 28043.

Endowment Properties	Description	1515-1516	1516-1517	1517-1518
St. Martin- le -Grand, London	advowson etc.	£40	£42	£60 16s. 4d.
Properties within St. Martin-le-Grand.				
Hoddesdon Priory	Corn and wool grab tithes	20s.	20s.	20s.
Newerks in Good Easter	Prebend	£14 6s. 8d.	£14	£14
Fawkeners	Prebend	Totals for both.**	Totals for both.**	Totals for both.**
Burghs [Bowers]	Prebend	£17 6s. 8d.**	£14 16s. 8d. **	£17 6s. 8d. **
Passelloues [Paslowes]	Prebend	£10	£10	£10
Tolleshunt	Prebend	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.	£7 6s. 8d.
Keton	Prebend	Totals for both.***	Totals for both.***	Totals for both.***
Cowpes	Prebend	£24 20d. ***	£24 20d. ***	£24 1s. 8d. ***
Imbers	Prebend	£12	£7	£10 12s. 6d.
Norton Newerks	Prebend	£6 13s. 4d.	£3 13s. 4d.	£6 13s. 4d.
St. Andrew's in Good Easter	Rectory	£4 18s. 2d.	£6 5s. 8d.	£6 5s. 8d.
Bassingbourn	Rectory			
Crishall [Chrishall]	Rectory			
Newport Pound	Rectory	£8 6s. 8d.	£8 6s. 8d.	£12 13s. 4d.
Whitham [Witham]	Rectory	£3 13s. 8d.	£3 13s. 4d.	£7 3s. 4d.
Cressing	Rectory	£6	£4 6s. 8d.	£3 6s. 8d.
Total income for St. Martin-le -Grand	Average income for St. M. le G: £160 p.a.	£155 13s. 6d.	£146 10s. 8d.	£181 6s. 2d.
Income From Manors				
Great Chesterford Essex	Manor and advowson		£40	£36 13s. 4d.
Burton Stather and Halton	Manor	£30	£30 + 20s.Spenythron	£30
Oswald Beck Soke Nottingham	Manor	F.C: Stetton 21s. 8d. £33	£34	£34
Boarstall	Manor			
Brodewaters	Manor			
Remyham	Manor			
Plumsted	Manor	£10 7s. 7d.	£7 17s. 7d.	£17 2s. 8d.
Fenne and Skreyne	Manors	£27 7s. 10d.	£26 2s.	£34 17s. 5d.
Pinchpol and Bullington	Lands	£18 2s. 4d.	£5 10s. 4d.	£18 7s. 6d.
Clavering				107s. 2d.
Vyley [Ugley]	Lands	£4	£4 9s. 4d.	£4
Total income from Manors.	Average income from manors: £150 p.a.	£123 19s. 5d.	£148 18s. 3d.	£180 1s. 11d.

Appendix

v. Expenses for Henry VII's Memorial at Westminster Abbey, Warden's Accounts 1502-1533.

Expenses and Payments for Henry VII's Memorial	1502-3	1503-4	1504-5	1505-6	1515-16	1516-17	1517-18	1518-19	1523-4	1531-2	1532-3
Abbot: mass services		£75 11s. 3d.	£4 8s.	£8 8s.	£5 16s. 8d.	£4	£5 15s.	£5 15s. 4d.	£5 17s.		
Abbot Prior: anniversary	£25 8s.	£26 18s. 10d.	£4 9s. 4d.	£4 9s. 4d.	£4 8s. 4d.	£4 7s. 8d.	£4 7s. 8d.	£4 6s.	£19 14s. 4d.	£8 7s. 4d.	£60 11s. 4d.
Abbot Prior friars: anniversary			£78 8s. 11d.	£78 10d.	£80 19s. 4d.	£77 10s. 4d.	£77 10s. 4d.	£8	£28 16s. 6d.	£72 6s. 5d.	
Chandeller Torches etc	£67 10s. 4d.	£8 3s. 4d.	£8	£8	£8	£8	£9 14s. 4d.	£20 16s. 6d.	see above	£20	
Alms: poor and torches	£28	£30 6s. 8d.	£20 16s.	£20 16s.	£20 16s. 6d.	£20 16s. 6d.	£20 16s. 6d.	£83 5s. 8d.	£80 10s. 2d.		
Prebends		20s.	20s.	20s.							
Oxford scholars	£45	£45	£45	£45	£45	£65	£65	£45	£45	£47	
Almsmen/ almswomen stipends + *140 poor people	£47 6s. 5d. ob	£52 8s. 10d.	£92 6s. *	£92 6s. *	£92 6s. *	£92 6s. *	£92 6s. *	£92 6s. *	£92 6s. *	£92 6s. *	
Prenna predicate	£45	£39 6s. 8d.	£36 16s. 8d.	£38 16s. 8d.	£38 3s. 4d.	£39	£39	£39 10s.	£38 3s. 4d.	£38 13s. 4d.	
Receiver: torches		£68 1s. 9d.	£54 3s. 11d.	£54 3s. 11d.	£53 19s. 4d.	£53 18s. 10d.	£53 18s. 10d.	£70 8s.	£67 4s.	£59 7s. 2d.	
Pensions Stipend Colchester etc.		£23 16s. 8d.	£16 17s.	£16 13s. 4d.	£8 16s. 8d.	£8 16s. 8d.	£8 16s. 8d.	£8 16s. 8d.	£8 16s. 8d.	£11 16s. 8d.	
Almsmen and women: gowns	£20 5s. 11d.	£11 2s. 3d.	£13 19s. 6d. ob	£17 10s. 10d.	£11 16s. 6d.	£12 7s. 6d.	£11 17s. 6d.	£12 4s. 8d.	£16 1s. 6d.	£11 19s. 10d.	
Extra Expenses	£52 8s. 3d. ob	£12 16s. 10d.	£111 13s. 2d.	£16 3s. 11d.	£6 4s. 4d.	£10 12s. 2d.	£11 12d.	£5 16s. 8d.	£4 5s. 10d.	£100 18s.	£18 2s.

Expenses and Payments for Henry VII's Memorial	1502-3	1503-4	1504-5	1505-6	1515-16	1516-17	1517-18	1518-19	1523-4	1531-2	1532-3
Works					£1 14s. 11d.	13s. 2d.	13s. 2d.	£4 19s. ob			
Elizabeth of York's college monks		£106 6s. 8d.	£106 6s. 8d.	£106 6s. 8d.	£106 6s. 8d.	£106 6s. 8d.	£106 6s. 8d.	£106 6s. 8d.	£106 6s. 8d.	£89 7s. 5d.	£106 6s. 8d.
Scribes total spent	£300 19s ob	£500 19s. 9d.	£594 5s. 2d ob	£498 10s. 1d.	£483 19s. 7d.	£503 15s. 10d. *	£505 9s. 4d.	£506 13s. 9d. ob	£512 19s. 9d.	na	£171
Actual Total	£330 17s. 11d. 2ob	£500 14s. 9d.	£593 19s. 2d. ob	£507 10s. 6d.	£474 6s. 7d.	£503 15s. 10d. *	£506 19s. 8d.	£507 12s. ob	£513 2s.	£552 2s. 2d.	£185
Total spent on almsmen and women	£70 4s. 6d. ob	£66 8s. 9d.	£83 1s. ob	£86 13s. 4d.	£76 13s. 6d.	£77 4s. 6d.	£76 14s. 6d.	£82 4s. 8d. ob	£80 19s. 6d.	£76 16s. 10d.	na
Difference between income and expenditure	£9 18s. 4d. +	£2 4s. 3d+	£11 18s. ob -	£108 11s. 9d. +	£119 20s. 2d. 2ob	£96 5s. 10d. ob +	£89 2s. ob+	£96 18s. 8d. ob +	£38 8s. 8d. +	£43 2s. --	£66 17s. 10d. +

Appendix

- vi. *The Transcription of the Seventeenth Century Copy of the Statutes of the Queen's Almshouse at Westminster Collegiate Church.*¹³

WAM, 5288r:

- Statutes to be observed by the 12 Almsmen
lett there be 12 poore men these wee reserve to be
elected by our authoritie yett wee will that
none be admitted into that number within not in poverty
or broken & maymed in warr or woorne out with old age
& brought to misery and that all & everyone may lead
his life in the houses assigned to the poore men within
the bounds of Our Colledge of Westminster & lett them
bee present in the Collegiate Church att Divine
10) prayers dayly twice in the morning & once in the
Evening in places appointed for them [deleted] where att them
earnestly pray for the Queenes Magesty for the
churches peace & safety of the Kingdome & lett
them obey the Deane & Masters of the Colledge
in all things that belong to the reputacion of the
Colledge & lett them receeive none to inhabite
in the houses Deputed for them besides their owne
proper family But if any one of them shall
boldly refuse to observe these things lett him
20) bythe judgement of the Deane after the third
admonition be forever removed from his place
& if he shalbe farting drunke or infamous
or shall commit any notable Crime if he shall not
lawfully cleer himself before the Deane
or in his absense before the Archdeacon, lett
him be expelled his place. And by how much
better everyone of the aforesaid poore men may be contained
in his place now will & determine that in the yearly
Callendr of October one of the twelve which may seeme
30) to excell the rest in gravity, prudent & virtue lett him
bee chosen by the Deane or in his absence by the ProDeane
to be as twere a President which shalbe called their
Guardian. Lett this man Diligently take care that every
one behave himself honestly Directly & modestly & that
they diligently observe all things contained in the Statutes
hee shall dilligently loke their commongate att the
hower pre with the porter of the Colledge and those
absent from divine prayers or that lye out of their
lodging lett them be corrected by the
40) Deane or for which he be absent by the PreDeane

¹³ WAM, 5288. This document is a seventeenth century draft of the sixteenth century Statutes of the Queen's Almshouse and Westminster Collegiate Church refounded c.1558-1560. Possibly a summary of the original text.

WAM, 5288v:

but if there guardian shall forget his office or doe
itt negligently lett him bee corrected at the pleasure
of the Deane or in his absense by the ProDeane
Lastly wee will that all of them are clothed with gownes be of one
colour & made after ones & the same ffashion
with the badge or sign of the rose lett them goo as
into the Colledgiate Church as they
Goo into the Abbey.

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- 40093 Receipt of William Wallis, bedesman of the Cathedral Church of Westminster from Mr. Barden (paymaster) £3. 6s. 8d. for wages for Midsummer and Michaelmas, 29 November, 1586.
- 40628 Receipt of Mr Doctor Andrewes—of Westminster college by the hand of George Billet, receiver there for the College regarding the almsman Mathew Lippes late an almsman the sum of £4, 13s. 6d., 7 September 40, 1598.
- 43947 Receipts and payments of John Moulton 9 November, 1537-39.
- 43988 Receipts and payments of John Moulton 20 May, 1537-39.
- 54001 Treasurer's Accounts for Westminster Abbey, 1553.
- Muniment Book 15
f. 99 Treasurer's Accounts: payments to almsmen, 1595.
- LXXXV Edward VI Dissolution of the Westminster Abbey's chantries, 1547.

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- 5268 "The woords of the Charter of the College of Westminster for the saving to the q(ueen) and the gift of the Deane the prebends and the Almsmen", 1560.
- 5288 Statutes to be observed by the 12 almsmen at Westminster. Elizabeth (17th cent. Copy).
- 5321 Memorandum "of deeds that concerne that Almshouse erected by Henry VII", 24 July, 1546/7.
- 5325 Complaint of the almsmen to Queen Elizabeth touching the loss of all their privileges and estate granted them by Henry VII, temp. Eliz. I.
- 6634 An abbreviated version of the first and second indentures for Henry VII's memorial at Westminster Abbey, c.1502.

- 16473 Surrender of the Abbey by William Boston, Abbot of the convent of Westminster Abbey to the King 16 January, 1540.
- 18395 Case between Governors and Sir Anthony Irby over rightful ownership of the hall of the almshouse, 1653.
- 18400 Grant from William Benson S.T.P to Dean and Chapter of Westminster the manor, rectory and church of Long Benynton co. Linc. and a parcel of the almshouse located west of the Abbey, temp. Hen. VIII.
- 18424, A. –C. Surrender of the almshouse by the Dean and Chapter to the King, c.1547.
- 37036 The new (view) of diverse tenements belonging to Westminster 23 oct. 34 Henry VIII (1542).
- LXXXVII Elizabeth's Charter for Westminster College and Cathedral. 1560.
- CJV/NFL1/423169.01. Transcribed and digitalized version of LXXXVII.

Building Accounts and Works

- 5390 Bond from Nicholas Brigham, Gentleman, of Westminster to David Vincent, Armiger, in £40 for the making of a conduit at Westminster for the use of the Almsmen 30 November, 1547.
- 5398 Covenants of Sir Richard Guldeford and Sir Thomas Lovell contracting for building the King's Almshouses, temp. Henry VII.
- 33603 f. 4v. Mr. Gascon, head sexton for Westminster Abbey, appointed clerk of the works at Westminster in, 1548/9.
- 37036 A number of works being done at the Abbey, 1544.
- 37642A Tylers wages about the common kitchen 16 December, 1553.
- 38547-9 Names of those working on the almshouse, and the contracts between the builder [Thomas Fowler Bursbor/Bursbyr] and Abbey, 1566.
- 42241 Carpenter's acquittances for work on the almshouse, 1644.

Internal Fabric of the Almshouse

- 5377 Acquittance from Alexander Perin, Clerk Chaunter to Borden, receiver to the College of Westminster for the use of the poor men's table, 16 July-5 August, 1565.
- 5378 Acquittance from Alexander Perin, Clerk Chaunter to Borden, receiver to the College of Westminster for the use of the poor men's table, 12 August -22 September, 1565.
- 5379 Acquittance from Alexander Perin, Clerk Chaunter to Borden, receiver to the College of Westminster for the use of the poor men's table from the 2-30 September, 14 September, 1565.
- 24240 Costs of the two painted tablets placed within the almshouse and Lady Chapel for 58s. 8d., c.1502-04.

Petitions for Almsmen's Places to the Abbey, and to the Dean and Chapter

- 5305 Letter from Princess (afterwards Queen) Mary to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster in behalf of John Ager a bedesman displaced for absence without leave, temp. Edw. VI.
- 5306 Letter from Sir Edward North (afterwards Baron North) to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster for their bestowal of a beadsman's place on one of the King's servants. 22 September, temp. Edw. VI.
- 5307 Letter from Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster commanding them to admit William Parason into the room of an Almsman 22 May, 1547.
- 5308 Letter from Edward Seymor, Duke of Somerset, requiring them to admit a William Bowdeler into the two vacant bedemen's rooms 2 May, 1549.
- 5309 Petition for Eleanor Cullon wife of Thomas Cullons to remain in the almshouse, c. 1638-60.
- 5310 Petition from almsmen to committee for the rents of Westminster that £10 arising from a year and a half's vacancy of an almsman's place may be distributed amongst them, c.1638-60.

- 5354 Series of names of poor men having reversions of almshouse places at Westminster, 1599, 1616, 1620, 1621, 1624.
- 5365 Letter from Sir Julius Caesar on behalf of Philip Chamberlain, December, 1597.
- 5366 Letter from Philip Scudamor to (Gabriel Goodman) Dean of Westminster on behalf of Philip Chamberlen for an almsman's place 30 November, 1597.
- 5369 Royal Warrant to (William Boston) Dean and Chapter of Westminster to admit Robert Andas, alias, Robert of Mulsey to an almsman's place. 19 March, 1546.
- 39074 John Goodman had the place and stipend of an almsman. [John] Yeoman of Westminster 11 July, 1572.

The Later Petitions from Almsmen

- 5289 Petition to Committee for Thomas Barker, almsmen, for the "lofting" of his room, c.1638-60.
- 5290 Petition to Committee for the college belonging to St Peter's Westminster for the lofting of Thomas Barker room, c.1638-60.
- 5283 Petition from almsmen to the governors for repair of one of their houses of office which was falling into the shore of Black's Ditch, c.1638-60.
- 5303 Petition of Jacob Capell to governors for repair of his almshouse, c.1638-60.
- 5314 Report of John Pomeray and Adam Osgood, surveyors, on the almshouse of William Kirkham, c.1638-60.
- 5316A Petition for Thomas Lyall who had been severely injured in warfare in England and in Scotland, c.1638-60.
- 5319 Letter from William Lisle to Pomeroy (surveyor) regarding encroachment of buildings in the common sewer on the almshouse and blocking light into the houses 13 November, 1652.
- 5326 Draft copy of a lease from (Thomas Sprat) Dean and Keeper of the Gatehouse Prison for 40 years yearly rent of £12, 11 February, 1699.

- 5327 Petition from almsmen to Thomas (Sprat) Bishop of Rochester as Dean of Westminster against Capt. Tayler, 1699-1713.
- 5328 Petition from almsmen to governors concerning repair of their houses: Ceiling falling down, rotting wood, etc., c.1638-60.
- 5329 Petition from the almsmen regarding their late payments, c.1638-60.
- 5330 List of almsmen absent from services, c.1638-60.
- 5332 Bills of work done on almshouse of Thomas Roper, 1646.
- 5336 Order from governors to John Squibb and Arthur Squibb, receivers of their revenues to pay 42*s.* for cleansing the shore (sewer) adjoining to the almshouse 15 June, 1650.
- 5338 A meeting of the governors of Westminster and the almshouse about the case touching the house of Sir Anthony Irby January, 1652.
- 5340 Petition from Christopher Sheine to governors touching his mansion house in the great almonry West, adjoining the Almshouse, c.1638-60.
- 5344 Order from the governors of Westminster school and almshouse to Adam Browne, surveyor, to repair an almshouse 6 July, 1650.
- 5345 Report in the Westminster Almshouse by Adam Browne, surveyor, to governors, 26 November, c.1638-60.
- 5346 Report of John Sherman, surveyor and Adam Osgood, Clerk of the Works, to governors on the stopping of the almsmen's lights 29 March 1660.
- 5347 Report Adam Browne, survey, to governors on the encroachments on the western side of the almshouse, late 1660's.
- 5348 Petition to the Honour and Lords and other Committees for disposing of the profits of the Collegiate Church of Westminster regarding the burial of almsmen after they die, c.1638-60.
- 5350 List of almsmen and their allowances, 1660's.

- 5351B Names of almsmen and notations about whether they live in or out of the almshouse, 1660's.
- 5358 Complaint of almsmen regarding encroachment upon the almshouse, 29 March, 1660.
- 5359 Petition Edward Capcott, almsman, to committee for ceiling to his room which had fallen down, c.1638-60.
- 5363 Report by Adam Brown, Surveyor, to committee on the state of the almshouse belonging to one Barker, c.1638-60.
- 5368 Lease of Westminster Almshouse to William Taylor, keeper of the Gatehouse, Westminster 1 January, 1700.
- 5375 Survey of the repair of the Almsmen houses at Westminster 29 March, 1645.
- 5382 Petition from William Gilby, Almsmen, to the Governors of Westminster Free School and Almshouse, to have his room plastered and ceiled, c.1638-60.
- 5386 Petition from Luke Butterfield, Almsman, to the Governors of the School and Almshouse late belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, for repair of his house, c.1638-60.
- 5397 Copy of the Commission for the restoration of the chapel, hall, and kitchen. 1604
- 18174 Petition to Governors against the almsmen from the keeper of the Gatehouse Prison, 1654.
- 18175 Petition from Aquilla Wykes for a new lease of the gatehouse prison 12, Aug. 1654.
- 18177 Petition to Governors against the almsmen from the keeper of the Gatehouse Prison, 1654.
- 18351 Petition from the almsmen to (Thomas Sprat) Bishop of Roch. and Dean and Chapter to recover rent of land from the Master of the gaol captain William Taylor, c.1699-1713.
- 18375 Agreement with the keeper of the Gatehouse Prison, 1710.
- 18395 An abbreviated of the case between Adam Browne and Sir Anthony Irby, about ejectment from the almshouse, 27 Dec. 1653.

- 18396 An abbreviated case between John (Aylmer) Bishop of London, plaintiff and Dean and Chapter Westminster and others defendants, touching one little house lying between the convict prison of Westminster and the gate leading into the Deans court, c.1577-94.
- 18397 Petition to be allowed to rebuild the old Chapel which was part of the Almshouse for the use of the gatehouse prison and the site of the chapel adjoins the gatehouse prison. Temp. Jas. I
- 18398 Petition from Aquila Wykes to the Committee for the rents of the church located on the west of the property in dispute, c.1638-60.
- 18399 Abstract of the Bishop of London leases of the great house next the gatehouse prison, 24 April 13, 1661.
- 18404 Matters to be considered by those that shall view the house in question between the convict house and the gatehouse. 17th Century.
- 18406 Report from John Pomeroye of his survey of a new built cottage adjoining part of the almshouse, 26 March 1657.
- 18408 Petition from 12 almsmen of Westminster to Francis (Atterbury) Bishop of Roch. for a piece of waste ground, c.1713-22.
- 18409 Petition from 12 almsmen of Westminster to Francis (Atterbury) Bishop of Roch. to assist them in recovering arrears of rent for a piece of ground leased by them, c.1713-33.
- 35652 Lease from brethren of the Almshouse of ground adjoining the almshouses, 1691-92.
- 42214 Acquittances to the college surveyor for repair of the almshouse, 1644.
- 46755 Order for the purple cloth for the almsmen's gowns, 1749.

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- 9502 Draft financial records for the Abbey 1532-39.
- 17878 Deed between the late John Pacche, esquire, and Thomas Hunt, gentleman and seneschal of Westminster Abbey. c.1476.
- 18057 Lease from John (Feckenham) Abbot and the Convent of Westminster to Robert Welche, keeper of the gaol or prison called gatehouse of Westminster 13 March, 1557.
- 18394 Royal grant to Nicolas (Ridley) Bishop of London of the 'convicte Prison of Westminster with a small house and garden adjoining. 12 April 1550.
- 23470-23593 Building accounts for the Westminster Abbey precinct, c.1770-90.
- 43500 Lease from the Dean and Chapter of the shed and other buildings by the almshouse, 7 Dec. 1620.
- 43722 Report on Petition of the keeper of the Gatehouse Prison concerning a garden adjoining the Gatehouse, 1654.
- 65988-66002 Documents pertaining to the widening of the Broad Sanctuary from Tothill Street and the demolition of the almshouse, 1779.

Sketches and Pictures

- Neg. No Box 82 Reconstruction by A.E. Henderson, F.S.A. 1938 of the Abbey of St. Peter and Palace of Westminster about the year 1532.
- 18410 Detailed map and floor plan of Henry VII's Almshouse at Westminster based on a survey plan of 1719/20.
- 18411 Second part of above plan showing gatehouse and its surrounding buildings 1719/20.
- 34508 A-J Henry Keene's Map of Westminster Abbey Precinct, c.1775.
- 66003 Sketch plan of almshouse with notations of payments for each room c.1779.

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- 111M94W/A17 Extracts from the Patent Rolls, 1454-55.
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