DOMESTIC OBJECTS IN YORK

c.1400–1600

Consumption, Neighbourhood and Choice

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History

August 2015

Abstract

Focusing on object assemblages as revealed by documentary and archaeological sources, this thesis explores the material culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York households. It examines the range of objects available to York residents while investigating the ways in which they were used and displayed and the values attributed to them.

The first chapter introduces the key research questions, concerning the nature of object assemblages, change over time and interdisciplinarity. It discusses the data sets used and contains an overview of the historiography of urban material culture and household archaeology in England. The second chapter explains the methodology adopted, including prosopographical scoping of the individuals whose possessions have informed this work.

Using information provided by surviving buildings and probate inventories, the third chapter investigates the size and composition of York houses, focusing on the ways in which object assemblages inform the spaces found within. It argues that rooms were defined by their contents rather than their physical structure or placement, and challenges the definition and timing of "rebuilding" within the city.

The fourth and fifth chapters explore various types of value attributed to object assemblages. The fourth chapter concentrates on financial value as assigned in inventories and revealed by discard practices, and advocates consideration of functional value, leading to an examination of specialization of work and organization of production. The fifth chapter focuses on affective value as revealed through testamentary description, proposing an original methodology for applying the history of emotions to material culture.

The sixth chapter draws upon findings from previous chapters to present a detailed overview of an individual household at the end of the period: the Starre Inne on Stonegate, c.1580. The thesis concludes by addressing the key research questions, stressing the necessity of an interdisciplinary approach for the study of material culture, leading to a discussion of "neighbourhood".

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Acknowledgements

This research was funded by an Arts and Humanities Research Council and York Archaeological Trust Collaborative Doctoral Award. I have been fortunate to have two supervisors whose support has seen me through good times and bad, both academically and personally: Ailsa Mainman, who has guided my understanding of archaeology in general and of York's archaeology and the wonders of pottery in particular; and Sarah Rees Jones, whose support, patience and constant encouragement saw the thesis from its beginning all the way to its conclusion, and who always seemed to know what I was trying to say, even when I couldn't find the right words myself. More than just supervisors, over the many years we have worked together on this project, I have also come to consider them as firm friends. I would also like to express my gratitude to Jeremy Goldberg and Mark Ormrod for providing useful and constructive feedback upon early chapter drafts.

Thanks must also go to the rest of the "Possessions" team: Jenny Basford, Gareth Dean, Natasha Glaisyer, Mark Jenner, John Walker and especially Kate Giles, for their support, input and advice throughout the project. I am grateful to all the staff at YAT, and particularly to Nicky Rogers, for so willingly sharing with me their time, expertise and, in Nicky's case, office and very well-stocked library.

I am profoundly grateful that the interdisciplinary nature of my thesis presented me with the unique opportunity of spending three weeks at the University of Western Australia in Perth, funded by the Worldwide Universities Network as part of their Research Mobility Programme. This exchange not only enabled me to consult with Stephanie Tarbin and the late Philippa Maddern on the nature of households in general, and the link between personal domestic possessions and emotion in particular, but also provided me with the opportunity to spend three very informative days with the staff of the Western Australian Museum's Shipwreck Galleries and Maritime Museum in Fremantle, studying domestic assemblages intended for the new Dutch colony at Jakarta in the West Indies, retrieved from several seventeenth-century Dutch shipwrecks. I ended my visit by presenting a paper based on my thesis at a major three-day international interdisciplinary conference entitled Emotions in the Medieval and Early Modern World; this paper has recently been published in the conference proceedings.

Closer to home, I would like to thank the staff of the Borthwick Institute for Archives, the Yorkshire Museum and the York Art Gallery for allowing me access to their collections, and to Peter Young, archivist at the York Minster Archives, who often allowed me to consult the Minster collections outside their normal office hours. I would also like to thank audiences in York, Bath and Perth who listened to and gave constructive feedback upon extracts of my research. Finally, I

Author's Declaration

I, Lisa Jane Howarth Liddy, declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References. Parts of this thesis have been delivered at various conferences. A highly summarized version of parts of Chapters 1 and 4 was presented to post-graduate students at the University of York and to the Friends of the York Archaeological Trust in October and December 2010 respectively. Parts of Chapter 5 were delivered at an international conference entitled "Emotions in the Medieval and Early Modern World", held at the University of Western Australia in June 2011, and now published as: Lisa Liddy, "Affective Bequests: Creating Emotions in York Wills, 1400–1600", in *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe*, ed. Michael Champion and Andrew Lynch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 273–89. Elements of Chapters 4, 5 and 7 were used in a paper presented at a conference called "The Experience of Neighbourliness in Europe, 1000–1600", in May 2012, at Bath Spa University, which will be published in a forthcoming volume as: Lisa Liddy, "'All to make mery with': Testamentary Bequests to Neighbours in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century York", in *The Experience of Late Medieval and Early Modern Neighbourhood*, ed. Bronach Kane and Simon Sandall (Aldershot: Ashgate, forthcoming).

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study of domestic objects owned and used in York between 1400 and 1600. It seeks to develop an understanding of the type and range of objects that could be found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York homes, where and how these objects were used and displayed, and what values were attributed to the objects by their owners. This chapter introduces the key research questions that are addressed throughout the thesis, concerning the nature of object assemblages in York, change over time during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and, perhaps most importantly, the issues that arise when using both documentary and archaeological evidence to study material culture. The archaeological and historical data sets used in the thesis will be introduced, including: the archaeological sites referred to throughout the thesis, as recorded by the York Archaeological Trust (YAT) from the 1970s until the present day; the York probate material – primarily wills and inventories – selected for study; as well as other printed primary and manuscript sources consulted. The chapter will also include an account of the historiography on the subject of objects, urban material culture and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century household archaeology in England, before concluding with a description of the structure of the thesis.

Key research questions

The nature of object assemblages

The first key research question concerns the nature of object assemblages in York, both as recorded in historical documents and as discovered through archaeological investigation. The spatial distribution and different types of value assigned to object assemblages will be explored to determine what these assemblages reveal about the objects themselves, their owners and users and the nature of the household and neighbourhood in York. An assemblage can be defined as "a group of artefacts recurring together at a particular time and place, and representing the sum of human activities".[1] Assemblages documented in contemporary inventories are usually groups of objects listed according to the room in which they were found, while those bequeathed in wills are often grouped according to the purpose for which they were used. Beds, for example, most commonly appear in inventories under headings for chambers or parlours, as part of an assemblage of other objects also found in that room. In wills, beds are most often bequeathed as part of an assemblage with the mattresses, bedding, pillows and other linens that would have dressed them. In archaeological terms, an assemblage can refer to all those artefacts found on a particular site or, more specifically, to an associated set of artefacts found together in the same context – an identifiable stratigraphic layer of archaeology occupying a particular position in both time and

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[1] Colin Renfrew and Paul Bahn, *Archaeology, Theories, Methods and Practice*, 5th edition (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), 568.

space.[2] For the purpose of this thesis, which is interested only in those objects datable to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the latter definition is used.

Object assemblages, whether recorded in historical records or existing in material collections, including those recovered by archaeological excavation, can provide a great deal of information about the nature of the objects themselves. Inventories not only tell us where in the house objects were kept and with which other objects they were associated spatially, but also how much money each object, or set of objects, was worth at the time of its owner's death. Both inventories and wills often include descriptive details about the objects listed within, including, for example, their material composition, colour, finish, shape and/or the purpose for which they were used. Similar details, such as material composition, shape and potential past use, are provided by archaeological assemblages. Yet this type of assemblage can also provide very different, but nevertheless complementary, details not found in the historical sources, including the exact size and appearance of objects and how (and often why) the objects were eventually discarded, as well as, in some cases, how the objects were made and whether they had been repaired and re-used during their lifetime. Furthermore, objects appear in documentary assemblages which are rarely, if ever, found in the archaeology, while the reverse is also true, with many objects retrieved from archaeological sites neglected entirely by the documentary sources.

Change over time

The second research question involves change over time and its effect on the material culture of the domestic household in York during the period studied. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, as both the capital of the north of England and the second city of the kingdom (after London), has been the subject of much scholarship over the years, and it would be unnecessary and superfluous to repeat it here.[3] Yet, underpinning the whole thesis is the idea that the sixteenth century was a

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[2] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*, ed. Timothy Darvill, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), s.v. "assemblage", s.v. "context".

[3] For the history of the city in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see, for example: Edward Miller, "Medieval York", in *A History of Yorkshire: The City of York*, ed. P.M. Tillot, Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: published for the Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press, 1961), 56−116; "Tudor York", in *idem*, 117−59; David M. Palliser, *Medieval York: 600−1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); David M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979). For crafts and trades in York, see Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late-Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989) and for studies of the dynamics of the York household, see the works of Jeremy Goldberg, especially: P.J.P. Goldberg, "Masters and Men in later Medieval England", in *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. Dawn M. Hadley (London: Longman, 1999), 56–70; P.J.P. Goldberg, "The Fashioning of Bourgeois Domesticity in Later Medieval England: A Material Culture Perspective", in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 124–44; P.J.P. Goldberg, "Household and the Organisation of Labour in Late Medieval Towns: Some English Evidence", in *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared*, ed. Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens (Louvain-Apeldoorn: Garant, 2001), 59–70; P.J.P. Goldberg,

period of profound change within the city – change that was religious, political, socio-economic and cultural. It is generally agreed that by the end of the fifteenth century York was in economic decline, as evidenced by the Corporation's request for assistance to rebuild their defences in 1487, in which they claimed that "there is not half the nombre of good men within your said citie as ther hath beene in tymes past."[4] Events of the sixteenth century, however, mark it as a time of considerable upheaval for the city: a long but radical process of religious overhaul brought about by the Reformation in the 1530s and 1540s; political and administrative change with the establishment of the Council of the North in the city in 1561; and demographic, socio-economic and cultural regrowth and transformation as the resulting influx of people to later sixteenth-century York contributed to economic recovery and to the introduction of new products and innovations previously unavailable in the York marketplace. In fact, by the close of the sixteenth century, the city's population had recovered substantially, reaching perhaps 11,000 to 12,000 from a total of 7,000 to 8,000 at the beginning of the century.[5]

In 1534 Henry VIII severed ties with the papacy and appointed himself head of the English church.[6] In his new position, the king abolished the monasteries, redefined doctrine and encouraged the production and use of English bibles, and his son and successor Edward VI (1547–53) implemented even more radically Protestant policies as well as confiscating much church wealth.[7] In York, the long process of reforms during the 1530s and 1540s resulted in the dissolution of the city's numerous religious houses, the reduction by one third of the number of parish churches in the

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Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300–1520 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

[4] Lorraine C. Attreed, ed., *York House Books, 1461–1490*, vol. 2 (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991), 549. For studies of York's economic situation in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see: Pamela Beatrice Hartshorne, "The Street and the Perception of Public Space in York", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (2004), 52; J.N. Bartlett, "The Expansion and Decline of York in the Later Middle Ages", *Economic History Review* 12, 2nd series (1959−60), 17−33; R.B. Dobson, "Urban Decline in Late Medieval England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27, 5th series (1977): 1−22; Palliser, *Tudor York*, 201−25, 260−87; Alan Dyer, *Decline and Growth in English Towns, 1400−1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle*, 39−81; David M. Palliser, "Civic Mentality and the Environment in Tudor York", *Northern History* 18 (1982): 78−115.

[5] Lower estimates are from Palliser, *Tudor York*, 112−13; higher estimates are from Chris Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns: York in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Liverpool Studies in European Population (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998), 5: Galley adds that in c.1520 York was the fourth most populous English city (after London, Norwich and Bristol) but by 1600 was tied for third place with Bristol.

[6] For an excellent study of the effects of the Reformation, see: Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992). For the effects of the Reformation on York in particular, see: David M. Palliser, *The Reformation in York, 1534–1553*, Borthwick Paper 40 (York: St Anthony's Press, 1971).

[7] Palliser, *Reformation in York*, 1.

city, the disbanding of religious guilds, including parish guilds and the wealthy Corpus Christi guild, and approximately one hundred chantries in the city, and the stripping of the parish churches' shrines, images, chantries, jewels and plate.[8] For conservatively Catholic York, these reforms destroyed the city's cultural identity as a major centre of the medieval Church, dispersing its libraries, closing its schools and slowly and haphazardly removing traces of medieval religion from the city.[9] The political stability of the city was also threatened as a result of York's support of the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), for which the citizens had to seek the pardon of Henry VIII upon his visit to the city five years later.[10] The Reformation also disrupted the city's economy, as many residents had either been in the employ of the Minster or religious houses or had depended upon their custom, while the transfer of monastic properties and chantry endowments to the Crown, and their subsequent sale to men of York and London, resulted in a massive shift in the city's property ownership in the 1540s. But what effect did the Reformation have upon the material culture of York households and how did these changes manifest themselves? It should be expected that testamentary bequests of domestic objects to churches, shrines and chantries would cease, but were religious objects used and displayed in homes similarly affected, and did new "Protestant" objects begin to appear? Furthermore, to what extent did the process of the Reformation affect the emotional and material values attached to these objects?

Of perhaps equal importance to the fortunes of York in the sixteenth century was the permanent establishment of the Council of the North in the city in 1561, stimulating a period of economic and demographic recovery. A major factor in the city's recovery following a late medieval decline in prosperity, the presence of the Council, with its ecclesiastical and civil courts, not only attracted highly trained lawyers to York but also clients and consumers from the hinterland and beyond as well as a large number of tradesmen seeking new opportunities in the city's expanding economy.[11] What affect did this influx of people have upon the material culture of the city? Did their presence contribute to an increased demand for larger and more modern domestic residences and a desire for new and more innovative consumer products? Certainly, both the presence of the law courts and the Protestant push for bibles and other religious writings to be made available in English resulted in the growth of the printing and bookselling trades in the area around York Minster Close, but did

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[8] *Ibid.*, 2, 22−23, 26.

[9] Neil Ripley Ker, *The Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edition (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1964), 217–18; Palliser, *Medieval York*, 290; Palliser, *Tudor York*, 176, 274.

[10] Palliser, *Tudor York*, 50.

[11] *Ibid.*, 53−54; Stefania Perring, "The Cathedral Landscape of York: The Minster Close c.1500−1642", unpublished PhD dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (2010), 227−28.

this demand extend to other types of shops and merchandises?[12] And if so, at what point do these new objects appear in the homes of York residents, and what specific values were attached to owning the latest products or having a newly renovated house decorated in the latest style?[13]

Another change occurred during this period that is equally important for understanding the material culture of the city: the language used for the recording of written probate material shifted from Latin to English. Until the sixteenth century the majority of wills were recorded in Latin, with the earliest English example in this sample dating to 1460 and the next not occurring for another thirty years, although by the 1530s all sampled wills were written in English, a change which thus predated the Reformation. This shift in language raises questions as to whether certain English words refer to new objects not previously available in the city or whether the English words are simple translations of their earlier Latin versions.

Archaeological and documentary evidence: the issues

The third key research question is arguably the most important for the thesis: what issues arise when using both documentary and archaeological evidence to study material culture? Throughout the thesis, it will be noted that the objects that make up archaeological assemblages are not identical, or even similar, to object assemblages described in the documentary sources. In fact, it is not uncommon for certain objects to only exist in one type of source while being completely absent from the other. Consequently, one of the main issues to be resolved is the question of why certain things survive, including the physical survival of excavated items and historical documents, as well as the survival in writing of objects specified in the documents themselves as being items of value. As the resolution of this problem is so crucial to the methodology of the thesis, it will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Data sets

Archaeological data sets

Since its foundation in 1972, the York Archaeological Trust (YAT) has carried out archaeological recording, excavation and research on many sites within the historic city of York, resulting in an impressive portfolio of both published and unpublished work on the artefact assemblages of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century city. The majority of the objects datable to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were recovered from four major York sites excavated during the 1970s and 1980s: 16–22 Coppergate (1976–81); Bedern Foundry and the College of the Vicars Choral at Bedern (1973–80); and 46–54 Fishergate (1985–86). Artefacts were also found at several smaller sites, including: the Coppergate watching brief (1981–83) and 22 Piccadilly (1987) near the main

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[12] For printers, booksellers and other shops in the Close, see: Perring "Cathedral Landscape of York", 247−57.

[13] See Chapter 3.

Coppergate site; 1–5 Aldwark (1976–77), 2 Aldwark (1978, 1979–80) and Bedern Chapel in the vicinity of Bedern; and 9 Blake Street near the sampled parish of St Helen, Stonegate (1975).[14] Also included is evidence provided by more recent digs, such as the excavations undertaken at St Andrewgate in 1995, 9 Little Stonegate in the parish of St Helen, Stonegate in 1998, 41–49 Walmgate in 2000, the site of the former Henlys Garage in The Stonebow in 2004, 62–68 Low Petergate, partly in the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey, in 2004–05, and Hungate in 2006–11.[15] Where appropriate, reference is made to archaeological evidence from other York sites, including Skeldergate and Baile Hill.

The excavation of 16–22 Coppergate covered about 1,000 square metres, running from the modern street frontage down towards the River Foss, with material dateable to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries comprising the latest coherent archaeological evidence found on the site. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century finds were also recovered during the Coppergate watching brief, undertaken following the completion of the main Coppergate excavation during the redevelopment of the Coppergate Shopping Centre, extending from Castlegate in the west to Piccadilly in the east (20,200 square metres), and in four small trenches excavated at 22 Piccadilly in advance of redevelopment there.[16]

Of the other three major sites excavated during the 1970s and 1980s, only Bedern Foundry appears to have been an entirely secular site. The foundry site, located in the parish of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, was a primarily industrial area during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, occupied by a series of metalworking workshops. Debris recovered from the site implies that these workshops specialized in producing cauldrons and other domestic vessels. Similar metalworking waste, as well as a late fifteenth- to early sixteenth-century hearth and quenching pit, found at the nearby St Andrewgate site, indicates that metalworking was also undertaken at this location during the same period. From the mid sixteenth century the Foundry's metalworking furnaces and hearths were replaced with ovens as part of the area functioned as a bakery.[17] Evidence for fifteenth- and

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[14] *AY 3/4*; *AY 16/1*; *AY 16/3*; *AY 16/6*; *AY 16/9*; *AY 17/12*; *AY 17/13*; *AY 17/15*; *AY 17/16*. For a discussion of the York parishes selected for sampling, see below, 37–39.

[15] *AY 10/7*; Neil Macnab, "9 Little Stonegate, York: Report on an Archaeological Excavation", unpublished, York Archaeological Trust Field Report 24 (1998), 60–61; *AY WS/1*), accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm; *AY WS/5*, accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/henlys/index.php; *AY WS/7*, accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/ayw7/index.htm; "Sheet 1 – Looking Back at Hungate Excavation", *Dig York*, YAT, accessed 9 September 2014, http://digyork.com/files/2012/10/Sheet-1-Story-of-the-Dig-Hungate-Project.pdf. Despite its Walmgate location, the 41−49 Walmgate site falls within the parish of St Denys and not in either of the sampled parishes of St Margaret or St Lawrence.

[16] *AY 17/16*, 3187, 3196−99; *AY 17/15*, 2679, 2682−85.

[17] *AY 17/15*, 2687−88; *AY 10/7*, 890, 911.

sixteenth-century metalworking was also found at 9 Little Stonegate (both copper alloy and iron), in parts of 62–68 Low Petergate (along with leather and horn working) and at 41–49 Walmgate.

The other two major sites, the College of the Vicars Choral at Bedern and 46–54 Fishergate, were primarily ecclesiastical. Bedern College was located about 105 metres to the southeast of York Minster and housed its vicars, the appointed deputies of absentee canons. Founded in 1252, the college was not formally disbanded until 1936, although the vicars ceased dining in common in 1574. From the mid fifteenth century on, however, the vicars increasingly lived elsewhere and subletted their houses to lay tenants. This site also contains Bedern Chapel, founded in the early fourteenth century, and is adjacent to the excavated tenements at 1–5 and 2 Aldwark.[18] The area excavated at 46–54 Fishergate encompassed 2,500 square metres to the east of the confluence of the rivers Ouse and Foss, and contained the Gilbertine Priory of St Andrew, founded in 1195 and dissolved c.1538 as a result of the Reformation. Upon the priory's dissolution, a lime kiln was built in the cloister garth and the whole area scavenged for building materials, particularly lead from roofs and window cames.[19]

Of the other digs referred to in the thesis, Hungate is both the largest – at three times the size of the Coppergate site – and most recent. With excavation only completed in 2011, very little from this site has been published thus far, yet examples of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century finds from the Hungate site have been provided where possible.

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century domestic artefacts recovered from the above sites, though usually fragmentary, corroded or incomplete in one way or another, comprised objects, or part of objects, from categories including furniture, furnishings, cooking and dining, dress and dress accessories, religious objects, health and hygiene, literacy, leisure and recreation, outdoor equipment and weapons and armour as well as artefacts relating to a variety of crafts, industry and trade.[20] Examples from elsewhere in Britain, including London, Exeter, Norwich, Winchester and reconstructions from The Weald and Downland Museum, have been used where suitable, if no local example survives.[21]

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[18] *AY 17/15*, 2685−87.

[19] *AY 17/15*, 2688, 2694.

[20] For a complete list of contemporary objects recovered from York sites, see Appendix.

[21] London: Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories, c.1150–c.1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 3 (London: HMSO, 1991); Geoff Egan, *Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition: Tudor and Stuart Period Finds c.1450–c.1700 from Excavations at Riverside Sites in Southwark*, MoLAS monograph 19 (London: MoLAS, 2005); Geoff Egan, *The Medieval Household: Daily Living c.1150–c.1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 6 (London: Boydell, 1998); Exeter: John P. Allan, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter*, 1971−80, Exeter Archaeological Reports 3 (Exeter: Exeter City Council and The University of

Within the modern-day city of York are a number of standing buildings that had their origins in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or earlier, particularly on the streets of Petergate and Stonegate, in the sampled parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey and St Helen, Stonegate. Information included in the Royal Commission of Historical Monuments of England's (RCHME) 1981 survey of the houses in the central area of York, on the pre-seventeenth-century development of standing buildings in the four parishes, was used to understand the type of buildings in which sampled individuals would have lived.[22] For the case study of the Starre Inne on Stonegate, discussed in Chapter 6, the RCHME's original, unpublished file on the building has been consulted.[23]

Historical data sets

A significant amount of documentary material has survived for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, including both civic records and ecclesiastical documents.[24] Several of York's civic registers have been published, including the register of the city's freemen (1272–1759), fifteenth-century bridgemasters' accounts and the *York Memorandum Book* (1376–1493) and *York House Books* (1461–90), registers listing the city's officials and recording and describing their duties and daily business.[25] Unpublished ecclesiastical documents include court cases heard before the Dean and Chapter of York, now housed at the Borthwick Institute for Archives (BIA) and known as Cause Papers, and probate material – mainly wills – collected in registers by both the Dean and Chapter and the Exchequer Courts of York, held at the York Minster Library (YML) and the BIA respectively. Also found at the BIA are a selection of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century original

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Exeter,1984); Norwich: Sue Margeson, *Norwich Households: The Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Norwich Survey Excavations 1971−78*, East Anglian Archaeology 58 (Norwich: Norwich Survey, 1993); Winchester: Martin Biddle, ed., *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester: Artefacts from Medieval Winchester, Part II*, Winchester Studies 7.ii, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); "Home page". The Weald and Downland Open Air Museum", accessed 31 January 2015, http://www.wealddown.co.uk/.

[22] RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, vol. V: The Central Area* (London: HMSO, 1981).

[23] RCHME, Architectural Records Section – Buildings Index, BF061189 (unpublished), provided by The English Heritage Archive.

[24] However, both the quantity and quality of surviving York civic documents fall far short of those existing for the city of London during the same period, with many suffering damage and misjudged attempts at re-organization, while internal references to records no longer extant suggest that a significant proportion of York's civic documents have been lost: Debbie Jean Steele O'Brien, "'The Veray Registre of All Trouthe': The Content, Function, and Character of the Civic Registers of London and York, c.1274−c.1482", unpublished D.Phil dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (1999), 129−30.

[25] Francis Collins, ed., *The Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, 2 vols, Surtees Society 96 and 102 (1897 and 1900); Philip M. Stell, trans., *York Bridgemasters' Accounts* (York: YAT, 2003); Maud Sellers, ed., *York Memorandum Book*, 2 vols, Surtees Society 120 and 125 (1912 for 1911, 1914); Attreed, *York House Books, 1461–1490.*

probate inventories submitted to, and preserved by, the Dean and Chapter Court, forty-nine of which have been used in this thesis.[26]

It is the probate material – both wills and inventories – that comprises the main historical data set used throughout the thesis. The potential problems of using these sources are numerous and have been discussed elsewhere, but two are especially relevant to the study of material culture: the problems of law and of custom.[27] First and foremost, the last will or testament was a legal document which had to conform to legal requirements. Wills could legally be made by "both man and woman, Christian and Iew, sound or sicke", except for those who lacked discretion (such as children, the mad and the very old), those who had committed serious crimes (including treason, felony and heresy), those who lacked one of the principal senses (the blind, deaf and dumb) and those who lacked freedom and liberty (slaves, prisoners and, most crucially for the purposes of this thesis, married women).[28] Married women could, and did, however, bequeath their goods and chattels if their husbands gave them licence or consent to do so. The result is an under-representation of married female testators not only in the sampled York records, but throughout fifteenth- and sixteenth-century England in general.

Problems relating to ecclesiastical custom are more complicated. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Province of York followed the custom of *legitim*: the child's right to one third of his or her parents' estate.[29] Consequently, upon a man's death, one third of his personal property belonged to his wife, one third belonged to his legitimate children, and the final third was his own, to be disposed of as he willed. When analysing a will, it is usually impossible to tell whether bequests made to a spouse or child come from the testator's own third or from the third to which the recipient is already entitled by custom. Occasionally a testator will specify that a bequest comprises a child's third, but even then it is unclear whether the bequest represents the entire third

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[26] Original inventories used are: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1389−1603, microfilm, reels 1239 (1383−March 1554), 1240 (1554−79) and 1241 (1580−1603). Another three inventories have been included in the sample: two from testamentary Cause Papers (BIA, DC.CP.1524/11 and DC.CP.1581/7) and one from a printed volume of select wills and inventories (James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 3, Surtees Society 45 (1864), 49−53).

[27] See, for example, Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose, ed., *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2000).

[28] Henry Swinburne, *A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and Last Willes &c.* (London: The Companie of Stationers, 1611 edition [1591]), fol. 37v, image 52, accessed 19 November 2010, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgthumbs.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99853272&FILE=../session/1426160628_27853&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR.

[29] R.H. Helmholz, "Legitim in English Legal History", *University of Illinois Law Review* 3 (1984): 667.

or only part of it, as bequests made to children *inter vivos* (or between the living) could count towards their customary third.

Although York men were more likely to leave wills than women, it was female testators who were more likely to bequeath household objects and personal possessions.[30] There are several reasons for this: most female testators were restricted to bequests of objects (married women being prevented by law from conferring property, and widows usually holding land for term of life or during their widowhood only); over 75% of sampled female testators were widows legally able to bequeath one full half of all their goods compared to a male testator's third; another 13.5% were singlewomen, free to bequeath everything they owned.[31] On the other hand, the majority of male testators had both wives and children, and it is consequently only the final third of their belongings that usually appears in their testaments, with bequests of objects made primarily to family and business associates, leaving the residue to wives (if married) and/or children (Table 1).[32]

Table 1: Occurrence of object bequests in wills

Wills of:	*Number of testators*	*Presence of object bequests*	
Men	430	311	72.3%
Women	111	100	90.1%
Widows	86	79	91.9%
Wives	10	10	100.0%
Singlewomen	15	11	73.3%
Total	541	411	76.0%

Although extracts from some wills and inventories have been printed in the *Testamenta Eboracensia* volumes of the Surtees Society, and translations of the ten sampled fifteenth-century inventories have also been published, for the purpose of this thesis it is mainly the original probate

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[30] This was also the case in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Sandwich, and likely throughout the country: Catherine Richardson, "Household Objects and Domestic Ties", in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850–c.1550*, ed. Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 433–47. Of the individuals sampled for this thesis, 90.1% of women bequeathed at least one object compared to 72.3% of men.

[31] For testamentary laws affecting married women, see: Swinburne, *A Briefe Treatise*, fols. 49v–52v, image 64–70, and for singlewomen, fols. 38v–39r, image 53, accessed 12 May 2015, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgthumbs.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99853272&FILE=../session/1426160628_27853&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR.

[32] Almost half of sampled male testators (45.7%) refer in their testaments to living wives and children, although the actual figure is certainly much higher: at least 75% of male testators had been married during their lives, most probably with children; that these relatives do not appear in the will does not mean they were not provided for.

copies of the wills and the original inventories that have been consulted.[33] In all, 542 wills, 112 other probate documents (including administration acts and probate acts) and fifty-two inventories, all dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and relating to 659 separate individuals, have been examined for this thesis.

For the case study undertaken in Chapter 6 of this thesis, contemporary art illustrations have been used to illustrate certain objects or to give an impression of how a certain space within the home may have been arranged. Due to the almost complete lack of English illustrations from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, European, and especially Flemish, artwork has been used as it is likely that the majority of objects depicted in these works would have been similar to those found in York during the same period.

Historiography

A large amount of scholarship from a wide range of disciplines has been dedicated to the study of objects, urban material culture and household archaeology in England, much of which has been invaluable in studying and understanding the material culture of York homes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In the field of cultural and social anthropology, a great deal of work has been published on objects, their ownership and transmission. In *The Social Life of Things*, Arjun Appadurai notes that things have no meaning or value apart from that given to them by people, at which point they become commodities, that is, "objects of economic value".[34] Similarly, Janet Hoskins posits that objects are only given significance by becoming entangled in the events of people's lives, with identities and biographies being formed around these objects, which she thus calls "biographical objects". For Hoskins, it is "the meanings imputed to [objects] as significant personal possessions" that are important.[35] Annette Weiner's work on inalienable possessions focuses on the transmission of objects, particularly what she considers to be the universal paradox of how to keep-while-giving, motivated by people's need to secure permanence in a changing world. Weiner argues that objects are more than mere commodities as their value is not solely economic: objects are imbued with the identity of their owners, and thus control memories of the past. A gift, then, not only provides the

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[33] James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, 6 vols, Surtees Society 4, 30, 45, 53, 79 and 106 (1836–1902); Philip M. Stell, trans., *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350−1500* (York: YAT, 2006).

[34] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value", in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 5.

[35] Janet Hoskins, *Biographical Objects: How Things Tell the Stories of Peoples' Lives* (London: Routledge, 1998), 2, 195.

recipient with a new possession, but also adds value to the social identity of the recipient while at the same time memorializing the gift-giver.[36]

These anthropological concepts can very usefully be transferred to the historical study of medieval and early modern gift-giving – as Ilana Ben-Amos does in her work on the culture of giving in early modern England, which concentrates on the provision of informal support within families, households, neighbourhoods and broader networks – and to studies of testamentary bequests in particular.[37] Lynne Bowdon, for example, adopts such an anthropological approach in her examination of testamentary bequests in late medieval New Romney; however the emphasis of this paper is on the range and values of the testators' relationships with their legatees, rather than on the possessions themselves.[38] More relevant are Catherine Richardson's work on household objects in the wills of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Sandwich residents and Elisabeth Salter's "imaginative reconstruction" of testators in north Kent in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in which she attempts to discover "the ways that ordinary people in town and country define themselves, their families and their social networks" using the evidence of last wills and testaments.[39] Although a literary scholar primarily interested in cultural creativity, textual practice and the construction of identity, Salter's chapter on possessions and the importance of the way in which they are described in testaments, drawing directly upon the work of both Hoskins and Weiner, contains as much information about the possessions themselves as about the texts in which they are mentioned. Historian Martha Howell's approach to her study of how the testamentary practices of fifteenth-century Douai in Flanders shaped rituals of gift-giving is also influenced by anthropological theory: her concept of "fixing movables" is similar to Weiner's of "inalienable possessions", though with subtle differences. According to Howell, testators "fix" their movables by labelling their objects and attaching them both to their own persons and to others in their social network as the objects' recipients. For Howell, the economic value of the object not only retains its importance, but is one

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[36] Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-while-Giving* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), especially 6−7, 36.

[37] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[38] Lynne Bowdon , "Redefining Kinship: Exploring Boundaries of Relatedness in Late Medieval New Romney", *Journal of Family History* 29 (2004): 407–30.

[39] Catherine Richardson, "Household Objects and Domestic Ties", in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850–c.1550*, ed. Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 433–47; Elisabeth Salter, *Cultural Creativity in the Early English Renaissance: Popular Culture in Town and Country* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), especially Chapter 4. See also her discussions of testamentary objects in: Elisabeth Salter, "Some Differences in Cultural Production of Household Consumption in Three North Kent Communities, c.1450–50", in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850–c.1550*, ed. Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 391–407.

of the motivating factors in bequeathing and "fixing" the item in the first place, in an attempt to save that item from either being discarded or re-entering commercial circulation.[40]

Other studies of testamentary object bequests focus on a particular type of object or a certain segment of the population, such as Janet Loengard's essay on widows and their goods, Nicola Lowe's piece on women's bequests of textiles to the church, and Sheila Sweetinburgh's and Salter's respective articles on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century clothing bequests, both utilizing testamentary evidence from Kent.[41]

Work on urban material culture is not confined to the study of gift-giving. Economic approaches have also been used, particularly in studies of production and consumption, such as those written by Mark Overton and Lorna Weatherill. Although both concentrate on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and thus are too late to be directly relevant to the thesis, the theories and methodologies adopted can be usefully adapted to studying the material culture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[42] More significantly for the period and themes studied in this thesis, Jeremy Goldberg uses the evidence of inventory listings, including several from York, to explore the ways in which material culture was used in late medieval times to fashion what he calls "bourgeois domesticity", in which bourgeois (often urban) society assigned higher value (both culturally and economically) to domestic objects than did peasant society, who prioritized ownership of land and livestock over goods.[43] Equally useful, and particularly relevant to the study of affective value in Chapter 5 of this thesis, is Richardson's essay investigating the emotional value attributed to two hats given as tokens of affection in two sixteenth-century court cases; this is one of the only publications I have discovered that seeks to apply the study of emotions to material culture.[44]

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[40] Martha C. Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai", *Past and Present* 150 (1996): 3−45, especially 39–40.

[41] Janet S. Loengard, "'Which may be said to be her own': Widows and Goods in Late-Medieval England", in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 162–76; Nicola A. Lowe, "Women's Devotional Bequests of Textiles in the Late Medieval English Parish Church, c.1350–1550", *Gender & History* 22, no. 2 (2010): 407–29; Sheila Sweetinburgh, "Clothing the Naked in Late Medieval East Kent", in *Clothing Culture 1350–1650: The History of Retailing and Consumption*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 109–21; Elisabeth Salter, "Reworked Material: Discourses of Clothing Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Greenwich", in *idem*, 179–91.

[42] Mark Overton *et al.*, *Production and Consumption in English Households, 1600−1750*, Routledge Explorations in Economic History 19 (London: Routledge, 2004); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660−1760*, 3rd edition (London: Routledge, 1997).

[43] Goldberg, "Fashioning of Bourgeois Domesticity", 124–44.

[44] Catherine Richardson, "'A very fit hat': Personal Objects and Early Modern Affection", in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. Tara

In the field of household archaeology, one of the main sources consulted for this thesis are the fascicles on small finds published by the York Archaeological Trust (YAT), which not only catalogue and identify excavated objects recovered from the city, but also examine how these artefacts may have been made and used within the home.[45] Also valuable are the archaeological catalogues, and their accompanying descriptions of object use, from other cities, particularly Geoff Egan's volumes on London and Sue Margeson's work on Norwich households.[46] More interpretive works have also proven useful, including many of the articles in the Societies of Medieval Archaeology and Post-Medieval Archaeology's publication on *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400–1600*, which includes works on specific types of objects, objects made from certain materials, and the houses in which such objects were found, all dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[47] Works on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century houses, the rooms within them and the objects which furnished them have also been of great assistance, including Jane Grenville's and John Schofield's respective books on medieval housing, Jayne Rimmer's thesis on small houses in York and Norwich, and Ursula Priestley and Penelope Corfield's article on room and room use in Norwich, as well as articles focusing on a particular type of room or space and its associated objects.[48] Particularly interesting is Nat Alcock's useful study of the households of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, 1500–1800, which, like this thesis, uses evidence provided by both standing houses and probate documents, but focuses on recreating village life as

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Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 289–98. See also my own article: Lisa Liddy, "Affective Bequests: Creating Emotion in York Wills, 1400−1600", in *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe*, ed. Michael Champion and Andrew Lynch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 273–89.

[45] YAT, The Small Finds: *AY 17/11*; *AY 17/12*; *AY 17/13*; *AY 17/15*; *AY 17/16*.

[46] Egan, *The Medieval Household*; Egan, *Material Culture in London*; Margeson, *Norwich Households*.

[47] David M. Gaimster and Paul Stamper, ed., *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400–1600*, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15, Oxbow Monograph 98 (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997).

[48] Jane Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997); John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995); Jayne Rimmer, "Small Houses in Late Medieval York and Norwich", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of York (2007); Ursula Priestley and P.J. Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580−1730", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1982): 93−123. See also, for example: Roger H. Leech, "The Symbolic Hall: Historical Context and Merchant Culture in the Early Modern City", *Vernacular Architecture* 31 (2000): 1−10; Sarah Pearson, "Provision of Services in Medieval Houses in Kent", *Vernacular Architecture* 43 (2012), 28−46; David Clark, "The Shop Within? An Analysis of the Architectural Evidence for Medieval Shops", *Architectural History* 43 (2000): 58–87.

opposed to this thesis's emphasis on the domestic objects of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York and the ways in which they were used, display and valued.[49]

Structure of the thesis

In Chapter 1, I have discussed the key research questions driving the thesis, explained the archaeological and historical data sets used and summarized the historiography relevant to the study of domestic objects in York. Chapter 2 addresses the methodology used in the thesis and introduces the four sampled York parishes on which the thesis is based. The chapter concludes with the prosopographical scoping of the people included in this sample, concentrating on characteristics including gender, marital status, occupation, wealth, civic office-holding, geographical origins and familial and social relationships. Chapter 3 investigates the ways in which assemblages of objects shed light on the nature of households in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York. House and household sizes, and the number and types of rooms found within the same, will be analysed; change over time will be considered; and an attempt will by made to define and describe various rooms and their functions, focusing on the domestic objects found within them. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 are concerned with the values attributed to domestic objects. Chapter 4 focuses on the material character, range and value of domestic objects, and how this value was constructed in the records and reflected archaeologically. Different types of value considered include financial value, value revealed through discard practices and functional value; the chapter will include a discussion of evidence for specialization of work and organization of production. Chapter 5 shifts the focus to the emotional or affective value attributed to various objects through the ways in which their owners describe and bequeath them in their wills, exploring how objects become carriers of emotion and investments in the affective relationships of York residents with their family, friends and neighbours. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of how familial values were reflected in the bequest of assemblages to regenerate households. Chapter 6 is a case study which draws on all the evidence collected and analysed in previous chapters to explore in detail a single property at a single point in time: the Starre Inne on Stonebridge in the sampled parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey, c.1581. The chapter includes a discussion of the value of using an inn for the case study and will investigate the family who lived in the inn, its rooms and the objects found within them, and the ways in which both the rooms and objects may have been used and displayed. Throughout the thesis, the key research questions will be addressed and, in Chapter 7, the conclusions reached in each of the main chapters will be drawn together to provide answers to these questions, leading into a discussion of the concept of neighbourhood in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century city. The thesis will conclude with suggestions as to how archaeology and history can work together in the future to form new questions. An appendix is also provided, listing and describing the objects recovered by archaeological investigation in York datable to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

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[49] N.W. Alcock, *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village, 1500−1800* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1993).

CHAPTER 2
Methodology and Prosopography

The methodology adopted in this thesis for studying the material culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York is unique in assigning equal importance to both the archaeological and the documentary evidence. Consequently, this chapter will begin by discussing the issues surrounding such an interdisciplinary approach, particularly the question of why certain things survive, including the physical survival of excavated items and historical documents as well as the survival in writing of objects specified in the documents themselves as being items of value. The four York parishes on which the thesis is based will be introduced, and the reasons for choosing these communities explained. Particular reference will be made to surviving documentary material, archaeological investigations undertaken within or near these parishes, and the contemporary buildings which survive on their streets, including the Starre Inne on Stonegate. The methodology adopted for the thesis will be expounded in detail, describing the research and writing processes. The final part of this chapter includes prosopographical scoping of some of the people included in the sample, looking at characteristics such as gender, marital status, occupation, wealth, civic office-holding, geographical origins and familial relationships and social networks among sampled individuals.

Survival

As noted in Chapter 1, the objects that make up archaeological assemblages vary significantly from those objects described in the historical record. Thus, one of the main issues that arises when using both documentary and archaeological evidence to study the material culture of the city is the question of why certain things survive in certain assemblages but not in others, including the physical survival of both artefacts and historical documents, and the survival in writing of objects specified as being items of value in the documents themselves.

Archaeological survival

In order to end up in the archaeological record, the objects of medieval and early modern York had to have either been buried intentionally (such as grave goods, coin hoards or well-linings), discarded as manufacturing waste or household rubbish, or lost accidentally. Objects then had to survive burial until rediscovery. Hundreds of years of almost constant re-building and expansion have resulted in the loss of much of the city's archaeology, including countless fifteenth- and sixteenth-century objects. At 16–22 Coppergate, for example, very few later medieval and early modern artefacts have been recovered since most material post-dating the fourteenth century had been destroyed when modern cellars were constructed on the site.[50] Moreover, prior to 1990's

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[50] *AY 17/16*, 3189. For a description of this site, see Chapter 1, 22.

Planning Policy Guidance 16 (PPG 16), which imposed a condition whereby developers were to carry out "an agreed programme of archaeological works... at their own costs" where archaeological deposits were likely to be destroyed by new building, most excavations were undertaken as "rescue archaeology", that is, field archaeology carried out to salvage archaeological remains on sites threatened by construction or other development.[51] Because money was scarce and time of the essence, the retrieval of artefacts had to be selective, often resulting in later levels, including those belonging to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being machined off and discarded, particularly if the area was considered key for understanding Roman, Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian periods.[52] It is only in recent years that the importance of discovering and preserving the material culture of post-medieval periods has been recognized.

Furthermore, each type of material from which objects were made comes with its own set of problems regarding its survival in the archaeological record. Fired clay, pottery, stone, jet and amber generally survive burial well due to their "robust nature", requiring "little stabilisation or consolidation".[53] Glass, on the other hand "decays severely when it is buried".[54] Pottery and glass, often discarded when broken or no longer needed, are rarely found intact; the most common finds on all archaeological sites are pottery sherds or fragments from which it is not always possible to identify the object's original form. Organic matter, including textiles, leather, horn and wood, is prone to decay in most conditions, although occasionally survives in certain areas of York containing phosphate-rich, anoxic, water-logged soil.[55] Additionally, broken or worn wooden items often ended their days as fuel for the fire, while textiles and leather items no longer of use would have been recycled, re-worked and re-used, perhaps several times, before eventually being discarded. Textiles, in particular, are thus very rare in York's archaeological record, and when fragments – often little more than a few threads – do survive, there is usually no indication as to the form of the original item.[56] Leather and wood survive slightly better in York's anoxic soil, as do

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[51] *Dictionary of Archaeology*, s.v. "Planning Policy Guidance (PPG)", s.v. "rescue archaeology".

[52] Ailsa Mainman, personal comment.

[53] *AY 17/15*, 2700.

[54] *AY 17/15*, 2814.

[55] *AY 17/16*, 3185; *AY 17/13*, 2094; John Peter Wild, *Textiles in Archaeology* (Princes Risborough: Shire, 2003), 8.

[56] For surviving medieval textiles from York, see *AY 17/15*, 2880−86, especially Table 302 (2881). For a detailed explanation of the effects of burial on textiles, see Elisabeth Crowfoot, Frances Pritchard and Kay Staniland, ed., *Textiles and Clothing, c.1150−c.1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 4 (London: HMSO, 1992), 2–3.

bone, antler and ivory; no horn artefacts have been recovered from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century contexts in the city.[57]

Metal objects, both iron and non-ferrous, are subject to various levels of corrosion as a result of their burial environment. In the Bedern area of York, for example, corrosion on ferrous objects was "thick, dense, well attached and often difficult to remove" compared to the corrosion found on objects from the Coppergate site.[58] As a result of such corrosion, many metal objects are not immediately identifiable to the naked eye and require some level of conservation. Excavated iron objects are X-rayed before certain items are selected for further investigation; objects made from copper alloy, however, are not routinely X-rayed being subject to less corrosion and more easily identifiable.[59] Thus not only can decorative features, surface coatings and constructional details remain hidden, but heavily corroded objects might remain unidentified or be misidentified as slag.[60] Furthermore, metal was an expensive commodity: broken objects were often repaired, and unwanted or irreparable items could be melted down and re-worked. This is especially true for precious metals; it is thus unsurprising that most items of gold and silver found in York's archaeological record were lost accidentally and not purposely discarded.

Taking all of these factors into account, it is almost surprising – and extremely fortunate – that so many objects from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York not only survive, but have been identified, conserved, preserved and recorded by the York Archaeological Trust and other institutions.[61]

Record survival

The main documentary sources consulted for this thesis are probate wills and inventories. York is fortunate in having a substantial number of such extant documents dating to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[62] Two main courts were responsible for recording and proving the wills of York inhabitants used in this thesis: the Exchequer Court and the Dean and Chapter Court.[63] The

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[57] *AY 17/12*.

[58] *AY 17/15*, 2697. For a description of the Bedern sites, see Chapter 1, 22–23.

[59] Objects were selected for conservation for three reasons: "to enable identification of objects not identifiable from X-rays; to allow accurate illustration; to reveal non-ferrous inlay or plating": *AY 17/15*, 2696.

[60] *AY 17/15*, 2698–99.

[61] For a list and description of the objects recovered by archaeological investigation in York and datable to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, organized by function, see Appendix.

[62] For the purposes of this thesis, 542 wills, fifty-two inventories and 112 other probate documents have been consulted; see Chapter 1, 24–27.

[63] "Guide to Probate Courts", BIA, University of York, 25 February 2014, accessed 1 February 2015, http://www.york.ac.uk/borthwick/holdings/guides/research-guides/probate-courts/. There

Exchequer Court of York held jurisdiction over lay people and unbeneficed clergy having goods in the diocese, while the Dean and Chapter Court was responsible for those having goods within their own peculiar, which included parishioners of the sampled parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey.[64] The Dean and Chapter Court also exercised jurisdiction over the diocese during archiepiscopal vacancies. For both courts, the vast majority of surviving wills used in this thesis exist not as originals, but as registered copies transcribed into bound volumes.[65] Although, compared to wills, a relatively small number of probate inventories survive for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, York is extremely fortunate in having some of the earliest extant inventories in the country, with about one hundred dating to before 1500, and considerably more of sixteenth-century date.[66] However, while the number of surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century probate documents is impressive, it is likely that many more examples have been lost due to incomplete recording, loss of records, or because the family of the deceased chose not to submit the will or inventory for probate.[67] It also appears that the Dean and Chapter were the more diligent in recording and/or storing probate material: not only do their registers survive from 1321, while the first Exchequer Court volume only begins in 1389, but all save three of the surviving original inventories relevant to this thesis were preserved by this court. This may also explain why the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey, which fell under the Dean and Chapter's peculiar jurisdiction, is better represented in the sample material than the other three parishes combined (Table 2, below). As a result of the uncertain survival of wills and inventories, and the impossibility of knowing how many people, and of what status, are not represented by testamentary material, the thesis on a whole is a qualitative rather than quantitative study of the city's material culture.

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was also a Prerogative Court which had jurisdiction over people having goods in more than one jurisdiction or in several of the northern dioceses, and a Chancery Court responsible for the wills of beneficed clergy.

[64] For an explanation of the parishes selected for sampling, see below, 37–39.

[65] Exchequer Court registers, held at the Borthwick Institute for Archives, used in this thesis are: BIA, Prob. Regs 2−11, 13−14, 15/1, 15/2, 15/3, 16−18. Dean and Chapter registers, at the York Minster Library, are: YML, D&C wills, vols 1−3, 5.

[66] Philip M. Stell, trans., *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350−1500* (York: YAT, 2006), 487. Original inventories, kept at the Borthwick Institute, are: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1389−1603, microfilm, reels 1239 (1383−March 1554), 1240 (1554−79) and 1241 (1580−1603); of the remaining three sampled inventories, two were found in testamentary Cause Papers (BIA, DC.CP.1524/11 and DC.CP.1581/7) and one in a printed volume of select wills and inventories: James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 3, Surtees Society 45 (1864), 49−53. It only became obligatory for an inventory of the deceased's belongings to be provided to the relevant probate court from 1530: S. Taheri, "What are Probate Inventories?", *Family History Monthly*, accessed 8 January 2015, http://www.familyhistorymonthly.com/qanda-detail/7.

[67] This final option probably occurred quite often, especially when the will was straightforward and easily administered, since acquiring probate involved paying a fee to the relevant court. Also, excluded from the study, of course, are the many individuals who died intestate.

Object survival within documentary sources

Although the primary function of the last will and testament was to provide for the testator's soul, this document was also used to settle his or her worldly estate and to provide some measure of security for dependants and loved ones. In approximately three-quarters of the wills sampled for this thesis, at least one personal or domestic possession was singled out as a specific bequest. However, these documents do not provide a full account of every possession owned by the deceased, only of those that he or she selected as special gifts for family, household members, friends or neighbours. In other words, all were objects that were prized or valued for economic, functional and/or affective reasons. The inventory, on the other hand, is purportedly a list of all objects that belonged to the deceased on the day of his or her death, but in actuality only lists those moveable items determined to have a significant resale value, and often includes regular (but unhelpful) group listings such as "other hustlements" or "all the other household stuff".[68]

Those domestic and personal objects which regularly appear in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century documentary sources, and thus were deemed to be of value to their owners or appraisers, can be categorized according to type: furniture and soft furnishings (manufactured mainly from wood and textiles respectively); hearth implements, kitchen equipment (including objects used in baking and brewing) and tableware; basins, ewers and candlesticks; household textiles, articles of clothing and dress accessories (including jewellery); religious objects (the majority pre-Reformation); books; recreational objects (including hunting and fishing equipment, gaming tables and musical instruments); outdoor equipment; weapons and armour; silver and silver-gilt plate; and objects related to craft, industry and trade (including shop contents and tools). Many objects were not only named but also had their appearances described in detail, with adjectives used to indicate size, material, colour, finish and/or function.

Interdisciplinarity

As the above discussion indicates, the evidence collected during archaeological investigations is often very different to that provided by the documentary sources. Many of the objects that do not usually survive in the archaeological record – because the material from which they were made doesn't survive well in burial conditions (textiles or glass, for example), because the unwanted objects were likely to have been recycled or reused for different functions (wood burned as fuel;

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[68] See: Henry Swinburne, *A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and Last Willes &c.* (London: The Companie of Stationers, 1611 edition [1591]), fol. 256v, image 275, accessed 11 December 2013, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgthumbs.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99853272&FILE=../session/1426160628_27853&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR; Mark Overton, "Prices from Probate Inventories", in *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose, ed. (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2004), 120−41; and see Chapter 4, 105–107.

metals melted and reformed into different objects; textiles cut and sewn into new items) or because the objects were too valuable to be discarded at all (such as jewellery and other silver) – not only appear in the documentary sources, but are often described in great detail. At the same time, objects that are present, and sometimes even plentiful, in the archaeological record often either do not appear in wills or inventories, or only appear very rarely, including, for example, objects used for personal grooming and hygiene and inexpensive everyday objects made from cheap materials such as pottery. Finds of pottery sherds alone provide evidence not only of the variety of vessel forms present in early modern York, but also of how prevalent pottery must have been in the household, despite its absence from the documents. Objects that do appear in the documentary sources have been included in the written record precisely because they were items that were especially valued, whether they were singled out as bequests in wills or appraised and assigned a monetary value in inventories. Such prized objects, even when made from robust materials likely to survive in York's soil, tend not to appear in the archaeological record as these items were kept, mended, re-used and recycled, but were rarely intentionally discarded. The two disciplines, then, provide different but complementary information concerning the material culture of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York. This almost total divergence between the historical and archaeological record is one of the primary reasons that this doctoral thesis was funded as a Collaborative Doctoral Award (CDA) by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), opening up the massive collections of the York Archaeological Trust (YAT), and the extensive but often unpublished knowledge of its staff, to wider scrutiny and new scholarship. Any complete study of the objects of the medieval and early modern household, therefore, must develop a multidisciplinary methodology, considering the evidence presented by documentary records and by material collections, as it is only through using both the archaeological and the historical sources that the full range of objects that furnished the houses of the city's inhabitants can be effectively explored and analysed.

Selected York parishes

It has been estimated that York's population in 1400 was over 15,000, and although it had dropped to about 7,000 in 1524–25, it had probably started to recover by the 1540s when population of the city has been estimated at 8,000.[69] However, it was in 1561, when the Council of the North established its sole headquarters in the city and a new Northern Ecclesiastical Commission was set up in York, that population and prosperity both began to grow significantly once again.[70] Yet despite the fact that York's population was falling drastically throughout the fifteenth century and during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the number of surviving probate documents

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[69] David M. Palliser, *Medieval York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 221, 265, 293. For higher population estimates, see C. Galley, *The Demography of Early Modern Towns: York in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Liverpool Studies in European Population (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998), 5, and Chapter 1, note 5.

[70] Palliser, *Medieval York*, 293; see Chapter 1, 20–21.

actually increases during this period (Table 2). So, although surviving wills belong primarily to only the more prosperous adults of the city, and are heavily biased towards males, the amount of surviving probate material for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York is still so vast that a study encompassing the entire city would be a massive and highly time-consuming undertaking.

Table 2: Sampled individuals by parish[71]

Parish	1400−1450		1451−1500		1501−1550		1551−1600		1400−1600	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
St Michael-le-Belfrey	88	63.3	111	61.7	149	71.3	78	59.6	426	64.6
St Helen	32	23.0	40	22.2	31	14.8	10	7.6	113	17.2
St Margaret	17	12.2	14	7.8	14	6.7	33	25.2	78	11.8
St Lawrence	2	1.5	15	8.3	15	7.2	10	7.6	42	6.4
All sampled parishes	139	100.0	180	100.0	209	100.0	131	100.0	659	100.0
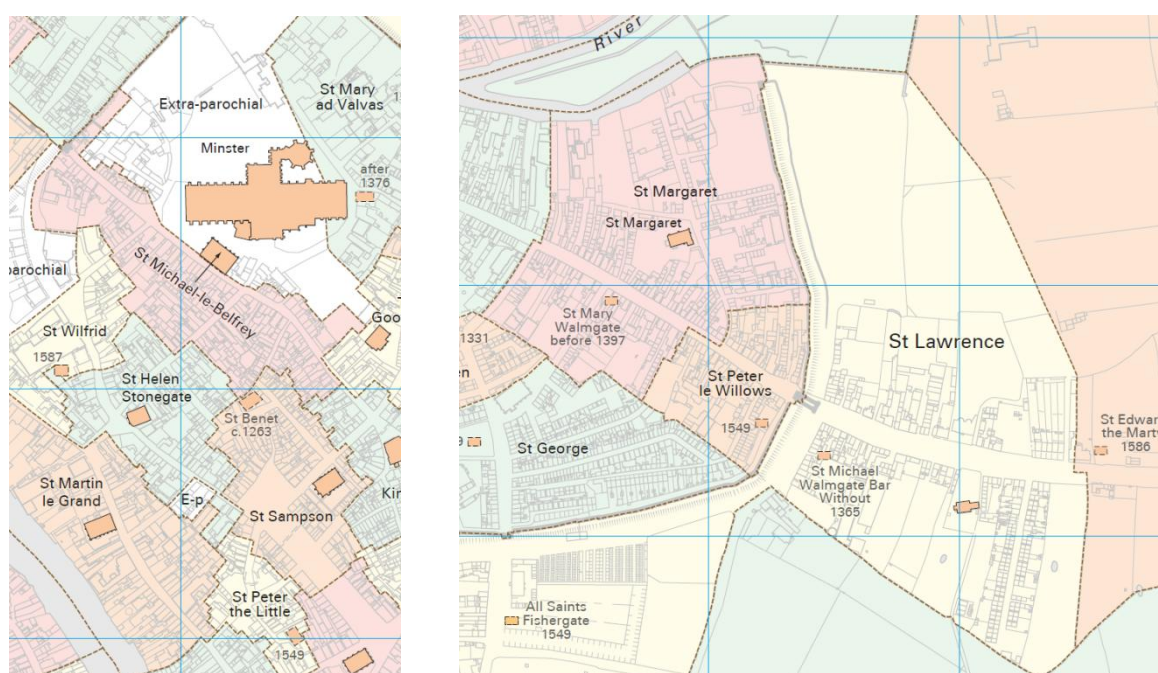
Fig. 1   Maps of sampled parishes, depicting adjacent positions, and respective sizes, of St Michael-le-Belfrey and St Helen, Stonegate and of St Margaret and St Lawrence parishes[72]

Thus, for the purpose of this thesis, only probate material from certain parts of the city has been sampled, namely the four parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey, St Helen, Stonegate, St Margaret and St Lawrence (Fig. 1). The adjacent parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey and St Helen, Stonegate encompass the prosperous streets of Petergate and Stonegate in the vicinity of York Minster, whose residents included merchants, lawyers and some of the city's wealthiest craftsmen such as

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[71] The increase in testators from St Margaret parish in the second half of the sixteenth century, when totals for all other parishes fell, could be the result of more diligent recording of testaments by York's Exchequer Court or could reflect a real rise in parish population and/or the prosperity of the crafts and practitioners centred there, particularly the tanners.

[72] Map excerpts are taken from Peter Addyman, ed., *York: British Historic Towns Atlas Volume V* (Oxford: Oxbow Books for the Historic Towns Trust, 2015).

goldsmiths, glaziers and pewterers. At the east end of the walled city, the more rural and less populous parishes of St Margaret and St Lawrence, located on either side of Walmgate Bar, counted among its wealthiest residents both tanners and members of the textile trades. These two groups of parishes were selected for sampling for a number of reasons: their positions at opposite ends of the city, including one parish – St Lawrence – located in the suburbs outside the city walls; the possibility of exploring the differences between households and neighbourhoods in busy commercial areas and more agricultural parts of the city; the fact that archaeological investigations have been carried out within, or nearby, the selected parishes; the survival of contemporary buildings within these parishes, particularly on Petergate and Stonegate, including the Starre Inne, discussed in detail in Chapter 6; and the survival of probate documents for the chosen parishes, with by far the greatest number surviving for the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey (Table 2).

Methodology

Once the parishes to be sampled had been selected, the first stage of the study consisted of archival research. Probate material relating to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century residents of the four sampled parishes was located, translated into modern English and transcribed into Microsoft Word files. For information concerning the objects themselves, the original Latin or Middle English wording was retained and also recorded in the same files. The data was then entered into a relational database using Microsoft Access. Separate tables were created to record details about each documentary record and individual respectively. Thus, in the first table, each probate document was represented by a database record (row) with accompanying information divided into several fields (columns). Fields adopted included the name of the deceased, the type of document (will, administration act, probate act, tuition act or inventory) and the language in which it was written, the dates the document was written and proved, the parish, street (when given) and requested burial place of the testator, and his or her occupation and/or status as recorded in that document. In the second table, a database record (row) was created for each sampled individual, with fields (columns) for name, gender, date of death, place of residence, occupation and/or status, date of entry into the freedom of the city and any civic office held (when such information could be found), as well as a field for the names of spouses, family and household members as found either in the testator's own will or from cross-referencing with other documents.

The next stage of the study concentrated on coming to terms with the archaeological side of the project. After completing a six-week course on working with artefacts, put on by the York Archaeological Trust (YAT), including instruction on how to use the Integrated Archaeological Database (IADB), a web application for data management of archaeological excavation projects from initial recording to post-excavation analysis and archiving, both the IADB and YAT's published fascicles on The Small Finds (*AY 17*) and The Pottery (*AY 16*) were perused for evidence

of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century objects recovered from York sites.[73] Findings were then written up into a report on surviving domestic objects from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, enriched with examples from the Yorkshire Museum and elsewhere in England.[74] A version of this report appears in this thesis as the Appendix.

After locating and studying secondary literature on the subjects of domestic objects and households from the fields of anthropology, history and archaeology in particular, writing of the main thesis chapters commenced. The first chapter written was Chapter 5 on affective value, in which the ways that testators described and bequeathed various objects in their last will and testament were used to explore the emotional or affective value attributed to those objects. A version of this chapter was presented at the 2011 ARC History of Emotions Centre of Excellence Conference, held at the University of Western Australia in Perth, which I was able to attend thanks to a grant from the Worldwide Universities Network (WUN) Research Mobility Programme.[75] Next, information collected in the database and found in the literature on domestic objects, rooms and room use and the use of space in urban homes was analysed. Using this evidence, together with information regarding surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York buildings provided by the RCHME, Chapter 3, on houses and households, was written. Chapter 4, on materiality and value, was the next section undertaken, relying primarily upon probate inventory listings and archaeological evidence to explore the range and value of objects present in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York homes, focusing on the importance of using both historical and archaeological evidence in order that the full range of available objects might be considered. Chapter 6, a case study of the Starre Inne on Stonegate in the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey, c.1581, was the final main chapter to be written. This chapter not only brings together information from Chapters 3, 4 and 5 to provide an overview of a single entire household and the objects found and used within it at a single point in time, but also branches out into new territory since the domestic culture of inns, which function as both private and public establishments, has so rarely been addressed. Throughout these four chapters, references will continually be made to the major research questions informing the thesis, concerning the importance of studying object assemblages for understanding the household and the people who lived within it, evidence of change over time, and the necessity of using an interdisciplinary approach for the comprehensive study of York's material culture.

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[73] IADB, accessed 14 January 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/i3/portal_main.php?DB=IADB; YAT, The Small Finds: *AY 17/11*; *AY 17/12*; *AY 17/13*; *AY 17/15*; *AY 17/16*; The Pottery: *AY 16/1*; *AY 16/3*; *AY 16/6*; *AY 16/9*.

[74] Sarah Jennings, *Medieval Pottery in the Yorkshire Museum* (York: Yorkshire Museum, 1992).

[75] The paper is published as: Lisa Liddy, "Affective Bequests: Creating Emotion in York Wills, 1400−1600", in *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe*, ed. Michael Champion and Andrew Lynch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 273–89.

The process of researching and writing these chapters clarified the main themes running through the thesis and led to the development of the research questions. It was at this point that work began on the two introductory chapters, with the conclusion being the final chapter to be written. Upon completion of these two introductory chapters, Chapters 3 through 6 were revised to ensure that the key research questions were satisfactorily highlighted and addressed in each section. The appendix was also revised, and heavily edited, at this point. The concluding chapter was then undertaken, seeking to bring together findings from the preceding chapters to provide answers to the key research questions described in the introduction and considered throughout the thesis.

Prosopographical scoping of sampled individuals

Prosopography, "the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives", involves assembling biographical data for a select group of people on a variety of topics including occupation, relationships with others and career, thus revealing common social characteristics hidden by a more biographical approach.[76] The collection of such information for the individuals sampled for this thesis sheds light on the type of people living in the parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey, St Helen, Stonegate, St Margaret and St Lawrence during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for whom probate documents survive. Characteristics considered include gender, marital status, occupation, wealth, civic office-holding, geographical origins, familial relationships and social networks among sampled individuals.

Gender and marital status

As explained above, men were more likely to leave a will than women.[77] Thus, of the 659 sampled individuals, only 137 (20.8%) were female. Both men and women commonly alluded to their marital status in testamentary documents, with females testators usually identifying themselves by their relationship as either wife or widow of a certain man, while male testators not only left bequests to living wives but, in many cases, also named their wives as the executors of their wills. Other indications of marital status occurring in wills include requests for burial next to a deceased spouse and bequests of the deceased spouse's personal belongings, usually made to the couple's children.

At least 549 (83.3%) of the 659 individuals sampled were married at some point in their lives, with 404 (61.3%, 393 men and eleven women) married at the time of their deaths, although for many

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[76] Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography", in *Historical Studies Today*, ed. F. Gilbert and S. Graubards (New York: Norton, 1972), 107. For an examination of the methodology of prosopography see Charlotte E. Carpenter, "The Formation of Urban Élites: Civic Officials in Late-Medieval York, 1476–1525", unpublished D.Phil dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (2000), 41−44.

[77] See Chapter 1, 27–28.

this was not their first or only marriage.[78] Of the 137 women sampled, only twenty-nine (21.2%) made no reference to having had a husband or children, but only twenty-one (15.3%) of these can be confidently identified as single women who had never before been married. Probable candidates for single women include: those living with one or more parent at the time of death and sharing the same surname, such as Joan Barton (d.1438), who names her mother Agnes Barton as her executrix, and Margaret Stock (d.1573) who lived with her father John Stock; those who share a surname with a brother or unmarried sister, such as sisters Isabel and Ellen Hairfurth (d.1519 and 1522 respectively) and Agnes Hill (d.1523), who names brothers John Hill and Richard Hill as her executors; and those young women still in service within another household, such as Margery Johnson (d.1474) who is described as servant to Richard Thornton.[79] Sometimes multiple criteria were met: Elizabeth Leppington (d. 1519) is described as being servant to Henry Hutchonson and administration of her estate was granted to her brother Hugh Leppington; and Elizabeth Prowde (d.1583) was in service with her aunt Jane Calome, whose brother John Prowde is identified as Elizabeth's father.[80]

Establishing the marital status of the males in the sample is slightly more complicated. Men retained the same surname whether single or married; men never identified themselves in their testaments in terms of their marital status; the wills of men predeceased by both spouse and children would likely include no reference to either; and because canon law stipulated that wives were entitled to one third of their husband's estate, even reference to a living wife may have been omitted from the deceased's testament if its purpose was to dispose only of the testator's own third of his estate. Nevertheless, of the 522 men sampled, the documents relating to only eighty-one men (15.5%) contain no reference at all to either a wife, former wife or legitimate children. Of those males, three were minors and twenty-seven (5.2%) were unmarried clerics.[81] Those who were still

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[78] Robert Appleby (d.1505), for example, had been married five times. He named his current wife Margaret as his executrix, leaving her a tenement to be used to fund an obit for his late wives Elizabeth, Alice, Alice and Elizabeth (BIA, Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 127r).

[79] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 245r (Joan Barton); vol. 2, fols 117v (Isabel Hairfurth), 129v (Ellen Hairfurth), 137v (Agnes Hill); BIA, Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 216v (Margery Johnson); Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 657v (Margaret Stock).

[80] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 118r (Elizabeth Leppington); vol. 5, fol. 104r (Jane Calome, d. 1582), 110r (Elizabeth Prowde).

[81] Married clergy are found in the sample, including Simon de Lastyngham (d.1399) and his wife Agnes (d.1439) (YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 121r, 247r), William Preston (d.1409) (YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 151r), Master Robert Esyngwald (d.1446) and his wife Hawise (d.1421) (BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 149v; YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 202r), Thomas Leventon (d.1461) (YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 297r), John Lokwod (d.1480) (YML, D&C wills, vol.1, fol. 344r), Nicholas Loncaster (d.1501) (YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 29r) and James Dighteryn, vicar of Warthill, North Yorkshire, who had both a wife and at least five children at the time of his death in 1597 (YML, D&C wills, vol. 5 fol.147v). Another three women in the sample had also been married to clerics: YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 275r (Agnes Colton, d.1453), 323v (Isabel Saxton, d.1470); BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 113v (Agnes Shirwod, d.1481).

in service or said to be living with one or both parents likely died before they were able to marry, as may have also been the case with those men who died within a few years of achieving the freedom of the city. This was certainly true for John Chesman, made free as a barber and waxchandler in 1506, who was engaged to be married for the first time when he passed away in 1509.[82] Of the remaining seemingly unmarried men, seventeen (3.3%) are represented in the sample solely by administration acts (naming only an executor) and four only by inventories, neither of which provide the degree of familial detail afforded by wills. It is thus probable that a substantial portion of the apparently single men included in the sample had been married at some point during their lives. William Riche, for example, had been free as a pewterer for twenty-three years at the time of his death in 1465, and draper John Staynburn, who entered the freedom of the city as a tailor fifty-three years before his death in 1438, must have been well into his seventies when he died. It is more than likely that both were widowers who died without living issue, despite the fact that there is no evidence of any such marriage in their testamentary documents.

Occupation

In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York an individual probably belonged to a number of different households, whose occupants may have practised very different occupations, during the course of his or her life: their parents' home; in service or as an apprentice in their master's and mistress's home; in their own home (or homes) as an adult; and possibly in yet another home, perhaps that of their own child, during their old age.[83] Some sampled individuals practised more than one trade or occupation simultaneously, such as John Lanom, a mason who had also served as sacrist at York Minster, John Chapman, a public notary and merchant, William Cure who obtained the freedom of the city as both a haberdasher and a *literatus*, and John Petty who at one point was a practising glazier who also ran his own inn.[84] Others entered the freedom of the city of York under one occupational designation but were describing themselves as practising a different occupation by the

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[82] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 78v; and see Chapter 5, 162. Other similar examples include Bartholomew Tristram (d.1482), free as a physician in 1479 and Edward Bekwith (d.1520), free as a goldsmith in 1518 (BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 28r; YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 122v).

[83] At least fifty-three sampled individuals (8%) were outlived by one or more parent or parent-in-law, including Robert Gylmynge who, in 1571, instructed that his wife was to allow his father to continue living with her to help her bring up their children (BIA, Prob. Reg. 21, fol. 378r) and Jane Hebden who declared that her nephew Richard, to whom she left her house, was to provide her mother with "her meate and dryncke and apparell with house roome in the house I dwell in" for life in 1589 (YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 128r). At least two sampled individuals, Maud Brown (1493: YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 1r) and Robert Cooke (1549: YML, D&C wills, vol. 3, fol. 26r), still had grandparents living at the time of their respective deaths.

[84] BIA, Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 74r (John Lanom, d.1466); Prob. Reg. 10, fol. 52v (John Chapman, d.1531); Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 228 (William Cure, d.1523); Angelo Raine, ed., *York Civic Records*, Vol. III, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 106 (1942), 9−10 (John Petty, d.1508). For John Petty, see also Chapter 6, 176.

time of their deaths, such as John Litster, John Stainburn and Richard White, all of whom gained the freedom as tailors but were described as drapers in their wills, or merchants Richard Wartre, Richard Heilde alias Glover and Robert Gylmynge who entered the freedom as a goldsmith, glover and goldsmith respectively.[85] As the chief occupation of a household is usually that of the male head, the primary occupation of female testators' households can be even more difficult to establish, particularly when a woman had been married several times to men with different occupations. For example, Alice Selby, whose first husband was a mason, died while married to a mercer, and Alison Clark was married at least three times, to a summoner, a glover and a weaver, yet at the time of her death was unmarried and ran her own successful brewing business.[86] Other women continued to pursue their late husband's occupation themselves, including Agnes de Croxton and Idonea Croxton who each followed their respective husband's craft of waxchandlering and Agnes Leys who took over her late husband's cartwright's business.[87]

In order to examine the range of primary occupations practised by the deceased or their households, occupational categories have to be adopted (Table 3). The classification used here follows that set out by Heather Swanson in her work on *Medieval Artisans*, with the exception that Clothing and Textile crafts have been combined into one category and Mercantile, Professional and Other categories have been added.[88] Occupational categorization is not without problems, particularly where crafts used multiple materials, such as organ-making, buckler-making and saddle-making, or when both artisanal and mercantile activities were practised within one household. Barbers, who often acted as surgeons, have been included under Minor Crafts rather than in the Professional category, as this occupation was nearly always practised in conjunction with chandlering. The occupational designation of yeomen is particularly problematic as, in this context, the term could refer either to a landholder below the rank of gentleman or to an attendant or assistant to an official, the former of which would fall under the occupational category of Other while the latter would be considered a Professional occupation. In some cases the type of yeoman can be determined from

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[85] Freedom: Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 84 (John de Staynburn), 124 (Richard Wartre), 182 (as Richard o the Elde), 230 (John Litster), 249 (Richard White), 271 (Robert Gylmyn; Richard White). Probate: BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 525v (John Staynburn, d.1438); Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 115v (Richard Wartre, d.1465); Prob. Reg. 21, fol. 378r (Robert Gylmynge, d.1581); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 356v (Richard Heilde als Glover, d.1483); vol. 2, fol. 199r (John Litster, d.1541); vol. 5, fol. 14v (Richard White, d.1563). As with all of the above examples, most changes in occupational designation were from manufacturing to mercantile trades; it is entirely possible that these men continued to manufacture in addition to merchandizing products.

[86] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 309v (Agnes Selby, c.1465); vol. 2, fol. 82r (Alison Clark, d.1509).

[87] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 184v (Agnes de Croxton, d.1418), 366v (Idonea Croxton, d.1486); BIA, Prob. Reg. 7, fol. 62r (Agnes Leys, d.1508).

[88] Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late-Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

information found in the Freemen's Register, as is the case with yeoman Richard More (d.1479) who entered the freedom as a husbandman and was thus a landholder, and yeoman John Emondson (d.1560) who gained the freedom of the city as an attorney in the sheriff's court and was thus a professional. Clues can also be found in the individual's will, as with yeoman Richard Bell (d.1549) who called the late Brian Higden, Dean of York Minster, his master, implying that he worked in a professional capacity for the church official, and yeoman Robert Wrighte who bequeathed land in Fangfoss, Sherburn, Flaxton and Huntington, suggesting he was primarily a land owner.[89] For the purpose of this study, occupation refers to the primary household occupation practised at the time of each sampled individual's death. When possible, therefore, the occupation provided in the testator's will has been used; when no occupation has been included, that given in the Freeman's Register is referenced (Table 4).

Table 3: Occupational categories adopted[90]

Category	All occupations included
Mercantile	Chapman, Draper, Haberdasher, Hardwareman, Mercer, Merchant, Woolman
Clothing/Textiles	Capmaker, Embroiderer, Girdler, Hatter, Hosier, Litster, Pointer, Seamstress, Shearman, Spinster, Tailor, Tapiter, Vestmentmaker, Walker, Weaver, Woollenweaver
Metalworking	Armourer, Blacksmith, Bladesmith, Cutler, Founder, Goldsmith, Locksmith, Moneyer, Painter, Pewterer, Pinner, Smith
Building	Carpenter, Cartwright, Glazier, Joiner, Mason, Plasterer, Tilemaker, Tiler, Wright
Leatherworking	Cordwainer, Currier, Glover, Saddler, Skinner, Tanner
Victualling	Baker, Brewer, Butcher, Cook, Fishmonger, Innholder, Miller, Saucemaker, Spicer, Victualler, Vintner
Minor Crafts	Barber, Bowyer, Bucklermaker, Chandler, Cooper, Fletcher, Horner, Patoner, Roper, Sheather, Stringer, Waxchandler
Professional	Apparitor, Bookbinder, Chaplain, Clerk, Door-keeper, Marshal, Minstrel, Notary, Organmaker, Physician, Priest, Questor, Rector, Sacristan, Scrivener, Stationer, Surgeon, Vicar, Yeoman
Other	Carrier, Gentleman, Husbandman, Squire, Yeoman

Table 4: Primary household occupation of sampled individuals at time of death

Occupational category	1400−1450 No.	1400−1450 %	1451−1500 No.	1451−1500 %	1501−1550 No.	1501−1550 %	1551−1600 No.	1551−1600 %	1400−1600 No.	1400−1600 %
Unknown	21	15.1	25	13.9	42	20.3	16	12.0	104	15.8
Mercantile	20	14.4	14	7.8	19	9.2	11	8.3	64	9.7
Clothing/Textiles	23	16.5	15	8.3	23	11.1	18	13.5	79	12.0
Metalworking	21	15.1	29	16.1	23	11.1	19	14.3	92	14.0
Building	12	8.6	20	11.1	18	8.7	11	8.3	61	9.3
Leatherworking	3	2.2	18	10.0	19	9.2	22	16.5	62	9.4
Victualling	11	7.9	16	8.9	18	8.7	14	10.5	59	9.0
Minor crafts	14	10.1	12	6.7	22	10.6	2	1.5	50	7.6

[89] Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 154 (More), 245 (Emondson); YML, D&C wills, vol. 3, fol. 28v (Richard Bell); vol. 5, fols 18r (Robert Wrighte). Those yeomen whose type of occupation is unknown have been included in the "Other" category.

[90] After Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*; Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*.

Professional	11	7.9	25	13.9	20	9.7	13	9.8	69	10.4
Other	3	2.2	6	3.3	3	1.4	7	5.3	19	2.8
Total	*139*	*100.0*	*180*	*100.0*	*207*	*100.0*	*133*	*100.0*	*659*	*100.0*

The above tables represent an overview of the types of households included in the sample for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They should not be taken as an indication of the full range of occupations practised within the city at this time, or indeed within the sampled parishes, nor as an indication of the rise and fall in importance and prosperity of certain occupations over others throughout the course of the study. While the popularity and economic success of particular trades or crafts did wax and wane over the period, most notably the fifteenth-century decline in the wool trade and the rise of innkeeping and book-related trades in the sixteenth century, the apparent patterns evident in Table 4 are much more likely to be the result of document survival, as discussed above, than representative of the city as a whole.[91]

Wealth

With only the wills, or in some cases administration acts, surviving for the majority of individuals included in the sample, it is not possible to assess the relative wealth of the group as a whole. Wills, as discussed above, are not an adequate indicator of wealth and not enough inventories survive to allow a useful overview of the four parishes' respective wealth.[92] Furthermore, assessments of wealth in York were rare in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with only the lay subsidies of 1524 and 1546 surviving in full for the city.

Although it is consequently not possible to assess the wealth of the individuals in the sample with any high degree of accuracy, the lay subsidy of 1524, "more comprehensive than any other Tudor tax in taking in all wage-earners who earned 20*s.* or more a year, as well as those owning goods worth £1 or more", provides not only a snapshot of sampled testators' wealth in that particular year but also a comparison of their wealth with others living and working in the same parish and city at the same time (Table 5).[93]

Over four times as many people from the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey were assessed for the 1524 Lay Subsidy than for any of the other sampled parishes; similarly the greatest number of assessed individuals who also appear in the sample lived in this parish. The evidence of the Lay Subsidy suggests that St Michael-le-Belfrey was thus the most prosperous of the four sampled parishes and St Lawrence the least, despite it being combined with the parishes of St Edward and All Saints, Fishergate for the purpose of the subsidy. Belfrey parish contained the only resident

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[91] See above, 34–35.

[92] See Chapter 1, 25–26.

[93] David M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 135−36.

who owned over £100 in goods (John Chapman with goods worth £160) and another with goods worth exactly £100 (Thomas Water); both of these men are among the individuals sampled for this thesis.[94] In Belfrey parish over twice as many residents owned goods valued at between £20 and £100 as in the other three parishes combined. At the other end of the scale, the parish of St Lawrence outside the city walls contained the fewest number of assessed residents, only one of whom is represented in the sampled probate material. Its most prosperous resident was assessed on goods worth just £10.[95]

Table 5: 1524 Lay Subsidy taxpayers, included in the sample (S) and in total (T), by parish[96]

Assessment	St Michael-le-Belfrey		St Helen, Stonegate		St Margaret		St Lawrence		Whole City of York	
	S	T	S	T	S	T	S	T	S	T
Wage earners	5	48	0	4	0	8	0	10	5	330
£2 in goods	1	11	3	12	4	5	0	2	8	176[97]
Over £2−under £10 in goods	5	21	0	7	1	2	1	4	7	176
£10−£19 in goods	8	22	0	0	1	2	0	1	9	83
£20−£100 in goods	4	7	1	2	1	1	0	0	6	59
Over £100 in goods	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
For land only	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	20
Total no. of individuals	24	111	4	25	7	19	1	18	36	874

A small number of women were also assessed for the 1524 Lay Subsidy, with most appearing to be the widows of men who had died during the preceding four years. Six of these women lived in the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey, including one who appears in the sample (Isabel Sproxton, assessed for £1 in wages), one whose late husband is included in the sample, and another two

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[94] E. Peacock, ed., "Subsidy Roll for York and Ainsty", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 4 (1877), accessed 30 August 2014: Bootham ward: http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/Misc/SubsidyRolls/ARY/ARYSubsidyRolls1.html. BIA, Prob. Reg. 10, fol. 52v (John Chapman, 1531); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 188v (Thomas Water, 1540).

[95] Richard Essylwodde, who is not in the sample, owned £10 worth of goods, while Miles Foster (d.1533), who is in the sample, was assessed for £7: Peacock, "Subsidy Roll for York and Ainsty", accessed 30 August 2014: Walmgate ward: http://www.genuki.org.uk/big/eng/YKS/Misc/SubsidyRolls/ARY/ARYSubsidyRolls2.html; BIA, Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 61r.

[96] Data for the 1524 Lay Subsidy as it relates to the four sampled parishes is taken from Peacock, "Subsidy Roll for York and Ainsty". Data for the whole city of York is taken from Palliser's table of "Distribution of Taxable Wealth by Classes": Palliser, *Tudor York*, 136.

[97] There was also one lone individual (not included in the sample) who was assessed at just £1-worth of goods: Palliser, *Tudor York*, 136).

whose father, a former mayor of the city, appears in the sample.[98] Only one woman each was assessed in the parishes of St Helen, Stonegate, St Margaret and St Lawrence; each of these three women's recently deceased husbands are included in the sample.[99]

The evidence from the 1524 Lay Subsidy suggests that, in this year at least, the city centre parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey and St Helen, Stonegate were home to a greater number of wealthier residents than the more remote parishes of St Margaret and St Lawrence. Despite the lack of comparable data for the rest of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is likely that this was the case throughout the period. It is notable that the great majority of surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century probate material comes from the parishes of St Michael and St Helen (539 items compared to 120 documents for the Walmgate parishes).[100] However, bearing in mind that only testators dying possessed of goods worth over £5 were required to have their wills proved in the courts, it is likely that even those few Walmgate individuals included in the sample would have been among the more prosperous residents not only of their parishes but of the city as well.

Office-holding

Within York's civic government there was a *cursus honorum* of four annually-elected offices to which citizens could aspire: bridgemaster; chamberlain; sheriff; mayor.[101] Bridgemasters, chamberlains and mayors were elected on St Blaise's day (3 February) while sheriffs were chosen on 21 September. At the lowest level of civic office was the post of bridgemaster, with two elected annually for Foss bridge and two for Ouse bridge. It was the bridgemasters' duty to collect rents assigned for maintenance of their bridge, with surplus revenue transferred to the chamberlains. Chamberlains were responsible for collecting and controlling the city's internal finances, including collecting rents and paying wages to the city's MPs, legal advisers and chaplains. The number of chamberlains varied extensively throughout the period, from three (1400–84 and 1501–30) to

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[98] Peacock, "Subsidy Roll for York and Ainsty", Bootham ward; YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 130v (Robert Morley, 1522, late husband of Agnes Morley, assessed for £2 of goods), 131v (Paul Gillour, 1522, father of Sythe and Katherine Gillour, assessed for £15 of goods each), 140r (Isabel Sproxton, 1525).

[99] Peacock, "Subsidy Roll for York and Ainsty", Bootham ward and Walmgate ward. St Helen: Agnes Newman, widow of recently deceased tailor Richard Newman (d.1523), assessed for £2 of goods (YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 135v). St Margaret: Johanna Rawlyng, widow of recently deceased Thomas Rawlyng (died between October 1523 and February 1524), assessed for £10 in goods (BIA, Prob. Reg. 9, fol. 276r). St Lawrence: Agnes Feron, widow of recently deceased tanner Christopher Feron (d.1522), assessed for £4 in goods (BIA, Prob. Reg. 9, fol. 203v).

[100] See Table 2, 38.

[101] For what follows, and for a fuller explanation of the various offices, see Carpenter, "The Formation of Urban Élites", 22−26. See also, Edward Miller, "Medieval York", in *A History of Yorkshire: The City of York*, ed. P.M. Tillot, Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: published for the Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press, 1961), 70−80.

twenty (in 1537), although there were between four and eight chamberlains serving the city in most years. The two sheriffs elected each year headed three of the city's courts, dealing with cases involving debt, assault and trading offences, collected the city's revenues for the crown and paid its fee farm. The highest civic office in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York was the mayoralty. The mayor represented the king's interests in the city, swearing to maintain not only peace and justice but also the city's franchises, usages and customs. From 1410 onwards, most men served as mayor just once, with only a few elected two or more times.

Table 6: Number and percentage of civic office-holders in the sample

Highest civic office achieved	No. of men	% of men
Mayor	16	3.1%
Sheriff	19	3.6%
Chamberlain	15	2.9%
Bridgemaster	23	4.4%
None	449	86.0%
Total	**522**	**100.0%**

Of the 522 men included in the sampled probate material, seventy-three (14%) can be shown to have held a civic office within the city of York.[102] Most followed the typical *cursus honorum*, serving first as bridgemaster. For some this was the highest civic office achieved, but others went on to become chamberlains, sheriffs and, in the cases of sixteen of the sampled men, mayor of the city (Table 6). Contrary to the norm, four men served multiple terms as mayor: Richard Wartre (d.1465) in 1436 and 1451; Nicholas Lancaster (d.1501) in 1485 and 1493; and John North (d.1558) in 1538 and 1554; William Selby (d.1427) was elected mayor three times during the late fourteenth century, in 1385, 1387 and 1388.[103] Notable mayors documented in the sample include William Welles, mayor in 1479, who was murdered by rebels while guarding Bootham Bar during the Yorkist rebellion of 1487, and John Stokdale (d.1507) who, during his mayoralty in 1501, was responsible for a number of improvements within the city: he installed new stocks in each ward; provided livery for York's craft guilds; repaired the city walls, Pavement market and Ouse bridge; provided new brass weights for the common crane and a new seal for cloth; renewed the mayor's mace; moved an image of Ebrauk from St Saviourgate to the Guildhall; obtained permission for

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[102] Mayors and chamberlains have been identified from: Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*; sheriffs from: "Sheriffs of York", York Mansion House, accessed 16 August 2014, http://www.mansionhouseyork.hostyork.co.uk/DynamicPageT1.asp?PageID=11 − http://www.mansionhouseyork.hostyork.co.uk/DynamicPageT1.asp?PageID=14; bridgemasters from: Philip M. Stell, trans., *York Bridgemasters' Accounts* (York: YAT, 2003).

[103] For a list of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century mayors of York, see: "Lord Mayors of York, 1401−1600", York Mansion House, accessed 13 August 2014, http://www.mansionhouseyork.hostyork.co.uk/DynamicPageT1.asp?PageID=5.

two new fairs; and cleansed the sewer and watering place in Knavesmire.[104] Yet not all men aspired to hold such high positions within the civic hierarchy: when John Chapman, public notary and proctor in York's Consistory Court (d.1531), purchased his freedom as a merchant in 1520, he did so upon condition that he not have to hold civic office in the city.[105]

Probate material also survives for at least four women whose spouses, though not included in the sample, have been identified as holding civic office in York. Before her marriage to John Stokdale (mayor in 1501), Ellen Stokdale had been the wife first of William Hancock, chamberlain in 1484, and then of Robert Johnson, mayor in 1496, while Alice del Gare's late husband had been sheriff in 1409. Margaret de Hoveden (d.1438) and Janet Brerey (d.1547) had both been married to men who reached the rank of chamberlain, William Hoveden in 1422 and Richard Brerey in 1538.

The only other civic office held by an individual included in the sample was that of common clerk, a professional lawyer holding a salaried position which involved compilation of the city's civic records. This office was held by just one man in the sample: lawyer, merchant and Oxford graduate Nicholas Lancaster (d.1501), a member of the Duke of Gloucester's affinity who occupied the post from 1477 to 1480, during which time he probably oversaw the compilation of the York Mystery Plays. Bypassing the usual *cursus honorum*, Lancaster never served as bridgemaster, chamberlain or sheriff but was elected mayor in both 1485 and 1492 and also served as MP for York on two occasions.[106] Agnes Shirwood (d.1481), widow of common clerk John Shirwood (1442–71), also appears in the sample; their son John Shirwood was archdeacon of Richmond and later became bishop of Durham (1484–94).[107]

In addition to holding office in civic government, at least eight men included in the sample also served as MP for the city at one or more parliaments: William Selby in 1383, 1384, 1391, 1395 and 1397; Thomas Scauceby in 1461–62; John Glasyn in 1470–71; William Welles in 1483; Nicholas Lancaster in 1487 and 1489; John Northe in 1545 and 1553; Richard White in 1554; and Richard Goldthorpe in 1559.[108] Additionally, two spouses of women included in the sample also served as

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104 Carpenter, "The Formation of Urban Élites", 206; Josiah C. Wedgwood and Anne D. Holt, *History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Common House, 1439−1509*, vol. 2 (London: HMSO, 1936), 930; Miller, "Medieval York", 70.

105 Carpenter, "The Formation of Urban Élites", 210.

106 Richard Beadle, "Nicholas Lancaster, Richard of Gloucester and the York Corpus Christi Play", in *The York Mystery Plays*, ed. Margaret Rogerson (York, York Medieval Press, 2011), 31−52; E. Miller, "Medieval York", 75; Palliser, *Medieval York*, 270, 284.

107 Miller, "Medieval York", 75; Palliser, *Medieval York*, 203.

108 Wedgwood and Holt, *History of Parliament*, vol. 2, 379 (John Glasyn), 524 (Nicholas Lancaster), 749−50 (Thomas Scanesby [*sic*]), 929−30 (William Welles); "SELBY, William (d.c.1426), of York", The History of Parliament, accessed 2 July 2014,

MPs: John Ripon, married to Agnes Ripon (d.1400), was MP for York in 1388, while Alice del Gare's (d.1433) husband was chosen to be MP for Appleby in Westmorland in 1395 and 1402, despite residing in the city of York.[109]

A number of men living in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York held important offices not for the city itself, but within York Minster; many of whom lived in the adjacent parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey. At least nine men in the sample held positions at the Minster: John Esyngwald (d.1432) was master of the archbishop's mint; John Lanom (d.1466) and John Rumpton (d.1508) were Minster sacristans; Richard Robert (d.1484), Michael Cokys (d.1486) and John Bell (d.1514) all served as door-keepers of the gates of the Minster Close; William Dodyngton (d.1496) was the archbishop's apparitor; and Christopher Horner alias Mason (d.1523) and John Forman (d.1558) each held the position of York Minster's Master Mason.[110]

Geographic origins

While all of the individuals included in the sample lived in York at the time of their deaths, many had likely been born elsewhere in the country or even overseas. Although it is impossible to trace the geographic origins of all, or even most, of the sampled people, a brief look at some of those for whom such information does survive illuminates the potential range of geographic origins of fifteenth and sixteenth-century York residents and, possibly, of their object assemblages, some of which may have come to the city with their owners.

Geographical surnames can often indicate the place of origin of certain individuals or, at least, of their families, particularly in the first decades of the fifteenth century when many people still included the preposition "de" in their names. Unsurprisingly, most of the geographical names found in the sample refer to places in Yorkshire, such as John de Setteryngton (Settrington, ER),

http://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/selby-william-1426; "NORTH, John (by 1495−1558), of York", The History of Parliament, accessed 2 July 2014, http://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/north-john-1495-1558; "WHITE, Richard (by 1509−58), of York", The History of Parliament, accessed 2 July 2014, http://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/white-richard-1509-58; "GOLDTHORPE, Richard (d.1560), of Blake Street, York and Clementhorpe, Yorks.", The History of Parliament, accessed 2 July 2014, http://historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/goldthorpe-richard-1560.

[109] "RIPON, John, of York", The History of Parliament, accessed 16 August 2014, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/ripon-john; "GARE, Robert", The History of Parliament, accessed 2 July 2014, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/gare-robert.

[110] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 358r (Richard Robert, 1484), 365r (Michael Cokys, 1486); vol. 2, fols 11r (William Dodyngton, 1496), 73r (John Rumpton, 1508), 106v (John Bell, 1514), 135v (Christopher Horner als Mason, 1523); BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 607v (John Esyngwald, 1432); Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 74r (John Lanom, 1466); Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 286r (John Forman, 1558); Martin Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Robert de Ellerbek (Ellerbeck, NR), Hugh de Waghen (Wawne, ER) and John de Wilton (Wilton, NR).[111] Even when the word "de" is not included in the surname, details provided by the deceased's will can back up geographical assumptions based on name, as when William Gysburn, rector of St Helen's Stonegate, left money to the church of Gisburn in Cleveland (Guisborough, NR) or when John Staynburn (d.1438) bequeathed money to the church of Stainburn (WR).[112] Occasionally testators specifically refer to their place of origin in their wills: Ralph Pullan (d.1541) states that he "was christinned" in Fryston (Monk Fryston or Ferry Fryston, WR); Richard Bell (d.1549) still considers the people of his former home of Fangfoss (ER) to be his neighbours and requests that they have a funerary dinner for him according to that town's custom; and Robert Fons leaves a letter and seal to the abbot and convent of Shap in Westmorland which he had from them when he "was brothred in thair chapitour howse".[113]

Fons was not the only sampled individual who came to York from further afield than Yorkshire. William Inglissh came from Kelso in Scotland, Richard Wynder was born in Morland, Westmorland and Richard White in Edlingham, Northumberland.[114] John Chesman moved to York from the parish of St Giles in Durham where he continued to own land, Robert de London had probably come to York from the capital, and Ellen Levesey previously lived in the parish of St Michael, Cambridge where her daughter still resided at the time of her death.[115]

Several men in the sample can be shown to have immigrated to York from the Continent. John Colan, made free as "Johannes de Culayn, goldesmyth" in 1449, was originally from Cologne, Germany, while Henry Payntour, made free as "Henricus Payntour, de Durdraght" in 1381 hailed from Dordrecht in Holland.[116] Also from Holland were goldsmith Warmbolt Van Harlam and

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[111] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 124r (John de Setteryngton, 1400), 160r (John de Wilton, 1412); BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fols 87v (Robert Ellerbek, 1402), 238v (Hugh de Waghen, 1405).

[112] BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fols 48v (William Gysburn, 1400), 525v (John Staynburn, 1438).

[113] BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 270r (Robert de London, 1400); Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 529r (Ralph Pullan, 1541); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 379r (Ellen Levesey, 1493), vol. 2, fols 78v (John Chesman, 1509), 174v (Robert Fons, 1536); vol. 3, fol. 28v (Richard Bell, 1549).

[114] "William Inglis", *England's Immigrants 1330−1550: Resident Aliens in the Late Middle Ages*, University of York, TNA and Humanities Research Institute, University of Sheffield, accessed 19 March 2015, www.englandsimmigrants.com/person/32392; YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 46r (Richard Wynder, 1505); vol. 5, fol. 14v (Richard White, 1563).

[115] BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 270r (Robert de London, 1407); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 379r (Ellen Levesey, 1493), vol. 2, fol. 78v (John Chesman, 1509).

[116] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 374r (John Colan, 1490); BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 248r (Henry Payntour, 1406); Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 78, 169. James Raine says of Colan that "the testator seems to have been a German, and was probably a native of Cologne": James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 4, Surtees Society 53 (1868), 56.

mercer Lambert Tymonson alias Hardware; both were the recipients of letters patent of denization.[117] Organmaker Maurice Biront and stationers Noel Mores and John Gatchet were French immigrants; Mores and Gatchet, the latter of whom lived in Hereford before coming to York, were both named "Frencheman" and assessed as aliens in the 1524 Lay Subsidy.[118] Goldsmith Martin Soza was "born in Sapher [Zafra] in Spayne", as is inscribed on the stained glass window depicting him and his family in his parish church of St Michael-le-Belfrey.[119] Similarly, the Daragon family, as their name suggests, originally came from Aragon in northeastern Spain, but probably lived in that part of southwestern France then part of the Crown of Aragon, as Stephen Daragon, the first member of the family appearing in the sample, was granted the freedom of the city as "Stephanus Darragon, Gallicus".[120]

Familial and household relationships between sampled individuals

Wills commonly include details of the testator's family, kin and household, particularly the names of husbands and wives (both living and dead) and children to whom specific testamentary bequests were made, but also sometimes refer to other relations as well as to household servants or apprentices. The sampled probate material includes documents relating to a number of individuals who can be shown to have familial links to others also included in the sample, both immediate family such as spouses, siblings, parents, children and in-laws and other more distant kin, including nephews, aunts, uncles and cousins, as well as some simply described as "kinsman" or

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[117] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fols 636v, 668v (Warmbald Harlam, 1430); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 370v (Lambert Tymeson/Tymonson, 1488). For Harlam's letters of denization, see: *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry IV, vol. 2, 1401−1405*, 204, accessed 5 March 2015, http://sdrc.lib.uiowa.edu/patentrolls/h4v2/body/Henry4vol2page0204.pdf ; "Warimbald Harlam", *England's Immigrants*, accessed 19 March 2015, www.englandsimmigrants.com/person/18911. For Tymonson's letters of denization, see: Lorraine C. Attreed, ed., *York House Books, 1461–1490*, 2 vols (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991), 329.

[118] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 95r (Maurice Biront, 1510), 177v (Noel Morresse, 1538); vol. 3, fol. 25r (John Gatchit, 1549); Peacock, "Subsidy Roll for York and Ainsty", Bootham Ward. D.M. Palliser and D.G. Selwyn, "The Stock of a York Stationer, 1538", *The Library*, 5th series, vol. 27 (1972): 209; "Newell Morrens", *England's Immigrants*, accessed 19 March 2015, www.englandsimmigrants.com/person/63730; "John Gatchett", *England's Immigrants*, accessed 19 March 2015, www.englandsimmigrants.com/person/63731. Palliser and Selwyn believe Gatchet was granted denization in 1535 as "John Gachet, alias John Frenchmen", although *English Immigrants* claims this was a different member of the family, who died in Rocliffe in 1551: "John Gatchet", *England's Immigrants*, accessed 19 March 2015, www.englandsimmigrants.com/person/35660.

[119] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 34r (Martin Soza, 1561); Olivia M. Saunders, "Minster and Parish: The Sixteenth Century Reconstruction of the Church of St Michael-le-Belfrey in York", unpublished MA dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (1996), 98. For the possible identification of "Sapher" as Zafra, see: Palliser, *Tudor York*, 94.

[120] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 61r (Stephen Daragon, 1572); Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 257.

"kinswoman". It was these family or household members who were most often the recipients of object assemblages bequeathed in wills, with ownership, possession and use of an object or objects thus transferred from one individual and/or household to another.

The sample of surviving probate material includes 186 individuals (28.2%) who can be shown to be related to one or more other sampled individuals (Table 7). There are fifty-four married couples, comprising 104 individuals, for whom documents survive for both husband and wife. Twenty siblings are included in the sample, namely eight pairs of brothers, one pair of sisters and a brother and sister. Twenty-two sampled parents had a child also included in the sample, while four grandparents had grandchildren similarly represented. Families linked through marriage can also be identified in the sample, including five fathers- and sons-in-law, three sets of brothers-in-law, and two men whose children were married to each other. The sample also includes six men who subsequently married the widow of another sampled individual. Other types of kin relationships are also represented by sampled individuals, including cousins John Elwald and Robert Elwald, aunt, uncle and nephew Jane and William Hebden and Richard Ayneley, and "kin" William and Agnes Selby.[121]

Table 7: Familial relationships between sampled individuals[122]

Type of relationship	Number of sampled individuals	Percentage of 659 sampled individuals
Spouses	104	15.8%
Siblings	20	3.0%
Parents and children[123]	55	8.3%
Relatives by marriage	29	4.4%
Other kin	18	2.7%
Total no. of sampled individuals with a relative also included in the sample[124]	186	28.2%

The sampled documents also include references both to (often former) apprentices and household servants and to the people in whose homes they worked and often lived, encompassing a total of thirty-three individuals (5%). Margery Johnson was a servant in Richard Thornton's household when they both died in 1474, Elizabeth Prowde was in service with her aunt and uncle, Lady Jane and Richard Calome, until Lady Jane died a year before Elizabeth's own death in 1583, and

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[121] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 227r (William Selby, 1427), 309v (Agnes Selby, 1465); vol. 2, fol. 43r (John Elwald, d.1505), 66r (Robert Elwald, d.1507); vol. 5, fols 127v (William Hebden, d.1589), 128r (Jane Hebden, d.1589), 155r (Richard Ayneley, d.1599).

[122] Shown both as a number and as a percentage of the entire sample.

[123] Including grandparents and grandchildren.

[124] Some individuals are included in more than one category.

William Walsh was probably serving in Henry Terver's home when he died there in 1478.[125] The remaining twenty-six people linked through service are masters and their apprentices, including mercers, drapers, tanners, founders, pewterers, glaziers, cutlers and waxchandlers, with some links spanning multiple generations, such as founder John Burnedale, his apprentice John Worsell and Worsell's apprentice William Wynter, all of whom appear in the sample. Similarly William Roche was apprenticed with waxchandler William Croxton and continued to work for Croxton's wife Idonea before taking on Robert Fox as his own apprentice.[126]

The sample also includes individuals linked in more extended family and household networks. Janet Wood outlived two husbands, Thomas Skirrow and Henry Wood, who were both also included in the sample, as did Isabel Wetherall whose first husband Robert Helmsley asked the witnesses to his will, including second husband Charles Wetherall, who clearly took the request seriously, "to bee good to my welbeloved wyf".[127] Additionally, Edward Clifford married John Elwald's widow, William Cure married George Evers's widow, John Gatchit married John Warwicke's widow, and Richard Plaskitt was already married to John Gelstroppe's widow when he wrote his will less than a year after Gelstroppe's own death.[128] Goldsmith Martin Soza had both a daughter (Anne Crawfurth) and son-in-law (Anne's husband, Percival Crawfurth) who are represented in the sample, as is the father of another of his daughters' husbands (Ralph Pullan).[129] Similarly, John Stokdale is joined in the sample by second wife Ellen, his daughter Isabel by his first wife, and her second husband Robert Wilde.[130] Yet the most complicated family network in the sample is that centred upon William Selby. Both Selby and his second wife Hawise (later

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[125] BIA, Prob. Reg. 4, fols 215v (Richard Thornton, d.1474), 216v (Margery Johnson, d.1474); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 329v (William Walsh, d.1478); vol. 2, fol. 18r (Henry Terver, d.1498); vol. 5, fols 101r (Richard Calome, d.1581), 104r (Lady Jane Calome, d.1582), 110r (Elizabeth Prowde, d.1583).

[126] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 260r (John Burnedale, d.1446), 295v (John Worsell, d.1461), 344v (William Croxton, d.1480), 366v (Idonea Croxton, d.1486); vol. 2, fols 69v (William Roche, d.1507), 114r (Robert Fox, d.1517); BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 443r (William Wynter, d.1494).

[127] BIA, Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 194v (Robert Helmsley, d.1536); Prob. Reg. 13, fol. 890v (Charles Wetherall, d.1552); Prob. Reg. 15/3, fol. 95v (Janet Wood, d.1558); Prob. Reg. 16, fol. 86v (Isabel Wetherall, d.1560); YML, D&C wills, vol. 3, fols 13v (Thomas Skirrow, d.1546), 42r (Henry Wodde, d.1533).

[128] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 43r (John Elwald, 1505), 114r (Edward Clifford, 1517), 124r (George Evers, 1520), 136v (William Cure, 1523), 201r (John Warwicke, 1542); vol. 3, fol. 25r (John Gatchit, 1549); BIA, Prob. Reg. 16, fol. 120v (John Gelstroppe, d. between Aug. and Oct. 1560); Prob. Reg. 17, fol. 222v (Richard Plaskitt, 1563, will written May 1561).

[129] BIA, Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 529r (Ralph Pullan, d.1541); YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fols 34r (Martin Soza, d.1561), 59r (Percival Crawfourthe, d.1571); BIA, DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, d.1581).

[130] BIA, Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 227r (Ellen Stokdaill, d.1507); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 62r (John Stokdale, d.1507), 165v (Robert Wilde, d.1533), 200v (Isabel Wild, d.1541).

Hawise Aske) are represented, as is Selby's kinswoman Agnes Selby, his daughter Lawrencia, her husband Warmbald Van Harlam, Harlam's first wife Joan and her father William Selare. Christopher Mowbray, kinsman of Selby's wife Hawise also appears in the sample.[131]

Social networks

Object assemblages were not only transferred in testaments from testator to family and household members, but also to friends, neighbours and workmates, who also often also served as executors, supervisors or witnesses to wills. Fellow parishioners and members of the neighbourhood were also used to appraise the deceaseds' goods for their inventories. Table 8 shows the number of individuals included in the sample who were also mentioned in the probate material of other sampled individuals, giving an (albeit incomplete) indication of extent of social networks present in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York.[132]

Table 8: Sampled individuals cited in the probate material of other sampled individuals, by parish

Sampled individuals parish	Total no. of sampled individuals	No. cited from St Michael-le-Belfrey	No. cited from St Helen, Stonegate	No. cited from St Margaret	No. cited from St Lawrence	No. cited from all four parishes
St Michael-le-Belfrey	426	208	12	1	1	222
St Helen, Stonegate	113	17	40	1	0	58
St Margaret	78	1	0	37	5	43
St Lawrence	42	0	0	3	13	16

As the above prosopographical evidence shows, the York residents sampled for this thesis, although of course all individuals, shared a range of characteristics that help to identify them, on the whole, as a group of relatively prosperous residents, following a craft or trade, involving themselves in the life of the city, and interacting on a regular basis with their family, friends and neighbours both in their own neighbourhoods and in the city as a whole.

Conclusion

Due to the often contradictory, but nevertheless complementary, evidence provided by the archaeological and documentary sources, this thesis has of necessity adopted an interdisciplinary methodology in order to fully investigate and analyse the material culture of the fifteenth- and

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[131] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fols 583r (Lawrencia Van Harlam, d.1408), 668v (Warmbald Harlam, d.1430); Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 80v (William Selar, d. 1402); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 131r (Joan Harlam, d.1401), 227r (William Selby, d.1427), 264v (Hawise Aske, d.1451), 309v (Agnes Selby, d.1465), 352v (Christopher Mowbray, d.1482).

[132] For a further discussion of contemporary ideas of neighbour and neighbourhood, see Chapter 7, 221–24.

sixteenth-century York household. Because of the uncertain and incomplete nature of the surviving evidence as well as the sheer volume of surviving documentary evidence for the city as a whole, this study is qualitative rather than quantitative, focusing on the residents of the four parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey, St Helen, Stonegate, St Margaret and St Lawrence.

The people of these parishes for whom evidence survives were among the more prosperous and wealthy residents of the city and included artisans, tradesmen and professionals, some of whom were members of the civic elite of the city while others held posts at York Minster. Residents of the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey are the best represented in the sample, with evidence suggesting that residents came to the city from a variety of locales ranging from neighbouring Yorkshire villages to foreign countries such as France and Spain. Although more men than women appear in the sample, most individuals had been married, some more than once, by the time of their deaths, with many related by blood or marriage to others in the sample, while still more were linked to other sampled individuals through ties of shared occupation, friendship and neighbourhood.

CHAPTER 3

Houses and Households

Introduction

This chapter will investigate how assemblages of objects shed light on the nature of the households of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, using evidence provided by surviving contemporary buildings and probate inventories. House and household sizes and the number and types of rooms found within the same will be analysed, and an attempt will be made to define and describe different types of rooms, their furnishings and functions from their associated object assemblages. Particular emphasis will be placed on the way in which rooms were used. Did the name assigned to a room in a document determine the way in which it was used, or is the use of a space more usefully defined by the object assemblages contained within it? Were such spaces used in a singular way or did the function of a room change according to various factors, such as the time of day, the season of the year, and the needs and whims of the house's various inhabitants? Change over time, and the reasons for such change, will also be considered, particularly the issue of rebuilding versus adaptation of current structures, focusing on the sixteenth-century practice of subdividing and partitioning rooms and of adding storeys in order to create extra space.

Distribution of evidence

In the study of York's fifteenth- and sixteenth-century houses and their rooms and furnishings, to what extent does the distribution of evidence from the city's archaeological record coincide with that revealed by the contemporary documents sampled for the parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey, St Helen, Stonegate, St Margaret and St Lawrence? And if discrepancies do exist, how can these be reconciled to form a useful picture of the household and its object assemblages?[133]

As discussed in the introductory chapter, the majority of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century objects found in York were recovered from the four major sites excavated by YAT during the 1970s and 1980s: 16–22 Coppergate; Bedern Foundry; the College of the Vicars Choral at Bedern; and 46–54 Fishergate.[134] Regrettably, none of these sites are located within the four sampled parishes from whence the documentary sources used in this study originate. Of the other archaeological sites which produced finds from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, only three fall within the above

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[133] See Chapter 2, 32–37, for a discussion of the issues that arise when using both documentary and archaeological evidence to study material culture.

[134] *AY17/15*, 2673; see Chapter 1, 21–24.

parishes: 62–68 Low Petergate in the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey; 9 Little Stonegate in the parish of St Helen, Stonegate; and 9 Blake Street in the same parish.[135]

However, as discussed in more detail below, over fifty of the buildings still standing in these parishes, and especially on the streets of Petergate and Stonegate, had their origins in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and, to varying degrees, still retain some of the structural and architectural features from this period.[136] Thus these standing buildings can offer a picture of how the homes and streetscape of medieval and early modern York may have appeared, especially when coupled with the evidence provided by the descriptions of various rooms, their uses and position within the home found in the inventories of the very people who once lived within them.

The fact that none of the four main excavated sites fall within the parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey, St Helen, Stonegate, St Margaret and St Lawrence does not negate their usefulness in exploring the type and range of objects used in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, as there is no reason to suspect that the type of everyday objects owned and used in one area of the city would differ greatly from those used elsewhere, at least by residents of a similar social status, as the people of York would likely have acquired most of their possessions from the city's shops, craftsmen and markets. Furthermore, in many cases, examples of contemporary archaeological finds from other provincial towns and cities of a similar socio-economic composition can be used to illustrate items that would have been owned and used in York, particularly when descriptions of those, or similar, objects survive in the documentary sources but are not extant in the city's own archaeological record. Caution must be exercised, however, as new products, building styles and innovations may have appeared in London and the south years or even decades before they spread to, and were adopted by, more northern locations, although new and decorative objects usually arrived first, and were more common, in urban centres such as York than in their rural counterparts.[137]

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[135] *AY 3/4*; *AY WS/7*; Neil Macnab, "9 Little Stonegate, York: Report on an Archaeological Excavation", unpublished, York Archaeological Trust Field Report 24 (1998).

[136] According to Jane Grenville, in the whole of York there are over 139 surviving timber-framed buildings dating from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries: Jane Grenville, "Urban and Rural Houses and Households in the Late Middle Ages: A Case Study from Yorkshire", in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 115.

[137] For chronological and geographical diversity concerning the rebuilding and modernization of houses (although concentrating on rural rather than urban development), see, for example: W.G. Hoskins, "The Rebuiding of Rural England, 1570–1640", *Past and Present* 4 (1953): 44–59. R.W. Brunskill, *Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1971) contests Hoskins' dating of the "Great Rebuilding", stating that the timing and extent varied by region and social class, suggesting a date range as late as c. 1670–1720 for parts of Yorkshire (27), although it is likely that York and other urban centres followed a very different pattern: see below, 64–65, 96–99. Differences in the development, nomenclature and use of rooms between York, London and Norwich are discussed throughout the chapter. On regional and urban/rural variations

Houses: types and sizes

As discussed in the opening chapters, most of the evidence for the types of houses in which people lived in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York comes from two main sources: standing buildings and contemporary probate inventories.[138] The majority of surviving contemporary houses from the sampled parishes are found in the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey, particularly on the streets of Petergate and Stonegate. All are examples of soundly-constructed properties, hence their survival, while most represent larger homes that would have been inhabited by prosperous merchants and free artisans of the city, although several smaller residences are still extant, including a series of rents at the corner of Stonegate and Petergate (Table 9).[139]

Table 9: Surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century houses by parish and street

Parish	*No.*	*Petergate*	*Stonegate*	*Minster Gates*	*Grape Lane*	*Coffee Yard*	*Walmgate*
St Michael-le-Belfrey	44	27	12	2	2	1	
St Helen, Stonegate	9		9				
St Margaret	5						5
St Lawrence	0						

Of the fifty-two contemporary probate inventories that survive for inhabitants of the four parishes sampled, the great majority (forty) also belong to inhabitants of the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey

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concerning domestic possessions, see: Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760*, 3rd edition (London: Routledge, 1997), 77; Ken Sneath, "Consumption in Early Modern England: Evidence from Huntingdonshire and Yorkshire", (conference paper, Economic History Society Annual Conference, 2008, East Midlands Conference Centre, University of Nottingham. 28–30 March 2008), 7; Keith Thomas, *The Ends of Life: Roads to Fulfilment in Early Modern England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 123. Furthermore, as Elisabeth Salter's study of three Kent towns indicates, the chronology of consumption patterns could vary even within a single geographical region: Salter, "Some Differences in Cultural Production of Household Consumption in Three North Kent Communities, c. 1450–1550", in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850–c.1550*, ed. Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 391.

[138] See Chapter 1, 24; Chapter 2, 40.

[139] RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, vol. V: The Central Area* (London: HMSO, 1981). Streets with fifteenth- and sixteenth-century (or earlier) houses in the parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey, St Helen, Stonegate and St Margaret include: Grape Lane (146−47, nos 7, 19), Minster Gates (160−61, no. 1/no. 38 High Petergate); High Petergate (nos 8, 5, 7, 31, 33/35), Low Petergate (nos 56/58/60, 64, 66, 70, 74, 41/43, 49/51, 55, 67, 73/75/77; behind 75/77, 79, 81, 87); Stonegate including Coffee Yard (220−34, nos 12/14, 40, 44/46, 48/50, 52, 54/56/58/60, 13, 15, 17/19; 21/ 23, 25, 27, 35, 2 Coffee Yard); and Walmgate (241−42, nos 77, 111 [Bowes Morell House], 129 [demolished 1960], 141, 143). No buildings of this date survive in the parish of St Lawrence.

near York Minster.[140] These inventories, which detail the movable possessions belonging to a person at the time of his or her death, often include details concerning the number and function of some or all of the rooms within the house in which the deceased resided, as well as the furniture, furnishings and paraphernalia kept and used within each room, or perhaps gathered there for the purpose of compiling the inventory (Table 10).[141] Thus, by using both these archaeological and documentary sources available for the four sampled parishes, we can examine the types of houses that would have been found there, and hypothesize as to their sizes, the numbers and types of rooms found within, whether or not they had outside areas, and how the various spaces within the house were used.

Table 10: Sampled York probate inventories, 1400−1600

Date of Inventory	Overall Total	Total with rooms not listed or inferred	Part or small houses (3 rooms or fewer)
1400−1449	6	1	1
1450−1499	4	0	0
1500−1549	24	0	4
1550−1600	17	3	2

Within the parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey and St Helen, Stonegate, the streets of Petergate (now High Petergate and Low Petergate) and Stonegate still contain a significant number of buildings which originally served as homes and shops in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although most have been added to or otherwise altered and modernized in the succeeding centuries. The majority of houses on these streets were built in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries as timber-framed structures of two or three storeys, with shops on the street frontage, timber or earth, clay and mortar floors and pantiled roofs, which not only increased the structures' durability but also decreased the risk of fire. Exceptions include the late twelfth-century Norman House located behind nos. 48/50 Stonegate, built entirely of stone, no. 10 Precentor's Court, a possible wholly stone-built house of the fifteenth century, and a sixteenth-century range behind no. 10 High Petergate which had a stone

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[140] Since all but two of the surviving inventories have been preserved by the Dean and Chapter of York Minster, the bias towards inventories from St Michael-le-Belfrey is unsurprising, as this parish belonged to the Dean and Chapter's peculiar jurisdiction. Three inventories included in this collection belong to inhabitants of St Helen, Stonegate, one is from St Margaret while the two from St Lawrence were both vicars of the parish church. For a discussion of the number, scope, purpose and range of inventories, see Chapter 2, 34–35.

[141] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1389−1603, microfilm, reels 1239 (1383−March 1554), 1240 (1554−79) and 1241 (1580−1603). Inventories may under-represent the number of rooms in houses, as rooms were likely to be omitted if they contained nothing of sufficient value, or if the contents of a particular room belonged to someone other than the deceased, such as a lodger. See Ursula Priestley and P.J. Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580−1730", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1982): 95, 101.

ground storey.[142] Of all the streets within the sampled parishes, Stonegate contains the greatest number of buildings still retaining recognizable external features from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All of the surviving contemporary properties on this street were jettied towards the street frontage, providing extra space on the first and second floors as well as offering protection from rain for passing pedestrians.[143] Some originally had open halls at the rear of the ground floor, including nos. 12, 14, nos. 44–46 and nos. 48–50 Stonegate, and many incorporated separate service buildings, workshops and yards on the same tenement.[144] During this period, only a very small number of new houses were built on existing tenements within the sampled parishes, including no. 23 Stonegate which was probably built in 1590 "clearly on the site of an earlier building", nos. 56–60 Petergate in the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey, described by John Stokdale in his will as "my new house in Petergait" in 1506 and in John Eden's will of 1520 as the house built by Master Stokdale, and Anthony Fawkes' home in the same parish, which he described in his will of 1551 as "my howse which I buylded of newe". The parish church of St Michael-le-Belfrey was also completely rebuilt in 1525–37 after over one hundred years of parishioners' complaints.[145]

In contrast, the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw the improvement, extension and modernization of many York properties, a trend which also occurred in other urban centres including Norwich and Worcester.[146] Common improvements included the addition of new ranges to existing tenements and of third storeys and/or attics to originally two-storey ranges as well as the ceiling over of open halls, effectively dividing an existing space into two storeys. Examples of sixteenth-century renovations within the sampled parishes include nos. 17–19 Stonegate, a mid fifteenth-century house which had a third storey and new rear wing added in 1574, nos. 21, 25 and no. 27 Stonegate which were both heightened and attics added, nos. 31 and 76 Petergate, which

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[142] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, lviii, xcvi, 225; Gareth Dean, *Medieval York* (Stroud: The History Press, 2008), 35−37. In contrast, Norwich homes often had thatched rather than tiled roofs throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Chris King, "'Closure' and the Urban Great Rebuilding in Early Modern Norwich", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 44, no. 1 (2010), 62.

[143] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 223–33.

[144] *Ibid.*, 221, 223, 224–25.

[145] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 62r (John Stokdale, 1507), 125v (John Eden, 1521); BIA, Prob. Reg. 14, fol. 16r (Anthony Fawkes, 1551); RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 189, 229; Anthony Wayne Masinton, "Sacred Space: Priorities, Perception and the Presence of God in Late Medieval Yorkshire Parish Churches", 4 vols, unpublished PhD dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (2006), vol. 1, 61–89.

[146] John Schofield, using mainly London-based evidence, suggests that adaptation and renewal of buildings in urban centres was a more gradual process than the "Great Rebuilding" of rural England, with Chris King noting that rebuilding in Norwich and Worcester began in the late fifteenth century: John Schofield, "Urban Housing in England, 1400–1600", in *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400–1600*, ed. David M. Gaimster and Paul Stamper, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15, Oxbow Monograph 98, (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997), 127–44; Chris King, "'Closure' and the Urban Great Rebuilding", 60.

each had additional two-storey ranges built, and no. 79 Petergate, a fourteenth-century house which was "extensively modernised" during the mid sixteenth century with the insertion of a floor at eaves level to create a new attic space and the addition of mullioned windows along the two jettied upper storeys.[147] Ceiled-over halls are alluded to in will and inventory references to chambers over halls, as found in the homes of Simon Brigges (d.1504), Ralph Bekwith (d.1541), Robert Cooke (d.1549) and Agnes Reade (d.1586).[148] Kate Giles' and Stefania Perring's studies, on York guildhalls and the Minster Close respectively, both similarly found adaptation of existing buildings to be more popular than complete rebuilding schemes. Elsewhere, Ursula Priestley and Penelope Corfield posit "a continuous process of renovation and adaption" rather than wholescale rebuilding in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Norwich houses, a process which actually began in the late fifteenth century according to Chris King, while Alan Dyer noticed a corresponding rise in the number of rooms (though not necessarily in actual house size) in the Midland towns of Coventry and Derby (but not in Birmingham or Worcester) between the middle and end of the sixteenth century, as did Nat Alcock for the Warwickshire village of Stoneleigh.[149] As a direct consequence of such building alterations and extensions, it is only in the sixteenth century that houses with ten or more rooms appear in the sampled York evidence (Table 11).

Table 11: Number of named or inferred rooms or spaces per house (with percentages in brackets)

Number of:	1400−1449	1450−1499	1500−1549	1550−1600
1−3 roomed houses	1 (17%)	0	4 (17%)	2 (11%)
4−6 roomed houses	4 (66%)	3 (75%)	5 (22%)	5 (28%)
7−9 roomed houses	1 (17%)	1 (25%)	5 (22%)	2 (11%)
10−14 roomed houses	0	0	8 (35%)	6 (33%)
Houses with 15 or more rooms	0	0	1 (4%)	3 (17%)
Total number of inventories naming rooms	6	4	23	18

The houses of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York varied greatly in size, even within the same street, with houses of the rich and poor, as well as open spaces, often found adjacent to each other.

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[147] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 186, 192–93, 196, 228–29, 231.

[148] BIA, Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 99r (Simon Brigges, 1504); D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Ralph Bekwith, 1541; Robert Cook, 1549; 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586.

[149] Kate Giles, *An Archaeology of Social Identity: Guildhalls in York, c.1350–1630*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series vol. 315 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 195−96; Stefania Perring, "The Cathedral Landscape of York: The Minster Close c.1500−1642", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (2010), 279, 286, 310; Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 104–105; King, "'Closure' and the Urban Great Rebuilding", 54−80, especially 60−64; Alan Dyer, "Urban Housing: A Documentary Study of Four Midland Towns 1530–1700", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 15 (1981), 208–209; N.W. Alcock, *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village, 1500−1800* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1993), 201.

Of those residents whose inventories survive, the majority seem to have lived in medium-sized houses with between five and eight rooms, yet the evidence presented by still-existing medieval buildings depicts a much wider variety of house sizes (Table 11). Some homes were substantially larger, particularly in the sixteenth century after many houses had been extended and modernized. On Stonegate the largest house by far was the Starre Inne which, in 1581, contained at least thirty-one separate rooms or spaces, including fourteen residential rooms, seven service areas and ten outdoor spaces. Set back from the street front, the inn is two storeys high with attics. The core of the existing building was erected in the sixteenth century with a second range adjoining it at right angles added later in the same century.[150] Other large residences also existed within the city, including, as mentioned above, the new Petergate house built by alderman and former mayor John Stokdale in c.1500 which was spread over five tenements. At five bays in length and three storeys high with the upper floors jettied on the street front, the house probably contained an impressive number of rooms and would have been one of the higher status homes within the city at the time, as evidenced by the fact it was subsequently inhabited by two other aldermen, one formerly a sheriff and the other a mayor of the city.[151] In 1534 Geoffrey Frankland's home contained at least eighteen rooms, including eleven living spaces, five service areas, a garth and a stable on Grapelane, while in 1582 the widow of alderman and former York mayor Richard Calome lived in a fifteen-room tenement on Petergate, with at least six residential spaces, seven service spaces and two outdoor areas.[152] By the middle of the sixteenth century, most of the houses on these streets likely had fully glazed windows, particularly those that had already been renovated and modernized.[153]

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[150] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 223. RCHME dates the second range to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, but the number of rooms included in Carter's 1581 inventory suggests that the extension had been completed by this date. For an in-depth study of this inn, its status as a home, its owner and its contents, see Chapter 6.

[151] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 189. The house is now nos. 56, 58 and 60 Low Petergate. The later occupants were William Cure (d.1522), mentioned in the will of John Eden (d.1521), who also lived there, as the owner of the house in Petergate built by Master Stokdale, and Robert Wilde (d.1532) who is described as dying in the house late of John Stokdale (his father-in-law) in Petergate (YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 125v, 165v).

[152] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534; 1580−1603: Jane Calome, 1582.

[153] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Henry Borow, 1538 (8 panes of glass, window lattices in the hall); William Thompson, 1540 (glazed window in parlour); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (glass in the hall, parlour, 2 chambers); 1554−79: Richard Crawforthe, 1566 (40 feet throughout the house); James Taylour, 1574 (Walmgate house parlour and chamber); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (glass, window lattice in parlour, glass in chamber entry, hall, 3 other parlours, 2 chambers); Agnes Reade, 1586 (24 feet of glass, window lattices in hall house, 5 panes, window lattices in parlour, glass in buttery, chamber, kitchen); John Aclam, 1594 (2 windows in chamber, glass in hall); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: 2 glass windows in parlour, glass in chamber); YML, D&C wills, vol. 3, fol. 16r (Agnes Thomson, 1546: all glass in house); vol. 5, fols 39r (Elizabeth White, 1569: all glass windows in house), 128r (Jane Hebden, 1589: all glass windows in house), 155r (Richard Ayneley, 1599: all glass windows in house); BIA, Prob. Reg. 21, fols 272r (John Dyneley, 1579: all glass in house), 462v (Christopher Willoughbie, 1580: all glass and windows in

Table 12: Average number of hearths per house[154]

Houses	1400−1449	1450−1499	1500−1549	1550−1600
1−3 rooms	0	n/a	0.5	0.5
4−6 rooms	1.5	1.7	1.4	2
7−9 rooms	1	2	1.8	1.5
10−14 rooms	n/a	n/a	2.4	2.7
15 or more rooms	n/a	n/a	2	3
Overall average	1.4	1.8	1.6	2.2
Total no. of inventories	6	4	23	18

Table 13: Rooms and spaces containing heating facilities[155]

Rooms	1400−1449		1450−1499		1500−1549		1550−1600	
	Hearth	Brazier	Hearth	Brazier	Hearth	Brazier	Hearth	Brazier
Hall	2	2	1		10	6	6	2
Chamber		1					4	
Parlour					4	2	8	
Kitchen	5	2	4	3	18	3	17	5
Shop			2		4		3	
Kilnhouse							2	

At the smaller end of the scale, a three-storey timber-framed range on the northwest corner of Stonegate (nos. 54–60) is believed to have originally comprised a row of seven separate tenements, each containing only a ground-floor shop with two chambers above. Built in c.1323 and owned by the Vicars Choral, who rented out the tenements, in 1415 the structure was described as a "site with shops built on it and chambers above at the corner of Stonegate opposite the entrance of the Minster".[156] The upper chambers of these rents may have been used as storerooms for the shops below or as living quarters, although none of the chambers contain evidence of any means of cooking or heating the premises, although portable braziers or "chauffers" could have been used to heat rooms lacking hearths (Tables 12 and 13).[157] Sarah Rees Jones suggests that these dwellings represent a relatively upmarket group of small houses, likely to have been tenanted by women, the

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house). The absence of glass in inventories does not mean windows were not glazed, as the glass might have been considered part of the structure, and thereby excluded, or the owner may have stipulated that the glass remain in the house as an heirloom, as did Jane Calome (1582): BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603; YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 104r.

[154] The presence of hearths is inferred from the recording of kitchens, fire implements and kilns, including those implements found in workshops. Several homes also contained portable braziers ("chauffers", "fire-pans") for heating rooms lacking hearths.

[155] References to kilns and iron chimneys have been included with hearths, as both were permanent structures.

[156] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 225−26.

[157] Jayne Rimmer, "Small Houses in Late Medieval York and Norwich", unpublished PhD dissertation, University of York (2007), 58. A copper alloy box tentatively identified as a brazier was recovered from fifteenth-century levels at Coppergate: *AY 17/15*, 2813 (catalogue no. 13004); and see Appendix, 239.

elderly or single men in "light" trades, such as barbers, scribes, clerks and priests, or those who worked on other sites, like builders.[158] An even smaller residence was built in Walmgate in the late sixteenth century, a tiny two-storey dwelling with only one room on each floor.[159] Yet even this type of single-cell house, whether free-standing or part of a row of other similar houses, did not represent the humblest type of housing available in York; as Jane Grenville maintains, "far less salubrious accommodation was certainly available in the suburbs".[160]

While it is true that the internal structure of these extant fifteenth- and sixteenth-century houses no longer resembles their early modern layout or appearance, surviving probate inventories can be so detailed as to provide an excellent map of the domestic space within these residences.

Rooms and spaces: occupation and inhabitation

Inventories listing and describing the contents of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York houses often itemized the possessions of the deceased according to the room in which they were found on the day the goods were appraised, or into which they had been gathered for the purpose of taking the inventory. Thus each inventory provides a rough idea of the number and type of rooms found within each house and the object assemblages kept and used within, although it is possible that the number of rooms listed in an inventory may have been under-recorded, especially in the case of rooms containing no movable items of value as well as those occupied and furnished by a person other than the deceased or his or her spouse and household.

Did the name given to a room determine the way in which the room was used, or *vice versa*? Or were rooms and spaces multi-functional, with the activities undertaken within dependent upon the time of day, the season, the life-cycle of the occupant or even the needs and whims of the house's inhabitants? These questions, although only occasionally addressed in the secondary sources, are especially relevant to inventory-based studies of houses, rooms and room-use.[161] Do references to

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[158] Grenville, "Urban and Rural Houses", 119−20; Sarah Rees Jones, "Women's Influence on the Design of Urban Homes", in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carpenter Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 194; Sarah Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City, 1068−1350* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), 294, 308−309.

[159] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 242: No. 129 Walmgate, demolished 1960. This property was formerly in the parish of St Peter-le-Willows which had been amalgamated with St Margaret by 1586: David M. Palliser, *The Reformation in York, 1534–1553*, Borthwick Paper 40 (York: St Anthony's Press, 1971), 21.

[160] Jane Grenville, *Medieval Housing* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1997), 193; Rimmer, "Small Houses".

[161] For example, neither Margaret Spufford in "The Limitations of the Probate Inventory" nor Tom Arkell in "Interpreting Probate Inventories", which references at least eight different inventory-based studies, makes any mention of how or why room names were assigned or of the relationship

the hall, for example, refer to a recognizable architectural space, the largest and best lit room in the house, open to the roof, or is the hall simply the house's main reception room, as was the case in the Warwickshire village of Stoneleigh?[162] Furthermore, some rooms could have been used for purposes not apparently evident from the name ascribed to them, such as Geoffrey Frankland's room known as "the chamber where the appilles did lye" which held only coals and salted fish in the November of 1534, or the hay chamber in John Bown's house which was repeatedly used by his wayward servant to seduce Bown's female servants in the early fifteenth century.[163] Additionally, objects could and would be moved from one room to another, and in and out of storage, as need or the season required. The inventory, therefore, as a document constructed for the particular purpose of valuing the deceased's movables shortly following his or her death, only provides a snapshot of each named room at a given time, revealing its contents on the day the appraisal took place, but of necessity remaining silent regarding other items and pursuits which may have occupied the same space both at other times of the year or during different phases of the owner's lifecycle.

Halls

The majority of medium to large houses recorded in York inventories included a room known as the hall. Of the fifty-two inventories sampled thirty-seven had a hall or *aula*, while five had spaces listed as "hall houses" (including one that also had a room called the hall). Another five inventories lacked room headings but nevertheless appear to have had halls, judging from the both the room's position as the first space listed in the inventory and the object assemblages found within. Only six inventories contained no reference to either a hall or a space that could have been a hall. Five of these probably belonged to tenants of rented rooms or small houses, with only one coming from the inventory of a substantial family home, that of draper John Litstar (d.1541) which had two parlours, four chambers, a kitchen, a buttery and a shop, but no hall. But what was a hall? How was this room identified and used within a home? And what furniture and furnishings did it contain?

(or absence thereof) of the room name to the contents found within: Margaret Spufford, "The Limiations of the Probate Inventory", in *English Rural Society, 1500–1800: Essays in Honour of Joan Thirsk*, ed. John Chartres and David Hey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 139–74; Tom Arkell, "Interpreting Probate Inventories", in *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2004), 72–102. Exceptions include Elisabeth Salter and Priestley and Corfield, who infer room use based upon the room's contents: Elisabeth Salter, *Cultural Creativity in the Early English Renaissance: Popular Culture in Town and Country* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 67–68; Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 93.

[162] Alcock, *People at Home*, 4.

[163] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534; P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women in England, c.1275−1525: Documentary Sources* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 110−12.

In architectural and archaeological terms, the word hall is often used to refer to an open hall, that is, a ground-floor room that is open to the roof. Although some of the halls mentioned in the documentary sources may have referred to open halls, including those described as hall houses, evidence from the inventories proves that this was not always the case in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York.[164] Although usually found on the ground floor of a house and set back from the street, some halls were located on the first floor when the ground floor was occupied by shops, or on the street frontage when no shop was present.[165] Also, many of the rooms called halls in inventories would not have been open to the roof, both in smaller properties and particularly in larger homes of the sixteenth century, by which time many houses' original open halls had been ceiled over to create additional rooms on the upper floors.[166] As mentioned above, the houses of Simon Brigges (d.1504), Ralph Bekwith (d.1541), Robert Cooke (d.1549) and Agnes Reade (d.1586) each had a room described as "the chamber over the hall", implying that these halls at least were no longer open to the roof, if, indeed, they ever had been.[167] If it was not, then, the position or architectural design of the room that enabled it to be recognized as a hall in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, could the room be defined by the way in which it was used and/or by the object assemblages found within?

The hall was usually the first room listed in the inventory, perhaps because it served as the main entry into the rest of the home, or represented the largest space in the house or the symbolic centre of the home.[168] Halls almost always contained hearths and seating, often adorned with textile covers and cushions. Many also housed tables and were decorated with wall-hangings or painted

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[164] Hall houses: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554–79: John Tyesone, 1566; Thomas Fall, 1567; James Taylour, 1574 (2); 1580–1603: John Aclam, 1594. Agnes Reade had a ceiled-over hall, yet the object assemblages for this room include glass, sealing and benches "in the hall house", suggesting that although part of this space was ceiled over, part may have remained open to the roof: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580–1603: Agnes Reade, 1586.

[165] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, lxi: a first-floor hall was recorded at 66 Low Petergate dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, while 111 Walmgate had a ground-floor hall fronting onto the street. See also W.A. Pantin, "Medieval English Town-House Plans", *Medieval Archaeology* 6–7 (1962–63): 202–39; John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 5; Sarah Pearson, "Medieval Houses in English Towns: Form and Location", *Vernacular Architecture* 40 (2009): 1−22.

[166] For discussions of halls in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century urban homes, see Rimmer, "Small Houses", 217−18; Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 104−106; R.H. Leech, "The Symbolic Hall: Historical Context and Merchant Culture in the Early Modern City", *Vernacular Architecture* 31 (2000): 1−10.

[167] BIA, Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 99r (Simon Brigges, 1504); D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554: Ralph Bekwith, 1541; Robert Cooke, 1549; 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586). But see above, note 164.

[168] Pearson, "Medieval Houses in English Towns", 3−9; Leech, "The Symbolic Hall", 1−10. Priestley and Corfield found that in smaller Norwich houses the hall was a "general purpose living room"; Alcock similarly defined Stoneleigh halls as "all-purpose living and cooking room(s)": Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 105; Alcock, *People at Home*, 4.

cloths, although towards the end of the sixteenth century several halls in higher status homes had adopted the latest style of decoration and were at least partly panelled in wainscoting.[169] Other furniture found in halls included counters and various types of storage furniture such as aumbries, shelves, cupboards and free-standing butteries.[170] Weapons and armour were also displayed in some halls throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Table 14). In contrast to evidence from Norwich houses of the same period, beds were not found in any of the sampled York halls.[171]

Table 14: Furniture and furnishings found in York halls according to inventories

Inventories	1400−1449	1450−1499	1500−1549	1550−1600
Total no. of halls	5	4	21	15
Seating	5	4	20	14
Tables	5	4	14	12
Counters	0	2	19	4
Storage furniture	2	2	18	14
Cushions & coverings	5	4	19	12
Wall decor	3	3	20	12
Weapons and armour	3	1	7	5
Total no. of inventories	6	4	24	18

Table 15: Evidence for hearths in York halls, 1400−1600

Inventories	1400−1450		1451−1500		1501−1550		1551−1600	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total sampled	6	100	4	100	24	100	18	100
No. with named halls	3	50	4	100	20	83	14	78
No. with unnamed rooms identified as halls	2	33	0	0	2	8	1	5
No. with fire implements in hall	2	33	1	25	10	42	6	33
No. with cooking equipment in hall	0	0	0	0	5	21	0	0

One improvement made to houses during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the insertion of chimneys into existing buildings as fireplaces moved from being situated in the centre of a room

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[169] Panelling: BIA, D&C orig. wills 1554−79: Robert Reade, 1569 ("sealinge in the sayde hall"); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; Agnes Reade, 1586 ("the sealinge ... in the hall house"); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: "wainscoot"); YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fols 39r (Lady Elizabeth White, 1569), 104r (Lady Jane Calome, 1581), 128r (Jane Hebden, 1589), 155r (Richard Ayneley, 1599); BIA, Prob. Reg. 21, fols 272r (John Dyneley, 1579), 462v (Christopher Willoughbie, 1580). For a discussion of panelling as a new innovation synonymous with cutting-edge style, see Chapter 6, 182–83.

[170] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Overdo, 1444 (spence); William Thompson, 1540 (buttery in the hall); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (buttery in the hall); John Jacson, 1549 (buttery of wainscot); James Taylour, 1574 (buttery of spruce).

[171] Beds were found in Norwich halls up until 1654: Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 105.

to a position at the side of a room against a wall, using coal, wood, peat and/or gorse for fuel.[172] Noel Mores (d.1538), for example, had "a halling hinging before the chymney" in his "litill parlour", and Anne Crawfurth's hall contained a "chimneye clothe" (1581).[173] Flues above the fireplace could be made of plaster, wood or, from the sixteenth century, brick.[174] The inclusion of fire implements in over one third of the halls listed in inventories implies the presence of a hearth in those rooms used for heating and possibly for cooking, particularly if pots or cooking utensils are also listed. Carpenter Thomas Cooke (d.1520) almost certainly cooked meals in his hall: not only are spits, cob irons, pots, pans, dishes and doublers kept there, but his house does not appear to have had a kitchen (Table 15).[175] Up until the mid-sixteenth century, several halls, including Cooke's, were used for dining, as evidenced by the presence of meat boards, tableware, condiment containers, including mustard pots and salt cellars, and chafing dishes; after this date the addition of extra rooms to existing houses often resulted in a more symbolic use for the hall with dining now taking place in a more private parlour.[176] Drinking, however, appears to have remained a popular

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[172] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 115. Although writing about London houses, several entries in RCHME indicate that the same changes were occurring in York. See, for example, nos. 3, 10, 55, 66−68, 76 Petergate (RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 181, 183, 192–93, 194). For examples of fuel in York documents, see BIA, Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 99r (Simon Brigges, 1504: "my fuell as wod, colles and turfes"); James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 3, Surtees Society 45 (1864), 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410 [fuel]); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Overdo, 1444 (firewood); Robert Fawcette, 1460 (coal; charcoal); Richard Haukesworth, 1466 (firewood); John Carter, 1485 (sea coals); John Colan, 1490 (coal); William Thwaitt, 1512 (coal; wood); John Tennand, 1516 (sea coal; charcoal); John Grene, 1525 (coal; wood); Thomas Lytster, 1528 (coal; wood); Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 (sea coal; charcoal; peat turfs; wood); Noel Mores, 1538 (wood); Henry Borow, 1538 (wood; peat); James Hall, 1538 (wood); William Thompson, 1540 (wood; peat turfs); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (wood); John Warwycke, 1542 (wood; coal); Thomas Pereson, 1546 (wood); Robert Cooke, 1549 (wood; coal); John Jacson, 1549 (wood); 1554−79: Robert Fawcett, 1554 (wood; gorse); Richard Crawforthe, 1556 (peat turfs); Thomas Rigge, 1557 (wood; gorse); Agnes Dawton, 1558 (wood; coal); Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558 (coal; wood); Thomas Fall, 1567 (wood; coal; peat); Robert Reade, 1569 (wood; coal); James Taylour, 1574 (western coal; sea coal; wood); John Johnson, 1575 (wood; western coal); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (coal); Jane Calome, 1582 (wood; coal); John Aclam, 1594 (wood; peat turfs); YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 61v (Stephen Daragon, 1572: firewood).

[173] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Noel Mores, 1538; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581).

[174] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 115. Schofield notes that chimney flues were still made of wood as late as 1469 in London, which suggests that wooden flues were probably also present in at least some York houses at that time although, as structural features, flues do not appear in wills or inventories.

[175] BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554: Thomas Cooke, 1520. Thomas Pereson (d. 1546), despite having a kitchen, may also have cooked in his hall, as he kept pots, pans, kettles, a ladle, a frying pan and a skimmer there: BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554.

[176] Leech, "The Symbolic Hall", 1−10.

activity in halls, especially in the later sixteenth century, with a number of halls containing drinking vessels or pots (Table 16).[177]

Table 16: Evidence for dining and drinking in York halls, 1400−1600

Inventories	1400−1450	1451−1500	1501−1550	1551−1600
No. with dining furniture			1	
No. with dining furniture, tableware and/or condiment containers			1	
No. with dining furniture and chafing dishes			1	
No. with tableware and/or condiment containers		1		1
No. with chafing dishes			2	1
No. with tableware and/or condiment containers and chafing dishes			4	2
No. with dining furniture, chafing dishes and drinking vessels	1			
No. with chafing dishes and drinking vessels			3	1
No. with tableware and/or condiment containers and drinking vessels	1			3
No. with tableware and/or condiment containers, chafing dishes and drinking vessels	1			

The contents of rooms described as halls in the inventories suggest that a wide variety of household and craft-related pursuits were undertaken in this room. Did the relatively large size, high ceilings and, presumably, windows found in the fifteenth-century open hall, make it one of the best lit rooms in the house for a great part of the day, and consequently one suitable to a range of activities? Several such halls contained spinning wheels during the first half of the fifteenth century, although after that date these are most often found in chambers, possibly as halls were ceiled over and were no longer as well-lit.[178] However, well into the sixteenth century goldsmith Ralph Bekwith (d.1541) and embroiderer James Taylour (d.1574) each carried out part of their work in their halls, judging from the tools and materials listed in their hall inventories. Barber and chandler William Caton (d.1514) probably had more than one hall in his house as he kept his work implements in a room called the "somer hall", clearly a room used in the summer, perhaps because

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[177] BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554: Thomas Gryssop, 1446 (meat board, chafing dish, pots); Robert Morley, 1522 (2 little meat boards); Henry Borow, 1538 (meat board with locker, chafing dish); Robert Cooke, 1549 (4 pewter drinking cups); Robert Reade, 1569 (desk for pots and glasses); John Hudles, 1599 (drinking glasses with pots and jugs).

[178] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410: 2 spinning wheels, 3 pairs of cards, maunds for wool); BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554: Thomas Catton, 1413 (spinning wheel; cards); Thomas Overdo, 1444 (spinning wheel).

lack of a hearth or limited access to daylight made the space too cold or dark to use throughout the year.[179]

Wooden screens and parcloses, such as those found in two of the sampled halls, would have been used to divide the room into separate spaces, or to partition off a part of the hall enabling more than one pursuit to be undertaken at the same time.[180] Object assemblages suggest that other activities taking place in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century halls included board games, music playing and reading or religious contemplation.[181] Only four inventories list silver and plate as being kept in the hall, including the nine silver spoons, silver goblet and mazer tipped with silver found in John Aclam's hall house in 1594. However, it is impossible to ascertain how commonly silver was displayed in halls as the majority of inventories containing listings for silver and plate (62%) value these objects separately, without associating them with a specific room or space.[182] Of the forty-five halls included in the inventories, twenty-eight (62%) contained basins, ewers and candlesticks and sixteen (36%) had weapons and/or armour on display. Roger Leech argues that the presence of weapons and armour in the hall is a sign that the hall was becoming an increasingly symbolic space, denoting "the lineage and honour of wealthy urban families", while Sarah Rees Jones considers rooms to be gendered male by the presence of weapons and armour. Yet all but one of the York halls containing weapons and armour also contained a variety of seating, soft furnishings and hangings, rendering the space neither entirely masculine nor entirely symbolic.[183]

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[179] BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554: Ralph Bekwith, 1541; 1554−79: James Taylour, 1574; YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 106r (William Caton, 1514). There was also a summer hall (*aula aestivali*) in Hugh Grantham's house in 1410 (Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3., 49−53) and a summer hall in the Petergate house of merchant Robert Lascelles in 1430 (Goldberg, *Women in England*, 239−41).

[180] BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554: Thomas Baker, 1436 (2 wooden screens); Robert Fawcette, 1460 (wooden screen, board parclose, wooden parclose).

[181] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410: gameboard with men); BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554: Thomas Overdo, 1444 (pair of gaming tables); Thomas Gryssop, 1446 (harp); Robert Morley, 1522 (pair of playing tables); John Grene, 1525 (bird cage); Henry Borow, 1538 (lute); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (a pair of [gaming] tables); 1580−1603: John Hudles, 1599 (Bible).

[182] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: John Aclam, 1594. For other inventories listing silver in halls, see: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Tennand, 1516 (6 silver spoons); 1554−79: James Taylour, 1574 (12 silver spoons); DC.CP.1524/11 (Elizabeth Shaw, 1523: 12 silver spoons; 2 pairs of silver crooks). The most commonly mentioned place to find silver was in the buttery or other storeroom (24%): Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49−53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410: *celarium*); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Catton, 1413 (unnamed storeroom); William Thwaitt, 1512 (buttery); John Greene, 1525 (buttery); Henry Borow, 1538 (buttery); William Thompson, 1540 (buttery); Thomas Pereson, 1546 (buttery); 1580−1603: John Hudles, 1599 (buttery).

[183] Leech, "The Symbolic Hall", 1, 7; Rees Jones, "Women's Influence on the Design of Urban Homes", 195−96.

Parlours

According to John Schofield's work on London houses, the parlour was found in homes in the capital from c.1330 and "denoted a reception room, for conversation and entertainment, separate from the hall but usually not a bedchamber".[184] In the sampled York documents, however, the first mention of a parlour does not occur until the second half of the fifteenth century when a carpenter left his daughter a standing chest kept near the fireplace in his parlour (1457).[185] For what reasons do parlours begin to appear at this date? The term "parlour" was not simply replacing an older Latin term since three inventories utilize the Latin word *parlura* to describe this room.[186] Were residents perhaps imitating London practice? Does the introduction of the parlour reflect a change in the physical building itself, or was an existing room simply provided with a new, more specialized designation, reflecting a shift in the usage of the room? The first inventory to list a parlour is dated 1485; this parlour (*parlura*) was used both for making bowstrings, as it contained a stone of hemp and a "forme with all that longys therto for makyng of bowstrynges", and for eating, as a meat board and trestles are also listed.[187] Object assemblages suggest that York parlours were commonly used for dining from the late fifteenth century onwards, although both the introduction of the parlour and its use as a dining room appear to have occurred much earlier in other parts of the country and particularly in London. When William Langland wrote *Piers Plowman* (c.1370s), parlours were commonplace enough in better London homes for him to comment that:

> Now hath ech riche a rule–to eten by hymselve
> In a pryvee parlour for povere mennes sake,
> Or in a chambre with a chymenee, and leve the chief halle
> That was maad for meles, men to eten inne.[188]

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[184] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 66. However, the *OED* records that a parlour can refer to "any room or chamber; a bedchamber", and Barley notes that in the North Midlands, ground-floor sleeping chambers are called parlours from Elizabethan times onwards: *OED*, s.v. "parlour, n., A.I.2.b.", accessed 19 March 2015, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/138013?redirectedFrom=parlour#eid; M.W. Barley, "The Use of Upper Floors in Rural Houses", *Vernacular Architecture* 22 (1991): 20.

[185] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 285v (William Cotyngham, 1457). The next reference occurs in a will of 1482 in which a testator bequeaths his best counter in the parlour (BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 27v: Robert Thixendale, 1482).

[186] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Carter, 1485; John Colan, 1490; Richard Wynder, 1505 (2).

[187] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Carter, 1485. For other inventories listing parlours which may have been used for dining, see: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Colan, 1490; William Thwaitt, 1512; John Tennand, 1516; Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 (1 of 3); Noel Mores, 1538 (1 of 2); James Hall, 1538; William Thompson, 1540; 1554−79: Thomas Fall, 1567; James Taylour, 1574; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (1 of 4); Jane Calome, 1582; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: 1 of 2).

[188] William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt, (London, 1989 reprint), Passus X, ll. 98−101.

However, some York parlours contained a variety of seating yet lacked a table and would likely have been used solely as reception or retiring rooms rather than for dining; several York parlours also contained gaming tables.[189]

Furthermore, in direct contrast to Schofield's London evidence, the parlours in York houses usually did contain beds, as did over half of parlours in sixteenth-century Norwich, whereas in rural English houses, the parlour was the main bedchamber well into the seventeenth century.[190] A number of the York parlours contained dining and/or seating furniture in addition to the aforementioned beds, implying that these rooms served more than one purpose. The parlour in the house of John Colan (d.1490), for example, may have been used for dining, as it contained tables and seating, but also held a bed with a tester and curtains. Richard Wynder (d.1505) and John Tennand (d.1516) each had two parlours in their houses, with the first of Wynder's containing chairs, longsettles, bankers and cushions, and the second a bed, bedding, napery and clothes. Tennand's first parlour may have been used for dining, having a table and several types of seating within it, while his second parlour was called "the bed parlor". Even as late as 1580, Christopher Willoughbie's home contained four separate parlours, all containing beds: "one bedstead standinge in the parlor where Mr Lewes was accustomed to lye, one bedstead in the perler where my maides use to lye, one bedstead beinge in the parler next the entrie wher my wyf was wonte to lye at her childe byrthe, one other bedstead standinge in the parler next unto the same".[191] The parlours in these examples, then, each had a specialized function – whether it be sleeping, dining or sitting – determined by the object assemblages with which they were furnished.

By the mid sixteenth century, some larger York homes contained multiple parlours, often described according to their position within the house. The houses of John Litstar (d.1541) and Anne Crawfurth (d.1581), of at least nine and fourteen rooms respectively, each had parlours on both the ground and first floors. Litstar's were listed in his inventory as "the parleure abowe" and "the lawe

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[189] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Richard Wynder, 1505 (pair of gaming tables); Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 (2 of 3; 1 with pair of gaming tables); Noel Mores, 1538 (1 of 2); John Litstar, 1541 (1 of 2); John Warwycke, 1542; William Warwycke, 1544; 1554−79: Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558; William Carter, 1581 (gaming tables, possible dining tables and seating in the great parlour).

[190] Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 107; King, "'Closure' and the Urban Great Rebuilding", 71.

[191] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Colan, 1490; Richard Wynder, 1505; John Tennand, 1516; Prob. Reg. 21, fols 462v−463r (Christopher Willoughbie, 1580). For other wills with parlours containing beds, see BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Morley, 1522; Thomas Lytster, 1528; Robert Loksmyth, 1531; William Thompson, 1540; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; John Litstar, 1541; 1554−79: Richard Crawforthe, 1556; Thomas Rigge, 1557 (2); John Tyesone, 1556; Thomas Fall, 1567; Robert Reade, 1569 (2); James Taylour, 1574 (1 of 2); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (3 of 4 parlours); Jane Calome, 1582 (1 of 2); Agnes Reade, 1586 (2); John Hudles, 1599 (2); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: 2 of 3).

parlure" while those in the Crawfurth home were called "the highe parlor" and "the lawe parlor", with the latter containing a room or space listed as "the lytle parlor with in the same parlor".[192] Other parlours are described as being "fore", "innermore", "outer" or "next to" another room or the street.[193] Several houses also contain a room described as the "little" parlour, while the Starre Inne had a "greate parlor".[194]

As houses increased in size, the addition of extra space not only allowed for increasing specialization of room use, but also for the accommodation of a greater number and variety and better quality of domestic objects within those spaces. Thus, many of York's parlours, even those required for regular or occasional use as bedchambers, were equipped with some of the best and most expensive décor and furnishings in the home. The parlour was "an intentionally comfortable room", often containing a fireplace and adorned with a variety of hangings or, from the later sixteenth century, wainscot panelling, and the seating within was nearly always covered with colourful cloths and cushions, some of which are described in great detail in the sampled inventories.[195] The seats in Richard Wynder's parlour (1505) were covered in three red bankers, a banker decorated with flowers and a number of cushions, while the parlour in the home of John Colan (d.1490) was decorated with two hallings, one depicting the Trinity (*hawlyng cum Trinitate*) and the other St George and the Virgin Mary (*cum imagine S Georgii et B M*).[196] The use of such religious imagery was common in domestic furnishing of all types, although it begs the question as to whether such objects were symbols of devotion or consumerism, particularly when displayed in

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[192] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Litstar, 1541; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581). For houses containing rooms called the low parlour, without any reference to a corresponding higher parlour, see: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Loksmyth, 1531; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; Jane Calome, 1582.

[193] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 ("the parlour to the streit"; "a nother fore parlour"; "the inermer parlour"); William Thompson, 1541 ("the parlour next the strete"); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 ("the litell parlure towarde the streit"); John Warwycke, 1542 ("the parlor to the strett"); William Warwycke, 1544 ("the litle parlour to the streit"); Richard Crawforthe, 1546 ("the fore perlor"); 1554−79: Thomas Rigge, 1557 ("the inermer parlour"; "the outer parlour"); Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558 ("the parlour next the hawle"); Robert Reade, 1569 ("the fare parler"); James Taylour, 1574 ("in the lytle parlour in the entrye"); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 ("the parlor next the streete"); Jane Calome, 1582 ("the fore parlour"); Agnes Reade, 1586 ("the farr parlor"; "the lyttell parler next the garth").

[194] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534; Noel Mores, 1538; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; William Warwycke, 1544; 1554−79: Robert Reade, 1569; James Taylour, 1574; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (the Starre Inne); Agnes Reade, 1586; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581).

[195] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 67. For panelling in York parlours, see: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581).

[196] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Colan, 1490; Richard Wynder, 1505.

less private areas of the house.[197] One of Geoffrey Frankland's three parlours (1534) was hung with a blue curtain and three painted cloths, and his furniture covered with bankers of green linsey woolsy and cushions with white bucks on them, while another had three hallings painted with roses, a piece of green say in the window, bankers, carpet cloths, six cushions with white harts and six cushions with flowers.[198] In 1546 Agnes Thomson's own "bed parlour" was decorated with "one paynted clothe … having upon it one image of oure Ladie", a "hanging of the unicorne" and at least seven "lityll paynted clothes", raising the interesting possibility that it may be the presence of luxurious and presumably expensive furnishings that distinguished a parlour from a chamber, rather than the presence of absence of a bed.[199]

Chambers[200]

Chambers were usually private rooms often located on the upper floors of urban houses. According to the inventories, the majority were bed chambers furnished with one or more beds and their accoutrements, although a few seem to have been used purely for storage purposes. The homes for which inventories exist contained between one and seven chambers, although, as mentioned above, several homes also had parlours which were at least occasionally used as bedrooms. No inventory from the 1400s records more than three chambers within a single home, while after 1500 the number of bed chambers greatly increased in many homes, again supporting the theory that houses were often extended, or rooms subdivided, during the sixteenth century, and implying that some houses may have been accommodating a larger number of both people and objects. The number of beds found within each chamber also varied, ranging from one to five beds, although two or three beds per chamber seems to have been the norm. However, as the size of these beds is never mentioned, the number of people who would have slept in each bed, and consequently in each bedchamber, remains uncertain.

Some York houses contained a room described as the great chamber or *magna camera*. In grander London houses from 1475, and in larger Norwich houses of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, this room was a chamber located above the parlour used as a reception room and for dining.[201] In

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[197] Sarah Rees Jones and Felicity Riddy, "The Bolton Hours of York: Female Domestic Piety and the Public Sphere", in *Household, Women and Christianities in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 233–35.

[198] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534. See Rees Jones and Riddy, "The Bolton Hours", 234, for the suggestion that roses may also have held religious significance.

[199] YML, D&C wills, vol. 3, fol. 16r (Agnes Thompson, 1546).

[200] Chambers used for work, service or storage purposes, rather than as bedrooms, are discussed below.

[201] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 67; Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 103.

York homes, however, the name great chamber appears to have denoted the master bedroom of the house, as did the names best chamber, *camera principalis* and foremost chamber, as all contained among the most expensive beds and bedding in the house. With the exception of the three "great chambers" listed in post-1580 inventories, none of the above rooms contained any seats or tables, ruling out the possibility that they were also used as dining rooms. Furthermore, even at this late date, all three of the post-1580 great chambers contained a minimum of two beds each, suggesting that the provision of a sleeping space remained the primary function of this room.[202]

Some chambers were ascribed names according to the person or people by whom they were used, reflecting the more private nature of this type of room. The home of John Grene (d.1525), for example, contained a guest chamber ("geste chamber"), that of Ralph Bekwith (d.1541) had a room listed as the youngman's chamber ("yongmans chalmer") and another called the maid's chamber ("maydes chamer"), while John Litstar's (d.1541) son's chamber was listed as "Tristram chalmer" in his father's inventory. Names were also provided to differentiate one chamber from another. Anne Crawfurth's inventory (1581) listed a "newe chamber", suggesting it had been recently added to the property, while, in addition to the great chamber, the Starre Inne also had bedrooms described as "the three-bed chamber", "the litle chamber", "the apple chamber" and "the Starr chamber". John Litstar's house also contained a room called "the brusshenge chalmer", a room "where clothes were brushed, cleaned and stored", which, as well as bedding, also contained a presser and three chests, perhaps containing clothes or the fabric used in his occupation as a draper.[203]

Chambers, like parlours, were often named according to their place within the house, most commonly in relation to the room located immediately below. York chambers are described as being over halls, parlours, butteries, shops, entries, kitchens and other chambers. Alice Wattirton (d.1528) called one of her chambers the well chamber, perhaps indicating a position adjacent to the outdoor space where the household's water supply was located. The Starre Inne's great chamber

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[202] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383–March 1554: Robert Fawcette, 1460 (*camera principalis*); John Colan, 1490 (*magna camera*); Robert Morley, 1522 ("formest chamber"); Geoffrey Frankland (best chamber); 1580–1603: William Carter, 1581 (great chamber); John Aclam, 1594 (great chamber); John Hudles, 1599 (great chamber). The master bedroom was known as the "parlour chamber" in sixteenth- to eighteenth-century Norwich houses; this term does not occur in the sampled York documents: Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 103.

[203] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Grene, 1525; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; John Litstar, 1541; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581). For other homes containing a "youngman's chamber", see BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Henry Borow, 1538 ("yongmannis chaumer"); James Hall, 1538 ("yonmannys chaumer"). The homes of Anne Crawfurth and Jane Calome also had servants' chambers (DC.CP.1581/7; BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: Jane Calome, 1582). For the definition of "brushing chamber", see David Yaxley, *A Researcher's Glossary of Words Found in Historical Documents of East Anglia* (Dereham: The Larks Press, 2003), 25, s.v. "brushing chamber".

and three-bed chamber were described as being "next to the streete", the little chamber was "at the stare head to the streete", while two other bedchambers were listed as "the over heighe chamber" and "the heighe chamber next to the stathhed" (1581). Robert Loksmyth's house (1531) had a "hie chawmer", "fore chawmer" and "bak chawmer", and Robert Cooke's house (1549) contained chambers located beyond the kitchen and over the hall, as well as a nether chamber and a higher chamber both described as being "to the street".[204]

In addition to beds and (often quite elaborate) bedding, chambers could also contain seating, tables, hangings and storage furniture, especially presses and chests, which presumably held the clothes and napery also commonly listed within the same room. Other items found in chambers throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries include work equipment and tools, weapons and armour, hunting and fishing equipment, candles, spinning wheels and quantities of wool, linen, harden and tow. A number of chambers held food storage vessels, the contents of which, though usually unknown, included cheese, verjuice, coal, haver, onions, rye and barley.[205] Two men had stills in one of their chambers, while a third kept a cider or wine press (*tortularus*) there.[206]

The chambers of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, then, did not necessarily serve only as the private sleeping and dressing rooms for members of the household, nor were they used solely as reception spaces as were the "great chambers" of London. Instead, the majority of chambers were multifunctional spaces, which, although usually containing beds, clothes and associated furnishings, might also provide seating and tables for private relaxation and reflection, an additional workspace for shop or household production, a storage space – either seasonally or

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[204] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 148r (Alice Wattirton, 1528); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Loksmyth, 1531; Robert Cooke, 1549; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581. For other examples, see BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 ("innermer"); William Thompson, 1540 (chamber over the court); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 ("chalmer towarde the streitt"; "chamer over the halle"); John Litstar, 1541 (fore chamber over the parlour); John Warwycke, 1542 (a little chamber toward the street); 1554−79: Richard Crawforthe, 1556 (chamber over the fore parlour); Thomas Rigge, 1557 (chamber over the buttery); Bartholmew Daragunne, 1558 (chamber nigh the street; chamber over the entry; chamber over the parlour); Thomas Fall, 1567 (chamber over the parlour; chamber at the head of the stairs; highest chamber); Robert Reade, 1569 (far chamber); James Taylour, 1574 (chamber towards the street; chamber over the parlour; chamber over the entry); 1580−1603: Jane Calome, 1582 (chamber near to the street); Agnes Reade, 1586 (far chamber; chamber over the hall); John Aclam, 1594 (chamber at the stair head; high chamber); John Hudles, 1599 (middle chamber; uppermost chambers); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: high chamber; great chamber to the street).

[205] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Baker, 1436 (stone of cheese); Richard Haukesworth, 1466 (verjuice barrel); John Colan, 1490 ("lez mett of collys"); Henry Borow, 1538 (2 skeps, 5 scuttles, haver and onions; 2 sacks, 2 pokes, rye and barley); 1580−1603: John Aclam, 1594 (verjuice barrel).

[206] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Colan, 1490 (*tortularus*); Noel Mores, 1538 (still); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (still).

permanently – for domestic objects including food supplies, or even a secure place to distil or otherwise produce alcoholic beverages or medicinal remedies.

Privy chambers

Only two definitive references to actual rooms called privy chambers occur in the sampled documents, both from the same inventory: in 1581 Anne Crawfurth's home contained listings for "certaine thinges as ye go to the privie chamber" and for a cupboard, wood, yarn and a still "as ye goe to the lawe privie chamber", implying that her house contained at least two separate spaces containing privies.[207] Other homes probably also had privy chambers, although these would not have appeared in inventories if all they contained was the privy itself, which would have been considered as part of the structure of the house and not as a movable object. Privies were also called stools in the sixteenth century, and were comprised of three parts: a wooden seat; a pit or container for collecting the waste; and a chute, funnel or pipe connecting the two other parts together.[208] Therefore, those stools of ease mentioned in inventories, such as that in Agnes Reade's kitchen in 1586, may have been privies but are more likely to be seats with chamber pots inside them, as was, for example, the "ald stoyll *vocato* a stoyle of ease" found in a 1490 boltinghouse.[209]

Entries

Enclosed entries are only very rarely mentioned in the documentary sources, and then only in records dating to the sixteenth century. James Taylour (d.1574) kept sea coals and a lantern "in the entry of the howse", while the 1581 inventory of the Starre Inne includes a listing for the "glasse in the lytle entrye" to the low parlour. Bartholomew Daragunne's entry (1558) is only known by the reference to a room above it, described as "the chamber over the entre", while James Taylour's house on Walmgate also refers to a "chamber over the entrye" as well as "the lytle parlour in the entrye". In a dispute over several bequests in Elizabeth's Shaw's will (1524) one of the deponents claims that Elizabeth was sitting in her entry, "in the verrey doore" to her house, when her will was read back to her for her approval.[210] Entries may in fact have been common features in sixteenth-century York homes, serving as intermediate spaces between the public street front and the private home but, as they rarely contained movable objects of value, are under-represented in the sampled inventories.

[207] BIA, DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581).

[208] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 86−87.

[209] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Colan, 1490 (old stool called a stool of ease in boltinghouse); Thomas Lytster, 1528 ("chayer of heysse" in parlour); 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586 ("stole of ease" in kitchen); John Aclam, 1594 ("stoole of ease" in chamber).

[210] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558; James Taylour, 1574; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; DC.CP.1524/11 (Elizabeth Shaw, 1523).

Stairs

Only three of the sampled inventories include references to internal stairs within houses: the homes of Thomas Fall (d.1567) and John Aclam (d.1594) mention "the chamber at the heade of the staires" and "the chamber at the staire head" respectively, while the Starre Inne (1581) names "the litle chamber at the stare head" and "the heighe chamber next to the stathhed".[211] Nevertheless, Schofield claims that framed staircases with open stairwells (due to the cost of oak) were common throughout English urban homes in the sixteenth century, and that by 1600 many had two sets of stairs, one for the family and the second for use by servants.[212] In York's surviving contemporary buildings, architectural evidence of such staircases is rare as many of the larger York houses replaced existing stairs with new "grand" staircases in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[213] Yet despite the scarcity of evidence for stairs in both the material and documentary evidence, it remains apparent that multi-storey York homes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries required some method of accessing upper floors. Ladders ("stees"; Latin: *scala*) may have been used in some buildings, yet inventory evidence suggests that these were only found in service rooms and outdoor spaces.[214] It is more likely that most contemporary York residences did contain either internal or external staircases, but that as these would have been devoid of any object presence, they are unfortunately neglected in the surviving probate inventories.

Galleries

According to Schofield, the "gallery" found in a number of sixteenth-century London homes could be either a lobby or vestibule, a long room used for exercise and to display art, or a passage or corridor on the ground or first floor connecting the main house to a range to the rear of the property. Yet in York, only two galleries appear in the sampled documents, both in 1581.[215] "Þe galler chamber" in Anne Crawfurth's house was most probably a passage or corridor, as very few

[211] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Thomas Fall, 1567; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; John Aclam, 1594.

[212] Schofield, "Urban Housing in England, 1400−1600", in *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400–1600*, ed. David Gaimster and Paul Stamper, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15, Oxbow Monograph 98 (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997), 137.

[213] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, lxxxvii−lxxxix.

[214] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383–March 1554: Thomas Overdo, 1444 (brewhouse); John Colan, 1490 (boltinghouse, kitchen); William Thwaitt, 1512 (kitchen); Thomas Lytster, 1528 (stable); Robert Loksmyth, 1531 (boltinghouse); William Thompson, 1540 (brewhouse, hay chamber); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (garth, boltinghouse); Robert Cooke, 1549 (kitchen); 1554–79: James Taylour, 1574 (court garth); 1580–1603: William Carter, 1581 (backside); (John Aclam, 1594 (buttery, stable); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: gallery). Aclam also kept two little ladders in his high chamber and Colan had one in a room simply called the *alia camera*; both of these chambers contained beds and both seemed to be used only for storage.

[215] BIA, DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581); D&C orig. wills, 1580–1603: William Carter, 1581.

objects were kept there; it contained a ladder, a dry vat, half a dry vat and four rails and may have been used to connect two blocks of buildings separated by a courtyard. However, none of Schofield's definitions apply to "the gallary" found at the Starre Inne. This space, which contained only a form, was instead an open first-floor walkway providing independent access to at least one of the inn's newer guest chambers. Often situated around a courtyard, as was also the case at the Starre Inne, such galleries were common in buildings used as inns.[216] Other late sixteenth-century York homes might also have contained galleries but as they, like entries and staircases, were unlikely to contain movable objects, the documentary sources remain silent regarding their existence.

Kitchens

The evidence provided by both standing buildings and surviving inventories indicates that most medium- to large-size homes contained a kitchen located on the ground floor of the house, either at the back of the main range or in a separate building across a yard to minimize risk to the property of damage by fire. Schofield found evidence of kitchens located on the first floor of some London houses where the ground floor was occupied by shops, but the only extant example of a first-floor kitchen in York is of a much later date.[217] The kitchen is one of the only rooms in York houses that would have been identified and located by its structural features, which probably included the house's largest hearth or fireplace, perhaps with an attached oven, as well as some sort of drainage system. The order in which rooms were listed in the sampled inventories suggests that kitchens often adjoined other service rooms such as the buttery, brewhouse or boltinghouse.[218] Households specializing in victualling trades may well have had larger or more specifically equipped kitchens: baker John Johnson's kitchen was known as "the backhowse or kytchinge" in 1575, while the Starre Inne had two kitchens dedicated to catering for its guests in 1581, "the farre kitchyng" and "the greate kytchyng".[219] Although Schofield notes that London kitchens contained wells, drains and sometimes a ground-floor privy either within or adjacent to the kitchen block, down which food waste could also be disposed, no York evidence of such has survived in either the existing buildings or documentary sources. However, in the late sixteenth century the Reade home had a "stole of ease" and the Aclam household "iiij pewther chamber pots" in their kitchens, supporting

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[216] Schofield, "Urban Housing in England", 136−37; W.A. Pantin, "Medieval Inns", in *Studies in Building History: Essays in Recognition of the Work of B.H.St.J. O'Neill*, ed. E.M. Jope (London: Odhams Press Ltd, 1961), 183. See Chapter 6, 172.

[217] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 69. For a nineteenth-century first-floor kitchen in York see RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 182 (no. 1 High Petergate).

[218] Schofield found this was also the case in contemporary London houses: Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 115.

[219] *Ibid*., 69; BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: John Johnson, 1575; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581.

the argument for York kitchens also having access to drains or other methods of waste disposal which were not solely reserved for the disposal of waste related to food preparation. Evidence that at least some York houses were equipped with drains during this period is provided by the 1486 will of John Wylkynson in which he left fellow barber and chandler William Caton the lead gutter (*aqueductus plumberus*) from his house, although it is unknown from which room this came.[220]

In addition to structural features such as drains, ovens and hearths, the kitchens of fifteenth-and sixteenth-century York were filled with a huge variety of objects. Inventory evidence shows that, as well as numerous hearth implements used to stoke, cook upon and clean the hearths and ovens, kitchens unsurprisingly contained numerous different types of pots, pans, cooking and food preparation utensils as well as serving vessels. Many also contained furniture including aumbries (cupboards for food or tableware), seating and several types of tables or boards on which food was prepared, described variously as boards, dressing boards and kitchen boards. Over one third of the sampled kitchens also contained one or more cauls – dressers equipped with hutches underneath to accommodate capons, hens and cocks during cold weather – indicating that some kitchens also contained live domestic animals.[221] Other items commonly found in kitchens include basins, ewers, chauffers and troughs for washing, candlesticks to provide light to work by and various storage containers such as tubs and skeles for storing both wet and dry foodstuffs. Sixteenth-century evidence includes references to cupboards, counters and stands or gantries (wooden racks for storing casks) in kitchens, on which at least some of these storage vessels would have been kept. Some households, including those of two bakers and an inn, also kept moulding boards, kneading troughs and other bread-making equipment in their kitchens (the former baking bread for sale and the latter for the use of its patrons).[222] In houses lacking separate brewhouses or boltinghouses, the

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[220] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586 (stool of ease); John Aclam, 1594 (4 chamber pots); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 366r (John Wylkynson, 1486: *aqueductus plumberus*).

[221] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Baker, 1436 (hen caul; aumbry); Thomas Gryssop, 1446 (aumbry); Richard Haukesworth, 1466 (aumbry; caul stool); John Colan, 1490 (chopping stool; caul; aumbry); William Thwaitt, 1512 (dressing board); John Tennand, 1516 (caul; board); Thomas Lytster, 1528 (caul); Robert Loksmyth, 1531 (aumbry); Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 (capon caul; aumbry); Noel Mores, 1538 (3 capon cauls; 4 boards; Henry Borow, 1538 (capon caul with 2 capons, 1 cock, 3 hens; 3 boards); James Hall, 1538 (aumbry); William Thompson, 1540 (capon caul; 2 boards); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (caul with 3 capons; bench; boards); Robert Cooke, 1549 (2 cauls); 1554−79: Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558 (2 boards); Thomas Fall, 1567 (capon caul); James Taylour, 1574 (capon caul; board); John Johnson, 1575 (board; 2 forms; 2 chairs; 2 stools); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (hen caul; caul; board; 2 kitchen boards; 2 forms); Jane Calome, 1582 (caul; kitchen boards); Agnes Reade, 1586 (2 stools; form; 2 kitchen boards); John Aclam, 1594 (form); John Hudles, 1599 (capon caul; 2 stools; 2 chairs; table). *The English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), s.v. "cawl".

[222] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: William Thwaitt, 1512 (kneading board; 4 stands); Robert Loksmyth, 1531 (cupboard); Noel Mores, 1538 (cupboard); Henry Borow, 1538 (counter); William Thompson, 1540 (molding board); John Litstar, 1541 (cupboard); 1554−79: Richard

associated equipment was usually kept in the kitchen. The presence in contemporary kitchens of such a large amount and wide variety of domestic objects relating to food storage, preparation, cooking, eating and cleaning, suggests that throughout the period homes with well-stocked kitchens were to a large extent self-sufficient, with residents preparing much of their own food and drink without having to rely on the market for cooking and consumption. In contrast to other urban centres such as Norwich, no beds were located within York kitchens, indicating that in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York the kitchen was already well established as a specialized room reserved for the storage and preparation of food.[223]

Other service rooms

A significant number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York homes contained one or more other rooms devoted to the preparation of food and drink or to the storage of related equipment, including butteries, boltinghouses, brewhouses (also called gilehouses) and larders (Table 17).

Table 17: Number of service rooms as listed in sampled York inventories, 1400−1600

Service Rooms	No. of inventories
No service rooms	6
Boltinghouse only	1
Kitchen only	13
Kitchen & buttery	11
Kitchen & boltinghouse	5
Kitchen & brewhouse	2
Kitchen, buttery & boltinghouse	2
Kitchen, boltinghouse & brewhouse	2
Kitchen, buttery & brewhouse	3
Kitchen, boltinghouse, buttery & brewhouse	3
Kitchen, boltinghouse, buttery & larder	1
Kitchen, boltinghouse, buttery, brewhouse & larder	1
Kitchen, boltinghouse, brewhouse & 2 butteries	1
Unknown	1
Total	*52*

Butteries

The buttery was originally a room in which liquor and provisions were stored, but which in reality was used to store a wide range of household items including pewter and storage containers.[224] A

Crawforthe, 1556 (2 counters; form); Thomas Rigge, 1557 (molding board; kneading trough); James Taylour, 1574 (3 molding boards; 1 kneading trough; 7 peels); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (molding board; stand); Agnes Reade, 1586 (stand; dough trough; gantry); John Aclam, 1594 (stand; gantry); John Hudles, 1599 (2 cupboards; stand). On bakers and innkeepers making bread, see: Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late-Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 11−14.

[223] Beds were common in Norwich kitchens throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries: Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 106.

[224] The term "buttery" could also refer to a freestanding cupboard used for the same purpose and usually kept within the hall, especially in the sixteenth century. For examples, see BIA, D&C orig.

ground-floor room, it commonly adjoined the kitchen, and was often found between the kitchen and the hall as, for example, in the home of Jane Calome (d.1582) where it is listed in her inventory as "the butterye next the hall". Pewter vessels, silver plate, basins, ewers and candlesticks were all kept in butteries, as were tablecloths, napkins, towels and other linen used at the dining table. Shelves, cupboards, aumbries and arks were often found within larger butteries, used for storing the above-mentioned items as well as food and drink.

Although provisions themselves were not usually included in inventories, the contents, or intended contents, of several storage containers is listed, giving an indication of some of the food and drink prepared and consumed in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York homes. Examples include a kit for oats (*j kytt pro avenis*) (1466), verjuice barrels (1512, 1516, 1534, 1538), salt kits (1512), powdering kits for curing meat (1516, 1534), ale stands and pots (1516, 1534, 1538, 1541, 1557), beer pots (1538), herb pots (1565) and a butter churn (1599), while fletcher James Hall had twenty-four gallons of ale (about 192 pints!) in his buttery in 1538.[225]

The *celarium* in the house of Hugh Grantham (d.1410) appears to have filled the same function as the buttery, containing an aumbry, silver, vessels and table linens, as does an unnamed room in Thomas Catton's home (1413) and the *promptuarius* in John Colan's house (1490).[226]

Boltinghouses

The boltinghouse or bolting chamber was the room or building in which coarse meal was separated from flour through the process known as bolting or sieving. Boltinghouses were likely to be located adjacent to the kitchen or in a separate outbuilding close to the kitchen, such as that of John Colan (d.1490) which was separated from the kitchen by a passageway or small yard in which boards were stored (*viij bordes cum j staunshon stantibus inter coquinam et lez bowyltyng hows*).[227] Equipment found in boltinghouses almost always included a large vessel used during the bolting process – variously described as a bolting vat, tun, tub or trough – as well as containers such as sacks, pokes, tubs, troughs, barrels, baskets, scuttles and stands for storing both the finished product and its various components. Many boltinghouses also contained kneading troughs,

wills, 1383−March 1554: William Thompson, 1540; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; John Jacson, 1549; 1554−79: James Taylour, 1574; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; John Aclam, 1594; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581).

[225] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Richard Haukesworth, 1466; William Thwaitt, 1512; John Tennand, 1516; Geoffrey Frankland, 1534; Henry Borow, 1538; James Hall, 1538; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; 1554−79: Thomas Rigge, 1557; Richard Dickson, 1565; 1580−1603: John Hudles, 1599.

[226] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410).

[227] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Colan, 1490.

sometimes called dough troughs, and, for separating the grain from the chaff, various types of sieves and winnowing cloths, variously known as bolting cloths or window cloths.[228]

Foodstuffs listed as being stored within boltinghouses include beans (*x quarterirs fabarum*) (1444), verjuice (1490), rye (1516) and malt (1540). Seasonality would have influenced both the amount and type of food stored in boltinghouses and elsewhere throughout the home: Ralph Bekwith's boltinghouse contained a powdering kit and salting tub for curing meat, a dry ark filled with wheat bran, a stand with wheat, a bushel of wheat meal, a bushel of rye meal and two dry hogsheads filled with the after-ends of corn in the winter of 1541; he also stored grain and pulses in his "corne chamer". Other objects found in boltinghouses include a bird cage and stool of ease (1490), a spinning wheel (1516), horse equipment (1531) and a rat trap (1540).[229]

Brewhouses and gilehouses
The brewhouse or gilehouse was a room devoted to making ale. Hugh Grantham's home (1410) had a very well-equipped *brasinum* for the use of his wife Agnes who supplied ale to the master of St Leonard's hospital, among others, and was assisted in her brewing business by several servants including a tapster. Her brewhouse was stocked with a mashfat for making wort from malt, a gilefat for fermenting the wort, six wort leads, a shaking-seed, a brew lead, two steep leads, a tap-trough, a winnowing fork and winnowing cloth, various sieves, a wide range of storage containers and 170 quarters of malt.[230] Such equipment was commonly found in York brewhouses, though usually on a much smaller scale. Mashfats, gilefats and storage vessels were found in the majority of brewhouses, although the mashfat could be kept in the kitchen, with the gilehouse being used only during the fermenting process. Other brewing equipment inventoried included wort bowls, a strom (a wicker malt strainer), cauldrons, a furnace (a brewer's device for boiling the wort or

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[228] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Catton, 1413 (tempse; sieve); William Thwaitt, 1512 (kneading trough; 2 sieves); John Grene, 1525 (2 sieves; 2 tempses); Thomas Lytster, 1528 (bolting cloth); Robert Loksmyth, 1531 (kneading trough); Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 (kneading trough); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (ridell; kneading trough; window cloth); John Warwycke, 1542 (2 kneading troughs); William Warwycke, 1544 (2 kneading troughs); Robert Cooke, 1549 (2 kneading troughs); 1554−79: Thomas Rigge, 1557 (kneading trough); Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558 (2 kneading troughs; meal sieve); Thomas Fall, 1567 (sieve); John Johnson, 1575 (sieve); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (kneading trough; bolting cloth); Jane Calome, 1582 (kneading trough); Agnes Reade, 1586 (dough trough); John Aclam, 1594 (2 tempses; 3 sieves; dough trough); John Hudless, 1599 (2 kneading troughs; tempse).

[229] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Overdo, 1444; John Colan, 1490; John Tennand, 1516; Robert Loksmyth, 1531; William Thompson, 1540; Ralph Bekwith, 1541.

[230] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410); P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300–1520* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 113, 190.

unfermented liquor) and, at later dates, cooling vessels.[231] Items unrelated to brewing found in brewhouses include ladders (1444, 1540), capon cauls (1542, 1544), a powdering kit (1528), verjuice barrels (1528, 1569), a folding board and form (1540), a chest (1581) and a halling (1528).[232]

Larders

The larder, a room used for the storage of meat, is only mentioned in two inventories, of 1516 and 1582 respectively. That of John Tennand (1516) contained a kimlin, a candlecase, salted meat ("salt fleche"), tallow and salted fish; that in the home of Jane Calome (1582) also contained a kimlin, as well as a tub and a shelf, although no foodstuffs are included in the inventory listing.[233] Geoffrey Frankland used one of his chambers as a larder, storing 100 salted fish in a chamber which had previously held apples ("the chamber where the appilles did lye").[234]

Cellars and dyngs

According to Grenville, there were no underground cellars or undercrofts in York's medieval houses, and the evidence of surviving medieval buildings supports this theory, with few existing fifteenth- and sixteenth-century houses containing a contemporary cellar.[235] However cellars are referred to in the documentary sources, usually denoting storage rooms, such as Hugh Grantham's *celarium* (1410) mentioned above. These cellars were not necessarily located underground: one of those included in a bequest by William Hill (1558) is described as being behind the shop, suggesting a ground-floor room.[236] Several York homes contained rooms called dyngs, thought to

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[231] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Overdo, 1444 (wort bowls); John Grene, 1525 (cauldron in a furnace); Thomas Lytster, 1528 (strom); Robert Reade, 1569 (2 cooling leads, 2 cooling tubs); Agnes Reade, 1586 (coolers); John Aclam, 1594 (2 coolers). Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410: cauldron).

[232] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Overdo, 1444; Thomas Lytster, 1528; William Thompson, 1540); John Warwycke, 1542; William Warwycke, 1544; 1554−79: Robert Reade, 1569; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581.

[233] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Tennand, 1516; 1580−1603: Jane Calome, 1582.

[234] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534.

[235] Grenville, *Medieval Housing*, 180. For a possible medieval cellar in the sampled parishes, see RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 187 (no. 48 Low Petergate). The many cellars on Stonegate all appear to be of a much later date.

[236] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410); BIA, Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 290v (William Hill, 1558). In Norwich, the term cellar also denoted a storage room, and may sometimes have referred to a cupboard: Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 119.

be cellars or perhaps partially sunken storerooms; this certainly seems to be true of that in John Hudles's home described as "the dynge under the buttrie" (1599).[237]

Grantham's cellar was used as a buttery. Both Anne Crawfurth's (1581) and Jane Calome's dyngs (1582) seem to have functioned as brewhouses as the former contained a gilefat, stands, hogsheads and gantries, as well as a beef kimlin, and the latter two gilefats and a gantry, while William Carter's "seller" (1581) was used to store beer and candles for use in his inn. The dyng in the home of Noel Mores (1538) seems to have been used both for food preservation, containing a full verjuice barrel, a powdering kit and tubs, and several stands, and for storage, as it also contained a number of boards, trestles and forms; the dyng under John Hudles's buttery was similarly used for storage, holding a variety of objects including vessels, hearth implements, a malt sieve and a kneading trough. Cellars and dyngs, then, were not always merely storage facilities, but could be functional rooms in their own right, and appear to have been named for their (perhaps slightly sunken) position in the house rather than for the objects they contained or the functions they fulfilled.[238]

Other food storage rooms

Ralph Bekwith (d.1541) stored rye, wheat, malt, beans and peas in a room listed as "the corne chamer", James Taylour (d.1574), Jane Calome (d.1582) and Agnes Reade (d.1586) all kept malt in rooms called malt chambers, baker John Johnson (d.1575) had a room called "the branne chamber" where he kept his bran and bean meal, and a room or outbuilding called "the thraw howse" where wheat, meal, beans and horsebread were stored; this room also contained an ark filled with white bread.[239]

It is not at all surprising that the greatest number and variety of service rooms were found at the Starre Inne (1581). In addition to its two kitchens, buttery, cellar, bolting chamber and gilehouse,

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[237] David M. Palliser, *Domesday York*, Borthwick Paper 78 (York: University of York, 1990), 16; Dean, *Medieval York*, 34. According to Michael Deakin, "the very earliest use of the word *dyng* was, as described by Tacitus – a covered hollow in the ground used both as a living space and for the storage of food": Michael Deakin, "Brunanburh or Brunnanburh? A Consideration of Kirkburn and Wawne in the East Riding of Yorkshire", accessed 20 January 2014, http://www.academia.edu/3516271/Brunanburh_or_Brunnanburh_A_Consideration_of_Kirkburn_and_Wawne_in_the_East_Riding_of_Yorkshire; BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: John Hudles, 1599; Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 290v (William Hill, 1558).

[238] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Noel Mores, 1538; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; Jane Calome, 1582; John Hudles, 1599; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581).

[239] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Ralph Bekwith, 1541; 1554−79: James Taylour, 1574; John Johnson, 1575; 1580−1603: Jane Calome, 1582; Agnes Reade, 1586.

William Carter also had a milkhouse containing a still, a cask and other hustlements and a kilnhouse containing the kiln itself, a steepfat and tiles.[240]

Thus the service rooms found in fifteenth- and sixteenth century York houses were each named, and often located, according to its primary function or, in the case of the dyng, its structural position within the house. Yet as the object assemblages illustrate, these rooms were often multi-functional in that they could be used for additional purposes as need required, most commonly for storage of food items and unneeded domestic objects.

Other interior rooms

Sometimes rooms named in inventories appear only once in the sampled material; these may be either single examples of a specific type of space used for a particular function or a variant name for a recognizable room whose function and furnishings have already been established. In 1528 John Chapman had a room which he called his low study (*basso studio*) but which at least partly functioned as a chamber as it contained a bed and bedding. John Tyesone's inventory (1566) contains a room called the "shamowre", which may be a dialect spelling of chamber or perhaps an unidentified type of work place as it contained the tools of his wright's trade and seven and a half trees (including the tops), as well as a bill, a sword, a saddle, an ark and a kneading trough.[241]

Outbuildings

As is the case with internal service rooms, outbuildings were usually named according to their primary function but were also commonly used for storing unwanted or unneeded household items, as reflected by the object assemblages which these building contained.

Stables

Of the fifty-two household inventories sampled, twenty-four of the larger properties included listings for stables, with the earliest reference occurring in the inventory of chapman Thomas Gryssop in 1446. Geoffrey Frankland (d.1534) and Richard Calome (d.1581) both had stables in Grapelane with the latter also having stables in Petergate, while Jane Hebden (d.1589) and her heir Richard Ayneley (d.1599) had a stable in Bennett Rent off Stonegate, and Leonard Beckwythe (d.1592) had a stable with two chambers and a garden in Swinegate. In the second half of the sixteenth century, some households had more than one stable on their property: William Hill (d.1558) left his daughter his capital messuage with all its stables; the Starre Inne had both a

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[240] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581. See Chapter 6.

[241] BIA, Prob. Reg. 10, fol. 52v (John Chapman, 1528); D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: John Tyesone, 1566.

"nether stable" and a "farr stable"; while Agnes Reade (d.1586) not only had both a stable and a lesser stable at her residence but, like the inn, employed an "osteler" to care for the same.[242]

Most stables contained hecks (racks for storing hay), mangers (feeding troughs) and bays or stalls for their livestock. Many inventories also list hay, fuel and horse equipment such as saddles, bridles and panniers, as well as horses, cows and, in one case, sheep. Other items found in stables include iron forks, presumably for moving hay, horse combs for grooming animals, ladders, boots and tools including an axe, a hay hook and a spade.[243]

Hay chambers

A number of sixteenth-century York homes with stables also had a space known as the hay chamber, usually containing hay and iron forks, which may have been located over the stable itself, as was often the case in London houses.[244] The two stables at the Starre Inne were served by a hay chamber as well as another chamber next to it which contained only hay. Geoffrey Frankland's hay chamber (1534) was also used by someone in his household for making mattresses as it contained "a pair of sydes of a pair of tentoures for making of mattressez". Although William Thompson (d.1540) did not have a stable, he did have a hay chamber with hay, a ladder and iron forks, as well as a room listed as the "chambre wher his saddels stand" where he stored his horse equipment, suggesting that he had horses but that they were stabled elsewhere. Hay chambers could also be used for a variety of purposes, such as that in Agnes Reade's house (1586) which had both stables and a hay chamber but used the latter as a storage room for household objects including saws, an old chest and an old tub. And in the home of John and Margaret Bown (1417) their servant John Waryngton was accused of repeatedly fornicating with other servants "in an upper room...where hay lies".[245]

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[242] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Gryssop, 1446; Geoffrey Frankland, 1534; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; Agnes Reade, 1586; Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 290v (William Hill, 1558); YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fols 94v (Oswald Reade, 1579: To John Daile, osteler to my mother Agnes Reade); 101r (Richard Calome, 1581); 128r (Jane Hebden, 1589); 138r (Leonard Beckwythe, 1592); 155r (Richard Ayneley, 1599).

[243] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Fawcette, 1460 (spade); William Thwaitt, 1512 (2 iron forks); Thomas Lytster, 1528 (ladder); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (hay hook; horse comb; boots); Thomas Pereson, 1546 (boots); Robert Cooke, 1549 (axe; 3 iron wedges); 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586 (iron fork; horse comb); John Aclam, 1594 (ladder).

[244] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 88.

[245] BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534; William Thompson, 1540; 1554−79: Thomas Fall, 1567 (hay; 3 iron forks); Robert Reade, 1569 (hay); John Johnson, 1575 (hay); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (hay; straw); Agnes Reade, 1586 (saws; chest; tub); Goldberg, *Women in England*, 110−11.

Other outdoor buildings

Of the other outdoor buildings described in the inventories, many occur only once or twice. These buildings appear to have been defined by their contents, implying that the functions of certain structures were adapted to suit residents' changing needs. Bartholomew Daragunne (d.1558) and John Johnson (d.1575) both had woodhouses on their properties, containing, unsurprisingly, wood, although Daragunne also kept a bucket and chain in his, presumably for use at a nearby well. James Taylour's house on Walmgate (1574) and the Starre Inne (1581) both had kilnhouses equipped with kilns, probably used for drying malt in the brewing process as steepfats (used for soaking barley) were found in both, although tiles ("certayne tyle") were also kept in the Starre Inne's kilnhouse, raising the possibility that this kilnhouse was also used to bake clay. Both of these homes had a cowhouse, with the inn also having a milkhouse, as mentioned above, and a coalhouse. Both the inn and Anne Crawfurth's home (d.1581) had henhouses, with that at the inn located in the outdoor area known as the backside.[246] John Tyesone's property (1566) included a "back howse" containing a bed, hay and tubs or vats, Thomas Fall's (1567) had "a lyttle howse besyd the stable" containing a trundle bed and bedding, a sword and a jake, possibly serving as accommodation for an ostler, while the Starre Inne (1581) had a separate hostelry ("osterye") containing a form, wood-chopping tools and a bed and bedding, used by the inn's stableman or "osteler".[247]

Outdoor spaces

The outside spaces of York properties were described using a number of different terms, and were probably used for a variety of functions. Yards, garths, backsides and other outdoor spaces are among the most under-represented areas listed in inventories as they would have been omitted from the evaluation if no movable objects of value were found within them. Garths first appear in the inventories in 1534 when Geoffrey Frankland kept wood, boards, tenters, coal and sheep in his. Ralph Bekwith (d.1541) had a garth adjacent to his kitchen ("garthe besydes the kecheng") while William Carter (d.1581) and James Taylour (d.1574) both had a "courte garth" with Taylour also having a second garth in his Walmgate house designated as "the well garth" which, judging from both its name and the fact that "one buckett, one pece of irone chine" were kept there, probably contained the well used by the household for its water supply.[248] Other items commonly found in

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[246] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558; James Taylour, 1574; John Johnson, 1575; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581). The rarity of henhouses should not be taken as an indication that few residents kept poultry, as the presence of hen cauls in many kitchens testifies.

[247] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: John Tyesone, 1566; Thomas Fall, 1567; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581.

[248] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; 1554−79: James Taylour, 1574; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581. See also, BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Thomas Rigge, 1557 (garth); Thomas Fall, 1567 (backside); Robert Reade, 1569 (yard or garth); Agnes Reade, 1586 (garth).

garths include wood and other fuel (such as gorse and coal), timber, boards and domestic animals.[249] Ladders, horse equipment, a heck or hay rack, a trough, an old caul and a door are also mentioned. The court garth at the Starre Inne contained three water tubs with a laver and chain, which probably supplied the inn with collected rainwater for washing; the backside of the inn may have been used for washing laundry as it contained a stone trough, a washing stone and a bucket.[250]

Many York properties probably had gardens and/or orchards, particularly those homes in the suburbs where space was at less of a premium, yet only a very few are mentioned in the sampled inventories. This does not mean those properties lacked gardens, only that none of the deceased's possessions were kept there and therefore that space was omitted from the inventory. The exception is Hugh Grantham (d.1401) who kept fuel in his *gardino*.[251] Gardens do appear in wills, however, particularly in relation to properties in less densely populated parishes like St Margaret, Walmgate. Richard More (d.1478) and John Northues (d.1504) bequeathed tenements with gardens on Walmgate, with Northues's also having a dovecote. John Northe (d.1558) left his wife a number of properties including the house he dwelt in with a little orchard and a little garden adjoining and a tenement in St Denys churchyard with an orchard, a bowling alley (*bowle allye*) and garth adjoining.[252] Where space was at a premium, as in the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey, gardens were sometimes located outside the city walls a distance away from the main dwelling house. At least six residents owned gardens, orchards, dovecotes and/or closes on Bootham and at least three on Gillygate. Percival Crawfourthe (d.1570) and Richard Calome (d.1580) are specifically described as living Petergate; the former had a garden and dovecote in Bootham and the latter a garden and orchard in Gillygate.[253] At least two Stonegate houses had attached gardens. That of William Hill (d.1558) in the parish of St Helen had at least two, as he bequeathed to his daughter his capital messuage with all cellars, solars, shops, buildings, stables, chambers, yards and gardens. The tenement owned by Robert Beckewithe in 1584, and subsequently by his son Leonard

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[249] In 1482 physician Bartholomew Tristram kept six rabbits in cages, presumably in a garth or other outdoor area: BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 28r.

[250] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: James Taylour, 1574 (ladders; saddles; bridle); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (heck; 3 ladders); Agnes Reade, 1586 (caul; door. She also kept a hog there).

[251] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49−53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410).

[252] BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 156v (Richard More, 1478); Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 112r (John Northues, 1504); Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 289v (John Northe, 1558).

[253] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 181r (Alice Bedale, 1415: tenement and garden in Bootham); 305r (William Orlowe, 1463: tenement and garden in Gillygate); vol. 2, fols 27v (Thomas Aleyn, 1500: tenement and garden in Bootham); 124r (George Evers, 1520: tenement and orchard in Bootham); 174v (Robert Fons, 1536: orchard and dovecote in Bootham); 207r (Margaret Sympson, 1542: orchard, dovecote and close in Bootham); vol. 5, fols 59r (Percival Crawfourthe, 1570: garden and dovecote in Bootham); 78v (Thomas Rychardson, 1574: 2 orchards in Gillygate); 101r (Richard Calome, 1580: garden and orchard in Gillygate).

(d.1592), had an orchard and garden described respectively as being at the bottom of Davygate and Swinegate (now Little Stonegate) and as the orchard in Stonegate and garden in Swinegate.[254]

Four sixteenth-century residents of St Margaret's parish made bequests in their last wills of a horse and horse-mill, a mill driven by a horse walking in circles or around a wheel, probably used to grind grain or to pump water; these mills obviously could only have been located outdoors.[255]

Shops and workplaces

In the agricultural and industrial areas surrounding the street of Walmgate, shops having goods available for purchase by the public were uncommon. Shops are not mentioned in the wills of any St Margaret or St Lawrence resident and although a shop is listed in the inventory of weaver Robert Fawcett (d.1554), no products of his craft were found within, only an ark filled with oatmeal.[256] It is possible that Walmgate parish shops are under-represented in documentary record, since only one inventory survives for a resident of St Margaret parish and only two, both for vicars of the parish church, for St Lawrence. Yet as the majority of the inhabitants of these parishes were either landholders or manufacturers, including tanners, walkers and weavers, who did not produce finished goods for sale to the general public, shops were unnecessary. These craftsmen would, however, have required workspaces in which to ply their trades, although there is no documentary evidence as to whether or not these were located on the same tenements as the houses in which they lived.

At the other end of the city, many residents of the Petergate/Stonegate area were craftsmen and traders with their own shops, usually located on the ground floor of their dwelling houses on the street frontage. Craftsmen both made and sold their products on site, with shop inventories containing listings for craft materials, working tools and finished products, and they thus required a

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[254] BIA, Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 290v (William Hill, 1558); YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fols 116r (Robert Beckewithe, 1584); 138r (Leonard Beckwythe, 1592). William Hill's house, which according to his will contained a chamber called "Paradise chambre", may have been 23 Stonegate, now occupied by the York Medical Society. Although added to and altered c.1590 as well as in later centuries, the original house was older and not only has a walled garden, but also a narrow wing to the left of the entry known as "Little Paradise": York Medical Society, "23 Stonegate", accessed 7 November 2014, http://www.yorkmedsoc.org/23-stonegate1.html.

[255] *OED*, s.v. "horse-mill, n.", accessed 19 March 2015, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/88653?redirectedFrom=horse+mill#eid; BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79 (Robert Fawcet, 1554); Prob. Reg. 8, fol. 70r (Janet Bukkill, 1510); Prob. Reg. 14, fol. 270v (Robert Fawcet, 1554); Prob. Reg. 15/3, fol. 214v (Thomas Clerke, 1559); Prob. Reg. 17, fol. 93v (John Salmon, 1561).

[256] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Robert Fawcett, 1554. Fawcett did, however, have a workhouse where his four looms were set up.

permanent and secure workshop with adequate lighting, space for storage and display and, in some cases, a fire or furnace.[257]

Generally, shop fronts would have had two or more wide-arched openings or windows, often with shutters, the lower of which could fold down on legs to form a counter from which the shopkeeper could sell his goods.[258] Yet due to the wide range of crafts practiced in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, and the different materials and methods of production required, the appearance, layout and particularly the object assemblages found within shops would have varied greatly.

Most inventories leave few clues as to the appearance or set-up of individual shops, concentrating more on the store's contents, although it is likely that the display and sale area open to the public would be on the street frontage, with one or more work- or storage spaces sited further to the rear of the building, possibly in separate rooms or across a small yard. Occasionally an inventory will describe the shop contents in such detail that the layout of the shop can be inferred. The inventory of stringer Thomas Baker's *shoppa* (1436), for example, included a sign (*j signo*) which was probably set or hung outside the shop, the shop window (*j fenistre jacente in shoppa*), a money box with two price lists (*j stipite cum ij mataxis*) and boards and baskets for displaying items, probably all from the public area of the shop adjoining the street front. It also listed two parcloses which could have been used to separate the front half of the shop from the workspace in the rear, which appears to have held a chest to store his ware (*j war kyst*), forty-two bow strings (*cordula*), hemp, a hammer, a basket, a stool and other boards (*aliis tabulis*).[259] In a similar fashion, the inventory of John Carter's tailor's shop (1485) divided his shop goods into three categories, perhaps representing three separate parts of the shop: his stock of Western cloth (*de pannis occidentalibus*); his stock of Southern cloth (*de pannis australibus*); and that part of the shop (*pars opella*) where he made the clothes and perhaps also displayed them for sale, containing two shaping boards, boards and shelves, shears and pressing irons. As well as boards and shelves, a number of shops in the textile and clothing industries furnished the part of the shop open to customers with hallings and, in at least one case, cushions, for the customers' comfort, warmth and visual stimulation.[260]

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[257] David Clark, "The Shop Within? An Analysis of the Architectural Evidence for Medieval Shops", *Architectural History* 43 (2000): 63.

[258] D.F. Stenning, "Timber-framed Shops, 1300−1600: Comparative Plans", *Vernacular Architecture* 16 (1985): 35; Clark, "The Shop Within?", 63, 65.

[259] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Baker, 1436.

[260] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Carter, tailor, 1485; Hallings: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Grene, glover, 1525; Thomas Lytster, hosier, 1528; Robert Loksmyth, vestmentmaker, 1531; John Litstar, draper, 1541; Cushions: YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 318r (Katherine Pacok, 1466: 3 cushions in shop).

Some craftsmen had separate shops and working spaces, such as founder William Thwaitt (d.1512) who had both a shop and a workhouse. Raw materials, templates, moulds, crucibles and earth were kept in the "workhusse", where Thwaitt would have melted down copper alloy in crucibles, poured the liquid metal into moulds and left them to set. The shop, which contained finished products, chests and shelves, tools and lathes, was where Thwaitt would have finished off his creations and displayed his products for sale. Two other founders, William Wynter (d.1493) and John Tennand (d.1516), each had three separate work-spaces: Wynter had a shop, meltinghouse and far house ("ferr house") in which he kept craft equipment; Tennand had a shop, melting house with a furnel (an oven or furnace) and "wirkyng chamber".[261] Glover John Grene (d.1525) had both a shop and a packing house, while stationer John Warwycke (d.1542) had a shop full of books, work looms and tools but also a "pryntynge chambre" containing a press with all its accessories ("the prysse with iij maner of lettres with brasse letters, iij matteresses with all other thinges concernynge the prynthinge"), suggesting that Warwycke was printing his own books in addition to selling those produced elsewhere.[262] Thomas Fall (d.1567) was a joiner whose shop contents suggests he specialized in making furniture: his finished products, working boards and certain tools were kept and used within the shop, but Fall also had a warehouse ("waire howse") on his property where he stored timber and boards and kept his lathe ("thrawe") and another two working boards.[263]

The shop of embroiderer James Taylour contained only a folding board and "other huselementes" when it was inventoried in 1574. His hall house, however, contained both the raw materials (cloth, thread and sewing silk) and finished products of his craft (including modish sixteenth-century fashions such as ruffs, collars, coifs and neckingers, as well as handkerchiefs and part of a vestment of crimson velvet). It could be that Taylour carried out his craft and stored his stock in his hall rather than in his shop, perhaps due to a lack of space and/or sufficient lighting in the shop, or, for reasons of security, his products may have been removed from the shop and brought into the main house either just before or immediately after his death.[264]

Conclusion

The study of house sizes and room use is an area where the interdisciplinary use of both material and documentary sources clearly complement each other, adding to our understanding of how houses changed externally and internally over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The sixteenth-

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[261] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: William Thwaitt, 1512; John Tennand, 1516; Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 443r (William Wynter, 1493). Moneymaker John Esyngwald also had both a shop and a melting chamber in his house in 1431 (BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 607v).

[262] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Grene, 1525; John Warwycke, 1542.

[263] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Thomas Fall, 1567.

[264] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: James Taylour, 1574.

century renovation and expansion of York houses as recorded by the RCHME are connected to shifts in the social use of domestic space, as evidenced by the increasing number of rooms and growing degree of room specialization depicted in probate inventories. The object assemblages listed in inventories show that the availability of extra space within the house provided by the sixteenth-century improvement and modification of buildings allowed for rooms to take on more specialized functions, which consequently allowed for the accumulation of a greater number of domestic objects and personal possessions within the household. Although many much smaller residences existed in the city of York, the evidence provided by surviving contemporary buildings and extant probate inventories is prejudiced towards larger houses of five or more rooms, with room numbers increasing towards the end of the period.[265]

With the notable exception of kitchens, which required large permanent hearths, ovens and drains, and which were often located at a distance from the main living areas of the house for safety purposes, the few remaining open halls in the city and partly subterranean dyngs, most rooms within fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York houses appear to have been defined by the purposes for which they were used, as reflected by the object assemblages found within them, rather than by the architectural features of the space. Halls, although no longer necessarily open to the roof, retained their position as one of the most important rooms in the house while simultaneously becoming more symbolic and less multifunctional as residents increasingly used their parlours for sitting and dining. In contrast to other towns such as Norwich, where less than half of late sixteenth-century houses had a room called the hall, the York hall remained a constant and important public reception room where multiple activities took place depending upon of a variety of factors including the time of day, the season of the year, and the needs and interests of the house's inhabitants.[266]

With the increase in space within the home allowing for rooms with more specialized functions, parlours, and to a lesser extent specifically named chambers, appeared in greater numbers as the century progressed. First noted in York homes in the mid fifteenth century, most of the sampled houses contained at least one parlour by the sixteenth century. Whether used as a bedroom, sitting room, dining room or combination of the three, the parlour was almost always the best decorated and furnished room in the house and, along with the hall, was often one of the first rooms to have it windows glazed or walls panelled. As the number of rooms in houses increased, so did the number of chambers, the majority of which served as bed chambers. Some were specifically reserved for the use of certain people while others were designated as the master bedroom of the house, as evidenced in both cases by the names assigned to each room. Due to the increasing number of both

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[265] See Rimmer, "Small Houses".

[266] Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 104.

parlours and chambers within a single house, these rooms were often named and described according to their location and position within the house. Still others were defined by the objects assemblages they contained and/or the purposes for which they were used, including a brushing chamber, hay chambers, corn chambers and the chamber where the apples did lie.

Room specialization is most apparent in those spaces designated for food preparation and storage. By the beginning of the fifteenth century kitchens were already used almost exclusively for cooking, preparing and storing food, while several York houses also had rooms specially designated for preparing flour and ale and for storing meat. In contrast, the buttery, originally a room for storing drink, came to be used as more of a general purpose storage room for all objects related to the dining experience, including vessels, linen and candlesticks as well as provisions.

For the duration of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many of the surveyed homes incorporated shops or workshops on the premises, implying that although most work took place in these segregated and specialized rooms, those spaces, and the objects contained within them, were still considered to be part and parcel of the family home. Indeed, as discussed above, many artisans continued to practice their craft or store their products within the private part of the house throughout the period.

Throughout this chapter regional differences have been considered, particularly in relation to London and Norwich houses. Differences in nomenclature have been addressed, such as the identification of the great chamber as a dining room in London and in larger Norwich homes, whereas in York it refers to the master bedroom, which in turn is known as the parlour chamber in Norwich. Differences in the object assemblages found in particular rooms has also been discussed, including the absence of beds in London parlours as opposed to their common presence in the parlours of both York and Norwich, as well as their presence in some Norwich kitchens. Furthermore, while the hall retained its importance throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in York, the number of houses containing rooms known as halls fell drastically in Norwich after 1580.

Perhaps the biggest regional difference concerns the timing of the rebuilding, renovating and expanding of York houses. W.G. Hoskins claimed that a "Great Rebuilding" of rural England occurred between 1570 and 1640, with subsequent scholars suggesting that the timing and extent of such rebuilding varied by region and social class and that the process was both more gradual and likely began earlier in some urban centres.[267] The evidence provided by both extant buildings and

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[267] Hoskins, "The Rebuiding of Rural England, 44–59; R.W. Brunskill, *Handbook of Vernacular Architecture*, 27; Priestley and Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use", 104–105; King, "'Closure' and the Urban Great Rebuilding", 54–80, especially 60−64.

the sampled inventories, particularly the increasing number of rooms listed and references to ceiled-over halls, supports the latter hypothesis, indicating that in York many of these improvements and modifications to houses occurred prior to 1570, raising the question as to why these changes occurred when they did.[268]

In Norwich, the period of rebuilding and renovation is believed to have begun in the late fifteenth century, a time when the increased production of the worsted industry was accompanied by an increase in population. King suggests that this, coupled with improvements in building construction, may reflect growing expectations of living standards and increasing material prosperity.[269] This likewise appears to be the case in York where improvements to buildings made during the sixteenth century can be seen to relate to socio-economic recovery, particularly following the arrival of the Council of the North and the establishment of the church courts in the city. It is also likely that the disruption and upheaval brought about by political and, especially, religious change in the form of the Reformation, and particularly its curtailment of parish and craft guild activity, would have created an increasing need for additional social spaces in a more private setting, namely, in one's own house. Thus as York's economy recovered, the renovation, expansion and modernization of houses became both possible and desirable, with newly created rooms and spaces leading to an accompanying investment in material culture.

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[268] See above, 61–62.

[269] King, "'Closure' and the Urban Great Rebuilding", 62. Elsewhere, King interestingly describes the adaptation and enlargement of buildings as a process of "appropriation" of aristocratic, religious and civic building forms and older medieval structures "to negotiate and maintain both communal and individual social identities and political authority": Chris King, "The Interpretation of Urban Buildings: Power, Memory and Appropriation in Norwich Merchants' Houses, c.1400–1660", *World Archaeology* 41, no. 3 (2009): 471.

CHAPTER 4
Materiality and Value

Introduction

This chapter will investigate the material character, range and value of domestic objects, and how this value was constructed in the records and reflected archaeologically. Different types of value will be considered, namely financial value including valuation at probate, value revealed through discard practices and functional value, concentrating on the assemblages of objects used to produce different sets of objects in workshops and within the household. Through this last discussion, evidence for specialization of work and organization of production will also be explored.

The range of household objects described in the documents and found in the archaeological record is extremely wide, and can be divided into twelve broad functional categories: furniture; furnishings; cooking and dining; household textiles, dress and dress accessories; religious objects; health and hygiene; literacy; leisure and recreation; outdoor equipment; weapons and armour; plate; and craft, industry and trade.[270] The objects that furnished York homes and served its residents also varied enormously: in material, including metals, wood, leather and other animal products, as well as objects constructed of two or more different materials; in size, from large pieces of furniture to small personal items such as dress hooks, beads and finger rings; in function, from the absolutely essential to the purely decorative; and in value, from elaborate and expensive dressed beds and silver plate to pottery of so little value that, while plentiful in the archaeology, it is almost entirely absent from the written documents. Interdisciplinarity is thus central to this consideration of value, not only because the types of objects found in the documentary sources and the archaeological record often differ so radically, but because the very nature of the source material dictates that objects appearing in the documentary record, or in material assemblages in museums or private collections, do so precisely because they were considered to be valuable, while the majority of objects found through archaeological investigation were discarded because they no longer had any measurable value. The below discussion of the material character and range of domestic objects in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York homes provides a brief analysis of the types of objects that fall under each of the above categories, illustrating the both volume and variety of objects required, or desired, in order for houses to function as homes. More detailed examinations of particular items, including new innovations and styles, and the various types of value attributed to them, follow later in the chapter.

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[270] See Appendix for a list and description of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century objects recovered from archaeological investigations in York.

The material character and range of domestic objects

The furniture found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York homes was almost invariably made from wood. Pieces were either freestanding or built into the structure of the house itself. Fixed objects were considered a part of the house and were therefore excluded from inventories and testamentary bequests, but may have included cupboards and shelves recessed into walls and, at later dates, bench seats projecting from, and attached to, panelled walls. Free-standing items, on the other hand, were regularly listed in inventories and bequeathed in wills and include various types of tables (including boards, counters and desks), cupboards (including aumbries, presses, cauls, butteries and portals), shelves, chests and arks, seating (including stools, chairs and benches, forms and settles) and beds. No complete piece of furniture survives in the archaeological record, which is not surprising considering that not only does wood survive poorly in the ground but also would have been much more economically and conveniently discarded by burning rather than burial. However the seat of a stool (sf8948) and two possible chest lids (sf8942, sf9056) were excavated at the Coppergate site, while metal fittings from items of furniture, including hinges, binding strips and decorative mounts, have also been recovered in the city.[271]

Furnishings include fixtures and fittings, objects relating to security, objects used to produce light and heat and portable containers used for general storage.[272] The fixtures and fittings of a house include windows, doors and panelling as well as wall hooks and rings, only occasionally found in the archaeology but whose presence is implied in the documents by the multitude of references to hangings, hallings and curtains. Objects relating to security include locks and keys, used both on external doors and gates as well as on pieces of furniture such as chests and cupboards, and also securable receptacles known as lockers, some of which were separate objects in their own right while others formed part of another piece of furniture, such as the "meit burde with lowkar" kept in a 1538 hall and the "longe table with a frame and lockers" found in a chamber in 1581.[273] Light and/or heat could be produced or manipulated by objects such as chauffers, a wide variety of hearth implements, candlesticks, lamps, lanterns, candles, torches and strike-a-lights (a modern word – the contemporary term is not known) used with flints to make sparks for igniting wood fires in hearths, found in the archaeological record but entirely missing from documentary references.[274] Storage items include baskets, boxes and coffers used for storing a wide range of materials including wool,

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[271] Furniture: *AY 17/13*, 2303–304, 2386, 2414–15, 2421, Figs 1129, 1170. For furniture fittings see, for example, *AY 17/15*, 2905, 3088, 3106–107, 3114, 3119, Figs 1417, 1420, 1427, 1479. See Appendix, 226.

[272] See Appendix, 226–28. Containers used specifically for food have been considered under Cooking and Dining, while buckets are included with Outdoor Equipment.

[273] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1389−1603, microfilm, reel 1239 (1383−March 1554): Henry Borow, 1538 (meat board with locker); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: table with locker).

[274] *AY 17/15*, 2805–806, 3042, 3084, Fig. 1388.

coal, money, spices, documents and jewellery. Most boxes and coffers were probably made of wood although others may have been of a more costly material: two spice boxes are described as being made from silver and ivory respectively, while one coffer was made of jet and banded with silver.[275]

Objects used for cooking and dining are among the most numerous both in the surviving archaeology and in the documentary sources.[276] Kitchen equipment comprises various containers used to store food and drink, including water vessels, verjuice barrels, casks, kits and metts, as well as objects used to prepare and cook food, such as pots and pans, dripping trays, a very wide variety of kitchen utensils and equipment used for bolting flour and brewing ale. Tableware consists of eating and drinking vessels made from a variety of materials including pottery, wood, pewter and occasionally glass, serving vessels, including condiment containers and chafing dishes, and cutlery, specifically spoons as knives were usually worn on the person and forks were not in common use until many decades later.

Household textiles, dress and dress accessories is a large category including everything found in the home that was made from fabric, as well as other clothing, fastenings and accessories.[277] Household textiles include both finished products such as cloth wall hangings and decorations, cushions, cloths used as covers for pieces of furniture, towels, napkins, curtains and a wide variety of bedding as well as unfinished cloth, linen and wool. Very few examples survive in York's archaeological record. Dress comprises all garments worn by residents of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York including footwear and headwear, while accessories include a wide variety of dress fastenings, finger rings, purses and knives worn on the body.

While almost every household contained objects from the above categories, items from a number of smaller categories are only identified as being present in a few homes. Religious objects were often found and used in domestic settings and included rosaries, crucifixes, altar cloths, vestments and religious books, as well as secular objects decorated with religious imagery or inscriptions.[278] Objects relating to health and hygiene have a far greater presence in the archaeological sources than in contemporary documents, and include objects used for personal grooming, such as combs,

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[275] BIA, Prob. Reg. 10, fol. 52v (John Chapman, 1531: ivory spice box); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 264v (Hawise Aske, 1450: jet coffer banded with silver), 370v (Lambert Tymeson, 1488: silver spice box).

[276] See Appendix, 228–37.

[277] See Appendix, 237–45.

[278] See Appendix, 245–46.

wash cloths, razors, mirrors, chamber pots and basins and ewers, as well as medical implements.[279] Books, writing implements, inkhorns, paper and seal matrices fall under the heading of literacy, while leisure and recreational objects include hunting and fishing equipment, games, musical instruments, skates, objects relating to domestic animals and pets and children's toys.[280] Outdoor equipment comprises all those objects described as being kept, or understood to have mainly been used, in outside areas such as yards and garths or in outbuildings such as stables and coalhouses. Examples include wells, buckets and chains, tubs used for a variety of purposes, garden tools and horse equipment such as saddles, harness and hecks, mangers and bays.[281]

Many homes contained weapons and armour of various types, some of which may have been in normal use, such as arrows and short swords called "hangers" worn on belts, while others were more likely to have been used only occasionally or displayed, especially in halls, for symbolic purposes.[282] Plate – objects made of silver and other precious metals – was probably also used more for display purposes and on special occasions than for everyday use. Such items range from small silver spoons to larger "pieces" with covers, gilt decoration and, occasionally, intricate decoration and inscriptions. No contemporary examples have been recovered in York investigations.

The final, and perhaps most comprehensive, category concerns objects relating to the wide range of craft, industry and trade activities carried out by the people of York. These objects include not only the finished products found in the shops often attached to York homes, but also the tools, equipment and raw materials used to make these objects.[283]

Changes over time: design and technology

Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, certain objects mentioned only sporadically at the beginning of the period became more common as time progressed, while previously unknown objects also began to appear in both the documentary sources and in the archaeology. Not only did advances in design and technology result in the development of new or improved products in many crafts, but increased imports from elsewhere in England and from overseas greatly expanded the range of goods available to the urban consumer. Additionally, as standards of living continued to rise over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, possessing certain goods, or goods made from certain

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[279] See Appendix, 246–48.

[280] See Appendix, 248–49; 249–52.

[281] See Appendix, 252–54.

[282] See Appendix, 254; Roger H. Leech, "The Symbolic Hall: Historical Context and Merchant Culture in the Early Modern City", *Vernacular Architecture* 31 (2000): 1−10.

[283] See Appendix, 254–63.

materials, or adorned with ever-increasing levels of decoration, became both more desirable and more attainable.

One often-cited example of the improvement in the living standards in the fifteenth century is the growing predominance of pewter, particularly for tablewares formerly made of much cheaper wood or pottery, a predominance described by Heather Swanson as "something of a phenomenon in fifteenth-century England".[284] The growing popularity of pewter in York households is most apparent in the inventory evidence. Although present even at the beginning of the period, with Simon de Lastingham owning two pewter pans ("ij pan puter") in 1400, pewter became so commonplace in the sampled York homes that, from the mid fifteenth century onwards, pewter is rarely itemized.[285] Instead, a group valuation was assigned to all the "pewter vessels" found within a room, with the first such entry, for a dozen pewter vessels (*dosan de vasibus peltri*), occurring as early as 1410.[286] By the late fifteenth century pewter objects were so numerous within York homes that they were usually described and assigned a monetary value by weight, with the earliest example found in a 1485 inventory listing for twenty pounds of new pewter, while by the 1580s at least two homes each contained well over two hundred pounds of pewter.[287] Much of this pewter was probably made within the city itself, as York was home to a thriving pewter industry during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the parish of St Helen, Stonegate alone, twelve (11%) of the individuals sampled for this thesis were practising pewterers, two were pewterers' widows, and another two pewterers lived in the adjacent parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey. In total, the names of twenty-nine identifiable York pewterers appear in the sampled documentary material. Itemized pewter objects in wills and inventories indicate that pewterers were not only providing the local market with tablewares, such as dishes, doublers, saucers, salt-cellars, porringers, chargers, platters and drinking vessels, but also with pewter basins, ewers, candlesticks and, towards the end of the period, chamber pots.

Changes in the types of weapons and armour owned by York residents over the two hundred years studied provide an excellent example for illustrating both improvements in manufacturing practices

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[284] Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late-Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 76–77. For an examination of archaeologically retrieved pewter in England, see: Rosemary Weinstein, "The Archaeology of Pewter Vessels in England 1200−1700: A Study of Form and Usage" (PhD dissertation, Durham University, 2011), Durham E-Theses, accessed 20 May 2014, http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3312/.

[285] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383–March 1554: Simon de Lastingham, 1400.

[286] James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 3, Surtees Society 45 (1864), 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410).

[287] BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383–March 1554: John Carter, 1485; 1580–1603: Jane Calome, 1582 (232 pounds); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: 263 pounds). See Chapter 6, 194–95, 199, 202–206, for pewter ownership in the late sixteenth century.

and the increased availability of imports. Almain rivets, suits of light flexible armour featuring overlapping plates sliding on rivets, which originated in Germany, although not mentioned in English sources until 1512, first appear in York documents in the 1528 will of merchant John Chapman, who bequeathed at least five suits of "alman ryvets", attesting that, far from being a backwoods provincial town, York was right up to date with the newest innovations and latest fashions.[288] Almain rivets are subsequently listed in inventories of 1541, 1549 and 1569, the last of which also included leg armour ("a nalman revet with a paire of splentes").[289] Similarly, rapiers, "long, thin, sharp-pointed sword[s]" worn with ordinary dress and first used on the Continent, also begin to appear in both English and York records during the sixteenth century, with John Place leaving his brother his "raper, dagger and girdle of velvett to the same" in 1572, and the inventories of William Carter (1581) and John Hudles (1599) both listing rapiers among the deceased's weapons.[290] The sample also includes one reference to an early hand gun, with Robert Beckewithe bequeathing his "his callyver with all the furnyture" in 1585, just seventeen years after its first appearance in English sources.[291] Guns were being made within the city itself from at least 1592, when Thomas Fardinge was made free as a "gonnmaker".[292] Other examples of material possessions whose construction and appearance changed significantly during the two hundred years studied include the growing elaboration of clothing and the changing preferences for different styles of pottery, which are discussed below.[293]

Changes over time: language

Another change that affects our understanding of the range of goods available to the York consumer of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the shift from Latin to English in the recording

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[288] *OED*, s.v. "almain rivet, n.", accessed 21 April 2015, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/5562?redirectedFrom=almain+rivet#eid; BIA, Prob. Reg. 10, fol. 52v (John Chapman, 1528).

[289] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383–March 1554: Ralph Bekwith, 1541; Robert Cooke, 1549; 1554–79: Robert Reade, 1569.

[290] The first English example cited in the *OED* dates to 1553: *OED*, s.v. "rapier, n.", accessed 21 April 2015, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/158182?rskey=mokFwp&result=1#eid; BIA, Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 553v (John Place, 1572); D&C orig. wills, 1580–1603: William Carter, 1581; John Hudles, 1599.

[291] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 116r (Robert Beckewithe, 1585); *OED*, s.v. "caliver, n.", accessed 21 June 2015, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/26394?rskey=3RObRu&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid.

[292] Francis Collins, ed., *The Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 2, Surtees Society 102 (1900), 36. Fardinge had been apprenticed to locksmith Robert Daragon: YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 118r.

[293] See below, 113–18, 121–23.

of wills and inventories (Table 18). The earliest English will in this sample is the testament of Agnes Helperby, presumably a singlewoman and the sister of a former vicar in York Minster, which was written in 1460; the next does not occur until 1490.[294] By the beginning of the sixteenth century the majority of wills were written in English, with the last Latin will in the sample occurring in 1528.[295] Wills written in English occasionally refer to objects that have not been included in any earlier Latin will. Are such references identifying new products or innovations, or are the English words simply replacing earlier Latin terms? This question is often impossible to answer. However, looking at the wills and inventories compiled during this transitional period of about 1450 to 1530, it is evident that the scribes, appraisers and residents themselves sometimes struggled to find the correct Latin term with which to describe certain possessions. Thus, many wills primarily written in Latin switch to English, often preceded by the Anglo-Norman *lez*, to describe objects for which the Latin is unknown. In 1457, for example, William Cotyngham bequeathed both his leather belt with silver buckles and a pendant (*meam zonam pelliceam cum lez* bokelles *et* pendant *de argento*) and his ostrich-feather bedding (*lectum cum lez* Ostrichfedyrs) using a combination of Latin and English. When Thomas Rede wrote his will in 1482 he did not know the correct Latin name for the furniture which he wished to leave to his son and daughter, forcing him to insert the English word for clarity: *ij mensas vulgariter dictas* copeburdes.[296] Similarly, in 1490 the appraisers of John Colan's goods not only inserted English words, again preceded by the Anglo-Norman *lez*, when the Latin term was not known, but also provided both Latin and English words to describe objects whose identification must otherwise have been unclear: an old gimlet, in English a wimble (*j veteri terebro, Anglice* a womyll); an old scythe, in English a bill (*j veteri falcario, Anglice* a bylle); a rat-trap, in English a fell (*j raton discipula, Anglice* a fell); and a pair of old pitchers, in English bouges (*j pari veterum pigionum, Anglice* bowges).[297] Ignorance of the correct Latin terms to use to describe such possessions not only indicates a decline in knowledge of the Latin language as English became the predominant vernacular, but also implies that the objects so described were either novel items for which no Latin term had ever existed or that they had been modified or improved to such an extent that the corresponding Latin term no longer provided an accurate representation.

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[294] The earliest known will recorded in English belongs to Richard Corn of London, written in 1387: Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *Fifty earliest English wills in the Court of Probate, London: A.D. 1387–1439* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 1–2; YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols. 295v (Agnes Helperby, 1460), 374r (John Colan, 1490).

[295] BIA, Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 553v (John Place, 1572).

[296] BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 65r (Thomas Rede, 1482).

[297] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 285v (William Cotyngham, 1457); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383–March 1554: John Colan, 1490.

Table 18: Number of wills written in Latin and English by decade, 1460–1529[298]
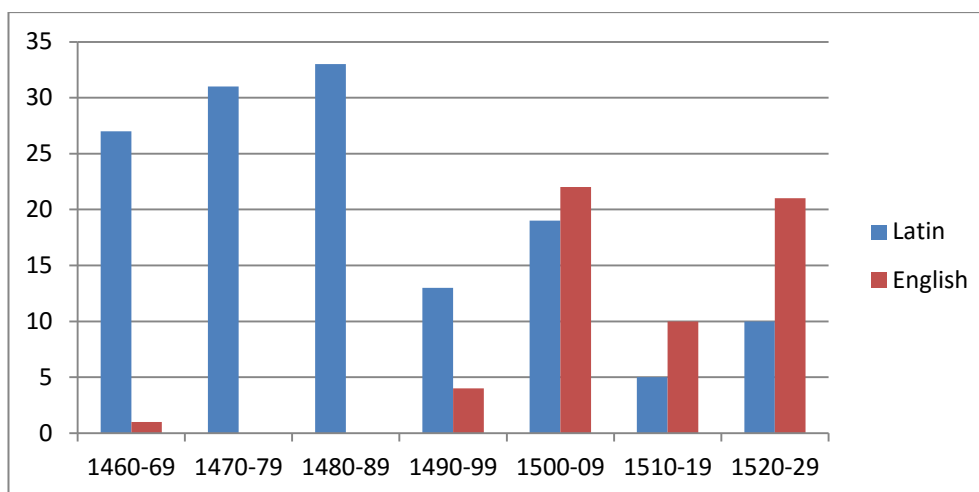
The financial value of objects

With the exception of Mark Overton's study of "Prices from Probate Inventories", very little attention has thus far been devoted to establishing and examining the financial values assigned to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century domestic objects.[299] How was the value of objects such as those mentioned above constructed in the records and reflected archaeologically? In the absence of surviving shop or market price lists, the financial value of domestic objects can best be explored using probate inventories. As part of the probate process, the deceased's moveable goods and chattels were appraised as soon as possible after death if he or she had a personal estate of any value. According to Henry Swinburne's *A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and last Wills &c.* (1590), the inventory was to be made by at least two people to whom the deceased owed a debt or had bequeathed a legacy or, failing that, to at least two "honest persons" in the presence of the testament's executors.[300] The fifty-two inventories sampled were drawn up by between two and five reputable but impartial men, many of whom can be identified as neighbours or fellow parishioners, but with only a handful belonging to the same occupation as the deceased. Swinburne instructs the appraisers to value the deceased's goods "at such price as the same may be solde for at that time".[301] Thus, these men would have assessed the deceased's goods as used items, costing

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[298] Prior to 1460, all sampled wills were written in Latin; after 1530, all wills were written in English, although probate and administration acts continued to be recorded in Latin.

[299] Mark Overton, "Prices from Probate Inventories", in *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*, ed. Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2004), 120−41.

[300] Henry Swinburne, *A Briefe Treatise of Testaments and Last Willes &c.* (London: The Companie of Stationers, 1611 edition [1591]), fol. 256r, image 274, accessed 11 December 2013, http://eebo.chadwyck.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/search/full_rec?SOURCE=pgthumbs.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99853272&FILE=../session/1426160628_27853&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&SEARCHCONFIG=var_spell.cfg&DISPLAY=AUTHOR.

[301] *Ibid.*, fol. 256v, image 275.

them at their second-hand or auction prices. The value ascribed to an object in an inventory, then, only reflects what that particular object was worth at the time the inventory was made, and not what the retail value of the object was when new.[302]

Appraisers also considered the quality of the objects to be valued. Occasionally items listed in the inventories were described as being old (*veterus*), worn (*debilis*) or broken (*fractis*), further decreasing the price assigned to them, such as the twelve worn and torn cushions in Hugh Grantham's hall in 1410 and the two old broken chairs in Robert Loksmyth's chamber in 1531.[303] The objects most commonly described using these adjectives were textiles and soft furnishings, but almost every type of object was described in this way at some point, including cooking utensils, hearth implements, furniture, basins, clothing, craft equipment and storage containers. The difference in the approximate relative value of old and new items can occasionally be illustrated through two entries in the same inventory. Thus, in John Grene's inventory of 1525 three new blankets were valued at 4s, while three old blankets were valued at 8d, only one sixth of the value of the new items. A chamber in Ralph Bekwith's house (1541) contained two featherbeds with bolsters, one worth 11s and the other, described as being old, worth 6s. In 1551 John Rayncocke owned two worsted jackets, with the one listed as being whole ("one jackytt of holle worsytt") worth 10s, and the other described as old ("one holde worstytt jackytt") valued at just half that amount. And in 1531 Robert Loksmyth owned three counters: a counter worth 5s; an old counter worth 2s; and a broken counter valued at just 6d.[304]

There is, however, one category of objects which was likely to be assigned its true market value: the finished products of the deceased's craft as found among the contents of his shop. Occasionally appraisers called in experts to evaluate these specialist trade items, such as the two tailors who valued fellow tailor John Carter's woollen cloth from Halifax and Craven in 1485 or the two stationers and fellow parishioners who, "by the consent and assent of the for said iiij apprasers", valued the books in stationer John Warwycke's shop at £22 10s 10d in 1542.[305]

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[302] See Tom Arkell, Nesta Evans and Nigel Goose, ed., *When Death Do Us Part: Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Ltd, 2004), especially Tom Arkell, "The Probate Process", 8; Jeff Cox and Nancy Cox, "Probate 1500–1800: A System in Transition", 30; and Overton, "Prices from Probate Inventories", 120−41. Overton concludes that it is "highly probable" that "prices calculated from unit valuations in inventories are an accurate reflection of sale prices" (141).

[303] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Loksmyth, 1531; Overton, "Prices from Probate Inventories", 134.

[304] BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383−March 1554: John Grene, 1525; Robert Loksmyth, 1531; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; John Rayncocke, 1551.

[305] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Carter, 1485; John Warwycke, 1542.

Although the probate inventory purported to list all of the deceased's goods and chattels, some household objects were excluded from the appraisal, particularly those considered to be of little or no resale value, those considered part of the freehold such as built-in furniture, and those belonging to others living in the same house, such as lodgers, servants and apprentices. Additionally, items given away before the testator's death or those left as bequests in the will may have been removed before the inventory was taken, while it is likely that at least some objects may have been inadvertently omitted by the executors. The 1546 inventory of horner Thomas Pereson, for example, contains a postscript listing those objects that came to the attention of the deceased's wife and executrix after the inventory had been made, including a gold angel that had been in someone else's possession and, somewhat surprisingly for a horner, "a cope of greyne damask wroght with flowers of gold and the orfferye of cremysing (crimson) velvyt".[306] At least one citizen was also concerned that his wife could not be trusted to display all of his objects as legally required for his inventory: John Esyngwald (d.1432), a moneymaker with his own melting house who also provided valuations of objects for other people, left half of his goods to his wife but only upon the condition that she not only display all his goods but also all those brought to him to be valued, without concealing any of them (*ea condicione quod ipsa bene et fideliter demonstret et exponet tam omnia bona mea quam omnia illa bona que michi attulit ad essenda appreciata sine concelamento aliquali*), otherwise she was to receive only £20.[307]

There are thus a number of limitations to using probate inventories to determine the value of a testator's movable goods and chattels: certain objects were excluded from the appraisal; values were assigned by neighbours rather than professional evaluators; and objects were assigned a second-hand or resale value only. Also, the limited number of surviving inventories, the lack of descriptive details provided for the majority of objects listed, the fact that many different objects were listed and valued as assemblages, and the two hundred year time gap over which the inventories span, mean that general comparisons of the value of similar household items would be of very little use if, indeed, possible at all.

Despite the limitations of the probate inventory for determining the value of a testator's movable goods, individual inventories can be analysed to determine the most valuable objects within each household, while comparisons of certain well-described possessions, such as beds and specific items of clothing, can illustrate the range and relative value of such objects.

According to the inventories, the most valuable individual object found in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York households, excluding shop and craft items, was usually an article of clothing

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[306] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Pereson, 1546.

[307] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 607v (John Esyngwald, 1432).

(particularly gowns), a piece of silver, gilt or gold plate, textiles (including wall hangings) or an item of furniture, although a missal and armour also feature (Table 19). The prices assigned to the deceased's most valuable object varied considerably: the most expensive item owned by John Harper (d.1538), by far the poorest individual for whom an inventory survives, having an estate worth only 1s 9½d, was an aumbry worth just 4d; at the other end of the scale, the wealthiest individual in the sample, Jane Calome (d.1582), owned a standing cup with a double gilt cover valued at £8 7s 6d. However, just under two-thirds (63%) of all the inventoried households contained at least one item worth over £1, while one-third (33%) contained an object valued at £2 or more, the latter all dating from the sixteenth century.[308] Such a marked increase in the ownership of valuable objects cannot be a result of inflation alone, but must also reflect both the increasing financial capability and the growing desire for the consumption of new and more modish objects to use both in the home and around one's person.[309]

Table 19: Most valuable single objects listed in inventories, 1400−1600

Date of Inventory	Plate	Clothing	Textiles	Furniture	Missal	Defensive jack
1400−1449	2		3		1	
1450−1499	1	2		1		1
1500−1549	9	13		2		
1550−1600	6	9	1	2		

It was not uncommon for the most valuable item listed in the inventory to come not from the household proper, but from amongst the deceased's craft equipment or products. For example, although goldsmith John Colan's (d.1490) most valuable household objects were a counter and a blue gown valued at 5s each, his shop contained, amongst other things, a silver pax (*osculatorius argentus*) worth £1 19s 7d, and even "lez swepynges" – presumably odd bits of silver and other material found on the shop floor – were valued at £1, four times more than either his counter or his gown. Similarly, the most expensive item in stationer John Warwycke's home (1542) was his fur-trimmed gown ("one gowne forryd with blake connye") worth £1 6s 8d, but his printing press with all its accoutrements ("the prysse with iij maner of lettres with brasse letters, iij matteresses with all other thinges concernynge the prynthinge") was worth over six times as much, being valued at £8 5s. And weaver Thomas Catton (d.1413) owned two silver pieces jointly valued at £1 6s, while a

[308] BIA, D&C orig. wills 1389−1603, microfilm, reels 1239 (1383−March 1554), 1240 (1554−79) and 1241 (1580−1603); quoted examples are 1383−March 1554: John Harper, 1538; 1580−1603: Jane Calome, 1582.

[309] For fashion as a motivating factor behind consumption choices in this period, and indeed since the last quarter of the fourteenth century, see: Christopher Dyer, *An Age of Transition?: Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 143, 155.

single white cloth which he had woven was worth twice that at £2 13s 4d.[310] Such evidence would suggest that artisans such as Colan were producing objects of a higher quality and value than they themselves could afford for their own households, which is unsurprising as Colan, like many craftsmen living and working in the vicinity of York Minster, appears to have catered primarily for the (pre-Reformation) church. Warwycke's press and Catton's cloth, on the other hand, were not only valuable objects in and of themselves, but also had a high functional value which would have added to the financial value which was assigned to them, the press being crucial to the production of the books and pamphlets which Warwycke sold, while the cloth would have been sold to drapers, tailors or other craftsmen to be made into multiple items, each worth more than the original cloth itself. Functional value will be discussed in more detail below.

Beds and bedding

In many homes, the most valuable objects were the household beds and bedding, but as these were often listed as a set containing the bed itself as well as the accompanying mattresses, covers, curtains, pillows etc., it is often impossible to assess the value of each component part separately.[311] Yet in the few cases where the bed and its accessories were assigned separate entries and prices, the individual components rarely amounted to much, with the bedding always valued at more than the bed itself. The most expensive single pieces of fifteenth-century bedding, two new coverlets (*ij coopertoriis novis*), were valued at just 2s 6d each, despite being described as new, while no wooden bed was assigned a value greater than a shilling.[312] Although the value of bed-frames themselves remained constant during the early sixteenth century, inventory evidence indicates that the value assigned to bedding rose swiftly and considerably. Richard Wynder (d.1505) and William Thwaitt (d.1512), for example, each owned bed covers worth 6s 8d ("a blew coveryng"; "a coveryng of a bed"). Thwaitt also owned "a fedderbed with a boster" valued at 16s, when one hundred years earlier Thomas Catton's (d.1413) two featherbeds and three bolsters (*ij lectis plumalis cum iij bolsters*) were only deemed to be worth 3s 4d in total.[313] While it is evident that these residents of sixteenth-century York were investing far more in their bedding than they had in the previous century, the possible reasons for this change in consumption practice are manifold. Firstly, such investment presupposes a rise in the disposable income available to these households, allowing them to purchase more expensive, and therefore probably better-made and/or more

[310] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Catton, 1413; John Colan, 1490; John Warwycke, 1542.

[311] Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993), 65.

[312] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49−53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410).

[313] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Catton, 1413; Richard Wynder, 1505; William Thwaitt, 1512.

luxurious, bedding.[314] It also suggests that the decoration and furnishing of private chambers and parlours had become a high priority for York's sixteenth-century householders, probably as a result of the increasing number and importance of such rooms as houses were modernized, extended and subdivided. As the bedding listed in sixteenth-century inventories was not only more valuable and luxurious but also more plentiful than that of the preceding century, it is likely that such investment in bedding also reflected an increasing concern with warmth, comfort and even appearance in the most private rooms of the home.[315]

The first references to more expensive bed-frames occur in the 1530s, with a standing bed ("standyng bed") and a pair of bedstocks ("pair of bedstokes") each valued at 1s 4d, although even the most expensive of the remaining eleven bed-frames found in these two households were worth just half as much (8d).[316] It is likely that these higher valuations were assigned to a new, more ornately decorated style of bed, possibly a four-poster or a standing bed with an attached wooden tester, often embellished with elaborate carved work, a result of the evolution of furniture design and craftsmanship throughout the period. James Hall, for example, owned a bed-frame with four posts ("a payer of bedstoykes with iiij stoppis") valued at 1s 8d in 1538, Ralph Bekwith had both a bed-frame with four carved posts ("a paer of bedstokes with iiij carvid stowpis") worth 2s 8d and two standing beds with testers ("standenge bedd with the teaster") worth 4s and 6s 8d respectively in his home in 1541, in 1549 Robert Cooke's (d.1549) carved standing bed ("a standinge bed carved") was deemed to be worth as much as 20s or £1, and in 1586 Agnes Reade's standing bedstead with a wooden tester ("standinge bedsteade with a teaster of wood") was valued at 5s, despite being described as "olde".[317] It should also be remembered that the retail value of new bed-frames would have been much higher than those appraised in the inventories as second-hand goods; that in joiner Thomas Fall's shop in 1567 was valued at 7s, although unfortunately it was described only as "a bedd" with no further details provided as to its size, form or level of decoration.[318]

From the second quarter of the sixteenth century onwards, as private rooms became more important within the home, the usual practice was to include all of the components of an individual bed within one inventory listing, suggesting that bedding was purchased for use on a particular bed

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[314] Heather Swanson, in her study of York craftsmen, regarded the variety and quality of bedding and hangings owned by an artisan as an indicator of wealth, concluding that leading artisans were as wealthy as many merchants: Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, 163, 165.

[315] See Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760*, 3rd edition (London: Routledge, 1997), 161.

[316] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Loksmyth, 1531; Geoffrey Frankland, 1534.

[317] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: James Hall, 1538; Henry Borow, 1538; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586.

[318] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Thomas Fall, 1567.

within a particular room as opposed to being a commodity that was shared amongst the entire household as need and convenience required. Such listings thus illustrate not only the number and variety of objects required to furnish a single bed, providing a mental image of how the fully-dressed bed would have appeared, but also the value of the bed as a whole, with the hierarchy of assessed values reflecting the hierarchy within the household itself. In 1538, for example, the bed in James Hall's own chamber was composed of a mattress, coverlet, blanket, two sheets, a pillow and bedstocks with a tester and hangings ("one mattress, j coverlet, j blanket, ij sheets, j codd, bedstocks with a tester and hangings") worth 3s 4d, while that in his "yonmannys chaumer", probably used by male servants, only had a mattress, a pair of sheets, a coverlet and two bedstocks ("a materys, a payr of schetes, a coverlet and ij bedstokes") and was valued at just 2s 8d. The Warwycke family home (1542 and 1544) had four bedchambers containing nine beds ranging in value from a trundle bed worth just 8d to a feather bed with a bolster, two blankets, a coverlet, a cover lined with canvas, two pillows with pillowcases, the bedstocks with an oak tester, blue curtains and fringes ("one fedder bedde with bolster, ij blankettes, one coverlett and coverynge lynyde with canvesse, two coddys with pillyveres and bedde stockes and wayneskott tester and blowe courtanz and blowe frenges") valued at 40s or £2. Inventory evidence suggests that prices of dressed beds continued to rise throughout the sixteenth century, as did the luxuriousness of their furnishings. Of the twenty-three beds in William Carter's inn in 1581, the two most expensive, valued at £8 each, each included a bedstead with a wooden tester, curtains and a valance of green and red say hung from iron rods, a cover, a coverlet, a pair of blankets, a featherbed, a mattress and two pillows, with one also having two bolsters and the other one bolster and an extra quilt ("one bedsteade with a teaster of wood, vallans and curtaynes of greene and reade say with iron rodds, a coveryn, a coverlett, a pare of blanketts, a fedderbed, a matteres, ij bolsters and ij pillowes"; "a standyng bedstead with a teaster of wood, with vallons and curtaynes of greene and reade say with iron rodds, a coveryn, a twilt, a coverlett, a pare of blanketts, a fedder bedd, a matteres, a bolster and ij pillowes"); the least expensive bed found in the inn was a trundle bed worth 2s 6d.[319]

As mentioned above, in most cases the most expensive bed in the house would have been used by the head of the household, his spouse and also, in less affluent homes, children, although this is never explicitly stated in the documentary evidence. An exception is the Starre Inne where thirteen of the beds located in guest rooms were more elaborate, and therefore assigned a higher valuation, than that used by innkeeper William Carter and his wife, which was described as a bedstead with five coverlets, a cover, a mattress, two blankets and two pillows ("j bedstead, v coverletts, j coveryng, j matteres, ij blanketts, ij codds") and was listed as being worth just 20s, one-eighth of the price of his two most expensive beds. Furthermore, the best bed in a house might have been excluded from the inventory if it was a fixed piece of furniture. This may have been the case in

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[319] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: James Hall, 1538; John Warwycke, 1542; William Warwycke, 1544; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581.

William Thompson's home (1541): in the room explicitly described as the "parlour wher he did lie", the only bed listed is "the madyns bede" which his servant used.[320] A house's best bed was rarely the only bed in a room, possibly because household size, heating arrangements and demands on space required family, and perhaps select servants, to share what may well have been the largest chamber in the house, with other upper-storey rooms used as servants' quarters, for storage or for other purposes (Table 20).

Table 20: Beds listed in inventories, 1538−1600[321]

Name and year	Value of best bed	No. of beds in room	No. of beds in house
James Hall, 1538	3s 4d	1	5
William Thompson, 1541	10s	2	6
John Warwycke, 1542[322]	£2	2	9
Thomas Pereson, 1546	7s	2	2
Robert Cooke, 1549	£3 13s 4d	2	10
Robert Fawcett, 1554	5s 8d	5	5
Thomas Rigge, 1557	£1 6s	1	3
Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558	£1	3	6
Richard Dickson, 1565	13s 4d	3	3
John Tyesone, 1566	6s 8d	1	2
Thomas Fall, 1567	£2	2	6
Robert Reade, 1569	£1 10s	3	14
James Taylour, 1574	£2	2	6
John Johnson, 1575	10s	1	1
William Carter, 1581	£8	2	23
Anne Crawfurth, 1581	£7	2	11
Jane Calome, 1582	£6 13s 4d	3	9
Agnes Reade, 1586	£2 6s 8d	3	14
John Aclam, 1594	£2 6s 8d	2	4
John Hudles, 1599	£4 13s 4d	2	11

As in both the Warwycke and Carter homes, the beds of lowest value are usually trundle beds, low beds on wheels which could be stored away under other beds when not in use. Found in York houses from around the 1530s, trundle beds were probably used by servants or children.[323] Beds of

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[320] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: William Thompson, 1541.

[321] Only dressed beds provided with a single unit value have been included in the "value of best bed" column. 1538 is the date of the earliest inventory in which beds are described in this way. Because some bed components and bedding are listed separately in these inventories, the exact number of beds in a household cannot be definitively determined; the table therefore represents the minimum number of beds present in each house, although there is no guarantee that all were being used at the time the inventory was made.

[322] The inventory of William Warwycke (d.1544), John's son, has not been included as its bed listings are identical to those of his father's.

[323] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Loksmyth, 1531; William Thompson, 1540; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; John Warwycke, 1542; 1554−79: Thomas Fall, 1567; Robert Reade, 1569;

relatively low value were also found in servants' chambers or described as belonging to servants, such as "the madyns bedd" in Noel Mores' home (1538) and the apprentice's bed ("a prentice bedde") in Thomas Pereson's chamber (1546), both worth 1s, the servants' bed ("a bede þat the servauntes lyes in") worth 2s in William Thompson's home (1540) and the servants' bed, comprised of a pair of bedstocks, a mattress, two sheets, two coverlets and a pillow ("the servaunttes bed, *videlicet* j pare of bedstokes, j matrice, ij sheittes, ij coverlittes, j codd") worth 3s in the home of Bartholomew Daragunne (1558). Ralph Bekwith's house (1541) had rooms called the "maydes chamer" and the "yongmans chalmer", the contents of which were solely comprised of servants' beds valued at only 3s 2d and 3s 9d respectively.[324]

Beds and bedding were among the most valuable household possessions in fifteenth- and especially sixteenth-century York, with the bedding always worth more than the bed itself, even after the introduction of ornately carved and decorated bedstocks, including four-posters. As house sizes and room numbers increased, private rooms such as chambers and parlours grew in both number and importance, and spending on these rooms' fittings and furnishings rose accordingly, with both a greater amount and a better quality of bedding adorning each bed. Rising expectations of comfort, warmth and the overall appearance of a room also contributed to increased spending on beds and bedding, with the best, most expensive and most luxuriously dressed bed in the house usually reserved for the head of the household, while servants' quarters contained the least valuable and most basic beds and bedding.

Clothing

By the final decades of the sixteenth century, clothing "constituted the largest single category of lawful household expenditure after food".[325] It is therefore not surprising that an article of clothing is often assigned the highest single valuation in an inventory, particularly during the sixteenth century when it not only became more common for articles of clothing to be itemized individually,

James Taylour, 1571; John Johnson, 1575; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; John Aclam, 1594; John Hudles, 1599; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581).

[324] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Noel Mores, 1538; William Thompson, 1540; Ralph Bekwith, 1541; 1554−79: Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558. For other servants' beds see BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 (servant's bed); James Hall, 1538 (mattress, sheets, coverlet, 3 pair of bedstocks in youngman's chamber); Henry Borow, 1538 (mattress, 2 coverlets and 2 pairs of bedstocks in youngman's chamber); William Thompson, 1540 (maiden's bed); John Warwycke, 1542 and William Warwycke, 1544 (servant's bed); 1554−79: Thomas Rigge, 1557 (apprentice's bed with sheets and coverlet); 1580−1603: Jane Calome, 1582 (2 bedsteads in the servants' chamber); John Hudles, 1599 (bed and bedding in the maid's parlour); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: 2 bedsteads, featherbed, 2 bolsters and old covering in servants' chamber).

[325] Garthine Walker, "Women, Theft and the World of Stolen Goods", in *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker, (London: University College London Press, 1994), 89.

but clothing itself was evolving from the "simple medieval" into complex and often lavish Tudor styles.[326] Although men's fashions changed more rapidly and dramatically than women's, partly because their skirt lengths could so easily be varied, in the sixteenth century clothing for both sexes became more form-fitting, with women's gowns often featuring tailored bodices and square necklines. However, very few indications of such changes in either male or female fashion are evident in the sampled historical sources, a result of the lack of descriptive detail provided by the majority of inventory listings coupled with the sporadic presence of clothing bequests in wills.[327] A notable exception is the appearance in the records of new, previously unknown items of clothing, with sixteenth-century men's wardrobes containing, for example, jerkins (close-fitting jackets often made of leather) and breeches (knee-length trousers), first referred to in the sampled documents in 1534 and 1570 respectively and popular thereafter.[328] As jerkins only appear in English sources from 1519 and breeches as outerwear from the mid century, these new articles of clothing must have first appeared in York very soon thereafter, further enhancing the argument that this northern provincial city was not lagging very far behind London in culture, fashion and prosperity.[329] Changes to women's fashion are best indicated by the appearance of new, supplementary articles of clothing that would have been worn with the gowns of the period, including partlets (worn over the neck and upper chest to cover a low décolletage) and petticoats (undercoats designed to be displayed beneath an open gown) first mentioned in wills of 1541, and crosscloths (triangular bands used to cover the front of women's heads) which first appear in the documents in 1578; there are also singular references to a hooped petticoat called a farthingale ("verdingall") in 1581 and a stomacher ("stomycher"), an ornamental covering for the chest worn under the lacing of a bodice, in 1586.[330] Increasingly elaborate collars and ruffs were worn by both men and women as the

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[326] Kay Staniland, "Getting There, Got It: Archaeological Textiles and Tailoring in London 1330–1580", in *The Age of Transition: The Archaeology of English Culture 1400–1600*, ed. David Gaimster and Paul Stamper, The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 15, Oxbow Monograph 98 (Oxford: Oxbow, 1997), 239.

[327] Anne Sutton, "Dress and Fashions c.1470", in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), 8. As explained above, textiles rarely survive in the archaeological record and when they do fragments are usually so small that the original form of the garment cannot be determined: Chapter 2, 33.

[328] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 (jerkin); Prob. Reg. 18, fol. 189r (Robert Sparke, 1570: breeches).

[329] *OED*, s.v. "jerkin, n.1"; s.v. "breech, n."; accessed 25 June 2015 http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/23009?rskey=KDznr2&result=1#eid14291830 .

[330] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 194r (Denise Gokman, 1541: petticoat), 200v (Isabel Wild, 1541: partlet); BIA, Prob. Reg. 21, fol. 287r (Constance Sawman, 1578: 4 crosscloths); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: farthingale); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586 (stomacher).

sixteenth century progressed, although the only evidence of these in the documentary sources occurs in an embroiderer's inventory of 1574.[331]

In most cases, the single most expensive article of clothing listed in an inventory, and sometimes the most expensive item over all, was a gown, probably because, as a usually full-length outfit, its construction required a greater quantity of fabric than most other garments.[332] Gowns, worn by both men and women, were often described in great detail in both wills and inventories, with specifics of fabric, colour, trim and lining included, emphasizing and explaining the high value attributed to these items.[333] During the first quarter of the sixteenth century the most valuable objects in three separate inventories are gowns of violet – a colour often used in only the fanciest clothing due to the cost of violet dye – each valued at 13s 4d, one of which was furred with white lamb and another with black lamb.[334] In 1505 the inventory of Richard Wynder contains the first reference to a gown valued at over £1: a crimson gown ("cremysyn gown") worth £1 18s 4d.[335] After this date a number of inventories include references to gowns valued at £1 or more, including gowns of soft tawny, black, violet, crimson and musterdevillers, trimmed or furred with fox, coney (rabbit), budge (sheepskin), fitches (polecat), damask and velvet.[336]

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[331] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554–79: James Taylour, 1574.

[332] Martha Howell, writing about late medieval Douai, has found that a single gown could be worth more than a workman's yearly wage: Martha C. Howell, "Fixing Movables: Gifts by Testament in Late Medieval Douai", *Past and Present* 150 (1996): 31.

[333] Elisabeth Salter has argued that such description was used by testators when bequeathing their clothes because details of style and appearance were important features of their experience (Elisabeth Salter, *Cultural Creativity in the Early English Renaissance: Popular Culture in Town and Country* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 77). The presence of similar description in inventory listings, compiled by objective appraisers rather than by the clothing's owner, suggests that at least some of these features of the experience of the object were universally recognizable within this particular community.

[334] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: William Thwaitt, 1512 (furred with white lamb); John Tennand, 1516 (furred with black lamb); Thomas Barton, 1523. For the significance of violet gowns and the identification of violet as a "fashion" colour in early sixteenth-century Lincoln, see Kathleen Ashley, "Material and Symbolic Gift Giving: Clothes in English and French Wills", in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. E. Jane Burns (New York: Palgrave, 2004), 141.

[335] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Richard Wynder, 1505.

[336] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Lytster, 1528 (soft tawny); Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 (violet trimmed with fitches; trimmed with fox); Henry Borow, 1538 (trimmed with fitches); James Hall, 1538 (trimmed with fox); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (soft tawny furred with black budge); John Litstar, 1541 (crimson); Thomas Kirke, 1541 (musterdevillers furred with fitchees); John Warwycke, 1542 (furred with black coney); Robert Cooke, 1549 (violet trimmed with damask; musterdevillers trimmed with fox); 1554−79: James Taylour, 1574 (new black gown faced with budge); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: sheep's colour (or collar) gown trimmed with velvet). Undescribed gowns valued at £1 or more: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: William Warwycke, 1544; John Jacson, 1549; 1554−79: Robert Fawcett, 1554.

Table 21: Relative value of individual gowns in sixteenth-century inventories[337]

Name and date	No. of gowns	Most expensive	Least expensive
Richard Wynder, 1505	9	£1 18s 4d	2s 8d
John Tennand, 1516	4	13s 4d	2s
Robert Morley, 1522	3	6s 8d	4s
Thomas Barton, 1523	4	13s 4d	1s 8d
Thomas Lytster, 1528	4	£1 6s 8d	4s
Geoffrey Frankland, 1534	5	£1 10s	10s
William Thompson, 1540	4	18s	4s
Ralph Bekwith, 1541	3	£1	13s 4d
John Litstar, 1541	5	£1 4s	8s
Thomas Kirke, 1541	5	£1	6s 8d
John Warwycke, 1542	3	£1 6s 8d	6s 8d
Robert Cooke, 1549	4	£2 6s 8d	10s
John Jacson, 1549	3	£1	3s
John Rayncocke, 1551	3	18s	5s
James Taylour, 1574	3	£1 16s 8d	8s
William Carter, 1581	3	£2	6s
Anne Crawfurth, 1581	5	£4	6s 8d
Jane Calome, 1582	9	£7	10s

Some, presumably very fine, gowns were valued at over £2. Unsurprisingly the number of such highly valued items increases towards the end of the sixteenth century; until the 1580s no single inventory lists more than one gown of this value. The first reference to a £2 gown occurs in the inventory of Henry Borow (d.1538): a musterdevillers gown trimmed with velvet ("a goyne of muster de vylllis gardid with wellwet"). Other examples occur in 1549, a crimson gown trimmed with fitches valued at £2 6s 8d, and 1581, a black cloth gown trimmed with budge worth £2. In 1556 Richard Crawforthe owned a woman's gown of puke (a fine woollen fabric) trimmed with black velvet worth £2; this may be the same gown described in his wife Anne's inventory of 1581 as "a blacke gowne with a garde of velvet" and valued at £2 6s 8d.[338] Anne Crawfurth's inventory is one of only two to contain listings for more than one gown worth over £2, also including an entry for "her beste gowne" valued at £4. However, by far the largest and most expensive collection of gowns belonged to Lady Jane Calome, widow of tailor and former mayor Richard Calome. Her inventory of 1582 refers to nine gowns, six of which were valued at over £2, four of which were valued at £4 and one, a scarlet gown with a velvet tippet, was valued at £7, by far the most expensive item of clothing found in any of the sampled inventories (Table 21).[339] Thus, as the

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[337] Only inventories listing three or more individually valued gowns have been included; all are from the sixteenth century.

[338] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Henry Borow, 1538; Robert Cook, 1549; 1554−79: Richard Crawforthe, 1556; 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581; DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581).

[339] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: Jane Calome, 1582 (scarlet gown with velvet tippet, £7; black cloth gown trimmed with satin, £4; black gown trimmed with fawn, £4; gown trimmed with velvet, £4; her best morning gown, £2 13s 4d).

sixteenth century progressed, not only did the financial value assigned to best gowns continue to increase, but new types of clothing and related accessories appeared in the records only years after they were first mentioned in English sources, indicating that even the newest fashions and styles of clothing were available for purchase or acquisition by commission within the city.

Most York residents (Lady Jane Calome being an exception) probably owned only one or two highly valued gowns which likely would have been reserved for holidays and other special occasions, such as that which Jane Hebden (d.1589) describes in her will as the French tawny gown and petticoat "the whiche I do weare on the hollyday".[340] Everyday wear would have been much more modest, perhaps lacking additions of lining, fur or trim, made of inferior materials or described as being old, such as John Jacson's "workkydaye goune" (1523) and Robert Loksmyth's "olde blake gown" (1531) each worth 3s, John Rayncocke's frieze gown (1551), worth just 5s, or vicar Thomas Barton's unlined gown ("a gowne un lynde") valued at just 1s 8d (1528). Even Lady Jane Calome owned some everyday wear, an "olde mornynge gowen" worth 10s, substantially less than the majority of her gowns.[341] It is not only possible, but also likely, that many items of clothing, ranging from undergarments to less expensive gowns, were omitted from inventories as being of little or no resale value.

In addition to gowns, girdles and belts (*zona*) were also among the most expensive items of clothing owned by York residents, and were sometimes described in wills as being studded or decorated with silver, or made of expensive fabrics such as silk, although only a few are provided with a monetary valuation.[342] The highest-valued individual object in Hugh Grantham's inventory (1410) was a silver studded girdle (*zona stipata cum argento*) worth £1 16s 8d while Elizabeth Shawe's (1523) silver-decorated girdle ("girdill harnesid with silver") was her most expensive possession, valued at 15s. While not the most expensive items of clothing that they owned, Agnes Reade (d.1586) had an old girdle decorated with thirty-two silver plaits and a little chain ("one olde gyrdel with xxxij plaites of sylver with a lytle cheyne belonginge to the same") worth 10s, Richard Wynder (d.1505) had three silver belts ("silver belt with the corse"; "silver belt with a blew corse";

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[340] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 128r (Jane Hebden, 1589).

[341] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1334−March 1554: John Jacson, 1523; Thomas Barton, 1528; Robert Loksmyth, 1531; John Rayncocke, 1551; 1580−1603: Jane Calome, 1582. Other examples include: Noel Mores, 1538 (an old gown, 2s 4d); William Thompson, 1540 (an old gown, 4s); 1554−79: Thomas Fall, 1567 (an old gown, 5s); James Taylour, 1574 (an old black gown, 8s); 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586 (workday gown, valued with her best gown); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: 2 old gowns, 13s 4d).

[342] According to Janet Loengard, for most women girdles were their most prized possessions: Janet S. Loengard, "'Which may be said to be her own': Widows and Goods in Late-Medieval England", in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 167.

"silver belt gilt with a corse of red and blew") worth £1 13s 4d, 18s and 13s 4d respectively, and in his will John Luneburgh (d.1458) bequeathed three silver-trimmed girdles each worth 3s 4d.[343]

The majority of girdles and belts, however, would likely have been simpler affairs, with many worth so little that they did not warrant inclusion either as bequests or as separate entries in inventories. Cheap girdles were certainly readily available: the inventory of chapman Thomas Gryssop's shop, made in 1446, contained listings for numerous low-priced girdles, including an unspecified number of cloth girdles ("threde gyrdils") priced at 3d for the lot, a London girdle (*zona de London*) priced at 2d, seven "rede gyrdyls" for 3d, three black girdles ("gyrdyls *nigris*") for 4d and three undescribed girdles for 2d.[344]

Clothing, like bedding, was thus a valuable commodity in fifteenth- and, especially, sixteenth-century York. As inventories that itemize clothing attest, although York residents invested a great deal of money in the outfits they wore, most had one garment, often a gown or a girdle, that was worth considerably more than the remainder of their wardrobes. These expensive outfits and accessories, often made from costly fabrics, trimmed with fur or, in the case of girdles, adorned with silver, were reserved for best and, as such, were considered to be both financially and sentimentally appropriate and generous objects to bequeath to family or very special friends in the last will and testament.[345]

Self-assessment of financial value

The monetary value of bequeathed objects appears in wills only very rarely. Just twenty wills (3%) include references to the specific value of bequeathed items, and in fifteen of those wills only a single item is ascribed a value. Monetary values are provided, presumably by the testator him- or herself, for only certain types of items, with objects made of gold and silver the most common, although the prices of items of clothing and textiles and craft equipment or products also appear. Since, however, these valuations were provided by the objects' owners, and not by impartial appraisers or experts, their validity, accuracy, and especially objectivity, cannot be verified.[346]

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[343] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410); BIA, DC.CP.1524/11 (Elizabeth Shawe, 1523); D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Richard Wynder, 1505; 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586; Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 388v (John Luneburgh, 1458).

[344] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Gryssop, 1446.

[345] For the affective value of clothing bequests, see: Chapter 5, 150–52 .

[346] Of those testators whose wills include monetary valuations, none have a surviving inventory, so valuations provided in wills cannot be compared with those assigned by the inventory appraisers. The exception is Richard Wynder (d.1505), but as only the first page of his inventory survives, comparisons remain impossible (YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 46r; BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554).

How did testators know how much these particularly described possessions were worth? Margaret Hoveden (d.1438) left her daughter a new mazer (*novum ciphum de murro*) which she valued at 40s. She would have been aware of the value of the object precisely because it had been recently purchased and she presumably recalled the amount that she had paid for it.[347] Artisans would also have been aware of the value of their craft equipment and, especially, of the products related to their own crafts, as they would have made and sold similar objects themselves. Thus goldsmiths John Luneburgh (d.1458) and Richard Wartre (will dated 1458) and goldsmith's widow Lawrencia Van Harlam (d.1408) would have been well-versed in the current values of gold and silver objects and were thus able to provide valuations for the plate and jewellery bequeathed within their wills: a chalice worth 40s, two gold rings worth 6s 8d each, a silver crater worth 20s, a piece of silver worth 5 marks and a gold ring worth 3s 4d; a piece of covered silver worth 40s; a piece of silver worth 20s. Mercer John Stokdale's trade may also explain how he was able to value a gold ring which he bequeathed at 6s 8d.[348] Similarly, barker Roger Appilby (d.1495) knew that the two cisterns he bequeathed to a fellow tanner were worth £4, pewterer Richard Wynder (d.1505) was able to value the set of vessels which he left to a priory at 13s 4d, saddler Robert Baynton (d.1581) could specify that the harness which he left to his "lovinge neighboure" was worth 2s 6d, and tapiter's widow Katherine Raygh (d.1507) knew that the four coverlets she bequeathed were worth 10s.[349]

Yet the remainder of the objects provided with monetary values by testators were neither described as new nor related to the primary occupation of the testator's household. Gold and silver objects for which values are provided include three gold rings, two mazers, seven silver spoons, two chalices, a standing piece, a gold heart and a gold piece.[350] Luxury items made of precious metals were not only status symbols, displayed in the home or on the body as evidence of the wealth and good taste of their owners, but also, in the absence of banks, a form of savings, which could be exchanged for

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[347] BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 522r (Margaret Hoveden, 1438).

[348] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fols 388v (John Luneburgh, 1458: chalice; 3 gold rings; silver crater; silver piece); 583r (Lawrencia Van Harlam, 1408: silver piece worth 20s); Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 115v (Richard Wartre, 1458: piece of covered silver worth 40s); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 62r (John Stokdale, 1506).

[349] BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 467v (Roger Appilby, 1495); Prob. Reg. 7, fol. 9r (Katherine Raygh, 1507); Prob. Reg. 22, fol. 112r (Robert Baynton, 1581); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 46r (Richard Wynder, 1505).

[350] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 289v (Richard Garton, 1458: gold ring worth 5s); vol. 2, fols 46r (Richard Wynder, 1505: chalice worth 33s 4d), 82r (Alison Clark, 1509: silver spoon worth 2s; standing piece worth 40s), 134v (William Wright, 1523: gold heart worth 20s); vol. 5, fols 14v (Richard White, 1556: chalice worth £3), 18r (Robert Wrighte, 1558: gold piece worth 30s), 118r (Robert Daragon, 1585: gold ring worth 10s), 155r (Richard Ayneley, 1599: gold ring worth 8s); BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 467v (Roger Appilby, 1495: mazer worth 13s 4d; 6 silver spoons worth 20s); Prob. Reg. 7, fol. 9r (Katherine Raygh, 1507: mazer worth 26s 8d).

currency as need required.[351] Thus it is not entirely surprising that at least some testators were well aware of the value of their plate and jewellery.

The only other bequests provided with a monetary value in the sampled wills were articles of clothing and textiles. Isabel Freman (d.1572) bequeathed a yard of cloth worth 2s, Thomas Robynson (d.1463) three ells of russet cloth worth 18d an ell, and Alison Clark (d.1509) six yards of linen at 4d a yard.[352] But how did they know the value of the cloth they bequeathed? York residents such as these probably bought cloth for their own households from city shops or markets and thus would have known the market value of the various textiles they had purchased. Similarly, it is likely that John Johnson (d.1575) knew that the livery coat promised to his apprentice upon completion of his service was worth 13s 4d because he had purchased this item, or a similar one, previously and so knew its value.[353] It is possible that John Luneburgh (d.1458) knew that the three silver-trimmed girdles which he bequeathed were worth 3s 4d each, as being a goldsmith sometimes involved providing silver for such items. Yet there is little to explain exactly how pinner Richard Bouthe (d.1567) knew that the woman's kerchief he left to his servant was worth 12d.[354]

Whether or not the valuations given in the wills were accurate, the question remains as to why these testators chose to describe these particular objects, and not others, in terms of their monetary value. Several possibilities exist. In some cases values may have been provided in order to distinguish the object from similar items of greater or lesser value, or to ensure that certain recipients all received legacies of the same value, as with Luneburgh's bequests of the three equally-valued girdles. Testators may have specified object values to equate the legacy with monetary gifts left to others, or simply as a way of proclaiming their own generosity and assigning a figure to the value they placed on their relationship with the object's recipient. A further possibility, particularly in the case of church vestments such as those bequeathed by Richard Wynder (d.1505) and Alison Clark (d.1509), valued at 12s and 13s 4d respectively, is that the objects in question were not already in the possession of the deceased, but were intended to be purchased by their executors for the specific amount stated, as was certainly the case with Ralph

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[351] David A. Hinton, *Gold and Gilt, Pots and Pins: Possessions and People in Medieval Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 237; P.J.P. Goldberg, "The Fashioning of Bourgeois Domesticity in Later Medieval England: A Material Culture Perspective", in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 135.

[352] BIA, Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 215r (Isabel Freman, 1572); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 302v (Thomas Robynson, 1463); vol. 2, fol. 82r (Alison Clark, 1509).

[353] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 78v (John Johnson, 1575).

[354] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 388v (John Luneburgh, 1458); Prob. Reg. 17, fol. 748r (Richard Bouthe, 1567).

Hall's bequest to his church in 1485: *unum vestimentum ad valorem xxvjs viijd par executores meos emendum*.[355]

Although occurring infrequently, such self-valuation of bequeathed objects suggests that residents of the city knew – or thought they knew – the economic value of the goods they owned, particularly those that had been recently purchased or were associated with a craft or trade that was practised within the household. Of the other objects assigned monetary values in testaments, all belong to categories described above as being among the most valuable in the household, namely, plate, clothing or textiles. Furthermore, it is significant that both male and female testators appear aware of the financial value of these possessions, implying that both men and women played a part in supplying and managing the household and its objects.[356]

Financial value revealed through discard practices

The value of various domestic objects can also be assessed through discard practices as revealed by the findings of archaeological excavations. In contrast to the prized possessions singled out for bequests in wills and the often highly valuable objects appraised in inventories, the majority of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century small finds excavated in York consist of objects that had been deliberately thrown away when no longer of use to their owners. Thus, an examination of the types of objects found, and the reasons why they may have been discarded, can shed light on the value, or lack thereof, attributed to those objects by their owners. However, it must be remembered that many purposefully discarded objects have not survived burial. The constant occupation and development of the city has likely resulted in many discarded objects being cleared away in preparation for new building work, while other objects will have partially or completely decayed due to the material from which they were made. This is particularly true of items made from organic matter such as textiles, leather, horn and wood which are prone to decay in most conditions.[357] Additionally, some items were rarely discarded as they were more likely to have been recycled, including articles of clothing and objects made from various metals, especially silver and gold, which could all be reworked and made into new, often quite different, objects as need required.

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[355] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 46r (Richard Wynder, 1505), 82r (Alison Clark, 1509).

[356] In fact Walker suggests that women were more aware of the value invested in household objects than most men, based on her observation that, in late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century court cases involving theft, even if goods were owned by the male head of household, it was usually the wife and female servants who reported the crime and gave evidence in court: Walker, "Women, Theft and the World of Stolen Goods", 90.

[357] See Chapter 2, 33–34.

Table 22: Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century pottery types[358]

Pottery type	15th century	16th century
Walmgate ware	●	
Industrial Red Sandy ware	●	
Humber ware	●	●
Hambleton-type ware	●	●
Purple glazed ware		●
Cistercian ware		●
Ryedale ware		●
Post-medieval red coarse wares		●
Low Countries red ware	●	
German stonewares	●	●
Martincamp stoneware		●

Surviving archaeological evidence suggests that the objects most commonly discarded by residents of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York were those made of pottery of various types and styles, often used for preparing, serving and consuming food and drink (Table 22). Often found in deliberately dug dump pits, these objects were presumably thrown away when broken and therefore no longer of use. Both Walmgate wares, made in the city itself, and Humber wares – hard-fired iron-rich red-bodied wares, often partially glazed in dull green shades, usually with little or no decoration – were probably mass produced and relatively inexpensive. The most common Walmgate ware vessels are small unglazed or partially glazed drinking jugs, while the predominant Humber ware forms are serving jugs, cisterns and urinals.[359] Industrial Red Sandy wares, used solely in industrial practices, were found at Bedern and used for distilling spirits, probably for medical purposes.[360] In contrast Hambleton-type wares – fine white wares with a thick green glaze, often with decoration in the form of thumbing – were likely a more upmarket product, with forms including lobed bowls, lamps, fuming pots and divided dishes.[361] The sixteenth century saw Humber wares evolve into Purple Glazed wares, distinguished by their purplish glaze, as well as the appearance Cistercian ware cups, made of a fine smooth fabric varying in colour to red to dark grey, covered internally and externally in a thick glossy near black glaze, often with applied white clay decoration.[362] Other late pottery types include Post-medieval red coarse wares, which resemble and probably developed from Humber wares, but with smooth brown or olive green internal and external glazes, and Ryedale wares, smooth, fine fabrics with grey to black interiors and pink to light brown exteriors, usually covered in olive green glaze, and used to make a variety of vessels

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[358] The table is based on the descriptions of pottery types in *AY 16/3*, 156−73 and *AY 16/9*, 257−91.

[359] *AY 16/9*, 1257−62; 1275; 1278. See Appendix, 231–32, 235, 236, 248.

[360] *Ibid.*, 1265−75. See Appendix, 249.

[361] *Ibid.*, 1283−84. See Appendix, 228–29, 233, 235, 248.

[362] See Appendix, 134–35.

including cisterns, jugs and dripping trays; decoration, if present, consisted of simple stamped and incised designs, wavy combing and thumbed strips beneath the rim.[363] Imported products also appear in the archaeological record, including Low Countries red ware *grapen* and frying pans, German stoneware jugs, drinking vessels and flasks and a French Martincamp stoneware flask.[364]

Most finds of pottery are incomplete sherds, suggesting that an object was thrown away when cracked or broken with little or no attempt made to repair the item. Such a large amount of discarded pottery indicates that earthenware objects had a high functional value, and were likely used on a daily basis in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century kitchens in particular. The fact that these vessels are almost entirely functional, and quickly discarded when flawed, does not mean that they were not carefully crafted, and often decorated and glazed, by skilled artisans. Yet, as the predominance of broken pottery in the archaeological record indicates, such vessels, although of high functional value, were mass produced, of little financial value and very cheap to replace. The almost complete absence in probate inventories of objects described as being made of pottery supports this hypothesis. In fact, throughout the period only two types of objects listed in the inventories are ever defined as being made of pottery: drinking pots and cruses (small earthen vessels for liquids) which were often used for ale or beer; and crucibles, used by metalworkers as melting pots and discarded after a single use.[365]

The functional value of objects

Functional value is rarely considered in the secondary literature but is a new and important concept that deserves further investigation, particularly in relation to the study of object assemblages used to produce different sets of objects in both workshops and domestic settings. Such objects are considered to be valuable not because they cost a lot of money to purchase, but because they were essential for the production of other objects which were then either used by the household or sold to provide the income from which the household was run. Examples of items with high functional

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[363] *AY 16/3*, 160−63. See Appendix, 229, 236.

[364] *AY 16/9*, 1286−91. See Appendix, 230, 235–37.

[365] *OED*, s.v. "cruse, n.", accessed 19 March 2015, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/45265?redirectedFrom=cruse#eid. Drinking pots and cruses: Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49−53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410: *x ollis terreis pro servisia*); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Baker, 1436 (*ollis terris pro cervisia*); Henry Borow, 1538 ("crewsis"); James Hall, 1538 ("iij crerosis"); 1554−79: Thomas Rigge, 1557 ("iiij drynkynne crowses"); other drinking pots were likely also made of pottery: Richard Haukesworth, 1466 (*ij ollis pro cervisia*); Thomas Lytster, 1528 ("iij ayll pottes"); Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 ("ij aille pottes"; "v aill pottes"); Henry Borow, 1538 ("pottes"; "iiij ayll pottes"); James Hall, 1538 ("a nayll poyt"; "ij beer pottes"; "ij ayll pottes"); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 ("iiij ale pottes"); 1554−79: Richard Crawforth, 1556 ("ij ale pottes"); Thomas Rigge, 1557 ("vj alepottes"); Richard Dickson, 1565 ("vij drinckinge pottes"); Robert Reade, 1569 ("drinkinge potes"). Melting pots: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: William Thwaitt, 1512 ("xxiij pottes for meltyng"); John Tennand, 1516 ("iij[xx] eyrth pottes and xij"; "in eyrth mulddes").

value are most evident in the shop inventories of artisans, where tools and materials were often itemized and separately valued, but can also be seen in testamentary bequests of craft equipment and in will and inventory evidence concerning domestic enterprises such as spinning or brewing, either for the use of the household alone or for sale to the wider public.

Many artisans relied upon specific tools or pieces of equipment in order to make the products which they then sold to other residents of York, as well as to visitors from further afield. Essential for practising the owner's chosen craft, the utensils had a high functional value despite the fact that some were worth very little in monetary terms. The functional value of craft tools is particularly apparent in the shop inventories of metalworkers where such objects were usually itemized separately or in small assemblages composed of similar tools. Pewterer Robert Fawcette's shop inventory (1460), for example, contains listings for three types of metal, at least eight moulds, including moulds for a saucer, a cruet and four salt-cellars, and a minimum of twelve different types of tools, as well as other necessary equipment including a stithy and working boards. The entire contents of the shop were valued at £8 11s 4d, a sum slightly larger than that assigned to the contents of his whole house. The raw materials – fine pewter, lay metal and lead – accounted for over £6 of the evaluation, with the tools themselves worth just under 11s, yet each type of tool was listed either separately or as part of a pair, emphasizing that these objects were functionally valuable even if not financially valuable. An even greater number of tools are evaluated in goldsmith John Colan's shop inventory (1490). In monetary terms, no individual tool was worth more than a couple of pennies, with the most expensive being a pair of stamps (*lez stampis*) worth 7d each, yet over fifty-six objects comprising twenty-five different types of tools are described, listed and valued, again stressing the functional value and importance of each item to the manufacturing process.[366]

In contrast, the inventory evidence suggests that other trades, particularly those relating to clothing, required very little in the way of tools, with the materials from which the products were made having not only a higher financial value but also a higher functional value. When John Carter's tailor's shop was inventoried in 1485, the fabric in his store was considered in very great detail. Experts were brought in to appraise each individual fabric, implying that its functional value, as well as the cost which it could achieve when sold, was determined by the skill with which it was made. Carter's fabrics were divided into western cloths (*de pannis occidentalibus*) and southern cloths (*de pannis australibus*), but each piece was individually described by colour and/or fabric type as well as by size. Exactly sixty pieces of cloth were separately valued, ranging in price from 1s 4d for two and a half ells of green tawny to £1 2s 6d for fifteen ells of red cloth, bringing the

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[366] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Fawcette, 1460; John Colan, 1490. For other metalworker's shop inventories showing a similar emphasis on inexpensive craft tools see: William Thwaitt, founder, 1512; John Tennand, founder, 1516; Ralph Bekwith, goldsmith, 1541; 1554−79: Bartholomew Daragunne, locksmith, 1558; Robert Reade, bladesmith, 1569.

total value of cloth in the shop to £28 8s 1d. Yet the only tools listed were two pairs of shears and two pressing irons, valued at just 1s 2d in total. The shop inventories of other cloth-workers, including another tailor, a draper and a hosier, follow this pattern of emphasizing the functional value of the material, and also listed shears and pressing irons as the only required tools; the exception occurs at the very end of the period when, in addition to the mandatory shears and pressing irons, tailor John Hudles (d.1599) also kept "cardes to carde flock" and a bodkin in his shop.[367]

Testamentary bequests of craft equipment also illustrate the functional value which York artisans attributed to their tools and utensils. Most artisans left the tools necessary to their crafts to fellow craftsmen, apprentices or family members who followed the same trade, providing an indication of the objects which they considered essential to carrying out that particular type of work. While some testators simply bequeathed "all the tools of my craft" or "all the work gear in my shop", others itemized their bequests, further emphasizing the functional value of certain tools for certain crafts. The only equipment bequeathed by weavers and tapiters, for example, were the looms essential for weaving cloth and coverlets, while tanners only gifted the tubs in which their leather was soaked, indicating that those objects had the highest functional value for people undertaking these occupations.[368] Those who worked with wood and metal, on the other hand, were more likely to bequeath a selection of necessary tools to others following the same or a similar craft. In 1580, one joiner left his apprentice nine different kinds of planes and another left his servant and his apprentice the planes, heading chisels, firmers, handsaws and hatchets that each worked with, while in 1408 a carpenter left a set of ten different woodworking tools to his apprentice.[369] Metalworkers most commonly bequeathed stithies, or anvils, and turning lathes followed by a selection of moulds

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[367] BIA, D&C wills, 1383−March 1554: John Carter, 1485; Thomas Lytster, hosier, 1528; Henry Borow, tailor, 1538; John Litstar, draper, 1541; John Hudles, 1599. The relatively low value assigned to shears may account for their occasional presence in archaeological contexts: see Appendix, 259. According to the *OED*, a bodkin is "a small pointed instrument ... used for piercing holes in cloth": *OED*, s.v. "bodkin", accessed 19 March 2015, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/20925?rskey=YuD6Bg&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid.

[368] Weavers and tapiters: BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 188v (Henry Brown, weaver, 1449: 3 linen looms; wool loom); Prob. Reg. 3, fols 64r (Richard Pontefract, weaver, 1401: best loom), 313v (Thomas Raight, tapiter, 1500: coverlet loom); Prob. Reg. 13, fol. 958r (Anthony Hargill, woollenweaver, 1552: linen loom); Prob. Reg. 21, fol. 286v (John Hall, tapiter, 1579: dornik loom). Tanners: BIA, Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 112r (John Northues, tanner, 1504: 3 tubs); Prob. Reg. 16, fols 88r (William Straker, tanner, 1560: tubs), 98v (Thomas Jackson, tanner, 1560: 2 tubs).

[369] BIA, Prob. Reg. 21, fols 462v (Christopher Willoughbie, joiner, 1580: 9 types of plane); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 145r (John Awstyn, carpenter, 1408: 10 different tools), vol. 5, fol. 98v (Edmund Daikars, joiner, 1580: tools servant and apprentice work with). In 1506, carpenter John Couper left a crowbar, twibil, chisel, wimble, blocker and axe to the St Peter works, thus allowing all the Minster's carpenters to benefit (YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 50v).

and tools, including vices, hammers, files and irons.[370] Practitioners of other crafts and trades who similarly left bequests of the tools and equipment which they considered essential to their occupation include tilers, barbers and chandlers, horners and a minstrel, as well as glaziers, who will be considered in greater detail below.[371]

Objects with high functional values, used to produce different sets of objects, were not only found in workshops but were also used in the home itself to produce items for household consumption and, in some cases, for sale to supplement the family income. The most popularly followed domestic activity of this sort is yarn and thread preparation – wool, linen and flax or hemp – with spinning wheels, cards and/or combs, as well as linen, yarn and wool, appearing in over a third of the sampled inventories.[372] Spinning equipment was kept in a variety of rooms including halls, chambers and bolting houses, but interestingly two out of the three bakers included in the sampled inventories kept their wheels in their shop or bakehouse, implying that spinning was carried out in conjunction with baking, perhaps while waiting for dough to prove or bread to bake. The third probably also kept his wheel in his bakery; room headings are missing from his inventory, but his

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[370] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 164v (Robert Wilton, cutler, 1413: stithy, hammer, tools); 294r (Robert Fawsett, pewterer, 1458: stithy, hammer, swager), 302v (Thomas Robynson, pewterer, 1463: 3 moulds), 316v (Thomas Postylthwayt, pewterer, 1466: moulds), 360v (Hugh Leyfeld, smith, 1485: 2 stithies, tools); vol. 2, fols 21v (John Wilkynson, cutler, 1499: stithy, tools), 46r (Richard Wynder, pewterer, 1505: tools and moulds), 73r (Robert Wylkynson, pewterer, 1508: stithy, hammer), 80r (Hugh Syngilton, pewterer, 1508: lathe, irons, stithy, hammer); vol. 5, fols 61v (Stephen Daragon, locksmith, 1572: stithy, 2 vices, hammers, files etc.), 118r (Robert Daragon, locksmith, 1585: stithy, hammers, 4 vices); BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 388v (John Luneburgh, goldsmith, 1458: 3 stithies, 3 hammers, 6 files, 6 engravers); Prob. Reg. 5, fols 425r (John Broune, founder, 1493: 3 lathes, moulds, irons), 443r (William Wynter, founder, 1493: lathes, hammers, files, tools); Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 4r (John Tayll, armourer, 1569: 6 files).

[371] BIA, Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 220v (Robert Fesar, tiler, 1474); Prob. Reg. 8, fol. 77r (William Beilby, horner, 1511); Prob. Reg. 9, fol. 239v (Nicholas Pullan, tiler, 1522); Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 290v (William Hill, minstrel, 1558); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 281r (Oliver Overdo, barber, 1456), 366r (John Wylkynson, barber chandler, 1486), 366v (Idonea Croxton, chandler, 1485); vol. 2, fols 78v (John Chesman, barber chandler, 1509), 106r (William Caton, barber chandler, 1514), 130v (Robert Morley, barber, 1522), 210v (Robert Sotheron, horner, 1542), vol. 3, fol. 14r (Thomas Pereson, horner, 1546).

[372] Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49−53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410: 2 spinning wheels, 3 pairs of cards); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Catton, 1413 (spinning wheel, pair of cards, 2 wool combs); Thomas Overdo, 1444 (2 spinning wheels); John Tennand 1516 (spinning wheel with cards); Geoffrey Frankland, 1534 (2 spinning wheels); Henry Borow, 1538 (2 heckles); William Thompson, 1540 (spinning wheel, pair of wool cards); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 (spinning wheel for linen); John Warwycke, 1542 (2 spinning wheels); William Warwycke, 1544 (2 spinning wheels); Robert Cooke, 1549 (spinning wheel); 1554−79: Thomas Rigge, 1557 (little spinning wheel); Agnes Dawton, 1558 (2 heckles); Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558 (spinning wheel, pair of wool cards, pair of wool combs, linen heckle); John Johnson, 1575 (2 spinning wheels, linen heckle); 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581 (spinning wheel); John Aclam, 1594 (spinning wheel, heckle); John Hudles, 1599 (pair of cards to card flock); DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581: 2 spinning wheels, heckle).

two spinning wheels (*ij rotis*) are listed directly following the entry for an ark in the shop (*j archa in shoppa*).[373]

While the spinning wheels, cards and combs listed in inventories are found in the homes of both men and women, only women left spinning equipment as bequests in wills, suggesting that this domestic activity was usually performed by females. All of the bequeathed spinning equipment was left to servants, two of whom were male, although it is possibly that the spinning wheels left to each of them may have been intended for their households rather than for themselves personally.[374]

The functional value of object assemblages used in artisanal and domestic production was clearly important to the residents of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York. The functional value of finished products such as cloth and, presumably, leather (although no tanner's inventory survives from the period), which other artisans would in turn use to make their own products, was determined by the skill with which it was worked as well as the resale value which it could achieve. The functional value of tools and equipment, on the other hand, was determined by the important role which each played in creating new products. While these objects may not have been worth much on the resale market, with many valued at just a few pennies each, their functional value was great enough for each to be individually itemized, described and valued.

Organization of production

The importance of the functional value of object assemblages used in the household or shop to create new sets of objects in many cases led to attempts to organize production in order to increase output and, more importantly, profit. For at least one household, spinning was not just a household activity but an organized business enterprise: in 1542 widow Margaret Sympson left instructions that Elisabeth, her "work woman or carder", be paid her wages and that old Jenet, her "spynner", be given her russet frieze gown.[375] Yet Sympson was not the only woman who organized production of a household commodity for sale. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in the early 1400s Hugh Grantham's wife supplied ale to the master of St Leonard's hospital and others, and had several servants and a tapster in her employ.[376] Alison Clark also brewed ale for sale to the

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[373] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Thomas Overdo, 1444; 1554−79: Thomas Rigge, 1557; John Johnson, 1575.

[374] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 275r (Cecily Overdo, 1453: spinning wheel, pair of cards), 298v (Agnes Marsshall, 1461: 2 spinning wheels to 2 male servants), 309v (Agnes Selby, 1464: spinning wheel, pair of cards); BIA, Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 219r (Isabel Brigwater, 1506: spinning wheel, pair of cards).

[375] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 207r (Margaret Sympson, 1542).

[376] See Chapter 3, 87; Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, 49–53 (Hugh Grantham, 1410); P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300–1520* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 113, 190; P.J.P. Goldberg, "Household

public: in 1509 she left her brewing vessel ("brewin wessell") to her daughter, after first specifying that a weeks-worth of ale be given to her customers ("that þer be a holl brewing of ale yeiven to my customers after the quantitie of thar tonnyng in a weke").[377] It was not only women who were involved in additional domestic enterprises: in 1460 Robert Fawcette owed fellow pewterer William Riche 9s for ale. More unusually, in 1594 someone in tiler John Aclam's home was producing a significant amount of mustard, probably sold to supplement the household income: a quarter of "musterd sead" was found in the great chamber, another half quarter in the high chamber and a mustard kit ("musterd kytt") and a pair of mustard-querns ("musterd wharnes") were kept in the kitchen.[378]

Evidence for organization of production is more plentiful among artisanal households. Not only do apprentices and servants feature prominently as recipients of craft objects in wills, but several men described as servants of the testator had already gained the freedom of the city at the time the will was made, implying that they were fully trained practitioners of their craft employed by the testator in a workshop more extensive than that usually associated with a single household.[379] Examples include joiner Anthony Hakins or Hawkyn, made free in 1579 but still working for Edmund Daikars in 1580 when he was bequeathed a number of woodworking tools "the whiche he warkethe withe", and the two servants of founder William Wynter who had both been made free in 1493, the same year in which their master later died, one of whom was bequeathed "the lathe that he tornys in" with a selection of named tools and all the tools and lathes in the shop, while the other received all the tools belonging to Wynter's melting house.[380] A similar situation occurred in households run by widows who had taken over their late husbands' businesses but employed a free, fully trained

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and the Organisation of Labour in Late Medieval Towns: Some English Evidence", in *The Household in Late Medieval Cities, Italy and Northwestern Europe Compared*, ed. Myriam Carlier and Tim Soens (Louvain-Apeldoorn: Garant, 2001), 63.

[377] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 82r (Alison Clark, 1509).

[378] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: John Aclam, 1594. John's wife Alice also contributed to the household's income by brewing ale or beer from at least 1596 and taking in a lodger from at least 1606: T.P. Cooper, *Some old York Inns with special reference to The "Star," Stonegate* (Reprinted from the Associated Architectural and Archaeological Societies' Reports and Papers, Vol. 39, Pt 2, 1929, 273−318), 27; YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 181v (Alice Acklam, 1606). It is also possible that the bowstrings made in tailor John Carter's parlour (1485) and the mattresses made in Geoffrey Frankland's chamber (1534) were also sold to increase household income. See Chapter 3, 73, 89.

[379] The designation of "journeyman" does not appear in the contemporary documents.

[380] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 98v (Edmund Daikars, 1580); BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 443r (William Wynter, 1493). Other examples are founder John Worsell, made free in 1441 but still working for John Burnedale five years later, cordwainer Robert Lawe, made free in 1462 but still working for William Orlowe in late 1463, and chandler and barber George Hopping, made free in 1484 but still working for John Wylkynson in 1486 (YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 260r: John Burnedale, 1446; 305r: William Orlowe, 1463; 366r: John Wylkynson, 1486).

craftsman to work for them as their servant. Thus, waxchandler William Roche, made free in 1485, is named as the servant of waxchandler's widow Idonea Croxton in December of that same year, George Buckbarrow, who gained the freedom as a cartwright in 1507, is named as cartwright's widow Agnes Leys's servant in November 1508, and in 1416 Margaret Soureby left her servant Thomas de Burton, who had been made free as a founder three years previously, all the tools and necessaries pertaining to Margaret's own craft of foundercraft and being in her shop.[381]

Specialization of work[382]

Another consequence of the significant functional value assigned to craft tools, equipment and finished products was the increasing move towards specialization of work in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, as artisans and service providers strove to maximize profits through the provision of a specialist product. The streets of Petergate and Stonegate in particular were home to a large number of metalworkers, often distinguished in their wills and inventories by the materials with which they worked, and in the archaeological record by the waste that they left behind: smiths or blacksmiths with iron; goldsmiths with gold and silver; founders with brass or copper alloy; pewterers with pewter.[383] Yet a number of metalworkers specialized in making specific types of objects, with their occupational designation reflecting the products they made and sold. Examples of metalworkers who describe their occupations in terms of the specialized objects they created include armourers, moneymakers or moneyers, locksmiths, a bladesmith, pinners and a

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[381] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 175v (Margaret Soureby, 1416), 366v (Idonea Croxton, 1485); BIA, Prob. Reg. 7, fol. 62r (Agnes Leys, 1508).

[382] Other works on specialization of occupation include: R.H. Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300−1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. 184; Derek Keene, "Continuity and Development in Urban Trades: Problems of Concepts and the Evidence", in *Work in Towns, 850−1850*, ed. Penelope J. Corfield and Derek Keene (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), 1−16; Penelope J. Corfield, "Business Leaders and Town Gentry in Early Industrial Britain: Specialist Occupations and Shared Urbanism", *Urban History* 39 (2012): 20−50. Richard Britnell's examination of Colchester's association with russet cloth following the Black Death, with cloth-making workshops employing spinners, fullers, weavers and shearmen under the control of one man, shares definite similarities with the organization of glaziers in York (see below, 133–38), while Derek Keene notes that diversification could prove as important to success as specialization as, for example, when a metalworker specializes in crafting with pewter, but diversifies the range of objects he produces for sale. Penelope Corfield's study of specialist occupations in eighteenth-century Britain is less useful as a result of the dates considered, although similarities with the earlier period are apparent, including the presence of specialized occupations within a single town and the association of particular urban centres with specific goods.

[383] Archaeological evidence for fifteenth- and sixteenth-century metalworking in both copper alloy (foundering) and iron (smithing), in the form of slag, used crucibles and half-made products or wasters, was found both at 9 Little Stonegate in the parish of St Helen and on Swinegate properties which extended into the same parish: Neil Macnab, "9 Little Stonegate, York: Report on an Archaeological Excavation", unpublished, York Archaeological Trust Field Report 24 (1998), 60–61; IADB, Project 1989.28, 12–18 Swinegate and Project 1990.25, 20–24 Swinegate, www.iadb.co.uk/portal_main.php?DB=IADB, accessed 8 July 2015.

cardmaker.[384] Similarly, the clothing industry included not only drapers and tailors but also capmakers or cappers, girdlers and a hosier as well as a number of cordwainers or shoemakers.[385] Specializations also occurred in other types of occupations, with one York victualler describing himself as a saucemaker, a cartwright's widow carrying on his trade of building and repairing carts and a self-described joiner specializing in the production of domestic furniture including cupboards, beds, forms, stools, tables and coffers.[386]

Many artisans living in the parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey and St Helen, Stonegate specialized in work for the church. Maurice Biront described himself as an organmaker in 1510 and, if the 1538 inventory of Noel Mores's shop is any indication, the many stationers who lived in the vicinity dealt almost exclusively in texts for the cathedral clergy and church lawyers.[387] Also living in the area were the vestmentmakers or embroiderers responsible for making the often highly decorative vestments worn by the clergy.[388] With York's numerous parish churches, not to mention the Minster, business must have been steady: at least one vestmentmaker employed a woman to hem his embroidery ("for fienge hemmyngis of broderie") in 1531, while the 1541 inventory of a goldsmith suggests that his work included ornamenting church vestments with gold decoration. In addition to his other shop wares, Ralph Bekwith had two full services of silk vestments and six copes made of damask, satin or velvet, the majority of which had been embellished with birds,

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[384] Armourers: YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 276r (John Darby, 1454); vol. 3, fol. 13v (Thomas Skirrow, 1545); BIA, Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 4r (James Tayll, 1569). Moneymakers: YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 135r (Robert Barneby, 1404); BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 607v (John Esyngwald, 1431). Locksmiths: BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Bartholomew Daragunne, 1558; YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fols 61v (Stephen Daragon, 1572), 118r (Robert Daragon, 1585). Bladesmith: YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 36v and BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Robert Reade, 1569. Pinners: YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 141v (William Stokton, 1406); BIA, Prob. Reg. 17, fol. 748r (Richard Bouthe, 1567). Cardmaker: BIA, Prob. Reg. 15/3, fol. 95r (Gilbert Wood, 1558).

[385] Capmakers: BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 270r (Robert de London, 1406); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 261v (John Been sr, 1447); vol. 2, fol. 158r (William Johnson, 1531). Girdlers: BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 499v (Alice, widow of William Cokkar, girdler, 1426); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 360r (William Robynson als Girdeler, 1479); vol. 2, fol. 91v (Robert Hewson, 1510). Hosier: YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 149v and BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1384−March 1554: Thomas Lytster, 1528. Haberdashers: BIA, Prob. Reg. 14, fol. 53v (Thomas Wright, 1554).

[386] YML, D&C wills, vol. 3, fol. 15r (William Richerdson, saucemaker, 1545); BIA, Prob. Reg. 7, fol. 62r (Agnes Leys, 1508); D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Thomas Fall, joiner, 1567.

[387] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 95 (Maurice Biront, 1510); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Noel Mores, 1538. For a discussion of Mores's stock and the state of publishing and stationary in sixteenth-century York, see D.M. Palliser and D.G. Selwyn, "The Stock of a York Stationer, 1538", *The Library*, 5th series, 27 (1972): 207–19.

[388] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 328v (John Whitby, 1473); vol. 2, fols 27r (Miles Arwom, 1500), 163v (Robert Loksmyth als Mawgham, 1532), (Richard Barwyth, 1531); vol. 5, fol. 70v (James Tailoure, 1574).

flowers and orphreys of gold.[389] Metalworkers also made other objects for the church, such as the two holy water vats ("halewatter fattes") in Bekwith's shop, the silver pax (*osculatorium argenti*) and tin chrismatory (*cresmatorium de lez tyn*) in John Colan's goldsmith's shop (1490) and the holy water vat, four sacring bells and censers made in William Thwaitt's founder's workshop (1512). Other items in these shops may also have been intended for use in church: Bekwith had two old bell clappers ("ij olde bell clappers"), Colan's shop contained sheets of book gold (*folios de lez booke gold*), a primer with two other books and a jet rosary (*par precularium de le jeitt*) while Thwaitt had twenty-six candlesticks and a taper dish for sale in his shop.[390]

Occupational specializations were also affected by political and religious change. The number of innkeepers and booksellers in the city rose sharply with the permanent establishment of the Council of the North in York in 1561, and following the Reformation, when the demand for many products made for church use was obliterated, James Taylour, an embroiderer and vestmentmaker, adapted to the fall in church business by expanding his production to include such Elizabethan fashion essentials as collars, ruffs, neckingers, handkerchiefs and coifs, while glaziers also diversified by concentrating on the provision of domestic glass windows.[391]

Thus, all artisans of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York specialized in one form or another, whether in the material they made their products from, the type of objects they chose to produce, or the market to whom such objects were sold. Prior to the Reformation, the church was one of the main consumers of many specialized products, particularly those objects produced in workshops situated near the Minster in the sampled streets of Petergate and Stonegate. Yet the Reformation, and the changes it brought with it, forced many to change their specialization, either by adopting an entirely new trade, by supplementing their income with an additional occupation such as innkeeping, or by diversifying to create new products for new markets, as did the glaziers of post-Reformation York.

Case study: the glaziers of York

The glaziers of York provide an excellent example not only of organization of production and specialization of work within a single craft, but also of a craft forced to change its particular

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[389] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Loksmyth, vestmentmaker, 1531; Ralph Bekwith, goldsmith, 1541.

[390] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Colan, 1490; William Thwaitt, 1512; Ralph Bekwith, 1541.

[391] David M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 167. According to Palliser, in 1596 the city corporation licensed sixty-four men and women as innholders. Stefania Perring, "The Cathedral Landscape of York: The Minster Close c.1500−1642", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (2010), 247−57; BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: James Taylour, 1574. For glaziers, see below.

specialization over time, as the Reformation's opposition to church decoration ended the demand for their services. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the city's glaziers were already organized into a handful of close-knit workshops of inter-related family firms specializing in the design and production of decorative stained glass windows for the churches of York and beyond. Yet the Reformation, and the resulting suppression of demand for stained glass windows for the church, forced the glaziers of York to find a different speciality in order for their craft to not only survive but to continue to thrive, as they transferred their primary focus to the provision of domestic glass for the houses of York's more prosperous residents.[392]

Although glazing contracts seldom survive, prior to the Reformation many of the glaziers included in the sample worked for the Minster during their career, while some also worked further afield. Matthew Petty (d.1478) was paid 56s 8d for glazing a new chapel at Topcliffe, twenty-four miles away from York; his son John (d.1508) left 13s 4d to Furness Abbey in Lancashire, over 100 miles away, stating in his testament that "I have wroght mych wark thare" (Fig. 2); and his son Robert carried out work in Durham at both the parish church of St Mary Magdalene and at Finchale Priory. John Petty also left glass to both York Minster and St Mary's Abbey, indicating that he had also worked at those institutions.[393]

Fig. 2   Angel, perhaps by John Petty, c.1475–1500, excavated from Furness Abbey, © Bill Wakefield[394]

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[392] For the presence of glazed windows in the sampled households of sixteenth-century York, see Chapter 3, 64, note 153; Chapter 6, note 495.

[393] Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late-Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 93; BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 123v (Matthew Petty, 1478); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 76v (John Petty, 1508), 145v (Robert Petty, 1528); Jasmine Allen, "An Excavated Panel of Stained Glass Depicting an Angel from Furness Abbey", *Vidimus* 31 (July/August 2009), accessed 23 January 2014, http://vidimus.org/issues/issue-31/panel-of-the-month/.

[394] Bill Wakefield, "Angel, Furness Abbey" (photograph, in Allen, "An Excavated Panel", 2009).

The Pettys are just one example of a family firm of glaziers operating in York in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Others include the Chaumbres and the Sharleys. Each firm would have been run by a master glazier employing several free, fully-trained glaziers as well as apprentices. The workshop of John Chaumbre (d.1451), for example, consisted of himself, his son Robert (d.1451) and at least four others glaziers: John Witton, Robert Hudson, Thomas Coverham and William Inglissh (d.1480). Chaumbre's sister married into the Petty family, while his brother, another John (d.1437), was also a glazier who himself worked in conjunction with at least two other glaziers, Robert Wakefeld (d.1415), who named Chaumbre as his master, and Thomas Benefeld (d.1423).[395] Thomas Sharley (d.1458) employed free glazier John Newsom and was followed in the family business by his son Robert, and both he and his widow (d.1462) chose William Inglissh to act as one of their executors.[396] The sons of John Newsom and William Inglissh also became glaziers in their own right, while it is likely that glazier Thomas Shirwyn's son Matthew was also learning the trade, as in his last will (1481) his father left him twenty-four sheaves of glass and all the tools of his craft.[397] By the time Thomas Alman followed in his father John's footsteps, becoming a glazier in 1555, in the period following the Reformation, it is probable that the bulk of this family's business lay in the creation and provision of clear glass windows for the homes of the city's more prosperous inhabitants.[398]

Another York glazier who appears to have been running a considerably-sized workshop is William Thompson. In his will of 1540, Thompson bequeathed craft equipment to three free glaziers, Richard Pillie, Ambrose Dunwich and Lawrence Spenser, and to two other men, who may have been apprentices. Six years later, his widow remembered four free glaziers in her will, three of whom were the above-named employees of her late husband. She also named Richard Pillie as her executor, leaving him "all the glasse abowte my house to take downe and to do what he will there

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[395] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 172r (Robert Wakefeld, 1415), 212v (Thomas Benefeld, 1423), 243v (John Chaumbre, 1437), 266r (John Chaumbre, 1451), 266v (John Witton, 1451), 267r (Richard Chaumbre, 1451). Thomas Coverham, William Inglissh and Robert Hudson were made free as glaziers in 1449, 1451 and 1454 respectively: Francis Collins, ed., *The Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, Surtees Society 96 (1897), 169, 171, 174. For Chaumbre's sister see Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, 93.

[396] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fols 380v (Thomas Sharley, 1458), 475r (Katherine Sharlay, 1462). Robert Sharlay gained the freedom of the city as a glazier in 1458 and John Newsom in 1442: Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 161, 178.

[397] Thomas Newsom was made free in 1471 and Thomas Inglissh in 1481: Collins, *Freemen of the City of York,* vol. 1., 191, 203; BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 112v (Thomas Shirwyn, 1481).

[398] John Alman was made free in 1540 and his son Thomas in 1555: Collins, *Freemen of the City of York,* vol. 1., 261, 276; BIA, Prob. Reg. 20, fol. 117v (John Alman, 1576).

with", further evidence that post-Reformation the York glaziers diversified, shifting the focus of their specialization from coloured church glass to (usually) clear domestic glass.[399]

Fig. 3   Glaziers' pit, c.1500, Blake Street, York. Scale unit 0.1m. ©YAT[400]

The master glazier would have supervised the construction of each window in his workshop, which was often located a considerable distance from the building for which the window was intended. It may be that, in contrast to the majority of artisanal occupations, glaziers' shops were not located on the same premises as their dwelling houses. The one surviving glazier's inventory included in the sample – that of William Thompson in 1540 – lists eleven different rooms or spaces pertaining to his household, none of which was a shop or workspace, although Thompson did keep five glass cases ("v casses to carie glase in") and a glass chest ("one olde glase chist") in one of his chambers ("an other chambre wher his saddels stand").[401] It is more likely, then, that glaziers worked together in a conveniently located workshop close to, but not a part of, their homes, probably in or near the glaziers' parish of St Helen, Stonegate. No complete glazier's workshop has been identified in York, but in 1972 the York Archaeological Trust uncovered a rectangular stone-lined and stone-flagged pit between Blake Street and Stonegate, in the parish of St Helen. The pit contained over 2,500 fragments of glass ranging in colour from red to pink to white and has been dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century (Fig. 3). One edge of the pit has a series of post holes against it

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[399]   YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 184v (William Thompson, 1540); vol. 3, fol. 16r (Agnes Thomson, 1546).

[400]   "Stone-lined pit base 2107", *AY 3/4*, Fig. 264.

[401]   BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: William Thompson, 1540.

which may be associated with its construction, perhaps used to secure work-boards or tables or to support a canopy or other protective covering over the glaziers and their creations (Fig. 4).[402]

Fig. 4   Glass works in Bohemia, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, early fifteenth century[403]

The master glazier would have designed the window panels, usually in close conjunction with the wishes of the donor, using pattern books which were often passed down through the family. Thus Thomas Sharley left his drawings (*partratoria*) to his son Robert, William Inglissh left his *picturis* to his son Thomas, and John Petty left all his scrolls ("scroes") to his brother Robert. Not having family in the glazing trade, William Thompson left his book of paintings ("portitours") to employee Richard Pillie, while Robert Preston (d.1503) bequeathed all his "scrowles" to Thomas Inglissh, son of his former colleague William Inglissh, and also left his apprentice all of his books that were suitable for teaching apprentices ("all my bookes that is sute for one prentesse of his leasste to lerne by").[404]

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[402] *AY 3/4*, 367; Gareth Dean, *Medieval York*, 128. For glaziers bequeathing tables and work-boards see: BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 380v (Thomas Sharley, 1457: tables and trestles); Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 71r (Robert Preston, 1503: work board); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 184v (4 work boards).

[403] "Glass works in Bohemia", Sir John Mandeville, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, Bohemia, c.1400-25, British Library, London, BL Additional MS 24189, fol. 16, accessed 19 March 2015, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=57700.

[404] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fols 380v (Thomas Sharley, 1458); Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 179v (William Inglissh, 1480); Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 71r (Robert Preston, 1503); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 76v (John Petty, 1508), 184v (William Thompson, 1540).

The glaziers, then, provide evidence for both organization of production and specialization of work. Production was organized into family firms or workshops employing a number of trained and apprentice glass workers under a master glazier. Workshops were probably located nearby, but separate from, the master glazier's residence, and would have contained worktables, tools, pattern books, coloured and white glass and waste pits into which glass offcuts could be swept. Post-Reformation, when the demand for stained glass windows was almost completely eliminated, York glaziers such as Thomas Alman, made free in 1555, must have adapted their specialization to focus on domestic glass windows. However, for the majority of the period, although they probably made some glass for domestic purposes, such as "the glasyn wyndowe" in William Thompson's own parlour, the York glaziers concentrated primarily on the design and construction of decorative church glass and, prior to the Reformation, York glaziers were sought after not only by religious institutions in York itself, but by those throughout the north of England.[405]

Conclusion

The object assemblages as described in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century documentary sources are composed of items which both testators and their contemporaries considered to be valuable while, for the most part, the assemblages revealed by archaeological investigation contain those objects which had been discarded, presumably when broken, and were no longer considered to be of any financial value. This discrepancy, whereby the archaeological and documentary records produce such contradictory evidence, provides a significant example of why an interdisciplinary approach is crucial to the study of York's material culture.

The documentary evidence suggests that new objects, innovations and styles were owned by residents of the city relatively soon after their first occurrence in the country, indicating that York was not a provincial backwater, but a thriving commercial city able to keep abreast of the latest trends and to provide its residents with new and fashionable products shortly following their introduction into England.

The domestic objects assigned the greatest financial value in contemporary inventories included plate, bedding and clothing, with the latter two at least increasing in both luxuriousness, style and cost during the sixteenth century. Inventory appraisals and self-assessment by testators of the financial value of their possessions, and especially of new goods, objects related to the household's occupation and the abovementioned most valuable domestic objects, indicates that both male and female householders were well aware of the financial value of the objects which they owned.

Shop tools, equipment and products, as well as those objects used in domestic production, were considered to be functionally valuable even when worth little financially, as evidenced by their

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[405] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: William Thompson, 1540.

separate itemization in will bequests and inventory listings. While tools and equipment were functionally valuable due to their indispensability in the production of new goods, either for the use of the household or for sale to provide the household with its income, the functional value of intermediary products, such as cloth and leather, was also influenced by the skill with which it had been made, which in turn reflected the price for which it could be sold. However, the functional value attributed to objects used in the production process is just one indication of the overwhelming importance of production, and its resulting revenue, to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century household. Attempts to maximize profit can be seen in both the organization of production and specialization of work, as illustrated by the case study of York's fifteenth- and sixteenth-century glaziers. Production was organized in both domestic and artisanal settings, as business enterprises expanded to include paid, and often fully trained, employees. Furthermore, many artisans, service providers and traders increasingly came to specialize in working with a certain material, creating a particular type of product, or adapting their product line in accordance with change, particularly after the Reformation, with the decreasing need for ecclesiastical products coinciding with an increased demand for books, accommodation, new innovations and fashionable décor and clothing in the city.

CHAPTER 5

Affective Value: The Creation of Emotion through Objects[406]

Introduction

Having discussed other types of value in the previous section, the focus of this chapter shifts to the emotional or affective value attributed to various objects by the very people who owned and used them. In contrast to the interdisciplinary approach used in previous chapters, this chapter relies almost solely on evidence found in wills, as in most cases the emotional value attributed to an object can only be accessed through an investigation of the ways in which its owner described and bequeathed that special object in his or her last will and testament.[407] Concentrating on three specific types of objects – those associated with, or bequeathed to, religion, personal items such as clothing and jewellery, and objects associated with past experiences, particularly life-cycle events – this chapter will investigate how objects become carriers of emotion and investments in the affective relationships of the testator with his or her family, friends and neighbours. It will conclude with a discussion of how familial values were reflected in the bequest of assemblages to regenerate households, followed by a case study examining the affective bequests created by an early sixteenth-century York resident.

The study of the history of emotions, though still in its infancy, has already contributed much to our understanding of the feelings and motivations of the people of the past. The work of Barbara Rosenwein, in particular, has provided insights, and instruction, in how such an investigation into the history of emotions might be undertaken.[408] Rosenwein recommends perusing all contemporary texts available to an emotional community – that is, a group, usually social, in which people share values and interests, privileging some emotions and downgrading others, with its own standards for expressing those emotions – and identifying the emotional terms used therein, in order to examine

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[406] A version of part of this chapter appears as "Affective Bequests: Creating Emotion in York Wills, 1400–1600", in *Understanding Emotions in Early Europe*, ed. Michael Champion and Andrew Lynch (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 273–89.

[407] It is also significant that the majority of bequeathed objects are made from materials that either would not have been readily discarded or would not survive burial. Archaeological finds bearing emotional inscriptions or family sigils could also be identified as affective objects; unfortunately none have yet been recovered datable to fifteenth- or sixteenth-century York.

[408] See, for example: Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions", *Passions in Context: International Journal for the History and Theory of Emotions* 1 (2010): 1–33 ; Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History", *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (2002): 821–45.

the emotional norms of that community.[409] While sound in theory, such a thorough approach is neither possible, nor even desirable, when, as here, the focus of the study is not the community itself, but its material culture, specifically, the objects the people of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York owned, used and lived with on a daily basis. Thus, in order to explore the emotional or affective value assigned to various objects, focus will be placed on the ways in which those objects are described and bequeathed in wills, becoming carriers of emotions and investments in the affective relationships of the testator with his or her emotional community of family, friends and neighbours.

The affective value of object bequests

Objects bequeathed in wills are often described in great detail, though rarely, if ever, using recognisably "emotional" terms such as those identified by Rosenwein in her "emotion word lists".[410] York testators used carefully chosen words to describe the personal and domestic possessions which they had singled out as bequests, in order to enhance culturally the value of the bequest and, consequently, to enhance the affection of its recipient both for the deceased and for the object itself. This practice, although also adopted in Latin wills, is more evident in wills written in English, suggesting that the testator's greater control over the composition of the document allowed him or her increased freedom to imbue his or her possessions with affective value. This chapter concentrates on three very specific ways in which an object could be provided with an affective value. The first involves bequests of religious objects to family and friends and, conversely, of household objects to the church, highlighting the emotional attachment the testator felt for religion in general and for the emotional community of his or her parish or intended recipients in particular. The second is through bequests of objects associated with the deceased's own body – particularly clothing, jewellery, weapons and beds and bedding. The third is the association of the bequeathed object either with an important moment in the testator's life-cycle, such as a wedding, childbirth or the death of a loved one, or with the testator's and recipient's past experience with the bequeathed object, using the shared experiences of the artefact to convey an impression of the special relationship between testator, object and beneficiary. The assignment of such affective value to their possessions suggests that the people of York felt an emotional attachment not only to the family, friends and neighbours to whom they left such bequests – their

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[409] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods", 12ff. For the definition of an "emotional community", see: Scot in Exile, "A question of emotion part 1: Q&A with Professor Barbara Rosenwein" (blog), 6 May 2009, accessed 23 January 2012, www.scotinexile.blogspot.com/2009/05/q-with-professor-barbara-rosenwein.html.

[410] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 40, 52–53. These lists are based on the works of Cicero and other classical writers, with English equivalents provided, and include words relating to emotions such as love, hate, sadness, joy etc. However, Rosenwein notes that there is as yet no consensus among modern scientists and scholars as to what constitutes an emotion, using "lust" and "depression" as examples of disputed terms: *ibid*., 53–54.

emotional community – but also to the objects themselves. Through such selective description, testators transformed these objects into carriers of emotions, as they sought to create or enhance an affective connection between themselves, their intended recipients and the bequeathed objects that would remain in the minds of the recipients long after the testators' deaths.

It could be argued that every single gift made in a will – whether of money, objects or even good wishes – is evidence of some emotion, most often affection, for the person or group to whom it is given. Yet in contrast to bequests of currency, when York testators bequeathed their personal and domestic possessions in their quest for remembrance, they used carefully chosen words to describe those objects, with each additional detail culturally enhancing the affective value of the bequest and, consequently, the value which the deceased placed on his or her relationship with the object's chosen recipient. Descriptives could include details of appearance, material, provenance, economic value and weight as well as relative terms such as "best" and "new" to denote the specialness of an object. Often the bequeathed object was provided with a biography, through the testator relating aspects of its history which bound it not only to the testator but also to other particular people, places, times or events, and the emotions associated with them. In other words, the bequeathed objects themselves became the carriers of the testator's emotions and investments in his or her affective relationships.[411]

Bequests symbolize the importance of the relationship between testator and recipient. In general terms, gifts in wills were given with the expectation that the beneficiary would reciprocate by remembering and praying for the deceased; thus the bequeathed object became a link, an aide-de-memoire, for the recipient of the testator. Some bequests were actually specified as such: John Morton (d.1431) gave the countess of Westmorland an English book called Gower *pro remembrancia*; Thomas Scauceby (d.1471) left his son a primer and amber rosary in exchange for prayers (*ad orandum specialiter pro anima mea*); William Cooke (d.1521) left his friend his jet beads *in signum memorancie mei*; and John Place (d.1572) granted his brother his best saddle,

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[411] Catherine Richardson and Elisabeth Salter both emphasize the importance of description in wills, although not in regard to the study of emotions: Catherine Richardson, "Household Objects and Domestic Ties", in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850–c.1550*, ed. Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 433–47; Elisabeth Salter, "Reworked Material: Discourses of Clothing Culture in Early Sixteenth-Century Greenwich", in *Clothing Culture 1350–1650: The History of Retailing and Consumption*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 179–91; Elisabeth Salter, *Cultural Creativity in the Early English Renaissance: Popular Culture in Town and Country* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), Chapter 4. Richardson does, however, write about the connection between description and emotion elsewhere, analysing the language used in two court cases revolving around personal possessions: Catherine Richardson, "'A very fit hat': Personal Objects and Early Modern Affection", in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 289–98.

bridle, trappers and other horse equipment "whiche I pray hime weare for my sake".[412] While to a certain extent all bequests are intended to inspire remembrance of the testator, it does not follow that every object bequeathed is a carrier of emotion. Sometimes an object is described simply in order that it may be identified, to distinguish it from another similar item, or to locate it within the house. This is not to say that these bequests lacked personal significance, simply that the text of the will itself does not reveal this information.

There are, however, certain types of object bequests in which the possessions themselves are clearly given affective value beyond their original economic or functional value, acting as carriers of emotion and investments in affective relationships. The most obvious examples include objects reflecting the testator's religious beliefs, objects belonging to the testator's body, such as clothing, jewellery, weaponry and personal bedding, and objects provided with a history of ownership or described with reference to their past use.

The affective value of religious objects

Bequests of both religious objects found within the home and everyday domestic possessions left to the church emphasized the emotional attachment the testator felt for both religion in general and his or her intended recipients in particular. As Jeremy Goldberg has noted, "the distance between the domestic and the holy within bourgeois culture appears not to have been that great: their homes contained religious images and painted hangings and their parish churches were filled with material objects that had formerly functioned for domestic use."[413] Sixty-three testators (12%) advertised their piety by describing and bequeathing religious items from their homes in their testaments. While we would expect chaplains, vicars and rectors to own a variety of religious items – such as the white chasuble with the alb and amice which vicar Richard Haukesworth leaves to his church of St Lawrence in 1464, or the printed mass book, hymnal and processioner which priest William Ferne leaves the same church almost one hundred years later – testamentary evidence suggests that at least some lay men and women also possessed, and presumably used, their own religious objects.[414]

Religious objects found within the home were usually left to family or household members, such as servants, or to religious individuals or institutions. Some may have been primarily decorative, like

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[412] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 653v (John Morton, 1431); Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 169r (Thomas Scauceby, 1471); Prob. Reg. 9, fol. 158r (William Cooke, 1521); Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 554r (John Place, 1572).

[413] P.J.P. Goldberg, "The Fashioning of Bourgeois Domesticity in Later Medieval England: A Material Culture Perspective", in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing and Household in Medieval England*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski and P.J.P. Goldberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 133.

[414] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 311r (Richard Haukesworth, 1464); BIA, Prob. Reg. 15/3, fol. 23v (William Ferne, 1558).

the alabaster head of St John the Baptist (*caput Sancti Johannis Baptiste de alabastre fabricatum*), silver-gilt agnus Dei (*unum agnus dei argentum et deauratum*) and silver crucifix (*unum crucifixum argentum*) owned by Cecily Overdo (d.1453) or the silver and gilt, pearl-decorated tablet depicting the salutation of the Virgin Mary which Hawise Aske (d.1450) left to her sister-in-law (*unam tablett argenteam et deauratam de Salutacione Beate Marie Virginis ornatam cum margaritis*).[415] Others were more likely to have been used in the home, at least occasionally, such as the priestly garment and newly bought missal (*unum vestimentum sacerdotale et unum Missale fere novum*) owned by Isabel Kerr (d.1458), or the curiously ornate and undoubtedly expensive blue vestment embroidered with gold leopards with an orphrey with images on it (*unum vestimentum blodii coloris intextum cum leopardis de auro cum uno orfras cum ymaginibus*) which Richard Thornton (d.1473) left to his parish church of St Lawrence.[416] At least four testators had, and presumably used, altarcloths in their homes, including John Porter (d.1466) who bequeathed to his parish church of St Michael-le-Belfrey two damask altarcloths, one decorated with the image of Christ standing in his tomb (*unum altercloith de damaske cum domino nostro Jhu Xpo stante in sepulcre*), Alison Clark (d.1509) who left a monk of Mount Grace priory the best of her three altarcloths ("oon of the best of the iij alter clothes"), and John Broune (d.1493) who owned not only a pair of painted altarcloths, but also matching curtains ("a payr of alter clothes, paynted of my coste, with the curtins").[417] By singling out as testamentary bequests the religious objects which they used in their own homes, testators were assigning an affective value to such pieces, creating an image of both themselves and the objects' recipients as pious, God-fearing folk, and of their households as spiritual and religious locales.

Religious books, especially primers, are also given as bequests in wills, and were presumably used by members of the domestic household in which they were located.[418] The greatest number were

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[415] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 264v (Hawise Aske, 1450), 275r (Cecily Overdo, 1453). Agnus Deis and crucifixes or crosses were fairly common bequests. See, for example, YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 338r (William Colyer, 1478: silver *agnus dei*); vol. 2, fols 174v (Robert Fons, 1536: gold *agnus Dei* with St Christopher on it), 179v (Christopher Holme, 1523: *agnus Dei* enclosed in silver); BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fols 118r (Ellen Swan, 1478: *agnus dei*), 263r (Henry Wyndill, 1485: silver cross); Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 61r (Miles Foster, 1533: cross enclosed in silver).

[416] James Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 2, Surtees Society 30 (1855), 214 (Isabel Kerr, 1458); BIA, Prob. Reg. 4, fols 215v (Richard Thornton, 1473). Other religious garments found in lay households include albs (YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 207r: Margaret Sympson, 1542; BIA, Prob. Reg. 7, fol. 62r: Agnes Leys, 1508) and a vestment worth 12s (Richard Wynder, 1505).

[417] BIA, Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 109r (John Porter, 1466); BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 425r (John Broune, 1493); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 82r (Alison Clark, 1509). John Thomson (d.1520) also bequeathed an altarcloth in his will (YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 123v).

[418] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 131r (Joan Harlam, 1401), 200v (John Bouche, 1420), 318r (Katherine Pacok, 1466), 344v (William Croxton, 1480); vol. 2, fol. 76v (John Petty, 1508: illuminated with gold); BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fols 51r (William Brame, 1442), 660r (Margaret Lokton, 1429); Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 169r (Thomas Scauceby, 1471).

bequeathed by Hawise Aske (d.1450) who left carefully described primers to five recipients including a goddaughter, the grandson of one of her late husbands and the kin of her other late husband: a primer late of Roger Aske, her second husband (*unam primarium quod quondam fuit Roger Aske, avi sui, nuper viri mei*); a primer adorned and gilt with a silver clasp (*unum primarium cum uno clasp argento parato et deaurato*); another primer (*unum aliud primarium*); a primer illuminated with gold and adorned and gilt with two silver clasps (*unum aliud primarium luminatum cum auro cum duobus clasps argento paratis et deauratis*); and a small primer adorned with a silver clasp which used to belong to the recipient's father (*unum parvum primarium cum uno clasp argento parato quod quondam fuit patris sui*).[419] Prior to the Reformation, psalters, missals, prayer books, a book of saints and a book of devotions are among the other religious books assigned an affective value through their inclusion as testamentary bequests in the wills of the lay people of York; post-Reformation religious book bequests included both Latin and English testaments and Protestant devotional tracts such as "The Footpath to Felicitie" and "Seven Sobbes of a sorrowful Soule for Sinne".[420]

Other religious objects, or objects featuring religious imagery, were also singled out as bequests in wills and described in great detail, further emphasizing the emotional and affective value placed on the objects themselves as well as their intended recipients, including Arras bedding embroidered with an image of the Virgin Mary (*unum lectum de Aras cum ymagine Beate Marie Virginis in eodem operato*), a mazer imprinted with the image of St Mary Magdalen and other saints (*unam murram in qua imprimitur ymago Sancte Marie Magdalene cum ceteris sanctis*), a gilt signet bearing the image of St Martin ("one signet of Synt Martene gyltyd"), a pair of "Peter keis" or keys

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[419] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 264v (Hawise Aske, 1450).

[420] Pre-Reformation: YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 200v (John Bouche, 1420: book of devotions; psalter); BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 660r (Margaret Lokton, 1429: book with placebo and dirige); Prob. Reg. 5, fols 28r (Bartholomew Tristram, 1482: missal), 263r (Henry Wyndill, 1485: book of prayer); Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 112r (John Northues, 1504: book of saints); Prob. Reg. 8, fol. 77r (William Beilby, 1511: parchment psalter limned with gold); Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 2, 214 (Isabel Kerr, 1457: missal). Post-Reformation: YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fols 118r (Robert Daragon, 1585: Latin testament; English testaments), 154v (John Hudlesse, 1599: "The Footpath to Felicity"; "The Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul"). "The Footpath to Felicitie" is a religious treatise written by clergyman Abraham Fleming in 1581 while "Seven Sobbes of a sorrowful Soule for Sinne" is an English verse translation of the seven Penitential Psalms written by William Hunnis, a gentleman of Edward VI's Chapel Royal, in 1553: Abraham Fleming, *The Foot Path to Felicitie* (1581; reprinted 1585 as the first of six tracts in *The Diamond of Devotion*), Early English Books Online, accessed 15 March 2015, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A00935.0001.001/1:4?rgn=div1;view=fulltext; William Hunnis, *The Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soul for Sinne: A translation of the Seven Penitential Psalms* (1583), mentioned in "Rhymed Bibles", New Advent, accessed 23 March 2010, www.newadvent.org/cathen/13026d.htm.

to heaven and a chalice.[421] During the decade following the Reformation, Agnes Thomson (d.1546) bequeathed two wall hangings bearing religious images: a painted cloth from her hall with a (probably Protestant) picture on it of "with deathe in his bosome"; and another hanging at her bedside "having upon it one image of oure Ladie".[422] That Thomson owned and displayed both Protestant and Catholic images in her home, and had no reservations about publicizing the fact in her testament, may suggest not only a lingering affection for the Blessed Virgin Mary post-Reformation, but also a lack of concern regarding the mingling of Protestant and Catholic beliefs and ideals.

By far the most common type of religious object described and bequeathed in wills, however, was the rosary, variously referred to as a *pater noster*, a *par precarum*, *par precum* or *par precularum* or, in English wills, a pair of beads. Prior to the 1530s, fifty-seven testators bequeathed a total of eighty-five rosaries made from various materials including amber, silver, coral, gold, jet, mistletoe, agate and chalcedony, with gauds (the larger beads used for counting prayers) of silver, gilt, pearl, coral or jasper. Several also had additional charms attached, including crucifixes, gems and rings, one of which is described as bearing the image of St Christopher (*j par precum de rubio l'ambre cum annulo deaurato cum ymagine Sancti Xpoferi eisdem annexo*).[423] Even after the Reformation, when the use of rosaries declined, or at least was not commonly acknowledged publicly, six testators left pairs of beads in their wills, three of which can be definitively identified as rosaries: "a pare of corall beades gauditt with silver and gilt with knagges on theym" (1536); "one paire of jeate beades the gaudies of theyme of ambar and jasper" (1546); and "one paire of almer beades with

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[421] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 323v (Isabel Saxton, 1470: Arras bedding); vol. 2, fol. 130v (Robert Morley, 1522: Peter keys); vol. 5, fol. 14v (Richard White, 1556: chalice); BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 27v (Robert Thixendale, 1482: mazer); Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 71r (Robert Preston, 1503: gilt signet).

[422] YML, D&C wills, vol. 3, fol. 16r (Agnes Thomson, 1546). I have been unable to identify the image referred to as "with deathe in his bosome", but the phrase may be a reference to the first Epistle of John (1 John 3.14): "He that loveth not *his* brother abideth in death," with the Geneva Study Bible noting that whoever nourishes hatred towards brethren "fosters death in his bosom": "1 John 3.14", Bible Hub, accessed 10 February 2014, http://biblehub.com/commentaries/1_john/3-14.htm.

[423] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 131r (Joan Harlam, 1401: amber rosary with silver crucifix), 247r (Agnes Lastyngham, 1439: red amber rosary with gilt ring bearing the image of St Christopher), 255v (Agnes Kirkeby, 1444: amber rosary with silver crucifix), 264v (Hawise Aske, 1450: rosary with pearl gauds and a pearl knob), 275r (Cecily Overdo, 1453: amber rosary with a silver ring of truthplight), 294r (Robert Fawsett, 1458: jet rosary with a ring hanging from it), 298v (Agnes Marsshall, 1461: coral rosary with silver-gilt gauds and silver-gilt cross hanging from it), 309v (Agnes Selby, 1464: coral rosary with silver-gilt gauds and a silver-gilt crucifix and gold clasp hanging from it), 338r (William Colyer, 1478: coral rosary with silver gauds and a silver-gilt gimmal ring; amber rosary with a jet ring); vol. 2, fol. 76v (John Petty, 1508: pair of coral beads with rings and jewels on them); BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 113v (Agnes Shirwod, 1481: silver-gilt rosary with crucifix; coral rosary with silver-gilt crucifix decorated with coral); Raine, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 2, 214 (Isabel Kerr, 1457: coral rosary with gold signet ring attached).

silver gawdies" (1546).[424] However no rosaries are mentioned after 1547 when their use was officially banned by Edward VI.

The reverse practice also occurred, with testators leaving everyday domestic objects to the church, with the clear intention that these household objects be used for religious purposes. Through such bequests of personal or domestic possessions to religious persons or institutions, the testator provided these objects with an affective value, creating a more personal connection between the testator and the church. Paradoxically, the same bequests were also intended to create a more public association between the testator and the church in the mind of his or her emotional community, as testators often left instructions as to how their personal objects were to be publicly used or displayed, openly advertising the affective value placed upon the object by its former owner. Richard North (d.1515), for example, left two latten candlesticks to the high altar in his parish church of St Margaret, Walmgate, specifying that they were to be used at Christmas and Easter ("to honour the sacremente on Xponmesse [Cristenmesse] day and Pasche day"), Isabel Saxton (d.1470) left Arras bedding with an image of the Virgin Mary worked on it to be hung in the high choir of her parish church of St Michael-le-Belfrey (*lego ad usum dicte ecclesie unum lectum de Aras cum ymagine Beate Marie Virginis in eodem operato ad suspendendum in summo choro eiusdem ecclesie*), while Robert Esyngwald (d.1443) left bedding with a red worsted tapet to serve in the chapel of St Mary Magdalene in Bootham on her feast day for as long as it lasted (*j lectum cum tapeto de rubio worsted ad deserviendum in capella Beate Marie Magd' in Bowthom ibidem, deserviturum in festis Beate Marie Magd' quam diu durare valeant*).[425]

Items of household linen, especially tablecloths, towels and bedding, were among the most common object bequests left to churches (Table 23). Sometimes testators gave the linen to a particular altar within the church and/or specified that the item was to be used as an altarcloth, and it is likely that most linen bequests were intended to be used in this way, particularly those of larger items such as cloths, tablecloths, sheets, coverlets and bedding. Joan Hothom (d.1476), for example, left Belfrey high altar a linen tablecloth to be used as an altarcloth (*unam mappam de panno linea ad unum altercloth*), Alice Bedale (d.1415) left a coverlet to the same altar (*j coverlet ad deserviendum ibidem*), and Isabel Baiseburne (d.1521) gave a coverlet to lie before the high altar (*ad iacendum coram summo altari*) of her parish church of St Helen. Katherine Pacok (d.1466), widow of a St Mary Castlegate man, clearly wanted to emphasize her affective relationship both with the parish in which she lived while married and with St Michael-le-Belfrey

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[424] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 174v (Robert Fons, 1536: pair of coral beads with silver-gilt gauds and knags); vol. 3, fol. 16r (Agnes Thomson, 1546: pair of jet beads with amber and jasper gauds); BIA, Prob. Reg. 13, fol. 304v (Janet Brerey, 1546: pair of amber beads with silver gauds).

[425] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 149v (Robert Esyngwald, 1443); Prob. Reg. 9, fol. 18v (Richard North, 1515); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 323v (Isabel Saxton, 1470).

where she lived during her widowhood, for in her will she left her best tablecloth and towel to the high altar of St Mary's (*optimam meam mappam et optimum meum tuellum ibidem deservituras*) and her second-best tablecloth to the Belfrey high altar (*optimam meam mappam propter unam ibidem deservituram*).[426] While both Nicola Lowe and Katherine French found gifts of household linen to the church to be typically female bequests in which "women used their notions of home economy and domesticity to act out their piety", this was not the case in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York where men were almost as likely not only to bequeath their household linens to the church but also to specify a particular use for such gifts.[427]

Table 23: Pre-Reformation bequests of personal and household objects to religious[428]

Bequests	Linen	Clothing	Jewellery	Occupational items[429]	Other[430]
By men	6	3	3	8	10
By women	18	5	12	0	9
Total	24	8	14	9	19

Churches were also the recipients of bequests of items of the testator's own clothing and jewellery, also clearly intended for display or use within the church. Kerchiefs and belts or girdles are the items of clothing most commonly bequeathed. The former could be used as a corprax – the piece of

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[426] BIA, Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 255v (Joan Hothom, 1476); Prob. Reg. 9, fol. 190v (Isabel Baiseburne, 1521); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 181r (Alice Bedale, 1415), 318r (Katherine Pacok, 1466).

[427] Katherine French, "Women in the Late Medieval English Parish", in *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Carpenter Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 160; Nicola A. Lowe, "Women's Devotional Bequests of Textiles in the Late Medieval English Parish Church, c.1350–1550", *Gender & History* 22, no. 2 (2010): 415. Male bequests of household linen to the church: BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 149v (Robert Esyngwald, 1443: bedding to St Mary Magdalene chapel); Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 61r (Miles Foster, 1533: tablecloth for an altarcloth to St Peter-le-Willows); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1 fols 291r (Nicholas Johnson, 1459: pair of sheets to St Helen's high altar), 293r (John Byggan, 1460: towel to Belfrey high altar), 366r (John Wylkynson, 1486: four ells of cloth to Belfrey high altar). For other female bequests of household linen to the church, see: BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 502v (Agnes Walker, 1426: codd and towel to St Margaret's high altar); Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 255v (Joan Hothom, 1476: towel to St Sampson church to serve there; codd to Belfrey high altar to serve there); Prob. Reg. 7, fol. 62r (Agnes Leys, 1508: coverlet to St Lawrence high altar); Prob. Reg. 9, fols 79r (Margaret Masherudder, 1518: bedspread to St Helens high altar); YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 255v (Agnes Kirkeby, 1444: towel to Belfrey high altar), 290v (Joan Cotyngham, 1459: tablecloth to Belfrey high altar), 298v (Agnes Marsshall, 1461: to Belfrey high altar towel and tablecloth for an altarcloth), 321v (Agnes Orlowe, 1469: towel to Belfrey high altar); vol. 3, fol. 16r (Agnes Thomson, 1546: towel to Belfrey lady altar).

[428] Bequeathed by a total of twenty-three men and twenty-five women.

[429] Comprising: carpenters' tools; glass; masons' tools; and a brass doubler mould. Also included in this category are pewter vessels and a latten taper dish (given by pewterers) and brass pots (given by a founder).

[430] Comprising: five brass pots; a basin with ewer; two mazers; twelve silver spoons; five candlesticks; candle; two pairs of cruets; and a chalice.

cloth on which the consecrated Host sat – and thus would have occupied arguably the most important place in the church. Widow Alison Clark (d.1509) specifies such a use for the kerchief which she bequeathed to the parish church of Moor Monkton, probably the parish of her birth ("a fyne curchiff for a corprax").[431] Belts and girdles could either be worn by a church officiant or used to decorate a statue or image within the church. Thus two widows left to their parish church of St Margaret's "my best gyrthill" (1494) and my best silver girdle (*optimam meam zonam argentem*) (1496) respectively, while Thomas Danby (d.1472) left a girdle to the image of St Margaret (*unam zonam ... ymagini Sanct Margaret*) in the same church.[432]

Very occasionally other items of the testator's own clothing were bequeathed to the church. As mentioned above, some historians have claimed that such bequests of household linen or the testator's own clothes were a distinctly female preserve; that "these objects were so feminized as to function as identifying signs for women," and that they "proclaimed both her gender and her spiritual intentions at a time when women had no public authority within the all-male hierarchy of the church".[433] While it is true that women do make a greater number of such bequests, it would be wrong to discount those made by men as being "feminine" or as anomalies. Rather, as Katherine French suggests, "some of the differences in the items left as bequests by men and women can be explained by the fact that widows were usually breaking up households, whereas men often had a family that still needed provisioning, which meant leaving the household intact."[434] Men in York did leave household linen and clothing to the church. In fact, the only testator in the York sample to bequeath a substantial piece of clothing to the church, rather than an accessory such as a kerchief or girdle, was male: in 1508 John Petty, glazier, former innkeeper and mayor of York at the time of his death, left his camlet jacket to the Lady Choir in St Michael-le-Belfrey to be made into a vestment ("my chamlett jakett ... to make a vestement of"), and to the Lady Altar at St Helen, Stonegate, his velvet jacket to be made into a vestment together with the velvet sleeves if the jacket alone proved insufficient ("my jaket of welwit ...to make thaime a vestment; and if it be noght sufficient to make on vestment, take my velvet slevys to make it owt").[435]

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[431] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 82r.

[432] BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 312r (Agnes Maners, 1494); Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 77v (Thomas Danby, 1472); Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 485r (Agnes Appilby, 1496). For other bequests of kerchiefs, girdles or belts to the Church, see YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 323v (Isabel Saxton, 1470: girdle); vol. 2, fols 148r (Alice Wattirton, 1528: kerchief), 207r (Margaret Sympson, 1542: kerchief); BIA, Prob. Reg. 9, fol. 79r (Margaret Masherudder, 1518: girdle).

[433] See, for example: French, "Women in the Late Medieval English Parish", 160; and especially: Lowe, "Women's Devotional Bequests", 407–29; quotes at 408, 407.

[434] French, "Women in the Late Medieval English Parish", 160.

[435] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 76v (John Petty, 1508).

It was, however, mainly female testators who left their jewellery to the church, usually specifying exactly where such items were to be displayed. Shrines were popular destinations for beads, rosaries, rings and brooches. Alison Clark (d.1509), for example, bequeathed her best coral beads with silver-gilt gauds ("my best beddes of corall with silver gawdies gilted") to the Corpus Christi shrine in York Minster, where she wished to be buried next to her first husband, to be an ornament there ("to be an onowrment þerunto") and the gold brooch from the same beads to a statue of St William's head ("the bruche of gold at the same beddes to Sainct William hed"). Isabel Saxton (d.1470) left her best rosary to the guild of Corpus Christi of York to hang from their shrine (*optimum meum par precum ad pendendum super feretrum gilde corporis Xpi Ebor'*) and Sissota Schupton (d.1405) left her amber beads to the candle before the image of the salutation of the Virgin Mary which she had founded in her parish church (*lego sustentacioni unius cerei coram ymagine salutacionis Beate Marie per me inventi meum par del laumberbedes*), surely hoping that the presence of her own jewellery on the image would serve to remind parishioners of its foundress's piety, generosity and affection for both her church and fellow worshippers.[436] Men also bequeathed jewellery in the same way, although less commonly: John Bouche (d.1420) left an amber rosary (*j par precum de l'aumbre*) to the abbot of Selby; chaplain William Colyer (d.1478) left to the shrine of the Corpus Christi guild a coral rosary with silver gauds and a silver-gilt clasp (*unum par precularum de corall' cum gaudys argentis cum uno gemyll argento et deaurato*); and in 1533 weaver Miles Foster left "my cros closid in silver" to his parish church of St Lawrence.[437]

In contrast, male testators alone seem to have bequeathed to the church the tools or products of their crafts. In 1475 pewterer Robert Shirwin (d.1475) left the nunnery of Moxby ten shillings-worth of pewter vessels (*in vasis electrium ad valorem x s*), presumably made by him himself, and four years later another pewterer, Ralph Hall, left a brass doubler mould ("j dublar muld brasse") to the Lady Chantry in his parish church of St Helen, Stonegate. Glazier John Petty (d.1508) left ten sheaves of Rhenish glass ("x shaffe Renyshe glase") to St Mary's Abbey works, and another ten sheaves to the Minster works along with six tables of Normandy white glass ("vj tabyls of Normandy white glase, and x sche of Renyshe glase"). The Minster works was also the recipient of various building tools, such as those left by carpenter John Couper (d.1506) and mason Christopher Horner (d.1523). Perhaps the most generous bequest of this type occurred in 1522 when merchant

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[436] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 323v (Isabel Saxton, 1470), vol. 2, fol. 82r (Alison Clark,1509); BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 232r (Sissota Schupton, 1405). For other women leaving jewellery to the Church see: YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 148v (Joan Bradeshawe, 1408: broken gold ring with two pearls to shrine of St William of York), 153v (Agnes Storrour, 1410: gold ring to shrine of St William of York), 275r (Cecily Overdo, 1453: amber rosary to shirne of Corpus Christi of York); BIA, Prob. Reg., 5, fol. 118r (Ellen Swan, 1478: gilt ring to shrine of St William; agnus Dei to shrine of Corpus Christi); Prob. Reg. 8, fol. 70r (Janet Bukkill, 1510: pair of amber beads to St Margaret's).

[437] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 200v (John Bouche, 1420), 338r (William Colyer, 1478); BIA, Prob. Reg. 11, fol. 61r (Miles Foster, 1533).

and current mayor of York, Paul Gillour, left his entire shop in Malton to Malton church upon the condition that his name, and those of his wives and children, be added to the church's bead-roll. It has already been established in the previous chapter that such craft tools and products were considered to have a high functional value, being crucial to the production of objects whose sale provided the household with its income.[438] Yet, by bequeathing tools and products to the church, artisans also imbued the bequeathed objects with additional affective value, reflecting their regard for both the objects themselves and the institution to which the items were left.

Such affective bequests to parish churches or chapels, especially of personal and domestic objects intended for display within the church, not only emphasized testators' membership in, and affection for, the emotional community of that parish, "positioning [them] within the established order of the church", but also served as a posthumous reminder of that person to other worshippers, "strengthen[ing] associations between an individual and his or her parish church."[439] Or, in the words of Nicola Lowe, "the right sort of gift would establish the donor's pious credentials, enhance his or her social standing within the parish and attract the community's all-important intercessory and memorial prayers."[440]

Table 24: Post-Reformation bequests of personal and household objects to religious[441]

Bequests:	Linen	Clothing	Jewellery	Occupational items[442]	Other[443]
By men	0	0	0	2	3
By women	2	1	0	0	0
Total	2	1	0	2	3

Following the break with Rome, there was a marked decline in affective bequests of personal and domestic possessions to the church, but whereas the practice had ceased completely in many places, in York it had instead evolved (Table 24).[444] In 1558, rather than bequeathing their own

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[438] See Chapter 4, 127–9. BIA, Prob. Reg. 4, fol. 92r (Robert Shirwin, 1475); Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 268v (Ralph Hall, 1479); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 50v (John Couper, 1506), 76v (John Petty, 1508), 132v (Paul Gillour, 1522), 135v (Christopher Horner, 1523). For more on the York glaziers see Chapter 4, 131–36.

[439] Lynne Bowdon, "Redefining Kinship: Exploring Boundaries of Relatedness in Late Medieval New Romney", *Journal of Family History* 29 (2004): 412; Richardson, "Household Objects", 438.

[440] Lowe, "Women's Devotional Bequests", 413.

[441] Bequeathed by a total of five men and three women.

[442] Comprising linen cloth bequeathed by a tailor and a fuller.

[443] Comprising: a letter (1536); a chalice (1556); a Flanders chest (1558).

[444] See, for example, Richardson, "Household Objects", 444.

clothes or household linen as might have been the case a few decades before, two practitioners of cloth-based occupations – tailor Henry Drury and walker John Sawndwith – left to their parish church of St Margaret, Walmgate "as muche lyninge clothe as wyll make a albe" and "one lyne shette ... to make ij altar clothes" respectively. However, in the following year, in accordance with pre-Reformation custom, Isabel Wetherall left two of her own household towels to the same church "for to goo aboute the churche when the folk receaves".[445] Perhaps the existence – and acceptance – of these bequests can be explained by the date of the testaments. The two former bequests were made towards the end of the reign of Mary I, a staunch Catholic. And although the latter dates to early in the reign of Elizabeth I, it was written one month before she passed her Act of Supremacy, although probate was successfully granted well after this, in 1560. Similarly, in 1556, during Mary's reign, alderman and former mayor Richard White included amongst his testamentary bequests a chalice worth £3 to the church of Edlingham, where he had been born. He died seven years later, in the sixth year of Elizabeth's reign, yet the bequest must not have been problematical, as probate was granted.[446]

One alternative to making affective bequests to the church or to disbanded guilds post-Reformation, was to emphasize other types of community-based membership through the bequest of personal possessions, as did John Dyneley (d.1579), a tailor and alderman who left "a neste of goblettes duble gilte [and] two great saltes with a cover duble gilte" to the lord mayor and commonalty of York, and cordwainer William Hebden (d.1589), who added affective value to his silver spoon engraved with the letter "a" by bequeathing it to his own craft of cordwainers.[447] Although it is impossible to state with certainty that these men made a deliberate choice to recognize and reward these non-religious organizations as a result of Reformation reforms, it is notable that the only object bequests made to community-based organizations prior to the Reformation consisted of craft equipment rather than personal possessions.[448]

The affective value of objects belonging to the testator's body

Objects belonging to the testator's own body, such as clothing, jewellery, weaponry and bedding, have a more personal connection to the deceased than other domestic possessions, as these are items which belonged to and were used by the testator himself or herself, rather than by members

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[445] BIA, Prob. Reg. 15/3, fols 1r (Henry Drury, 1558), 96r (John Sawndwith, 1558); Prob. Reg. 16, fol. 86v (Isabel Wetherall, 1559).

[446] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fols 14v (Richard White, 1556, proved December 1563).

[447] BIA, Prob. Reg. 21, fol. 272r (John Dyneley, 1579); YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 127v (William Hebden, 1589).

[448] Other object bequests to community groups, all post-Reformation, include: YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 194r (Denise Gokman, 1541: tablecloth to the shoemakers' guild); vol. 5, fol. 101r (Richard Calome, 1580: wine to the master and brethren of the tailors' guild).

of the household. Bequests of such personal items thus signify a close emotional link between testator, object and recipient, as each time the new owner wore or used the bequeathed item he or she would presumably be reminded of its former owner.

Clothing the naked is one of the seven corporal works of mercy, a spiritual requirement for the soul, and several testators did leave gowns – or money to buy gowns – to a specified number of poor people attending their funeral.[449] However, clothing was also a mark of social and economic status and so bequests of clothing had to be appropriate to the status of the beneficiary.[450] Thus, the testator's own clothes were usually bequeathed not to the poor but to members of the same social and economic circle, and especially to family and members of the household. Moreover, often these items were individually described – some in great detail – emphasizing the object's value, both financially and culturally, and consequently also emphasizing the affective value of the object as well as that placed on the recipient by the donor.

In this sample of wills, 286 testators (53%) bequeathed items of their own clothing, sixty (11%) bequeathed pieces of jewellery, and fifty-nine (11%), all male, bequeathed their personal weapons or armour. Although bequests of such personally used items would always have been imbued with affective value, in some cases the testator specifically stated that the object bequeathed was one he or she personally wore, further increasing the affective value of the bequest. Agnes Marshall (d.1462), for example, specified that the gold ring she was leaving to her niece was the best of the three that she herself wore on her own fingers (*optimum meum anulum auro de illis iij anulis auri quibus utor super dignitos meos*).[451]

One of the most valuable items of clothing owned by York's men and women was the girdle. The most precious were made of costly fabrics such as silk or velvet and were decorated with silver and gilt. Consequently these were usually left to the testator's children or other family members, but were occasionally given to friends or household servants and described in a way that enhanced the affective value of such bequests. Widow Agnes Orlowe (d.1469), despite having at least one surviving child, chose to leave two of her girdles – one of red silk decorated with silver (*zonam meam de rubio serico argento paratam*) and the other of blue silk decorated with silver (*meam zonam de blodo serico argento paratam*) – to two household servants. Although neither of these

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[449] For gifts of clothes as acts of charity, see: P.H. Cullum and P.J.P. Goldberg, "Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: 'To the Praise of God and the Use of the Poor'", *Northern History* 29 (1993): 29; Sheila Sweetinburgh, "Clothing the Naked in Late Medieval East Kent", in *Clothing Culture 1350–1650: The History of Retailing and Consumption*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 109–21.

[450] Sweetinburgh, "Clothing the Naked", 109, 112, 117.

[451] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 298v (Agnes Marshall, 1462).

was her "best", which she instructed her executors to sell, such gifts – personally worn by the donor herself and of relatively high economic value – were symbols of the regard and affection which Agnes had both for the girdles and for these women of her household.[452]

Some items of clothing were afforded much greater description, adding to their affective value. When Joan Cotyngham bequeathed her two tabards in 1459, the amount of detail she included in the description of each illustrates not only the quality and decoration of the garments but also her affection for them, and consequently her affection for the tabards' recipients. If the testator wished only to differentiate one tabard from the other, she could have simply noted that one was green and the other blue. The actual descriptions are far more intricate: she left to Joan Soll her best tabard of dark green on the outside, lined with light blue and sewn round with silk (*meum melius colobium de intenso viridi ex parte exteriori, duplicatam cum remisso blodo, circumsutam cum serico*) and to her neighbour (*vicina*) Maud Danyell her tabard of dark blue, lined with green and sewn round with woollen embroidery (*meum colobium de intenso blodo, duplicatum cum viridem, circumsutum cum crewles*). In describing the first tabard as her "best", trimmed with silk rather than wool, she was not only ranking her garments, but also the affection which she felt for the respective recipients. The tabards themselves became symbols of Joan's affection for the two women who would wear them in the future.[453]

As mentioned above, it was not only the testator's own clothing that could act as a personal connection between giver and receiver, but also other objects belonging to the testator's body, such as jewellery, weapons, and even the bedding on which he or she slept. Miles Arwom (d.1500) carefully described the bedding which he left to his son-in-law: "þe bed þat I lyon, that is to say on feder bed with bouster, blanketes, shetes with coverynge of red tapitre warke and halfe on dosen qwhysynges with pyllycans". By specifying that the bequeathed bed was his own, Miles was not only suggesting that it was the best bed in his home, as befitted the head of the house, but was also emphasizing its intimate connection with his own person and, in giving it to his son-in-law, judging him worthy of owning and using that same bed. Other testators similarly added affective value to bequests of bedding by specifying that the objects gifted had belonged to their own bed. William Hill (d.1558) left his servant Agnes "the fether bed that I lye on, wythe a mattresse, a bolster and a pillowe withe pillobere, two blankettes, a payre of shetes [and] one coverlet that I lye in", while Sissota Schupton (d.1405) specified that the sheets she was leaving to Sissota del Hill, a poor little girl (*paupercule*) who was probably named after the testator, were the very ones she was lying on when writing her will (*j par linthiaminum in quibus nunc iaceo*).[454]

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[452] *Ibid.*, fol. 321v (Agnes Orlowe, 1469).

[453] *Ibid.*, fol. 291r (Joan Cotyngham, 1459).

[454] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 27r (Miles Arwom, 1500); BIA, Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 232r (Sissota Schupton, 1405); Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 290v (William Hill, 1558). For other testators bequeathing

The affective value of objects associated with past experiences

The affective value of bequeathed objects was further enhanced when their donors provided details of their past history, either concerning their previous ownership or their past use. Male and female testators alike often bequeathed objects which had formerly belonged to a deceased spouse; these were usually given to the couple's children or grandchildren. Such bequests remained common throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and would always have increased the affective value of the object. As mentioned above, Hawise Aske (d.1451) left her grandson a primer which had belonged to her late husband, Roger, who was not only the boy's grandfather, but also his namesake. Two widows (d.1542 and 1572) specified that the gowns which they left to their sons had formerly belonged to their late husbands, creating a connection between mother, father, child and bequeathed garment, while stimulating the child's affection for both of his parents. In one case, such a connection was tangible: the carpetcloth which Lady Jane Calome (d.1582), widow of York mayor Richard Calome, left to their son William had her late husband's full name embroidered across it ("my beste carpet clothe with these woordes Richarde Calome wroughte thereon").[455]

Jewellery was also identified in testaments as having belonged to a deceased spouse and was, again, usually bequeathed to the couple's children, and especially to daughters. Five girls or women and one man inherited beads or rings, or in one case a coffer for storing the same, that had belonged to their mothers, either as sole bequests or together with items of clothing. One bequest, however, shows particular attention to detail as Robert Fons (d.1536) left his daughter all of her late mother's beads and girdles, which he then proceeded to itemize: a gold agnus Dei with St Christopher on it, a pair of coral beads gauded with silver and gilt with knags on them, a pair of amber beads, two demi-girdles and one with silver and gilt rowels ("one agnus dei of gold with Sanct Xpofer upon it, a pare of corall beades gauditt with silver and gilt with knagges on theym, a pare of awmer beades, two demy girdiles and one with rolles silver and gilt").[456]

Not all bequeathed objects that were described in terms of their former ownership had belonged to family members. William Selby (d.1427) bequeathed a plain silver bowl with a cover described as

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beds and bedding specified as being their own, see: BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 475r (Katherine Sharlay, 1463); Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 99r (Simon Brigges, 1504); D&C orig. wills, microfilm, reel 1240, 1554−79 (Allison Pyllye, 1558; Joan Tho[mson], 1559); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 82r (Alison Clark, 1509); vol. 5, fols 116v (Agnes Reade, 1585), 128r (Jane Hebden, 1589).

[455] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 264v (Hawise Aske, 1451); vol. 2, fol. 207r (Margaret Sympson, 1542: father's gown); vol. 5, fol. 104v (Jane Calome, 1582); BIA, Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 215r (Isabel Freman, 1572: father's gown).

[456] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fols 27r (Miles Arwom, 1500: blue lined gown, coral beads to daughter), 76v (John Petty, 1508: coral beads with rings and jewels to daughter), 134v (William Wright, 1523: beads to daughter), 174v (Robert Fons, 1536); vol. 5, fol. 118r (Robert Daragon, 1585: gold ring to son; coffer to daughter); BIA, Prob. Reg. 5, fol. 425r (John Broune, 1493: beads with silver gauds and girdle to daughter).

previously belonging to the Master of St Leonard's hospital (*unum ciphum argenteum planum coopertum quiqunque fuit Magistri Sancti Leonardi*), John Eden (d.1521) a great standing crater with a gold cover which once belonged to Master John Perot, precentor of York Minster (*unam magnam cratheram stantem cum auriato coopertorio que nuper pertinuit Magistro Johanni Perote*), and John Chapman (d.1531) a bed canopy had from the executors of Master Henry Carnbull, archdeacon of York (*lez testour quo habui ab executoribus Magistri Henrici Carnebull*); each further enhanced the affective value of his bequest by emphasizing the object's association with an important York personage.[457] When York vintner John Petyclerk (d.1426) bequeathed to John Morton "a piece of silver after the fashion 'de buttercoppes', and gilt at either end", he emphasized the object's decoration and fashionability. Yet just five years later, when John Morton bequeathed the same piece of silver in his own will, he described it as a silver bowl with a cover which he had received as a legacy from John Petyclerk (*unum ciphum argenti coopertum, quem nuper habui ex legato Johannis Petyclerk*). For Morton, the bowl's style and decoration was not as important as its affective value, provided by the link to its previous owner.[458]

The emotion invested in the bequeathed object was increased even further when the biography provided for the object involved an event of great emotional significance. Girdles, mentioned above as being one of the most valuable items of clothing, are the only pieces of clothing that three-time widow Ellen Stokdale specified as bequests in her will of 1507, leaving one to each of her five daughters and one to her step-daughter. Her two unmarried daughters received the "best gyrdyll" and "best gyrdyll next", while two other daughters received "oon gyrdyll with a gold crosse and a smalle harnes gylt" and "oon gyrdyll sylver harnest" respectively. Yet the remaining two girdles were not only described by their appearance, but were also provided with additional details of biography, greatly adding to the emotional meaning of the gifts. Ellen left Isabel Dickonson, her step-daughter, daughter of her late husband John Stokdale, a girdle of black silk and gold of the old fashion which had belonged to Isabel's mother ("oon gyrdil of blak sylk and gold of thold facion, wich was hir moders"). Thus, Isabel's inheritance was imbued not only with

[457] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 227r (William Selby, 1423); vol. 2, fol. 125v (John Eden, 1521); BIA, Prob. Reg. 10, fol. 52v (John Chapman, 1528). Chapman also bequeaths a piece of silver-gilt which he describes as having been bought from George Gaile, mintmaster of York at that time, and later alderman, sheriff and mayor, and a diamond ring described as being a gift from Master William Claiburgh, probably the archdeacon of Worcester (d.1534) who was a prebendary in St Sepulchre's Chapel at York. For this identification of Claiburgh and for the wills of Master Henry Carnbull and Master John Perot, see James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 5, Surtees Society 45 (1864), 28, 98, 241n; For George Gaile, see: "GALE, George (by 1490−1556), of York", The History of Parliament, accessed 5 March 2014, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/gale-george-1490-1556.

[458] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 653v (John Morton, 1431). For Petyclerk's will, see James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 1, Surtees Society 4 (1836), 15 note.

the affection of her step-mother Ellen who gave it to her, and with her own culturally embedded knowledge of its worth, but also with her affection for her deceased mother who used to wear the same girdle herself. The final girdle bequeathed by Ellen was left to her daughter Margery and was the girdle that Ellen had worn when she married Margery's father ("oon girdill silver harnest and gilt wych was my weddyng girdill with my husband Johnson, read sylk of the baksyde") thus instilling Margery's girdle, which she would presumably wear on her own wedding day, with the emotions associated with the marriage of her own father and mother.[459]

As well as wedding girdles, wedding rings were also regularly assigned affective value in wills, as were rings of trothplight, all recognisably emotional objects in and of themselves, representing love and commitment. Wedding rings are perhaps the only possessions mentioned in the wills of this sample that can be definitively identified as heirlooms. They were always left to family, and usually to the owner's own blood-relations. Thus, widow Maud Brown (d.1493) left her wedding ring to her grandmother and John Sawndwith (d.1558) left his wife's wedding ring to his granddaughter, while Joan Harlam (d.1401) bequeathed her wedding ring (*anulum auri cum quo fuerat despousata*) to her father, despite the fact that her husband was still alive at the time of her death.[460] Trothplight, or promise, rings found a wider variety of recipients, with Cecily Overdo (d.1453) and William Colyer (d.1478) leaving silver rings of trothplight (*uno annulo argenti de Trouthplyght*; *j anulum argentem hent unum trouth plight*) to a maid-servant and kinswoman respectively, while Lambert Tymonson (d.1488) left to Margaret, wife of Richard Patoner, who was probably his daughter, a small gold ring bearing an inscription on the inside which read "*nul alter*" (*unum parvum anulum de auro cum scriptura ex parte inferiori: nul alter*).[461]

Childbirth was another emotional life-cycle event which resulted in objects being assigned affective value in testamentary bequests: two men each left their daughters a coffer that had belonged to her mother, together with, in one case, all the linen or napery which "did belonge to hir mother when she laid in childbed", and in the other, a linen sheet which her mother "used to lye upon her in chyld bed" with four matching pillowcases or coddwares. These legacies served as a reminder to the girls not only of their fathers who made the bequests and their mothers who had used the bequeathed items, but also of the emotions bound up in the experience of childbirth itself –

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[459] BIA, Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 227r (Ellen Stokdaill, 1507).

[460] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 131r (Joan Harlam, 1401); vol. 2, fol. 1r (Maud Brown, 1493); BIA, Prob. Reg. 15/3, fol. 96r (John Sawndwith, 1558). The gold ring with a diamond in it which Alice Wartre left to her husband Richard was likely to have been her wedding ring (YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 206r: Alice Wartre, 1421).

[461] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 275r (Cecily Overdo, 1453), 338r (William Colyer, 1478), 370v (Lambert Tymonson, 1488).

worry, fear, pain and joy ... or sorrow – emotions that they too could expect to experience in the future.[462]

Objects connected to other significant times or events were also assigned an affective value by the description afforded them by the testator. Thus one widow left her cousin "one frenche tawney gowne and best pettycote, the whiche I do weare on the hollyday". Not only was the gown described as coming from France, and therefore imported, increasing its value economically and in terms of status and fashion, but the testator associated the whole outfit with holiday-ware as opposed to workday clothes, adding to the specialness of the bequest. Another testator left his sister a new gown bought at "Christenmas last", again associating the outfit with times of festivity and identifying it as suitable for a special occasion.[463]

The event associated with a bequest might be one that was significant only to the testator himself or herself, as when John Place (d.1572) left his father-in-law his best winter gelding, described specifically as being the one "whiche I use to ride upon in winter my selffe caulled Graye Tempest".[464] Including the name of the horse, specifying that he himself rode it, and associating its use with winter-time all add to the affective value of the bequest. Equally, the event referred to in the bequest may have been one that was special to both testator and recipient, such as when William Selby (d.1427) left his chaplain a covered piece of silver from which he often drank (*unam peciam coopertam argenti quam idem Thomas utitur maxime in potando*). The object, through its description in the will, would forever be bound up in memories of (hopefully happy) times the two men spent together drinking, prompting the recipient to not only remember the deceased but also suggesting the circumstances in which he wished to be remembered.[465] A similar association is made by York wait William Hill (d.1558) who left his colleague Robert his loud treble pipe with the black end "that the said Robert hathe plaide the morne watches withe", thus conjuring up Robert's memories of himself and William making their rounds and playing their instruments in the otherwise quiet hours before dawn.[466] Thus, the affective value of an object bequest was enhanced

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[462] BIA, Prob. Reg. 17, fol. 222v (Richard Plaskitt, 1561); YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 118r (Robert Daragon, 1585).

[463] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 128r (Jane Hebden, 1589); BIA, Prob. Reg. 16, fol. 88r (William Straker, 1560).

[464] BIA, Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 553v (John Place, 1572).

[465] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 227r (William Selby, 1423). For the importance of bequests relating to shared experiences in general, see: Salter, "Reworked material", 187; and on the shared experience of drinking in particular: Sheila Sweetinburgh, "Remembering the Dead at Dinner Time", in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and its Meanings*, ed. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 257–66.

[466] BIA, Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 290v (William Hill, 1558). According to Leeds Barroll, the 1570 York House Books instruct that "the common waits ... shall use and kepe their Mornynge Watche

by providing the object with a biography, with the description of its past ownership and/or use not only suggesting possible uses for its future, but also serving as a permanent reminder to the recipient of its previous owner.

The bequest of assemblages to regenerate households

Another type of affective bequest commonly included in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century wills is the gift to recipients in early adulthood of assemblages of domestic items intended to stock their future homes. These assemblages were left by both men and women and could include objects related to one particular activity, such as sleeping or cooking, or could include a wide range of domestic utensils. Such bequests were intended to regenerate households, providing the recipient with those objects the testator deemed necessary for furnishing one or more part of the home, and were often left to the testator's children or grandchildren, especially unmarried girls who would presumably be expected to at least partly furnish a marital home some day, or to household servants, both male and female, in order to allow them to better equip their own home in the future.

Bequests of domestic assemblages invariably included bedding, usually enough to furnish one bed, such as the coverlet, blanket and two sheets which William Barneby (d.1409) left to each of his two maid-servants, the "mattres bedde with all thinges apperteynynge to yt" that Alison Pyllye (d.1558) left each of her servants, or the bedstead, feather bed, bolster, blanket and coverlet which Agnes Reade (d.1585) gave to her servant ("that bedsteade the which I lye on in the chambre over the hall, a fetherbedde, a bolster, a blankett, and a coverlett").[467] Three-time widow Alison Clark (d.1509) made many such bequests of bedding assemblages to a wide range of recipients including immediate family, more distant relations, household servants, day-workers, friends and neighbours.[468] Unsurprisingly, the most valuable bequests went to Alison's family, with daughter Margaret receiving her "best fethir bed with þe bolster, a coveryng of a bed next the best, ...ij pare sheittes, a pare of blankittes". Nephew and priest Thomas Pilley also did well, being granted the featherbed and bolster that Alison herself lies upon with everything belonging to it ("þe federbed that I lie upone with þe bolster and all thinges pertenyng to þe same"). She also left beds to three of her servants, though these were of lesser quality than those given to family. Thus, Richard the servant received "a grene matteres, a pare of blankettes, a pare honest sheittes, a good coverlit" – "honest" in this sense meaning suitable or appropriate, while "good" is clearly not of the same

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with there Instrumentes accustomned every day in the weyke excepte onely sondays in the mornyng and the tyme of the Crystenmas"; Barroll notes that in other cities civic waits were directed to patrol and play from midnight or 2.00am until dawn: Leeds Barroll, ed., *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, Vol. 7 (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, Inc., 1995), 118 note 54.

[467] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 150v (William Barneby, 1409); vol. 5, fol. 116v (Agnes Reade, 1585); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Alison Pyllye, 1558.

[468] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 82r (Alison Clark, 1509).

standard as "best" or even "second-best".[469] Servant Christine was the recipient of a mattress, a pair of sameron sheets, a linen sheet, a pair of blankets used by the servants and a coverlet ("a matteres, a pare samerone sheittes, a lyne sheit, a pare of blankittes such as þai lie in, a coverlit"), while day-worker Alison of Gillygate was given servant Richard's mattress, a pair of harden sheets, a coverlet and a pair of blankets ("a matteres þat Richard lies on, a pare harding sheittes, a coverlit and a pare of blankittes"). Both sameron and harden were cheap, coarse fabrics, and thus seen as suitable gifts for those of servant status. This is not to say, however, that such bequests of comparatively poorer bedding were unwelcome; in fact the opposite is likely true, as furnished beds were often the most expensive pieces of furniture in the house, and so a very generous bequest, particularly for those at the servant stage of the life-cycle who would soon have to set up home for themselves.[470]

It was not just beds and bedding that were included in assemblages bequeathed to regenerate households. Table- and kitchen-ware were sometimes also included in bequests of domestic assemblages, as were napery and pieces of furniture. John de Preston (d.1400), for example, provided each of his three daughters with an assortment of domestic necessaries. Married daughter Alice and her husband, who already had a furnished house of their own, received a greater stone mortar, two lesser chests, the smallest brass pot, two little posnets, a bowl, a bushel, a strake, a shaker, a wooden canopy, a pewter quart pot, a better wooden chair, a small pan, a featherbed, a hanging ewer with a chain and a hollowed out stone with a place for the ewer beneath, two mazers, four silver spoons and a salt-cask. Unmarried daughter Maud was given a great mazer, four silver spoons, the second-best coverlet, a featherbed, a tablecloth, a towel, the best basin with a ewer, a mazer, a sieve, a great pan, a Flanders ark, a latten candlestick, a little stone mortar with a pestle, the smallest chair and a blue cloak. Youngest daughter Agnes was given a mazer with an image of a leopard in the bottom, four silver spoons, the best coverlet, another worn coverlet, a tablecloth with a towel, three worn basins with a broken ewer, a featherbed, a pan with handles, a white chest, a cask for putting meat sauce in and a pair of scales. The two younger girls were also to split all their father's bedding as well as his remaining vessels and cooking utensils; the material from which these objects were made is not specified but would invariably have included a significant amount of pottery considered too cheap and inconsequential to warrant itemization.[471] Preston also

[469] *MED*, s.v. "honest(e (adj.), 2.(c)", accessed 25 November 2010, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED21122.

[470] See Amy L. Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1993), 32, and Chapter 4, 109–13.

[471] The inclusion of ceramic vessels in bequests of domestic assemblages to younger generations contributes to an understanding of why some archaeological contexts contain vessel fragments of a much earlier production date than the majority of artefacts founds within.

left instructions that the two younger daughters' bequests were to be kept in the chests left to each of them, which were to remain in the keeping of their guardians until they each came of age.[472]

York residents also made such affective bequests to servants, leaving them similarly comprehensive assemblages of domestic objects. Simon Brigges (d.1504), who appears not to have had any living children of his own, gave his servant Janet Sadler his own bed and bedding ("my best federbed with bolster and pillow ... with all þe hangynges þerto belongyng [with] þe blanketes, shettes and coverlettes þat belonges to þe bed þat I lye in the day of makyng herof"), as well as a posnet, two candlesticks, fuel and all his pewter vessels ("a posnett, ij candilstykes and my fuell as wod, colles and turfes with all my pewter vesselles daily occupied").[473] Joan Isabell, the servant of William and Joan Cotyngham, was left carefully described bequests of domestic assemblages by both her master (d.1457) and mistress (d.1459). As well as the requisite bedding, which included a woven green and yellow coverlet, black and grey bedding decorated with swans, and blue and white bedding with woven images of birds on it, Joan also received cooking pots, including a great kettle (*unum magnum ketill*), a pewter half gallon pot (*unam ollam de pewtre demi lagene*) and a better brass pot standing on long feet (*meam meliorem ollam eneam stantem super longos pedes*), tableware (platters, dishes and pewter saltcellars), candlesticks, including one with two little feet or flowers (*unum candelabrum cum duobus peditulis autem flowres*), a mazer standing on a wire foot (*unam murram stantem super pedem de wyre*), silver spoons and napery ware, including two towels of plain work (*ij manutergia de opere plano*), a tablecloth and yet more bedding.[474]

Some bequests of domestic assemblages also included gifts of objects or materials which the recipient could have used to generate an income of their own. Thus, in addition to bedding, kitchen pots and tablewares, Cecily Overdo (d.1453), Agnes Selby (d.1465) and Isabel Brigwater (d.1506) each left one of their female servants a spinning wheel (*rota*) and a pair of cards, while Agnes Walker (d.1426) also left her servant Emmota a stone and three quarters of white wool and three ells of russet cloth specifying that these bequests were for her living (*ad suum corrodium*).[475] The inclusion of these objects within bequests of domestic assemblages was likely motivated by the former employer's desire to equip the recipient for self-sufficiency and possibly also for future employment. Bequests of assemblages of brewing equipment also appear in the sampled wills. Brewing, like spinning, was also undertaken in many homes, either for the household's own

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[472] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 122v (John de Preston sr, 1400).

[473] BIA, Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 99r (Simon Brigges, 1504).

[474] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 285v (William Cotyngham, 1457), 290v (Joan Cotyngham, 1459).

[475] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols 275r (Cecily Overdo, 1453), 309v (Agnes Selby, 1464); BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 502v (Agnes Walker, 1426); Prob. Reg. 6, fol. 219r (Isabel Brigwater, 1506).

consumption or to provide an additional income. Thus, Margaret Hoveden (d.1438) left her married daughter all her brewing vessels and instruments (*omnia mea vasa et instrumenta)* and Katherine Sharlay (d.1462) left her son a brew-lead, a shaking-lead and a steepfat. Among the items included in the domestic assemblage of bedding, kitchen- and tableware, napery and plate which Alison Clark (d.1509) left to her daughter was "my brewin wessell". Alison herself had clearly used this vessel to brew ale for profit, as in her testament she willed that "þer be a holl brewing of ale yewen to my customers after the quantitie of thar tonnyng in a weke", and was thus providing her daughter with the necessary tools for continuing such a business venture herself.[476]

The choice of objects carefully selected for inclusion in affective bequests of domestic assemblages can be seen to reflect the affection that the testator had for the recipient as well as his or her familial values. That every such bequest includes gifts of bedding indicates that the bed, particularly that owned and used by the main couple of the household, was seen as an essential, not to mention expensive, part of the home. Bequests of bedding thus supplied new or future households with necessary but costly items essential for providing warmth and comfort as well as privacy. Gifts of kitchenware and tableware emphasized the importance not only of food and sustenance for the household, but also of the family dining experience itself. Finally, bequests of objects such as spinning wheels, wool and cloth and brewing equipment both allowed new families to create necessary resources for themselves as well as providing the chosen recipients with the means to earn an additional income for their household. Bequests of domestic assemblages, then, not only regenerated households, but also reflected the affection of the testator towards the person provided for through such comprehensive household bequests.

Case study: John Chesman (d.1509)

Occasionally a will appears in the sample in which almost every object bequeathed had been assigned an affective value. John Chesman wrote his will in January 1509 and died before the end of February. He had just three years earlier been admitted into the freedom of the city of York as a barber and wax-chandler, and was engaged to be married for the first time.[477] In John's will, he bequeathed the majority of his possessions to his fiancée Agnes Murton and to her immediate family, bestowing an affective value upon each object, by showing through the detail with which he described the objects the affection he felt not only for Agnes herself, whom he described as "my wiff shuld have beyn and God had wold", but also for her entire family, as well as for the bequeathed objects themselves.

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[476] BIA, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 475r (Katherine Sharlay, 1462); Prob. Reg. 3, fol. 522r (Margaret Hoveden, 1438); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 82r (Alison Clark, 1509).

[477] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 78v (John Chesman, 1509); Francis Collins, ed., *The Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, Surtees Society 96 (1897), 230: "Johannes Chestman, barber et waxchandler".

He left Agnes's father his best doublet, a jacket of camlet (a costly fabric from the Near East) and a jacket banded with blewmeld (a variegated blue cloth), as well as his battle axe and two mail gussets ("my best dublett, a chamelet jakit, a jakit blewmeld hamsyd, a batell ax, ij gusseittes of maill"). Agnes's mother received a gown of "bewticolour" lined with black, six yards of linen, a little sheet with red silk going through it and two new chairs ("a gowne of bewticolour lyned with blak, vj yeredes of lynnyg cloth, a litill sheit with rede silk goyng thurght it, ij new charys"), while John gave Agnes's brother his scarlet bonnet with a silver and gilt truelove on it, a fine steel bonnet and a doublet of Cyprus satin ("my scarlett bonet with a trewlove of silver and gilt a pone it, a fyne steill bonet, a dubleit of satane of sypres"). Each bequest was carefully described with details including material, decoration and trim; the camlet jacket and satin doublet were identified through their description as economically and fashionably valuable imports, the remaining doublet was John's "best", the chairs were "new", and the steel bonnet was "fine" – all adjectives emphasizing the superior quality of the bequests and, consequently, the esteem which John felt for both his possessions and his intended affinal family.

To Agnes herself, John made three bequests. With the exception of his final bequest to his fiancée, these were not individually described items belonging to his body, as he made to her family. Rather, he left her two separate assemblages of domestic items, clearly intended to equip the conjugal home of the soon-to-have-been-married couple. The first group of household objects would have furnished the master bedchamber of their home: "a feder bed, a boster, ij pillows, a pare of sheites, a pare of blankites, ij coverlites" with other household linen, namely, "viij yerdes of new lynynge cloth, a burdcloth, a towell". The second assemblage was for equipping their kitchen and included tableware for two: "ij pewder dublers, ij dishis, ij sawsers, a new saltseller of pewder, iiij candilstikes of laton, a posnet of laton, ij meslynes pannys, a bigar and a les, a new ladyll of laton". The doublers, dishes, saucers, saltcellar and candlesticks would have furnished the new couple's table, while the three pans and ladle would also have stocked their kitchen. John specified that the saltcellar is new, and that all of the items are made of more durable – and higher status – copper alloys, rather than being cheap, everyday products made of wood or pottery. As mentioned above, the choice of objects carefully selected for inclusion in the bequeathed assemblages can be seen to reflect the familial values of the testator. Thus, John Chesman's bequests of assemblages to Agnes – of items associated mainly with sleeping and dining – emphasize the importance of providing his family with comfort and food, while stressing the value of intimate familial dining. However, it is John's final bequest to his fiancée that is invested with the most emotional impact and affective value: a piece of cloth which the testator movingly described as "a gownecloth þat shuld have beyn my weddyng gown".

Although the bequests to Agnes and her family were described with the greatest attention to detail, and were consequently invested with the most affective value, other bequests also reveal John's

affection both for his possessions and for the people to whom he chose to entrust them after his death. While Agnes's family appeared to receive the best of John's clothing, his other outfits were similarly ornate: his aunt was given his second best violet gown ("best gowne exsept on of violeit"); one friend received a gown furred with white lamb, a fine worsted doublet bound with black velvet and a pair of violet hose ("a gowne þat is furrid with whitlame, a fyne worseit dubleit bown with blak velvit, a pare of violet hose"); and another a gown furred with rabbit ("a gowne furrd with cony"). That such affective bequests were intended to provoke remembrance of the testator by their recipients is indicated by two other bequests: John left one John Thorp from his birthplace of Durham a silver spoon as a token ("for a tokyng"); and John's curate is the recipient of a fine maslin basin without rings and a silver spoon with a gilt knop in exchange for being mentioned in his bead-roll ("a fyne meslyng basyn with owt ryngis, a silver spone with a knope giltid so to remember me in his beedrole"). John also provides for his servant and two apprentices before leaving 3s 4d to his tenant "for his trew dwellyng with me".

John Chesman, newly independent and looking forward to the next stage of his life as a married man, added affective value to the bequests of his personal possessions through the detail with which he chose to describe them. Through his choice of recipients for these cherished objects, he was exhibiting the emotional attachment he felt towards his intended wife and her immediate family, to his friends and household and to the objects themselves. By assigning these objects such affective value, his possessions themselves become carriers of his emotion and investments in the affective relationships most important to him.

Conclusion

In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, affective value was often added to a testamentary bequest, either through the type of object chosen for the bequest, the careful choice of recipient for a particular possession or the words which the testator chose to use when describing that object or object assemblage. By choosing to bequeath religious objects to friends, family or ecclesiastical institutions or individuals, or household objects such as clothing or linens for use in the church, testators added affective value not only by associating the objects with their own (self-professed) piety and beliefs but also by transforming that object into a physical reminder of themselves to be evoked each time the object was seen or used. This was a practice that did not die out completely in York following the Reformation, in contrast to many other places, with testators continuing to make affective bequests of personal possessions to the church into the 1560s. Affective value was also added to bequests of objects associated with the testator's own body, particularly when details of this close association were included in the object's description, with the very particular and personal connection between object and testator suggesting a similar closeness between the testator and the object's intended recipient. This emotional association was often further enhanced through the addition of biographical details to the object's description, adding to the emotional meaning of

the gift. Similarly, affective value was added to bequests of object assemblages left to young adults to enable them to furnish, or partly furnish, their own homes, with the choice and range of objects included in the bequest reflecting both the testator's familial values and his or her affection for the recipient, whether family member or servant.

Thus, even though recognizably emotional wording only appears in wills occasionally, and rarely in conjunction with the bequest of domestic objects and personal possessions, a careful reading of this source not only illustrates the affective value which people attributed to certain of their special possessions but also serves to identify the range of people and institutions that composed their emotional community.[478] The selection of object bequeathed, the careful choice of recipient for that particular possession, and especially the words the testator chose to use when describing that object, all indicate the affection the testator had not only for the object itself, but also for both the memories associated with that object and for the person selected to be the new owner of that prized possession. In return, each and every time the object was used, the affective bequest would serve to remind the recipient as well as other members of the emotional community of the object's former owner, further enhancing the affective connection between donor, recipient and the bequeathed object.

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[478] For a discussion of the neighbourhood as an emotional community, see Chapter 7, 221–24.

CHAPTER 6
Case Study: The Starre Inne, c.1581

Introduction

Thus far, the thesis has examined surviving documentary and archaeological records for evidence of the domestic objects used and displayed in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York homes, concentrating on the distribution of objects within homes, the material character, range and value of these objects, and the ways in which people attributed affective value to certain special possessions. Examples of objects, both those mentioned or described in the documentary sources and those found in the archaeology, have been used to illustrate the arguments made in each chapter. However, because the objects referred to and examined in the previous chapters were chosen precisely because they best exemplified the points being made, examples were selected from a variety of households, spanning the entire two hundred year period. Thus, these examples offer descriptive "snapshots" of specific objects, their place in the home and/or how and where they were used and valued, but they do not, and cannot, provide an overview of an entire home, the people who occupied it, and the objects found and used within it at a certain given time.

This chapter attempts to redress that balance by focusing on a single property, and the objects within it, at a single moment in time. Such a case study provides the opportunity to bring together an assemblage of possessions, not only those recorded in the documents but also those found within a material context, and allows the public and private, emotive and economic functions of objects to be explored within a single setting. The case study will focus on the Starre Inne on Stonegate, c.1581, the home and business of innkeeper William Carter and his household, and will use evidence provided by Carter's will and inventory, both made in 1581, together with material finds from archaeological digs in York and elsewhere, as well as evidence provided by the surviving structure of the Starre Inne itself.[479] Such a case study allows for a full investigation of the complete range of objects that would have filled the premises, including those that are mentioned in the documentary sources but rarely survive today, such as objects made of wood, fabric and precious metals, as well as those objects that have been discovered in the archaeology but have been neglected in the written record, particularly items of low financial resale value, often made of

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[479] The will and inventory of William Carter will be referred to throughout this chapter. For his will, see: YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 99r; for his inventory, see: BIA, D&C orig. wills, microfilm, reel 1241, 1580−1603: William Carter, 1581.Where possible, archaeological examples have been taken from York-centric collections at YAT, published in The Archaeology of York series, especially *AY 16* (the pottery) and *AY 17* (the small finds), and from Yorkshire Museum. Evidence for the surviving building comes from RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, vol. V: The Central Area* (London: HMSO, 1981), lxxiii, 223, and from the RCHME's original file on the building, reference BF061189, supplied by the English Heritage Archive.

pottery. The comparatively late date of the case study allows for consideration of new, innovative objects, styles and features that would have been unavailable to the consumer at the beginning of the sampled period. The chapter includes a discussion of the value of studying an inn, including an investigation into how representative the inn is of a typical domestic dwelling, concentrating on the inn as both a permanent household (for the innkeeper, his family and live-in servants) and a temporary household (for his guests), but also, like many other York homes, as a business. This case study will investigate the family who lived in the inn, its rooms and the objects recorded as being kept within them, and the ways in which both the rooms and objects may have been used, displayed and valued.

Why study an inn?

Inns of medieval and early modern England have a (mostly undeserved) reputation of being disorderly spaces, full of drunks, brawlers, foreigners, whores, cut-purses and thieves. This is partly due to the nature of the surviving sources, predominantly reports and complaints of disorder, fictional accounts of inns and taverns, such as that found in the confession of Gluttony in *Piers Plowman*, and representations in contemporary European paintings (Fig. 5).[480] While it is undeniable that both overindulgence and illegal activity, including black markets, gambling and prostitution, must have taken place in some of the country's inns, it does not follow that all, or even most, establishments encouraged such pursuits. Instead sixteenth-century inns were, according to Peter Clark, "usually large, fashionable establishments offering wine, ale and beer, together with quite elaborate food and lodging to well-heeled travellers", while Alan Everitt describes inns as being "the centres of so much of the social, political and economic life of the nation".[481]

During the sixteenth century, the primary role of an inn was to provide food and shelter for travellers and their horses. While individual inns must have varied greatly both in quality and in available amenities, in general inns were more upmarket than alehouses and catered, at least in part, for the more affluent traveller. Inns offered a mix of communal and private facilities, particularly in the sixteenth century as the demand for private accommodation grew, with some of the better inns increasingly offering the prospect of relatively private sleeping and dining facilities as well as lockable doors.[482] In addition to running the inn, the innkeeper was not only responsible for the

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[480] Barbara A. Hanawalt, *"Of Good and Ill Repute": Gender & Social Control in Medieval England: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 104−23; William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. A.V.C. Schmidt (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1989 rep.), 52−54, Passus V, lines 297−361.

[481] Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200−1830* (London: Longman, 1983), 5; Alan Everitt, "The English Urban Inn, 1560−1760", in Alan Everitt, *Landscape and Community in England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), 155−200.

[482] John Hare, "Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England, 1350−1600", *Journal of Medieval History* 39, no. 4 (18 September 2013): 480.

safety of his occupants' belongings but also assumed legal responsibility for the behaviour of all of his household, employees and guests while they were staying under his roof.[483]

Fig. 5 An Inn with Acrobats and a Bagpipe Player, c.1550s, sometimes described as a brothel scene[484]

Some historians have maintained that inns should be excluded from studies of, and comparisons with, residential houses and their material culture. Ursula Priestley and Penelope Corfield, for example, omit inns from their exploration of rooms and room use in Norwich housing, claiming that the function of inns, with their large numbers of rooms, "are a class apart" and "differed markedly from those of the domestic dwelling houses".[485] However, I maintain that the opposite is true for three main reasons. First, in archaeological terms, the physical foundations of inns are

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[483] Hanawalt, *"Of Good and Ill Repute"*, 105. For laws concerning the responsibility of innkeepers, see: Frederick B. Jonassen, "The Law and the Host of The Canterbury Tales", *The John Marshall Law Review* 43, no. 1 (2009), 51−109, especially 69−74. Other innkeepers in the York sample are Robert Fons, free in 1498, Guy Marshall, free in 1502, Robert Uttrith (Ughtred), free in 1507, possible innholder Robert Bysshoppe, free in 1583, and John Petty, discussed below, 178: Francis Collins, ed., *The Register of the Freemen of the City of York*, vol.1, Surtees Society 96 (1897), 223, 227, 232; vol. 2, Surtees Society 102 (1900), 25.

[484] Brunswick Monogrammist, "An Inn with Acrobats and a Bagpipe Player", (jpeg image of painting, Wikimedia Commons, c.1550s), accessed 3 June 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Brunswick_Monogrammist_-_An_Inn_with_Acrobats_and_a_Bagpipe_Player.jpg.

[485] Ursula Priestley and P.J. Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580−1730", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1982): 99.

similar to those of residential dwellings in the same area; in fact, many urban inns were originally built as townhouses and only used as, or converted into, inns at a later date. Indeed, the earliest meaning of "inn" is "a dwelling-place, habitation, abode, lodging; a house".[486] In Southwark, the first half of the sixteenth century saw the townhouses of the Cobham family, the prior of Christchurch and the prior of Lewes converted into inns called The Green Dragon, The Flower de Luce and The Walnut Tree respectively, while some of London's episcopal mansions were also converted into inns for visitors at around the same time.[487] A similar practice seems to have taken place in York. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, travellers to the city would have been as likely to stay in the town houses of the nobility or spare rooms in citizens' homes (depending upon the visitors' social status) as in the handful of public inns operating in the city at that time.[488] However, by the second half of the sixteenth century, due to the permanent establishment of the Council of the North in the city in 1561, the growing business of the Ecclesiastical courts and the new social activities developing around the court sessions, there was an increased demand for quality short-term accommodation in York.[489] Thus, by 1596 there were at least forty-six inns in the centre of York, many of which likely started life as town houses.[490] Secondly, any associated artefacts found during excavations of inn sites are likely to be domestic in nature and thus comparable to artefacts found at contemporary houses and *vice versa*.[491] Thirdly, as

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[486] *OED*, s.v. "inn, *n*.", accessed 9 March 2015, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/96233?rskey=czywaH&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid.

[487] Martha Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London: Hambledon, 1996), 62, 198; Stefania Perring, "The Cathedral Landscape of York: The Minster Close c.1500−1642", unpublished PhD dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (2010), 303.

[488] York town houses owned by nobility include the earls of Northumberland's Percy's Inn on Walmgate and the earls of Westmorland's Neville Inn near the Foss Pool; the bishops of Durham's property called York Inn formed part of the old Guidhall until 1431 when the present Guildhall was erected, and was then relocated to Davygate: T.P. Cooper, *Some Old York Inns with Special Reference to The "Star," Stonegate* (Reprinted from the Associated Architectural and Archaeological Societies' Reports and Papers, Vol. 39, Pt 2, 1929, 273−318), 2−3. In 1525, glover John Grene had a room in his home called the "geste chamber" (BIA, D&C orig. wills, microfilm, reel 1239, 1383−March 1554), while at the end of the sixteenth century Jane Calome (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603) and Anne Crawfurth (BIA, DC.CP.1581/7) may also have been accustomed to receiving guests in their large homes: see below, 205.

[489] Perring, "Cathedral Landscape of York", 312. Social and networking activities introduced around court sessions during the sixteenth century included the establishment of the race course in the 1530s, archery competitions (1555 and 1582), cock-fighting (from 1568) and falconry hunting in the forest of Galtres: David M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 15, 20.

[490] Palliser, *Tudor York*, 262−63. Clark also adds that many urban inns were rebuilt "on an increasingly extensive scale" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 6.

[491] Gareth Dean, *Medieval York* (Stroud: The History Press, 2008), 145.

a business in the service industry as well as a private residence, the inn is a useful subject for a case study of domestic objects primarily because it operated not only as a permanent home for the innkeeper, his family and his live-in servants but also as a temporary home for its lodgers and guests. The inn served as an extension of the home for its customers, retaining, according to Barbara Hanawalt, "many features of the home atmosphere", including the wide range of domestic objects necessary for the sustenance, accommodation and comfort of both its permanent and temporary residents.[492] In particular, a very useful comparison can be made between the inn's guest-rooms, furnished solely with those objects considered essential for a sleeping (and sometimes dining) chamber, and the residential family rooms, containing not only the necessary furniture and furnishings but also the personal objects, clothing, decorations and other items that were important to the occupant or occupants of that space.

In addition to guest rooms and the private accommodation required for the household who ran the establishment, an inn required a selection of common areas that could be used and enjoyed by all guests, stabling for the guests' horses, service and storage areas for provisioning the inn, and outdoor spaces. The inn, therefore, was not only the home and business place of the innkeeper and his household, but as the temporary home, and sometime business place, of each of its customers, had to contain those domestic objects essential for making a house into a home.

The Starre Inne, in particular, makes for an interesting and useful case study for a number of reasons. First, it is unusual to be able to identify the exact house in which a York testator lived, and, where it is possible, the building has invariably been altered too much for a fruitful comparison with the deceased's inventory.[493] William Carter's inventory of 1581 includes an undeniable reference to his lease for "one hows in Stanegate etc. called the Starr" and, although the site has been regularly altered, updated and improved through the centuries, most recently in 2013, it not only still survives, but has been in constant operation as an inn or public house since before the compilation of Carter's inventory.[494] Secondly, as the largest residence described in the fifty-two fifteenth- and sixteenth-century inventories surviving from the sampled parishes (being within the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey), with at least thirty-one separate rooms or spaces including ten, or possibly eleven, individually itemized sleeping chambers, the Starre Inne offers enough material for a comparison not only of guest and residential spaces, but also of the different standards of

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[492] Hanawalt, *"Of Good and Ill Repute"*, 105.

[493] Nat Alcock has, however, been able to match up probate inventories with surviving houses for the village of Stoneleigh in Warwickshire: N.W. Alcock, *People at Home: Living in a Warwickshire Village, 1500−1800* (Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd, 1993).

[494] Dan Bean, "Huge revamp for York's oldest licensed pub", The York Press, 9 April 2013, accessed 19 May 2014, http://m.yorkpress.co.uk/news/10341640.Huge_revamp_for_York_s_oldest_licensed_pub/.

sleeping chambers available for guest use, reflecting the range of sleeping accommodation found throughout other houses of the period. Finally, as an inn located on the prosperous, mercantile and artisanal street of Stonegate, catering to (probably important) visitors with business with York Minster, St Mary's Abbey, the Council of the North or the many merchants, artisans and markets of the city, the Starre Inne had to maintain its premises to an expected standard. It was thus probably among the first in the city to introduce new innovations, styles and luxuries in order to meet the expectations of its guests, and to retain their ongoing custom.[495]

The Starre Inne, c.1580: the building

Fig. 6   The current sign for Ye Olde Starre Inne, spanning Stonegate, first erected in 1733[496]

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[495]   For sixteenth-century re-building and renovating of York town houses, incorporating new features such as brick chimneys, fireplaces, extra floors and attics, see RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 58−98. In the sampled documents, glazed windows, for example, first appear in tailor Henry Borow's 1538 inventory (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554), then in the homes of a glazier (*ibid*.: William Thompson, 1540; YML, D&C wills, vol. 3, fol. 16r: Agnes Thomson, 1546) and a goldsmith (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Ralph Bekwith, 1541); the next occurrence was in 1566 (BIA, D&C orig. wills, microfilm, reel 1240, 1554−79: Richard Crawforthe) with references becoming more common thereafter: see Chapter 3, note 153. Panelling first occurs in 1569 in the homes of Lady Elizabeth White (YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 39r) and Robert Reade (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79), with the next example occurring a decade later (BIA, Prob. Reg. 21, fol. 272r: John Dyneley,1579); the Merchant Adventurer's Hall, a public building, was panelled in 1571−73 (RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 82).

[496]   Richard H, "Ye Olde Starre Inn street sign", TripAdvisor, 2012, accessed 5 June 2014, http://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g186346-d833409-i89153294-Ye_Olde_Starre_Inn-York_North_Yorkshire_England.html#71972328.

Today the Starre Inne at No. 40 Stonegate is located behind No. 38 and accessed via an alley or snickleway. It is a grade II listed building said to have been used as an inn since at least 1644, when it was first licensed, with its large sign spanning the width of Stonegate erected in 1733, when No. 38 was built as a dwelling house and saddler's shop on the Stonegate street front of the inn's courtyard (Fig. 6).[497] Yet in reality the Starre had been in business as an inn since at least the 1570s, and probably earlier (since the reign of Henry VIII, according to T.P. Cooper).[498]

When the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England (RCHME) published its volume on the central area of the city of York in 1981, just one paragraph was devoted to the description of "Ye Olde Starre Inne".[499] The inn is described as being a two-storey part timber-framed, part brick building with attics and a tiled roof. Although it likely began life as a townhouse, the core of the surviving building is a two-bay range dating to the sixteenth century, possibly constructed when the building first became a full-time inn. A second and slightly lower framed range adjoins the first at right angles; the RCHME dates this extension to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, but the list and description of inn rooms found in Carter's inventory implies that this wing had already been completed by 1580. A first-floor room in this new range is described as containing a fireplace with a three-centred arch; this is likely William Carter's "greate parlor", the only residential room in his inventory which contained listings for hearth implements (Fig. 7).[500] Although the internet contains many (dubious) references to the use of the Starre Inne's "tenth-century cellar" as a hospital for wounded soldiers in the English Civil War, there is no indication that the building had any such underground space, and there is no mention of a cellar in either the RCHME publication or Cooper's article on the inn. Carter's inventory does refer to a room called "the seller", but as this is listed between entries for the coalhouse and the gilehouse, it almost certainly refers to an outbuilding used for storage rather than to an underground space.[501]

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[497] Cooper, *Some Old York Inns*, 8, 14; RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 223.

[498] T.P. Cooper, *The Old Inns and Inn Signs of York* (York: Delittle & Sons, the City Press, 1897), 24.

[499] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 223.

[500] The part of the building that is not timber-framed is an eighteenth-century wing of red brick. At the time of Carter's death, the "greate parlor" contained: "j pare of andyrons, j gallowebalke, j pare of tongs, j fyre shovell, iiij crookes and j tostyng iron".

[501] Cooper, *Some Old York Inns*; RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 223. See Chapter 3, 86–87. For websites mentioning the cellar see, for example: "Ye Olde Starre Inne", Jorvik, Discovering York, 5 March 2013, accessed 16 May 2014, http://www.jorvik.co.uk/ye-olde-starre-inne/; "Ye Olde Starre Inne York", York hotels and attractions, accessed 16 May 2014, http://york-wiki.co.uk/ye-olde-starre-inne-york.html; "Ye Olde Starre Inne", Within the Walls: A York Pub Guide and Beer Blog, May 2013, accessed 16 May 2014, http://withinthewalls.tumblr.com/oldstarre; "Ye Olde Starre Inne Food and Restaurant", Facebook, accessed 16 May 2014, http://www.facebook.com/starreinne/page_map.

LATER 19th C. RANGE

MID 18th C. RANGE

TIMBER-FRAMED RANGES

BLOCK PLAN
ABOUT 1" = 16'

ATTIC PLAN
ABOUT 1" = 16'

FIREPLACE

PANELLED WALL

1ST FLOOR PLAN
TIMBER-FRAMED RANGES ONLY
ABOUT 1" = 11'
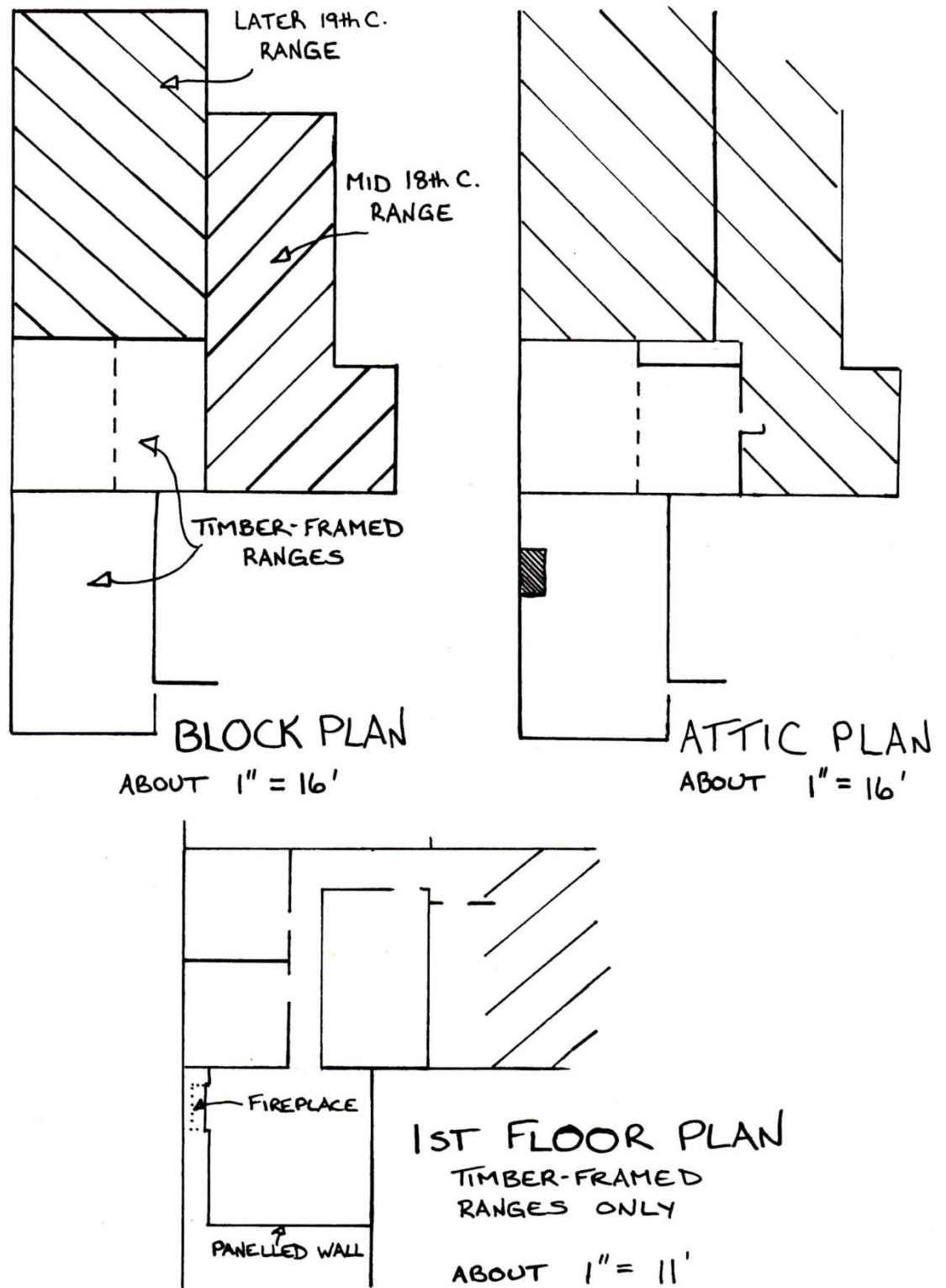
Fig. 7   Block plan and attic plan of Ye Olde Starre Inne, with first-floor plan of timber-framed ranges[502]

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[502]   Based on RCHME drawings in the English Heritage Archive, reference BF061189.

The sixteenth-century Starre Inne was set back from the street front of Stonegate and surrounded a courtyard on at least two sides, making it a fine example of W.A. Pantin's "Courtyard Type" of inn, with the rear of the premises extending back to Lop Lane (now the substantially widened Duncombe Place) (Fig. 8). One almost mandatory feature of the courtyard inn, according to Pantin, was an open gallery, a first-floor passage allowing independent access to certain of the better guest chambers, such as that found at the New Inn, Gloucester (Fig. 9).[503] The Starre Inne had at least one such "gallary" in 1581, which was considered important enough to warrant inclusion in Carter's inventory where it is listed as containing "one forme and other hustlements", implying that it was also used for seating and socializing, in addition to serving as a passageway. An almost complete late medieval timber gallery revealed during investigations at the White Hart Hotel in Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire attests that such structures may commonly have been painted (red and green paint were found on each piece of the gallery's frame, while the plastered boards between the posts were covered with a thin light pink colour wash) and/or hung with areas of fabric on the interior.[504]

Fig. 8   The two right-angled ranges of the "Starre Inne", situated around its courtyard[505]

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[503]   W.A. Pantin, "Medieval Inns", in *Studies in Building History: Essays in Recognition of the Work of B.H.St.J. O'Neill*, ed. E.M. Jope (London: Odhams Press Ltd, 1961), 168, 183.

[504]   Edmund Simons *et al*., "A Late Medieval Inn at the White Hart Hotel, Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire", *Oxoniensia* 70 (2005): 318.

[505]   "Ye Olde Starre Inne", Pub-explorer.com, accessed 5 June 2014, http://www.pub-explorer.com/nyorks/pub/yeoldestarreinneyork.htm.

Fig. 9   A first-floor gallery at the New Inn, Gloucester, c.1973[506]

The Starre Inne would have been identified as an inn by the sign hung over its door, allowing even the illiterate to easily recognize the purpose of the establishment. In 1477, the city of York ordained that all inns throughout the city, of whatever size, must be demarcated by such signs, an order which was repeated in 1503:

> every person kepyng a Hostery within this Citie and Suburbs to have a Signe over his dore before the fest of the Ascencon Day next comyng upon payn of 20s. for 20 horses, and 10s. for 10 horses, or under. And if any person kepe hostery and have no Signe by the said fest to forfett 10s. payn.[507]

The sign erected in front of the Starre Inne would have depicted either a five-pointed star representing the star of Bethlehem, also an emblem of the Virgin Mary, or the star of sixteen rays which was the heraldic crest of the Hostlers and Innholders Guild (Fig. 10).

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[506] Alan Longbottom, "The New Inn looking from the courtyard out", Wikipedia, 1 January 1973, accessed 5 June 2014, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_New_Inn,_Gloucester#mediaviewer/File:New_Inn,_Northgate_Street_-_geograph.org.uk_-_396300.jpg.

[507] Quoted in Cooper, *Some Old York Inns*, 5.

Fig. 10   A five-pointed star at St Just, Penzance and a sixteen-ray star at Woodstock[508]

The inventory of the Starre Inne, compiled on 24 January 1581, greatly adds to our understanding of a late sixteenth-century inn. In August 1580, when William Carter of the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey, York, wrote his last will and testament, he described himself as an innholder, an occupation which he had practised since at least 1548 when he entered the freedom of the city of York, listing innholding as his occupation.[509] And, as mentioned above, since his inventory refers to his lease of "one hows in Stanegate etc. called the Starr", he can be confidently identified as the householder and innkeeper of Ye Olde Starre Inne on Stonegate.

According to the inventory, the Starre Inne of 1581 contained at least thirty-one separate rooms or spaces, including fourteen residential rooms, seven service areas and ten outdoor spaces including a courtyard and a backside. The first room mentioned in the inventory is the parlour in which Carter died ("the parlour where he died") which the innkeeper and his wife used as their private chamber. The next listing is for the hall, probably used as the inn's dining room, and the buttery within it, from which drink would have been served to guests. The inn's "greate parlor" was another reception room for the guests' enjoyment. Listings follow for two parlours and seven chambers of varying sizes and quality, some of which would have been accessed by the open gallery mentioned above. Many of these rooms would have served as the inn's guest chambers, although some may have been used by live-in servants or other, unmentioned members of Carter's household.

The inn also contained a number of service rooms catering for both the permanent household and transient guests, including two kitchens, the "farre kitchyng" and the "greate kytching", a gilehouse, a milkhouse and a bolting chamber which were probably located in a separate range or ranges from the living and guest accommodation. According to the inventory, the inn also had on

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[508] "A screencap of the Pub Sign, for The Star Inn, from the Wycliffe episode The Scapegoat (1994)", *Pub Signs in Films and TV Shows*, Britmovie, 22 November 2103, accessed 5 June 2014 http://www.britmovie.co.uk/forums/general-film-chat/107787-pub-signs-films-tv-shows-10.html; "The Star Inn at Woodstock", accessed 5 June 2014, http://thestarinnwoodstock.co.uk/.

[509] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 99r; Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 269.

its premises a cellar or storehouse, a coalhouse, a cowhouse, a kilnhouse with a kiln, a courtgarth and a further outdoor area called the "backsyde".

Inns not only had to cater for people, but also for their horses. That the Starre Inne had not one but two stables, a "nether stable" and a "farr stable", and employed a full-time ostler to care for the horses, suggests that the Starre was one of the city's larger inns, reflecting the importance of its location within the city for visitors. The stables, which contained hecks (racks for storing fodder or hay), mangers and bays, with a further heck situated in the courtyard near the street entrance ("a hecke to the streete doore") to feed the horses of newly arrived guests, may have resembled the sixteenth-century stables still standing in the close of Winchester Cathedral (Fig. 11). The stables were serviced by a "hay chamber" stocked with hay and straw as well as another chamber next to it filled solely with hay. The ostler's living quarters, the "osterye", were located near the stables.

Fig. 11   The sixteenth-century stables in Winchester Cathedral close[510]

The Starre Inne, c.1580: its occupants

Inns were run by innkeepers or innholders and their spouses, if married, often with the assistance of their children, live-in servants and/or employees. According to John Hare, sixteenth-century innkeepers were an "emerging group of men who did not fit into traditional structures as merchant or craftsman" but who were "generally wealthy and were very much part of the urban elite", often playing a key role in a town's government. In York, this seems to have been the case, with several innholders serving as chamberlain of the city, the first being John Saxton in 1497–98, followed by

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[510] "Winchester Cathedral Close stables", Reedhome Properties Limited, accessed 4 June 2014, http://www.reedhome.pwp.blueyonder.co.uk/walks/winchester/environs.htm.

another thirty-four during the sixteenth century, including three in 1590–91.[511] In some English towns, however, the higher civic offices were forbidden to innkeepers, possibly because, although men of substance, they were not considered part of the rich mercantile elite. In Winchester, for example, it was ordained in 1535 that the mayor was not allowed to keep an inn or sell ale or beer within his house.[512] Similar feeling in York may explain why, upon his election as alderman in 1504, glazier John Petty was ordered to "leve his kepyng of hostery and take downe his signe", before going on to become mayor three years later.[513] The prohibition against innkeepers serving as mayor of York had obviously been lifted by the mid sixteenth century, when at least four men described as innholders were elected as mayor of the city, namely John Bean (1544–45), Thomas Standeven (1558–59), Thomas Harrison (1574–75) and Henry Maye (1585–86).[514]

When Cooper wrote his paper on the Starre Inne in 1929, the first innkeeper that he was able to identify for this establishment was William Foster, who held the Starre in 1644 during the Siege of York. Foster, a committed royalist, and his inn, appear in a verse describing the invasion of his home by the victorious Roundhead soldiers:

> A band of soldiers, with boisterous dinne
> Filled ye large kitchen of ye olde Starre Inne
> Some rounde ye spacious chimney, smoking, satt,
> And whiled ye time in battle-talk and chatt,

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[511] John Petty, discussed below, served as chamberlain in 1487−88, but as he was not described by occupation, it is impossible to know whether or not he was running an inn at this time. Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 213 (John Petty, 1487−88), 222 (John Saxton, 1497−98), 228 (Thomas Hoggeson, 1503−4), 250 (John Mason, 1529−30), 253 (John Bean, 1534−5), 257 (Thomas Cravyn, 1537−38), 258 (Thomas Standeven, 1538−39), 261 (Ralph Duffeld, 1541−42), 264 (Henry Mason, 1544−45), 265 (Richard Burland, 1545−46), 266 (Lawrence Collynson, 1546−47), 267 (Christopher Leremouth, 1547−48), 275 (William Clayton, 1554−55), 279 (Edward Turner, 1558−59); vol. 2, 5 (George Goodyon, 1564−65), 6 (Thomas Waller, 1565−66), 9 (Henry May and Thomas Jurden, 1567−68), 19 (William Carter, 1577−78), 20 (Henry Pulleyn, 1578−79), 22 (John Bilbowe, 1580−81), 24 (Thomas Metcalf and Guy Metham, 1582−83), 25 (John Stephenson and Percival Levett, 1583−84), 27 (John Harrison, 1585−86), 28 (John Yodale, 1586−87), 29 (Nicholas Hodgson and William Bynns, 1587−88), 30 (Thomas Blenkarne, 1588−89), 31 (Nicholas Hall, 1589−90), 33 (Robert Cotterell, William Foxgale and John Jakson, 1590−91), 37 (Henry Smyth, 1594−95), 43 (John Warter, 1599−1600).

[512] Hare, "Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England", 494. Hare also suggests that the same held true for Ipswich and Canterbury, though the rule was not always enforced at the latter.

[513] Cited in Charlotte E. Carpenter, "The Formation of Urban Élites: Civic Officials in Late-Medieval York, 1476–1525", unpublished D.Phil dissertation, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York (2000), 63; Collins, ed., *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 231.

[514] Collins, ed., *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 264 (John Beane), 279 (Thomas Standeven); vol. 2, 15 (Thomas Harrison), 27 (Henry Maye). For John Beane, see: Palliser, *Tudor York*, 94, 107. However, Sarah Rees Jones notes that taverners had served as city chamberlains since the early 1300s: Sarah Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City 1068−1350* (Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 2013), 227.

Some at ye brown oake table gamed and swore,
While pikes and matchlocks strewed ye sanded floore.
Will Foster ye hoste, 'mid ye group was seene,
With full redd face, bright eye, and honest miene;
He smoked in silence in his olde arm chaire,
No joke nor jeste disturbed his sadden'd air.[515]

Yet William Carter's will and inventory of 1581 prove that, over sixty years before the events in this poem took place, Carter was the innkeeper of the Starre Inne on Stonegate, which he ran with the assistance of his wife Mary, at least two live-in servants and an ostler whose job it was to look after guests' horses. Little is known of Carter himself, and even less of his family and household. William Carter was made free of the city of York as "Willelmus Carter, inholder" in 1548, although it is not certain that he was running the Starre at this date.[516] By 1577, Carter was considered a member of the civic elite, being one of eight men to hold the position of chamberlain of the city for that year, under mayor Hugh Graves.[517] When writing his will, Carter appointed Master Edward Vavisar, Robert Beckwithe, James Stocke and Edmund Faile as his supervisors and had Vavisar, Stocke and William Allin act as witnesses to the document. All except Faile were fellow members of York's civic elite, each serving as chamberlain of the city, and all were probably his neighbours, owning property on Stonegate or the surrounding streets.[518]

According to his testament, Carter, who requested burial in his parish church of St Michael-le-Belfrey "nighe unto my stall where I have bene accustomed to sitt", was survived by his "lovinge wife" Mary Carter, his daughter Agnes Dobson, her husband Thomas and at least two grandchildren, Mary, daughter of Agnes and Thomas, and Robert Robinson, either Agnes's son from a former marriage or the son of another, unnamed, daughter. He also remembered two cousins in his will, John Carter of Hatfield and William Mayson of London, as well as his wife's sister Jane Rigge and her daughter Elizabeth. Wife Mary was the main beneficiary of Carter's will, receiving a standing silver and gilt piece, all his leases, titles and interest in his houses and closes in Bootham,

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[515] Cooper, "Some Old York Inns", 10. I cannot find the source of this verse, and have included it as transcribed by Cooper, although it is likely that the letter 'y' in each occurrence of the word 'ye' was originally a thorn (þ).

[516] Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 269.

[517] *Ibid.*, vol. 2, 19: "Will. Carter, inhold(*er*)".

[518] Beckwithe was chamberlain in 1558 (Collins, *Freemen of the City of York*, vol. 1, 279), Allin in 1571, Vavisar in 1572 (and sheriff in 1578) and Stocke in 1573, while Faile was made free as a scrivener in the same year (*ibid.*, vol. 2, 12−15). Beckwithe probably lived on Stonegate and held property on Swinegate (now Little Stonegate) and Davygate and, in the memorandum to his will of 1585, describes both Allin and Stocke as his friends and neighbours (YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 116r), while Edmund Faile was the cousin of Thomas Faile (d.1571) and inherited Thomas's capital messuage on Stonegate and Grape Lane (possibly Barley Hall) after the death of Thomas's wife (BIA, Prob. Reg. 19, fol. 176v: Thomas Faile, 1571).

the use and occupation of his house and orchard in Walmgate, and the residue of his estate, which presumably included his lease of the Starre itself.[519] Daughter Agnes and her family were left the lease of a close in Huntingdon, a gown lined with calfskin (to son-in-law Thomas), a brass pot and two silver spoons (one of which went to grand-daughter Mary). Carter also left silver spoons to his wife's sister and her daughter, while his grandson was bequeathed 6s 8d and his cousins 10s and a yearly rent of 10s respectively. As none of the objects bequeathed in the will were included in the inventory, their financial value cannot be assessed. Furthermore, only the silver spoons, often bequeathed as tokens of remembrance, and Carter's own calfskin gown can be considered as bequests having any special affective value.[520]

William Carter and his wife Mary ran the Starre Inne until William's death in 1581, with Mary likely overseeing the running of the household and the servants and William responsible for provisioning the inn and supervising its guests.[521] As innkeeper, Carter assumed the role of *paterfamilias* over both his household, including the servants, and his guests, responsible not only for their personal possessions but also for ensuring their good, honest behaviour. Similarly, the innkeeper's wife acted as *materfamilias* and, although often neglected in the documentary sources, would have played a vital role in running both the inn and her household.[522] As patrons of an important inn on one of York's main thoroughfares, the innkeeper and his wife not only had to keep the inn itself clean, well-stocked and in good repair, but also had to present themselves as respectable, successful and trustworthy citizens and business people. The clothes listed in William's inventory are described in considerable detail, and give the impression of the innkeeper as a well-dressed, but not over-ostentatious, man. His clothes appear to have been stylish, well-made, of good quality fabric, often furred or lined, but of sombre colours, with the majority of his wardrobe being black (likely similar in colour and style to the outfit worn by the German innkeeper in Fig. 12). Of Carter's three gowns, one – by far his most expensive piece of clothing, worth £2 – was made of black cloth and trimmed with lambswool ("j gowne of blacke clothe fased with budge"), while the others were trimmed with lambskin; he had a cloak lined with dark fur or "bise" and four coats, one of black, one a sleeveless coat of silk mockado ("coote of sylke mockaday withoute sleeves"), the third made of camlet ("chamlett coote") and the last of frieze ("fresed

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[519] The Starre Inne is not mentioned in Carter's will but, as it does appear in his inventory, it is probably part of the residue of his estate which he leaves to his wife Mary. Further supporting this supposition are Carter's bequests to his two servants, granted on condition that they continue to serve his wife, presumably in the very same inn in which they were accustomed to work.

[520] For spoons and personal clothing as affective bequests, see Chapter 5, 150–52, 158, 162.

[521] Hanawalt, *"Of Good and Ill Repute"*, 107.

[522] *Ibid.*, 105; Hare, "Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England", 495.

coote").[523] He also owned two doublets, one of black silk and the other described as being old, two furred jerkins, one of worsted and one of cloth, a worsted jacket, three linen shirts, breeches, hose ("rounde hose"; "tuffed mockaday hose"), a black cap, a felt hat, shoes and "pantables" or slippers.[524] Mary's outfits were likely of similar quality and style but, as objects belonging to her person rather than to the household as a whole, these were not included in her husband's inventory.

Fig. 12   An innkeeper greeting his guest, Nuremberg, Germany, c.1570[525]

The inn employed at least two live-in servants, Margaret Fabber and Maud Dixon, both remembered in Carter's last testament and left 5s each on condition that "thay performe there servyce and yeres honestlie with my wife". These women, or girls, may have worked as maids, tapsters or cooks or, more probably, served in all of these capacities as need required. The inn was

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[523]   For discussions of the financial value of clothing and the changing dress styles of the later sixteenth century, see Chapter 4, 113–18.

[524]   According to Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, "Caps designated as black appear not infrequently in the shops or among the apparel of the deceased, whereas appraisers seem to have attached other colours to caps more rarely... In all, the rather slight evidence suggests that at least some of the black caps noted were fashion garments with a different function from the woollen caps that all ordinary people were obliged to wear on Sundays [Acts (1570)], some of which may have been black": *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities, 1550−1820*, ed. Nancy Cox and Karin Dannehl, (Wolverhampton: University of Wolverhampton, 2007), s.v. "black cap", accessed 28 April 2014, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=58700.

[525]   "Innkeeper greeting his guest", *Die Hausbücher der Nürnberger Zwölfbrüderstiftungen*, Amb. 279.2°, fol. 49v, Nuremberg, c.1570, accessed 13 June 2014, www.nuernberger-hausbuecher.de/75-Amb-2-279-49-v.

large enough to warrant a full-time ostler, in charge of caring for guests' horses day and night, who was accommodated in an outbuilding next to the inn's two stables, described in Carter's inventory as "the osterye"; he may also have served as a guard or bouncer at the inn when necessary. The Carters probably also employed other staff, including perhaps a permanent cook and/or tapsters, although no definitive evidence survives. However, it is possible, and perhaps even likely, that men, or boys, by the names of William Gargate, Alexander Mackbray and William Donyngton also worked in the inn, as they, like Margaret and Maud, were each left 5s by Carter in his will.

No evidence survives as to the identity of the Starre Inne's customers in the sixteenth century, although they were likely, for the most part, respectable travellers of sufficient means to afford the accommodation and services on offer at the inn, which, as stated above, were of a higher standard than those available at most taverns. According to Everitt, by 1537 there were over one thousand beds in York's inns, and stables able to accommodate more than 1,700 horses.[526] Being situated on the central street of Stonegate, the Starre Inne was particularly well-placed to host ecclesiastical, professional and merchant guests with business in the city, as well as affluent visitors coming to the city in order to purchase provisions and merchandise at York's numerous markets, shops and fairs. Guests would therefore have relatively high expectations concerning the standards maintained and facilities provided at an established inn in this prosperous part of the city.

The Starre Inne, c.1580: its facilities

The Starre Inne of c.1580's York was a fashionable, expensively equipped and aspirational building, whose facilities were designed to attract, and retain, custom. In addition to the private accommodation required for the family who ran the establishment, the inn's facilities included common areas for business meetings, socializing and dining, a variety of sleeping chambers, some equipped with private dining facilities, to accommodate guests and their goods, service areas for provisioning the inn, storage spaces and buildings, and outdoor areas for use by household and guests alike. Guests would also have expected good quality food and drink, clean privies and washing facilities, and guaranteed safety for their persons and possessions, along with stabling, food and care for their horses. As the inn functioned as the temporary home, and sometimes business place, of its customers, areas used by guests would have been expected to contain all those objects that they would have considered necessary to fulfil the expected functions of that room or space, much as they would have found if staying in a private York town house. Furthermore, visitors to a fashionable inn like the Starre, who often had business with York's most important institutions, would have expected certain standards of safety, comfort and luxury from their temporary residence, in terms of the inn's security, upkeep, cleanliness and decor.

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[526] Everitt, "The English Urban Inn", 157.

Common areas

The "courte garth" or courtyard of the Starre Inne would have afforded guests their first impression of the inn's premises. Thus its appearance had to project a positive image, giving guests and potential guests an idea of the type and quality of accommodation and care they could expect to find within. Originally open to the street of Stonegate, the courtyard was surrounded on two sides by the two L-shaped ranges of the inn itself, although some of the inn's outbuildings may also have adjoined the courtyard. Arriving guests would ride or lead their horses from the street directly into the courtyard where the ostler would walk the animals until cool, leading them to the stables where they would be fed, groomed and stabled. Unfortunately William Carter's inventory reveals very little about the appearance of his court garth. As mentioned above, it held a heck for supplying hay to arriving horses as well as "certayne tymber, other wood and stones" and two tubs, namely a "soa" and a "gallon skeele". The courtyard also contained three water tubs which probably supplied the inn with collected rainwater for washing. The laver and chain also kept there may have been used with the water tubs, but probably indicates the presence of a well in the court garth, perhaps resembling the fifteenth-century barrel-lined well uncovered at 16–22 Coppergate (Fig. 13); indeed, Cooper claims that the "well of pure water" in the Starre's courtyard was "the only supply of water in the neighbourhood for many generations".[527] It is also possible that tables and seating were brought out into the courtyard for the guests' use during warm weather, as is still done today (see above, Fig. 8).

Fig. 13   Oak bucket (8742) with iron fittings *in situ* in fifteenth-century barrel-lined well (8766) at 16–22 Coppergate, York ©YAT

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[527]   Cooper, *Old Inns and Inn Signs*, 25. His claims are likely exaggerated, as there was a certainly a well (*fons*) at the top of Stonegate in Minster Gates (*Buklandlane*) in the fifteenth century (YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fols. 318r, 323r) and the fact that a lane off Blake Street was called *Funtaynesgale* in *c*.1277 suggests that there was also a well or fountain at the bottom end of Stonegate (Dean, *Medieval York*, 41).

The principal common area of the Starre Inne was its hall, providing shelter, a communal eating and drinking space, an assembly space for social gatherings or for more formal meetings and, possibly, a place to rest for those unable to pay for private accommodation, although from the contents of this room as described in the inventory there is no indication that this hall was used in that way.[528] William Carter's inventory describes the hall as containing two (presumably large) tables, one long and one square, and two forms. Throughout the inn the majority of tables, including the two in the hall, were described as having frames; in other words, these were stylish and modern joined tables rather than simple boards set upon trestles.[529] It is possible that the hall also contained additional built-in seating, but this would have been considered part of the structure of the building and would therefore have been omitted from the inventory. The room also contained a Flanders chest for storage, which may have resembled the chest depicted in Figure 14.[530]

The Starre's hall was finished to a high contemporary standard, with its windows fully glazed and its walls panelled with fashionable, and expensive, wainscoting, and further decorated with wall hangings, providing a comfortable, warm and luxurious setting for the inn's guests. Glazed windows were an innovation of the fifteenth century but were still rare in all but the most prosperous private residences of sixteenth-century York.[531] According to John Schofield, writing about London, wainscoting, which was often painted or carved, was an expensive commodity used primarily in smaller rooms before 1600. The presence of 14s-worth of such panelling in the Starre Inne's common hall in 1582 not only provides an excellent example of the high standard of quality, style and comfort provided for the guests of this establishment but also indicates that York was not far behind London in discovering and obtaining the latest trends and innovations.[532] In fact, the presence of so much panelling at such an early date emphasizes the fashionability of the Starre Inne, as Carter's inventory supplies one of the first references to wainscoted walls in the sampled households. Even prestigious public buildings were only first panelled at about this time, including the Merchant Adventurers' hall in c.1571–73 and the Merchant Taylors' hall which was not

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[528] For halls used as sleeping spaces in inns, see: Hare, "Inns, Innkeepers and the Society of Later Medieval England", 481.

[529] Alcock, *People at Home*, 6. Joined or framed tables came into general use c.1550: Ralph Edwards, *The Shorter Dictionary of English Furniture from the Middle Ages to the late Georgian period* (London: Country Life Ltd, 1964), s.v. "Tables, Dining" and "Tables, Hall".

[530] There is currently no consensus as to the exact identity of a Flanders chest. It may have been a chest made in, and imported from, Flanders; it may have been a chest made in a certain style, perhaps one popular in Flanders; it may have been a chest made from a particular type of wood associated with Flanders.

[531] The earliest reference in the sample to a private house having glazed windows does not occur until 1538 (BIA, D&C orig. wills., 1383−March 1554: Henry Borow). See above, note 495.

[532] John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 126.

panelled until the early seventeenth century, although the latter does provide a comparative example illustrating how the Starre Inne's hall may have appeared (Fig. 15).[533]
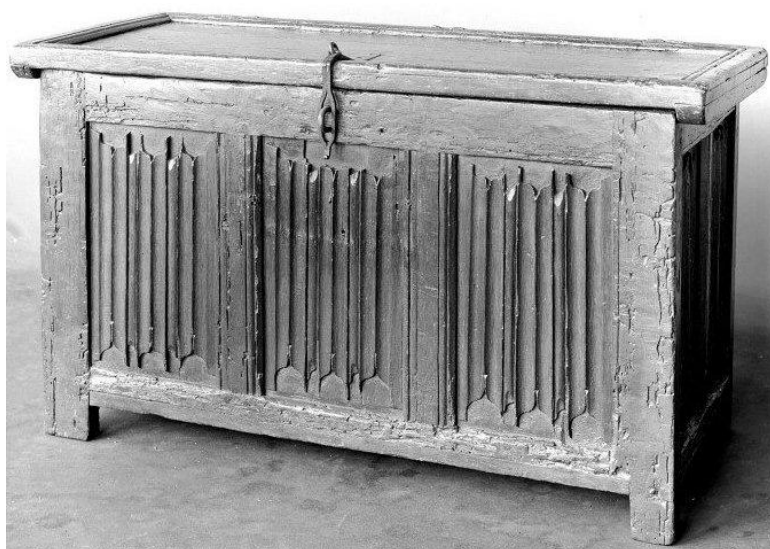
Fig. 14   Oak linenfold chest with iron lock, c.1500, ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London[534]

© English Heritage
http://www.british-history.ac.uk/
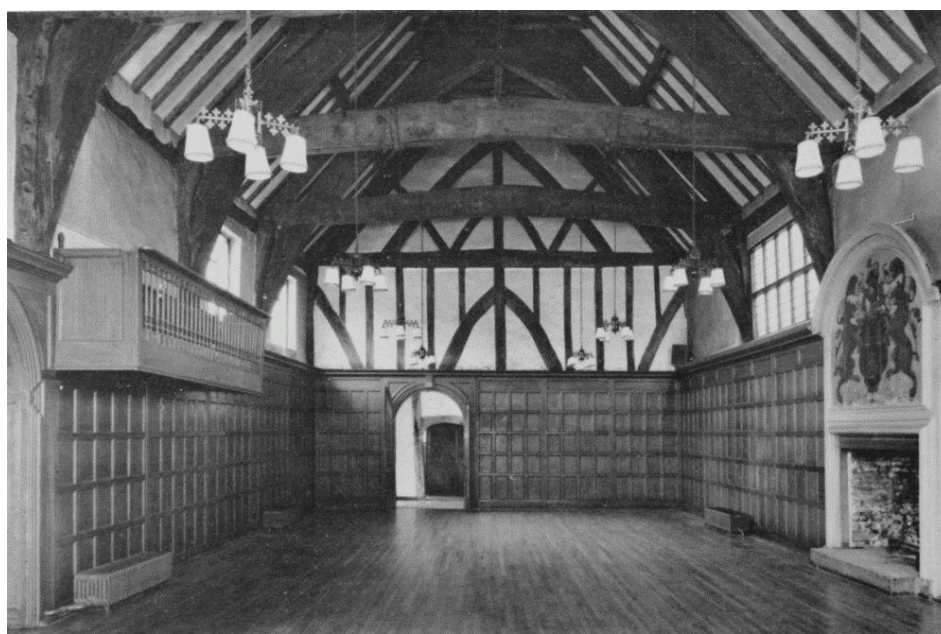
Fig. 15   Wainscot panelling at Merchant Taylors' Hall, York, erected c.1600[535]

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[533]   RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 82, 89. Wainscoting was becoming popular in higher status York homes around this time: see above, note 495. In addition to examples already cited, joiner Christopher Willoughbie had panelling in 1580 (BIA, Prob. Reg. 21, fol. 462v), Anne Crawfurth had wainscoting in her high and low parlours, hall and new chamber in 1581 (BIA, DC/CP/1581.7) and in 1582 Lady Jane Calome requested that "all the wainscott or sealinge" in her house remain *in situ* as heirlooms (YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 104r), as did Jane Hebden in 1589 (*ibid*., fol. 128r).

[534]   "Oak linenfold chest with iron lock", V&A Museum no. W.28-1930, c.1500, ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London, accessed 8 June 2014, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/093908/chest-unknown/.

The hall at the Starre Inne also contained a separate space described as "the buttrye in the hall". In most houses of the period, the buttery was a service room used to store a variety of vessels and containers for food and drink, but could also contain other objects such as candlesticks, household linen and items of furniture.[536] At the Starre, the buttery was not only the storeroom for alcohol and drinking vessels, but also functioned as the inn's bar, from which staff would have served drinks to patrons seated in the hall. The buttery, then, was a space that bridged the gap between service and common areas. It not only formed a distinct service space within the hall, but was also considered a piece of furniture in its own right, with the inventory describing this space as "the buttrye it self with dowers". The buttery, or bar, contained a range of objects used for the storage and display of tableware and drinking vessels, including two cupboards, a counter, a chest and shelves with cloths on them. Alcohol was kept in five stands, a barrel and a three-gallon pot (perhaps resembling those found at Hungate and Blossom Street as depicted in Fig. 16), although whether these contained ale, beer or wine is unknown. The buttery also held a spinning wheel, presumably used by female staff during quiet periods when no customers required service. Drinking and serving vessels themselves were either included in the group valuations of pewter and other metals, or were of such little value, such as those made of pot or wood, that they were not assigned a valuation in the inventory.[537]

Fig. 16 Cisterns: Humber ware, unprovenanced ©YAT; Hambleton-type ware, Blossom Street, York[538]

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[535] RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, Plate 74: "Merchant Taylors' Hall, interior from S.E.", accessed 5 June 2014, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rchme/york/vol5/plate-74.

[536] See Chapter 3, 85–86.

[537] See below, 206.

[538] *AY 16/9*, 1311, Fig. 543: "Hambleton-type ware cistern from Blossom Street"; YORYM : 1947.733, image courtesy of York Museums Trust, Public Domain, accessed 6 November 2014, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/.

The inn also boasted a common area known as "the greate parlor", similar in function to the hall, but more luxuriously decorated and probably reserved for the use of the inn's more distinguished resident guests. The great parlour, like the hall, was fully glazed and decorated with both panelling and hangings, but also had the distinction of being the only non-service room in the inn equipped with a fireplace, possibly resembling the sixteenth-century fireplace found across the street at 23 Stonegate (Fig. 17, and see Fig. 7 for the location of both fireplace and panelling). That it was Carter's great parlour that contained the building's sixteenth-century fireplace is evidenced by the presence of hearth implements listed in the inventory for this room, including andirons, a gallow balk, a pair of tongs, a fire shovel, four crooks, a screen and a "tostyng iron", the latter implying that guests were able to have food freshly toasted before them in this fire.[539] Adding to the impression of the great parlour as the inn's warmest and most comfortable and luxurious common space was the presence of over twenty cushions, including six of arras work ("sexe quysshynges of arresworke"), ten of carpet work ("tenne quysshynges of carpetworke") and five described as being of "other worke", and of "a clothe over the parlor doer", which would have excluded drafts while enhancing the decor of the room. The room also contained a framed table next to the window, covered with a carpet ("j table with a frame next to the windowe..., j carpett to the same table") and served by "ij bynches to the wyndowe, ... a forme and twoo buffett stoles", another framed table surrounded by two buffet stools and two little forms ("j other table with a frame, ij litle formes and ij buffett stoles"), a chair, a covered cupboard ("a cobbourd..., a coubbourd clothe") and two gaming tables ("ij pare of tables") for the guests' entertainment (as illustrated in Fig. 17).[540] Such domestic furniture and furnishings are usually visible only in the historical documents, and rarely survive in the archaeological record, as wooden objects no longer of use would have been burned for fuel, while worn cloth could be recycled, but even if discarded was unlikely to survive burial.

The common areas of the Starre Inne, and particularly the hall and great parlour, showcased the inn as a modern and fashionable place to stay. Innovations, such as glazed windows and wainscot panelling, were adopted at an earlier date than in all but the wealthiest homes and public buildings, while the lavish fabrics and furnishings found in the great parlour, not to mention its newly built fireplace, established this room as the inn's most luxurious common space.

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[539] For contemporary artistic renditions of hearth implements, see below Fig. 24 (in and above the hearth) and Fig. 26.

[540] For the identification of "a pair of tables" as gaming tables, see *OED*, s.v. "table *n*., 4.b", accessed 9 March 2015, http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/Entry/196785?rskey=4uqPWN&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid: "each of the two folding leaves of a board for playing backgammon or a similar game; chiefly in *pl.* denoting the board as a whole, esp. in a pair of tables."

Fig. 17 Woodcut depicting games played in a tavern, Marsilius Ficinus, 1505; the sixteenth-century fireplace in the panelled Coffee Room at 23 Stonegate[541]

Guest accommodation

According to a York civic ordinance of 1578, all innkeepers in the city were required to have a minimum of six "comely and decent honest beds" available for their guests.[542] However, guests at the prosperous Starre Inne would have found more than a bed that was simply "comely", "decent" or "honest". As their home away from home, the furnishings and amenities found in guest rooms would have to not only be comparable to those in the customers' own chambers at home, but also of a similar, if not better, quality. The Starre Inne had at least fifteen guest beds, many of which would have often held multiple occupants, housed in at least six rooms of varying quality and having varying degrees of privacy.[543] Inventory entries for the majority of the guest rooms include listings for the rooms' doors, a practice only evident in inventories dating from the 1580s, implying that doors were no longer considered part of the structure of the building, and that the quality, craftsmanship and individual decoration of doors, and the security which they provided, had

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[541] Marsilius Ficinus, "Interior of a tavern", sixteenth-century woodcut, Wellcome Library, London, accessed 5 June 2014, http://blog.wellcome.ac.uk/2011/06/23/to-be-or-not-to-be-sad/l0006185-marsilius-ficinus-interior-of-a-tavern/; "Coffee room fireplace", York Medical Society, accessed 7 November 2014, http://yorkmedsoc.org/23-stonegate.html.

[542] Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 8.

[543] Three other chambers, "the apple chamber", "the over heighe chamber" and "the heighe chamber next to the stathhed", may have been used for guests, although, from the lack of furniture and furnishings within, seem more likely to have been servants' quarters and/or storage rooms.

become of greater importance to York residents of the later sixteenth century than they had been in earlier times.[544]

Three of the Starre Inne's guest rooms, "the lowe parlor", "the parlor next the streete" and "the great chamber next to the strete", were furnished to a higher standard, and afforded a higher degree of privacy, than the inn's other guest accommodation. All three were fashionably equipped with well-furnished beds, glazed windows and a trundle bed for the use of servants or children (such as that illustrated in Fig. 18), and had their own tables and seating, offering the option of private dining within the comfort of one's own room.[545]

Fig. 18   Sketch of a trundle bed, from a fifteenth-century French manuscript[546]

"The lowe parlor" appears to have been the best room at the Starre Inne. As well as the features mentioned above, the low parlour also offered customers a press for storing their belongings, panelled walls with decorative hangings, a curtain in the window, and even its own glazed entry-way ("litle entrye"), emphasizing the privacy of this room. The low parlour's table was framed and had a carpet upon it, and seating in this room included a buffet form, two benches and a chair. The main bed was one of the most luxurious and valuable in the inn, assessed at £8, and consisted of a bedstead with a wooden tester, upon which was placed a mattress, a featherbed, a pair of blankets, a coverlet, a covering, two bolsters and two pillows. The bed was hung with a valance and curtains of green and red say, suspended from rods made of iron rather than wood, resembling a smaller,

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[544]   The only definitive guest room not to include a valuation for the room's door is "the Starr chamber". Of the fifty-two inventories sampled for this study, only one pre-1580 inventory includes a separate valuation for a door (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Fawcette, 1460); after 1580 three other inventories include valuations for doors (BIA, DC.CP.1581/7: Anne Crawfurth; D&C orig. wills, 1581−1603: Agnes Read, 1586; John Hudles, 1599).

[545]   For the use of trundle beds in inn rooms, see Pantin, "Medieval Inns", 187.

[546]   "Trundle bed or truckle bed" (sketch of illustration from *Livre du très chevalereux comte d'Artois et de sa femme, fille du comte de Boulogne*, Lille, fifteenth century, Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Manuscrits Francais 11610, fol. unknown), Home Things Past, accessed 3 June 2014, http://www.homethingspast.com/trundle-bed-truckle-bed/.

less ornate version of the famous Great Bed of Ware (Fig. 19).[547] In this room, even the servant's trundle bed was well-equipped, with a featherbed, bolster, pillow and two coverlets, valued at £1 6s 8d.

Fig. 19   The Great Bed of Ware. Carved oak bed from an inn, c.1590 with reproduction hangings and bed clothes, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London[548]

"The parlor next the streete" was also well appointed. This room had similar sleeping arrangements to the low parlour: a bedstead with a wooden tester topped with a flock bed, a featherbed, two blankets, a coverlet, a covering, a bolster and two pillows, surrounded by three buckram curtains hung from iron rods, and valued at £6; and a trundle bed dressed with a featherbed, a coverlet, a pair of blankets, a bolster and a pillow, valued at £1 13s 4d. This room was not panelled, but was decorated with hangings, including a "letle curten" in its glazed window. It also contained a framed square table, three benches, a chair and a Flanders chest (see above, Fig. 14) in which guests could store their belongings.

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[547]   Cox and Dannehl state that iron is "the only material ever mentioned in connection with curtain rods. Rather than suggest that this was what was normally used, it probably indicated that iron was uncommon. Probably curtain rods were usually made out of wood like the rest of the bedstead": *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities*, ed. Cox and Dannehl, s.v. "curtain rod", accessed 28 April 2014, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=58735.

[548]   "The Great Bed of Ware", V&A Museum no. W47-1931, c.1590, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, accessed 3 June 2014, http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articlest/t/the-great-bed-of-ware/: "Although unique in size, in form and decoration the Bed epitomizes the flamboyantly carved and painted beds of the late Elizabethan period ... The Bed was probably made for an inn in Ware, Hertfordshire" and could accommodate at least four couples.

The last of the inn's better guest rooms was known as "the great chamber next to the strete" and, as with the above-mentioned rooms, also contained glazed windows, a trundle bed for servants and private dining facilities. The great chamber, however, was larger than the two parlours, boasting "twoo wyndowe with clerestory and glasse in the same", a covered livery cupboard where food and drink could be stored ("one leveray coubbord with a carpett") and two doors, one "with a locke", again emphasizing the importance of both privacy and security. The room also contained a framed square table with two chairs and a form, and a clothes press for storing the guests' belongings; its walls were adorned with hangings. The livery cupboard and clothes press may have resembled those illustrated in Figure 20. In addition to the servants' trundle bed, the room contained two other beds, the better of which was almost identical to the bed in the low parlour, and was also assessed at £8 ("one standyng bedstead with a teaster of wood, with vallons and curtaynes of greene and reade say with iron rodds, a coveryn, a twilt, a coverlett, a pare of blanketts, a fedder bedd, a matteres, a bolster and ij pillowes"). The second bed was valued at £5 and included a bedstead with a wooden tester, a mattress, a featherbed, a pair of blankets, a covering, a quilt, a coverlet, fringed buckram curtains, a bolster and two pillows. Such a room could have been used by either a larger party travelling together or by several individuals unknown to one another, who could not afford private rooms yet still required a certain degree of luxury, security and privacy (or the illusion thereof) from their accommodation. Beds within the room would have been allocated according to the social status of its various occupants, with the most important guest or guests using the more elaborate bed. Made almost entirely of wood and fabric (with the exception of the iron curtain rods), none of the objects found within these three rooms would survive in the archaeology and are thus known only from the documentary sources.

Fig. 20   Oak livery cupboard, c.1500, and clothes press, 1610–40, both © Victoria and Albert Museum, London[549]

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[549]   "Oak livery cupboard", V&A Museum no. W.15-1912, c.1500, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, accessed 8 June 2014, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/060630/food-cupboard-unknown/;

Another three guest chambers described in the inventory, "the litle chamber at the stare head to the streete", "the three-bed chamber next to the streete" and "the Starr chamber", represent a slightly lower standard of room, offering the guest fewer amenities and comforts, presumably at a lower cost. Neither the little chamber nor the three-bed chamber were glazed or panelled, and both contained just a single chair, while even the doors to these rooms were worth only half that of the doors to the great chamber and two parlours. "The litle chamber at the stare head to the streete", though clearly smaller than the rooms described above, did offer some small luxuries and comforts including "one litel table" and a buffet form, a cushion for the room's chair, a trundle bed for a servant and a counter. The chamber was decorated with painted hangings, and the main bedstead with a painted tester, worth just £1 13s 4d, was dressed with a featherbed, a pair of blankets, two coverlets, a covering, a bolster and a pillow. The presence of the counter and the trundle bed in a relatively small chamber suggests that this room may have been designed for use by a professional guest and his servant, who required both privacy and a workspace, but who could not afford, or was unwilling to pay for, one of the inn's better rooms, or who perhaps simply preferred the privacy and amenities offered by the smaller room.

Unlike the "litle chamber", "the three-bed chamber next to the streete" contained no dining facilities, forcing its occupants either to take meals in the inn's common areas or to make other arrangements elsewhere. This chamber, as the names suggests, contained three beds which, although sufficiently dressed, were assigned a much lower monetary value in the inventory than their equivalents in the great chamber and parlours. Two were valued at £2 6s 8d each, and consisted respectively of a standing bed with a painted tester, a featherbed, two blankets, a coverlet and a covering, with a green and red say curtain, two bolsters and a pillow, and a bedstead with a tester, a featherbed, a blanket, a coverlet, a covering, a bolster and a pillow, surrounded by two curtains hung from an iron rod. The third bed, valued at just £1 13s 4d, also consisted of a bedstead with a painted tester, a featherbed, two blankets, a covering, a bolster and a pillow but, lacking curtains, would have offered much less privacy and warmth than the more expensive beds in the same room, and would therefore have catered to a lower-status guest. Hangings adorned the walls of this chamber and a moveable partition was provided, allowing guests to create a limited degree of privacy for themselves as and when required.

The "Starr chamber" was the last of the guest rooms to be recorded in the inventory, following rooms used by servants rather than guests and preceding listings for the gallery and the court garth, suggesting that this room was not part of the main building, but could only be accessed by way of the gallery off the courtyard, a theory supported by the fact that this is the only chamber given an actual name rather than being described by its contents or by its position within the inn. That it is

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"Clothes Press", V&A Museum no. W.20:1 to 4-1975, 1610−40, © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, accessed 8 June 2014, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/060643/clothes-press-unknown/.

the only named chamber, and that it is named after the inn itself, suggests that it was the inn's newest, most recently built room, as guest chambers were rarely assigned names prior to the final decades of the sixteenth century, a practice which had become common by the mid-seventeenth century.[550] The "Starr chamber" did have a glazed window(s), but this was likely the result of its later construction date rather than the superior status of the room itself.[551] Although the two boards, two chairs and a form would have allowed guests to dine privately in their own room, the presence of boards instead of the more modern and expensive joined tables found elsewhere in the inn provides further evidence of the lower status of this particular guest chamber. And while the separate entrance to the chamber seems to have afforded the room's occupants a considerable amount of privacy, the presence of three beds implies that the room itself was not private at all, as guests potentially unknown to one another would have been expected to lodge there simultaneously. Walls were hung with painted cloths, while the three standing beds, although valued at just £2, £1 13s 4d and £2 respectively, all had wooden testers, featherbeds, blankets, coverlets, coverings and pillows and/or bolsters, and thus provided a similar level of comfort and warmth to other beds both within the inn and in domestic houses of the period. No other contents are listed for this room.

Although the six rooms definitively identified as the Starre Inne's guest chambers varied in terms of decor, contents and level of privacy, all were furnished and decorated to a high standard, with well-dressed beds and walls decorated with hangings or painted cloths. All but one of the guest rooms offered the option of private dining, while all but two also contained storage furniture and/or trundle beds. Four of the guest rooms, including the most recently built and the three most luxurious rooms, boasted glazed windows, and two of these also had panelled walls in addition to wall hangings, further emphasizing the fashionability and innovativeness of the inn's guest areas.

Household/staff accommodation

By contrast with the common and guest areas of the Starre Inne, the parlour used by the innkeeper and his wife as their private accommodation was less expensively furnished and decorated. Like the guest rooms, this parlour was also furnished with a fully dressed bed and furniture for storing personal items. However, the bed, comprising a bedstead, five coverlets, a covering, a mattress, two blankets and two pillows or codds, was valued at just £1, less than any of the guest beds

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[550] The White Hart in Chipping Norton had individually named rooms by 1615, including "the Queenes Chamber", while the Chequer Inn in Exeter had twenty-six rooms "with characteristically fanciful names like 'Adam and Eve', 'Flower de Luce', and 'Squirrel'": Simons *et al*., "A Late Medieval Inn at the White Hart", 311; Derek Keene and Alexander R. Rumble, *Survey of Medieval Winchester, Part 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 169.

[551] The Starr chamber, together with the great parlour, likely formed part of the new range added in the late sixteenth century, with the inclusion of three beds in this room an attempt to maximize profits. See, RCHME, *City of York, vol. V*, 223 and above, 172.

(excluding the trundle bed in "the great chamber next to the strete" which was valued at 10s), implying that the innkeeper reserved his best furniture and linens for his guests. This parlour, which also contained a counter where the innkeeper would have kept track of his accounts and takings, appears to have been the only room in the inn reserved exclusively for the innkeeper's private use. Unsurprisingly for a building where the majority of rooms were accessible by the public, Carter appears to have kept all of his own personal possessions in this private parlour. This is in direct contrast to the majority of contemporary residential dwellings included in the sampled inventories, in which the personal possessions of household members were usually spread across a variety of rooms.[552] As a result, the range and quantity of storage furniture found in Carter's parlour are much greater than those provided in his guest chambers: storage in the latter only had to accommodate – temporarily – those items the room's guests had brought with them, while the innkeeper's parlour had to permanently house the majority not only of his own possessions but also of those of his wife. The innkeeper's private parlour in the Starre not only contained a presser and three chests of unknown sizes, the former and at least some of the latter presumably used to store the couple's clothes, but also a cupboard and a hanging shelf. There is no indication as to how (or even if) the room's walls were decorated, in direct contrast with guest areas, but its window was fully glazed and fitted with latticing, although whether this was for the comfort of those inside, or to impress the visitor from the outside, is not known.

As one of the only rooms in the inn prohibited to guests, most of the couple's personal effects were kept in this parlour, and at the time of William Carter's death the room is described as containing all of his clothes, over £2-worth of weapons and armour, his horse equipment and a cap-case or travelling case. His clothes, as described above, would have been stored in the room's presser and probably in at least one of the three chests kept in this room, as would his wife's clothes which, as her own personal possessions, are omitted from the inventory. The weapons and armour which Carter owned and kept within his parlour, whether worn on his person or used for hunting or defence of the city, included a sword, a rapier and a dagger with their girdle and hangers, a bill, a javelin staff, a bow with a quiver of arrows, a male shirt, a plate coat and two defensives jakes. He also kept all his horse equipment in this room, probably in one of the chests, namely a "saddle and brydle, brestgirth, sturropps, girthes, boots and spurres".[553] The counter, cupboard or shelf may have held his three unnamed books and two pairs of scissors, while the three locks listed in the inventory might have been used on the room's door, on some of the furniture, such as the chests, or might have been loaned to guests as and when required for securing their own valuables.

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[552] See Chapter 3, especially 66ff.

[553] Weapons and armour were more commonly kept, and probably displayed, in halls during this period: see Chapter 3, 69, 72. However, this probably would not have been a wise option in an inn where a changing clientele were involved in consuming alcohol on a daily basis. Horse equipment was more commonly kept in storage chambers, outdoors or in stables: see Chapter 3, 99, 91.

There are three possibilities for servants' chambers in the inn: "the apple chamber"; "the heighe chamber next to the stathhed"; and "the over heighe chamber". According to the inventory descriptions, these rooms contained very little in the way of comfort, decor or amenities. "The apple chamber" was furnished with a bedstead, a form, a chest and other "hustlement" and valued at only 2s 6d in total; this room was probably also used for storage, as not only were its furnishings worth very little, but its name suggests that it was used seasonally for storing apples (probably those grown in the Carters' orchard on Walmgate). "The heighe chamber next to the stathhed" and "the over heighe chamber" were not only located furthest from the inn's common areas at the very top of the property in the attic (see Fig. 7), but also contained very little in the way of furnishings, making their use by servants rather than guests a distinct probability. Although both rooms had painted cloths on the walls, the high chamber contained just two bedsteads with testers and covers, worth only 10s in total, while the over high chamber held four bedsteads with testers, two coverlets and a pillow, also worth only 10s in total. The latter room also had a framed table with two forms, perhaps providing the servants with a place to take their meals and socialize away from the guests of the inn.

The "osterye", providing accommodation for the inn's groom or ostler close to the stables, contained a bedstead furnished with "iij coverletts, a mattres and a bolstar", worth 10s, a form and several woodworking tools, suggesting that the ostler may also have been responsible for the upkeep of the inn and for seeing to general repairs when needed. As no table was present in his room, he probably took his meals in one of the nearby kitchens.

The rooms used as accommodation by the inn's staff were clearly of a lower standard than those made available to paying customers, in terms of both decor and amenities. Although all were furnished with beds, these were assigned a considerably lower monetary value than their guest room equivalents. With the exception of the innkeeper's own parlour, furniture in other chambers used by the household was meagre and of little financial value.

Other guest amenities

In addition to the bedding, dining facilities and storage furniture described above, the Starre Inne's guest accommodation likely contained other objects which guests, with access to just a single private space for the duration of their stay, would have deemed necessary and desirable for their hygiene, safety and comfort, such as candlesticks for lighting, basins and ewers for washing and locks and keys for securing their valuables (see Fig. 21 for contemporary examples of York candlesticks and keys). It is likely that these objects, like the rooms in which they were used, were also of a high standard, in terms of their material, decoration and/or style. However, unfortunately, the appearance, decoration, quality and financial value of these items is not known, as the Starre

Inne's inventory, instead of simply listing these objects in the room in which they were found, groups assemblages of items together according to the material from which they were made.

Fig. 21   Latten candlestick, Beningborough, sixteenth century; ceramic candlestick, 1300–1540;[554] keys for mounted locks, 46–54 Fishergate, fifteenth/sixteenth century ©YAT

Thus, the inventory includes categories entitled pewter ("pewdar"), lay metal ("lay mettell") and "brasse pottes, pannes and other ymplements as candlesticks, ewars and suche other like", with monetary values assigned according to the total weight of all objects, but with little or no indication of what those objects might have been, how they appeared or where in the inn they may have been used or stored. While it was common throughout the period to assign a bulk valuation to a household's pewter or lay metal by weight, unlike the listings in Carter's inventory, such entries were almost always included under the heading for the room in which they were kept.[555] Furthermore, Carter's is the only inventory in the entire sample to provide a bulk listing for pots, pans and other assorted implements, perhaps because of the large number of objects involved. The evidence provided by other inventories indicates that the overwhelming majority of both candlesticks and ewers (or lavers) and basins were kept in halls, with ewers used to dispense washing water into basins at mealtimes. Basins, ewers and candlesticks are listed in thirty-eight of the fifty-two sampled inventories. In twenty-seven inventories (71%) these objects are described as being kept or stored in the hall; in other homes they were kept in the buttery, kitchen or parlour, and in four inventories, including Carter's, no rooms are specified. However, almost all of these objects were portable and could be carried where required, and it is not improbable that guests of

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[554]   Candlesticks: "Latten candlestick", YORYM : 1947.611, sixteenth century, image courtesy of York Museums Trust, Public Domain, accessed 6 November 2014, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/; "Ceramic candlestick", YORYM : 1946.780, 1300−1540, image courtesy of York Museums Trust, Public Domain, accessed 6 November 2014, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/; keys: *AY 17/15*, 2873, Fig. 1451 (nos 15096−7).

[555]   In only two other sampled inventories is the household pewter not assigned to a particular room: BIA, D&C orig. wills 1554−79: Agnes Dawton, 1558; Richard Crawforthe, 1556.

the Starre Inne would have commonly requested washing water or candlelight for their rooms.[556] The candles themselves were kept in a chest in the inn's cellar: "a cheist with candles in the same".

Naperyware was also evaluated separately in William Carter's inventory, a common practice throughout the sampled inventories, although in this case contents were itemized. These objects would have been used by the household as well as in the guest rooms and the common areas of the inn, with the better quality bedding almost certainly reserved for guest use. In addition to the bedding described above as already being on each bed, the inn also kept forty-two pairs of sheets, twenty-four of sameron and eighteen of better-quality linen, twenty linen "pillovers" or pillowcases, four sameron boardcloths and four tablecloths, two of linen and two described as being square, five linen towels, seventy linen napkins and ninety-two diaper napkins.[557]

No sanitation arrangements for the Starre Inne are alluded to in Carter's inventory but, according to Pantin, it was usual for an inn's general privies to be "collected together in some remote part of the premises" and for close-stools or chamber pots to be provided in the higher status guest rooms.[558] The absence of references to chamber pots or the like in the inventory is not unusual, as these objects, usually made of pot, were considered to be of little value and thus often omitted from evaluations. They do, however, survive in York's archaeological record: a complete Humber ware chamber pot, for example, was recovered at Bedern (Fig. 22). Another possibility is that, like in John Hudles's home in 1599, the inn had pewter chamber pots which would have been valued together with the rest of Carter's pewter.[559] The inn may also have had one or more privy

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[556] Only three examples of permanently fixed candlesticks are found in the sampled documents – "a candlestike hinginge in the haull" of William Thompson's home in 1540 (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554), "one longe chandellstyke naled to the wall" of Robert Reade's hall in 1569 (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79), and "j little hanginge candlesticke" in John Hudles's parlour in 1599 (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603) – although the "hie candlestick" in Hudles's shop may have hung from the ceiling or been affixed to a wall. "Standing" or "great" candlesticks would have been less portable than smaller or hand-held ones: James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vol. 3, Surtees Society 45 (1865), 47–53: Hugh Grantham, 1410 (*stante candelabro*); BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Henry Borow, 1538 ('ij grett candelstyckes"); Ralph Bekwith, 1541 ("iiij great candelstykes"); John Litstar, 1541 ("ij great candelstykes").

[557] Towels could refer to a cloth for wiping something or to a cloth the length of a table chiefly used to protect the tablecloth; it is not known which type of towel was intended in this inventory. Diaper was a linen or silk fabric with "a repeated pattern of figures or geometrical designs": *MED*, s.v. "diaper (n.)", accessed 22 March 2015, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?size=First+100&type=headword&q1=diaper&rgxp=constrained.

[558] Pantin, "Medieval Inns", 187.

[559] Only three of the sampled inventories list chamber pots. There were five in Robert Reade's house in 1569, four, described as being "olde", in the same house seventeen years later when his wife's goods were inventoried, and four, of pewter, in John Hudles's house in 1599 (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79: Robert Reade, 1569; 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586; John Hudless, 1599). Close-stools, called stools or chairs of ease, were mentioned in just four inventories (BIA, D&C

chambers. Such rooms did exist in York at this time, as the inventory of Anne Crawfurth, also made in 1581, contains a reference to "certaine thinges as ye go to the privie chamber", yet as these chambers likely contained nothing of value but the privy itself, they do not generally appear in inventories (for an example, see Fig. 22).[560]

Fig. 22   Clockwise from left: Upstairs privy, Bayleaf Farmhouse, The Weald and Downland Museum, reproduction c.1540; Humber ware chamber pot, Bedern ©YAT; replica pewter chamber pot, 1485–1603[561]

Service and storage areas

As rooms utilized primarily by the inn's household and employees rather than its guests, the Starre Inne's service and storage areas were not furnished and finished to the same high standard as were guest chambers and common areas. These were entirely functional areas used for provisioning the inn and storing items necessary for the smooth running of both business and household.

orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: John Colan, 1490; Thomas Lytster, 1528; 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586; John Aclam, 1594).

[560]   BIA, DC.CP.1581/7 (Anne Crawfurth, 1581).

[561]   Privy: "Upstairs privy, Bayleaf Farmhouse", The Weald and Downland Museum, © Julie Mabbs, accessed 8 June 2014, http://www.mabbs.co.uk/uk/southeast/sussex/downland2.htm; *AY 16/9*, 1282, Fig. 546 (no. 4503); "Replica pewter chamber pot, 1485−1603", St Albans Museums, accessed 8 June 2014, http://www.stalbansmuseums.org.uk/Media/Museum-Images/Replica-Tudor-Pewter-Chamber-Pot.

Consequently, not one service or storage space (with the exception of the buttery, discussed above) is described in the inventory as having any distinguishing decorative features; there is no mention, for example, of any wall finishes, fabric coverings or decoration of any sort in any of these rooms. The fashionability of the Starre Inne did not extend to its service and storage areas. Certain buildings may have been reserved for storing the goods of visiting merchants, although such spaces would have been omitted from the inventory if empty, or if all the goods found within belonged to someone other than the inn's proprietor.[562]

Perhaps the most important service room in any house, and particularly in an inn where most of the business's revenue came from the sale of food and drink, was the kitchen. The Starre Inne had two kitchens, "the farre kitchyng" and "the greate kytchyng", both of which were located in a separate range from the main structure of the inn at the far end of the backside or yard. As their names suggest, the great kitchen would have been the larger of the two, positioned closer to the inn itself than the far kitchen. Large open hearths and/or ovens would have been the main feature of both kitchens, as illustrated both in modern reconstructions and contemporary artwork (Figs 23 and 24). As permanent structural features, these are not listed in inventories, however the "iron ware belongyng to the kitchyng", valued at £1 10s 10d, would have been almost entirely composed of hearth and cooking implements. The inventory does state that both kitchens contained cauls ("henne call", "cawle"), dressers with hutches underneath in which young poultry would nest during cold weather, with the backside itself containing "one henhows" for when the birds could be safely kept outdoors.[563] The far kitchen also contained two boards with trestles, including one moulding board for kneading and shaping bread, a cooler (a shallow tub used to cool liquids), a stone mortar for preparing herbs and spices (see below, Fig. 26) and a "gantelett", a wooden frame on which casks and other similar containers could be set, perhaps including some of the storage vessels found within this room ("one stand, ij littel barrells, a mande"). The great kitchen was furnished with two kitchen boards, a great and little form, two coolers, two great bowls, a large tub called a "soa" and three tubs called "skeles", four storage containers called "skeps", including two cloth skeps, a long skep and a round skep, and nine sacks, contents unknown. As the great kitchen contained both boards and seating, it is possible that the family and servants took meals in this room. Parts of the brewing process may have been carried out in the great kitchen as a lead, mashfat and kimlin were also kept within.

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[562] Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 8.

[563] *The English Dialect Dictionary*, ed. Joseph Wright, vol. 1 A−C (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), s.v. "cawl 2."

Fig. 23   Detached kitchen from Winkhurst Farm, Kent, The Weald and Downland Museum, reproduction c.1545[564]

Fig. 24   Oil painting depicting a great kitchen, Flanders, c.1565[565]

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[564] This kitchen is described as being "appropriate for a manor house, and serve 20–30 people a day": "Winkhurst Tudor Kitchen" The Weald and Downland Open Air Museum, reproduction c.1545, accessed 4 June 2014, http://www.openairclassroom.org.uk/history/history-winkhurst.htm.

[565] Marten van Cleve, studio of, "Kitchen Interior" (jpeg image of painting, Skokloster Castle, Sweden, c.1565), accessed 3 June 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marten_van_Cleve,_attributed_to,_his_studio%3F_-_Kitchen_interior_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg.

Although pewter, lay metal, brass, iron and also plate were listed separately in this inventory, and not included in the valuation of the rooms in which they were found, it is likely that many of these metal objects would have been used and/or stored in the inn's kitchens, particularly the "brasse pottes [and] pannes" as well as all the 180 pounds ("nyne skore pound weight") of iron which was described as "iron ware belongyng to the kitchyng". Although a plate broiling iron ("a plate bruylyng iron") is the only implement separately listed and valued (at 1s 4d), the type of objects found in the Starre Inne's kitchens would likely have been very similar to those of other contemporary kitchens, although as an inn catering to both a permanent and transient household, the Starre may be expected to contain a greater quantity of kitchen objects. An examination of the five inventories compiled in the decades before and after William Carter's death in 1581 provides a good indication of the types of objects that would have been found in the kitchens of the Starre Inne, including hearth implements, tools for food preparation, cooking vessels, utensils and storage containers, as well as serving vessels.[566] The kitchens may also have contained tableware, although most of this would have been kept in the hall or buttery, with those items made of pewter evaluated separately in Carter's inventory, and those objects made of inexpensive pot, leather, horn or treen excluded from the inventory as being of negligible resale value. Carter's inventory also has a listing for objects "in plate", which includes references to a partly gilt silver salt ("one salte of sylver, parcell gilt"), a partly gilt bowl ("one bolle parcel gilt") and sixteen silver spoons ("sexetene spones"), weighing 36.75 ounces at 5s per ounce; these may have been used in the inn, perhaps in the great parlour, but may equally have been kept on display or reserved for use by Carter's immediate family. Carter's silver salt and spoon may have resembled those depicted in Figure 25.

Fig. 25   Silver salt with gilding on upper and lower rims, London, 1580 ©Geffrey Museum, London; Silver apostle spoon, London, 1514–15 ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London[567]

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[566]   BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1554−79; 1580−1603; DC/CP/1581.7. Inventories included for comparison are those composed within the decades preceding and following the date of Carter's own inventory (i.e. 1571−91), namely those of James Taylor, embroiderer (1574), John Johnson, baker (1579), moneyer's widow Anne Crawfurth (1581), tailor and mayor's widow Lady Jane Calome (1582) and bladesmith's widow Agnes Reade (1586). All five also lived within the parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey.

[567]   "Silver salt", 48/2006, Geffrey Museum, London, 1580, accessed 14 June 2014, http://www.geffrye-museum.org.uk/collections/search-the-collections/item-

Hearth implements were used both to stoke and control the oven fires and to assist with cooking upon those fires. The inventories of James Taylor (1574), John Johnson (1579), Anne Crawfurth (1581), Lady Jane Calome (1582) and Agnes Reade (1586) indicate that objects for the former purpose mainly comprise bellows and iron fire utensils, such as dogs or andirons placed at each side of the fireplace to support burning wood, tongs, fire skimmers, furgons or fire forks and coal rakes. Rare examples have been discovered in York's archaeological record, namely an iron shovel of post-medieval date and an oak rake head, the heavy charring on one side and along the straight raking edge suggesting that it was probably used for raking ash and embers from an oven; both were found at Coppergate.[568] References to objects used for cooking over the fire or in the inn's kitchen oven are much more numerous and varied, however, and may have included, in addition to the individually-valued broiling iron mentioned above, other types of irons (such as roasting or toasting irons), gallows or balks (iron bars in the chimney from which pots were hung), racks and gridirons (for supporting cooking vessels on the fire), various sizes of spits and the cobirons on which they sat (for roasting meats), as well as a variety of hooks, crooks, kilps, reckons and chains for suspending pots over the fire.[569] Again, few examples have been found in York, a notable exception being a double hook found at Bedern College and identified as a possible flesh hook, used to extract meat and other foodstuffs from cooking pots.[570] Geoff Egan, writing about London, notes that copper alloy skimmers "seem to have superseded flesh hooks at the end of the medieval period"; although none have been found in York, three fifteenth-century examples were excavated in London and another three in Exeter, including one dated to c.1550–80.[571]

The evidence of contemporary inventories suggests that objects used for preparing and cooking food in the inn would have included kettles, leads, pots and pans, usually made of iron, brass or

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detail/?id=O22839&index=2; "Silver apostle spoon", V&A Museum no. M.71-1921, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1514−15, accessed 14 June 2014, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O104169/apostle-spoon-unknown/.

[568] *AY 17/15*, 2806, Fig. 1388 (no. 11917); *AY 17/13*, 2319, 2416, Fig. 1140 (no. 8978). See Appendix, 231.

[569] See above, Fig. 6.20, for hearth implements hung over the hearth. Some of the inn's iron kitchen objects may have had more specialized functions, as sampled inventories include references to apple irons (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Ralph Bekwith, 1541: "a rost yeron for rostenge of apples"; 1554−79: Bartholmew Daragunne, 1558: "j apple yeron"), lamprey spits (1383−March 1554: John Carter, 1485: "ij lamperon spyttes"; 1554−79: Thomas Fall, 1567: "lamprone spyttes") and bird spits (1554−79: Bartholmew Daragunne, 1558: "a burde spett"; 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586: "a byrd spytt").

[570] *AY 17/15*, 2805, 3106, Fig. 1388 (no. 13948). See Appendix, 231.

[571] Geoff Egan, *The Medieval Household: Daily Living c.1150–c.1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 6 (London: Boydell, 1998), 155–56, nos 437–39; John P. Allan, *Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Exeter, 1971−80*, Exeter Archaeological Reports 3 (Exeter: Exeter City Council and The University of Exeter, 1984), 341, 345.

other copper alloy, pot lids, frying pans, fish pans, dripping pans, posnets, ladles, tongs, skimmers, salt pies or boxes, mortars and pestles, bread graters and different types of knives. Examples of cooking implements from contemporary art and archaeology are provided in Figures 26 and 27. Fragments of sixteenth-century cooking pots, frying pans, dripping pans and mortars have all been excavated in York, and fired clay moulds recovered at nearby 9 Little Stonegate indicate that large metal vessels such as cauldrons were made on this site as well as at the Foundry.[572] The kitchens would also have required a large number of storage vessels for both wet and dry foodstuffs, which would have included a variety of tubs, known variously as soes, tubs and skeels, baskets or maunds and sacks. Stands to support and hold such items appear in the Starre Inne's inventory.[573]

Fig. 26   Dripping pan, spit and knife, Flanders, 1432; Cauldrons and frying pans, Augsburg, 1505[574]

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[572] For cooking pot fragments from the Foundry, see: *AY 17/15*, 3088, nos 13306−11 (copper alloy) and 3091, no. 13407 (lead alloy). For 9 Little Stonegate, see: Neil Macnab, "9 Little Stonegate, York: Report on an Archaeological Excavation", unpublished York Archaeological Trust Field Report 24 (1998), 60–61. Other examples include a nearly complete Low Countries red ware frying pan found in a post-Dissolution dump at Fishergate (*AY 16/6*, 659, fig. 264), two sherds from a dripping tray of Ryedale ware, common in York in the late sixteenth century, found at 1−5 Aldwark (*AY 16/3*, 202, no. 822) and fragments of limestone mortars recovered from Bedern College (*AY 17/15*, 3094, nos 13467−9). See Appendix, 230–31, 233, 259.

[573] For kitchen objects, see Chapter 3, 82–83.

[574] "Cooking on a spit", *The Decameron*, Arsenal, manuscript 5070, Flanders (jpeg image, Biblioteque Nationale, Paris, 1432), accessed 14 June 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Decameron_1432-cooking_on_spit.jpg; "Kitchen with stove", Peter Wagner, *Kuchenmaistrey* (1485), issue of Johannes Fischauer (Augsburg, 1505) accessed 14 June 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kuchenmaistrey.jpg.

Fig. 27   Top row: Copper alloy cauldron,1300–1540, and frying pan of Low Countries red ware found at Hungate ©YAT. Bottom row: mortars of Humber ware, stone (1540) and brass (1588) from the Yorkshire Museum Collection[575]

Objects used for serving food to the inn's guests and household may also have been found in its kitchens and would have included pewter chargers for whole roasted animals or large birds and sets of serving vessels called garnishes, comprising a dozen platters, dishes and saucers, probably made of pewter although some may possibly have been made of treen or pot.[576] Diners would be expected to provide their own knife and spoon, while the use of forks was unknown in England at this date. Objects used for serving and consuming drinks, such as variously sized jugs and drinking jars and pots, would have been kept in the buttery in the hall rather than in the kitchens. It is also likely that most of the inn's tableware, including chafing dishes for keeping food warm (like the

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[575] "Copper alloy cauldron", YORYM : 2013.49, 1300−1540; "Low Countries red ware frying pan", YORYM : 1971.321.3; "Humber ware mortar", YORYM : 1957.9.2; "Stone mortar", YORYM : 2011.330, 1540; "Brass mortar", YORYM : 2013.1249, 1588; all images courtesy of York Museums Trust, Public Domain, all accessed 6 November 2014, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/.

[576] Rosemary Weinstein, "The Archaeology of Pewter Vessels in England 1200−1700: A Study of Form and Usage" (PhD dissertation, Durham University, 2011), especially 75−81, Durham E-Theses, accessed 20 May 2014, http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3312/.

late fifteenth-century ceramic example discovered at Hungate), pewter or less expensive, but still fashionable and of good quality, wooden trenchers, porringers (handled bowls for pottage and stew), bowls designed for individual use and salt-cellars, would have been more usefully stored in the hall or buttery than in the kitchens.[577] Contemporary examples of these are illustrated in Figure 28.

Fig. 28   Top row: Ceramic chafing dish, Hungate, York, fifteenth century ©YAT; Pewter plate, Middleham Castle, pre-1540. Bottom row: Treen trencher with cavity for salt, England, 1500–1700; Ceramic porringer, Surrey or Hampshire, c.1580–1650, both ©Victoria and Albert Museum, London[578]

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[577] *Ibid.*, 83−85.

[578] "Ceramic chafing dish", Medieval Hungate, YAT, accessed 14 March 2015, http://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/resources/picture-library/medieval-hungate/; "Pewter plate", YORYM : 2007.6247, pre-1540, image courtesy of York Museums Trust, Public Domain, accessed 6 November 2014, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/; "Treen trencher", V&A Museum no. 702V-1891, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1500−1700, accessed 14 June 2014, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O131241/trencher-unknown/; "Ceramic porringer", V&A Museum no. C.71-1951, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, c.1580−1650, accessed 14 June 2014, http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O148537/porringer-unknown/. Fragments of ceramic chafing dishes were also found at 1−5 Aldwark: *AY 16/3*, 192, 197, 202, Figs 71, 74−75, 77.

An inn, responsible for feeding not only its permanent household but also its guests on a daily basis, would be expected to contain a greater than average quantity and volume of kitchen (and related) objects in order to fulfil this purpose. This, however, was not always the case. Upon Carter's death in 1581, the Starre Inne had 180 pounds of iron ("nyne skore pound weight") valued at 2d per pound, 152 pounds of pewter ("seaven skore and twelve pounds weight of pewdar") worth 7d per pound, thirty-six pounds of lay metal ("lay mettell"), an inferior type of pewter, worth 4d per pound, and 215 pounds ("tenne skore and fyftene pound weight") of "brasse pottes, pannes and other ymplements as candlesticks, ewars and suche other like", valued at 5d per pound. Although James Taylour's kitchen held just forty pounds of brass and John Johnson's just nine pounds excluding itemized pots, compared to the 215 pounds of brass pots, pans and implements found at the inn, two of the five sampled households inventoried between 1570 and 1590 contained more pewter than the inn and one of these also contained a greater weight of iron objects. Whereas the Starre Inne had 152 pounds of pewter, worth £4 8s 8d in 1581, Anne Crawfurth's household, assessed in the same year, contained 263 pounds of pewter, worth £7 9s 6d, and in the following year Lady Jane Calome's buttery held 232 pounds of pewter, worth £6 15s 4d. Crawfurth's home also contained 196 pounds of iron, compared to the 180 pounds found at the Starre Inne, yet the inn's iron, valued at £1 9s 6d, must have been of a slightly higher quality than Crawfurth's which was worth just £1 3s 8d.

Why did some contemporary residential dwellings, such as those of Anne Crawfurth and Lady Jane Calome, have or require a greater amount of kitchen- and tableware than an inn responsible for feeding a large number of temporary guests as well as its permanent household members? There are a number of possible explanations for this apparent discrepancy. First, the households of both of the women in question were considerably larger and wealthier than those of the majority of York residents, with each of their households valued at over £100 in moveable goods, exhibiting a level of material wealth shared by only six of the fifty-two households sampled in this study, including the Starre Inne.[579] Anne Crawfurth's household movables were valued at £103 15s 4d while Jane Calome's were worth £162 18s 2d, not including the £400 in money and gold found within her house and an additional £1,110 owing to her at the time of her death, making her estate (worth a grand total of £1,672 18s 2d) by far the most valuable of the entire sample. Both Jane Calome and Anne Crawfurth lived in above average sized homes, each containing at least fifteen rooms, outbuildings or outdoor spaces, both with stables; both homes were fully glazed, contained multiple fireplaces and had rooms panelled with wainscoting. Anne Crawfurth's inventory indicates that her

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[579] William Carter's goods at the Starre Inne were valued at £152 3s 5d (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603); the other sampled inventories in which goods were valued at over £100 are those of Hugh Grantham, worth £121 17s 5d (1410), Thomas Gryssop, worth £115 13s 3d (1446), and John Litstar, worth £140 7s 7½d (1541), although the bulk of Gryssop's and Litstar's fortune was in shop stock rather than domestic objects, while Grantham's wife's brewing equipment and malt accounted for almost half (44.6%) of the value of his household goods (BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554).

home had at least two privy chambers, one on the ground floor and another on an upper storey, both of her parlours had fireplaces and wainscot panelling as did at least one chamber, and her hall was also panelled. Jane Calome had fireplaces in her hall and low chamber, while her home must have contained a significant amount of glass and panelling as she specifies in her will that "all the wainscott or sealinge portalls, cupboordes, doores, binkes, glasse and lockes" remain in her tenement as heirlooms.[580] Might such sizeable houses, capable of accommodating large numbers of people, continued to have functioned somewhat like inns, at least some of the time, as had been the practice in previous centuries?

Both Lady Jane and Anne also owned or held multiple properties within the city, its suburbs and beyond. Lady Jane was the widow of wealthy tailor, alderman and former mayor Richard Calome (d.1580), who in his last testament left her tenements and lands in Monkgate, Gilligate, Barker Hill, Walmgate, Bootham, St Marygate, Grapelane and Petergate, as well as lands in several North Yorkshire villages.[581] Anne Crawfurth, daughter of prosperous goldsmith and Spanish immigrant Martin Soza (d.1560), who appears with her parents and two sisters on the donor panel of the window which the Sozas sponsored in their parish church of St Michael-le-Belfrey, similarly held a large amount of property in York as well as leases outside the city. Of the two houses on Stonegate which Martin Soza left his daughter, one was an inn run by Robert Bilbow, which may or may not have been the Starre Inne.[582] Her late husband, moneyer and alderman Percival Crawfourthe (d.1571), also left her property, namely the moiety of all his lands and tenements except one tenement in Peaseholme, but including the lease of his dwelling house in Petergate, a dovecote and orchard in Bootham and tithes of Tollerton and Kelton in the North Riding.[583]

Secondly, whereas in prosperous elite households, such as those of Crawfurth and Calome, most tableware would have been made of pewter, or even silver, the inn probably used a great deal of wooden tableware and pot drinking vessels when serving guests, of so little resale value that they were omitted from Carter's inventory. Not only have numerous fragments of such drinking pots been found throughout York, but pots of a type now known as Walmgate ware were actually mass produced within the city walls.[584] Treen was not only much less expensive than pewter, but did not need to be polished, and so required considerably less maintenance. As an illustration of the relative low value of treen compared to pewter, Agnes Reade's thirty-six wooden trenchers were

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[580] YML, D&C wills, vol. 5, fol. 104r (Jane Calome, 1582).

[581] *Ibid.*, fol. 101r (Richard Calome, 1581).

[582] *Ibid.*, fol. 34r (Martin Soza, 1560).

[583] *Ibid.*, fol. 59r (Percival Crawfourthe, 1571).

[584] *AY 16/9*, 1257−65. See Appendix, 235.

valued at just 5d in 1586, whereas her fifty-four and a half pounds of better pewter were valued at 7d per pound with even her "baser puder" worth 6d per pound.[585] Domestic objects made of pot were of so little financial value that, with the exception of ale pots, they rarely appear in inventories at all. In 1565, Richard Dickson's "vij drinckinge pottes, four glasses" were given a group valuation of just 6d, and similarly, in 1599, John Hudles's three "drinkinge glasse with pots and juggs" were worth just 4d. It is probable that these cheap items were rough, locally-made drinking vessels rather than the better quality imported German stonewares also available in the city (Fig. 29). In contrast, in a 1549 inventory, four "pewder drinkinge cuppes" were valued at 2s 8d, or 8d each, each worth more individually that all the drinking glasses and pots in either Dickson's or Hudles's homes.[586] Thus, although drinking pots, treen and other pottery objects (and possibly also horn items, such as spoons) were almost certainly used at the inn, perhaps even in very large quantities, their lack of value would have resulted in their exclusion from Carter's inventory of household goods. Furthermore, due to the fact that thus far archaeological deposits of sixteenth-century date have not been waterlogged, a condition necessary for the survival of wooden objects, it is likely that treen (and horn) of this period are also under-represented in York's archaeological record.[587]
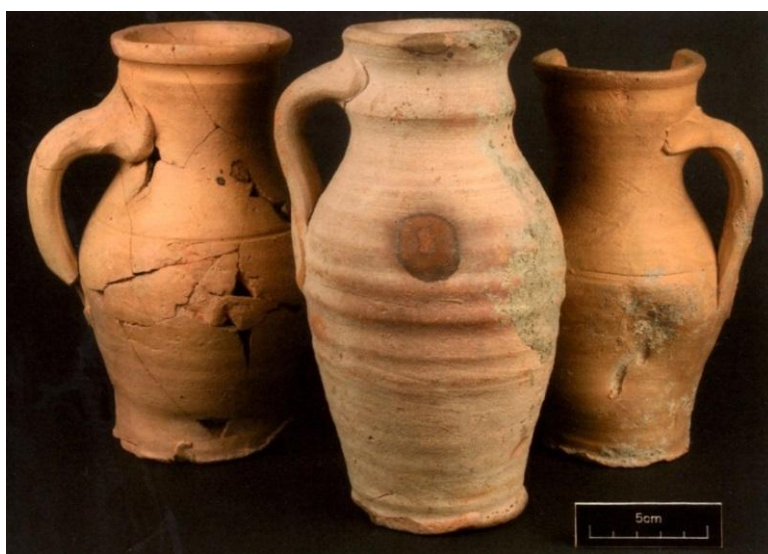
Fig. 29   York-made Walmgate-type ware drinking pots ©YAT; German stoneware drinking pots and jugs, Flanders, 1568[588]

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585   BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1580−1603: Agnes Reade, 1586.

586   BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383−March 1554: Robert Cooke, 1549; 1554−1579: Richard Dickson, 1565; 1580−1603: John Hudles, 1599.

587   Ailsa Mainman, personal comment.

588   *AY 16/9*, 1259, Fig. 524; Pieter Bruegel the elder, "Peasant Wedding (detail)" (jpeg image of painting, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1568), accessed 2 June 2014, http://www.wikiart.org/en/pieter-bruegel-the-elder/peasant-wedding-1568.

The hearths and ovens in the Starre Inne's kitchens, and the fireplace in the "greate parlor", would have required a constant supply of fuel. At the inn such fuel was stored in the coalhouse and backside. Two and a half chaulders of coal, worth £1 10s, were kept in the "cole hows" along with tubs, feathers and other hustlement, while £4-worth of wood was kept in "the backsyde" or yard of the inn. The backside was also used by the inn's staff for laundering the household's napery and clothes, and possibly also for washing-up kitchen- and tableware, as it also contained a stone trough, a washing stone ("wesshyng stone") and a bucket.

As mentioned above, the Starre Inne had a room called the cellar ("seller").[589] Although Pantin notes that tables and seating were often found in the cellars of inns, this was not the case with the cellar at the Starre in 1581 which, as an above-ground outbuilding rather than a subterranean or sunken room, seems to have been used primarily for storage. The "seller" contained two vessels filled with beer, "a hogsehead of beare and a barrell of beare", five empty casks and a chest full of candles. Two powdering tubs of unknown material, for salting, preserving and storing meat, were also found in the cellar, although whether these tubs were simply being stored in the cellar or the meat was actually preserved and kept there is unknown.

Fig. 30   Baker with kneading trough, Germany, 1466; Baking bread shaped on a moulding board, Austria, c.1370–1400[590]

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589   See above, 170.

590   "Baker with kneading trough", *Die Hausbücher der Nürnberger Zwölfbrüderstiftungen*, Amb. 317.2° fol. 85r, 1466, accessed 3 June 2014, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Mendel_I_085_r.jpg; "Baking bread", *Tacuinum sanitatis Codex Vindobonensis*, series nova 2644, fol. 63r, Graz, Austria (Osterreichische

The inn also had its own gilehouse, bolting chamber and milkhouse. The "gylehows", where fermented wort was left to cool during the brewing process, contained a gilefat for the cooling wort, a chest and other unspecified hustlements; its presence, together with that of the lead, a mashfat and kimlin in the great kitchen, indicates that the innkeeper's household were brewing their own ale for use in the inn, and possibly their own beer also. The cisterns illustrated above (Fig. 16) may have been suitable for this purpose. Despite civic ordinances forbidding the practice, the inn also made bread for its residents and guests in its "bultyn chamber". Flour was sifted through a bolting cloth, separating the bran or coarse meal from the good, serviceable flour which was collected in the bolting tub. The chamber also contained a "kneadyng troughe" in which the dough was kneaded, as well as a form for those making the bread to sit upon, while the far kitchen held a moulding board for shaping the bread. The kneading, moulding and baking of the bread are illustrated below (Fig. 30).[591]

The inn's "mylkehows", or dairy, was a place to store milk, possibly in the "empty caske" found within; butter and cheese may also have been made there, although there is no mention of these, or of a churn, in the inventory. However the inn did produce at least some, if not all, of its own milk, as there was also a "cowe hows" on the grounds for Carter's two cows, containing one bay, with a heck to hold hay and a manger for the cows' fodder. As the milkhouse contained a still ("stilletory"), it must also have been used for distilling spirits, known as *aqua vitae*, which were distilled from the dregs of wine, ale and beer which otherwise were considered waste products, with the dregs of beer, at least, previously considered suitable only for feeding pigs.[592] The resulting product, although highly alcoholic, was used primarily for medicinal purposes, and may have been sold as such to the inn's guests. Contemporary illustrations of milking and a still are depicted in Fig. 31.

Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, c.1370−1400), accessed 3 June 2014, http://www.erminespot.com/?p=82.

[591] Although three ordinances were passed in York in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries forbidding innkeepers from making bread or horsebread for sale, such regulations do not appear to have been observed in the Carter household; see Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late-Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 12−13. In 1540, on pain of 40s, York innholders were forbidden to "make or bake anye manner of bread in ther howses...but that they buy ther bread for to sell to their gwests and for the geste horses": Diane Willen, "Guildswomen in the City of York, 1560−1700", *The Historian* 46, no. 2 (1984): 208.

[592] *Dictionary of Traded Goods and Commodities*, ed. Cox and Dannehl, s.v. "aqua vitae", accessed 24 April 2014, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=58688; S.A. Moorhouse *et al*., "Medieval Distilling-Apparatus of Glass and Pottery", *Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1972): 79–121.

Fig. 31   Milking the cow, French book of hours, sixteenth-century; still and barrel for making *aqua vitae*, London, 1616[593]

The inn, then, was at least partly self-sufficient, having a cowhouse, a milkhouse, a henhouse and two hen cauls on the premises, ensuring a daily supply of eggs and milk for the inn, its household and guests. Meat was preserved and salted in powdering tubs kept in the cellar, while the presence of a room called the apple chamber suggests that apples were used at the inn when in season, probably grown in Carter's orchard on Walmgate. The inn also made at least some of its own bread, with a bolting tub and cloth and a kneading trough in the bolting chamber and a moulding board in the far kitchen. Although no other foodstuffs are listed, or even referred to, in the inventory, it is likely that meals served at the inn would have been based around meat or fish, depending on the day and season, and usually served with a sauce.[594] The Carters probably grew their own vegetables and herbs on the "acre of arable land" that William leased "ligheng in Elyston feild", while their "iij acres of ground ligheng apon Huntyngton Buttes in Clyfton feild", their close in Bootham and two enclosed closes in "Huntyngton feild" may have been planted with food crops or used to pasture livestock.

The Starre Inne, as mentioned previously, had two stables, "the nether stable" and "the farr stable", both the responsibility of the inn's ostler. The far stable appears to have been the larger of the two,

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593 "April", *Hore Beate Virginis Mariae (Heures Dutuit)*, Dutuit B. 37, fol. 8r (Musée du Petit-Palais, Paris, sixteenth century), accessed 11 June 2014, http://www.petitpalais.paris.fr/fr/collections/1506/hore-beate-virginis-mariae-heures-dutuit; "Still and barrel for making aqua vitae", Richard Surflet, *Countrey Farme* (London, 1616), accessed 11 June 2014, http://www.jezzmo.com/ancestors/1mayflower.html.

594 C.M. Woolgar, "Food and the Middle Ages", *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010): 9. For the type of food that would likely have been served, see *A Proper Newe Booke of Cokerye*, a sixteenth-century English recipe book, the earliest surviving copy of which dates to 1545: Catherine Frances Frere, ed., *A Proper Newe Booke Of Cokerye* (London: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd, 1913), accessed 16 May 2014, http://www.staff.uni-giessen.de/gloning/tx/bookecok.htm.

containing two bays, hecks and mangers, whereas the nether stable contained only one of each. Extra hay was stored in two further outbuildings, the hay chamber which held three loads of hay and twelve thraves (or 288 sheaves) of straw ("stroo"), worth £1 10s in total, and another chamber in which £4-worth of hay was kept.

The inn also had a kiln ("the kylne it self") and a kilnhouse ("kylnehows") on its grounds, with the former presumably found inside the latter. Kilns were used for many purposes in the sixteenth century including making charcoal, firing pottery and baking bricks. Although the purpose of the kiln at the Starre Inne is unknown, the kilnhouse also contained both a steepfat ("stepefat"), used for soaking barley for brewing, and certain tiles ("certayne tyle"), suggesting that this kiln was used for drying grains or hops or possibly, though less likely, for baking tiles.

Conclusion

By the 1580s, changes brought about by the Reformation, and the accompanying dissolution of many of York's religious houses, the permanent presence of the Council of the North in the city, and the expanded business of the Ecclesiastical courts, in particular, not to mention the unique shopping and social opportunities newly available in and around York, resulted in larger numbers of people visiting the city for both business and pleasure.[595] The later sixteenth century thus saw an increased demand for quality short-term accommodation, and the number of commercial inns in the city climbed accordingly. Innkeeping, formerly considered a potentially irreputable occupation, suddenly rose in both importance and status, as evidenced both by new regulation concerning innkeeping within the city and by the increased number of innkeepers not only joining the freedom of the city, but also holding high civic office, including the mayoralty itself.

The Starre Inne on Stonegate, c.1581, was a large, modern and comfortably furnished home but also a modern, innovative and often luxurious inn, providing a home-away-from-home for its many guests, and as such is a worthy candidate for a case study of the material culture of domestic objects in late sixteenth-century York. While York's inns almost certainly varied in quality, visitors to the late sixteenth-century Starre Inne, located on the central street of Stonegate within easy walking distance of the courts, the abbey, shops and markets, would have found well-kept and well-stocked premises expensively decorated according to the latest style and filled with high quality furniture and furnishings. New fashions and innovations, including glazed windows, a brick fireplace, wainscot panelling and carved, lockable doors, had all been added to the premises by this date. These features, together with the increase in available private dining areas, high-status, expensive bedding and well-appointed and luxuriously equipped common areas, illustrate the fashionability of the inn as a whole and the high value of many of the objects found within it.

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[595] See Chapter 1, 18–21.

Thus, the inn of William Carter's time was chosen for this case study not only because the relevant will, inventory and the inn itself all survive, but also because, as a business that specialized in providing accommodation and food for its customers, the assemblages associated with this building are entirely domestic in nature, and are therefore representative of, and comparable to, the majority of the households included in the sample, in a way that the contents of a particular metalworker's or printer's house, for example, might not be.

The inn's great size is also an advantage. The large variety of rooms and spaces found on the premises is reflected in other properties, albeit on a lesser scale. While other homes may have been smaller, containing fewer specialized rooms than did the inn, examples of almost every named space (including the apple chamber, the kilnhouse and the cowhouse) appear in at least one other sampled inventory and contained similar assemblages of objects. The large number of sleeping chambers is also of benefit, providing examples of the range of furnishing and facilities available, not only within the inn, but in all better quality York homes of the period, including those in the sample for which inventories survive. As an inventory contains only those objects belonging to the deceased himself, in many homes there is the possibility that a number of objects, and even entire rooms, might be excluded if those objects, or the contents of that room, belonged to another adult, such as a spouse, parent or lodger. At the Starre Inne, only the clothing and paraphernalia of Carter's wife and three servants (and the belongings of any guests in residence while the inventory was conducted) would have been omitted from his inventory; with the exception of items of little value, all of the furniture and other objects being within the building and its grounds would have been included in the inventory as either Carter's own, or as part as of his business, allowing the fullest possible assemblage of objects to be considered.

Both historical and archaeological sources have been studied to investigate and illustrate the range and types of objects that occupied this late sixteenth-century home and inn. Documentary sources provide lists and descriptions of valued objects, many of which are only known through the historical documents as they are not present in the archaeology, either because the material from which they were made rarely survives burial (wood and fabric), because they would have been recycled or reused for other purposes when no longer of use (metal, fabric and wood for fuel), or precisely because they were so valuable and therefore treasured and passed down to loved ones instead of being discarded.

Conversely, the archaeological record provides examples of those objects which we know people of the period would have owned and used, often in great quantities – pottery being the most obvious example – but which were considered to be of so little financial value that they were often omitted from the documentary sources. Furthermore, written records occasionally refer to objects whose exact identification and appearance is unknown, due to the unfamiliar terminology of the period and the lack of descriptive detail included; archaeological finds, and also works of

contemporary art, have been used to illustrate what these objects may have looked like, such as the proposed identification of the Humber ware and Hambleton-type ware cisterns with the three-gallon pot used to hold drink in the inn's buttery.

Through the use of both the historical and archaeological data sets, this interdisciplinary case study of the Starre Inne, c.1581 has allowed for the examination of the entire assemblage of objects contained within this specific household unit at this particular moment in time. Dating the case study towards the end of the chosen period has allowed the inclusion and discussion of new objects, styles and architectural features, illustrating the increasing standards of luxury and comfort possible in higher status York homes in the 1580s that would not have been available at the beginning of the period.

CHAPTER 7
Conclusion

This thesis has used an interdisciplinary approach to focus on the material culture of York households in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A close reading of the surviving probate material for residents of the four sampled York parishes of St Michael-le-Belfrey, St Helen, Stonegate, St Margaret, Walmgate and St Lawrence has been deployed in order to identify and understand the objects which filled York homes between 1400 and 1600. In addition, a study of contemporary artefacts found within the city has added to our understanding of the range of domestic objects available in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the materials from which they were made, as well as the appearance of some of these items, providing details of size, shape, form and decoration about which the documentary sources are often silent.

This interdisciplinary study of domestic objects in York had three broad aims: to explore the type and range of objects that furnished the homes of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York residents; to establish where and how these objects were used and displayed in the home; and to understand what values may have been attributed to these domestic objects by their owners and users. This conclusion will address the three key research questions described in the introduction and considered throughout the thesis. What can object assemblages tell us about the objects found in York homes, the nature of York households and the owners and users of those objects? How does evidence of change in the material character of domestic assemblages further our understanding of the processes driving change, including political and religious reform, improving skills and technology and changing attitudes toward the value of possessions? And does the York evidence suggest that change in England was uniform or is there evidence of a distinct regional pattern? Finally, what are the issues that arise when using both documentary and archaeological evidence to study material culture, and how can they be overcome or turned into an advantage? This chapter will also consider how the answers to these questions enable us to develop new ideas about major social characteristics of the period such as the nature of communities. In particular, it will focus on the contemporary idea of neighbourhood as realized through the use and value of material culture.

Object assemblages

Object assemblages – both those recorded in the documentary sources and those recovered from archaeological investigations – provide a wealth of information not only about the objects themselves but also about their owners and the households in which they were used. The objects that furnished York homes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were made from a range of materials including wood, metal, leather and textiles, and served a wide variety of purposes from the entirely practical to the ornamental, although most decorative objects were also functional: wall hangings, for example, provided warmth and insulation, silver plate also served as a form of

savings which could be exchanged for currency when needed, and cloths and cushions protected the furniture they covered while simultaneously providing warmth and comfort. Both historical and archaeological sources also reveal additional information about the objects included within their assemblages, incorporating descriptive details such as material composition, colour, finish and shape. More specifically, probate inventories usually record the room in which objects were kept and the other objects with which they were associated spatially, as well as occasionally describing the purposes for which those objects were used, while archaeological assemblages can reveal the exact size and appearance of individual objects, how these objects were made, including evidence of repair and subsequent re-use, and how and why such objects were eventually discarded.

Object assemblages listed in probate inventories indicate that, despite the existence of numerous small houses within the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century city, those for which inventories survive primarily belonged to larger homes having five or more rooms, many of which were multi-functional spaces used for a variety of purposes including working, dining, sitting and sleeping. The people who inhabited these houses were among the more prosperous and wealthy residents of the city, comprising successful artisans, tradesmen and professionals and their households.[596] Furthermore, the sixteenth-century trend for extending and renovating houses, connected to shifts in the social use of domestic space, resulted in an increasing number of rooms and a growing degree of room specialization, which in turn allowed for the accumulation of a greater number of domestic objects and personal possessions. While some rooms were named and located by their distinctive architectural features or position within the building, including open halls, partly subterranean dyngs and kitchens requiring permanent hearths, ovens and drains, the majority were named according to the purpose for which they were used, as reflected by the object assemblages found within them, suggesting that particular objects were recognized as belonging in particular types of spaces.[597]

Object assemblages also reveal much about various types of value attributed to domestic objects and personal possessions by the people of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, namely financial value, functional value and affective value.[598] Although most objects recovered in archaeological assemblages had been purposely discarded, often when broken and no longer considered to be of any value to their owners, evidence of repair on some artefacts indicates that attempts were made to prolong the life of domestic objects when possible. Unbroken objects no longer of value in their original form could be recycled or re-used: unwanted metal objects melted and moulded into new forms; textiles cut down and remade into new garments or napery; and wooden objects burned for fuel. Object assemblages listed in probate inventories, on the other hand, were included precisely

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[596] See Chapter 2, 41–57.

[597] See Chapter 3.

[598] For financial and functional value, see Chapter 4; for affective value, see Chapter 5.

because they were considered to be financially valuable at resale. The financial values assigned to each object took into consideration its material, appearance, level of decoration and condition, with objects described as "new" being of greater value than those which are "old", "worn" or "broken". The most expensive objects in typical York households included silver plate (which also served as repositories of liquid wealth), articles of clothing and fully dressed beds, indicating both the importance and value assigned to textiles within the home. Objects of high financial value were also found in York shops and included both finished products and craft materials and equipment. Furthermore, the financial valuations included in both wills and inventories imply that both the men and women of York were well aware of the monetary value of the objects which they owned.

Objects used to create other objects, found both in workshops and in the domestic portion of the home, although not always worth much financially, nevertheless had a high functional value, being essential to the provision of the household income. Functional value has rarely, if ever, been considered in relation to material culture, yet its presence is evident not only in the individual itemization and appraisal of tools and materials in probate inventories but also in the fact that bequests of such tools and materials featured prominently in the wills of many craftsmen, where they were left to sons, fellow practitioners or apprentices, enabling the objects' recipients to generate their own income in the future.

The affective value attributed to certain domestic possessions is primarily evident in object assemblages as bequeathed in wills. Testators revealed the emotional attachment they felt for their belongings by the attention and detail with which they described certain objects, indicating not only the specialness of these possessions but also the special feelings they had for the people entrusted with these objects. Assemblages described in such a way often comprised objects belonging to the testator's own body and objects which formerly belonged to deceased family members or other esteemed people. Such value was often enhanced by the association of the bequeathed object with a particular life-cycle event, as in the case of wedding rings and bedding used for childbirth, or a shared past experience between testator and recipient. Affective value was also assigned to both religious objects and domestic objects intended for future use in the church. In all such cases, the extra description and information provided for these objects indicated, and added to, the affective value which the testator ascribed both to the object itself and to the friend, relative or institution selected to receive such an emotionally important gift.

Change over time

The religious, political, socio-economic and cultural changes that occurred during the period studied, and particularly in the sixteenth century, affected the city of York and its inhabitants in many respects. But how do changes in the character of domestic assemblages enable us to trace the course and impact of these events? During the 1530s and 1540s the long process of the

Reformation resulted in radical changes within the city.[599] The dissolution of religious houses, guilds and chantries, the reduction in the number of city parishes and the gradual removal of the images, shrines, jewels and plate associated with the medieval church shattered the city's cultural identity, while citizens' support of the Pilgrimage of Grace also threatened the city's political stability. Following these events, testamentary bequests of household objects to the church decreased but, in contrast to many other places in the country, did not cease completely until after 1560. Religious objects continued to be found in city homes, including newly introduced Protestant bibles translated into English and, more unconventionally, Catholic imagery and rosaries.[600] The city's economy was also disrupted by the Reformation, as those residents whose businesses depended upon the custom of the Minster or religious houses were forced to change the focus of their specialization, as did York's glaziers who began concentrating on the provision and installation of domestic window glass and embroiderers such as James Taylour who swapped ecclesiastical vestments for fashionable collars, ruffs and cuffs.[601] After the tumultuous events of the first half of the sixteenth century, it was not until the permanent establishment of Council of the North in the city in 1561, together with the growing business of the Ecclesiastical Courts and the new social activities developing around court sessions, that York's population and economy began to recover from its fifteenth-century decline.

The influx of people in general, and of legal professionals, their employees and clients in particular, led to an increased demand for both books and short-term accommodation resulting in a significant increase in the number, importance and status of booksellers in the Minster Close and of innkeepers throughout the city, including William Carter, proprietor of the Starre Inne on Stonegate.[602] Similarly, the rise in expendable income brought about by economic recovery allowed residents not only to extend, improve and modernize their houses, but also led to a desire to fill their recently enlarged homes with new and more numerous objects and innovations, including imports, which had not previously been available in the city's marketplaces or shops.

Throughout the later sixteenth century, York houses were often renovated and extended to produce additional rooms and spaces, including the ceiling over of open halls, the addition of extra storeys and the insertion of attics.[603] The increased number of rooms allowed for greater room specialization as evidenced by the increase in number of chambers, often named according to their

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[599] See Chapter 1, 18–21.

[600] See Chapter 5, 141–50.

[601] See Chapter 4, 129–35.

[602] See Chapter 6.

[603] See Chapter 3; RCHME, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, vol. V: The Central Area* (London: HMSO, 1981).

contents or purpose, the abundance of specific food storage and preparation spaces in individual residences and, notably, the rising popularity of the parlour. Parlours, luxuriously appointed and intentionally comfortable rooms, whether used for sitting, dining, sleeping or for all three purposes, were often among the first rooms in the home to be equipped with contemporary features such as glazed windows and fashionable but expensive oak panelling. The presence of so much wainscoting in the sampled sixteenth-century houses not only indicates that residents' spending power had increased enough by this date to enable them to afford such improvements, but also that the people of York were aware of, and aspired to own and exhibit, the latest fashions and products available in England.

The enlargement of houses not only created new social spaces in which sixteenth-century residents could interact socially while remaining within the privacy of their own homes, but also allowed for the accumulation of a greater variety and number of domestic possessions to fill and furnish those newly created rooms and spaces. The range of household goods available to the urban consumer increased dramatically, as a result of technological advances made in many crafts and an increase in imports from other parts of England and from overseas, all driven by a growing demand for new and better quality products, a process which must have only been enhanced by the arrival of the Council of the North and its attendants. Objects that were exceedingly rare or completely unavailable at the start of the fifteenth century began to appear in both the documentary sources and in the archaeology in greater numbers as time progressed, reflecting their growing availability in York's shops and marketplaces. Advances in metalworking and warfare prompted the creation of new weapons and types of armour, changes in clothing styles led to the fashion for increasingly large cuffs and ruffs, while rising standards of living resulted in new objects, and new versions of objects made from more expensive and desirable materials or adorned with ever-increasing levels of decoration, becoming both more desirable and more attainable.

Regional differences

As mentioned above, York saw a trend towards expanding and renovating houses, rather than a "Great Rebuilding" such as that posited for rural England during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and for the city of Norwich in the late fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.[604] Both inventory and building evidence suggest that the practice of improving and modernizing houses in York began during the second half of the sixteenth century as the city began to recover from its economic and demographic slump. The modernization process also resulted in internal structural improvements such as brick chimneys, glazed windows and wainscoting, including at the Starre Inne on Stonegate, at a relatively early date compared to the rest of the country, with the first

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[604] See Chapter 3; W.G. Hoskins, "The Rebuilding of Rural England, 1570–1640", *Past and Present* 4 (1953): 44–59; Chris King, "'Closure' and the Urban Great Rebuilding in Early Modern Norwich", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 44, no. 1 (2010): 62.

instances of wainscoting in York halls and parlours occurring in the late 1560s, when even in the capital wainscoting was such a luxury that only smaller sized rooms were panelled before 1600.[605]

How certain rooms were named, identified and used also varied according to region. In York halls, whether open or ceiled over, retained their presence and importance in houses throughout the period studied, whereas in Norwich, for example, halls were found in less than half of homes by the 1580s.[606] London parlours did not contain beds while many, but by no means all, of York and Norwich parlours did; beds were also found in a number of kitchens and halls in sixteenth-century Norwich but not in York.[607] The term great chamber referred to the dining room in London and in some larger Norwich houses, but in York denoted the master bedroom of the house, which in turn was known as the parlour chamber in Norwich, a term which is entirely absent from York documents.[608]

It was not only structural features such as glazed windows, lockable doors and panelled walls that appeared in York homes at relatively early dates, but also new, improved and/or imported domestic objects and personal possessions including almain rivets and rapiers (either imported from overseas or made in imitation of Continental examples), increasingly luxurious and ornate bedding and new more elaborate and fitted fashions for both men (such as jerkins and breeches) and women (requiring new accessories such as partlets, crosscloths, petticoats and stomachers), all of which appear in York documents soon after their first mention in English sources.[609] The appearance of new objects in York assemblages cannot solely be attributed to an increasing availability in the city of goods imported from elsewhere in England and from overseas, but seems to reflect the acquisition by local artisans of new skills in manufacturing, through technological and stylistic improvements in their own crafts, specialization in newly fashionable or innovative items and/or the imitation of overseas goods produced for the local market. The fact that the people of York were not only aware of national trends, fashions and advances in material culture, but were able to acquire these products, and the skills needed to produce them, at such early dates proves that the northern city was a thriving commercial centre able to procure the latest innovations and fashions for its residents only shortly after their first introduction or invention.

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[605] John Schofield, *Medieval London Houses* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 126. See Chapter 3, 70–71; Chapter 6, 182.

[606] King, "'Closure' and the Urban Great Rebuilding", 71.

[607] Schofield, *Medieval London Houses*, 66; Ursula Priestley and P.J. Corfield, "Rooms and Room Use in Norwich Housing, 1580−1730", *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 16 (1982): 105–106.

[608] See Chapter 3, 76–77.

[609] See Chapter 4, 102–103, 113–15.

Decline, recovery and material culture

Changes in York's object assemblages can be used to critique the city's traditional narrative of serious economic and demographic decline throughout the fifteenth century leading to late sixteenth-century recovery. The fall in the importance and prosperity of the cloth trades in the face of competition from West Riding towns and rural areas, harvest failures, epidemics and the national "great slump" of the mid-century have all been identified as factors in York's fifteenth-century economic recession.[610] Although it is impossible to definitively ascertain the level of decline in the city based on surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century probate material, the object assemblages listed and described in fifteenth-century wills and inventories only partly support this narrative. The evidence provided by both archaeological and historical data sets indicates without doubt that the city's economy was thriving by the later sixteenth century, primarily following the permanent establishment of the Council of the North and the resulting business which its existence generated. The presence of the Council and its associated courts led to demographic growth, increased visitors to the city, a demand for new and improved services and products and, as a result, a greater amount of expendable income for city residents, which many used to improve and extend their houses, enabling them to purchase a greater number, and better quality and style, of domestic objects with which to furnish and fill their new rooms and household spaces.

However, the object assemblages of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries show little evidence of the aforementioned economic decline. Admittedly, this is partly due to the nature of the surviving documentary sources which privilege the wealthier and more prosperous residents of the city over those who may have been struggling with their circumstances.[611] Nevertheless, evidence provided by fifteenth-century wills and inventories suggests that many residents of the sampled parishes, particularly the tanners of St Margaret and the glaziers and metalworkers – founders, goldsmiths and especially pewterers – of Stonegate prospered during this period. Mason Hugh Grantham (d.1410), for example, died owning over £200 in goods and debts, pewterer Richard Wynder (d.1505) owned more than £31-worth of plate and jewellery, and founder John Tennand's home already contained at least fourteen rooms and/or outbuildings by 1516.[612] Chapman Thomas Gryssop had over £52-worth of goods in his shop in 1446, including imported cloths from Brabant

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[610] See, for example, Edward Miller, "Medieval York" in *A History of Yorkshire: The City of York*, ed. P.M. Tillot, Victoria History of the Counties of England (London: published for the Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press, 1961), 84–91; J.N. Bartlett, "The Expansion and Decline of York in the Later Middle Ages", *Economic History Review* 12, 2nd series (1959–60): 17–33; D.M. Palliser, *Medieval York* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 235–38.

[611] For a discussion of York's surviving fifteenth- and sixteenth-century probate documents, see Chapter 2, 34–35. For Prosopographical scoping of sampled individuals, see Chapter 2, 41–57.

[612] James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 3, Surtees Society 45 (1864), 47−51 (Hugh Grantham, 1410); BIA, D&C orig. wills 1383–March 1554: Richard Wynder, 1505; John Tennand, 1516.

and Champagne, various exotic spices and coffers and purses from London, as well as other luxury goods such as mirrors, ivory combs and silk ribbons.[613] Even within the troubled textile industry some practitioners thrived: by embracing "foreign" cloths from the countryside, tailor John Carter flourished in his business enterprises, stocking his shop with at least sixty pieces of individually itemized western and southern cloth, worth over £28 at the time of his death in 1485.[614]

Archaeological and documentary evidence: the issues

This thesis has focused on using an interdisciplinary approach to investigate and analyse the material culture of York households in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[615] What is most distinctive about the methodology adopted, is that it places equal emphasis on the evidence provided by both the documentary and archaeological sources; research was not restricted to published sources, focusing instead on original manuscripts for the historical side of the research while exploiting YAT's artefact collections, unpublished grey papers and IADB database entries for additional evidence concerning York's archaeology. In much interdisciplinary work the evidence provided by one discipline is used to support and reinforce the findings of another, as in Chapter 3 of this thesis, where the material and documentary sources used clearly complement each other, adding to our understanding of how houses changed externally and internally over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Yet in much of this thesis, the reverse has been the case, with the two disciplines producing such different evidence relating to the nature of domestic objects and personal possessions that the objects present within the various assemblages only rarely overlap.

The differences in material culture as revealed by the two disciplines are unsurprising when one considers the nature of the sources used. Documentary sources, such as probate wills and inventories, describe possessions singled out as bequests or appraised for the inventory of the testator's estate because they were valuable. Conversely, the majority of objects found in the archaeological record had been purposefully discarded, often when broken, precisely because they were no longer considered to be of value to their owners. Furthermore, not only do many of the materials from which many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century objects were made not survive burial well, but where possible York residents would have re-used and recycled their belongings before finally disposing of them. Thus, while references to gold, silver, clothing, textiles and pieces of furniture are commonplace in the historical sources, examples are almost never found in the archaeological record. Similarly, the most numerous small finds retrieved in York's archaeological investigations are sherds of pottery, a cheap material which, as a result, rarely features in written sources.

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[613] BIA, D&C orig. wills, 1383–March 1554: Thomas Gryssop, 1446.

[614] *Ibid.*: John Carter, 1485. See Chapter 4, 124–25.

[615] See Chapter 2, 36–37.

This almost total divergence between the types of object assemblages revealed by the documentary and archaeological source material could be viewed as a major disadvantage to using such an interdisciplinary approach to the study of the material culture of the city. Indeed, in an ideal world, not only would the objects described in the probate documents correspond with those recovered from the ground, but the homes of the individuals discussed throughout this thesis would be identifiable with surviving buildings or the sites of archaeological digs, allowing artefacts to be confidently identified as belonging to specific households: this is unfortunately not possible. Furthermore, while the documentary and architectural evidence privilege those who lived in the wealthier households of the city, the archaeological evidence is more inclusive, encompassing the discarded and lost objects of all levels of society. However, it is my assertion that it is these very discrepancies between the information provided by the historical and archaeological source material that make this interdisciplinary approach crucial to the analysis of York's material culture in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In many cases the evidence from one discipline is required to inform the findings of another, as when analysis of the growth in the use of English in testaments enhances instances of, and our understanding of, objects' affective value, or when analysis of the type and quantity of discarded objects informs our understanding of financial value and its limits.[616] Thus, it is only through placing equal emphasis on evidence provided by both the documentary and archaeological sources that the full range of domestic objects and personal possessions that filled York homes can be effectively identified and analysed.

Defining the neighbourhood

This interdisciplinary study of the material culture of York households has revealed a great deal of information about the domestic objects and personal possessions owned and used by the city's fifteenth- and sixteenth-century residents, about the houses in which they lived and the household members with whom they shared that home. However, the source material also suggests that the influence and relevance of material culture extended far beyond the household unit to the larger emotional community to which these people belonged: the neighbourhood.[617] Not only were goods circulated between neighbours, by sale, bequest and exchange, but objects were integral to the celebration of many life events that informed neighbourliness. Although the term "neighbourhood" does not occur in the documentary sources used in this thesis, and "neighbour" (or its Latin equivalent *vicinus*/*vicina*) only five times, the testaments and probate inventories studied commonly contain references both to people and to different geographical spaces which these York residents appear to have considered to be their neighbours and neighbourhoods.

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[616] See Chapter 4, 103, 121–23; Chapter 5, 139; Chapter 6, 205–206.

[617] For the article on which this section is based, see: Lisa Liddy, "'All to make mery with': Testamentary Bequests to Neighbours in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-century York", in *The Experience of Late Medieval and Early Modern Neighbourhood*, ed. Bronach Kane and Simon Sandall (Aldershot: Ashgate, forthcoming).

Neighbours

In the documents of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, the exact meaning of the word "neighbour" is often ambiguous and unclear. It could be used to refer to people who lived in very close proximity, possibly adjacent to one another, as was probably intended when Joan Cotyngham (d.1459) bequeathed her tabard to her *vicina* Maud Danyell, or when Robert Beckewithe (d.1585) described the two witnesses and supervisors of his will as his friends and neighbours.[618] "Neighbour" could also denote those living in the same general area, rather than immediately next door, such as when John Broune (d.1559) instructed "that my neyghbors have a dynner at my house the daie of my burial" and when Alison Clark (d.1509) stipulated that the people invited to her dirge and dinner were her "nebours frome Stanegait ende to Bothome bar".[619] Yet another shade of meaning is bestowed upon the word as Richard Bell (d.1549) used it in his will, referring to the inhabitants of the village in which he formerly resided as his neighbours. Despite living, dying and requesting burial in his parish of St Michael-le-Belfrey in York, Bell left money and candles to the church of Fangfoss, his former home, eleven miles from the city, and requested that a dinner be held there for his neighbours according to the town's custom.[620] In this instance, the word neighbours signalled emotional attachment to both people and place, as the geographical proximity upon which the testator's identification was based no longer existed.

Neighbourliness

Exchanges of objects were also central in defining critical events that determined and influenced the experience of neighbourliness. Despite the limited use of the word neighbour in York's fifteenth- and sixteenth-century probate material, testamentary bequests do reflect a distinctive set of values associated with a highly localized form of social interaction. An individual's impending death provided many opportunities for reciprocal acts of neighbourliness both by the person who was dying and by the members of his or her emotional community, many of which were bound up in the testamentary process. The individual approaching death could exhibit neighbourliness: through bequests of money and object assemblages to neighbours, household servants, apprentices and godchildren; through charitable gifts to poor, and usually anonymous, neighbours; and through the provision of a funeral dinner or feast to which neighbours were customarily invited.[621] Other members of the emotional community showed their neighbourliness: by serving as witnesses, executors and supervisors of wills and testaments; by attending funeral masses and dinners; and by

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[618] YML, D&C wills, vol. 1, fol. 290v (Joan Cotyngham, 1459); vol. 5, fol. 116r (Robert Beckewithe, 1585).

[619] BIA, Prob. Reg. 15/3, fol. 23v (John Broune, 1559); YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 82v (Alison Clark, 1509). See Chapter 2, 54–56, Table 8.

[620] YML, D&C wills, vol. 3, fol. 28v (Richard Bell, 1549).

[621] For testamentary bequests of personal possessions, see Chapters 4 and 5.

acting as appraisers of the deceased's moveable objects for his or her inventory.[622] This notion of neighbourliness, informed both by the church's teaching on charity and by the sociability of urban life, was one of the key social forces upon which testamentary provision was based. At the same time, the sharing of objects also helped to further bind together testator, witness and recipient in the fulfilment of the terms of a will.

Neighbourhood

Behind the idea of neighbourliness was an awareness of the existence of a geographical space: the neighbourhood. But how well defined was the neighbourhood in the late medieval city? Although there is no mention of "neighbourhood" *per se* in the sampled documents, references are made within testaments to different geographical spaces which testators appear to have considered to be their neighbourhoods.

For the residents of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century York, the parish was a focal point of the emotional community, hosting and providing a venue and audience not only for religious worship but also for major life-cycle events such as baptisms, marriages and funerals. Almost every York testator left money to his or her parish church, as was customary during this period, while many also demonstrated attachment to their parish by leaving their own household objects to serve in their church.[623] The presence in church of such personal possessions served as a perpetual reminder to both church officials and other parishioners and neighbours of the testators' membership within that parish, community and neighbourhood.[624] Further evidence of the parish as neighbourhood is provided by a series of bequests made by parishioners of St Margaret, Walmgate between September 1552 and March 1561. During this time, seven out of nineteen testators – thirty-seven percent – each left a certain sum of money to every house in their parish, ranging from the 1d per house bequeathed by butcher John Salmon to the 6d per house granted by John Northe, a tanner and former mayor of the city.[625] This practice was not adopted by everyone and does not occur either before or after these dates. Whether the bequests were an attempt to create a new custom

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[622] For neighbours as appraisers of inventories, see Chapter 2, 58; Chapter 3, 107.

[623] See Chapter 5, 147–52.

[624] See, for example, Lynne Bowdon, "Redefining Kinship: Exploring Boundaries of Relatedness in Late Medieval New Romney", *Journal of Family History* 29 (2004): 412; Catherine Richardson, "Household Objects and Domestic Ties", in *The Medieval Household in Christian Europe c.850–c.1550*, ed. Cordelia Beattie, Anna Maslakovic and Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 438; Nicola A. Lowe, "Women's Devotional Bequests of Textiles in the Late Medieval English Parish Church, c.1350–1550", *Gender & History* 22, no. 2 (2010): 413.

[625] BIA, Prob. Reg. 15/2, fol. 289r (John Northe, 1558); Prob. Reg. 17, fol. 93v (John Salmon, 1561). Other examples include 2d given by Anthony Hargill in 1552 (Prob. Reg. 13, fol. 958r) and by Christine Baron in 1556 (Prob. Reg. 15/1, fol. 105r), and 4d by Henry Drury and John Sawndwith in 1558 (Prob. Reg. 15/3, fols. 1r, 96r) and by Isabel Wetherall in 1559 (Prob. Reg. 16, fol. 86v).

which never really caught on, a charitable reaction to the pestilences and hardships of the mid sixteenth century, or a single initial act of benevolence copied by others who appreciated and approved of the gesture, is not known. This briefly-lived practice does show, however, that for at least some of the inhabitants of the parish of St Margaret, the parish and the neighbourhood were one and the same. No examples of any similar practice have been found in the other three sampled parishes, despite the survival of over seven times as many wills for the residents of these other parishes.

In contrast, for many of the residents of St Michael-le-Belfrey and St Helen, Stonegate parishes in the northwest corner of the city, the neighbourhood appears to have been centred not upon the parish itself, but upon certain streets, or parts of streets: namely the main thoroughfares of Petergate and Stonegate and their smaller offshoots. Thus, Agnes Thomson (d.1546) bequeathed her domestic objects to residents of both parishes, Lady Elizabeth White (d.1569) left money not to the wives of her parish, but to the wives of Stonegate and Petergate and, as mentioned above, Alison Clark identified her neighbourhood as that area of Petergate which extended from the end of Stonegate to Bootham Bar.[626] Parishioners from St Helen, Stonegate witnessed wills, appraised inventories, received bequests and acted as executors for testators living in St Michael-le-Belfrey, and the people of St Michael-le-Belfrey did the same for their neighbours in St Helen's.[627] The residents of the Petergate/Stonegate neighbourhood were primarily metal-workers, glaziers, merchants and professionals: they lived in the same types of houses surrounded by similar object assemblages; they practised the same crafts and trades; they served as godparents and masters to each others' children; and, parish membership notwithstanding, they belonged to the same emotional community and considered themselves to be neighbours.

The way forward

As noted in the introduction and expounded throughout the thesis, the historical and archaeological data sets used in this study often provide contradictory but complementary information regarding the nature of the material culture of York households in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Yet despite the extremely rich archaeological and documentary records extant for the city of York, it is rare for academic studies to make full use of both sources, particularly that data which has not yet been published. A historian by training, this Collaborative Doctoral Award has not only granted me access to both the published fascicles and the grey literature and integrated archaeological database entries produced by York Archaeological Trust, revealing a wealth of previously unknown, and often unexpected, information about the material culture of the city, but has also allowed me access to the many experts who work for that institution, enabling an exchange of knowledge that would

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[626] YML, D&C wills, vol. 2, fol. 82r (Alison Clarke, 1509); vol. 3, fol. 16r (Agnes Thomson, 1546); vol. 5, fol. 39r (Elizabeth White, 1569).

[627] See Chapter 2, Table 8.

not otherwise have been possible. Future historical studies on the city of York would benefit from including such archaeological resources in their source material. Among the many possibilities, such an interdisciplinary approach could expand upon the findings of this thesis by enlarging the geographical scope of the study, providing a more complete vision of the objects owned and used in the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century city while investigating further comparisons and contrasts in the material culture of different parts of the city. Alternatively, expanding the date range could allow for investigations into York's earlier material culture, although wills only survive from 1321 for the Dean and Chapter court and from 1389 for the Exchequer court, while survival of probate inventories, the earliest of which dates to 1383, is extremely sporadic up to and including the sixteenth century. This approach could also be used to study later periods, particularly as YAT's excavation at Hungate, York's largest ever excavation, considered the entire period of habitation on the site, from the Viking age to the present day.

A similar interdisciplinary approach to that adopted for this thesis could also be used by archaeologists, as an awareness and understanding of those objects described in documentary sources would not only assist with the identification of archaeological finds, but would also reveal the contemporary nomenclature used for such objects and could also suggest where, when and how such objects were used and kept. Historians, archaeologists and buildings archaeologists in particular could also use the evidence provided by surviving historical documents to match standing buildings or geographical locations with earlier known buildings and/or the individuals who owned them, such as the identification of John Stokdale's new house with 56–60 Petergate and the investigation of the Starre Inne on Stonegate as it stood in c.1581 when William Carter was its innkeeper, which forms Chapter 6 of this thesis.

As discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis, the history of emotions is a growing discipline, but one that as yet has not devoted sufficient attention to the study of material culture. While it is hoped that this thesis goes some way to redress that balance, further attempts to apply emotions history to material culture in general, and to archaeological sites and small finds in particular, would greatly add to the historical debate.

Finally, such interdisciplinary studies, placing equal emphasis upon historical and archaeological data sets, both published and unpublished, should not be restricted to the city of York. Indeed, this approach could, and should, be used to study the material culture of other British villages, towns and cities, particularly those with a rich history of both archaeological investigation and documentary survival. For, as has been stressed throughout this thesis, it is only by employing the evidence provided by both historical and archaeological sources that the fullest possible range of domestic objects and personal possessions can best be identified, investigated and analysed.

Appendix

Objects: The Archaeological Evidence from York[628]

Furniture

Chests

Two possible chest lids have been found (Coppergate SF8942, SF9056): the former is made of oak and ash, measuring 71cm x 49cm x 2cm; the latter, of oak with two iron hinge straps still attached, may have been a window shutter and has been much repaired and re-used.[629] Iron fittings from chests, in the form of stapled hasps (Coppergate 12364, 12368, Bedern 13971–73) and hinge straps (Coppergate 12318; Bedern 13952–56), have also been found.[630]

Seating

A D-shaped oak seat (Coppergate 8948), measuring 56.5cm x 38.5cm x 5.6cm, from a three-legged stool, has part of a roundwood leg surviving in one of the three holes in its base. As the upper surface of the seat is worn and covered in linear cuts, it had probably also been used as a work surface.[631]

Furnishings

Fixtures and fittings[632]

Wall hooks

Iron wall hooks had two arms, one of which was hammered into a wall, and the other used to hang objects upon. Hooks could be L-shaped (Foundry 13221), U-shaped (Coppergate 12990) or have a shank which projected slightly forward of the hook arm, allowing the object to be hammered into the wall without damage (Coppergate 12301; Foundry 13323; Bedern 13946).[633] Small iron hooks, resembling the tenterhooks which fullers used to stretch fulled cloth (Bedern 13733; Fishergate 14911–13), are more likely to be hooks for tapestries, hallings or other wall hangings.[634]

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[628] Unless otherwise stated, entries are taken from the catalogues at the back of the YAT fascicles on The Pottery (*AY 16*) or Craft, Industry and Everyday Life (*AY 17*) or from YAT's web series (*AY WS*). Catalogue or find numbers have been provided in brackets for each object mentioned.

[629] *AY 17/13*, 2386, 2414, 2421, Fig. 1170; *AY 17/15*, 2838, 3050, Fig. 1415.

[630] *AY 17/15*, 3050–52, 3106–107, Figs 1416, 1417, 1421.

[631] *AY 17/13*, 2303–304, 2415, Fig. 1129.

[632] This category includes only those objects by which other items were attached to interior walls. Structural fixtures and fittings and those belonging to doors and windows are not included.

[633] *AY 17/15*, 2836, 3049, 3076, 3085, 3106, Fig. 1413.

[634] *AY 17/15*, 2738–39, 3101, 3137, Fig. 1346.

Rings

Two substantial copper alloy rings (Bedern College 14263; Aldwark 14701) have been tentatively identified as textile rings for hanging curtains or wall hangings.[635]

Locks and keys

A complete iron door lock with a sliding bolt and tumbler were found inside a rectangular panel from an oak door (Coppergate 9045); a similar panel, with the lock now missing, has also been recovered (Bedern 9242), as have the bolt from a similar lock (Fishergate 15082) and an iron ward plate from the centre of a lock chamber (Fishergate 15083). Large iron keys for mounted locks may have been used on doors (Coppergate 12598, 12607; Foundry 13266; Bedern 14064–70, 14072–75, 14081–84; Fishergate 15094–98).[636]

Brass-plated iron barrel padlocks (Bedern 14054, 14057–59; 2 Aldwark 14682; Fishergate 15086) could have been used to secure chests, coffers or other containers.[637] Iron keys for barrel padlocks have also been found (Bedern 14088; Fishergate 15100), as have iron latch keys for padlocks (Bedern 14090–91) and a small copper alloy key possibly from a mounted lock on a casket or chest (Bedern 14290).[638]

Lighting

Candlesticks

Candleholders found in York include an iron pricket (Foundry 13263) – a candleholder with one or more spikes on which candles were impaled – and socketed iron candleholders with angled (Bedern 14044–46, 14048, 14050) or straight shafts (Foundry 13260–61; Bedern 14047, 14051). A copper alloy socket from a portable folding candleholder (Bedern 14288) and a complete copper alloy socket from a double-branched candlestick (Fishergate 15184) have also been found, as has a pedestal candlestick base made of Walmgate ware (Walmgate 4425).[639]

Lamps

Three types of lamp were found in York: hanging lamps of green glass (Bedern 13577–78; Fishergate 14777); stone lamps with single (Bedern 13475) and multiple (Foundry 13099; Bedern

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[635] *AY 17/15*, 2853, 3115, 3131.

[636] *AY 17/13*, 2361, 2420, 2431–2, Fig. 1163; *AY 17/15*, 2861, 2867, 3058–59, 3086, 3109–10, 3141–42, Figs 1439–41, 1449, 1451–52.

[637] *AY 17/15*, 2861–67, 3109, 3131, 3142, Figs 1442, 1448.

[638] *AY 17/15*, 2876–79, 3110, 3116, 3142, Figs 1451, 1453, 1456, 1459, 1460.

[639] *AY 17/15*, 2855–58, 3086, 3109, 3116, 3145, Figs 1432–34; *AY 16/9*, 1257, 1308, Fig. 526.

13475) reservoirs; and sherds from ceramic lamps of Hambleton-type ware (1–5 Aldwark 773; Bedern 4511), the latter of which is decorated with an overlapping wheel stamp.[640] Two iron strike-a-lights (a modern word – the contemporary term is not known), used with flints to make sparks for igniting wood fires in hearths, have also been found (Foundry 13201; Coppergate 11915); the latter is pierced to allow it to be hung from a belt.[641]

Storage

Storage vessels recovered include a possible basket handle made of three lengths of twisted roundwood 28cm long (Coppergate 8913) and a fragment from a small lathe-turned ash box, 4.3cm in diameter (Coppergate 8940).[642] Fittings believed to have come from coffers or caskets include copper alloy binding strips (Foundry 13322–24; Bedern 14239), hinges of tin-plated iron (Bedern 13958, 13965), and a delicate copper alloy discoidal mount with "a border of fleurs-de-lys surrounding a central shield bearing an illegible heraldic motif" (Bedern 14402).[643]

Cooking and dining: kitchen equipment

Food preparation

Cooking pots

Fragments from copper alloy cooking pots, including rims (Coppergate 12860; Foundry 13308–11; Bedern 14194–99), bodies (Foundry 13313–15; Bedern 14205–208), a base (Bedern 14192), legs (Foundry 13305–307; Bedern 14193–94) and handles (Bedern 14200–201), were recovered, often at sites where metalworking is known to have taken place.[644] There is plentiful evidence that such objects were frequently repaired: vessel patches, some with rivet holes and surviving rivets, have been found throughout the city (Coppergate 12861; Foundry 13317; Bedern 14212–14; 2 Aldwark 14699, 14731; Fishergate 15153–54) including one with inscribed decoration (14699).[645]

Ceramic cauldrons also exist in the archaeological record, with the presence of a blackened exterior surface indicating that a particular pot was used for cooking rather than storing raw ingredients.[646]

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[640] *AY 17/15*, 2859–61, 3082, 3095, 3098, 3133, Figs 1435, 1437; *AY 16/3*, 197 identifies the Aldwark example as a lobed bowl fragment, a claim refuted by *AY 16/9*, 1283–84, 1312, Fig. 548.

[641] *AY 17/15*, 2805–806, 3042, 3084, Fig. 1388.

[642] *AY 17/15*, 2413, Fig. 1103; *AY 17/13*, 2298, 2414, Fig. 1124.

[643] *AY 17/15*, 2905, 3088, 3106–107, 3114, 3119, Figs 1417, 1420, 1427, 1479.

[644] *AY 17/15*, 2687, 3068, 3088, 3113–14.

[645] *AY 17/15*, 2813–14, 3068, 3088, 3114, 3131–32, 3144, Fig. 1399.

[646] Sarah Jennings, *Medieval Pottery in the Yorkshire Museum* (York: Yorkshire Museum, 1992), 3.

Examples were made of Humber ware (1–5 Aldwark 714–16, 721, 730–31, 754, 776, 790; Bishophill 195; Walmgate 38–39) and Walmgate ware (1–5 Aldwark 766), with rim diameters ranging from 12cm to 27.2cm.[647]

Pipkins and grapen

Sherds from pipkins – ceramic cooking vessels with one or two handles, with or without feet – were found at several sites, made of various materials, including purple glazed ware with two handles and three feet each (1–5 Aldwark 755–56), Ryedale ware (1–5 Aldwark 806), Hambleton-type ware (Bedern 194), and post-medieval red coarse ware (Bedern 200), the latter of which is a complete vessel with two handles, three feet and exterior sooting. Those made of Low Countries red ware are probably imported *grapen* or tripod skillets (1–5 Aldwark 724, 739–40, 786–87; Fishergate 2637–38; Bedern 197; Coppergate 4524–26).[648]

Frying pans

Frying pans have been found made of imported Low Countries red ware (Hungate 226; 1–5 Aldwark 725; Coppergate 4527–28), including a nearly complete example found in a post-Dissolution level at Fishergate. A frying pan of Humber ware has also been recovered (1–5 Aldwark 733).[649]

Skillets

Four copper alloy fragments have been tentatively identified as belonging to tripod skillets – resembling three-legged cauldrons in shape, but with a looped handle at the rim, from which a longer handle emerges: a handle fragment (Bedern 14201); a leg fragment (Foundry 13305); and leg and foot fragments (Bedern 14193–94).[650]

Dripping trays

Dripping tray sherds of Ryedale ware (1–5 Aldwark 822) and Low Countries red ware (Coppergate 4522) have been found in the city. The Yorkshire Museum has two incomplete Humber ware examples, one originally oval shaped with an orangey-brown interior glaze and extensive sooting

[647] *AY 16/3*, 188, 190, 195, 197, 199, Figs 67–69, 71, 73–74, 76; *AY 16/1*, 35, Fig. 16; "Pottery", *AY WS/1*, accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm.

[648] *AY 16/3*, 167, 192, 197, 202, Figs 68–69, 71, 75, 77; *AY 16/6*, 659; *AY 16/9*, 1313, Fig. 554; *AY 16/1*, 15–16, 35, Figs 16–17, Plate Vb. Identification of items published in *AY 16/1* as being of Hambleton-type ware or purple glazed ware is my own; these types of pottery had not yet been categorized when *AY 16/1* was published, but Catherine Brooks clearly describes both types in *AY 16/3*, making identification possible.

[649] Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 56; *AY 16/3*, 167, 190, Figs 68–69; *AY 16/6*, 659, Fig. 264; *AY 16/9*, 1313, Fig. 554.

[650] *AY 17/15*, 2089, 3088, 3113, Fig. 1394.

opposite its handle scar (133), and the other originally rectangular with an iron green glaze on its interior and top edge (134).[651]

Mortars and pestles

Several mortar fragments have been found, nine made of limestone (22 Piccadilly 13011; Foundry 13096–98; Bedern 13464–65, 13467–69), two of sandstone (Foundry 13095; Bedern 13466) and two of Humber ware pottery (131–32). One fragment has been identified as part of a possible copper alloy mortar (Bedern 14208). A possible stone pestle (Fishergate 14756) has also been found.[652]

Cooking and fire utensils

A double hook made of iron has been identified as a possible flesh hook (Bedern 13948).[653] Fire utensils include an iron shovel found in a bakehouse (Coppergate 11917) and an oak rake head, with heavy charring on one side and along the straight raking edge (Coppergate 8978).[654]

Food storage

Cisterns and jars

Sherds from cisterns for storing liquids – distinguished from jars by the presence of a bung hole – have been found made of Humber ware (1–5 Aldwark 735, 745, 775, 794; Bedern 4496), Hambleton-type ware (1–5 Aldwark 762, 769–70; Skeldergate 4518; Hungate 4520), purple glazed ware (1–5 Aldwark 761, 764), Ryedale ware (1–5 Aldwark 813–14) and Walmgate ware (Walmgate 4424). The Yorkshire Museum has three York Hambleton-type ware cisterns in its collection, two of which are complete (198–99) and the third missing only its bung-hole rim (200), all with a copper green glaze, found at Spen Lane, Blossom Street and Davygate respectively.[655]

Storage jars of various sizes were made of: Ryedale ware (1–5 Aldwark 818), with one handle and straight sides, measuring 20cm across; post-medieval red coarse ware, a small handleless jar with a rim diameter of 16cm (1–5 Aldwark 747); purple glazed ware, an even smaller handleless jar with a rim diameter of 8.8cm (1–5 Aldwark 824); Humber ware (Bedern 4509); Hambleton-type ware (Bedern 4514); and Walmgate ware (1–5 Aldwark 782; Walmgate 4401, 4418–23), including a jar

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[651] *AY 16/3*, 202, Fig. 78; *AY 16/9*, 1288, 1313, Fig. 554; Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 52.

[652] *AY 17/15*, 2803, 2809, 3077, 3081, 3094, 3114, 3133, Figs 1385–86, 1394; Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 52: 132 is from Feasegate; the provenance of 131 is unknown.

[653] *AY 17/15*, 2805, 3106, Fig. 1388.

[654] *AY 17/15*, 2806, 2994, 3042, Fig. 1388; *AY 17/13*, 2319, 2416, Fig. 1140.

[655] *AY 16/3*, 190, 192, 195, 197, 199, 202, Figs 69, 71–74, 76–77; *AY 16/9*, 1257, 1308, 1311–13, Figs 526, 544, 549, 552–53; Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 53–54.

measuring 18cm across at the rim and 36cm across at its widest point, with one horizontal handle (782), while a similar jar, but with two horizontal handles, was found at Hungate.[656] The Yorkshire Museum has three other much smaller, squat jars, possibly used for food storage, at the table or for a number of other purposes, all between 7cm and 9cm tall and made of Humber ware or a type of splash glazed ware (135–37).[657]

Sherds that may have come from either cisterns or large storage jars were found made of: purple glazed ware (1–5 Aldwark 757–58; 9 Blake St 190; Walmgate 40); Hambleton-type ware (9 Blake St 191; Skeldergate 189, 192; Hungate 4519), the latter of which was decorated with an applied ceramic brooch and had three handles; Ryedale ware (1–5 Aldwark 800, 809); Humber ware (1–5 Aldwark 727, 774; Skeldergate 193); and Walmgate ware (Walmgate 4405).[658]

Casks

Oak casks – consisting of wooden staves bound together by wooden or metal bands, sealed by caskheads set into grooves at either end – were found lining wells (Coppergate 8765–67; Piccadilly 9190–92), but were also used commercially as packing cases and domestically for storing food and drink. Most are over 1m high (8765–67, 9191–92) with the largest measuring 1.5m (8767). Two were smaller, measuring 52.1cm and 60cm respectively (Coppergate 8764, the only cask not found lining a well; Piccadilly 9190). Casks intended to hold liquids required at least one bung hole to allow air in as the liquid poured out through a hole made in one caskhead (8765, 8767, 9191–92).[659]

Trough

Troughs had a variety of domestic functions, but at least some, perhaps including the fragment of an elongated oval alder wood trough found at Coppergate (8917), were "traditionally bread making utensils ... for kneading dough".[660]

Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous storage vessels include a standing costrel (203) – used to store liquids – made of Hambleton-type ware, two fragments from a dark green and/or brown glass bottle (Low Petergate sf90), a Walmgate ware bottle (Bedern 4432) and a possible leather bottle base (Coppergate

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[656] *AY 16/3*, 192, 197, 202, Figs 71, 74, 78; *AY 16/9*, 1257, 1307–308, 1312, Figs 525–26, 547–48.

[657] Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 52.

[658] *AY 16/3*, 188, 190, 192, 195, 197, 199, 202, Figs 68–69, 71–74, 76–77; *AY 16/1*, 35, Fig. 16; "Pottery", *AY WS/1*; *AY 16/9*, 1257–58, 1307, 1313, Figs 525, 550–51.

[659] *AY 17/13*, 2237, 2250, 2408, 2427, Figs 996, 1078–79, 1089.

[660] *AY 17/13*, 2275, 2413, Fig. 1105.

15785).[661] Discs, made of ceramics (1–5 Aldwark 796, 812; 2 Aldwark 840) and fired clay tile (Fishergate 14776) might have been used as lids for kitchen vessels or pots.[662]

Cooking and dining: tableware

Eating and drinking vessels

Plates and dishes

A complete ash plate (Bedern 9231), with a diameter of 21.3cm and a base diameter of 7cm, had visible knife marks on its surface, while a copper alloy rim fragment has been identified as being either a plate or a dish (Bedern 14198). A Hambleton-type ware divided dish with incised lattice decoration has also been found (Bedern 4513).[663]

Bowls

Fragments of glass bowls of French Gothic blue glass with black decoration (Bedern 13535) and imported blue-ribbed glass made in the Venetian fashion (Foundry 13113), which may originally have had enamel decoration in its centre, were both "distinctive and valuable vessel(s)" of very high quality.[664] Around thirty-two pewter fragments are thought to belong to a single shallow bowl with an out-turned rim and concave base (Foundry 13407).[665]

Bowls, of various sizes, were more commonly made from wood including alder, ash, birch and maple (e.g. Coppergate 8583–90; Bedern 9228; Low Petergate sf54). There are several complete well-preserved examples of shallow, face-turned bowls, including: two ash bowls with diameters of 16.5cm and 14.2cm (Bedern 9226, 9230); an alder bowl with everted rim, base diameter of 6.2cm and rim diameter of 14cm (Bedern 9227); maple bowls, one of 12.2cm in diameter (Coppergate 8601) and another with an everted rim, 12cm in diameter, and a branded or stamped maker's mark in its centre (Bedern 9229).[666]

Sherds from several pottery bowls were found at 1–5 Aldwark, with diameters ranging from 15.2cm to 32.4cm, including internally glazed bowls of Humber ware (732) and Ryedale ware

[661] Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 54; IADB, Project 1006, 62–68 Low Petergate, accessed 16 April 2012, http://www.iadb.co.uk/i3/portal_main.php?DB=IADB; *AY 16/9*, 1308, Fig. 528; *AY 17/16*, 3412, 3505, Fig. 1732.

[662] *AY 16/3*, 199, 202, 222; *AY 17/15*, 3133.

[663] *AY 17/13*, 2431, Fig. 1026; *AY 17/15*, 2809, 3113, Fig. 1394; *AY 16/9*, 1312, Fig. 548.

[664] *AY 17/15*, 2817, 2821–23, 3082, 3097, Figs 1402–403.

[665] *AY 17/15*, 2812, 3091.

[666] *AY 17/13*, 2403, 2430–31, Figs 1023–24, 1026; IADB, Project 1066, 62–68 Low Petergate.

(816–17, 819–20), one of which may have been a sauce dish (816). Sherds from three bowls with handles indicate that these were much deeper than surviving wooden examples: a yellow ware bowl with a vertical handle, 15.2cm in diameter and 7.6cm deep (804) – almost twice as deep as the deepest surviving wooden bowl; a Ryedale ware bowl with a horizontal handle, 20cm in diameter and 8cm deep (821); and a yellow ware bowl, 32.4cm in diameter and 14cm deep (759), which was probably used for serving food. A red coarse ware bowl without handles, 30.8cm in diameter (771), was likely also a serving vessel. A bowl of reversed Cistercian ware was found at Bedern (205).[667]

Lobed bowls

Glazed ceramic lobed bowls had six or eight lobes, two handles and three-dimensional figures in their bases, and were probably used either as finger bowls or drinking bowls, in which the figure in the bottom would be revealed as the liquid was consumed. Sherds were found of Humber ware (Fishergate 2630), including a modelled bird figure (1–5 Aldwark 722), and Hambleton-type ware (1–5 Aldwark 738; Bedern 4515), including a partially complete eight-lobed bowl with three whole and two partial lobes and one handle surviving and with two modelled human figures in the base, the second of which is bearded, wears a hood and is carrying a container slung over his shoulder (1–5 Aldwark 772).[668] The Yorkshire Museum has three complete lobed bowls of Hambleton-type ware, two with eight lobes each, one with plain concentric rings on the base (206) and the other with two modelled stags (204); the third bowl has six lobes with a modelled pig-like figure in the base (205).[669]

Cups

Fragments from Cistercian ware cups, usually two-handled and often decorated with applied white clay, have been found at 1–5 Aldwark (752, 768, 797, 801–802, 826–27), all but two of which probably had two handles (797, 827). Four (768, 752, 797, 802) had white applied decoration, including one stamped with a face (768) and another with an applied white clay stag (802).[670] Sherds were also found at Fishergate (2619–23, 2626, 2634), Bedern (201–203, 206) and 9 Blake Street (207–11); two of these each had four handles (209, 211).[671] The Yorkshire Museum has several complete (restored) examples, all with two handles (212–18); most are plain but one has a rose motif on either side (217) and two have a stags heads on either side (216, 218).[672] Imported

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[667] *AY 16/3*, 190, 192, 195, 202, Figs 69, 71, 73, 77–78; *AY 16/1*, 15–16, 35, Fig. 17.

[668] *AY 16/3*, 160, 188, 190, 197, Figs 68–69, 74, Pl. XVIa; *AY 16/6*, 659, Fig. 264; *AY 16/9*, 1283–84, 1312.

[669] Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 54–55.

[670] *AY 16/3*, 161, 192, 195, 199, 202, Figs 71, 73, 76–78.

[671] *AY 16/6*, 659, Fig. 263; *AY 16/1*, 35, 37, Fig. 17.

[672] Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 55–56.

stoneware drinking vessels found in York include a Langerwehe or Raeren drinking cup (Fishergate 2624) and a Raeren mug (Bedern 196).[673]

Beakers

Fragments of imported glass beakers were found at the Foundry: four fragments from a green glass beaker featuring optic-blown writhen ribbing below the rim, probably made in Germany (13111); and one fragment of colourless green-tinged glass probably from the base rim of a beaker (13112).[674] Sherds from a conical-necked beaker of Raeren stoneware were found at 1–5 Aldwark (748).[675]

Drinking jugs and jars

The Yorkshire Museum has a substantial collection of both handled drinking jugs and handleless drinking jars, most of which are complete, all in unglazed Humber ware, "generally classed as Walmgate-type ware because of the known local production of these wares", of orange, orangey-red or brown colours, and described as being either tall and slender (jugs 138–47, jars 183, 185–86) or short and squat (jugs 148–80, jars 184, 197–99).[676] Other Walmgate ware drinking jugs found (1–5 Aldwark 718, 723, 780, 798; 2 Aldwark 839; Bedern 4433) include one glazed in an olive-green colour, perhaps as "an attempt to compete with the increasingly popular drinking cups and mugs in Cistercian ware and German stonewares" (780), and a large number of wasters from the pottery production site at 118–126 Walmgate.[677]

Sherds from imported Langerwehe or Raeren stoneware drinking vessels include one from a jar and another from a base of indeterminate form (1–5 Aldwark 749, 750).[678]

Wine glass

Three fragments from the foot of a clear, colourless wine glass (sf91) were found at Low Petergate; the glass is post-medieval, but could date to the sixteenth century.[679]

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[673] *AY 16/6*, 659, Fig. 263; *AY 16/1*, 15, 35, Fig. 16.

[674] *AY 17/15*, 2821–22, 3082, Fig. 1402.

[675] *AY 16/3*, 192, Fig. 71.

[676] I follow Sarah Jennings in distinguishing between the drinking jug (which has a handle) and the drinking jar (which has no handle): Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 52–53. Quote: *AY 16/9*, 1278.

[677] *AY 16/3*, 188, 197, 221, Figs 68, 74, 87; *AY 16/9*, 1257–59, 1308, Figs 524, 528.

[678] *AY 16/3*, 192, 199, Figs 71, 76.

[679] IADB, Project 1006, 62–68 Low Petergate.

Serving vessels

Jugs

The majority of serving jugs were made of glazed or unglazed Humber ware (including 1–5 Aldwark 710, 712–13, 717, 719, 728–29, 734, 741, 743–44, 777–79, 791–93; Skeldergate 178–79, 182–86; Bedern 180, 4488–92, 4494; Hungate 4493, 4498; York Minster 4495; Merchant Adventurers' Hall 4499; Coppergate 4500–501; Foundry 4502, 4510; Bishophill 181). The Yorkshire Museum also has eleven Humber ware serving jugs from the city (121, 123–25, 128, 190–95).[680]

Jugs were also made of other types of pottery: Walmgate ware (1–5 Aldwark 742; Walmgate 4400, 4402–404, 4406–17), including conical, baluster and rounded shapes, many with green glazes; Hambleton-type ware (1–5 Aldwark 726, 737,763, 795; Bedern 187; Merchant Adventurers' Hall 4521); purple glazed ware (1–5 Aldwark 785, 207–209); Ryedale ware (1–5 Aldwark 808); and post-medieval red coarse ware (1–5 Aldwark 746).[681]

Fragments of both imported Langerwehe stoneware jugs (1–5 Aldwark 751; Bedern 226–28) and imported Siegburg stoneware jugs (1–5 Aldwark 767, 788; Skeldergate 188; Bedern 198; 4531–34; York Minster 4535) have been found in the city, as has a complete Siegburg jug found at Low Petergate.[682] There are also sherds from two Raeren stoneware jugs (1–5 Aldwark 799, 803), the latter a narrow-necked jug with a cylindrical body decorated with a frieze of folk-dancers.[683]

Flasks

A rim fragment from a yellow lead glass vessel with green-blue trailing has been tentatively identified as a pouring flask (Bedern 13537). Small fragments of originally pale green or colourless glass with vertical fluting probably came from the neck of a type of flask widely produced in Italy, France and the Netherlands (Coppergate 11142).[684] Two imported stoneware flasks were also found in York, one a small Siegburg flask in the Yorkshire Museum (229), the other sherds from a French

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[680] *AY 16/1*, 31, 35, Fig. 15; *AY 16/3*, 187–88, 190, 197, 199, Figs 67–70, 74, 76; *AY 16/9*, 1278, 1311–12, Figs 541–43, 545, 547; Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 51, 53.

[681] *AY 16/3*, 188, 190, 192, 194, 197, 199, 202, Figs 68–72, 75–77; *AY 16/9*, 1258, 1261–62, 1307–308, 1313, Figs 525, 552; Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 55; *AY 16/1*, 35, Fig. 15.

[682] *AY 16/3*, 171, 192,195, 199, Figs 71, 73, 75; Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 56; *AY 16/1*, 15–16, 35, Figs 15, 17; *AY WS/7*: "Pottery, Tenement 2"; *AY 16/9*, 1291, 1313, Fig. 555.

[683] According to Brooks, the decoration, called *Bauerntanz*, "derived from a series of copper engravings by Hans Beham, [and] was popular in Raeren in the later years of the 16th century": *AY 16/3*, 199, 202, Figs 76–77.

[684] *AY 17/15*, 2823–24, 3024, 3097, Fig. 1402.

Martincamp flask (1–5 Aldwark 823). A rim and neck of Low Countries red ware (Coppergate 4523) may belong to a handled flask.[685]

Sauce dishes

Sherds from Ryedale ware sauce dishes were found at 1–5 Aldwark (815–16), both with internal glazing and splashes of glaze on their exteriors, one with a handle scar (816).[686] An imported sauce dish of Low Countries red ware was recovered from a pit in Bedern (204).[687]

Chafing dishes

The bottom part of a ceramic chafing dish was found at Hungate (see Fig. 28), while chafing dish fragments have been found made of Humber ware (1–5 Aldwark 753; Bedern 4508), Cistercian ware (1–5 Aldwark 784) and Ryedale ware (1–5 Aldwark 783, 810–11).[688] An incomplete copper alloy box (Coppergate 13004), measuring 11.37cm x 6.37cm x 7.97cm, may also have been used to warm food, or may have been used as a brazier. All four sides are decorated, one with a four-legged animal, the others with openwork. Two sides are less intact than the others, and one of its four legs is missing.[689]

Unidentified tablewares

Fragments of blue glass (Bedern 13543) and red/purple glass (Bedern 13541) probably come from sort sort of tableware vessels.[690]

Cutlery [691]

Spoons

An almost complete lead alloy spoon (Stonebow sf78) was decorated with (now illegible) raised lettering along the length of its handle and was probably used for salt.[692]

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[685] Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 56; *AY 16/3*, 173, 202, Fig. 78; *AY 16/9*, 4523, Fig. 554.

[686] *AY 16/3*, 202.

[687] *AY 16/1*, 16, 35, Fig. 17.

[688] "Medieval Hungate", YAT, accessed 14 March 2015, http://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/resources/picture-library/medieval-hungate/; *AY 16/3*, 192, 197, 202, Figs 71, 74–75, 77; *AY 16/9*, 1312, Fig. 547.

[689] *AY 17/15*, 2813, 3076, Fig. 1398. For the possible use of 13004 as a brazier, see Chaper 3, 64.

[690] *AY 17/15*, 2824, 3097.

[691] Knives were generally worn on the person and used for a variety of tasks, rather than restricted to the table; they will be dealt with in the section on dress. See below, 244–45.

[692] Nicola Rogers, "Other Artefacts", *AY WS/5*, accessed 23 February 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/henlys/henlys.php.

Dress and dress accessories

Textiles

Woollens

Five pieces of woollen cloth survive, all of tabby-weave, a common weave structure in wool textiles: a yellow-dyed piece (Bedern 14589); two red-dyed pieces (Coppergate 1418, 1420); one of unknown colour (Coppergate 1419); and one of ray, or striped cloth, in red, white and brown (Coppergate 1417) which may have also included silk threads (1457). The Bedern site produced two clumps of yarn which may have unravelled from a coarse wool textile (14586–87), and a single length of wool cord 7cm long (14600). [693]

Linens

Simple tabby-weave linen textiles pieces have been found (Foundry 13429; Bedern 14592; Fishergate 15295), as have threads from a linen braid discovered inside the belt plate of a copper alloy buckle (Bedern 14312). [694]

Silks

A piece of poorly preserved silk tablet-woven braid survives inside a copper alloy folding strap clasp (Bedern 14354). [695]

Other

Unidentified mineralized threads were found inside a copper alloy rumbler bell (Bedern 14489) and a very small piece of mineralized twill (0.7cm x 0.7cm) was recovered from Fishergate (15296). [696]

Clothing [697]

Boots and shoes

Leather ankle boots and shoes from fifteenth-century York are all of turnshoe construction, a method superseded in the early sixteenth century by the introduction of the "welted" shoe; unfortunately only a very small number of the latter survive and are too poorly preserved for the style of shoe to be determined, although six soles survive from Coppergate and one from Bedern. [698]

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[693] *AY 17/15*, 2880–82, 3125.

[694] *AY 17/15*, 2883, 3092, 3125, 3150.

[695] *AY 17/15*, 1881; *AY 17/15*, 2885, 2897–98, 3117–18.

[696] *AY 17/15*, 3122, 3150.

[697] With the exception of footwear, belts and possibly gloves, no intact, or even partially intact, garments survive in York's archaeological record.

[698] *AY 17/16*, 3268, 3272, 3512, 3524.

Most footwear was made of calf-leather, an exception being a side-lacing ankle shoe of sheep leather (Coppergate 15504). Also from Coppergate were: two front-lacing boots (15498, 15506); a front-lacing shoe (15505); a side-lacing boot (15500); two side-lacing shoes (15501, 15503); a boot with a front toggle and lace fastener (15497); two poulaines – shoes with very long pointed toes – fastened with latchets (15508, 15511); and two poulaines fastened with buckles (15509–10). The Coppergate watching brief uncovered one poulaine missing its fastening, but with moss stuffing *in situ* in the toe (15835), three front-lacing boots (15826–28) and six boots which would have fastened at the front with buckles and straps (15829–34). A similar boot was found at Piccadilly (15852).[699]

Small lead alloy shoe buckles, oval or annular in shape, have been found (Foundry 13419–21; Bedern 14544–46; Fishergate 15281), two with their iron pins still intact (14544, 15281). Small iron shoe buckles were also recovered (Bedern 14098; Fishergate 15104–105).[700]

Belts and straps[701]
Three leather fragments from a girdle or sword belt have been identified by the decorative stitching in parallel lines along their surviving edges (Coppergate 15664). Four fragments of strap with decorative copper alloy mounts (Bedern 15887) have been identified as a possible girdle, as has a broad flat strap (Coppergate watching brief 15839), while a possible buckled belt, with two pieces of leather strap and a fragment of iron buckle frame surviving, has also been found (Foundry 15875).[702]

Gloves
Two lenticular pieces of sheepskin (Piccadilly 15863–64), although tentatively identified as panels from a ball, may instead have come from a pair of heavy working gloves of a type used in metalworking or tanning.[703]

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[699] *AY 17/16*, 3325–35, 3464–65, 3467, 3509–10, 3516, Figs 1659–67, 1669–70. Narrow-waisted and pointed toe shoes found at Hungate (sf131, sf132, sf133) may also be poulaines; unfortunately none of the toes survive: Nicola Rogers, "Medieval Leather-working", *AY WS/5*, accessed 23 February 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/henlys/henlys.php.

[700] *AY 17/15*, 2886–87, 3091, 3110, 3123, 3142, 3149, Fig. 1465.

[701] It is often impossible to identify the function of excavated leather straps, which could have been used as handles, fastenings and horse harness or items of dress such as belts and girdles.

[702] *AY 17/16*, 3392–93, 3395, 3400, 3500 3513, 3522, 3525, Figs 1712, 1721.

[703] *AY 17/16*, 3408, 3519. See below, 250.

Dress accessories

Buckles[704]

Copper alloy buckles, more commonly decorated than their iron or lead alloy counterparts, were probably most often used on clothing or in other visible roles.[705] Shapes include: annular buckles (Bedern 14293–94), including one with decorative mouldings on its pin (14294); oval buckles (Foundry 13335–37; Coppergate 12881; Bedern 14302; 2 Aldwark 14704), with the most highly decorated having elaborate projecting knops (13337) while another has an integral buckle plate with decorative terminals (13336); D-shaped buckles (Bedern 14317–18; Fishergate 15185); and double-looped or "spectacle" buckles (Fishergate 15191; Bedern 14326), both which originally had iron pins .[706] Some copper alloy buckles were soldered onto undecorated rigid plates, or forked spacers, which were attached to belts or other straps with rivets (Foundry 13338, 13340; Bedern 14309–14; 2 Aldwark 14705).[707]

Iron examples include: D-shaped buckles (Bedern 14093–96; Coppergate 12669), rectangular buckles (Coppergate 12676) and trapezoidal buckles (Foundry 13273), as well as trapezoidal and rectangular buckles with central bars to which the buckle plates would have been attached (Foundry 13270, 13272).[708]

Clasps

Strap clasps, used to secure belts and other clothing, consisted of two parts: a folding clasp and a plate with a bar mount attached. Although not from the same clasp, examples of each part survive (Bedern 14353–54), the latter retaining remnants of the silk braid to which it was attached. Another clasp, decorated with an incised saltire inside a rectangular frame (Bedern 14358), may also be part of a strap clasp.[709]

An iron hooked clasp – single U- or S-shaped hooks "used in pairs on the ends of short chains or straps" to attach decorative accessories together or to a main garment – was found at Fishergate

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[704] Numerous buckle pins and plates have also been recovered, but have not been included in this discussion.

[705] *AY 17/15*, 2886. For convenience, all buckles not definitively identified by function will be dealt with in this section.

[706] *AY 17/15*, 2886, 2889, 2891, 2895, 3069, 3089, 3116–17, 3132, 3145, Figs 1465–68, 1471. 13336 may belong to a spur strap and may be residual in its fifteenth-century context (2889–90). All copper alloy buckles of rectangular, square or trapezoidal shape date to the fourteenth century (2891).

[707] *AY 17/15*, 2890–91, 3089, 3116, 3132, Fig. 1467.

[708] *AY 17/15*, 2891, 3062, 3086, 3110, Figs 1468–69.

[709] *AY 17/15*, 2897–98, 3117–18, Fig. 1474.

(15116). Similar in function are double-hooked copper alloy fasteners (Fishergate 15222; Stonebow sf56).[710]

A rectangular copper alloy plate with a slot and a pivoting keyhole-shaped cover (Foundry 13350) is half of a two-part locking clasp in which a toggle would be passed through the slot and turned 90° to lock it in place; the toggle is missing.[711]

Brooches

Three brooches, used both as dress fastenings and as ornamental accessories, were found at Bedern: a fragment from a copper alloy annular brooch (14443); a flat silver gilt annular brooch divided into seven wedge-shaped fields, four inscribed with the letters I, N, R and I (*Iesus Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum*) (14506); and a lead alloy bird-shaped brooch (14543). The pin from a gold brooch of unknown form was found at Coppergate (12936).[712]

Buttons

Buttons – "the standard means of closing garments" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – include an iron button with tin plating, edged with rope-work decoration (Foundry 13277), a bone button with a raised rim (Bedern 8009), a possible copper alloy button depicting an ecclesiastical figure (Bedern 14454) and two possible leather buttons (Piccadilly 15865–66).[713]

Pins

Numerous copper alloy pins – used as sewing pins, dress fastenings or for affixing headdresses and veils – have been found in York; most are uncatalogued. Over 90% had wire-wound heads (Piccadilly 13062–65; Foundry 13380–81; Bedern 14445–47; 2 Aldwark 14721–23; Fishergate 15211; Walmgate sf568, sf883, sf1015), although some had globular or sub-globular heads (Coppergate 12904, 12906–908; Piccadilly 13066–68; Foundry 13382–83; Bedern 14450; 2 Aldwark 14725; Fishergate 15214–15; Stonebow, uncatalogued), including one with decorative notching (15214). Other types include pins with faceted heads (Fishergate 15217–18) and pins with

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[710] Geoff Egan, *Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition: Tudor and Stuart Period Finds c.1450–c.1700 from excavations at riverside sites in Southwark*, MoLAS monograph 19 (London: MoLAS, 2005), 42–47; *AY 17/15*, 2921, 3143, 3147, Fig. 1491; Nicola Rogers, "Medieval Metal-working", *AY WS/5*, accessed 23 February 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/henlys/henlys.php.

[711] *AY 17/15*, 2899, 3089, Fig. 1474.

[712] *AY 17/15*, 2912–15, 3071, 3120, 3122, 3123, Figs 1486, 1489.

[713] Egan, *Material Culture*, 48; *AY 17/15*, 2918, 3087, 3121, Fig. 1491; *AY 17/12*, 1944–45, 2053, Fig. 904; *AY 17/16*, 3412, 3519.

solid cylindrical heads, unknown elsewhere, but found in late fourteenth- to fifteenth-century contexts at Stonebow (sf59, sf62, sf67, sf81).[714]

Lace tags

Copper alloy lace tags, or aglets – attached to the ends of strings and laces used to fasten various items of clothing – were found at all of the York sites, although only some were catalogued (Walmgate sf714; Coppergate 12912; Piccadilly 13069; Foundry 13386–88; Bedern 14456–58, 14461–62; Fishergate 15219–20; St Andrewgate sf57). One example is decorated with cross-hatching (14456), while another contains the remains of a silk cord or braid (15219).[715]

Lace or ribbon threader

An incomplete copper alloy object with a hole at one end and a globular projection at the other has been identified as a lace or ribbon threader (Fishergate 15221) for use on garments that required lacing together.[716]

Other fasteners

One copper alloy hook from a hook and eye was recovered from Bedern (14470), while simple copper alloy wire loops (Foundry 13390–92; Bedern 14463–64; Fishergate 15223; Stonebow sf68, sf87, sf94) may also have been dress fasteners.[717]

Belt accessories

Ornamental mounts

Because small ornamental metal mounts – attached by rivets to belts, girdles, harness straps, books and furniture – rarely survive *in situ*, it is often impossible to determine their original use. All of the York mounts are copper alloy, with the exception of a tiny discoidal mount, 0.9cm in diameter, of solid silver (Walmgate sf784).[718] Circular styles found include simple plain mounts (Foundry 13660; Bedern 14440–41), mounts decorated with concentric rings (Foundry 13361; Bedern 14399; Walmgate sf1017) and a mount with an incised chequer pattern (Bedern 14403).[719] Domed circular

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[714] *AY 17/15*, 2915–16, 3070, 3079, 3090, 3120, 3132, 3146, Fig. 1490; "Everyday Life – Personal and Dress Accessories", *AY WS/1*, accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm. Wire-wound pins were also found at St Andrewgate (*AY 10/7*, 931) and Stonebow (Rogers, "Medieval Metal-working", *AY WS/5*).

[715] *AY 17/15*, 2918–20, 3070, 3079, 3090, 3121, 3146, Fig. 1491; *AY 10/7*, 936, Fig. 544.

[716] *AY 17/15*, 2921, 3147, Fig. 1491.

[717] *AY 17/15*, 2921, 3090, 3121, 3147, Fig. 1491; Rogers, "Medieval Metal-working", *AY WS/5*.

[718] *AY 17/15*, 2905; "Everyday Life – Personal and Dress Accessories", *AY WS/1*.

[719] *AY 17/15*, 2905, 3089, 3119, Fig. 1479; "Everyday Life – Personal and Dress Accessories", *AY WS/1*.

mounts were also found (Foundry 13363–68; Bedern 14409–17; 2 Aldwark 14716; Fishergate 15206; St Andrewgate sf206), including two still attached to fragments of leather straps or belts (Bedern 14410, 14416), the first of which is also gilded, while another two are tin-plated, one with a decoratively cut circumference (Fishergate 15206) and the other having a design of triple perforations (Foundry 13365). Another is silver-plated with an incised cinquefoil and triangular petals between the foils (St Andrewgate sf206).[720]

Petalled mounts of three-, four-, six- and eight-petal design have also been recovered in York, including triple-lobed mounts (Foundry 13369; Bedern 14418), quatrefoil mounts with repoussé decorations (Bedern 14421; 2 Aldwark 14718; St Andrewgate sf210), sexfoil mounts (Foundry 13370–71; Bedern 14423–25; Fishergate 15208) and octofoil or rosette mounts (Stonebow sf51; Foundry 13373), the latter of which also had repoussé decorations.[721]

Other shapes of copper alloy mounts include rectangular (Bedern 14429, 14431; Fishergate 15210), square (Foundry 13374), lozenge (Bedern 14430) and bar mounts (Bedern 14436–37), as well as a possible scallop shell mount (Bedern 14439), a possible openwork mount depicting "a bird within a crocketed and scrolled frame and with a foliate terminal at the lower end" (Foundry 13378) and a gilded fleur-de-lys mount (Foundry 13377).[722]

Strap-ends

Simple copper alloy strap-ends – attached to the tips of belts and girdles to protect and embellish them – were found with leather strapping still surviving between the plates (Foundry 13354; Bedern 14362–63). A strap-end made from a single sheet of metal folded over a leather strap (St Andrewgate sf244) had matching strap plates (sf243), both decoratively notched and tin-plated.[723] More common were composite strap-ends, composed of two end plates and a spacer plate; these were both more ornamental and more substantial than one or two-piece strap-ends (Foundry 13352–53, 13355–57; Bedern 14364–74; 2 Aldwark 14710, 14712–13; Fishergate 15200–201). Of these, some have leather still attached (e.g. 13353, 14365, 14710) and two (14712–13) have textiles surviving between the plates, indicating use on a fabric girdle or belt. A silver plated strap-end

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[720] *AY 17/15*, 2905, 3090, 3119, 3132, Fig. 1479; *AY 10/7*, 936, Fig. 543.

[721] *AY 17/15*, 2905–907, 3090, 3119–20, 3132, 3146, Fig. 1479; *AY 10/7*, 936, Fig. 543; Rogers, "Medieval Metal-working", *AY WS/5*.

[722] *AY 17/15*, 2907–909, 3090, 3120, 3146, Figs 1480–81.

[723] *AY 17/15*, 2900, 3089, 3118, Fig. 1475; *AY 10/7*, 936, Fig. 543.

(Bedern 14371), decorated with cross-hatching and an acorn knop, was found with a matching forked spacer buckle (Bedern 14312), suggesting these were produced as a matching set.[724]

Strap guides

Strap guides – metal fittings used to secure the part of a belt or strap which extends beyond the buckle – have been found made of iron (Coppergate (12721) and copper alloy (Foundry 13358; Bedern 14379, 14384–91).[725]

Hinged strap fittings

Two copper alloy hinged strap fittings (14708–709), one of which is tin plated (14708), were found at 2 Aldwark.[726]

Headdresses

Fragments of copper alloy wire coils (Bedern 14471; St Andrewgate sf82) may be from women's headdresses, as silk-covered coiled wire was sometimes used in this way.[727]

Finger rings

The only contemporary finger ring found in York is a plain copper alloy band (Bedern 14473).[728]

Bells

Copper alloy rumbler bells were used on clothing, harnesses, dog-collars, hawk jesses, rattles and for children to wear in order for their guardians to keep tabs on them (Foundry 13400; Bedern 14488–90; 2 Aldwark 14727; Fishergate 15242; Walmgate sf1226); one was gilded (14490).[729]

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[724] *AY 17/15*, 2900–902, 3089, 3118, 3132, 3146, Fig. 1476; quote from 2902. For forked spacer buckle 14312 see above, 237.

[725] *AY 17/15*, 2902–903, 3063, 3089, 3118–19, Fig. 1477.

[726] *AY 17/15*, 2900, 3132, Fig. 1475.

[727] *AY 17/15*, 2923, 3121, Fig. 1491; *AY 10/7*, 932, 936, Fig. 544; Geoff Egan and Frances Pritchard, *Dress Accessories, c.1150–c.1450*, Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 3 (London: HMSO, 1991), 294–96.

[728] *AY 17/15*, 2928, 3121.

[729] Egan, *Material Culture*, 57; *AY 17/15*, 2947, 3091, 3122, 3132, 3148, Fig. 1515; "Everyday Life – Personal and Dress Accessories", *AY WS/1*.

Purses

Leather purses

Five pieces of leather found in a well fill are parts of flap-closing belt purses (Coppergate 15472–76). The most complete (15472) has a back panel which extends into two flaps through which the belt or girdle would have been threaded, decorative stitching around its edges and a lozenge-shaped opening between the two flaps which may have been used to hold a knife or dagger.[730]

Purse hanger

An incomplete copper alloy purse hanger (Bedern 14397) is a pendant mount that would have been attached to a girdle or belt to suspend a purse or dagger.[731]

Knives

Blades

Iron knife blades and fragments were found at all sites (Coppergate 11798, 11811, 11879, 11886, 11899; Piccadilly 13035; Foundry 13179, 13182–90, 13194–96; Bedern 13753–54, 13762–65, 13770–71, 13780–94, 13797–803, 13806–807, 13810–14; 2 Aldwark 14671; Fishergate 14932, 14938, 14944, 14955–57, 14960; St Andrewgate sf513, sf551; Walmgate sf956, sf1005, sf1517).[732] Although most are plain, an incomplete blade has a row of lozenges inside a scrollwork pattern set between two pairs of horizontal lines depicted on one face in gilded inlay (13792), and another fragment is decorated with gilded inlaid silver wire in a loop pattern (13184).[733] Four exhibit cutler's marks (13771, 13782, 13800; sf513) and two retain parts of their handles of horn and bone respectively (13802; sf551).[734] Three blades have surviving metal shoulder plates of tin (13790), brass (13800) and copper alloy (13803); the latter also has a matching end cap and remains of oak scale plates.[735]

Knife handles

Several bone knife handles survive (Foundry 7970; Bedern 8025–33; St Andrewgate sf505, sf74), including one with a fleur-de-lys shaped end (8030), one with a scalloped end (8033), one with lead

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[730] *AY 17/16*, 3403, 3503, Fig. 1723; see illustration (3403) for a reconstruction of 15472, complete with attached coin pouch.

[731] *AY 17/15*, 2903–905, 3119, Fig. 1479.

[732] *AY 17/15*, 2751–59, 2762, 3038, 3040–41, 3078, 3084, 3102–104, 3130, 3137–38, Figs 1356–58, 1361–63, 1365; *AY 10/7*, 935, Figs 536–37; "Other Crafts and Industry (non-metalworking)", *AY WS/1*, accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm.

[733] *AY 17/15*, 2756, 3084, 3101, Figs 1361–63.

[734] *AY 17/15*, 2759, 2762, 3102–103, Figs 1358, 1363, 1365; *AY 10/7*, 935, Figs 536–37.

[735] *AY 17/15*, 2762, 3103.

alloy inlay (8031), one from a heavy knife or tool with deeply incised longitudinal grooves, "suggesting it required a firm grip and some force in its use" (8026) and one carved in the shape "of an armless and legless body, the terminal being in the form of a head with a decorative headband, crudely cut facial features and hair" (sf505).[736] Other knife handles include two of ivory (Bedern 8116, Coppergate 7887), the latter with elegantly fluted surfaces, one of ash wood (Coppergate 8928) and a possible handle fragment of jet (Bedern 13494).[737]

Sheaths and chapes

Only one possible knife or dagger sheath survives but may be residual (Low Petergate sf57).[738] However, copper alloy chapes – tips used to protect the lower end of sheaths – do survive (Coppergate 12891; Foundry 13359; Bedern 14393–94, 14396); two have been tinned (13359, 14396) and three have decorative upper edges (12891, 13359, 14393), one of which once had an ornamental band, now lost (12891).[739]

Religious objects

Pilgrims' badges

Three fragmentary tin or pewter pilgrims' badges have been recovered (Coppergate 12957; Piccadilly 13076; Bedern 14569), one depicting St Christopher carrying the Christ Child on his shoulder and retaining part of its clasp (13076); the others are too fragmentary to determine their subject matter, although one has a catch on its reverse (14659).[740]

Rosary beads

Rosary beads have been found made of jet (Bedern 13498; Walmgate sf769), amber (Bedern 13507; Fishergate 14775) and bone (Bedern 8008; Fishergate 8148–49), although bone examples may be residual.[741]

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[736] *AY 17/12*, 1971–73, 2051, 2053, Fig. 927, quote at 1971; *AY 10/7*, 935, Fig. 537.

[737] *AY 17/12*, 1972–73, 2047, 2056, Fig. 927; *AY 17/13*, 2414, Fig. 1114; *AY 17/15*, 2759, 3096, Fig. 1364.

[738] IADB, Project 1006, 62–68 Low Petergate.

[739] *AY 17/15*, 2904, 3069, 3089, 3119, Fig. 1478.

[740] *AY 17/15*, 2945–47, 3072, 3079, 3124, Fig. 1512.

[741] *AY 17/15*, 2948, 3096, 3141, Fig. 1516; "Everyday Life – Personal and Dress Accessories", *AY WS/1*; *AY 17/12*, 1944, 2052, 2058, Fig. 904.

Health and hygiene

Personal grooming

Combs

Two ivory combs (Bedern 8114; Walmgate sf1091) and one boxwood comb (Coppergate 8962) were double sided, with fine teeth on one side and coarser teeth with larger spaces between them on the other. Another boxwood comb is single-sided (Coppergate 8961).[742]

Tweezers and ear scoops

Four sets of tweezers have been found in York, one of iron (Bedern 14114) and three of copper alloy (Fishergate 15230–32), one of which was decorated with rocked tracer ornament (15230).[743] A copper alloy ear scoop (Bedern 14475) and double-ended toilet sets have also been found, including a copper alloy ear scoop and toothpick toilet set (Bedern 14474) and two bone ear scoop and tweezers sets (Bedern 8005; Fishergate 8145).[744]

Toothpicks and/or nail cleaners

Copper alloy twisted wire loops, each with "an extended twisted shank with a pointed tip", may have been used as either nail-cleaners or toothpicks (Fishergate 15224; Piccadilly 13070; Foundry 13394–96; Bedern 14466–69; Bedern Chapel 14639; Walmgate sf723).[745]

Basins and ewers

Although no basins survive, the possible leg and foot of a copper alloy tripod ewer has been found (Bedern 14193) as has the leg from a ceramic ewer of York glazed ware (Fishergate 2627).[746]

Chamber pots and urinals

Ceramic chamber pots or urinals, identifiable by an internal white encrusted deposit found to derive from urine, have been found made of Humber ware (Trinity Gardens 129; Hungate 130; Bedern 4503); all are short and squat with a single horizontal handle at the top and a fairly small opening,

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[742] *AY 17/13*, 2311, 2415; *AY 17/12*, 1939, 2056, Figs 898–99; "Everyday Life – Personal and Dress Accessories", *AY WS/1*.

[743] *AY 17/15*, 2932–34, 3147.

[744] *AY 17/15*, 2932, 3121; *AY 17/12*, 2052, 2058.

[745] *AY 17/15*, 2921, 3079, 3090, 3121, 3147; "Everyday Life – Personal and Dress Accessories", *AY WS/1*. Alternatively, these loops may have been lace tags or other type of dress accessory: Sue Margeson, *Norwich Households: The Medieval and Post-Medieval Finds from Norwich Survey Excavations 1971–78*, East Anglian Archaeology 58 (Norwich: Norwich Survey, 1993), 63–64, 400–401.

[746] *AY 17/15*, 2809, 3113, Fig. 1394; *AY 16/6*, 644, 659, Fig. 264.

perhaps intended for male, rather than female, users.[747] Two Ryedale ware chamber pots (1–5 Aldwark 805, 807), one with a single vertical handle (807), both had wider rims than bases, rendering them suitable for both female and male use.[748] Possible urinals include a small Humber ware jug with white encrustations (1–5 Aldwark 736) and a purple glazed ware jug (Hungate 209) now in the Yorkshire Museum.[749] Two drinking jugs of Walmgate-type ware and imported Langerwehe or Raeren stoneware (Fishergate 2629, 2639) contained traces of urine, showing that they may also have been used as urinals.[750]

Fuming pot

A Hambleton-type ware fuming pot (Foundry 4512) would have been used to disguise the smells of everyday life. Burning charcoal was placed on the base to heat scented wood or herbs placed on the shelf above. The resulting pleasant scent would be released through the horizontal row of holes cut through the body at its widest point.[751]

Medical implements

Glass urinals

Glass urinals were uroscopy vessels "used to examine the colour and consistency of urine, the principal method of medical diagnosis from the 13th to the 17th century", while flasks could be used "for the preparation of herbal, alcoholic and medicinal recipes". Glass fragments from vessels with kicked bases and wide everted rims belong to either flasks or urinals (Piccadilly 13014; Bedern 13553–57).[752]

Alembic

Glass tubing (Bedern 13561) may have formed part of the spout of an alembic, used to distil alcoholic, herbal medicinal and craft recipes, as well as in alchemy.[753] Several vessels of Industrial Red Sandy ware found at Bedern were probably used in the distillation process: a curfew (4470);

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[747] Urine had many industrial and craft uses, so its presence in a vessel does not necessarily prove that the vessel had been used as a urinal: Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 51; *AY 16/3*, 158; *AY 16/9*, 1278, 1312, Fig. 546.

[748] *AY 16/3*, 200, 202.

[749] *AY 16/3*, 158–59, 190; Jennings, *Medieval Pottery*, 55–56.

[750] *AY 16/6*, 646, 659, Figs 264–65.

[751] *AY 16/9*, 1312, Fig. 548; "Fuming Pot, Tudor, Replica", *Object Lessons*, Islington Education Library Service, accessed 2 March 2015, http://www.objectlessons.org/health-and-beauty-tudors/fuming-pot-tudor-replica/s70/a915/.

[752] *AY 17/15*, 2826, 3077, 3098.

[753] *AY 17/15*, 2826, 3098.

bowls (4450, 4467–68); a dish (4455); a cauldron base (4478) and two jugs with whitish concretion on the interiors, which could be urine or limescale (4481–82).[754]

Fleam and drug or ointment jar

An iron fleam (Bedern 14113) provides evidence of bloodletting in the city, while a small ceramic drug or ointment jar was found at 1–5 Aldwark (828).[755]

Literacy

Book binding

A fragment of sheep or goat leather, decorated with stamped floral and impressed linear motifs, has been tentatively identified as the corner of a book binding (Coppergate 15793).[756]

Book clasps and mounts

Book clasps (Bedern 14356–57, 14478–79; Bedern Chapel 14640–41; Foundry 13398; Fishergate 15234–36) and mounts (Bedern14482–83; Bedern Chapel 14642; Fishergate 15238–40) of copper alloy were recovered primarily from ecclesiastical sites. Four of the clasps were attached to the remains of leather straps (14357, 14479, 14640, 15236).[757]

Writing implements

Writing implements include four possible pens made from goose radii (Bedern 8060–62; Foundry 7976) and two iron styli, one with a short flattened triangular eraser at one end (Bedern 14115) and the other, tin-plated and highly decorated with incised saltires and both zigzag and criss-cross grooves with a rounded eraser with an open kidney-shaped centre and straight top (Bedern 14116).[758] Styli (or possibly parchment prickers), made of bone with iron tips, were mainly found at ecclesiastical sites (Coppergate 7068; Foundry 7973–75; Bedern 8039–43, 8051–52, 8054–55, 8057; 2 Aldwark 8122; Fishergate 8157–58); several of these still retained all or part of their iron points (7974, 8039–41, 8043, 8052, 8054, 8122, 8157–58).[759]

Points – lengths of lead alloy with at least one pointed end – would have been used like pencils mainly by craftsmen such as carpenters (Bedern 14556–57, 14559–61), although one is of a type

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[754] *AY 16/9*, 1271, 1273–74, 1309, Figs 536–38.

[755] *AY 17/15*, 3111; *AY 16/3*, 203.

[756] *AY 17/16*, 3263, 3412, 3505–506, Fig. 1733.

[757] *AY 17/15*, 2899, 2936–39, 3091, 3121, 3128, 3147–48, Figs 1474, 1503, 1506.

[758] *AY 17/12*, 1976, 2051, 2054, Figs 932–33; *AY 17/15*, 2934, 3111, Fig. 1502.

[759] *AY 17/12*, 2021, 2051, 2054, 2057, 2059, Figs 930–31.

suitable for manuscript production (Bedern 14550) and the function of another is unknown (Bedern 14567).[760]

Writing slate

A writing slate, measuring 12.8cm x 11.5cm x 0.35cm, with bevelled edges, suggesting that it was originally encased in a wooden frame, has incised unruled transverse lines and the letters "A" and "H" written upon it (Bedern sf1992).[761]

Seal matrices

Two secular seal matrices have been identified: the better preserved, of copper alloy, is the personal seal of a stonemason inscribed with his name and occupation – "S' THOME DE SWIN CEMENTARIUS" – and depicts a robed figure of God with the Virgin Mary kneeling and a smaller figure, probably the owner, kneeling below (Bedern 14485); the second, of lead alloy, is post-medieval and comprises two sub-circular discs joined intermittently at the edges with a flower motif, either a rosette or fleur-de-lys, on both faces (Bedern 14582).[762]

Leisure and recreation

Hunting and fishing equipment

Arrows

All arrowheads found in the city are socketed, made of iron and suitable for both hunting and military purposes. Most have short barbed blades (St Andrewgate sf307; Coppergate 12835; Foundry 13294; Bedern 14160–64) but some have triangular or tapering blades (Piccadilly 13050; Foundry 13293; Bedern 14155).[763] Arrow tips, the bullet-shaped iron arrowheads used on longbow shafts (Piccadilly 13051; Bedern 14168–70; Fishergate 15134–38) were often plated with copper alloy (15135, 15138 are exceptions); "numerous comparable examples" were found at Baile Hill.[764] A heavy iron crossbow bolt was found at the Foundry (13296).[765]

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[760] *AY 17/15*, 2934–36, 3124, Fig. 1502.

[761] *AY 17/15*, 2936, Fig. 1502.

[762] *AY 17/15*, 2940, 2942, 2972–73, 3122, 3125, Figs 1507, 1536.

[763] *AY 17/15*, 2969, 3067, 3079, 3087, 3112, Fig. 1532; *AY 10/7*, 935, Fig. 547.

[764] *AY 17/15*, 2969, 3079, 3112, 3143, Fig. 1532. Some of these "may have been specifically designed for archery practice": Oliver Jessop, "A New Artefact Typology for the Study of Medieval Arrowheads", *Medieval Archaeology* 40 (1996): 192–205 at 197.

[765] *AY 17/15*, 2969, 3087 Fig. 1532.

Fishing weights

Lead alloy fishing weights have been found at Fishergate (10263–64), Coppergate (12939) and 2 Aldwark (14730), despite the latter site being some distance from the river.[766]

Games

Balls

An incomplete wooden ball, made of ash, oblate in shape, 11cm in diameter and 10cm in width (Coppergate 9041), "could have been used in various medieval games, including variants of modern bowls and skittles". Two lenticular pieces of sheepskin have been identified as panels from a ball of multiple construction (Piccadilly 15863–64). The panels were sewn together with a whip stitch and might have had a core of tightly packed moss.[767]

Dice

Recovered bone dice all have digits represented by single or double ring-and-dot motifs (Fishergate 8165; Bedern 8078–79; Foundry 7979). Most are cuboid or sub-cuboid in shape and conventionally numbered, with the numbers on opposing sides totalling seven as in modern dice. Also found was a conventionally numbered lozenge-shaped die (Foundry 7980) and a cuboid die of walrus ivory, unconventionally numbered with one opposite two, three opposite four and five opposite six (Coppergate 7892).[768]

Gaming counters

Gaming counters, made from a variety of materials and primarily discoidal or sub-discoidal in shape, were probably used with dice for playing tables – "a range of games involving dice and counters on a board which was twice the size of a chess board".[769] Examples are made from ceramic roof tiles (Coppergate 11106–107, 11110–14; Bedern 13526, 13529; Foundry 13109; Piccadilly 13013; Fishergate 14776), pottery (Coppergate 11096–97, 11100–101; Bedern 13518–19; Piccadilly 13012; Walmgate sf1426), bone (Walmgate sf1090), limestone (Bedern 13486), sandstone (Foundry 13102), a "jet-like material" (Foundry 13106), antler (Coppergate 7735; Bedern 8112) and yew (Coppergate 9036).[770] Presumably from a different game is a mid sixteenth-

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[766] *AY 17/15*, 2747, 3072, 3132, 3149, Fig. 1352.

[767] *AY 17/13*, 2358, 2419, Fig. 1162; *AY 17/16*, 3406, 3408, 3519, Fig. 1728. These panels may instead have come from heavy working gloves. See above, 238.

[768] *AY 17/12*, 1982–83, 2047, 2051, 2055, 2059, Fig. 941.

[769] *AY 17/15*, 2951.

[770] *AY 17/15*, 2951, 3023, 3077, 3082, 3095–97, 3134, Fig. 1518; *AY 17/12*, 1982, 2043, 2056, Fig. 940; *AY 17/13*, 2419, Fig. 1158.

century bone counter (Coppergate 7114) which is thinner than most other counters and has a central perforation and multiple concentric grooves on both faces.[771]

Puzzle cup

A Humber ware puzzle cup, covered in a shiny light green glaze, has a rolled-over hollow rim, below which is a horizontal row of circular holes (Bedern 4507). Drinkers must discover which holes to cover and which part of the jug to drink from to prevent the liquid from spilling out.[772]

Music

Instruments

A complete Jew's harp (St Andrewgate sf553), a fragment of antler tentatively identified as part of a stringed instrument such as a zither (Bedern 8111) and an incomplete alder wood pipe which may belong to this period (Coppergate 9040) have all been found in the city, as has an incomplete whistle made from a goose bone retaining a single D-shaped blow hole (Coppergate 7078).[773] Buzz bones – toggle-shaped pig bones with a hole cut through the centre of the shaft, "threaded on a twisted cord and made to spin (and hum) by pulling the ends of the string" – have been found at Coppergate (sf4793; sf234, 7101).[774]

Tuning pegs

Tuning pegs, used to tune string instruments such as harps, lyres or fiddles, have been found made of bone (Bedern 8066–68; 2 Aldwark 8124; St Andrewgate sf135) and antler (Foundry 7984).[775]

Skating

An incomplete skate blade formed from a horse metatarsal (Coppergate 7158) was found in a context dated to the early sixteenth century, though it may be residual.[776]

Domestic animals

A lined cattle-hide strap with domed copper alloy studs has been identified as a probable dog collar (Coppergate 15665).[777]

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[771] *AY 17/12*, 1982, 2022, Fig. 940.

[772] *AY 16/9*, 1278, 1312, Fig. 547.

[773] *AY 10/7*, 932, 935, Fig. 545; *AY 17/12*, 1978, 1980–81, 2021, 2056, Fig. 938; *AY 17/13*, 2358, 2419, Fig. 1161; *AY 17/15*, 2990.

[774] *AY 17/12*, 1980–81, 2022.

[775] *AY 17/15*, 2990; *AY 17/12*, 2052, 2054–55, 2057, Fig. 936; *AY 10/7*, 932, 935, Fig. 545.

[776] *AY 17/12*, 1987, 2024.

Outdoor equipment

Wells

Two wells were found at Coppergate, one consisting of a single re-used oak cask (8766) and the other a three-tier well comprising three oak vessels stacked one on top of the other (from the bottom up: cask 8767, tub 8763, cask 8765). Another three-tiered, oak, cask-lined well was found at Piccadilly (9190–92), with two of its casks reinforced by the addition of extra hoops around their interiors (9191–92).[778]

Buckets

A bucket (Coppergate 8742) found inside a well cask (8766) has been described as "probably the most perfectly preserved complete medieval bucket found on any site in Britain" (See Chapter 6, Fig. 13). Measuring 42.4cm high with a diameter of 36.5cm at the rim and 26.5cm at the base, it is secured by three iron bands and has an arched iron handle with an iron swivel attached. A fragment from the base of a very thick oak bucket was found at Piccadilly (9189).[779]

Tub

Tubs were large open-topped, stave-built vessels used for a variety of purposes. The middle tier of Coppergate's three-tiered cask-lined well contained one such oak tub (8763); it is on the smaller side at just 60cm in height and 60cm in diameter at its top.[780]

Shovel

Part of a shovel carved from a single piece of oak (Coppergate 8968) has only half of its blade surviving. It might be a malt or grain shovel although, as it is made of oak, may have been intended for external work.[781]

Rakes

A solid oak rake head with a circular hole in its centre for a now missing handle, having no separate teeth, "could have been used for moving loose, dry or even semi-liquid materials" (Coppergate 8979).[782] A toothed hay rake, made of poplar or aspen, with a separate handle and head, has only five of its eleven wooden teeth surviving (Coppergate 8977). The initials "SR",

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[777] *AY 17/16*, 3395, 3500, Fig. 1716.

[778] *AY 17/13*, 2238, 2240, 2408, 2427, Figs 996, 1078–79, 1089.

[779] *AY 17/13*, 2226, 2407, 2437, Figs 966, 1066–67; *AY 17/15*, 3042, Figs 1391–92.

[780] *AY 17/13*, 2233, 2236, 2408.

[781] *AY 17/13*, 2315, 2416, Fig. 1136.

[782] *AY 17/13*, 2319, 2416, Fig. 1140.

probably an owner's mark, are twice branded into the flat side between the teeth; the same initials were found on a fragment of alder or hazel (8694) which has been tentatively identified as part of this rake's handle.[783]

Sickles

A complete iron C-shaped sickle blade 41cm long has a serrated cutting edge "which would saw the stalks of grain or grass as it was pulled toward the user" (Coppergate watching brief 12980). Another possible sickle blade has been identified, although no teeth are evident on the cutting edge (Walmgate sf737).[784]

Pitchfork

One tine and the stub of a second tine survive from an incomplete iron tanged pitchfork or hayfork (Bedern 13742).[785]

Horse equipment

Excavations have uncovered many artefacts relating to the use of horses and riding, including a variety of bits (Coppergate 12746, 12748; Coppergate watching brief 13001; Bedern 14123; 2 Aldwark 14686, 14687), one of which is decorated with silver plating (Foundry 13279), an iron curry comb (Foundry 13290), spurs (Coppergate 12739, 12931; Bedern 14118–21; Fishergate 15117, Walmgate sf738), and a paring knife which "would have been ideal for trimming and cleaning out horses' hooves" (Fishergate 14961).[786]

Potential pieces of harness include a copper alloy harness mount (Bedern 14499), a leather harness strap (Foundry 15876) and another possible harness strap (Coppergate watching brief 15839). Four fragments of strapping decorated with copper alloy wheel-shaped mounts and fringing, and including strap junctions for two straps to cross at right angles, have been identified as horse harness (Bedern 15888), as have several rectangular iron buckles with rotating arms (Coppergate 12690–91, 12695; Bedern 14100–102; Fishergate 15108), some of which are tin plated (12690, 14100, 15108).[787] A significant quantity of horseshoe nails (uncatalogued) and horseshoes

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[783] *AY 17/13*, 2319, 2406, 2416, Figs 1023, 1065, 1140.

[784] *AY 17/15*, 2747, 3075, Fig. 1351; "Other Crafts and Industry", *AY WS/1*.

[785] *AY 17/15*, 2747, 3101.

[786] *AY 17/15*, 2793, 2956–62, 3064–65, 3071, 3076, 3087, 3111, 3131, 3138, 3143, Figs 1380, 1523–24, 1526–27. See also "Everyday Life – Music and Recreation, Writing, Trading, Horse Equipment and Weapons", *AY WS/1*, accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm.

[787] *AY 17/16*, 3394, 3396, 3513, 3522, 3525–26, Figs 1714–15; *AY 17/15*, 2894, 2963, 2965, 3062, 3110–11, 3122, 3142, Figs 1469, 1529.

(Coppergate 12753, 12795, 12799, 12817; Foundry 13282, 13284–85, 13288–89; Bedern 14130, 14135–39, 14145–50; Fishergate 15121–23, 15127) have also been recovered.[788]

Weapons and armour[789]

Swords

Although no sword fragments have been recovered, a possible sword belt is described above (Coppergate 15664).[790]

Scabbards

Of the fragments of two leather scabbards recovered (Coppergate 15602, 15605), neither is large enough to determine the original form or size of either object.[791]

Chain mail links

Four copper alloy mail links were found together with pin-making debris, suggesting both pins and chain mail were made from wire on the Stonebow site (Stonebow sf58).[792]

Craft, industry and trade

Domestic crafts and general tools[793]

Sewing needles

Sewing needles have been found made of copper alloy (Coppergate 12852–54; Foundry 13298–301; Bedern 14176–79; Fishergate 15144; St Andrewgate sf420; Walmgate sf588) and iron (Coppergate 11759, 11761; Piccadilly 13032; Fishergate 14918, 14920; St Andrewgate sf310).[794] Most would have been used for ordinary needlework, but a very long needle (10.9cm) could have been used to stitch sacking (Bedern 14179).[795]

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[788] *AY 17/15*, 2695, 3065–66, 3087, 3112, 3143, Fig. 1530.

[789] For arrows, see above on hunting and fishing equipment, 249, as these may have been used for military purposes.

[790] See above on belts and straps, 238.

[791] *AY 17/16*, 3367, 3496.

[792] Rogers, "Medieval Metal-working", *AY WS/5*.

[793] No artefacts have been definitively identified as belonging to the brewing process.

[794] *AY 17/15*, 2739, 3037, 3068, 3077, 3087, 3113, 3144, Figs 1347–48; *AY 10/7*, 935–36, Fig. 534; "Other Crafts and Industry", *AY WS/1*.

[795] *AY 17/15*, 2739, 3087, 3113. More specialized needles, for leather and netting, are discussed under leatherworking and textile production, 257, 260.

Thimbles

Of the copper alloy thimbles found in York (Foundry 13303; Bedern 14185–88; Fishergate 15146–47), one is unusual in that it has a detachable leather lining (15146).[796]

Wool comb

Part of the iron binding of a long-toothed wool comb, used to prepare wool for spinning, has been recovered (Bedern 13714), as have iron spikes from wool combs (Piccadilly 13027; Foundry 13168; Bedern 13730).[797]

Fibre processing spikes

Iron spikes which cannot be firmly identified as coming from wool combs may instead belong to flax heckles, used to break the flax down into individual filaments, ready for spinning (Coppergate 11601, 11604, 11612, 11621–23, 11645–46, 11650, 11697, 11699; Piccadilly 13025–26; Foundry 13169, 13171, 13173; Bedern 13722–23, 13726–29, 13732; Walmgate sf1210).[798]

Spindle whorls[799]

The spindle whorls found in York were made of either chalk (Coppergate 10829, 10832, 10834, 10870; Foundry 13083; Bedern 13439; Bedern Chapel 14601) or limestone (Coppergate 10845; Bedern 13440; Walmgate sf707, sf1012).[800]

Tool handles

Wooden tool handles, with their implements now missing, have been found at Coppergate: a poplar or aspen handle, probably from a woodworker's chisel or gouge (8995); a hazel handle with a perforation through its end for suspension from a cord (8996); an ash handle (8999); and an alder handle for a whittle tang blade or tool (9000).[801] The Bedern site produced four bone handles for socketed implements – either tools or knives: two of cattle bone (8025–26), one decorated with

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[796] *AY 17/15*, 2739–40, 3087, 3113, 3144, Fig. 1347.

[797] *AY 17/15*, 2733, 2736, 3077, 3083, 3101, Fig. 1342.

[798] *AY 17/15*, 2732–33, 2736, 3034–35, 3077, 3083–84, 3101, Fig. 1342; "Other Crafts and Industry", *AY WS/1*.

[799] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology*, ed. Timothy Darvill, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), s.v. "Spindle whorl": "a small, perforated disc or stone or pottery which acts as a fly-wheel, maintaining the momentum of a spindle rotated by the spinner whilst he or she teases more fibres out of a fleece".

[800] *AY 17/15*, 3013–15, 3081, 3093, 3127, Fig. 1344; "Other Crafts and Industry", *AY WS/1*. Two bone spindle whorls (Bedern 8016–17) are almost certainly residual.

[801] *AY 17/13*, 2321, 2323, 2417, Fig. 1142.

deep longitudinal grooves (8026); one of unidentified bone (8027); and the fourth of sheep or goat bone (8028).[802]

Shears

At least twelve incomplete pairs of iron shears, "used for all sorts of household tasks", have been found in York (Bedern 13743–51; 2 Aldwark 14669; Fishergate 14925; Coppergate (6622). Larger shears (such as 13746) "may have been used for sheep shearing" and are "among the larger medieval shears recorded".[803]

Hones

Hones – used to sharpen all kinds of tools and blades – were found made of schist (Coppergate 10907–908, 10912; Foundry 13085–86; Bedern 13446–50; Fishergate 14738–40; 2 Aldwark 14656), phyllite (Walmgate sf1009, sf1572; Bedern 13454–55) and sandstone (Bedern 13458). Some of these hones contain worn grooves, indicating that, as well as blades, they were used to sharpen the points of tools such as needles (10907, 13446–48, 13455), pointing to their use in a domestic rather than a craft setting.[804]

Building

Trowel and pickaxe

An iron trowel was found at Bedern (13676), while a large iron pickaxe head from Fishergate "may even have been one of the tools used to demolish the priory buildings" (14859).[805]

Leatherworking

Slicker

An iron slicker (Foundry 13165), originally a flat blade with its handle now missing, was a tanner's tool, used "to force out the dirt retained under the hair roots just below the grain layer of a hide and to shave the flesh side until the surface was smooth, ensuring leather of even thickness".[806]

Awls

Iron awls, used to cut and pare leather, would have been set in wooden handles and, although probably leatherworking tools, may have been used for other crafts such as woodworking

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[802] *AY 17/12*, 1972, 2053, Fig. 927.

[803] *AY 17/15*, 2741, 3037, 3102, 3130, 3137, Figs 1353–54.

[804] *AY 17/15*, 2793–97, 3016–17, 3081, 3093–94, 3130, 3133, Fig. 1381; "Other Crafts and Industry", *AY WS/1*.

[805] *AY 17/15*, 2705, 3100, 3135, Fig. 1316.

[806] *AY 17/15*, 2732, 3083, Fig. 1341.

(Piccadilly 13023; Foundry 13164; Bedern 13710, 13713; Fishergate 14879, 14882). The ends of two awls were found fused together (2 Aldwark 14667), while part of a probable awl was recovered at Walmgate (sf1272).[807]

Currier's knife

The iron blade from a currier's knife, used for cutting and paring leather, is distinguished from other knives by its wide (2.6cm) but very thin (0.2cm) blade (Coppergate 11527).[808]

Leatherworking needles

Copper alloy leatherworking needles are identifiable by the triangular sections at their tips (Coppergate 6632; Bedern 14176–77; Foundry 13299).[809]

Cordwainer's last

A symmetrical cordwainer's last, made of willow, has a square and rounded heel, narrow waist and narrow rounded toe, and could have been used to make both right and left shoes and pattens, as well as shoes with pointed toes (Coppergate 9019). It is branded with the initials "AR" – probably an owner's mark – and was found with other wooden items branded with the initials "SR", suggesting that these items likely belonged to the same household.[810]

Metalworking

Crucibles

The presence of crucibles – fired clay flat-bottomed vessels in which metal was melted to be poured into moulds – indicates that metalworking took place on a site. Examples were found at the Foundry, Bedern (13514–15), Fishergate, St Andrewgate (sf370, sf838), Walmgate (sf1092, sf1653, sf1671–72, sf1674, sf1685–86), Low Petergate and possibly Coppergate, although most from the latter are probably from an earlier period.[811]

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[807] *AY 17/15*, 2728, 3077, 3083, 3101, 3130, 3136; "Other Crafts and Industry", *AY WS/1*.

[808] *AY 17/15*, 2730–32, 3032.

[809] *AY 17/15*, 2739, 3087, 3113.

[810] *AY 17/13*, 2339–41, 2419, Fig. 1151; *AY 17/16*, 3423–24, Fig. 1580. The other branded wooden items are a bowl (8586) and a rake (8694, 8977), see above 232, 252–53.

[811] *AY 17/15*, 2678, 2710–11, 3096; *AY 16/6*, 659, Figs 263–64: nos 2618, 2625; *AY 10/7*, 935, Fig. 530a–b; "Discussion and Conclusions (Part 2)", *AY WS/1*, accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm; "Finds, Tenement 3" and "Conclusions: Metal-working", *AY WS/7*, accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/ayw7/index.htm; IADB, Project 1006, 62–68 Low Petergate.

Slag and failed castings

Other indicators of metalworking include finds of failed castings and slag, the "partly vitrified non-metal residue and waste material left behind after the smelting of a metal ore", which were also found at the sites mentioned above.[812] Failed castings of copper alloy objects include strap-ends (Bedern 14370, 14373; St Andrewgate), vessel fragments (Foundry 13306–307, 13310–11; St Andrewgate), unfinished buckles (Foundry 13340; Low Petergate sf88; St Andrewgate sf446, sf500, sf198, sf58) and a decorative domed mount, possibly plated (Low Petergate sf71).[813]

Moulds

Fired clay moulds, required for casting metal objects, were found at the Foundry, Walmgate, St Andrewgate and Low Petergate. Occasionally enough of the mould survives that the form of the intended object can be recognized. Fragments from the Foundry indicate that its main products were cooking cauldrons and domestic vessels, as was also the case at Walmgate where four fragments have been tentatively identified as parts of a mould for a footed vessel (sf685), while about thirty fragments from the same mould may represent the handle or leg of a vessel (sf731).[814] Some mould fragments retain traces of copper alloy (Walmgate sf832; Low Petergate sf66).[815] Mould fragments from St Andrewgate indicate that, as well as vessels, smaller artefacts were also being crafted there: two fragments come from a stacked mould for crafting buckles in bulk (sf857); and another mould was for casting metal rings with a 4cm diameter (sf877).[816]

Chisels

Two iron chisels were suitable for metalworking (Fishergate 14868; Bedern 13688), although the latter "could have been used for either metalworking or woodworking".[817]

Files

Of the two incomplete iron blades from metalworking files, one has fine cross-cut teeth on one face and both edges (Bedern 13687) and the other has fine diagonal grooves on one face (Fishergate 14866).[818]

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[812] *Dictionary of Archaeology*, s.v. "Slag".

[813] *AY 17/15*, 2712, 2714, 2809, Figs 1322–23; IADB, Project 1006, 62–68 Low; *AY 10/7*, 920.

[814] *AY 17/15*, 2688.

[815] IADB, Project 0788, 41–49 Walmgate, accessed 16 April 2012, http://www.iadb.co.uk/i3/portal_main.php?DB=IADB: other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century mould fragments found at Walmgate are sf550, sf611–13, sf622, sf704, sf749, sf759, sf778, sf814, sf816, sf826, sf837, sf872 and sf880; IADB, Project 1006, 62–68 Low Petergate.

[816] *AY 10/7*, 916, 935, Fig. 530a.

[817] *AY 17/15*, 2723, 3100, 3136.

Hammers

Iron hammerheads, probably used for metalworking, both have only a single wedge-shaped arm surviving (Foundry 13158; Bedern 13678). The latter, at only 5.7cm long (13158 is 9cm long), was probably used for non-ferrous metalwork.[819]

Tongs

A pair of iron tongs (Bedern 13677) – "a basic smithing tool used for holding pieces of metal at all stages in the fabrication process" – has ball-shaped expansions at tips of its arms which "would have allowed a chain to be held between them to keep the arms in tension while the smith carried out sustained or repetitive actions".[820]

Punches

Several iron punches, for both ferrous and non-ferrous metalworking, have been found in the city (Piccadilly 13019; Bedern 13681–84; Fishergate 14863–64), one with non-ferrous metal adhering to it (14863). The punches taper most of their lengths to their tips which can be pointed, rounded (14864) or wedge-shaped (13019; 13681). Surviving heads are usually burred, indicating considerable use.[821]

Iron objects with two arms which taper away from the centre have been tentatively identified as tanged metalworking punches (Fishergate 14865; Walmgate sf900). One end would have been inserted into a wooden handle, now missing, with the other serving as the working arm. Alternatively, these tools may have been reamers used by carpenters "for enlarging and cleaning out augered holes in timber, or by stonemasons for trimming millstones".[822]

Pinner's bone

A pinner's bone (Fishergate 8167), used to make copper alloy pins, has deep grooves cut into three of its sides which would have held the pins while they were being sharpened. File marks from the

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[818] *AY 17/15*, 2722, 3100, 3136.

[819] *AY 17/15*, 2718, 3083, 3100.

[820] *AY 17/15*, 2718, 3100, Figs 1326–27.

[821] *AY 17/15*, 2720, 3077, 3100, 3136, Figs 1327–28.

[822] *AY 17/15*, 2722, 3136; "Ironworking", *AY WS/1*, accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm.

sharpening process are visible on the bone.[823] The discovery of numerous pins, copper alloy wire fragments and sheet offcuts suggests that pin-making was also practised at Stonebow.[824]

Textile production

Dyeing waste

Waste from a woad vat was discovered in a well fill at Piccadilly, indicating that dying was conducted on this site. The waste consisted of woad, for dying cloth blue, and weld and greenweed, for producing a yellow colour.[825]

Tenterhooks

Small iron hooks (Bedern 13733; Fishergate 4911–13) might be tenterhooks used to stretch cloth after it had been fulled, although are more likely to be hooks for hanging tapestries or other objects on walls.[826]

Tapestry loom or embroidery frame

Fragments of a horizontal beam from an ash two-beam tapestry loom or embroidery frame were found at Bedern (9237).[827]

Netting needle

A fine copper alloy netting needle or shuttle, 11cm long and split into a fork at either end (Coppergate 6634), would have been used to make silk and/or cotton netting for items such as hair nets.[828]

Knitting needles

Two copper alloy rods, 18cm long, tentatively identified as double-ended knitting needles (2 Aldwark 14697–98), would have been used in sets of four or five for knitting in the round with a continuous thread.[829]

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[823] *AY 17/15*, 1728; *AY 17/12*, 1992–93, Fig. 949.

[824] Rogers, "Medieval Metal-working", *AY WS/5*.

[825] *AY 17/15*, 2732, 2744.

[826] *AY 17/15*, 2738–39, 3101, 3137, Fig. 1346. See also under furnishings, 226.

[827] *AY 17/13*, 2335, 2431, Fig. 1148.

[828] *AY 17/15*, 2741–43, 3068, Fig. 1349.

[829] *AY 17/15*, 2743–44, 3131, Figs 1349–50.

Bale pins

Whittled wooden pegs have been identified as bale pins (Piccadilly 9196–98; Coppergate 6659, 9003, 9005–9007), which would have been used to fasten bales of raw wool for transport and, possibly, for sale. The pins varied in length from 7.4cm (9198) to 27.5cm (9005) and were crafted from a variety of woods including yew, birch, maple and oak.[830]

Woodworking

Axe

A light iron axe with a convex cutting edge (Coppergate watching brief 12974) would have been used for chopping wood.[831]

Chisel

As mentioned in the discussion of leatherworking chisels, a small iron chisel found at Bedern (13688) would also have been suitable for woodworking.[832]

Spoon augers

Iron spoon augers (Foundry 13162; Bedern 13691–92; Fishergate 14871) were essential woodworking tools "for boring or enlarging holes in wood". All of the recovered blades were fairly narrow, between 7mm and 10mm in width. Another possible auger was missing its tip (St Andrewgate sf597).[833]

Hammer

A large iron hammer head, measuring 20cm across the top, has one arm with a sub-rounded cross-section, while the other has a claw tip, indicating that this is probably a carpenter's claw hammer (Coppergate 11460). A fragment of its ash handle remains attached to the head.[834]

Wedges

Iron wedges (Coppergate 11489; Bedern 13698–703; Fishergate 14873–75), ranging in length from 3.8cm to 10.4cm, were used for tree felling, wood-splitting and securing wooden handles on iron

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[830] *AY 17/15*, 2732; *AY 17/13*, 2328–29, 2417–18, 2428, Fig. 1146.

[831] *AY 17/15*, 2725–26, 3075, Fig. 1332.

[832] *AY 17/15*, 2723, 3100.

[833] *AY 17/15*, 2726–27, 3083, 3100, 3136; *AY 10/7*, 936, Fig. 535.

[834] *AY 17/15*, 2719, 3030, Fig. 1326.

tools. The largest (13701), which has a heavily burred head, must have been used for heavy-duty work, while the smallest (13702) was probably used for securing tool handles.[835]

Saw blade

An incomplete iron saw blade with set teeth was excavated at Bedern (13706).[836]

Lathe tool

A hook-ended cutting iron (Coppergate 9183, now YORYM 551.48) was found in 1906 at the corner of Coppergate and Castlegate. At 28.8cm long with the last 9cm of its shank bent at a 70° angle, and with the extreme 2.5–3cm thinned into a blade edge and curved back on itself forming a hook, it was probably a tool used for cutting and shaving wooden objects on a lathe and, although undated, its form wouldn't have changed much over time.[837]

Trade

Scales

An almost complete folding balance, missing only its suspension stirrup, was found at the Foundry (13402), as was part of another balance (13403). Scale pans, both triangular (Bedern 14493) and circular (Fishergate 15243), would have been suspended by three chains, such as the lengths of S-shaped links found attached to a ring at Coppergate (12930). The size of these balances and pans suggests that they were used for weighing small items such as coins, precious metals or spices.[838]

Weights

Lead alloy pan weights (Bedern 14571–73, 14576, 14578, 14580–81; Bedern Chapel 14653; Fishergate 15290) would have been set in scale pans such as those mentioned above. Ranging in weight from 9.3g (14572) to 53.5g (14578), most are circular or oval; one is octagonal with an eight-petalled daisy impressed upon it (14578) and another bears now illegible stamped motifs (14572).[839]

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[835] *AY 17/15*, 2728, 3031, 3101, 3136, Fig. 1336–37.

[836] *AY 17/15*, 2728, 3101, Fig. 1336.

[837] *AY 17/13*, 2162–63, 2426, Fig. 1014.

[838] *AY 17/15*, 2952–53, 3071, 3091, 3122, 3148, Fig. 1519.

[839] *AY 17/15*, 2953, 3124–25, 3129, 3150, Figs 1520–21.

Money boxes

Three Humber ware vessels, all incomplete, have been identified as money boxes (Bedern 4504; Foundry 4505; 1–5 Aldwark 781).[840]

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[840] *AY 16/9*, 1278, 1282, 1312, Fig. 547; *AY 16/3*, 197, Fig. 74.

Abbreviations

AHRC	Arts and Humanities Research Council
ARC	Australian Research Council
AY 3/4	R.A. Hall, *Excavations in the Praetentura: 9 Blake Street*, The Archaeology of York 3/4 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1997)
AY 10/7	Rhona Finlayson, *Medieval Metalworking and Urban Life at St Andrewgate, York*, The Archaeology of York 10/7 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2004)
AY 16/1	Jane Holdsworth, *Selected Pottery Groups AD 650–1780*, The Archaeology of York 16/1 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1978)
AY 16/3	Catherine M. Brooks, *Medieval and Later Pottery from Aldwark and Other Sites*, The Archaeology of York 16/3 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1987)
AY 16/6	A.J. Mainman, *The Pottery from 46−54 Fishergate*, The Archaeology of York 16/6 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1993)
AY 16/9	Ailsa Mainman and Anne Jenner, *Medieval Pottery from York*, The Archaeology of York 16/9 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2013)
AY 17/11	Penelope Walton Rogers, *Textile Production at 16-22 Coppergate*, The Archaeology of York 17/11 (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1997)
AY 17/12	A. MacGregor, A.J. Mainman and N.S.H. Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Bone, Antler, Ivory, and Horn from Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York*, The Archaeology of York 17/12 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 1999)
AY 17/13	Carole A. Morris, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Wood and Woodworking in Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York*, The Archaeology of York 17/13 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2000)
AY 17/15	Patrick Ottaway and Nicola Rogers, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Finds from Medieval York*, The Archaeology of York 17/15 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2002)
AY 17/16	Quita Mould, Ian Carlisle and Esther Cameron, *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Leather and Leatherworking in Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York*, The Archaeology of York 17/16 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2003)
AY WS/1	Neil Macnab, *Anglo-Scandinavian, Medieval and Post-Medieval Urban Occupation at 41–49 Walmgate, York, UK*, The Archaeology of York Web Series 1 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2003), accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/wgate/main/index.htm
AY WS/5	Rhona Finlayson, *Hungate: Evidence from an Excavation at the former Henlys Garage, Stonebow*, The Archaeology of York Web Series 5 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2004), accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/henlys/index.php

AY WS/7	Ben Reeves, *62–68 Low Petergate, York*, The Archaeology of York Web Series 7 (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2006), accessed 11 March 2015, http://www.iadb.co.uk/ayw7/index.htm
BIA	Borthwick Institute for Archives, York
c.	*circa*
CDA	Collaborative Doctoral Award
cm	centimetre
D&C	Dean and Chapter
e.g.	for example
ER	East Riding of Yorkshire
Fig.	Figure
g	gram
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationary Office
IADB	Integrated Archaeological Database
m	metre
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
mm	millimetre
MoLAS	Museum of London Archaeology Service
MP	Minister of Parliament
MS	Manuscript
NR	North Riding of Yorkshire
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
orig. wills	original wills and inventories
Prob. Reg.	Probate Register
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
WR	West Riding of Yorkshire
YAT	York Archaeological Trust
YML	York Minster Library, York

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