

THE RELIGION OF THE GENTRY AND MIDDLEING
CLASSES: THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AS
REFLECTED IN WILLS, 1509-1553

A Master's Thesis

by

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Ankara
July 2019

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Bilkent University 2019

To my beloved twin sister



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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

July 2019

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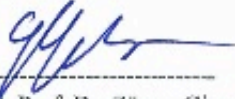
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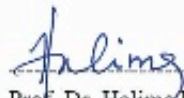
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ABSTRACT

THE RELIGION OF THE GENTRY AND MIDDLE CLASSES: THE ENGLISH REFORMATION AS REFLECTED IN WILLS, 1509-1553

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July 2019

The purpose of this thesis is to present and analyse statistical data of the religion of the gentry and middle classes as reflected in 1997 wills between 1509 to 1553, during the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI. In addition to this, the effect of Lollardy, the European Reformation and the attitude of the gentry and middle classes to the English Reformation along with the religious and economic policies of Henry VIII and Edward VI are analysed to provide an insight into changing religious beliefs. The sample used in this thesis was collected from 19 different counties from The National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills in series PROB 11 to provide a comprehensive regional analysis of the changing religious beliefs and attitudes of the respective testators towards the English Reformation. This thesis argues that, from the evidence of preambles and committals, Catholic England became a Protestant one by 1553.

Keywords: 16th Century England, Early Modern Wills, Edward VI, Henry VIII, The English Reformation.

ÖZET

ÜST VE ORTA SINIFLARIN DİNİ: VASİYETNAMELERE YANSIYAN İNGİLİZ REFORMASYONU, 1509-1553

Çelik, Oğulcan

Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi David E. Thornton

Temmuz 2019

Bu tezin amacı, VIII. Henry ve VI. Edward hükümdarlığı sırasında 1509 ila 1553 yılları arasındaki 1997 vasiyetnameye yansıdığı üzere üst ve orta sınıfların dininin istatistiki verilerini sunmak ve analiz etmektir. Buna ek olarak, Lollardlığın etkisi, Avrupa Reformasyonu ve üst ve orta sınıfların, VIII. Henry ve VI. Edward'ın dini ve ekonomik politikaları ile birlikte İngiliz Reformasyonu'na olan tutumu, değişen dini inançlara ışık tutmak için analiz edilmektedir. Bu tezde kullanılan numune, ilgili vasiyet sahiplerinin İngiliz Reformasyonu'na yönelik değişen dini inançları ve tutumlarının kapsamlı bir bölgesel analizini sağlamak için 19 farklı idari bölgeden, Ulusal Arşivler, Canterbury Vasiyet Mahkemesi PROB 11 serisindeki vasiyetnamelerden toplanmıştır. Bu tez, vasiyetnamelerin girişi ve vasiyet sahiplerinin ruhlarını teslim ettikleri bölümlerin bulgularından, Katolik İngiltere'nin 1553'te Protestan hale geldiğini savunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: VI. Edward, VIII. Henry, 16.yy İngiltere, Erken Dönem Vasiyetnameleri, İngiliz Reformasyonu.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY

REFORMATION AND WILLS

This study focuses on the English Reformation as reflected in the preambles to 1997 wills, collected from The National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11, in relation to the influence of the European Reformation in England during the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI, 1509-1553, and the religious and economic policies that were shaped by the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations. In order to see the attitudes of the gentry and middling classes towards the English Reformation and their change in personal beliefs, wills from nineteen different counties have been statistically analysed to provide the evidence of the development of Protestantism in England. This analysis has been made from the preambles and committals in the wills, which have been sorted into four different categories: *Traditional*, *Protestant*, *Ambiguous and Protestant/Catholic (Prot/Cat)*, and analysed over 5-year periods to see the changing religious beliefs of the respective testators, listed in Appendix V.

1.1 The Protestant Reformation

The Reformation or Protestant Reformation, in its main understanding, was a religious revolution or a challenge to the Church both as an institution and the Church as a

theological and doctrinal representative of all Catholic individuals. Even if the main concern of the Reformation was religious at its core, it had social, political and economic causes and effects as well. For many ecclesiastical historians, it was “the end of a united Christendom”.¹ Sixteenth Century was an age of the division of ideologies and beliefs, and of religious, political and social instability. Reformation was not first attempt in sixteenth century Europe. There were a number of movements against the doctrines or the system of the Catholic Church, such as Anglo-Saxon Reformation in the tenth century, a movement by Peter Waldo called the Waldenses in the twelfth century or John Wycliffe’s Reformation – Lollardy – in the fourteenth century but these early reformations were not as effective as or as permeated as deeply as the sixteenth century Reformation. The Reformation was a rebellion against the Catholic Church and it was a protest by churchman and scholars, privileged classes in Medieval society, “against their own superiors”.² By virtue of the fact that the Papacy attacked the teachings of such churchman and scholars, inside the theological sphere, such people demanded the Church “defend their status”³ since it was humiliating for such academic theologians to be attacked thus. Their demands were counter attacks against the accusers which took on a new form after the statements of well-known theologians such as Martin Luther, John Calvin and Huldrych Zwingli and spread throughout the Europe as the Reformation. The new ideas on theological doctrines and the questioning of Papal authority led Europe to divide into sects: Catholicism and Protestantism. The Reformation saw also a new approach both from the doctrines of

¹ A. G. Dickens, *Reformation and Society in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1970), 3.

² Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1.

³ Cameron, *The European Reformation*, 1.

Catholicism and Protestantism with Henry VIII and got its pure form with Edward VI and became the English Reformation.

1.2 Reformation in Europe

Reformation was not only a movement of people against the Church but also a movement against abuses of people in the light of religious beliefs. In the medieval period and the first quarter of the sixteenth century, people believed in the power of saints that might help them to survive, relics or shrines that connect the body of the Christianity to the soul of the dead. Such beliefs in material entity was a practice of a pagan belief system which was discrediting the true Cristian belief system. Therefore, many academic theologians put forward new ideas on how true Christian belief must be and how to correct the corrupted belief and many argued with them.

1.2.1 Martin Luther

Martin Luther was German Professor of Theology and a monk who had a critical role in the process of the Reformation. He questioned the very practice of Christianity and the doctrines of the Church because of certain abuses in people's belief. It is believed that Luther put forward his brand-new ideas because of the corrupted Papacy but it was not the whole case. "Luther's movement was rooted in his own personal anxiety about salvation".⁴ He questioned the doctrine of Justification. He studied the term righteousness in a detailed way unlike the Roman Catholic Church.

In Romans 4:1-5, it is stated that:

What then shall we say that Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh, discovered in this matter?
2 - If, in fact, Abraham was justified by works, he had something to boast about—but not before God.

⁴ Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 62.

- 3 - What does Scripture say? “Abraham believed God, and it was credited to him as righteousness.”
- 4 - Now to the one who works, wages are not credited as a gift but as an obligation.
- 5 - However, to the one who does not work but trusts God who justifies the ungodly, their faith is credited as righteousness.⁵

He believed that righteousness was a declaration of God and can only be earned by faith. This was Martin Luther’s doctrine of Justification by Faith. He had a different way of seeing such terms than the Roman Catholic Church. His way of seeing faith led him to question the legitimacy of the doctrines of the Church. He, then, wrote his famous Ninety-Five Theses, or Disputation on the Power of Indulgences (*Disputatio Pro Declaratione Virtutis Indulgentiarum*) in 1517, in which he questions Papal authority, false teachings and practices of the Church and abuses on indulgences. He stated that “*Dominus et magister noster Iesus Christus dicendo ,Penitentiam agite etc.’ omnem vitam fidelium penitentiam esse voluit*”.⁶ Luther, here, argues the fact that Jesus Christ also tells Christendom to repent for their sins and he refers to the Bible. In Matthew 4:17, it is stated that from that time on Jesus began to preach, “Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is near”.⁷ Luther questions the fact that Jesus Christ wants people to repent for their sins, but people were deceived to pay for their freedom, which was against the orders of the God. Therefore, he stated that “*Papa non potest remittere ullam culpam nisi declarando et approbando remissam a deo Aut certe remittendo casus reservatos sibi, quibus contemptis culpa prorsus remaneret*”.⁸ The Pope’s practice of indulgence was against true Christianity. The Pope cannot have the authority to remit the guilts of sinners since it can only be the act of God. That was

⁵ Romans 4:1-5

⁶ Martin Luther, “Original 95 Theses”, accessed February 26, 2019. <https://www.luther.de/en/95th-lat.html>.

⁷ The Holy Bible: New International Version. Colorado Springs (CO: International Bible Society, 1984)

⁸ Martin Luther, “Original 95 Theses.”

why he said that he was “a sworn doctor of Holy Scripture, and beyond that a preacher each weekday whose duty it is on account of his name, station, oath, and office, to destroy or at least ward off false, corrupt, unchristian doctrine”.⁹ For Luther, such unchristian doctrines and acts were the hypocrisy of the Pope. The Pope, as the representative of the God on earth whose merit must be unquestionable in terms of his action towards every Christian in the world, must provide his service without any secular expectation. By acting in exactly the opposite way, the Pope failed to follow the holy guidance of the Bible and manipulated every Christian with his own interpretation. That was why Luther was dismissed by Pope Leo X. The aftermath of his work was that he was accused of heresy by Sylvester Mazzolini, also known as Prierias in his work, *Dialogue Against the Arrogant Theses of Martin Luther Concerning the Power of the Pope*. In his work he stated: “Corollary: He who says in regard to indulgences that the Roman Church cannot do what she has actually done is a heretic”.¹⁰ After those statements, Luther was labelled as a heretic by Rome. In 23 January 1521, before the assembly – the Diet of Worms – Luther was to be denounced publicly as excommunicated, accursed, condemned, interdicted, deprived of possessions and incapable of owning them. They are “to be strictly shunned by all faithful Christians”.¹¹ It is believed that he was the father of sixteenth Century Reformation.

⁹ Martin Luther, ‘*Why the books of the Pope and his disciples were burned*’ (1520) in Luther’s Works 31:383.

¹⁰ Martin Luther quoted in Carter Lindberg, “Prierias and His Significance for Luthers Development.” *Sixteenth Century Journal* 3, no. 2 (1972): 55, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2540104>.

¹¹ “Decet Romanum Pontificem” Papal Encyclicals, accessed February 27, 2019, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo10/110decet.htm>.

1.2.2 Huldrych Zwingli

Huldrych Zwingli was one of the leaders of the Reformation in Switzerland. He was a pastor and a theologian like most of the reformists who protested against the Church. He was mostly influenced by Erasmus with his humanistic ideas. In 1519, he began to preach his ideas on Reformation of the Church. He believed that scripture is the bread of life and it was the preachers' duty to instruct Christian souls. In the sixteenth century and beforehand, many people did not have the Bible in their houses or even if they had, most of the people could not read it because they did not know Latin. As a preacher, he preached the Book of Matthew in the New Testament, Old Testament and New Testament so that people could hear the commandments of God. His idea of reformation regarding the scripture was "all of life, personal and communal, is to be normed by Scripture".¹² He believed that monks, priest and bishops were blinded by material rewards and could not see "the spiritual nature of God".¹³ One of his main concerns was the Freedom of Christians, which was why he protested against the tradition of fasting during Lent. Christians had the freedom to fast or not to fast. There is no statement in the Bible "interdicting the eating of meat during Lent".¹⁴ It is the choice of a Christian; the significant thing is to believe in Christ, not the matter of food. Another concern of the Swiss Reformation was clerical marriage. In Catholic tradition, those who devoted themselves to the holy purpose of the Papacy should follow clerical celibacy. They had to cleanse themselves from secular pleasures so it was forbidden to get married, have sex and have children. Unlike the Roman Catholic Church, he promoted clerical marriage and got married to Anna Reinhart -she was a widow with a son which made this marriage even more controversial- in 1524.

¹² Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, 174.

¹³ Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2008), 52.

¹⁴ Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, 169.

He shared the same idea with Martin Luther and he followed the doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone. He believed in repentance and what they considered to be true Christianity as Martin Luther did. He broke with the Roman Catholic Church in 1522 after one of his sermons on the *Eternal Pure Virgin Mary*. He rejected the idea of interpreting the Bible and believed that “the Word of God is crystal clear, certain and unequivocal”¹⁵ so there is no need for interpretation of the Bible. In one illustration in the sixteenth century, Pope Leo X was painted as a beast and he was labelled as “the Antichrist in Rome”¹⁶ because of his own interpretation of the Holy Scripture and for manipulating the souls of the Christians with indulgences.¹⁷ In one of his sermons, he attacked the use of images honouring the saints. Believing the power of saints and honouring them was idolatry – as Martin Luther stated – that was why acts of iconoclasm took place in Zurich starting from 1523. In his sixteenth article he stated that “in the gospel we learn that human teaching and statutes are of no use to salvation”.¹⁸ For him, believing in someone else other than God himself was idolatry. The idea of iconoclasm spread in Switzerland. All material entities such as altars, banners, shrines, images of saints, Jesus Christ and Virgin Mary that interrupt the horizontal connection between God and humans were banned. A group of visitors were formed to visit the Churches in Zurich to remove the icons. All icons were burnt or melted down in order to make money to help the poor. This was a very reformist idea during the Reformation period.

¹⁵ Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, 56.

¹⁶ “The Pope as the Antichrist” The First Lutheran Church of Boston, accessed March 16, 2019, <https://www.flc-boston.org/tag/antichrist>.

¹⁷ For more information, see Ulrich Zwingli, Heinrich Bullinger, and G. W. Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2006).

¹⁸ Ulrich Zwingli, H. Wayne Pipkin, and E. J. Furcha, *Huldrych Zwingli Writings* (Allison Park: Pickwick Publications, 1984), 62.

In England, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and before, many people bequeathed some of their wealth to the Church for renovation or for monks to sing for their souls. After the second quarter of the sixteenth century, people began to bequeath their wealth for poor relief and these evidences may be tracked through wills and last testaments.

Zwingli prepared 67 Articles and proposed them to the town council in the First Disputation of Zurich and the council accepted Zwingli's reformatory program. The main idea behind the articles was the freedom of the Christians. In 1524, the council began to suppress the religious and monastic houses in order to control them for the poor relief. Unlike Martin Luther, he denied the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist – transubstantiation – he believed that when Jesus Christ said the bread is my flesh and the wine is my blood he meant the bread signifies my flesh and the wine signifies my blood. During the Eucharist people do not actually eat the flesh of Jesus Christ or drink his blood.

1.2.3 John Calvin

John Calvin was a French lawyer, theologian, pastor and a reformist who played a prominent role during the Reformation in Geneva. He had an influence on England, especially on Edward Seymour, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury and also on the king, Edward VI. He sent letters to Seymour and warned Seymour both about the spiritualist, “who under the guise of the gospel throw everything into disorder, and about those who persist in the superstitions of the Antichrist in Rome”.¹⁹ For John Calvin, there were three significant things to reform the Church, “the right

¹⁹ Wulfert De Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin: An Introductory Guide* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1994), 217.

manner of instructing the people, the abolition of abuses and to fight against sin”.²⁰ He, like Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli, believed that people needed to be instructed in religious matters. They needed to hear the preachers and it was the preachers’ duty to preach the Holy Scripture. He also believed that the Church was manipulating people with indulgences and keeping them away from the true Christianity. Therefore, in order to make sure that England was safe from the manipulation of the Papacy, he sent his letters to King himself, Edward Seymour (the Lord Protector, Duke of Somerset), Thomas Cranmer and also the King’s tutor Sir Thomas Cheke. In one of his letters he wrote to the King of England and stated:

Or au pseaulme présent il est parlé de la noblesse et dignité de l'Eglise, laquelle doit tellement ravir à soy et grans et petits que tous les biens et honueurs de la terre ne les retiennent, ny empeschent qu'ils ne prétendent à ce but d'estre enrolléz au peuple de Dieu. C'est grand chose d'estre Roy, mesme d'un tel païs; toutefois je ne doubte pas que vous n'estimiez sans comparaison mieux d'estre Chrestien. C'est doncq un privilège inestimable que Dieu vous a faict, Sire, que vous soiez Roy Chrétien, voire que vous luy serviez de lieutenant pour ordonner et maintenir le Royaulme de Jésus Christ en Angleterre.²¹

He encouraged the King on the Reformation and advised him to find his true way, the way that the God showed him as a sire. Thomas Cranmer, in one his letters also stated that he will “vigorously carry on the Reformation in England”.²²

Calvin did not have an influence on the Henrician Reformation but he had on the Edwardian Reformation. He had some influence on the 1552 version of the *Book of Common Prayer*, *Forty-Two Articles of 1553* and the *First Book of Homilies* of 1547.

²⁰ Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin*, 217.

²¹ *Letters of John Calvin*, (The Project Gutenberg), Volume 1 of 4 by Jules Bonnet, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/45423/45423-h/45423-h.htm>.

Translation: It is a great thing to be a king, and especially of such a country; and yet I doubt not that you regard it as above all comparison greater to be a Christian. It is, indeed, an inestimable privilege that God has granted to you, Sire, that you should be a Christian King, and that you should serve him as his lieutenant to uphold the kingdom of Jesus Christ in England.

²² Greef, *The Writings of John Calvin*, 217.

1.3 The English Reformation

English Reformation is one of the most contradictory forms of Protestantism during the sixteenth century. The idea of the Reformation was to reform the Church because of its false teaching and doctrines, and the manipulation of the Pope. The idea was also to spread the true Christianity and instruct people with the guidance of the Holy Scripture. The main concern was religious rather than political and many reformists such as Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin were concerned about their salvation. Therefore, they began to question the doctrines and teachings of the Papacy and believed that the Pope was diverting people from the true way of practicing the religion. In England, the reform was rather political. The main concern was not the false teaching of the Papacy but to prove royal supremacy over it in order to remove the authority of the Pope from the realm especially during the reign of Henry VIII. On the other hand, there were religious changes as well. One of the most contradictory ones was the idea of Purgatory. The idea that it was the corrupted Church's way of manipulating people and to increase its income. Another major change, to remove the veneration of the Saints and Mary, began with the Henrician Reformation. During the first years of the reign of Henry VIII, people bequeathed their souls to God, the Saints and Mary but especially starting from 1534 -1535, they bequeathed their soul to God, the Holy Trinity, Jesus Christ, Holy Spirits in Heaven, and Mary, in different combinations and omitted especially the Saints in their wills. Saints were iconic figures for Catholics and a proper example of being a good Christian. Other than that, it is believed that any material entity that had belonged to any Saint was considered holy and people kept their belongings in the Churches and prayed to them. People venerated the images of Saints and Mary in the Churches and Monasteries. For Protestant theologians the veneration of the images of Saints and of Mary was considered

idolatry. During the Reformation, the images and cults of the Saints and Mary were demoted. Iconoclasm slowly spread in England. In one of the earliest hymns written in the 3rd century for Mary, her protectress duty may be seen in this hymn “Under Thy Protection”.²³ The Protestant view on Mary is quite different from the Catholic one. Reformers like Martin Luther and John Calvin believed that the Virgin Mary was the mother of God and should be honoured, but this honouring must have a limit. As a human being, without God’s grace, she is just like the others. Protestants ignore the fact that Mary is the Queen of Heaven. Therefore, it is blasphemy and idolatry to praise her, but not God himself. As a result, with the effect of the Reformation, people omitted the veneration of Saints and Mary from their wills.

The main difference between the European Reformation and the English Reformation was the reformists. Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin were monks or pastors so they were churchmen and they were all theologians and academics. On the other hand, Henry VIII had no formal theological education like the other reformists and he was no academic but a ruler. Edward VI, the son of Henry VIII, was also a ruler but the main difference is he was raised as a Protestant King unlike Henry VIII.

1.3.1 Henry VIII

The reign of Henry VIII is one of the most controversial parts of English history. Even if there were attempts to rebel against the Papacy, such as Lollardy, the policies that Henry VIII followed were the leading points of the Reformation. Henry VIII was not a scholar nor a theologian and Cardinal Wolsey was responsible for spiritual matters in Henry’s reign. The transition of England in the sixteenth century in terms of

²³ “Sub Tuum Praesidium, Under Thy Protection”, (The American TFP), accessed April 16, 2019, <https://www.tfp.org/sub-tuum-praesidium/>.

Latin: Sub tuum praesidium confugimus, Sancta Dei Genitrix. Nostras deprecationes ne despicias in necessitatibus nostris, sed a periculis cunctis libera nos semper, Virgo gloriosa et benedicta.

personal piety has always been contradictory since there was a lot of ambiguity at that time. Catholic England and her ruler's attitude to the Reformation until 1530s and afterwards may indicate the uncertainty of people that creates ambiguity in personal piety. The Act of Supremacy and the appointment of Thomas Cromwell, later on Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury and their influence on Henry VIII's interpretation of the theology along with the religious and economic policies affected the overall attitude of counties in England. The one who was once the abettor of the Pope became the one to order Pope's name to be removed from England. His connection with European reformers through Thomas Cranmer who was influenced mostly from Luther and Zwingli, opened a new door that provided him the supremacy he desired.

1.3.2 Edward VI

The reign of Edward VI, even though it did not last long as Henry's reign, was also controversial in terms of the change in personal beliefs. Unlike Henry VIII, he was born as a Protestant that made him more persuasive than Henry VIII who was once a Catholic. By virtue of the fact that he was still too young to rule the kingdom, on his behalf, the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland carried on the religious and economic policies which were even more progressive than Henry VIII's policies. The Church of England truly became the Anglican Church especially after the Book of Common Prayer in which the Protestant doctrines and teachings were found and applied to all Churches in England after the Act of Uniformity. As in Henry VIII's reign, European influence was active in Edward VI's reign too. Thomas Cranmer who was also the Archbishop of Canterbury during the reign of Edward VI, was influenced by reformers in Europe and mostly by John Calvin who was also in direct contact with Edward VI. Policies under the Edwardian regime affected the overall belief in England

and the transition accelerated comparing with Henry VIII's reign and so-called Protestant England became less traditional under his reign.

1.4 Early Modern Wills

For Ecclesiastical historians, one of the ways of tracking the Reformation and religious upheaval is through wills. The last will and testament are the means by which individuals legally dispose their property and wealth to institutions and to those who survived them. The functions of the last will and of the testament are quite different. The will, or the last will, deals with immovable property such as land, real estate, houses etc., and the testament with personal and moveable property, including money. However, especially for the sixteenth century, the word "will" covers both the Last Will and Testament. Originally, "wills were spoken in the presence of witnesses, rather than written",²⁴ they are nuncupative wills "written down from evidence given by witnesses"²⁵ but in the early modern period the last wills and testaments were written documents rather than spoken. There are two forms of wills, original wills and registered copies. Original wills are usually written by a scribe on a piece of parchment or paper so their survival is rarer than that of the registered copies. They are "usually signed by the testator".²⁶ Registered copies are the ones that are obtained after the completion of the probate process. "These registers are large bound ledgers with wills copied into them page after page. It is these that many archives have microfilmed, not the original wills."²⁷ The differences between the original wills and the registered copies are that in the original will the signature of the testator or his seal may be found,

²⁴ A. Raymond Stuart, *Wills of Our Ancestors - A Guide for Family & Local Historians* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Books, 2012), 3.

²⁵ Karen Grannum and Nigel Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records: A Practical Guide to Researching Your Ancestors' Last Documents* (National Archives, 2004), 5.

²⁶ Grannum and Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records*, 18.

²⁷ Grannum and Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records*, 18.

sometimes the signature or seal of the scribe, but in the registered copy there is no seal or signature. Some wills do not have a copy since the executor did not pay the fee to copy the original one. The original will and the copied one are written by different scribes so during the process of copying a will, there may be some mistakes that can be made by the scribe who copies the original document, so if the registered copy does not make sense, the original one ought to be compared where available.

“A will is a provisional document which becomes effective only when its maker dies, since it can be revoked at any time before that happens”²⁸ so that in Medieval and Early Modern period wills were typically written on a person’s death bed. In a typical Medieval will from England, it was common for a testator or testatrix to describe his or her physical and mental condition. In the sixteenth century, this common structure altered. The most common form was *whole of mind and sick in body* but this form changed into “*whole of mind and of good remembrance*”²⁹ This change in the structure raises the question of whether the will-making process changed in the sixteenth century or not. In the medieval period, testators made their wills when they were close to death or on their deathbed. The reason for adding the statement of health both physical and mental was to prove the validity of wills, because if a testator was not whole of mind, he or she could not provide a will. In the sixteenth century, there is a major change in the physical statements because they disappeared from the testamentary documents, which raises a new question on whether people made their wills when they were healthy or not. Usually, after the will date, a testator dies within a year and in most of the medieval wills the probate date is no more than a year later. In Early Modern wills, even if there are probate records on people dying within a year

²⁸ Nicholas Orme ed. *Cornish Wills: 1342-1540* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2007), 3.

²⁹ TNA PROB 11/17.

after writing the wills, there are also people who died later. In the will of Robert Browning of Alvington from Devonshire, the will date is 3 May 1513 but the probate date is 16 June 1515.³⁰ This occasion may throw light on the fact that in the Early Modern period, testators may begin writing their wills not on their deathbed or when they are close to death but when they are old but still physically healthy.

It was vital that testators were mentally healthy in order to state their last wills. In the Early Modern Period most of the wills do not have any statement of physical health, only their mental state.

On a person's death, there were conventional rules about conveying and inheriting property. The property is divided into three parts. One third of the property goes automatically to the widow, one third goes to the children, and one third is "the death's" part and is delivered according to the testator's wishes. There is also hereditary property which includes land and houses but it is usually covered by inheritance laws and there was no need to state it in wills.

In the Middle Ages, most of the wills were written in Latin but this changed in the Early Modern period and even before the Reformation, testators wrote their wills mostly in English. In some cases, testators or the scribe preferred writing the preamble in Latin but the other parts in English.

A typical will consists of eight parts (see Appendix III). It starts with a preamble such as "In the name of God Amen"³¹ or "In dei nomine Amen"³². This formula is not the only one used in wills. There are various examples of preambles which will be given later.

³⁰ TNA PROB 11/17/624.

³¹ TNA PROB 11/19/21.

³² TNAPROB 11/22/96.

After the preamble, there is a dating clause that varies from will to will. It takes a calendar form of dating or regnal form of dating, for instance, “the third day of May in the year of our lord God 1513”³³ or “the eighteenth day of August, in the third year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth”.³⁴ Then it is followed by an identifying clause of the testator (male) or testatrix (female), the person who is making the will. In this clause, the testator’s name and surname is always stated and their health, occupation and parish residence are usually provided. One of the most important parts is the question of health because it must be seen that the testator or testatrix is whole of mind and “good memory”³⁵ or “remembrance” as it is stated before. The committal part is followed by testator or testatrix’ statement about health. There are two types of committal: “the soul to God, Virgin Mary and all the saints”³⁶ and the body to a church where the testator or testatrix wished to be buried. Committal part is quite fixed and there is a formula to follow in the Middle Ages but that is not the case for Early Modern England. Until the sixteenth century the followed and the most common phrase was the traditional or Catholic one, bequeathing one’s soul to Almighty God, Virgin Mary and the Saints. Apart from some exceptions, in the sixteenth century England – until 1534 – wills have the same phraseology. In the will of William Fyndern from Cambridgeshire, dated 5. May. 1516, bequeaths his soul to the Holy Trinity³⁷ which is not very common in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

³³ TNA PROB 11/17/624.

³⁴ TNA PROB 11/34/166.

³⁵ The National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills in series PROB 11/21. Image Reference: 32

³⁶ Peter Franklin, *Some Medieval Records for Family Historians: An Introduction to the Purposes, Contents and Interpretation of Pre-1538 Records Available in Print* (Birmingham: Federation of Family History Societies, 1994), 85.

³⁷ TNA PROB 11/18/582.

After the committal the testator's bequests are described. There are two types of bequest according to the nature of the beneficiaries: religious bequests and those to family and friends. Bequests are the central parts of wills. The length of the bequests may vary; they can be very short or very long. After making bequests, the testator or testatrix appoint one or more executors and sometimes some overseers to advise them. Executors were chosen by the testator or testatrix in order that they convey their bequests after their death. The names of witnesses are also recorded in a typical will and they are usually more than two people. In many registered copies of wills, a probate clause follows the witnesses, after the testator or testatrix's death, and it is dated. Probate "is the official recognition of validity of a will, only granted when the probate court is satisfied that it has been properly witnessed, has not been tampered with, and conforms to other legal requirements".³⁸ Executors were not to be able to act without probate. The language of probates is Latin in both Medieval and Early Modern England. Executors, who are chosen by the testator or testatrix, take the wills to ecclesiastical courts and they are charged to pay some money for their services. After this process, the will can be *proved*. There are three different courts to process the will and the last testament, the Archbishop's Prerogative Courts: The Prerogative Court of Canterbury and the Prerogative Court of York, Bishop's Court and Archdeacon's Court.

The Prerogative Court of Canterbury deals with testators who lived "in the south and midlands of England or Wales" such as Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Derbyshire, Devon, Dorset, Essex, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, London, Middlesex, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Rutland, Shropshire,

³⁸ Stuart, *Wills of Our Ancestors*, 21.

Somerset, Staffordshire, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Wales, Warwickshire, Wiltshire and Worcestershire.³⁹ Testators who were “reasonably wealthy”⁴⁰ had their wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The Prerogative Court of York had the same function for reasonably wealth testators who lived in Cheshire, Cumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Northumberland, Nottinghamshire, Westmoreland, and Yorkshire.⁴¹ If a testator had goods in more than one archdeaconry, “the will would be granted by Bishop’s Court”⁴², if not, by the Archdeacon’s Court.

Even it was not very common in Early Modern England, especially between 1509 and 1553, probates were followed by a codicil. Codicil is a testamentary document that provides additions or amendments.

For the Church, “as God’s steward on the earth, it was the Christian’s duty to use the last will and testament as a means of promoting and supporting God’s work in the world”.⁴³ Wills as sources are highly individual documents that help family and local historians to study the time in which they were written from a closer aspect. They bring us close to our ancestors and the mind of men and women sometimes no other sources can. As Dr Burgess states, “wills provide historians with a detailed understanding of one aspect at least of the lives and beliefs of ordinary men and women”.⁴⁴ They do not only reveal the property and wealth that were disposed by people in Early Modern period but also make historians witness the life, relationships, customs, religious belief and personal piety. Historians who are interested in studying the ecclesiastical history of the sixteenth century England became more interested in wills since they provide a

³⁹ Grannum and Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records*, 14.

⁴⁰ Grannum and Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records*, 14.

⁴¹ Grannum and Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records*, 14.

⁴² Grannum and Taylor, *Wills and Other Probate Records*, 14.

⁴³ Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540-1580* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 171.

⁴⁴ Clive Burgess, “Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered,” in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. Michael Hicks (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1990), 14.

deep understating of religious and personal piety. There are many arguments on the validity of wills in terms of reflecting the piety of laymen. Dr Champion also asks “how much do these wills truly reflect actual wishes of testators and, therefore, reflect attitudes to lay piety in general.”⁴⁵ There are a number of elements that may influence the will of a testator. Family members, friends, the priest who was the scribe, the severity of the disease that the testator has, the idea of purgatory, all these cannot be underestimated as elements of influence. In addition to this, these elements cannot make a will entirely invalid in terms of analysing personal piety. With a proper methodology given in detail in the methodology section, analysing preambles and committals may lead historians to understand the attitude towards personal piety and beliefs.

Wills are also helpful for analysing gender, employment, and habitat. In a standard will, gender, place of residence, county, property and wealth, some relatives of the will owner may be tracked easily. Even if wills are mostly used for religious research, they are profitable sources for gender studies, regional studies, economical purposes, or even for family and occupational research.

Wills are both valuable and problematic because of their nature, so when using wills as a primary source and making statements, one must be cautious. Even if there are standardized forms in terms of preambles and committals, the documents themselves are not standardized. Dr Champion states: “wills followed a standardized formula”⁴⁶ but in the sixteenth century England, especially after the rejection of papal policy, various formulae were used. There is no certainty. As Clive Burgess states; “the

⁴⁵ Matthew Champion, “Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion: Evidence of Pilgrimage Bequests in the Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474,” *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture* 3, no. 3 (2012): 71.

⁴⁶ Champion, “Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion,” 72.

historian relying upon wills never enjoys certainty”.⁴⁷ The most significant reason for this problem is that there is no easy way to determine whether a will was written by testator only or under the influence of a priest. The most obvious example may be tracked with the help of preambles. In 1549, in the county of Leicestershire, there are three wills written and their formats are different from each other. In William Turville’s will, the preamble is the traditional and most common one which is “In Dei Nomine Amen”⁴⁸. The other two wills are written in English and the formulae is different from the traditional one. Interestingly, there is no preamble in the will of John Staesmore of Leicestershire, which is quite unconventional. It starts directly with a dating clause, “The fifth daye of September in the thirde yeare of the reigne of our soveraigne lord Kinge Edward the Sixth”⁴⁹. The last will from 1549 in the county of Leicestershire is the will of Randolphi Woode whose preamble starts with “In the Name of the High and Blessed Trinity”⁵⁰ These three examples of preambles in three different wills in the same year and region demonstrate the fact that even if there is no hundred percent certainty, the influence of the scribe is not above the owners of the wills. The most advantageous part of studying ecclesiastical history through wills is that they are categorizable and it is easier to analyse them for a specific concept after categorising them region by region as I did myself or village by village, so the flow and the changes may be seen clearly throughout years.

Wills are very significant sources for Reformation and Pre-Reformation studies. They help historians track the evidence of religious change during the course of English Reformation and throw light on the most valuable question of whether certain regions were affected by the Reformation or the suppression of Henry VIII and Edward VI.

⁴⁷ Burgess, “Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention”, 15.

⁴⁸ TNA PROB 11/32/575.

⁴⁹ TNA PROB 11/68/456.

⁵⁰ TNA PROB 11/33/288.

Even if England was Catholic until 1530s and began to become a Protestant country, how Protestant could she become and how successful was the process? With the help of wills, it is possible to track the evidence of people's stances towards the Reformation and religious change.

1.5 Literature on Wills as Sources

Before conducting research on wills in terms of reflecting the personal beliefs in England and remarking their importance on ecclesiastical history, I believe that it is important to note the historians' views on wills as sources which have guided and shaped my understanding of the early modern wills. In this part, I will discuss the ideas of historians on wills as historical sources in terms of reflecting the personal beliefs.

Michael L. Zell, in his article "Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Wills as Historical Sources", stated that "religious preambles can be used by historians as a good guide to changes in popular religious beliefs."⁵¹ Even though religious preambles are theoretically important sources for understanding the personal beliefs of the respective testators, Zell suggested that "historians must handle these preambles with great caution, most particularly because one cannot usually be certain exactly who wrote them"⁵² As many historians have argued about the influence of scribes on wills, Zell also stated the ambiguity of preambles since one may not be sure whether the preamble was the product of the testator or the scribe. One of the controversial aspects of using preambles as a way of ascertaining personal belief in the sixteenth century is its categorization. Zell indicates that:

Beginning in the late 1530s testaments began to drop the conventional Roman Catholic formula, which invoked the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary and

⁵¹ Michael L. Zell, "Fifteenth- and Sixteenth Century Wills as Historical Sources," *Archives* 14, no. 62 (1979): 69.

⁵² Zell, "Fifteenth- and Sixteenth Century Wills as Historical Sources," 69.

the Saints. This began to be replaced by a rather non-committal formula, which simply does not mention the Virgin or Saints, and by formulae which suggest specifically Protestant ideas about salvation.⁵³

In the sixteenth century, during the reign of Henry VIII, especially after 1530 as Zell stated, people began to bequeath their souls to God alone, which broke the Catholic way of will-writing and suggests that testators who did not use the Catholic formulae, were possibly Protestants.

Michael L. Zell, also in his article “The Use of Religious Preambles as a Measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century” categorises the preambles:

Usually the preambles take one of three forms. The first, usually referred to as traditional or Catholic, has a formula in which the testator asks for the intercession on his behalf of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints – the Holy Company of Heaven. The second formula, often called non-traditional, omits mention of the Virgin and the saints, and usually takes the simple form, “I command my soul to Almighty God”. Finally, there are preambles which depart altogether from the traditional format and reflect Protestant theological ideas in that they stress the inherent sinfulness of the testator and his sole reliance on the mercy of Christ for his salvation.⁵⁴

Zell categorised preambles in three different ways, Catholic, non-traditional and Protestant. In his arguments, non-traditional preambles are the simplified form of the Catholics preambles. Therefore, bequeathing the soul to only Almighty God is non-traditional but still a Catholic way of will-writing. His Protestant form, as he defines it, may not be acquired from preambles but from the committal part since testators asked mercy of Christ for their salvations in the committal part.

Martin Heale, in his book *The Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England* stated that:

Other surviving wills of the last years of Henry VIII’s reign point to an innate conservatism on the part of ex-abbots and priors. The majority included traditional

⁵³ Zell, “Fifteenth- and Sixteenth Century Wills as Historical Sources,” 69.

⁵⁴ Michael L. Zell, “The Use of Religious Preambles as a measure of Religious Belief in the Sixteenth Century”, *Historical Research*, 50 (1977): 246, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.1977.tb01720.x>

preambles that bequeathed the testator's soul to God, the Blessed Virgin, and the company of heavens.⁵⁵

Heale here remarks that traditional preambles, or in another words, the Catholic preambles, have the units of God, the Blessed Virgin and the company of heaven and supports Zell's idea on the categorization of Catholic preamble.

Claire Cross in her article "The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull, 1520-1640: The Evidence from Wills" remarks that "despite these very real reservations on the reliability of the evidence, in the absence of personal correspondence, wills remain the only reasonable comprehensive source from which to gauge religious trends."⁵⁶ Cross also agrees that wills are very significant sources for ecclesiastical historians to analyse the personal piety and beliefs of testators. She further discusses that:

Testator after testator until around 1540 bequeathed his soul to God, St Mary and all the saints in heaven at Leeds, or to God, our Lady, and the celestial court of heaven at Hull. With the dissolution of chantries in the reign of Edward VI the Virgin and the saints disappeared from many, though not all, will preambles in both towns: they returned in most Leeds wills on the restoration of Queen Mary.⁵⁷

There is no explicit categorization of wills in the article but it may be deduced that during the reign of Edward VI, the traditional way of bequeathing the soul changed and testators began to bequeath their souls to God only which she also defined as "explicitly Protestant"⁵⁸. With the restoration of Catholicism under the reign of Queen Mary, testators began to use the traditional or Catholic form of bequeathing the soul. Clive Burgess, in his work "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered", discussed the reliability of wills.

⁵⁵ Martin Heale, *Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 366.

⁵⁶ Claire Cross, "The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull, 1520-1640: The Evidence From Wills", *Northern History* 18, no. 1 (1982): 230. <https://doi.org/10.1179/007817282790176681>

⁵⁷ Cross, "The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull," 231-232.

⁵⁸ Cross, "The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull," 232.

Wills appear to yield abundant information, so much so that it is all too easy to assume that each provides a relatively realistic impression of a testator's pious intent. Historians extrapolating from this premise, who have sought to establish the characteristics of contemporary religious behaviour by, for instance, analysing all the wills surviving for certain towns, have been so engaged sorting and interpreting wills' minutiae that they have neglected to question basic assumptions concerning the reliability of their evidence.⁵⁹

Wills as historical sources⁶⁰ are ambiguous because of their nature since they were supposed to be written when a person was close to death by a scribe. Even though the influence of the priest that writes the will on behalf of the testator cannot be underestimated, it is impossible to indicate that all wills were written under the influence of scribes⁶¹. They are as reliable as other historical sources. Edward Hallet Carr stated that "the belief in a hard core of historical facts existing objectively and independently of the interpretation of the historian is a preposterous fallacy, but one which it is very hard to eradicate."⁶² Every historian takes the source or a piece of information and processes it according to his or her piece of mind. Every person has a unique and complex set of thoughts that lead him or her to interpret every event in a different way. Hence, Carr is logically right about his statement. A piece of knowledge

⁵⁹ Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention," 15.

⁶⁰In relation with wills as historical sources and its formula, see Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans, "Wills as an Historical Source," 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, 2004), 38-71; Noman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984); Clive Burgess, "By Quick and by Dead": Wills and Pious Provision in Late Medieval Bristol," *The English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (1987): 837-858; B. Capp, "Will Formularies," *Local Population Studies*, 14 (1975): 49-50; G. Mayhew, "The Progress of the Reformation in East Sussex 1530-1559: the Evidence from Wills," *Southern History*, 5 (1993): 36-67; John Craig and Caroline Litzenberger, "Wills as Religious Propaganda: The Testament of William Tracy." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 44, no. 3 (1993): 415-31. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046900014160>.

⁶¹ For further discussions, see Christopher Marsh, "Attitudes to Will- Making in Early Modern England," 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, 2004), 158-175; Margaret Spufford, "Religious Preambles and the Scribes of Villagers' Wills in Cambridgeshire, 1570-1700," 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, 2004), 144-157; R. Whiting, "For the Health of my Soul: Prayers for the Dead in the Tudor South-West", *Southern History* 5 (1983): 68-94.

⁶² E. H Carr, *What Is History?* (London: Penguin, 1990), 12.

or a source that we, people, trust is the product of another mind and may be manipulated. Therefore, I believe that Burgess is reasonably concerned with the reliability of wills as historical sources but with a proper methodology, personal piety and beliefs of testators can be tracked through wills even if the results may be questionable since wills may not 100% reflect the personal beliefs of testators, an overall pattern may be presented.

J.D Alsop in his article “Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae” argued against the reliability of wills:

In terms of individual belief, the religious preamble is an untrustworthy guide to the religion of the testator – or at least a guide for which the trustworthiness is suspect and, in most instances, impossible to establish.⁶³

In historical studies, a scholar may not conduct research with one hundred percent reliability because of the nature of the sources, which may have been easily manipulated, changed or tempered since they are all manmade. I strongly disagree with him since wills have been used for economic, regional, local and religious research, which undermines Alsop’s statement about impossibility.

Matthew Champion in his article “Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion: Evidence of Pilgrimage Bequests in the Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474” also argued about the validity and reliability of wills as historical sources and influence of the scribe but stated that:

The wills appear to have the potential to shed light upon individuals’ attitudes towards pilgrimage and add an often forgotten voice to the complex debate that forms the core of any study into the religious belief of the lower orders during the later Middle Ages.⁶⁴

⁶³ J. D. Alsop, “Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae,” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 40, no. 1 (1989): 19–27, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046900035405>.

⁶⁴ Champion, “Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion,” 71.

Wills may be used as sources to track the attitudes of testators towards certain events as Champion remarked. For my research I used wills to track testators' attitudes towards the English Reformation. Champion also stated that:

It must be remembered that all wills, virtually without exception, were not the result of a free-form creative act by the individual. They followed a standardized formula and were created in an environment where a number of elements and individuals would also have had influence.⁶⁵

Even though there is a formula to follow in the preambles, especially after 1530s, the traditional way used in the preambles changed and until 1553, according to my data, different formulas were used in preambles so it would be ignoring this fact to suggest that preambles had a standardized formula to follow since by saying standardized, Champion meant traditional way which was "commending their soul to Almighty God, the Virgin and the saints of heaven"⁶⁶ as he stated.

Will Coster, in his article "Community, Piety, and Family in Yorkshire Wills between the Reformation and the Restoration", stated that "an examination of the preamble as a whole can be revealing about testamentary behaviour"⁶⁷ unlike other historians who are more sceptical and further indicates that "they could also be taken to suggest support for the long-recognized appeal of Reformed Protestantism to certain socio-economic groups".⁶⁸ As he indicated from the evidence of wills, with the help of the preambles and committals, the support for the Reformation may be tracked for certain socio-economic groups as I have done for this thesis.

Eamon Duffy in his book *The Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* discussed the impact of reform through wills.

⁶⁵ Champion, "Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion," 72.

⁶⁶ Champion, "Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion," 73.

⁶⁷ Will Coster, "Community, Piety, and Family in Yorkshire Wills Between the Reformation and the Restoration," *Subsidia* 12 (1999): 522, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0143045900002647>.

⁶⁸ Coster, "Community, Piety, and Family in Yorkshire Wills," 523.

Historians looking for evidence of religious change have tended more particularly to focus on the preambles to Tudor wills, in which the testator committed his soul to God, but often also to the saints before going on to dispose of his or her property “for the health of my soul”. Shifts in the phrasing of such preambles, for example, the omission of any mention of the saints, the expression of reliance solely on the merits of Christ, the repudiation of the value of good works, have all been taken signs of Protestant conviction on the part of the testator.⁶⁹

Even if Duffy did not categorize wills himself he seems to support the idea that the omission of saints from preambles of wills may indicate the decline of traditional will-writing, in another words Catholic will-writing, which may demonstrate that testators who did not follow the traditional preamble may be Protestants. Even though he states that “preambles have been heavily relied on by historians arguing for the rapid progress of Protestantism among laity of mid-Tudor England”, he further indicates that, as other historians stated, wills should be handled with care.⁷⁰

A.G. Dickens, who was one of the pioneers of using wills for the statistical analysis of personal beliefs of testators, in his article “The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558” categorised wills for his study and stated that:

Traditional wills begin with the testator leaving his soul to the company of the saints in heaven, while Protestant-type wills naturally discard this practice and show testator bequeathing his soul to God or to Christ.⁷¹

Dickens, unlike some historians, supported studying religious history through wills to obtain a statistical result on personal beliefs and he himself categorised wills to see possible opinions on personal beliefs.

Caroline Litzenger in her book *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540 – 1580* took the study a step further and categorised wills in

⁶⁹ Eamon Duffy, *Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 505.

⁷⁰ Duffy, *Traditional Religion in England*, 506.

⁷¹ A. G. Dickens, “The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 78 (1978): 187-222, <https://doi.org/10.14315/arg-1987-jg10>.

three different forms. She named her categorizations as *Traditional*, *Ambiguous* and *Protestant*.⁷² She did not only categorise preambles and committals but also religious bequests. Her categorization of preambles may be seen below:

Table 1 – Categorisation of Preambles by Caroline Litzenberger

Traditional	Virgin Mary and/or Holy Company of Heaven
Ambiguous	Almighty God and/or Jesus Christ
Protestant	Testator directly addressing God

1.6 Methodology

This research is on 1997 wills (selection of wills), written between 1509 and 1553, during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, which have been collected from The National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury in the PROB 11 series. Specifically, this study covers wills from 19 counties from the South-east, the eastern midlands, the western midlands, and the North-west of England, as follows alphabetically: Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, Cornwall, Derbyshire, Devon, Dorset, Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Kent, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, Surrey, Sussex, Warwickshire and Wiltshire. The number of wills from each county is summarised in figure 1 below.

⁷² C. J. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, 172.

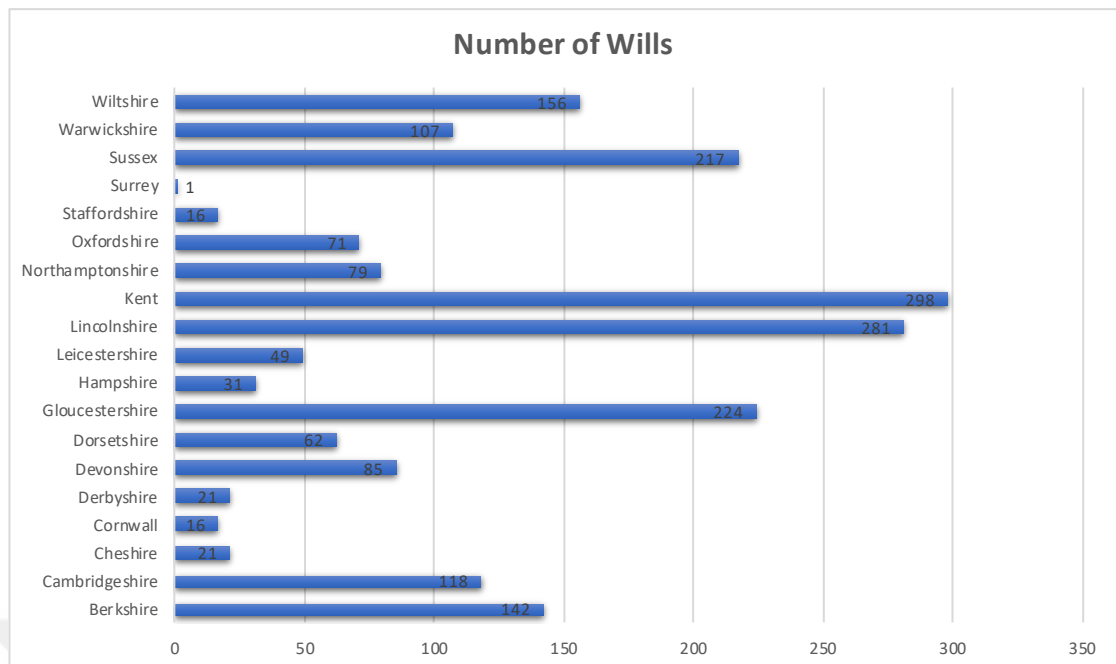


Figure 1 - Number of Wills

Out of the 1997 wills only 89 of them belong to women and the other 1908 wills belong to men. Analysis of the occupations, which is often but not always given in wills, indicates that the majority were indeed members of the middling classes and the gentry, but there are a few from those of higher statuses.⁷³

The sample of wills from the PCC for this study were written mostly in Early Modern English and with a handful written in Latin, which becomes rarer in wills especially after 1500.⁷⁴

⁷³ The data of the occupations collected from the wills as follows, as written in original documents: Alderman, Baker, Barber, Beer Brewer, Bell Founder, Brewer, Bocher, Brazier, Burges, Butcher, Capper, Carpenter, Chandler, Chapeleyn Vicary, Mercer, Merchant, Clerk, Parson, Prebendary, Treasurer, Canon, Dean, Cloth Maker, Cloth Man, Clothier, Cowper, Doctor of Divinity, Doctor of Physick, Draper, Dyer, Earl, Esquire, Felt Capper, Fishmonger, Fletcher, Fuller, Gentleman, Glazier, Glover, Grocer, Husbandman, Haberdasher, Inholder, Iron Maker, Knight, Labourer, Cook, Maltman, Mariner, Mayor, Mercer, Master of Arts, Merchant Tailor, Miller, Pewter, Physician, Plummer, Porter, Powes, Priest, Provisor, Recorder, Sadler, Salter, Sergeant, Servant, Shipwright, Singing Man, Smith, Sope Maker, Subdean, Tallow Chandler, Tanner, Tucker, Turner, Vicar, Vintner, Weaver, Widow, Yeoman. According to the data collected from PCC, the occupations listed above suggest that testators were the members of the gentry or middling classes.

⁷⁴ Judith Ford, "The Decline in the Use of Latin for Will- and Testament-making in Early Sixteenth-Century Bedfordshire," *Reformation* 1 (1996), 138-148.

This research proposes to examine and analyse the evidence from wills for possible religious change in the 19 counties⁷⁵ stated above. It is based on 1997 wills which have not been studied in detail before and reflect the changing religious beliefs of testators during this period of significant religious upheaval. In order to increase the reliability of these personal documents and to obtain a valid result, the wills from the abovementioned counties have been sorted into four different categories and analysed in 5-year periods that, I assert, reflect the religious perspectives of their respective testators: Traditional, Ambiguous, Protestant and Prot/Cat.

Previous historians have categorized wills in various ways. I will here use: *Traditional*, *Protestant*, *Ambiguous*, as A.G. Dickens and Caroline Litzenberger categorised, and *Prot/Cat* – my categorisation - to examine and analyse the preamble and committal part.

Traditional wills generally involve the committal of the soul to “God, to Mary and the Saints” and these predominate until 1529 when they began to decrease in relative frequency. This is a typical formula that many historians used (see 1.5).

Ambiguous wills refer to “God and Mary” and “God and the Saints” and “God, Jesus Christ, Mary and Saints”. The reason for their ambiguity is because people began to change the very tradition of bequeathing the soul to “God, Mary and Saints” which makes it hard to understand their personal piety. Omitting one element or adding “Jesus Christ” may indicate the influence of the Reformation or the influence of Lollardy, or since people kept “God and Mary” or “God and Saints” in the bequests, it may not suggest anything which causes ambiguity in personal beliefs. Litzenberger categorized “Almighty God” and “Jesus Christ” as *Ambiguous* which are Protestant

⁷⁵ The National Archives online database for PROB 11 contains 242 wills from Surrey between the years of 1509 – 1553. However, I have used The Genealogist database (<https://www.thegenealogist.co.uk>) to collect the selection of wills, and from that source I was able to access only one will from Surrey.

elements in my categorization since testators also used “God” with “Virgin Mary” and “Saints” in their preambles before the English Reformation, which is a sign of a Catholic formula. Breaking the very traditional way of committing the soul may indicate non-traditionality rather than ambiguity.

Protestant wills refer to Jesus Christ, the Holy Trinity, and bequeathing of the soul either only to God or to both God and Jesus Christ. Dickens also categorised God and Jesus Christ as Protestant elements in preambles and committals. Omission of the lesser figures such as the Saints and the Virgin Mary in a typical traditional will may suggest a possible Protestant sympathy. According to common Catholic practice, the saints and the Virgin Mary play an important intercessory role between God and his subjects, to some extent undermining the direct connection between them. As stated before, for reformers, the connection between God and his subjects must be horizontal and anything that comes between them should be demoted (see 1.2). Therefore, people broke the traditional way of will-writing in order to show their Protestant sympathy.

Litzenberger, in her book *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire, 1540 – 1580*, listed the units of *Traditional, Ambiguous and Protestant* wills⁷⁶ which are quite different from my categorization (see 1.5). Unlike recent research, I have categorised “God or Almighty God”, “Jesus Christ” and “Holy Trinity” as part of a Protestant element since there is a certain increase in the pattern especially between the years of 1529 and 1553, during the most apparent upheavals and the following years until 1553. Litzenberger and the historians who followed her categorization may have failed to obtain a better result by limiting the categories to *Traditional, Ambiguous and Protestant* and the elements in the categories which fail to provide a more comprehensive and accurate result because of the fact that the elements that

⁷⁶ C. J. Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity*, 172.

ascertain the personal belief of testators are listed in Ambiguous in Litzenberger's categorization such as Holy Trinity and Jesus Christ which are Protestant elements in my categorization.

Prot/Cat wills, as I refer to, belong to people who rejected governmental suppression esoterically. These wills have the units of "Jesus Christ, Mary and Saints" and "Jesus Christ and Mary" which suggests that they are *Hidden Protestants* since by omitting God in their religious bequests they break the very traditional way that Catholics used. The other form is *Hidden Catholics* whose wills have the elements of "God and Jesus Christ" plus either "Saints or Mary" but not both. Having Jesus Christ in this form is the evidence of suppressed Catholics who break the traditional way but keep two elements from the traditional way.

Except for the category *Traditional*, since Litzenberger and A.G. Dickens and other scholars also used the same phraseology, my categorization provides a more accurate result for historians who wish to use preambles and committals as a way of demonstrating personal belief without indicating religious bequests. By taking cognisance of the categorizations and elements that I provided, for this research, I will analyse the personal beliefs from the evidence of preambles and committals in wills in order to see the development of Protestantism, the attitudes of local people to the English Reformation which hasn't been done before in such a broad context.

In order to avoid confusion, here is a table of my categorisation of preambles:

Table 2– My Categorisation of Preambles

Traditional	“God, Mary and Saints”
Protestant	1) “Jesus Christ” 2) “Holy Trinity” 3) “God” 4) “God and Jesus Christ”
Ambiguous	1) “God and Mary” 2) “God and Saints” 3) “God, Jesus Christ, Mary and Saints”
Prot/Cat	Hidden Protestants: 1) “Jesus Christ, Mary and Saints” 2) “Jesus Christ and Mary” Hidden Catholics: 1) “God, Jesus Christ, Saints” 2) “God, Jesus Christ and Mary”

This study focuses on certain phrases in the preambles. There are, however, other ways of categorising wills according to the religious perspective of the testator. Though, because of the limited space, I am not considering them here (see 1.5).

There are inevitably problems with this methodology, especially to what extent can the use of certain words in a will tell us about the personal beliefs and piety of testators. As I already mentioned above in literature review (see 1.5), many scholars have been concerned with the same methodological problems and have argued whether phrases and patterns in the individual wills can actually tell us about the particular religious

views of the testator. In my case and therefore in the case of Dickens, Litzenberger and others, the question is to what extent these varying phrases tell us about the religious perspectives during the Reformation. As I already mentioned, Claire Cross stated that:

With the dissolution of chantries in the reign of Edward VI the Virgin and the saints disappeared from many, though not all, will preambles in both towns: they returned in most Leeds wills on the restoration of Queen Mary.⁷⁷

Cross' statement is very debatable in terms of whether wills actually represent the personal beliefs of testators. Disappearance of the Virgin Mary and Saints during the reign of Edward VI and their return in most Leeds wills during the reign of Queen Mary may suggest that people were either actually Catholics but pretended to be Protestant sympathisers because of the regime or after the restoration of Catholicism with Queen Mary, people who were actually Protestant sympathisers pretended to be Catholics because of the regime of Mary. Cross draws attention to a very important point but there is no exact answer or solution to this problem. Therefore, the numbers and percentages given for this study may not hundred percent reflect the personal beliefs and piety of the testators listed in Appendix V.

Even though I used four different categories for my data, from here on, I am only going to give the percentage of traditional wills in order to show the decline of traditional will-writing in five-year periods.

1.7 Thesis Plan

This thesis consists of five chapters in which I intend to show the effect of the European Reformation along with Lollardy on the English Reformation with the changes in theological doctrines and personal beliefs.

⁷⁷ Cross, "The Development of Protestantism in Leeds and Hull," 231-232.

In chapter one, the Reformation, its meaning and point of origin are explained in a broader context. Following, the European Reformation and reformers such as Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin's teachings and their roles on the Reformation along with their ideas and teachings which affected the English Reformation are explained. Subsequently, the English Reformation and the roles of Henry VIII and Edward VI are explained.

In chapter two, the reign of Henry VIII up to 1533 and his religious and economic policies are analysed, along with the evidence of preambles and committals between the years of 1509 and 1533 in order to illustrate the religion of Henry VIII, the evidence of Lollardy and religion of England in 18 counties along with the attitudes of people to the European Reformation, which affected overall personal belief in England on the eve of the Henrician Reformation.

In chapter three, the reign of Henry VIII and his religious and economic policies under the influence of Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell are analysed along with the evidence of preambles and committals between the years of 1534 and 1548 during the course of the Henrician Reformation are analysed in order to demonstrate the changing religious belief of 19 counties in England along with the progress of Protestantism and the attitude of people to the Henrician Reformation.

In chapter four, the reign of Edward VI and his religious policies along with the policies of the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland are analysed along with the evidence of preambles and committals between the years of 1549 and 1553 during the course of the Edwardian Reformation are analysed in order to present the development of Protestantism in 18 counties in England.

In chapter five, the overall policies that were carried during the reign of Henry VIII and Edward VI between the years of 1509 and 1553, along with the developments in

Europe and England with the influence of theological changes which effected the personal beliefs of the gentry and the middling classes and their attitudes toward the English Reformation are concluded.

Overall, in this thesis, I will discuss the English Reformation in relation with the influence of the European Reformation in England during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, 1509-1553, and the religious and economic policies that were shaped by the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations. Furthermore, the gentry and middling classes' attitude towards the process of the English Reformation and the testators' change in personal beliefs will be statistically analysed in 19 counties, and regionally, to see the evidence of the development of Protestantism and decline of the traditional way of will writing from the evidence of preambles and committals in wills between 1509 and 1553.

CHAPTER II
HENRY VIII: CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM PRIOR
TO THE ENGLISH REFORMATION, 1509 - 1533

In this chapter, the effect of Lollardy along with the religious and economic policies of Henry VIII and his first steps towards the Henrician Reformation in England between 1509 and 1533 will be discussed. Furthermore, a number of wills during the reign of Henry VIII and the general pattern of traditional wills in 18 counties will be given and analysed to help to understand the personal piety of the testators in Catholic England and its transition on the eve of the Henrician Reformation from the evidence of wills in England. In the last part, in which there is a comparative county by county and regional analysis of the percentage of the traditional wills, personal piety and exposition of Lutheranism between the years of 1509 and 1533, along with the effects of religious policies and literary war under the Henrician regime will be analysed. From the evidence of wills, most of the counties were exposed to Lutheran ideas and doctrines, and the percentage of traditional wills decreased but, in some counties, the local decline may be tracked from the evidence of wills.

2.1 Henry VIII: A Catholic King and England

On 21 April 1509, at the age of 17, a Tudor prince was crowned as the King of England. Henry was a king who had never been seen as the heir apparent, since he had had an elder brother, Prince Arthur, who was already raised to become the king of England. Henry VIII who was the second son of Henry VII was the new king of England after his father's death. After his coronation, he married Katherine of Aragon who was the daughter of "two reigning monarchs"⁷⁸; Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile who was also named as "Isabella the Catholic"⁷⁹ because of her image as the Catholic Queen. Katherine of Aragon was impressive as a Catholic figure for all Catholics in England along with her king Henry VIII. Henry VIII was also a devout Christian and "his beliefs remained largely unchanged throughout his adult life"⁸⁰ since his main concern was politics rather than religion. "He was the ideal Renaissance king,"⁸¹ but his lack of knowledge of how to rule a kingdom caused him to be easily influenced by Thomas Wolsey who advised him on day-to-day political, economic and international business of the government. As some historians have stated, Thomas Wolsey was a "real alter rex, (alternative king)"⁸² who was the archbishop of York in 1514 and was made a cardinal by the Pope⁸³ in 1515 and had the status as a "papal legate a latere permanently".⁸⁴ As the chancellor of England, he was one of the most trusted men in the realm for the young king. During the Henrician regime along, with Thomas Wolsey's influence on Henry VIII, England was still a Catholic country which was following the Catholic teachings and doctrines. Theocratically, a considerable

⁷⁸ Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 9.

⁷⁹ Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII*, 9.

⁸⁰ Keith Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993), 17.

⁸¹ Alec Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation: The Tudor and Stewart Realms, 1485-1603* (Harlow: Pearson, 2009), 83.

⁸² Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England*, 19.

⁸³ D. G. Newcombe, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1995), 32.

⁸⁴ Newcombe, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, 32.

amount of people were Catholic⁸⁵ and they were very devoted to the religion of their forefathers. From the evidence of wills, laymen's personal piety may be tracked in religious bequests.⁸⁶

Item I bequeath for the repair of the same chapel 6s 8d. Item I bequeath to the high altar of the said church 40s of good legal English money. Item I bequeath to the fraternity of the Holy Cross in the Wall being in the church of St Gregory of the said town 3s4d. Item I bequeath to the fraternity of St Katherine the Virgin in the church of St Mary the Virgin in the same town 6s8d. Item I bequeath for the repair of the altar of St John in the church of St Peter aforesaid 3s 4d. Item to the repair of the church of St Michael the Archangel of Northampton 3s 4d. Item I bequeath to the repair of the church of St Margaret in St James End by Northampton 3s 4d. Item I bequeath for the repair of the parish church of Brykkesworth 3s 4d. Item I bequeath for the repair of the parish church of Church Brampton 3s 4d. Item I bequeath for the repair of the parish church of Dallington 3s 4d. Item I bequeath to each of the orders of mendicant brothers in Northampton 10s so that each order of the said orders shall say one "Trinomelis" immediately after my death for the health of my soul. Item I will that a suitable chaplain immediately after my death shall celebrate every day for one whole year after my death in the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the said church of St Peter for the health of my soul and the souls of my parents and all faithful departed and I will that the said chaplain shall have for his pay 100s in money.⁸⁷

The sample given here was written on 4 December 1475 and belonged to Ralph West of Northampton. The bequests that he listed may indicate that he bequeathed his money to churches, fraternities and for the health of his soul which was very common for Catholics in the fifteenth century. From the evidence of Ralph West's religious bequests, the devotion to the Virgin Mary and saints was very significant which was also a way to reflect the personal piety in wills. People were bequeathing money regardless of their economic status. Other than money, they were bequeathing their goods such as "sheep, cattle, timber, crops of wheat, rye and beans, bushels of malt

⁸⁵ According to my data, during the first years of the reign of Henry VIII, the percentage of traditional wills is considerably high in 18 counties so the expected percentage of Catholics before the reign of Henry VIII is similar or higher.

⁸⁶ See Naile Mağiltas, "Acta Est Fabula, Plaudite!: The Role of Women in Late Medieval England: The Evidence from Wills." (Master's thesis, Bilkent University, 2009), 32-66.

⁸⁷ Dorothy Edwards, *Early Northampton Wills: Preserved in Northamptonshire Record Office* (Northamptonshire: Publication of the Northamptonshire Record Society, 2005), 67.

and loads of stone, beehives and barrels of salt and fish, jewels and rings, silver and pewter plate, gowns of silk, satin and sarsenet, sometimes quite humble household objects or the implements of husbandry or village crafts”⁸⁸ which were important sources of income for the Churches and for the testators after whose death the clergy would pray for his soul since they were afraid of the damnation of their souls and of Purgatory. People believed in traditional Catholic doctrine of the real presence of the Christ in the Eucharist as their king Henry VIII.⁸⁹

There was, however, also heresy during the reign of Henry VIII which was the influence of John Wycliffe, who believed that the Bible was the only trustworthy theological source that should be given in the hands of layman to read so that they could reach salvation and learn to true way of Christianity. Therefore, he started the anticlerical movement, also known as Lollardy⁹⁰ which shaped the English Protestantism⁹¹.

In 1395, a group of Lollards wrote *The Twelve Conclusions*, which were inspired by the teachings of John Wycliffe. They presented the text to the English Parliament and nailed the document on the doors of St. Paul’s Cathedral and Westminster Abbey, which was against the teachings and doctrines of the “corrupted” Church. In the Conclusions, the Lollards disparaged the temporal power of the Pope and the Church of Rome, clerical celibacy that encourages sodomy, transubstantiation in the Eucharist, which leads to idolatry, pilgrimage and the veneration of relics that leads to idolatry, religious arts and crafts that people make in order to honour God, Virgin Mary and

⁸⁸ J. J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 3.

⁸⁹ Brian Moynahan, *Book of Fire - William Tyndale, Thomas More and The Bloody Birth of the English Bible* (London: Little, Brown Book Group, 2011), no pagination.

⁹⁰ For more information, see J. F. Davis, “Lollardy and the Reformation in England,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte - Archive for Reformation History*. 73 (1982): 217-237, <https://doi.org/10.14315/arg-1982-jg10>.

⁹¹ William A Clebsch, *England’s Earliest Protestants 1520-1535* (New Haven: Yale Publications in Religion, 1980), 4.

Saints which is also idolatry.⁹² These movements against the Papacy, its power, and the teaching and doctrines of the “corrupted” Church were still being followed by some laymen and the clergy even during the early years⁹³ of the reign of Henry VIII before the early Reformation on which Henry VIII opposed.

In 1517, when Martin Luther wrote his Ninety-Five Theses⁹⁴ and his ideas began to spread in Europe and England⁹⁵ as well, Henry VIII, who was a trustworthy supporter of the Pope, composed *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum Adversus Martinum Lutherum* or “Defence of the Seven Sacraments”. As the King of England, who opposed any idea that questioned the authority of the Pope and the teachings and doctrines of the Catholic Church, he was rewarded with the title of *Fidei Defensor*, “Defender of the Faith” by Pope Leo X himself on 11 October 1521. He stated that those who followed the ideas and teachings of Martin Luther were heretics as was Luther himself for standing against the Catholic Church. In one of his letters to the Pope, Henry VIII stated that:

Most Holy Father, As we Catholic sovereigns should uphold religion, when We saw Luther's heresy running wild, for the sake of Germany, and still more for love of the Holy Apostolic See, We tried to weed out this heresy.⁹⁶

His devotion to traditional belief and his attitude to blasphemy against the Catholic Church may indicate the fact that he was a devout Catholic in his early reign.⁹⁷

⁹² “1395, The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards”, accessed June 12, 2019, <https://chaucer.fas.harvard.edu/pages/twelve-conclusions-ollards>.

⁹³ For more information, see A. G Dickens, “The Early Expansion of Protestantism in England 1520-1558”, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 78 (1987): 187-222, <https://doi.org/10.14315/arg-1987-jg10>

⁹⁴ In Latin: *Disputatio Pro Declaratione Virtutis Indulgentiarum*

⁹⁵ In England, the books of Martin Luther were prohibited in order to prevent the spread of the heresy by the Pope through Thomas Wolsey.

⁹⁶ Henry VIII, King of England, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum: Or Defence of the Seven Sacraments* (Forgotten Books, 2015), 20.

⁹⁷ For more information on the reign of Henry VIII, see: Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Henry VIII*, (London: Routledge, 2015); J. A. Guy, *Henry VIII: The Quest for Fame* (London: Penguin Books, 2018); Frank Dwyer, *Henry VIII* (New York: Chelsea House, 1988); Michael Denison Palmer, *Henry VIII* (London: Longman, 1983); Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Henry VIII: The Mask of Royalty* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1971).

Five years after the publication of Henry VIII's *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum Adversus Martinum Lutherum*⁹⁸, William Tyndale, who was a scholar and a religious reformer, influenced by Lollardy, translated the New Testament into English. He believed that laymen should read the Scripture in their own language so that they could understand its meaning. In his own words he stated that "I defie the Pope and all his lawes . . . if God spare my lyfe ere many yeares, I wyl cause a boye that dryveth the plough, shall knowe more of the scripture then thou doest".⁹⁹ The purpose of the translation of the New Testament was to awaken laymen who were deceived into believing the words of the clergy rather than reading the Scripture itself and learning the true way of worshipping God, a movement against the power of the clergy and the Pope. With the help of the printing press, the New Testament was spread especially with help of Simon Fish who was a Protestant reformer and an English propagandist against the Papacy. In 1529, he wrote his *A Supplication for Beggars* and he dedicated his work "to the king ovre souereygne lorde".¹⁰⁰ In his work he criticised the idleness of the clergy, the power and the wealth of the Church and the idea of Purgatory. He blamed the clergy for stealing the money of people and called them "gredy sort of sturdy idell holy theues".¹⁰¹ He also stated that members of the clergy who followed the Pope were heretics:

I wote that this purgatory and the Popes pardons is all the cause of translacion of your kingdome so fast into their hondes wherfore it is manifest it can not be of christ, for he gaued more to the temporall kingdome.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ After Henry VIII's attack on Martin Luther's 95 Theses, Martin Luther wrote his *Contra Henricum Regem Angliae* as a response in 1522. In 1523, John Fisher wrote his *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio*. The war between Protestant and Catholic Literature began with the Protestant production of Martin Luther.

⁹⁹ John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes* (London: John Day, 1563), 570.

¹⁰⁰ Simon Fish, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars* (London: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2001), 1.

¹⁰¹ Fish, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, 6.

¹⁰² Fish, *A Supplicacyon for the Beggars*, 6.

He believed that as long as people were deceived and frightened by the idea of Purgatory, the power of the Pope and the Church's false teachings and doctrines would remain.

In response to Tyndale, Luther and Fish, Thomas More, who was the Lord Chancellor until 1532, wrote his *Supplication of Souls* and stated that:

For albeit this beggars' proctor saith that right wise and cunning 30 men will say that there is no purgatory at all... by which wise men he meaneth Luther and Tyndale and himself—yet was there never any of them all that yet laid any substantial thing, either reason or authority, for them... but only jest and rail, and say that purgatory is a thing of the pope's own making, and that souls do nothing till Doomsday but lie still and sleep. And thus telling such wise tales for their own part... and making mocks and mows at everything that maketh against their folly for our part, they go forth in their evil will and obstinacy, and with murmur and grudge of their own conscience...¹⁰³

Thomas More, who was against the Reformation and the idea of the reformers on Purgatory, believed that Tyndale, Luther and Fish (who remarked that there was no Purgatory but only the deceptions of the Pope) were writing against the doctrines of the Church without any theological basis. Before the eve of the Reformation, the so-called heresy, Lollardy, and the steps towards the Reformation had been taken with the literary works¹⁰⁴ and translations of the reformers and the long-lasting quarrel had begun.

¹⁰³Thomas More, *The Complete Works of St. Thomas More. Letter to Bugenhagen, Supplication of Souls, Letter against Frith* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 177-178.

¹⁰⁴ Between 1520 and 1527, there were many literary works written by both Protestant and Catholic authors after Martin Luther's 95 Theses. John Fisher who was the defender of the Catholic tradition composed many books against Protestantism to attack its teaching and doctrines and also to attack anticlerical authors such as William Tyndale, Martin Luther and John Fish. Some of the examples are: *Assertionis Lutheranae Confutatio* written in 1523, *Sacri Sacerdotii Defensio Contra Lutherum* written in 1525, *Defensio Regie Assertionis Contra Babylonicam Captiuitatem* written in 1525 and *De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia* written in 1527. Against the Catholic and Latin literary works William Tyndale translated *the New Testament* into English between 1525-26 and wrote his *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* in 1528, *The Obedience of a Christian Man* in 1528, *Rede Me and Be Nott Wrothe for I Saye No Thyng but Trothe*, *The Practice of Prelates* in 1530, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* in 1531, *The Exposition of I John* in 1531 and *the Exposition of Matthew V-VII* in 1533. And Simon Fish wrote his *A Supplication for Beggars* in 1529 in English.

2.2 A Step to the English Reformation: Seeking Power over the Church

There has been much discussion about the starting point of the Reformation in England, and it is debated whether Henry VIII wanted to reform the Church for religious or political reasons. The one thing that may be drawn from the History of English Reformation is that reforming the Church in England was not a decision but a process, because of the fact that Henry VIII wanted a boy who would be the heir apparent to the throne. Since his wife, Katherine of Aragon, had failed to give Henry VIII a living son¹⁰⁵ to be the next king, and since her condition would not let her “to conceive a child”¹⁰⁶, he sought other ways to have an heir and fell in love with Anne Boleyn. Henry was fascinated with the beauty of Anne Boleyn who promised to give him a son. She was a witty woman that used her beauty for her own desires.¹⁰⁷

Anne Boleyn’s beauty and mostly her promise to give Henry VIII a male heir led him to question his marriage with Katherine of Aragon, in addition to the validity of the marriage. Henry VIII’s elder brother Prince Arthur had married Katherine of Aragon and this created propinquity between Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon. After his coronation, when he was willing to marry Katherine of Aragon, Henry needed a special papal permission. King Ferdinand, the father of Katherine of Aragon, proved that the marriage between Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon was not consummated. Therefore, the marriage became invalid. In addition, *The Book of Deuteronomy* was presented with the help of Thomas Wolsey and John Fisher and as it is stated in the biblical text “if brothers are living together and one of them dies without a son, his widow must not marry outside the family. Her husband’s brother shall take her and

¹⁰⁵ The first son of Henry VIII was Henry, the Duke of Cornwall, who was born on 1 January 1511 in Richmond Palace but he died on 22 February 1511.

¹⁰⁶ Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII*, 92.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Wyatt who started a rebellion during the reign of Mary Tudor against Catholicism in England and who was also the lover of Anne Boleyn wrote a poem *Whoso List to Hunt, I Know Where Is An Hind* in which he cried his desperate love for Anne Boleyn and her beauty and wit.

marry her and fulfil the duty of a brother-in-law to her”.¹⁰⁸ According to *The Book of Deuteronomy*, Henry VIII had to fulfil his duty and marry Katherine as she was the wife of his elder brother.¹⁰⁹ In *The Book of Leviticus*, it is stated that:

Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother’s wife: it is thy brother’s nakedness and if a man shall take his brother’s wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother’s nakedness: and they shall be childless.¹¹⁰

Here the nakedness of thy brother’s wife alludes to the sexual intercourse between Prince Arthur and Katherine of Aragon. Since there was no consummation the obstacles between Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon was cleared.

The problem with these biblical texts is Henry VIII used the same texts in order to prove the invalidity of his marriage with Katherine of Aragon in order to obtain the annulment which was not against the Catholic tradition. Henry VIII believed that he had sinned when he married Katherine of Aragon that his “lack of surviving legitimate male children was God’s punishment for marrying in defiance of divine law”¹¹¹ so he was childless as stated in Leviticus. The humiliation of Katherine of Aragon caused international problems between the Holy Roman Empire and England since the Holy Roman Emperor was Charles V, Katherine’s nephew, who had influence over papal policy especially after he had sacked Rome in 1527. Therefore, the justification through biblical texts had not ended as Henry VIII wished.

Because he could not acquire what he desired through biblical texts, Henry VIII appointed some of his trusted men to establish his supremacy over the Church so that the decision of the faith of his marriage would not be in the hands of the Pope himself.

“Scholars and royal agents gathered together and studied manuscripts that would

¹⁰⁸ The Book of Deuteronomy: 25:5

¹⁰⁹ For more information, see Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (New York: St. Martin's, 1993).

¹¹⁰ The Book of Leviticus: 18:16, 20:21

¹¹¹ Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England*, 10.

provide evidence to buttress Henry's claims that his annulment of marriage to Katherine was justified and that his matrimonial case ought to be determined in England rather than Rome".¹¹² Those manuscripts were the *Collectanea Satis Copiosa* or The Sufficiently Abundant Collections. The aim of studying the manuscripts was to prove the supremacy of Henry VIII over the Church who would be both secular and spiritual supreme in England.

2.3 Religious Policy prior to the English Reformation, 1509-1533

Henry VIII's search for a gap to use on his behalf on the matter of the validity of his marriage, and studying biblical texts to prove his supremacy over the Church so that he would not need the permission of the Pope to get divorced, continued after Tyndale's Preface to the New Testament in 1526. Following the translation of the New Testament which was essentially a Lutheran document because of the choice of words that Tyndale used to translate from Hebrew and Greek¹¹³, he translated the Old Testament in 1530.

In 1530, after the death of Thomas Wolsey, Thomas Cromwell became the king's chief minister and his appointment was confirmed in 1534. He was the supporter of Henry VIII's supremacy over the Church and he influenced the king on his religious policy between 1530 and 1533. Alongside Tyndale's attacks on the Catholic tradition and the Papacy with his translations and literary works, since Henry VIII realised the fact that he would not have a male heir, he wanted to bend the will of the Pope on the case of his divorce. The Act for the Pardon of The Clergy, which was an "important episode

¹¹² "Collectanea Satis Copiosa," The British Library, accessed June 27, 2019, <https://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/henryviii/greatmatter/collsatis/index.html>.

¹¹³ Gerald Lewis Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co. Ltd., 1994), 17-31.

in the story of Henry's overthrow of the medieval Church"¹¹⁴ was passed by the Parliament.

In 1529, Thomas Cromwell prepared *The Supplication of the Commons* which was submitted in 1532 to the House of Commons. The significance of the document is that "the opening paragraphs suggest that reform of the clergy is needed if Protestant opinions are to be effectively dealt with".¹¹⁵ Following, in 1532, *Act for the Conditional Restraint of Annates* was passed and the share that should be given to the Pope was suspended, which stopped the economic help of England to Rome which was the first economic attack to the Pope.

In 1532, in order to justify his annulment in the eyes of the English clergy and the laymen, Henry VIII wrote his book *A Glasse of the Truthe* to prove the illegality of his marriage which "should never have been permitted".¹¹⁶

The Divine. Fyrste it is to vnderstande, that accordynge to the say|enge of the prophet Dauyd.* The worde of our lorde god is mooste sure and euer abydeth. Syns that so is infallible, it must nedes folowe, that it, whiche he vtterly forbyddeth in the negatiue, may no wyse be attempted.* Thanne in this case, that is to saye. A man ought nat to mary his brothers wyfe: It is in the Negatyue forbodden, in the Leuityke bothe .xviij. and .xx. chapitres. And therfore in no wyse hit is to be attemp|ted / specially with vs that be chrysten people.*

The Lavyere I thynke this hardde to be assoyled: ne|uerthe lesse the lawe Deuteronomyke se|meth to assoyle the same.

The Divine. Nay surely, if hit be well vn|derstande...¹¹⁷

The book has dialogues between the Lawyer and the Divine who argues, the validity of the marriage of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon and which finalise the fact that the marriage was illegal and supports the annulment of Henry VIII.

¹¹⁴ J. Scarisbrick, "The Pardon of the Clergy, 1531," *The Cambridge Historical Journal* 12, no. 1, (1956): 22-39, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3021051>.

¹¹⁵ Lewis, Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 51.

¹¹⁶ G. W. Bernard, *The Kings Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 9.

¹¹⁷ Henry VIII, King of England, *A Glasse of the Truthe*, (London, 1532?), no pagination.

In 1533, Thomas Cranmer was appointed as Archbishop of Canterbury, who would become the first Protestant Archbishop in the History of England who was in contact with other reformers in Europe. After his appointment, *The Act in Restraint of Appeals* was passed by the Parliament in 1533 which was a product of Thomas Cromwell. The act stated that the final authority resided in the monarch and authority outside the kingdom was invalid. The act provided that the final decision of the divorce of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon would ultimately be in the hands of the king of England. After the *Act in Restraint of Appeals* in 1533, in the same year, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury announced the annulment of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon.

Today, 23 May, I have given sentence in your great and weighty cause. I send a copy thereof by the bearer, Ric. Watkyns. As I was advertised by the letters of Mr. Thurlesbye, your chaplain, that it was your pleasure that I should cause your counsel to conceive a procuracy concerning the second marriage, I have sent the letters to them, and required them to act accordingly. I desire to know your pleasure concerning the second matrimony as soon as you and your counsel are perfectly resolved therein, for the time of the coronation is so near at hand that the matter requires good expedition. Dunstaple, 23 May. *Signed. P. 1. Add. Endd.*¹¹⁸

After the annulment of the marriage of Henry VIII and Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII got married, and Anne Boleyn became the Queen of England in 1533. The annulment from the Catholic Queen and denying and announcing the power and the authority of the Pope disturbed the stability of England.

¹¹⁸ “Henry VIII: May 1533, 21-25,” in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, Volume 6, 1533*, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1882), 228-234.

2.4 Wills during the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509 - 1533

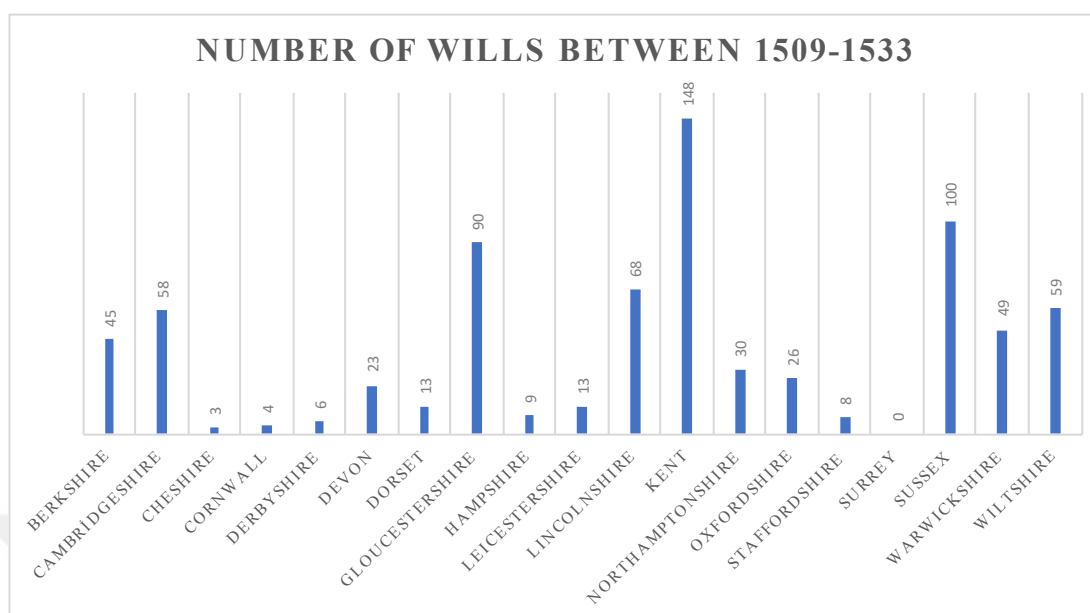


Figure 2 - Number of Wills between 1509 - 1533

These 752 wills were written between 1509 and 1533 during the reign of Henry VIII. The selection of wills used in this study are collected from The National Archives PCC wills in series PROB 11. The diagram given represents their breakdown by county. The number of wills changes over time and it is hard to say that they are consistent. In some of the counties there are no wills between certain years in PROB 11.

In Cheshire, between 1509 and 1513, 1524 and 1528, there are no wills in PROB 11.

In Cornwall, between 1524 and 1528, 1529 and 1533, there are no wills in PROB 11.

In Derbyshire, between the years of 1524 and 1528, like in Cheshire and Cornwall, there are no wills. In Hampshire, between the years of 1529 and 1533, again, there are no wills. Lastly in Surrey, between 1509 and 1533, there is no will in PROB 11.

In Cheshire, Cornwall, Derbyshire, Hampshire, and Staffordshire, the number of wills between 1509 and 1533 preserved in PROB 11 are less than ten so methodologically,

there is no guarantee that the number of wills in those counties is representative in terms of the testamentary activities of testators during these 25 years.

2.5 The General Pattern of Traditional Wills between 1509 and 1533

During the reign of Henry VIII, between the years of 1509 and 1533, there are 752 wills in The National Archives, PROB 11, and the number of wills changes between 1509 and 1533.

Table 3 - An overall data between 1509 – 1533

Counties	No. of Wills	No. of Trad. Wills	% of Trad. Wills
Berkshire	45	45	100%
Cambridgeshire	58	52	89,6
Cheshire	3	3	100
Cornwall	4	3	75
Derbyshire	6	3	50
Devon	23	13	56,5
Dorset	13	11	84,6
Gloucestershire	90	69	76,6
Hampshire	9	9	100
Leicestershire	13	12	92,3
Lincolnshire	68	64	94,1
Kent	148	129	87,1
Northamptonshire	30	15	50
Oxfordshire	26	22	84,6
Staffordshire	8	6	75
Surrey			
Sussex	100	85	85
Warwickshire	49	36	73,4
Wiltshire	59	48	81,3
Total	752	625	

For all of these 752 wills from Henry VIII's reign, between 1509 and 1533, the general pattern, that I call traditional, is quite consistent except for some counties such as Cornwall, Derbyshire, Devon, Dorset, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, and Oxfordshire

in which there are sudden decreases which are not consistent since they also go up and down through time.

Of the 1997 wills collected for this study, from the PCC, only a single will from Surrey was collected for the period 1509 and 1553. Therefore, instead of 19 counties, between the years of 1509 and 1533, the number of counties that are involved to this part of the research is 18.

On the diagrams given below if there is no number given representing the percentage of traditional wills, it means, there are no wills surviving in those counties between the given years according to The National Archives PROB 11 such as Cheshire and Surrey in figure 3. In cases where there are wills and they are all non-traditional, I will give the number zero such as Derbyshire in figure 5.

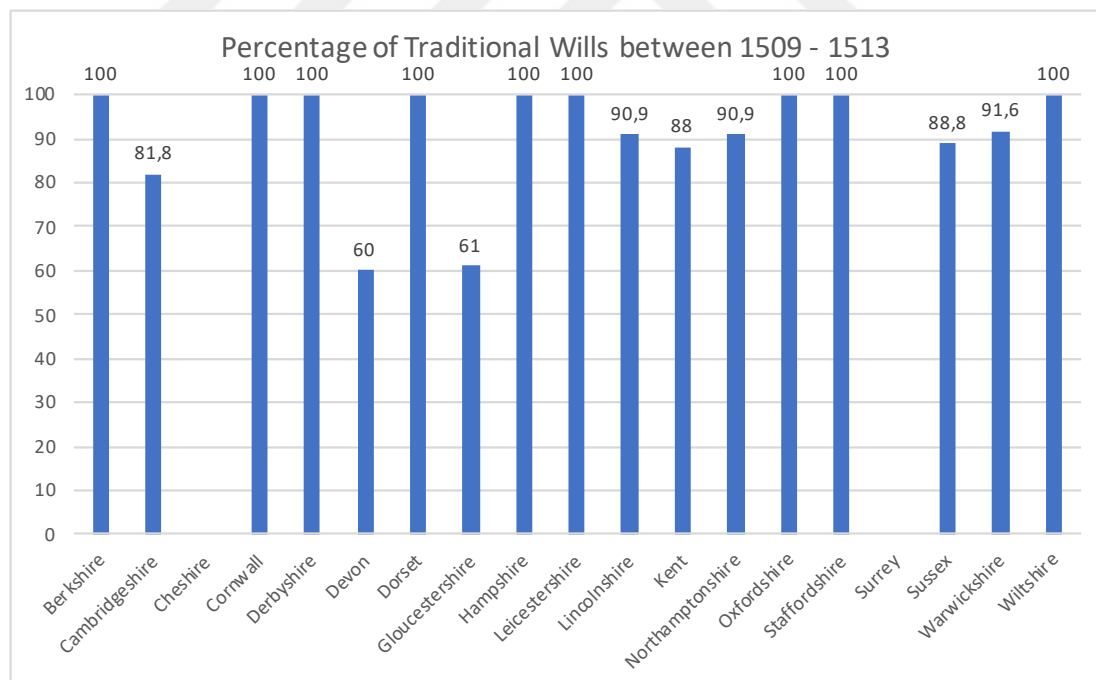


Figure 3 - Percentage of Traditional Wills between 1509 - 1513

Between 1509 and 1513, the percentage of traditional wills fluctuates. Out of 18 counties 9 of them followed the traditional way of will-writing with 100%. In

Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, Kent, Northamptonshire, Sussex, and Warwickshire, the percentage of traditional wills are between 80% and 92%. Counties that have the lowest percentage of traditional wills are Devon and Gloucestershire with 60% and 61%. The general pattern of the traditional wills between 1509 and 1513 is quite similar that is shown in the diagram.

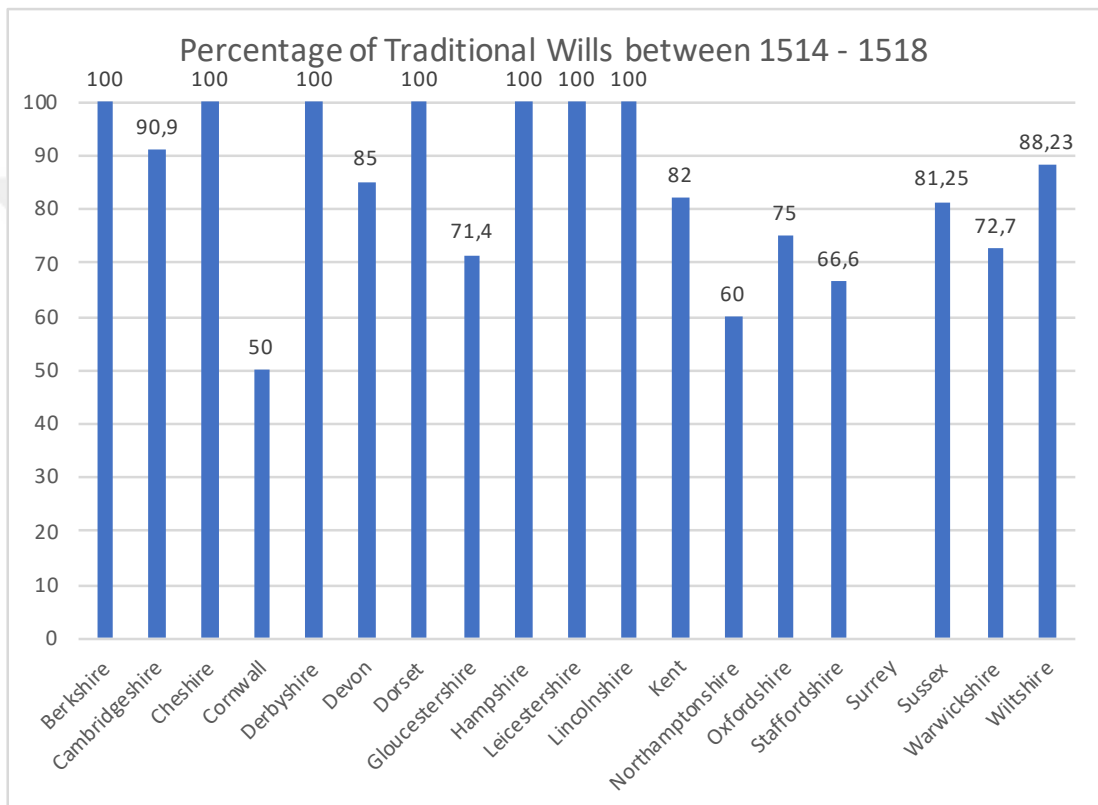


Figure 4 - Percentage of Traditional Wills between 1514 - 1518

Between 1514 and 1518, the percentage of traditional wills fluctuates more than between 1509 and 1513. Out of 18 counties, 7 of them followed the traditional way of will-writing with 100%. There are only 5 counties that have the percentage of traditional wills between 80% and 90%. In Cornwall, Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Staffordshire, and Warwickshire, the percentage of traditional wills are lower than the other counties and the percentages are between 50%

and 73%. The general pattern of the traditional wills between 1514 and 1518 is quite different that is shown in the diagram.

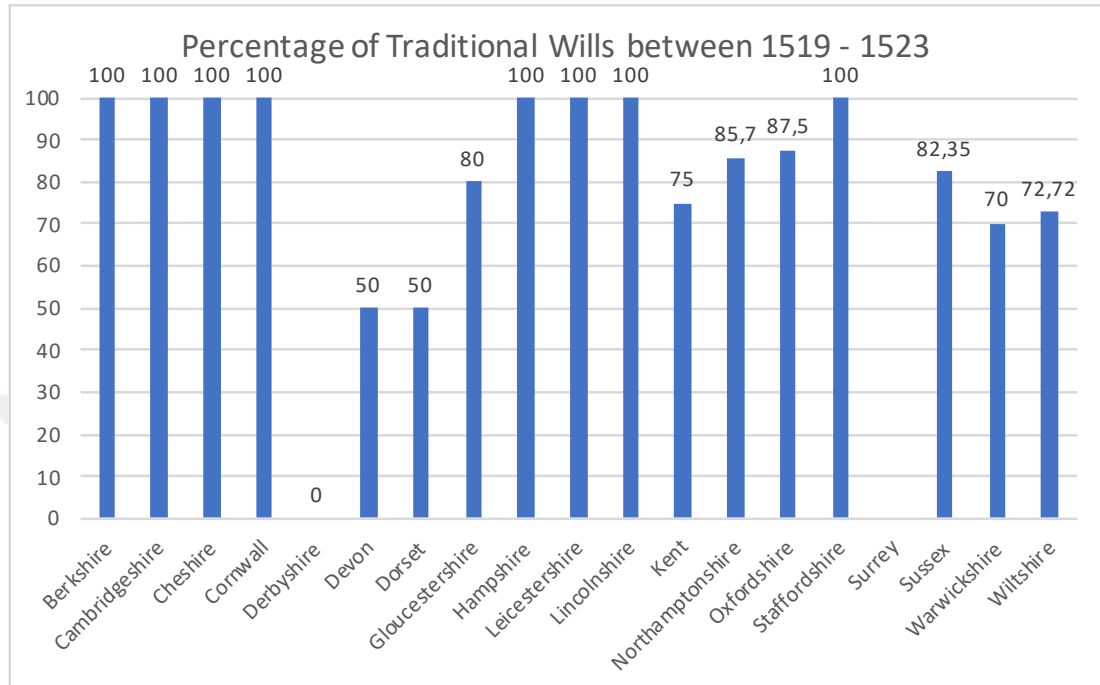


Figure 5 - Percentage of Traditional Wills between 1519- 1523

Between 1519 and 1523, the percentage of traditional wills fluctuates even more. Out of 18 counties, 8 of them followed the traditional way of will-writing with 100%. Because of the lack of the data, in Derbyshire, the percentage of non-traditional wills is 100%. Between the percentages of 80% and 90%, there are four counties: Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Sussex. Between 70% and 80%, there are three counties: Lincolnshire, Warwickshire, and Wiltshire. Counties that have the lowest percentage of traditional wills are Devon and Dorset with 50%. The general pattern of the traditional wills between 1519 and 1523 is quite different that is shown in the diagram.

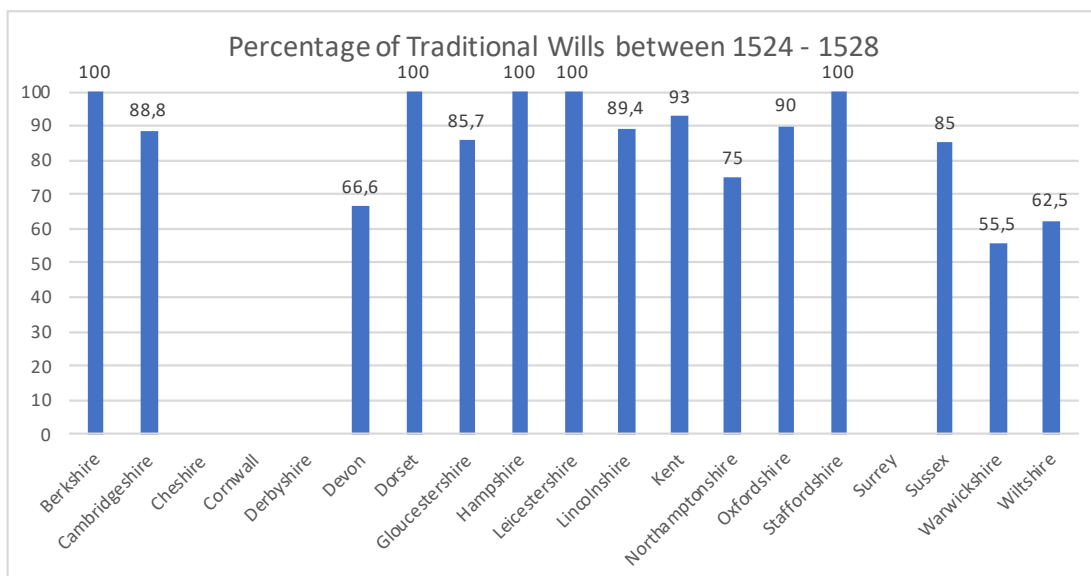


Figure 6 - Percentage of Traditional Wills between 1524 - 1528

Between 1524 and 1528, the percentage of traditional wills fluctuates even more. Out of 18 counties, 5 of them followed the traditional way of will-writing with 100%. According to The National Archives PROB 11, there are no wills in Cheshire, Cornwall, and Derbyshire between 1524 and 1528. Between the percentages of 80% and 95%, there are six counties: Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, and Sussex. Counties that have the lowest percentages are Devon, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire and Wiltshire with the percentages shown in the diagram.

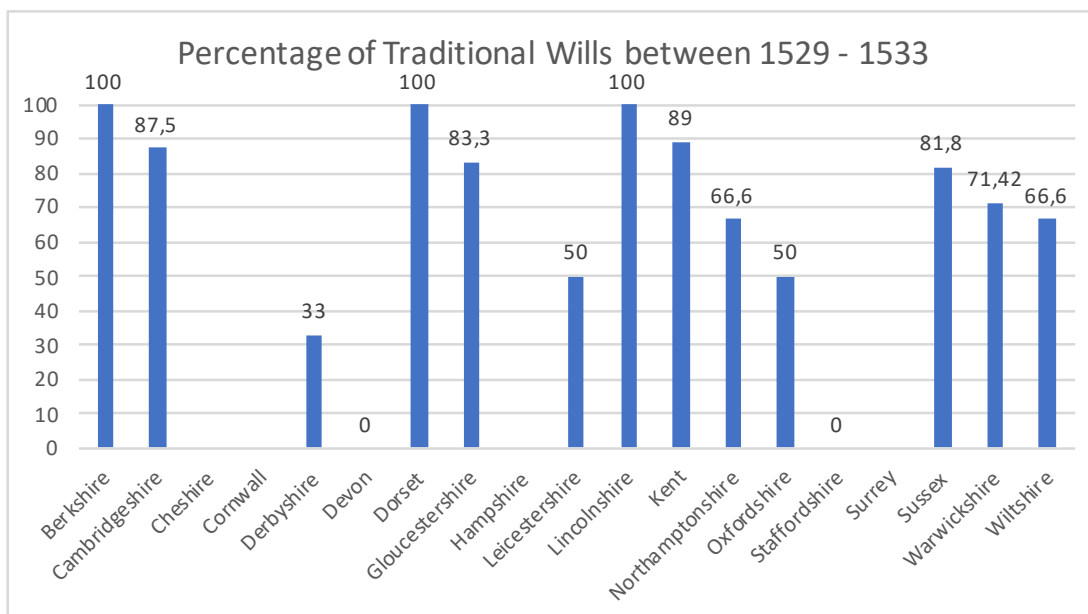


Figure 7 - Percentage of Wills between 1529 - 1533

Between 1529 and 1533, the percentage of traditional wills fluctuates. Out of 18 counties, 3 of them followed the traditional way of will-writing with 100%. According to The National Archives PROB 11, there are no wills in Cheshire and Cornwall between 1529 and 1533. Because of the lack of data, the percentages of non-traditional wills in Devon and Staffordshire are 100%.

Geographically (see Appendix II), in the south-west of England such as Cornwall Dorset, Devon, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, there is no similar pattern in terms of the percentage of traditional wills which fluctuate. The patterns of Gloucestershire and Wiltshire are quite the opposite. Only Cornwall and Dorset seem to have similarities with the highest percentages of traditional wills except the difference of the percentages between 1514 and 1518 which suggest the fact that there was no influence among the counties in the south-west of England.

In the south-east of England and among the home counties such as Hampshire, Berkshire, Kent and Sussex, the pattern of traditional wills is quite similar. Berkshire and Hampshire follow the same pattern and stay traditional without any fluctuation.

Kent and Sussex have different patterns in terms of the percentage of traditional wills but at the end of 1533, the percentage of traditional wills is above 80% in both counties. It may be concluded that among the home counties, there are similarities in terms of the patterns of the percentage of traditional wills.

In the eastern midlands such as Oxfordshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire, the patterns are quite different. In the diagrams of Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire the fluctuations of the traditional wills are alike. In Lincolnshire, Leicestershire and Cambridgeshire even though, there are some similarities in between certain years, the overall patterns are quite different.

In the western part of the midlands and the north-western part of England such as Cheshire Staffordshire and Derbyshire, the patterns of traditional wills in the diagrams are far more different than the other counties in England especially between 1509 and 1518 when testators followed the traditional way of will-writing.

2.6 Catholic or Protestant? Religious Piety from the Evidence of Wills in England

The influence of Lollardy and Catholic England and her ruler's transition affected the clergy and the laymen which may be tracked from the evidence of wills.

In this part of the thesis, the southern and northern counties are analysed in five-year periods to demonstrate the reflection of the changing religious beliefs of testators during this period of significant religious upheaval. Firstly, the southern counties are analysed.

In Cornwall, the percentage of traditional wills fluctuates, between 1509 and 1513: the percentage of traditional wills is 100% which suddenly decreases to 50% between 1514 and 1523, and increases up to 100% between 1519 and 1528. The sudden decrease may be only the influence of the Lollardy or the 95 Theses of Martin Luther

since Henry VIII was fighting against the heresy between the mentioned years. The following years, the percentage of non-traditional wills is 100% because there are no wills between 1524 and 1528 according to TNA PROB 11.

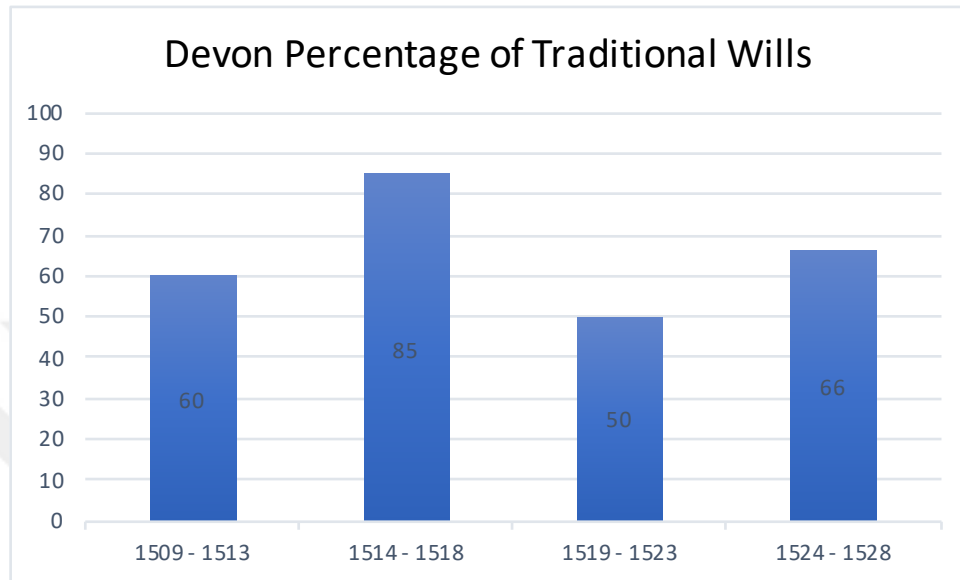


Figure 8 - Devon Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1509 - 1528

In Devon, unlike other counties, the percentage of traditional wills between 1509 and 1513 is quite low which increases up to 95% between 1514 and 1518 and suddenly decreases to 50% between 1519 and 1523. Between the years of 1524 and 1528, the percentage, again, increases up to 66%. The instability as it is shown on the diagram given above may clearly show that Devon was under the influence of the Lollardy but after the 95 Theses since the war against the heresy began in England, the percentage of traditional wills increased and the following 5 years decreased because of the religious policy of Henry VIII and the works and propagandas of the people along with the divorcement issue of Henry VIII. It may be indicated that Devon was one of the counties that exposed the religious upheaval and policy of Henry VIII the most according to the diagram given above.

In Dorset, the percentage of traditional wills between 1509 and 1518 is 100% which decreases to 50% percent between 1519 and 1523 and increases up to 100% until the end of 1533. In Wiltshire, the diagram is quite different from the other southern counties in England.

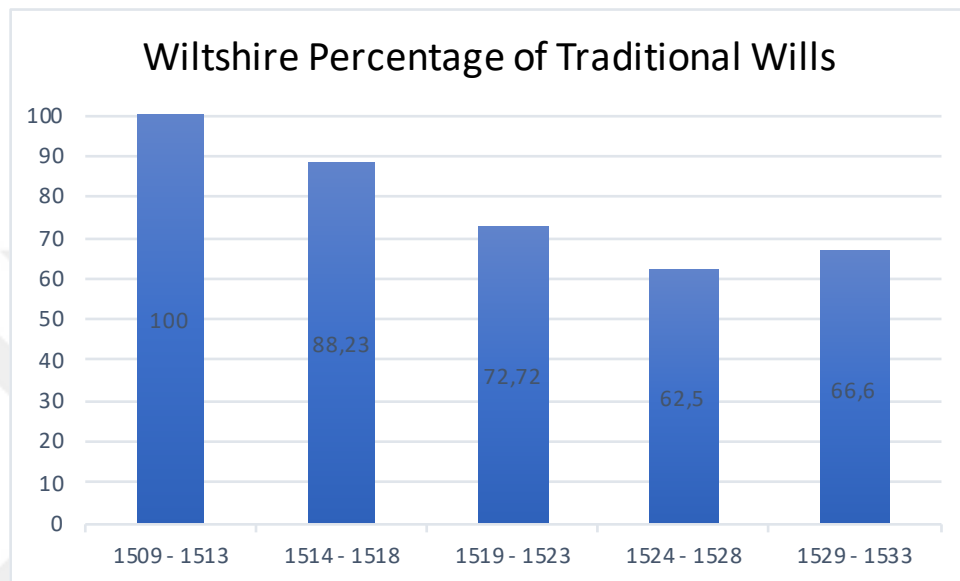


Figure 9 - Wiltshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1509 - 1533

The percentage of traditional wills starts with 100% which gradually decreases to 62.5% until 1528 and increases to 66.6%. The given diagram may show the most proper attitude of Englishmen since it gradually decreases with the Reformation in Europe and its arrival to England, the literary war between Catholic and Protestant writers, scholars and propaganda and the divorce of Henry VIII in 1533 which may be the reason of the increase in the diagram against Henry VIII's anti-Catholic decision. In Hampshire, the percentage of traditional wills is 100% until 1528. There is no will written according to TNA, PROB 11 between 1529 and 1533. Hampshire is one of the most conservative counties in the southern part of England and remained traditional (see Appendix II).

In Sussex, the fluctuation of the percentage of the traditional wills is quite similar with Devon.

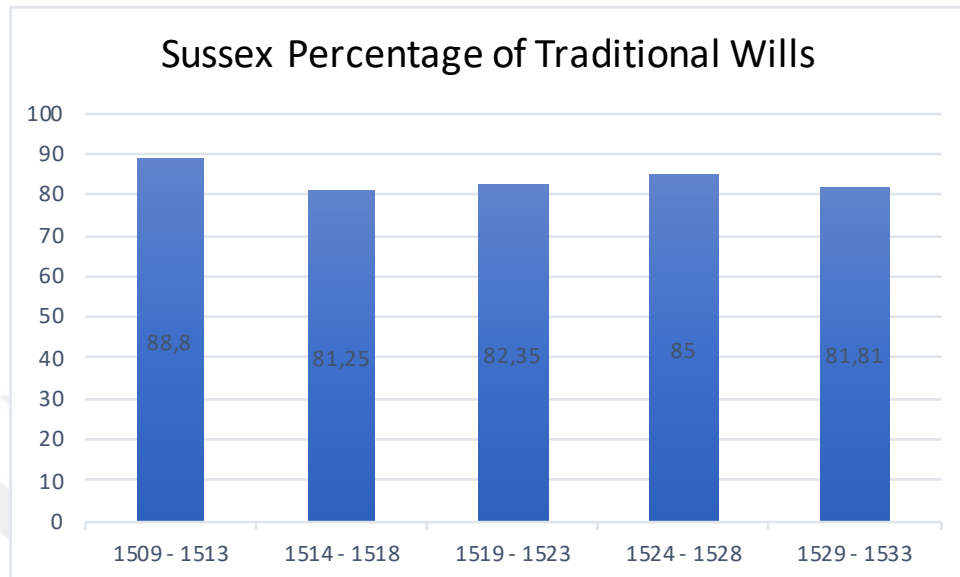


Figure 10 - Sussex Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1509 - 1533

The percentage of traditional wills during the first years of the reign of Henry VIII is 88.8% which suddenly decreases to 81.25% and gradually increases up to 85% until 1528 and on the eve of the Break with Rome it decreases to 81.81%. In Kent, like in Sussex, the pattern goes in the same direction. Between 1509 and 1513, the percentage of traditional wills is 88% and it gradually decreases to 75% until 1523. Between 1524 and 1528 when most of the Catholic literary works were produced as well as Protestant ones, the percentage increases up to 93% and between 1529 and 1533, the percentage decreases to 83%. Except Wiltshire, among the counties mentioned above, there is a gradual increase in the percentage of traditional wills between 1524 and 1528.

In Gloucestershire, the case is quite different.

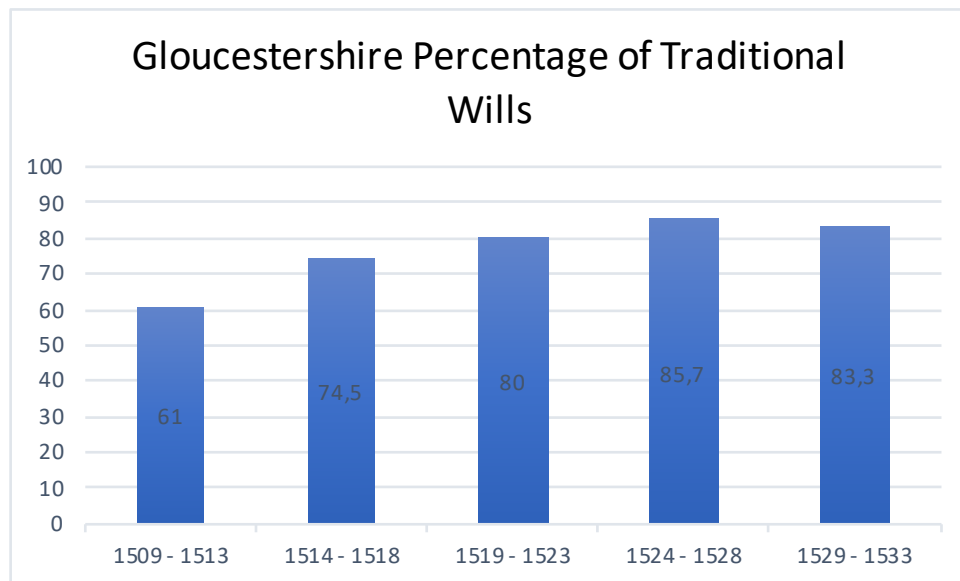


Figure 11 - Gloucestershire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1509 - 1533

As it is shown the diagram above, from the evidence of wills in England, Gloucestershire in which William Tyndale was born and learned the Wycliffe's doctrines and ideas, the expected diagram would be exactly like Wiltshire. Between the years of 1509 and 1513, the percentage of traditional wills is quite low when it is compared with other counties except Devon in which the percentage is 60% in the same years. The influence of the Lollardy may be clearly tracked from the evidence of wills in the diagram given above. The significant and improbable aspect of the data is that instead of gradual increase, the expected result from the data would be a gradual decrease in a county that was exposed to Lollardy. The percentage of traditional wills is 61% between 1509 and 1513 which increases up to 85.7% until 1528 and decreases to 83.3% between 1529 and 1533.

In Oxfordshire, the percentage of traditional wills is 100% between 1509 and 1513 which decreases 75% between the following 5 years and gradually increases up to 90% until 1528 and suddenly decreases to 50%. The 40% decrease in 5 years may indicates

that fact that Oxfordshire had been exposed to Lutheran heresy and Henry VIII's religious and economic policies along with the divorcement in 1533.

In Berkshire, which is one of the most conservative counties in England, the percentage of traditional wills 100% without any fluctuation between the years of 1509 and 1553. From the evidence of wills, Berkshire remained traditional even though there were governmental influence.

In the more northern parts of England, different cases may be seen from the evidence of wills. For this thesis, the most northern counties from where the PCC wills collected to see the religious upheavals for the eve of the Henrician Reformation are Cheshire, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire. In this part of the thesis, the northern counties are analysed to see the reflection the changing religious beliefs of testators during this period of significant religious upheaval. In Cheshire, between 1509 and 1513; 1524 and 1528; 1529 and 1533, there are no wills written. Between 1514 and 1523, the percentage of traditional wills is 100% but an indication is hard to make since there is no enough data. In Derbyshire, the percentage of traditional wills between 1509 and 1518 is 100%.

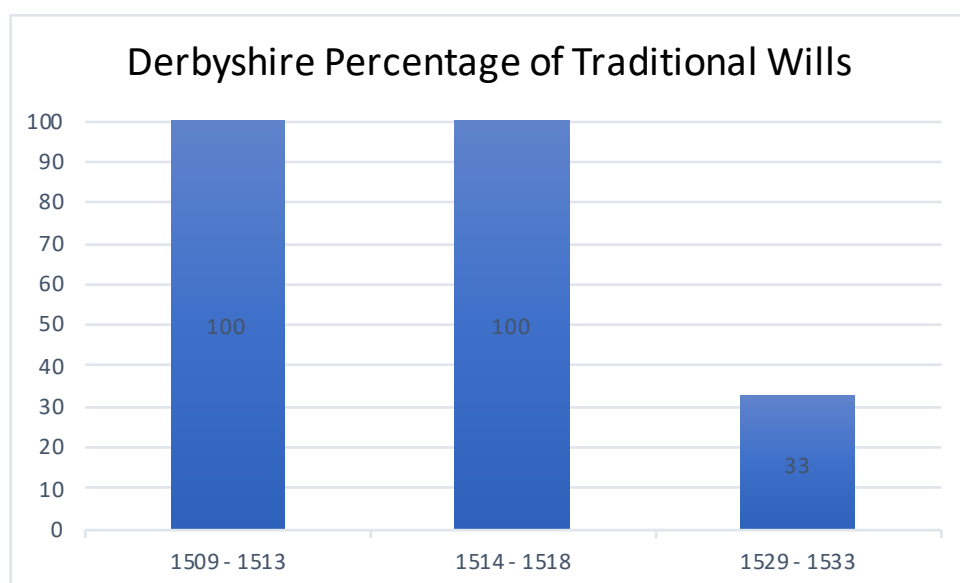


Figure 12 - Derbyshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1509 - 1533

Between 1519 and 1523, the percentage of traditional wills is zero percent not because of the fact that there is no will written between those years but there is only one will which did not follow the traditional way of will-writing. Between 1524 and 1528, since there is no will from the PCC, the percentage of non-traditional will 100%. The following years until 1533, the percentage of traditional wills 33% which is the lowest percentage among 18 counties in that are included to my research. Since there is not enough data between 1519 and 1528, the pattern of traditional wills between abovementioned years is difficult to follow. The decrease from 100% to 33% may indicate that even on the eve of the Henrician Reformation, Derbyshire was exposed to European Reformation and the religious policy of Henry VIII.

In Lincolnshire, the pattern of traditional wills is quite unique.

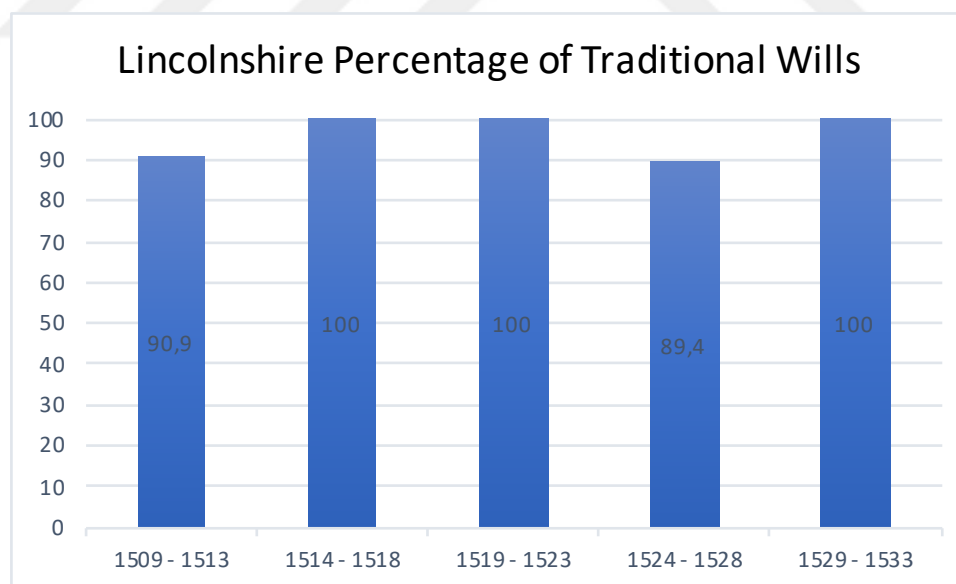


Figure 13 - Lincolnshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1509 - 1533

The percentage of traditional wills starts with 90.9% which increases up to 100% between the years of 1514 and 1523. Unlike in the other counties between 1524 and

1528, Lincolnshire does not resist the political and religious changes in England and also the influence from Germany and Switzerland. Therefore, the percentage of traditional wills decreases to 89.4% until 1529. Between 1529 and 1533, the percentage of traditional wills increases up to 100% again which indicates that the local people in Lincolnshire resisted against the religious policy of Henry VIII. The difference of the traditional wills between 1524-1528 and 1529-1533 may show the fact that Henry VIII's movements against the Papacy and his final decision on the divorce were received arrantly.

In Staffordshire, because of the lack of data between 1509 and 1533, the indications are quite questionable. Between 1509 and 1513, the percentage of traditional wills is 100% and there is only one will from those years which decreases to 66.6% when the number of wills increases to three. Between 1519 and 1528, the percentage of traditional wills is 100% and the number of wills is three in two five-year periods. Between 1524 and 1528, the percentage of traditional wills is higher as it is expected, as it has been seen in the other diagrams given above expect Lincolnshire. Between 1529 and 1533, the percentage of traditional wills decreases to zero percent because there is only one will according to the PCC and it did not follow the traditional way of will-writing. The estimated percentage for the years of 1529 and 1533 would be lower than the other years because of the above-mentioned policy of Henry VIII but an indication is hard to make since during the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations, Staffordshire remained one of the most Catholic counties in England (see Chapters III and IV).

In Warwickshire, the percentage of traditional wills between the years of 1509 and 1513 is 91.6% which gradually decreases until 1528 with the percentage of 55.5% but increases up to 71.42% between the years of 1529 and 1533 which may indicate that

the gradual decline of traditional wills until 1528 may show that local people of Warwickshire became more non-traditional along with the Lutheran ideas that began to spread and effect England, but with the economic and religious policy against the Papacy which were officialised with the acts that were passed by the Parliament, local people may have rejected the policies compared with the previous years of the reign of Henry VIII according to the collected data.

In Leicestershire, local people are quite conservative with the given percentages from the data. From the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII, until 1528, the percentage of traditional wills is 100% which suddenly decreases to 50% during one of the most contradictive years, on the eve of the Henrician Reformation and stays stable until 1538 (see Chapter III) which may suggest the fact that local people were exposed to the Henrician policy against the Papacy and did not resist but arguably supported his claims.

In Northamptonshire, the local people were quite traditional with the percentage of 90.9% between the years of 1509 and 1513 which decreases to 60% in the following five years which may be the sign of Lollardy in the county. Between 1519 and 1523, the percentage of traditional wills increases to 85.7% and gradually decreases to 66.6% until 1533 unlike in Cambridgeshire in which the percentage of traditional wills is 81.8% which increases up to 100% until 1523 and gradually decreases to 87.5% until 1533 which indicates the fact that Cambridgeshire was one of the most conservative counties that resisted the policy of Henry VIII against the Papacy which did not last long (see Chapters III and IV).

All examples and explanations mentioned above state that in some counties such as Berkshire, Hampshire, Dorset and arguably Cheshire, local people did resist against the so-called heresy and the religious and economic policies of Henry VIII against the

Papacy in England until 1533. In other 14 counties, the traditional patterns are quite different and some of the counties' percentage of traditional wills decreases between 1529 and 1533 such as Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Sussex. It may be concluded that except in Derbyshire, more than 50% of people in 17 counties were Catholic between 1509 and 1533 during the reign of Henry VIII.



CHAPTER III

HENRY VIII: CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM DURING THE ENGLISH REFORMATION, 1534 – 1548

In this chapter, Henry VIII's religious policies in England between 1534 and 1548 will be discussed. Furthermore, the number of wills during the reign of Henry VIII and the general pattern of traditional wills in 19 counties will be given and analysed to help to understand the Henrician Reformation and the attitude of the local people from the evidence of wills in England. In the last part, there is a comparative county by county and regional analysis of the percentage of traditional wills, personal piety and development of Protestantism between the years of 1534 and 1548 along with the effects of religious policies under the Henrician regime.

3.1 Religious Policy during the Henrician Reformation

For many historians, one of the most contradictory kings of England was Henry VIII, who broke the long relation between the Papacy and England. England's Catholic ruler, who had devoted himself to the tradition of the Church and fought against the heresy in Europe that spread to England and was rewarded with the title of the Defender of the Faith, began to follow ecclesiastical and economic policies to establish his supremacy over the Antichrist in Rome. The process began with the Act in Restraint of Appeals in 1533 and proceeded. Thereafter in 1534 many acts were passed by the Parliament and in this part only few of them are explained. (see Appendix I)

After the first step to the English Reformation, restraining the authority of the Pope over England, the Act of Supremacy was passed by the Parliament. The act provided Henry VIII with the ecclesiastical power which had been usurped by the Pope and he thus became the Supreme Head of the Church of England.¹¹⁹ The act also provided complete freedom from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Pope. Therefore, England broke with Rome. After the Act of Supremacy, “The Pope’s name was erased by most monks”¹²⁰ and the Pope was denounced as the “biblically predicted antichrist, thief, hireling, boar from the wood and whore of Babylon”.¹²¹ Profanity¹²² against the Pope and similes that were used demonstrate that common people began to accept the supremacy of Henry VIII in England.¹²³ In the Book of Revelation 18:3, it is stated that “the kings of the earth committed adultery with her”.¹²⁴ The Pope is likened to the Whore of Babylon and those who followed the nest of evil and committed adultery as it was stated in the book, especially kings, were exposed to malignancy and left the path of “true” piety. Even though there were supports to the supremacy and anticlericalism¹²⁵ spread in England, some monks, nuns and friars, along with the laity were against the supremacy of Henry VIII and many of them supported the idea that “Rome shall be up again”.¹²⁶ Therefore, in order to secure his supremacy, the Act of

¹¹⁹ “Act of Supremacy 1534”, UK Parliament, accessed June 18, 2019, <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/religion/collections/common-prayer/act-of-supremacy/>. See, G. W. Bernard *The Kings Reformation: Henry VIII and the Remaking of the English Church* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 225.

¹²⁰ Robert Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), 12.

¹²¹ Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation*, 14.

¹²² Whore of Babylon or The Mother of Prostitutes and of the Abominations of the Earth mentioned in the Book of Revelation 17:5. In the Book of Revelation 18:02, it is stated that the Whore of Babylon has become a home for demons and a haunt for every unclean and detestable bird. See: Martin Luther’s *Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* written in 1520.

¹²³ Peter Marshall, *Heretics and Believers: A History of the English Reformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 203-243.

¹²⁴ The Holy Bible: New International Version. Colorado Springs, CO: International Bible Society, 1984.

¹²⁵ For more information, see Ethan H Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007)

¹²⁶ Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation*, 13.

Succession was passed by the Parliament in the same year along with the Oath of Allegiance to Henry VIII and His Successors¹²⁷.

Ye shall swear to bear your Faith, Truth, and Obedience, alonely to the King's Majesty, and to the Heirs of his Body, according to the Limitation and Rehearsal within this Statute of Succession above specified, and not to any other within this Realm, nor foreign Authority, Prince, or Potentate.¹²⁸

The Oath provided Henry VIII with the power he sought and the allegiance of the list of people that was provided in the original document. Thomas More, who was one of the most trusted men of the king and a Catholic, refused to sign the document because he did not support Henry's supremacy over the Church. As a result, he was beheaded for treason. His words on the Oath of Allegiance was "Nowe, my Lordes, quoth he, it lyeth not in my power but that they may deuoure me; but God being my good Lorde, I will provide that they shall neuer deflower me"¹²⁹ With his words he remarked that he would never turn his back on the old tradition. Thomas More¹³⁰ was not the only one who suffered the consequences of denying the supremacy of Henry VIII.

The Nun of Kent and the monks and priests who had assisted her were executed for treason. The Observant Franciscan house at Greenwich was in effect closed down and the friars sent to the Tower. Three Charterhouse priors who refused to swear further oaths recognising the royal supremacy were tried and executed for treason in May 1535, and three Charterhouse monks were executed for the same reason in June: further pressures were put on the remaining monks to comply.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Jonathan Gray, *Oaths and the English Reformation*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 116-227.

¹²⁸ "Oath of Allegiance to Henry VIII and His Successors", The National Archives, accessed June 18, 2019, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/citizenship/citizen_subject/transcripts/oath_allegiance.htm.

¹²⁹ Nicholas Harpsfield, *The Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore, Knight, Sometymes Lord High Chancellor of England*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 40.

¹³⁰ Thomas More, *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, ed. Mary Gottschalk (New York: Scepter, 2006); Thomas More "Utopia Book II, The Religions of the Utopians," in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, vol. 1, ed. Stephen Greenblatt. (New York: W.W. Norton, 2012), 634-645.

¹³¹ Bernard, *The Kings Reformation*, 243.

In January 1535, Henry VIII appointed Thomas Cromwell as his vicar general “without reference to any other authority” which previously could only be granted by the Papacy.¹³² He also appointed him as vicegerent and by appointing him as vicegerent and vicar general, Henry VIII gave Cromwell ecclesiastical power and denied the jurisdiction of the Pope by performing his supreme authority. With this power, Cromwell conducted visitations¹³³ to the monasteries on the king’s behalf. In 1535, Cromwell organised a group of people called visitors in order to record and assess the wealth of the monasteries in England and Wales. Visitations had been conducted before by Thomas Wolsey under the permission and the control of the Pope. The difference of these visitations conducted by Thomas Cromwell was that they were to record all the wealth that the monasteries had, which was the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* or A Valuation of the Church. The number of religious houses in England and Wales “was more than 850”.¹³⁴ The outcome of the visitation was to prove that the monasteries in England and Wales had an enormous amount of wealth in total which would be an additional income for the crown.

There was also another type of visitation to interrogate the morality of the clergy. It was implemented by a group of commissioners. Each commissioner had his questions to ask to the members of the clergy such as nuns, abbots and monks including about sexual misconducts and chastity.¹³⁵ Many nuns and monks complained about the questions that had been asked and the attitude of the commissioners.

¹³² A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 120.

¹³³ In relation with visitations, see Anthony N. Shaw, “The Northern Visitation of 1535/6: Some New Observations”, *The Downside Review* 116, no. 405 (October 1998): 279–99, <https://doi.org/10.1177/001258069811640504>.

¹³⁴ Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England*, 61.

¹³⁵ For more information about the sexual misconducts and chastity see Knudsen Christian David, *“Naughty Nuns and Promiscuous Monks: Monastic Sexual Misconduct in Late Medieval England.”* (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2012), 1-262.

After the break with Rome, Henry VIII lost his economic aid (payment of annates from the Pope) from Rome. Therefore, in order to increase his income, the Act of Statute of Uses was enacted in 1535 and was passed by Parliament in 1536. This act allowed Henry VIII to acquire his lost revenues. The act was one of the motives of the Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion.

One of the most significant products of the Henrician Reformation was *The Ten Articles* written in 1536¹³⁶. The most salient article is the fifth one which is on Justification. The significance of the article is that the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone is prominent. The articles underline the supremacy of Henry VIII as the Head of the Church of England.

In 1536, The Dissolution of Lesser Monasteries Act¹³⁷ was passed by the Parliament after the completion of *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. “The act stipulated that all religious houses with an annual income of less than 200 pounds (as assessed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*) should be dissolved and that their property should pass to the crown.”¹³⁸ The first dissolution of monasteries had been conducted by Thomas Wolsey under the control and the permission of the Pope. Cardinal Wolsey had dissolved about 30 monasteries because of their conditions. After the fall of Wolsey, Thomas Cromwell conducted the dissolutions¹³⁹. After the act, dissolutions were conducted by Cromwell without any papal permission. The reasons of dissolving monasteries, apart from economic reasons, was to control and remove the corrupted monks who were still

¹³⁶ Before the Ten Articles, Archbishop Cranmer was looking for allies in Europe to support the Protestant faith. Henry VIII sent his delegates to Wittenberg to have an agreement with Lutherans. Agreement was not successful because of Henry VIII’s divorcement and the execution of Anne Boleyn. The significance of the Wittenberg Articles is that they had an influence on The Ten Articles.

¹³⁷ The act is also referred as Suppression of the Monasteries or The Suppression of the Religious Houses.

¹³⁸ Randell, *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England*, 64.

¹³⁹ In relation with the dissolutions, see Sybil Jack, “The Last Days of the Smaller Monasteries in England”, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21, no. 2 (1970): 97, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S002204690004865X>.

supporting the authority of the Pope, to make sure that monks and nuns were keeping their vows of poverty. Under the supervision of Thomas Cromwell, 300 monasteries were listed and 175¹⁴⁰ of the monasteries included on the list were dissolved. Some monasteries were not dissolved but were forced to pay heavy taxes. The Dissolutions of the Monasteries was another step to demonstrate the supremacy of Henry VIII to the Pope.

The religious changes following after the break with Rome along with the Dissolution of the Monasteries notably disturbed the stability of common people and led to local and more regional risings¹⁴¹ against the religious policies of the crown, mostly in the northern part of England. The very first was the Lincolnshire Rising in 1536. The rising was formed in St James' Church in Louth that was against the suppression of the religious houses in England, the commissioners and the Ten Articles. On 6 October 1536, Darcy wrote a letter to Henry VIII and stated that:

563. On Wednesday last a friend wrote to me from Lincolnshire that there in Louth and along the Humber your subjects had rebelled against your commissioners, chased away lord Burgh and taken Sir William Askew and Sir Robert Tirwhit, &c. My fellow, Sir Ralph Ellercarr, jun., who dwells on the other side of the Humber from the rebels, sent word that on Wednesday night they burned beacons.¹⁴²

More than 20,000 people gathered to protest against the suppressions of religious houses and suppressions on the freedom of practicing Catholic worships. Henry VIII sent “the Duke of Suffolk thither as his lieutenant, and joined with him the earls of Shrewsbury, Rutland, and Huntingdon, the lord Admiral, lord Talbot, lord Borough, lord Clinton, Sir John Russell, Sir Fras. Brian, Ric. Cromwell, and all who have lands

¹⁴⁰ S. M. Jack, “Dissolution Dates for the Monasteries Dissolved under the Act of 1536”, *Historical Research* 43, no. 4 (1992): 169-181. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2281.1970.tb01660.x>

¹⁴¹ Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions* (London: Routledge, 2016), 19-61.

¹⁴² “Henry VIII: October 1536, 6-10,” in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 11, July-December 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), 221-257. British History Online, accessed June 19, 2019.

or rule thereabouts.”¹⁴³ The riot was successfully repressed and leading traitors were executed.

After the riot, on 9 October 1536, *The Lincoln Articles* was written addressing “to the King our Sovereign Lord” and in the first article, it is stated that “by the suppression of so many religious houses the service of God is not well performed and the people unrelieved”.¹⁴⁴ People lamented the fact that as a result of dissolving the monasteries in England and Wales, people could not receive the services and they were spiritually in a limbo yet the bridge between God and people, in this case monasteries, were being dissolved. After the Lincoln Articles, Henry VIII wrote his *Ansvere Made by the Kynges Hyghnes to the Petitions of the Rebelles in Yorkeshire* as an answer to the articles and stated that:

FYRSTE AS TOVCHYNGE the mayntenance of the faythe, the termes be so generall, that it wolde be very harde to make certaine an|swere to the same, but if they mean the faithe of Christe, to the whiche all christen menne be only bounde, We declare and proteste our selfe to be that prince, that dothe en|tende and hath always mynded to lyue and dye in the mayntenaunce defence and obseruation of the puritie of the same, And that no man can or dare set his fote by vs in prouynge of the contrary. We meruayle therfore moche, that ignoraunt people woll go about to take vpon them, to instructe and teche vs, which haue ben noted somthyng lerned, What the feyth shuld be, and also that they being ignorant people, be so presumptuous (seinge that we and our hole clergy in conuocation haue in ar|ticles declared it) to take vpon them to correcte vs all therin: or that they wold be so ingrate and vn|naturall towards vs, theyr moste rightfull kyng and soueraigne lorde, without any our deserte, v|pon fals reportes or surmyses, to suspect vs of the same, and gyue rather credence to forged lyght ta|les, than to the very trouthe by vs these .xxviii. ye|res vsed, and by our dedes approued.¹⁴⁵

He warned people who were deceived by the ignorant and foul followers of the Pope that as the Supreme Head of the Church of England he was bound the faith of Christ

¹⁴³ “Henry VIII: October 1536, 11-15,” in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 11, July-December 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), 257-284. British History Online, accessed June 19, 2019.

¹⁴⁴ “Henry VIII: October 1536, 11-15,” in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Volume 11, July-December 1536, ed. James Gairdner (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1888), 257-284. British History Online, accessed June 18, 2019.

¹⁴⁵ Henry VIII, King of England, *Ansvere Made by the Kynges Hyghnes to the Petitions of the Rebelles in Yorkeshire 1536*, (London, 1536), no pagination.

and would do everything to preserve the true faith in England. The false reports and the rumours that circulated in the kingdom were the merriment of the Antichrist in Rome and his followers that tried to break the unity of Englishmen by defiling the king of England and his religious policies.

After the repression of the Lincoln rising, another rebellion broke out “in Yorkshire. The rebels chose to think of themselves as Pilgrims and marched under the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ”¹⁴⁶ The Pilgrimage of Grace¹⁴⁷ was one of the most significant rebellions against the dissolution of monasteries along with iconoclasm¹⁴⁸ and new Protestant doctrines stated in the Ten Articles in 1536. Local people lamented the fact that the crown was not only dissolving the monasteries but taking the golden crosses, jewellery and any valuable material to add to its treasure. Another concern was the replacement of Catholic Katherine of Aragon with Anne Boleyn whose faith ended when she was beheaded which effected the prestige of the monarchy. Thereby, under the leadership of Robert Aske people marched against the policies of the crown and for the sake of the old tradition and practices that they valued. In 1536, those who wanted the preservation of the old faith took *the Oath of Honourable Men*.

The othe of all men sworne unto theym. Ye shall not entre to this our pilgramage of grace for the commine welthe but oonly for the love ye bere to goddessa faithe and church mylitant and the mayntenaunce therof, the preseruacyon of the kinges person his issue and the purifying of the nobilitie and to expulse all vilaynes bloode and eveill councesaliours against the comen welth of the same. And that ye shall not entre into our said pylgremaige for no peculyar profet to yor selves ne to do no dyspleasure to not private personne but my counsaile of the comen welthe nor sle nor murdre for no envye but in yor hertes to put away all feare for the comen welthe. And to take before you the crosse of cryste and yor hertes faithe to the restitucyon of this church and

¹⁴⁶ Newcombe, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation*, 60.

¹⁴⁷In relation with the Pilgrimage of Grace, see M. L. Bush, *The Pilgrimage of Grace: A Study of the Rebel Armies of October 1536* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

¹⁴⁸ Margaret Aston, “Iconoclasm in England: Official and Clandestine,” in *The Impact of the English Reformation 1500-1640*, ed. Peter Marshall, (London: Arnold, 1997), 167-92; Ernest B. Gilman, *Iconoclasm and Poetry in the English Reformation: Down Went Dagon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

to the suppressyon of heretykes opynyons by the holy contentes of thys boke.¹⁴⁹

The oath made sure that the whole purpose of the rebellion was not for profit, personal and for the commonwealth but to purify England from the heresy of the Henrician Reformation and bring back the old religion and its tradition and to unite England with Rome once more. The Catholic force against the Henrician Reformation was pardoned and disbanded by Robert Aske on reasonable terms.

Henry VIII, who had promised concessions to the rebels in 1536 as long as to disbanded the rebellion in 1536, did not fulfil the rebels' demands. In 1537, under the leadership of Sir Francis Bigod, new risings broke out in Cumberland and Westmoreland but were successfully suppressed. After the risings and rebellions in 1536 and 1537, those who were responsible for manipulating people to rebel against the crown were executed.

Following the suppression of the risings in England, in 1539, the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries Act was passed by the Parliament after the prosperity that the first act had provided to the crown.

The last and one of the most significant ecclesiastical products of the Henrician Reformation was *the Great Bible* which was the first authorized English Bible that was prepared by Myles Coverdale under the supervision of Thomas Cromwell. The second English Bible, after the translation of John Wycliffe, was produced by Tyndale with the influence of Luther which was not allowed to be read in England and the copies were burnt. It was not a complete Bible since, before his death, Tyndale had translated only the New Testament and half of the Old Testament. In 1535, it was Myles Coverdale who produced the first complete Bible in English. "By the end of 1534, Convocation, under Cranmer, petitioned the King to authorize a translation of

¹⁴⁹ Bernard, *The Kings Reformation*, 330.

scripture, encouraging Coverdale to proceed with his project”.¹⁵⁰ In 1537, *Matthew’s Bible* was published by John Roger, who used the pseudonym Thomas Matthew. It included mostly the translation of William Tyndale, Myles Coverdale and Thomas Matthew himself. Matthew’s Bible was allowed to be read until the preparation of the Great Bible by Coverdale. In 1539, *The Great Bible* was authorized which included the translation of Tyndale and Coverdale’s own translation of the Old Testament and Apocrypha from Latin and German. The Great Bible was to be read in the Church of England. The significance of the English Bible was to demonstrate the authority of Henry VIII as the Supreme Head of the Church. On the cover of the Bible, “probably Henry VIII’s own copy”¹⁵¹, as the representative of the God on earth and the Supreme Head of the Church, he hears the words of God and conveys the words to his two most trusted men, Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell, who convey the words of God to Englishmen. The cover of the Bible is an example of propoganda that demonstrates the supremacy of Henry VIII who challenges the authority of the Antichrist in Rome.

¹⁵⁰ Clebsch, *England’s Earliest Protestants 1520-1535*, 306.

¹⁵¹ “The Great Bible, Probably Henry VIII’s Own Copy”, The British Library, accessed June 20, 2019, <https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-great-bible-probably-henry-viiiis-own-copy>.

3.2 Wills during the Henrician Reformation, 1534 - 1548

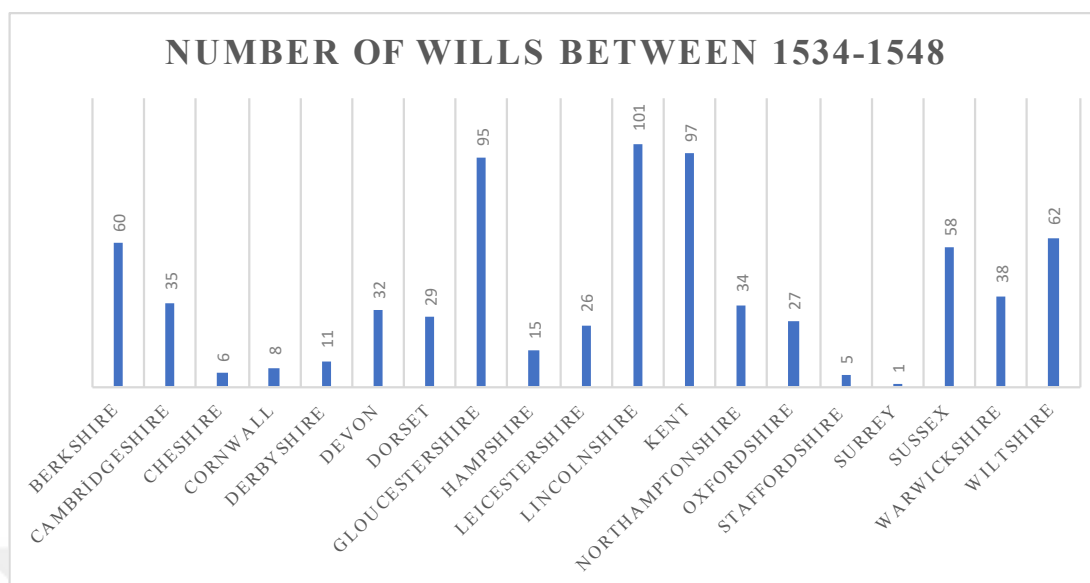


Figure 14 - Number of Wills between 1534 - 1548

These 740 wills were written between 1534 and 1548 during the reign of Henry VIII. The selection of wills used in this study are collected from The National Archives PCC wills in series PROB 11. The diagram given above represents their breakdown by county. The number of wills changes over time and it is hard to say that they are consistent. In some of the counties there are no wills between certain years in PROB 11. In Cheshire, between 1544 and 1548, in Staffordshire, between 1534 and 1538, there are no wills according to The Nation Archives, PROB 11.

In Cheshire, Cornwall, Staffordshire, and Surrey, the number of wills between 1534 and 1548 preserved in PROB 11 are less than ten so methodologically, there is no guarantee that the number of wills in those counties is representative in terms of the testamentary activities of testators during these 15 years.

3.3 The General Pattern of Traditional Wills between 1534 and 1548

During the reign of Henry VIII, between the years of 1534 and 1548, there are 740 wills in TNA, PROB 11, and the number of wills changes between 1534 and 1548.

Table 4 - An overall data between 1534 - 1548

Counties	No. of Wills	No. of Trad. Wills	% of Trad. Wills
Berkshire	60	29	48,3
Cambridgeshire	35	20	57,1
Cheshire	6	4	66,6
Cornwall	8	4	50
Derbyshire	11	8	72,7
Devon	32	3	9,3
Dorset	29	15	51,7
Gloucestershire	95	25	26,3
Hampshire	15	9	60
Leicestershire	26	14	53,8
Lincolnshire	101	53	52,4
Kent	97	51	52,5
Northamptonshire	34	25	73,5
Oxfordshire	27	14	51,8
Staffordshire	5	2	40
Surrey	1	0	0
Sussex	58	29	50
Warwickshire	38	14	36,8
Wiltshire	62	34	54,8
Total	740	353	

The wills are collected from 19 different counties. For all of these 740 wills from Henry VIII's reign, between 1534 and 1548, the general pattern, that I call "traditional", is quite consistent except for some counties such as Cornwall, Derbyshire, Devon, Dorset, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Oxfordshire in which there are sudden decreases which are not consistent.

The wills collected from 19 different counties including Surrey.

On the diagrams given below if there is no number given representing the percentage of traditional wills, it means, there are no wills surviving in those counties between the given years according to The National Archives PROB 11 such as Staffordshire and Surrey in figure 15. In cases where there are wills and they are all non-traditional, I will give the number zero such as Surrey in figure 17 (see p.77)

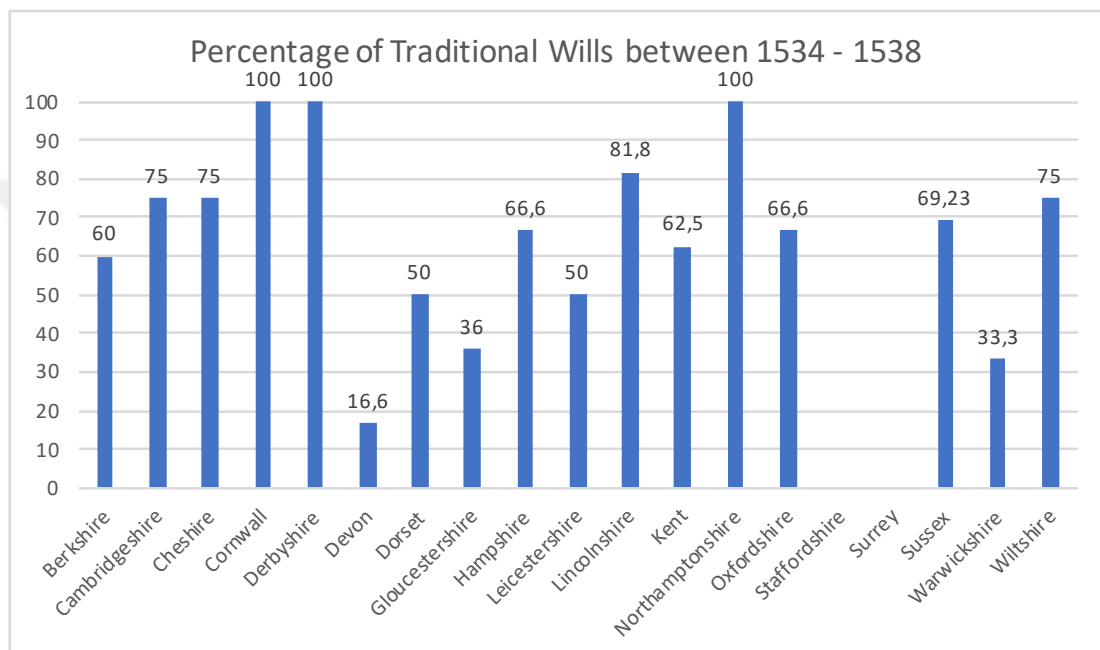


Figure 15 - Percentage of Traditional Wills between 1534 - 1538

Between 1534 and 1538, the percentage of traditional wills fluctuates. Out of 18 counties 3 of them followed the traditional way of will-writing with 100%. The counties that have the highest percentage of traditional wills after Cornwall, Derbyshire, and Northamptonshire are Lincolnshire with 81.8% and Cambridgeshire, Cheshire, and Wiltshire with 75%. The percentage of traditional wills in other counties as shown in the diagram is less than 70%. According to The National Archives PROB 11, there are no wills in Staffordshire between 1534 and 1538.

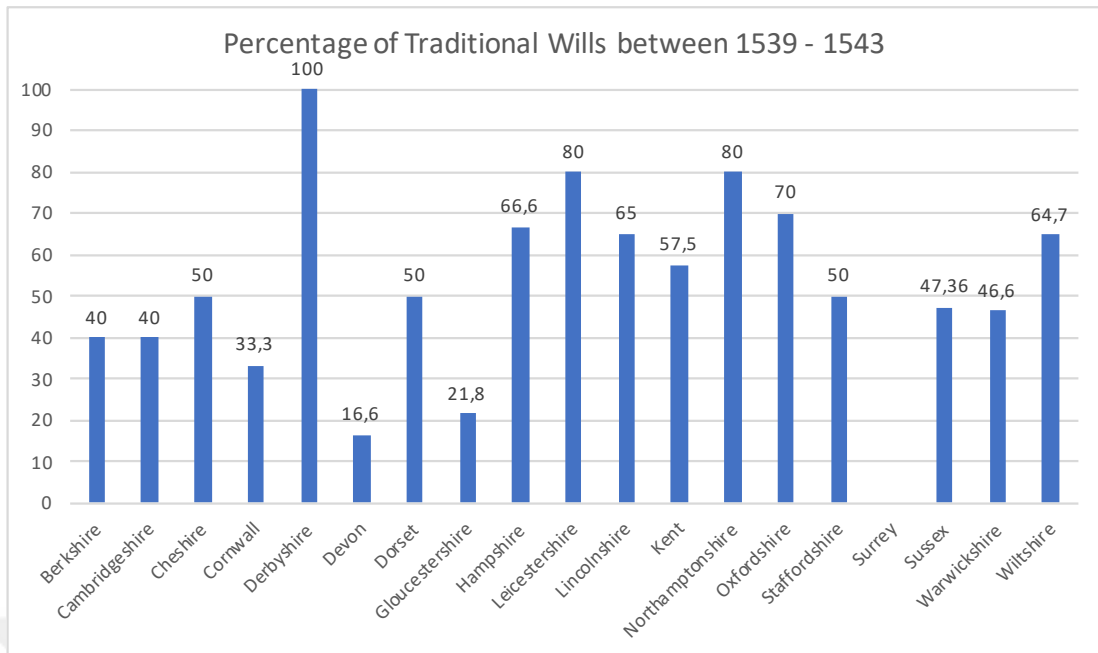


Figure 16 - Percentage of Traditional Wills between 1539 - 1543

Between 1539 and 1543, the percentage of traditional wills fluctuates. Out of 18 counties only one of them followed the traditional way of will-writing with 100%. There was a general decline in traditional way of will-writing so the pattern of the percentage of traditional wills as shown in the diagram is similar. After Derbyshire, the counties that have the highest percentage of traditional wills are Leicestershire and Northamptonshire with 80%. More than half of the counties that are included to this research have the percentage of 50% or less than 50% which may suggest that there was a gradual decrease.

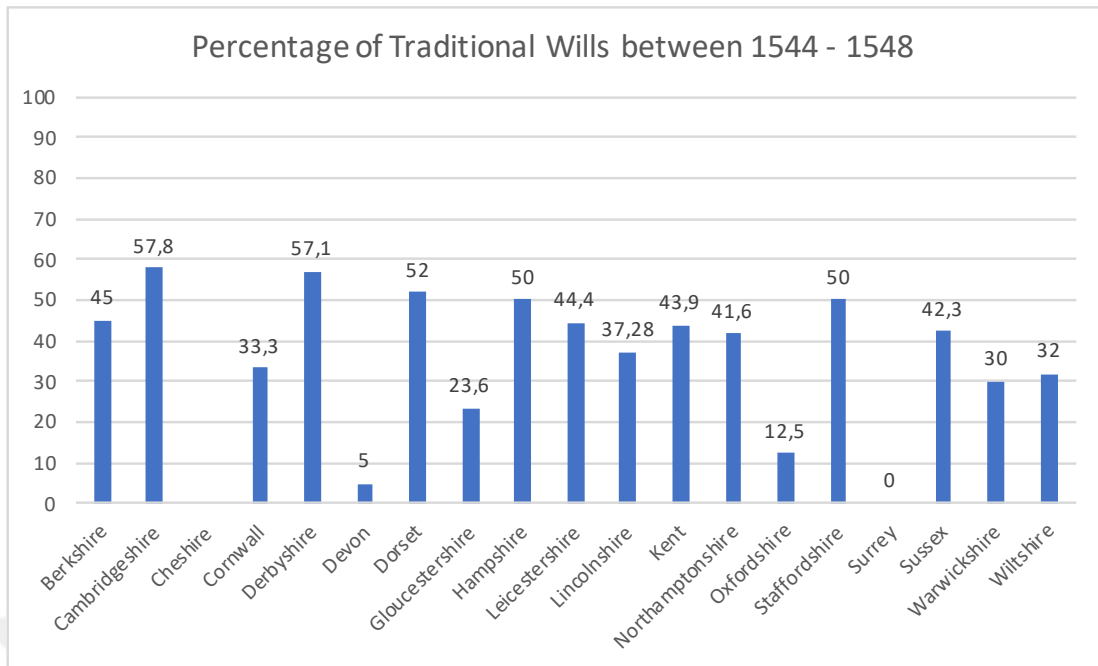


Figure 17 - Percentage of Traditional Wills 1544 - 1548

Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills fluctuates the most. The general percentage of traditional wills is less than 58% and there was a gradual decline in traditional way of will-writing which may suggest that the pattern of the percentage of traditional wills is similar. In Surrey, there is only one will that survived according to The National Archives, PCC wills in series PROB 11 so the percentage of non-traditional wills is 100%

Geographically (see Appendix II), the south-west of England such as Cornwall Dorset, Devon, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, there are some similar and non-similar patterns in terms of the percentage of traditional wills which fluctuates. The patterns of Wiltshire and Devon are quite similar since the percentage in both counties decreases between 1544 and 1548. In Cornwall, Dorset, and Gloucestershire, there is no similarity in terms of the patterns of the percentage of traditional wills.

In the south-east of England and among the home counties such as Hampshire, Berkshire, Kent and Sussex, the pattern of traditional wills is quite different. The

patterns of Hampshire and Kent have quite the similar pattern but the patterns of Berkshire and Sussex is quite different.

In the eastern midlands such as Oxfordshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire, the patterns are quite different. The patterns of Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire have the same patterns in terms of the fluctuation of the percentage of traditional wills. In the diagrams of Leicestershire and Oxfordshire, there is a gradual decline in traditional way of will-writing and between 1539 and 1548, in both counties, the percentage decreases more than 50%.

In the western part of the midlands and the north-western part of England such as Cheshire Staffordshire and Derbyshire, the only similarity is the percentage of traditional wills which is between 50% and 60% between the years of 1539 and 1543.

3.4 The Henrician Reformation from the Evidence of Wills between 1534 and 1548

The transition of England theologically and challenging the authority of the Pope along with iconoclasm and risings in the northern parts of England affected the overall piety of Englishmen and caused a change in religious beliefs of testators between 1534 and 1548 which may be tracked from the evidence of wills.

In this part of the thesis, the southern and northern counties are analysed in five-year periods to demonstrate the reflection of the changing religious beliefs of testators and their attitudes to the Henrician Reformation during this period of significant religious upheaval. Firstly, the southern counties are analysed.

In Cornwall, between the years of 1534 and 1538, the percentage of traditional wills is 100% which may indicate the fact that between those years, the supremacy of Henry VIII and religious policies did not affect Cornwall.

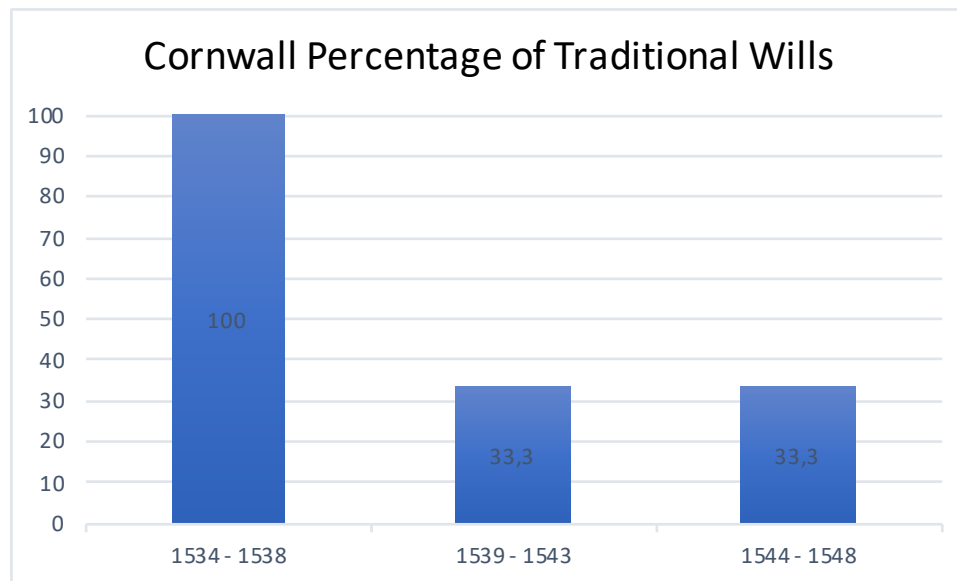


Figure 18 - Cornwall Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

Between 1539 and 1543, the percentage of traditional wills suddenly decreases to 33.3% and the following five years, the percentage does not change. The sudden change in the percentage may be the influence of the unsuccessful risings in the north which ended with the executions of the traitors. From the evidence of the wills, the attitude of local people towards the Henrician Reformation and the transition to the new doctrines was smooth.

In Devon, the percentage of traditional wills between 1534 and 1538 is 16.6% which is very low and suggest that even before the Henrician Reformation local people submit themselves to the progress of the Reformation. Until 1544, the percentage of traditional wills does not change but between 1544 and 1548, the percentage decreases to 5% which illustrates the fact that the attitude of Devon towards the Reformation was supportive.

In Dorset the attitude is quite different from Cornwall and Devon.

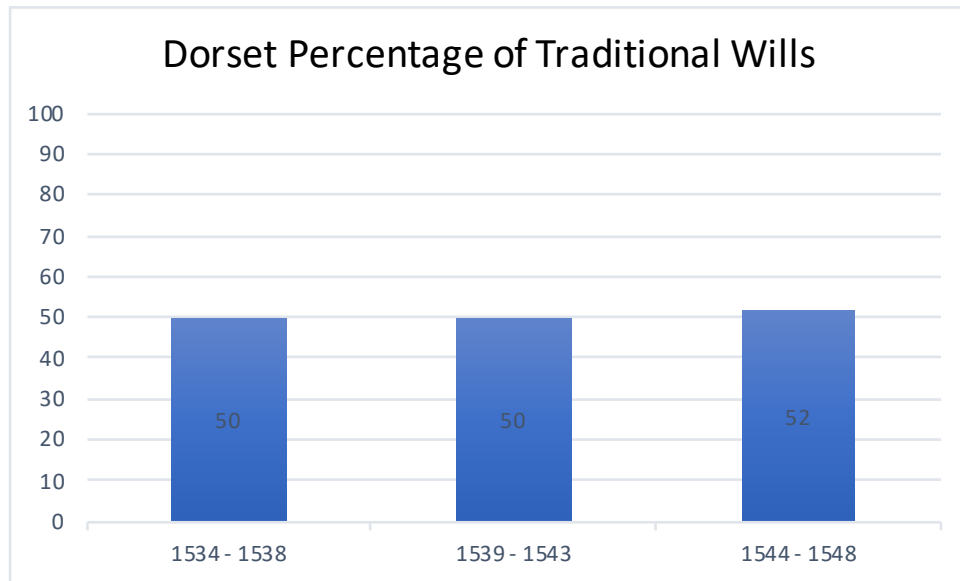


Figure 19 - Dorset Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

Until the Henrician Reformation, in Dorset people changed their religious beliefs but between 1534 and 1538, still half of the country was Catholic which does not change until the end of 1543. Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills increases up to 52% which is unexpected when comparing with Devon and Cornwall and suggest that Dorset did stand solid against the Henrician Reformation and instead of the expecting decrease, the percentage of traditional wills increased. In this case, it would not be wrong to state that the Henrician Reformation failed in Dorset.

In Wiltshire, the pattern is quite the same with Cornwall and Devon.

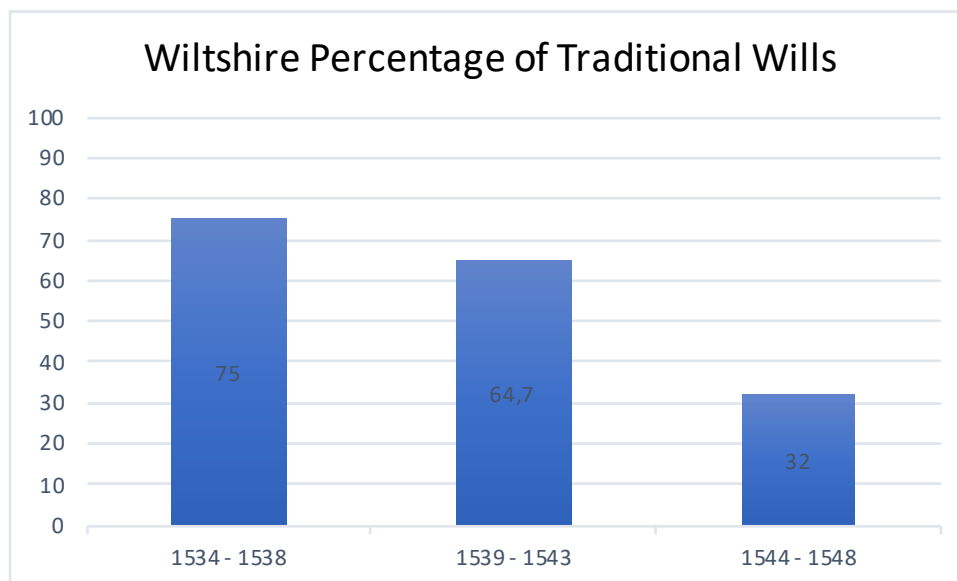


Figure 20 - Wiltshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

By the end of 1533, the percentage of traditional wills in Wiltshire is 66.6% but between the years of 1534 and 1538, the percentage increases up to 75%. The increase of the traditional wills between the given dates may indicate that Wiltshire did not support the supremacy of Henry VIII and theological changes in England which changes between 1539 and 1543, after the successful suppressions, the percentage decreases to 64.7%. By the end of 1548, the percentage of traditional wills decreases to 32%. From the evidence of wills, it may be inferred that Wiltshire resisted against the policies of Henry VIII but failed to continue.

In Hampshire, the percentage of traditional wills between 1509 and 1528 is 100% (there is no data between 1529 and 1533 according to The National Archives PROB 11). Between the years of 1534 and 1538, the percentage decreases to 66.6 and does not change until 1544. It seems that Hampshire did not change his attitude toward the Henrician policies between 1534 and 1543. Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage decreases to 50% which is a success for a conservative county which could not be

yield until 1534. Before the Edwardian Reformation, still half of the population was Catholic in the county.

In Sussex, the percentage of traditional wills at the end of 1533 is 81.81% which demonstrates that the decrease to 69.23% between 1534 and 1538 may suggest the influence of the supremacy and religious policies in the county. As one of the conservative counties (see Chapter II), the percentage of traditional wills decreases to 47.36 between 1539 and 1543. The fluctuating pattern of Sussex before the Reformation goes down smoothly until 1548 with the percentage of 42.3%. With the collected evidence, the Henrician Reformation was successful in Sussex.

In Surrey, there is only one will from the PCC between 1509 and 1553 in my overall data. Therefore, it would be wrong to fathom out that Surrey did not resist and since the only will from the data did not follow the traditional way of will-writing id est the percentage of traditional wills is zero percent.

In Kent, the percentage of traditional wills at the end of 1533 is 89% and the pattern fluctuates.

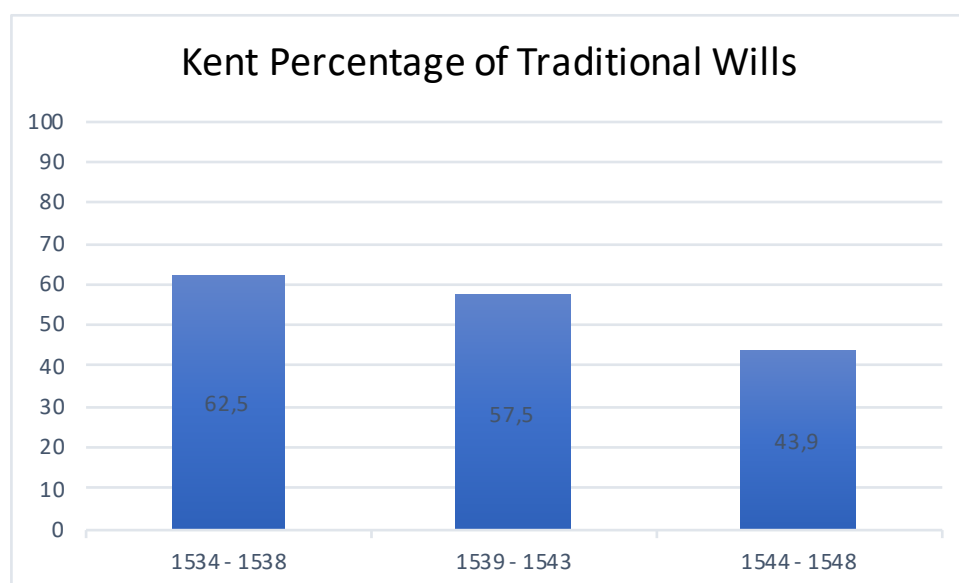


Figure 21 - Kent Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

Between 1534 and 1538, the percentage of traditional wills decreases to 62.5% and the following five years, the percentage decreases to 57.5%. From the evidence of wills, it may be suggested that the attitude of Kent towards the Reformation was resisting but it did not change the overall success yet between the years of 1544 and 1548, the percentage decreases up to 43.9%. By the end of 1548, less than half of the county became Protestant.

In Gloucestershire, the percentage of traditional wills between 1534 and 1538 is quite low comparing with the other counties. By the end of 1533, the percentage of traditional wills is more than 80% in the county. The sudden decrease may indicate that Gloucester went along with the Henrician Reformation and by the end of 1538, almost half of the county changed their religious beliefs. Between 1539 and 1543, the percentage decreases to 21.8% after the suppression of the risings and policies against the Papacy. Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage increases up to 23.6%. The reason is unclear since the last product of the Henrician Reformation was the English Bible which was against the tradition of the Papacy.

In Oxfordshire, the case is quite different from the other southern counties.

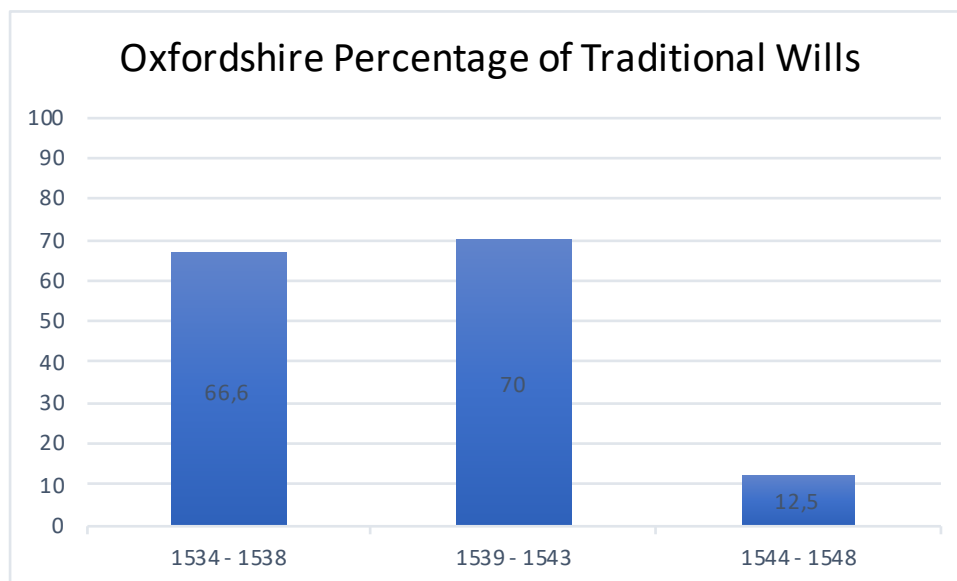


Figure 22 - Oxfordshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

The percentage of traditional wills by the end of 1533 is 50% which increases up to 66.6 between 1534 and 1538 and reaches 70% by the end of 1543. Fluctuation in the diagram from the evidence of wills may suggest that until Henry VIII's declaration of being the Supreme Head of the Church, people submitted themselves to the progression on the Reformation especially between 1529 and 1533 (see Chapter II). After 1533, until 1543, the resistance may be seen from the diagram that people could not expect the supremacy and the policies of Henry VIII which did not last long. Between 1544 and 1548, there is a sudden decrease on the traditional wills with the percentage of 12.5%. Even though the attitude of the county was against the Reformation, at the end of the reign of Henry VIII, it became successful.

In Berkshire, as one of the Catholic counties in England, between 1509 and 1533, the percentage of traditional wills is 100%. Between 1534 and 1538, the percentage decreases to 60% and even at the end of 1543, the percentage of traditional wills decreases to 40% which is a success for a conservative county comparing with the

other counties. Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage increases to 45% which may be because of the spread of the English Bible which is against the Catholic traditions. In the more northern parts of England, different cases may be seen from the evidence of wills. For this thesis, the most northern counties from where the PCC wills collected to see the religious upheavals for the Henrician Reformation are Cheshire, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire. In this part of the thesis, the northern counties are analysed to see the reflection the changing religious beliefs of testators during this period of significant religious upheaval.

In Cheshire, between the years of 1534 and 1538, the percentage of traditional wills is 75% which decreases to 50% in the following five years. Since there is no data between 1544 and 1548, an estimation is hard to make for the last years of the Henrician Reformation. During the reign of Edward VI, the percentage of the traditional wills is also 50% (see Chapter IV). Therefore, it may be concluded that after 1539, the religious belief and attitude toward the Reformation did not change.

In Derbyshire, at the end of 1533, the percentage of traditional wills is 33% which decreased from 100% (see Chapter II). Starting from 1534 until 1543, the percentage of traditional wills increases up to 100% which may suggest that even though Derbyshire resisted the supremacy and policies of Henry VIII after 1544 until 1548 with 57%, people accepted reformative progress but stayed traditional with the given percentage.

Lincolnshire is one of the most conservative counties in England because of the Lincoln rising in 1536 which formed into Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion.

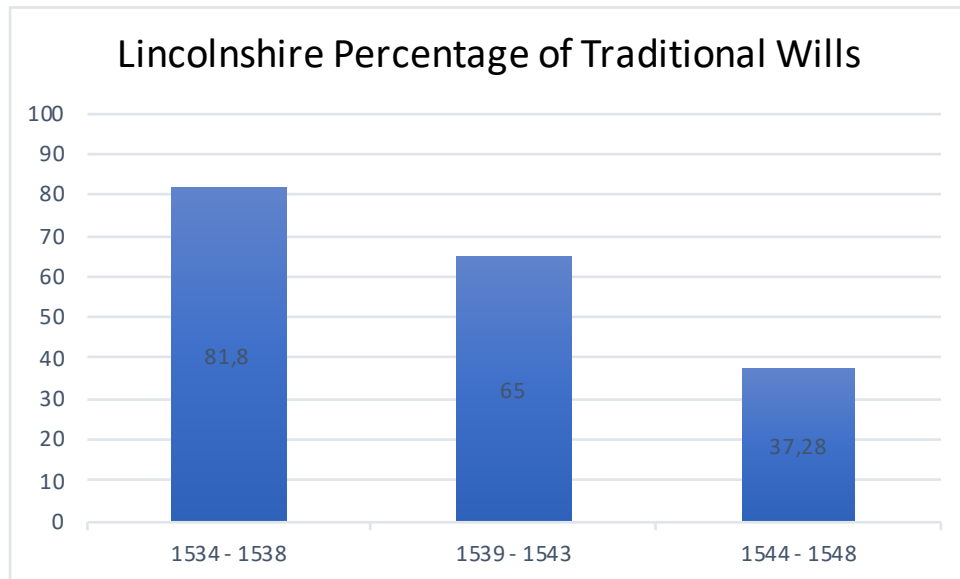


Figure 23 - Lincolnshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

The percentage of traditional wills in Lincolnshire between 1529 and 1533 is 100% which decreases to 81.8% during the first years of the Henrician Reformation, dissolution of monasteries and the risings. From the evidence of wills, the decrease may indicate that people were still Catholic even after the suppression of the risings. The Dissolution of the Monasteries were carried until 1540 and between 1539 and 1543, the percentage of traditional wills decreases up to 65%. The significance here is that people who rebelled against the dissolutions changed their beliefs and attitudes towards the crown, probably by force, after the executions of the traitors. Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage decreases to 37.28% which may indicate that the Henrician Reformation was successful in Lincolnshire even if there was a rising against Henrician policy unlike other counties, included in my research, in England. In Staffordshire, between 1534 and 1543, there is no data to analyse in terms of the attitude and the personal piety of the testators. The last data on the eve of the Reformation is between 1524 and 1528 with the percentage of 100%. During the Henrician Reformation between 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills

decreases to 50% which may indicate that between 1534 and 1543, there was a gradual decline of the traditional way of will-writing hereat the percentage decreased to 50%. By the end of the Henrician Reformation half of the county was still Catholic.

In Warwickshire, the percentage of traditional wills increased to 71.42% between the years of 1529 and 1533 (see Chapter II). It is stated that the reason of the increase may be a resistance to progress of the decline of the Papal authority in England especially after the Act in Restraint of Appeals in 1533.

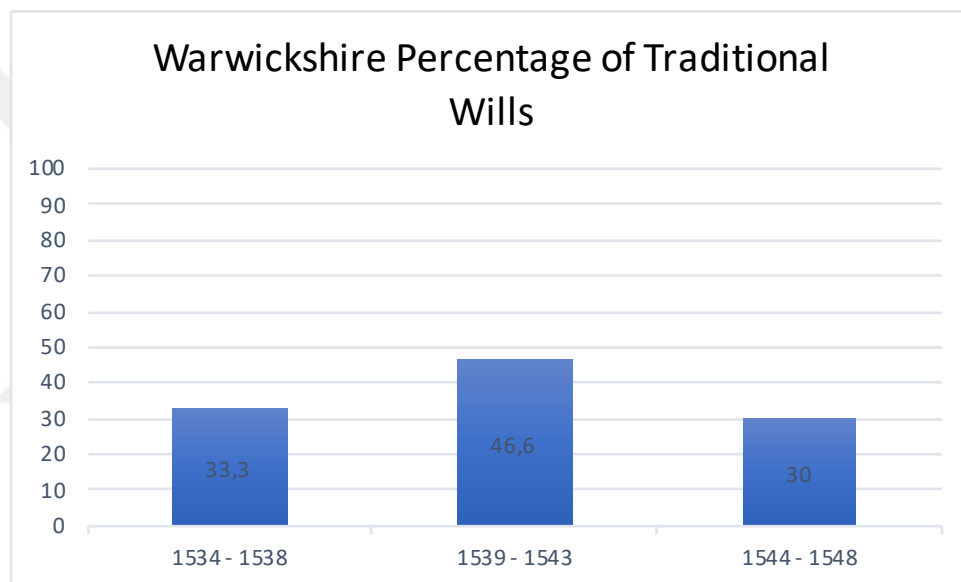


Figure 24 - Warwickshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

Between 1534 and 1538, the percentage decreases to 33.3% which may suggest that people acknowledged the supremacy of Henry VIII and the Lutheran doctrines along with him. Another reason of almost 40% decrease in traditional wills may be the suppression of the risings and the executions of the traitors so even if some people changed their religious beliefs willingly, some may have changed it by fear in order not to challenge Henry VIII's authority. Between 1539 and 1543, the percentage

increases up to 46.6% and decreases to 30% by the end of 1548 which may be a resistance to the English Bible.

In Leicestershire, the diagram is exactly the same with Warwickshire which is expected since they share borders and one may affect the other. In Leicestershire, the percentage of traditional wills is 50% between 1529 and 1533. Between 1534 and 1538, the percentage does not change yet between 1539 and 1543, it increases up to 80% which may be the result of the attitude of the people towards the bloody policy of Henry VIII after the risings. In following five years, the percentage of traditional wills decreases to 44.4%

In Northamptonshire, the percentage of traditional wills is 66.6 between 1529 and 1533.

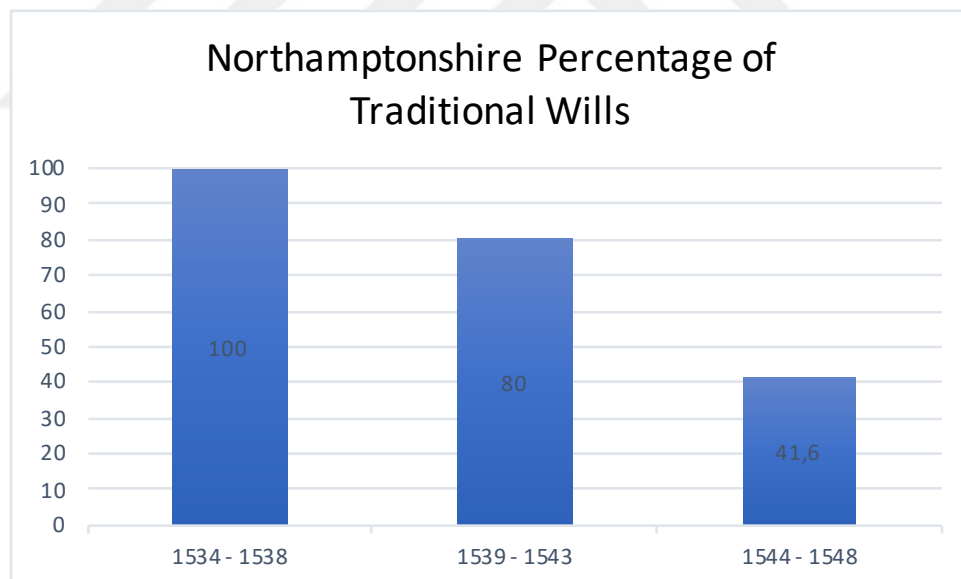


Figure 25 - Northamptonshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

Between 1534 and 1538, the percentage increases to 100% which may indicate that the county's attitude towards the Henrician Reformation was not well-received. However, after the above-mentioned policies and rising that ended nefarious after the

suppressions, the percentage decreased to 80% in the next five years and by the end of 1548, the percentage of traditional wills decreased to 41.6%.

In Cambridgeshire, the attitude toward the Henrician Reformation is quite similar with Dorset.

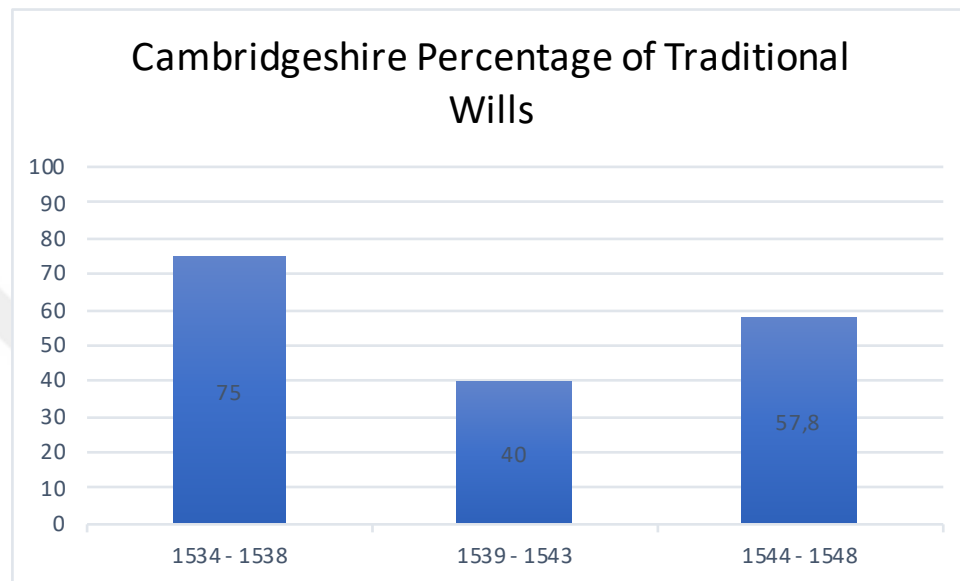


Figure 26 - Cambridgeshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

Unlike Northampton and Warwickshire, in Cambridgeshire, between 1534 and 1538, the percentage of traditional wills decreases to 75%. By the end of 1543, the percentage decreases to 40% which may demonstrate the fact that Henry VIII's religious policies and forces effected the county. Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage decreases to 57.8% which may be the result of ineffectiveness of Henry VIII during his last years. All examples and explanations mentioned above state that the religious and economic policies under the Henry VIII with the help of Thomas Cromwell and Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of the Canterbury, were carried out successfully and the Henrician Reformation spread in England. Even though there were resistances and rebellions such as Lincoln rising, Pilgrimage of Grace and Bigod's rebellion in some

counties which may affect the overall piety of England against the new religion, along with the new teachings and doctrines, Protestantism successfully spread in England between 1534 and 1548.



CHAPTER IV

EDWARD VI: PROTESTANTISM IN ENGLAND AFTER THE HENRICIAN REFORMATION, 1549 - 1553

In this chapter, Edward VI's religious policy along with the religious policies of the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland in England between 1549 and 1553 will be discussed. Furthermore, the number of wills during the reign of Edward VI and the general pattern of traditional wills in 18 counties will be given and analysed to help to understand the Edwardian Reformation from the evidence of wills in England, in the last part of which there is a comparative county by county and regional analysis of the percentage of traditional wills, personal piety and development of Protestantism between the years of 1549 and 1553 along with the effects of religious policies under the Edwardian regime. From the evidence of wills, the Edwardian Reformation was successful and reached the highest percentage of Protestantism in 17 counties except Staffordshire that remained Catholic.

4.1 Edward VI and Religious Policy in England

Edward VI was the son of King Henry VIII and Jane Seymour who was Henry's third wife. He was born on 12 October 1537 and was crowned on 20 February 1547 and became the King of England, Ireland and France. He was the first King of England to

have been raised as a Protestant and he was the first Protestant king unlike Henry VIII that made him different from Henry and a true reformist like the other reformists in Europe. After the death of Henry VIII on 28 January 1547, the faith of the whole country was left in the hands of a nine-year old boy, Edward VI. He was still underage when he was crowned. Before Henry VIII died, he wrote his will on 30 December 1546.¹⁵² As the testator, he chose his executors who were to “form his son’s privacy council”¹⁵³ who were to assist him and lead him to rule the country. The names of the executors were “Thomas Cranmer, Thomas Wriothesley, Sir William Paulet, Edward Seymour, Lord Russel, John Dudley, Bishop Tunstall of Durham, Sir Edward North, Sir William Paget, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Edward Montagu, Thomas Bromley, Sir Edward, treasurer of Calais; Dr Nicholas, Ambassador in France; Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert”¹⁵⁴

There are some arguments about the validity of Henry VIII’s will for some historians since he did not “sign with your most gracious hand”¹⁵⁵ but instead a dry stamp was used which raised the question of whether the last will and testament of Henry VIII was tampered with or not¹⁵⁶ which affects the overall power of Edward Seymour’s Protectorate who as head of the Regency Council.

Edward VI, as it was stated in the will of Henry VIII, was not to rule the kingdom until he reached the age of 18. People who were chosen by Henry VIII, and his executors

¹⁵² The National Archives, *Will of Henry VIII, King of England, France, and Ireland*, accessed June 11, 2019, Catalogue Reference: E/23/4

¹⁵³ Jennifer Loach, G. W. Bernard, and Penry Williams, *Edward VI* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 17.

¹⁵⁴ Loach, Bernard, and Williams. *Edward VI*, 17-18 and TNA, *Will of Henry VIII, King of England, France, and Ireland*, accessed June 11, 2019, Catalogue Reference: TNA E/23/4

¹⁵⁵ Statutes of the Realm, Volume III, 661 (AD 1536, 28 Hen. VIII. c.7.)

¹⁵⁶ For more information on the validity of the will and the last testament of Henry VIII, see Lacey Baldwin Smith, “The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII: A Question of Perspective”, *Journal of British Studies* 2, no. 1 (1962): 14-27; E. W. Ives, “Henry VIII’s Will: The Protectorate Provisions of 1546-7”, *The Historical Journal* 37, no. 4 (1994): 901-14; R. A. Houlbrooke, “Henry VIII’s Wills: A Comment”, *The Historical Journal* 37, no. 4 (1994): 891-99.

mentioned above, for Edward VI's Privy Council were to rule the country on behalf of Edward VI and to advise and lead him on governmental issues, since he was still a boy king.

During the reign of Edward VI, the Church became more linguistically English with the help of Thomas Cranmer and with the influence of foreign Protestant governments and theologians. Although A. F. Pollard states that "England never became Lutheran, Zwinglian or Calvinistic"¹⁵⁷, the influence of these foreign reformers on English Reformation cannot be underestimated especially on liturgy, the communion service and the mass. The existence of Catholic traditions, teachings and doctrines began to be removed. Like the other reformists, the Edwardian regime forbade the use of iconography and Edward himself was an iconoclast. Images, shrines, the idea of Purgatory, Catholic superstitions and the Mass vanished step by step during his reign which caused local risings and rebellions mainly during the Protectorate of the Duke of Somerset. The Edwardian regime proceeded under the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland and the reforming steps were taken under the reign of Edward VI which "committed itself to the public promotion of kingly and godly Reformation".¹⁵⁸

4.2 Religious Policy under Somerset's Protectorate

Edward Seymour was the first Duke of Somerset. He served as the Lord Protector of the Realm after the death of Henry VIII, between 4 February 1547 and 11 October 1549. He was the uncle of the King Edward VI. His religious policy, under the reign of Edward VI, provoked many extremists including both Catholics and Protestants in

¹⁵⁷ A. F. Pollard, *Reformation under Edward VI* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Pub., 2017), 5.

¹⁵⁸ Stephen Alford, *Kingship and Politics in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 132.

the 16th century England. He followed a slow path in his Reform and believed in toleration¹⁵⁹ which did not last very long. When he acquired power in 1547, as in the reign of Henry VIII, Seymour also sent commissioners to the Churches in order to control the bishops and ordinaries.¹⁶⁰ “Under the pretext that controversial preaching was stirring up civil disorder, all preaching licenses were suspended”.¹⁶¹ Those who were not authorised by the government would not be able to preach. Subsequently, the *Book of Homilies* was published on 31 July 1547.¹⁶² This was written partly by Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and supported the idea of *Justification by Faith Alone* which was the key Protestant doctrine. The clergy was required to read the sermons from the book to people. These were the first attempts to anglicise the country, in the sense of using the English language. The Book of Homilies was not the only attempt to anglicise England during the reign of Edward VI. Another policy was on iconoclasm. The regime ordered the clergy to “take away and destroy” shrines, tables and candlesticks that were used during the liturgy, pictures and paintings that prevented the true way of worship, pilgrimages, idolatry and Catholic superstitions so that there would be “no memory to remain in the Churches and houses”¹⁶³.

Charles Wriothesley, in his Chronicle, stated that:

This yeare, in August, the Kinges Majestic, with the advise of my Lord Protector and other of his Counsell, sent out throughe this realme of Englande certaine godlie injunctions for reformation of the cleargie, the true preaching and settinge fourth of Godes worde, and utter abolishing of idolatrie, which were clene putt downe in everie parish church of this realme of Englande, and also the going in procession was left [off], the gospel and epistle read in

¹⁵⁹ W. K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Young King; the Protectorship of the Duke of Somerset* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1968), 127.

¹⁶⁰ Loach, Bernard, and Williams, *Edward VI*, 47.

¹⁶¹ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 155.

¹⁶² Thomas Cranmer, *Certayne Sermons, or Homelies Appoynted by the Kynges Maiestie, to Be Declared and Redde, by All Persones, Vicars, or Curates, Euery Sondaye in Their Churches, Where They Haue Cure. Anno 1547*, accessed May 27, 2019, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A03519.0001.001?view=toc>.

¹⁶³ Edward VI, King of England, *Iniunccions Geuen by the Kynges Maiestie Aswell to the Clergie as to the Laitie of This Realme. Anno. M.D.XLVII. (1547)*, 1-36.

Englishe everie holidiaie, with divers other, as in the said proclamation or injunction appeareth.¹⁶⁴

The objects which were made Holy by the Roman Catholics Church became an obstacle which prevented the true faith between God and his subjects. These objects were demoted because it was believed that they were sacrilegious and it was a blasphemy to God and true Christianity. Thomas Cranmer in his speech at the coronation of Edward VI, stated that “God truly worshipped, and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the bishops of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed”.¹⁶⁵ The religious policy against images which started during the reign of Henry VIII was accelerated with the Edwardian Injunctions. The movement against images continued and, even if people removed them, during the reign of Mary Tudor, “hundreds of images reappeared from barns and lumber rooms”¹⁶⁶ which shows the fact that people did what the regime ordered them to do but they never really changed their personal piety.

In 1547, “the Sacrament Act was passed by Parliament and it was agreed that Communion should be received in both kinds”.¹⁶⁷ During 1548, the Dissolution of the Chantries continued in the country which was a great financial source for the government but which also weakened the traditional structures of the Church by removing one of its most important spiritual supports.¹⁶⁸ The main purpose of the act was “to vanish phantasing vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory, to be

¹⁶⁴ Charles Wriothesley and William Douglas Hamilton, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, From A.D. 1485 to 1559*, vol. 1 (Westminster: Sagwan Press, 2015), 185.

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Cranmer and John Edmund Cox, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1846), 127.

¹⁶⁶ Jordan, *Edward VI*, 184.

¹⁶⁷ "Sacrament Act 1547", Legislation.gov.uk, accessed May 27, 2019, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/Edw6/1/1/introduction>.

¹⁶⁸ Patrick Collinson and John Craig, *The Reformation in English Towns, 1500-1640*. (London: Macmillan Press, 1998), 160.

done for them which be departed”.¹⁶⁹ In 1549, *The Book of Common Prayer* was written by Thomas Cranmer. This was the first prayer book in English to have a Protestant liturgy. It was one of the most significant products of the English Reformation since it constituted the Anglican way of practicing the religion. “It was a version of Latin liturgical books with a Protestant touch and differed considerably from the Roman ritual”.¹⁷⁰

The recent changes in the religious policy which also caused economic changes after the closure of the Chantries triggered local people to rebel because of the fact that the reason of the closure of the chantries was dressed up in religious justification which caused instability in England.¹⁷¹ Eamon Duffy states that “The Edwardine Chantries Act justified the dissolutions”¹⁷² but in many counties such as Kent, Wiltshire, Surrey, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire local people and many preachers assembled and made their demands to Edward Seymour. In Cornwall and Devon, people rebelled against the religious policy of the Lord Protector. Meanwhile, Catholics and the defenders of the old faith such as Stephen Gardiner and Richard Smyth continued their writings in defence of traditional religion.¹⁷³ Bernardino Ochino depicted the reality of the Roman Catholic Church and its followers in his book *A Tragoedie or Dialogue or the Unjust Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome* with the dialogue between Lucifer and Beelzebub:

Beelze. Me thinketh that I heare the liuely image of Antichriste hymselfe handsomly and properly de|scribed of you.
Luci. It is euen so in dede as thou sayest.

¹⁶⁹ Henry Gee and William John Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History: Compiled from Original Sources* (London: Forgotten Books, 2019), 328.

¹⁷⁰ Charles Smyth, *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 228.

¹⁷¹ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 159.

¹⁷² Duffy, *Traditional Religion in England*, 455.

¹⁷³ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 163.

Beelze. But who is (I praye you) so shamelesse to receyue so wicked a dignitie?
As farre as my wit wil serue me, I thynke the Bishoppe of Rome the moste
mete in|strument to bringe about the thyng that we intend.¹⁷⁴

The Pope and his followers were the perfect choice to spread evil unto the world. The Bishop of Rome was the control point to spread the words of Lucifer to the world and manipulate both laymen and clergymen to bring the world under the hegemony of the Devil rather than Jesus Christ. The Papacy in this work is depicted as the creation of the Devil. Therefore, people rebelled against the supporter of the true religion. The reason for the rebellions in some counties were *the Book of Common Prayer*. After the reign of Henry VIII and his religious policy in England, for extremists, the new religious policy and the reform were not enough and “unsatisfactory in many respects”¹⁷⁵ for extreme Protestants and it was, at the same time, provoking for the extreme Catholics. In 1549, firstly in Cornwall, thousands of people including laymen and clergy rebelled against the policy of the crown. In Devon, the situation was much worse. Therefore, King Edward VI wrote his *A Message Sent by the Kynges Maiestie to Certain of his People, assembled in Devonshire*, saying that:

You as our subjects thinking that devil hath not that power in you, to make you, of naturall borne Englishmen, so suddenly become enemies to your own native country or of our subjects to make you traitors: or under pretence your selves, your wives, children, lands, houses, and all other commodities, of this your life.¹⁷⁶

People demanded their old way of practicing the religion and veneration of images. Edward VI, in his letter, in a patriotic tone, stated that by rebelling against the authority of the crown, they were accepting the power of the Devil. Therefore, they become heretics like the Anti-Christ in Rome. Those who were deceived by the Devil and

¹⁷⁴ Bernardino Ochino, *A Tragoedie or Dialogue or the Unjust Usurped Primacie of the Bishop of Rome* (London, 1549), no pagination.

¹⁷⁵ D. M. Loades, *John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 1504-1553* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 195.

¹⁷⁶ Edward VI, King of England, *A Message Sent by the Kynges Maiestie to Certain of His People, Assembled in Devonshire* (London, 1549), no pagination.

involved in the risings, especially clergymen, were executed and some of them were hanged. The social instability in England during the reign of Edward VI brought an end to the rule of Duke of Somerset. He isolated himself from the Council and ruled by himself. He was blamed for the rebellions in the counties and arrested on 11 October 1549.

4.3 Religious Policy under Northumberland

After the fall of Somerset, John Dudley, who made himself the Duke of Northumberland, came to power but he never became the Lord Protector and he could not rule as absolutely as Seymour had done.¹⁷⁷ The first religious policy Northumberland followed was Thomas Cranmer's idea of linking England with international Protestantism by "consulting with governments and scholars abroad".¹⁷⁸ By linking international Protestantism with England, he aimed to empower the strength of forces of England. The incomplete Protestant theology and its doctrines – even among Protestant theologians, the doctrines, the communion service and the liturgy were in discussion, since well-known theologians such as Martin Luther, Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin could not unite their perspectives under one roof – was causing a very notable problem among the followers of Protestantism. Pietro Martire Vermigli and Bernardino Ochino, two Italian theologians, came to England. Bernardino Ochino who "ministered to the Italian Protestants in Augsburg"¹⁷⁹ advised Thomas Cranmer on theological doctrines in the 1552 version of the Book of Common Prayer which shows the fact that foreign unification under the new religion officially began which affected the course of the English Reformation. In 1549, the "Act to Take

¹⁷⁷ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 167.

¹⁷⁸ Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 231.

¹⁷⁹ Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 232.

Away All Positive Laws Against Marriage of Priest”¹⁸⁰ was passed and clergymen had the right to marry¹⁸¹. In England, among the citizens, there were still people who strongly believed that Clergy should be celibate. Celibacy was one of the key steps to purifying the body, other than to soul, from earthly needs in order to have the full devotion to God, to perform his commandments on the Earth and to spread his words to laymen. One example was Henry Machyn who was a citizen and merchant, tailor of London and also a rioter against the new religion. He wrote that the “xxvij day of July was the nuw bisshope of Winchester (Robert Ponet) was devorsyd from the bucher wyff with shame enog[h.]”¹⁸²

In 1550, after the Preface to the Ordinal, a new form of ordination and consecration of bishops and priests arrived which had much more open statements than the ones in *The Common Book of Prayer* that was counter to the Catholic doctrines. As the consequence of the Ordinal, some conservative clergymen were displaced from their offices and replaced with radical ones. In 1552, an Act of Uniformity was passed by the English Parliament and introduced the more Protestant version of *The Book of Common Prayer* in which Thomas Cranmer made radical changes. In the new version the most notable change was there was no longer Mass but communion service and the service was to be celebrated at the “Holy Table” instead of the “Altar”. Another notable change was the presence of the Christ in the Eucharist. In the Book of Common Prayer 1552, it was stated as:

And when he delivereth the bread, he shall say. Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith,

¹⁸⁰ Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 279.

¹⁸¹ See, Helen L. Parish, *Clerical Marriage and the English Reformation: Precedent Policy and Practice* (London: Ashgate, 2000)

¹⁸² “Diary: 1551,” in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, ed. J G Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1848), 3-13.

with thanksgiving. And the Minister that delivereth the cup, shall say. Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.¹⁸³

After the publication of the Second Prayer Book in 1552, the Church of England moved one step further towards Protestantism in England. Thomas Cranmer's brilliant way of choosing the verbs and nouns shows the fact that even if communion in both kinds was allowed, the true way of the service was not to have the presence of the Christ during the communion but to remember him in the heart for his sacrifice. Therefore, the significance of the Eucharist was to have the "faith in the heart rather than having the power of sacrament in the mouth".¹⁸⁴ The Cup and the bread were the symbolic objects and laymen should not put their faith on the material entity during the communion but should "remember" the sacrifice of the Christ and honour him. By suggesting the remembrance of the Christ, Cranmer demonstrated his view of the Protestant way of worshipping even though communion was to be received in both kinds.

In 1553, The Forty-Two Articles, short statements of Anglican doctrines, were composed by Archbishop Cranmer. They were purely Protestant and the most enhanced Protestant text. One of its most significant parts is the very first article which introduces the "Faith in the Holy Trinity".¹⁸⁵ The significance of these articles and the very first article is that they instruct laymen the true religion and they implicitly deny transubstantiation and masses, parts of Catholic liturgy and doctrines. In Article 37, it was stated that "*Civilibus Magistratibus*", it was stated that "*Romanus Pontifex nullam habet iurisdictionem in hoc Regno Angliae*".¹⁸⁶ As in the Act of Supremacy

¹⁸³ Thomas Cranmer, "Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552) The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion Church Society - Issues - Doctrine - BCP - 1552 - Introduction", churchsociety.org/issues_new/doctrine/bcp/1552/iss_doctrine_bcp_1552_intro.asp, accessed June 11, 2019.

¹⁸⁴ Ryrie, *The Age of Reformation*, 168.

¹⁸⁵ Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 285.

Latin: Fide in Sacrosanctam Trinitatem

¹⁸⁶ Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 308.

during the reign of Henry VIII, Cranmer, during the reign of Edward VI, stated that the Pope has no authority over England but this time it was not an act of parliament, political, but a religious statement. It is believed that during the reign of Edward VI, Protestantism found its religious path rather than a political path.

4.4 Wills during the Reign of Edward VI, 1549-1553

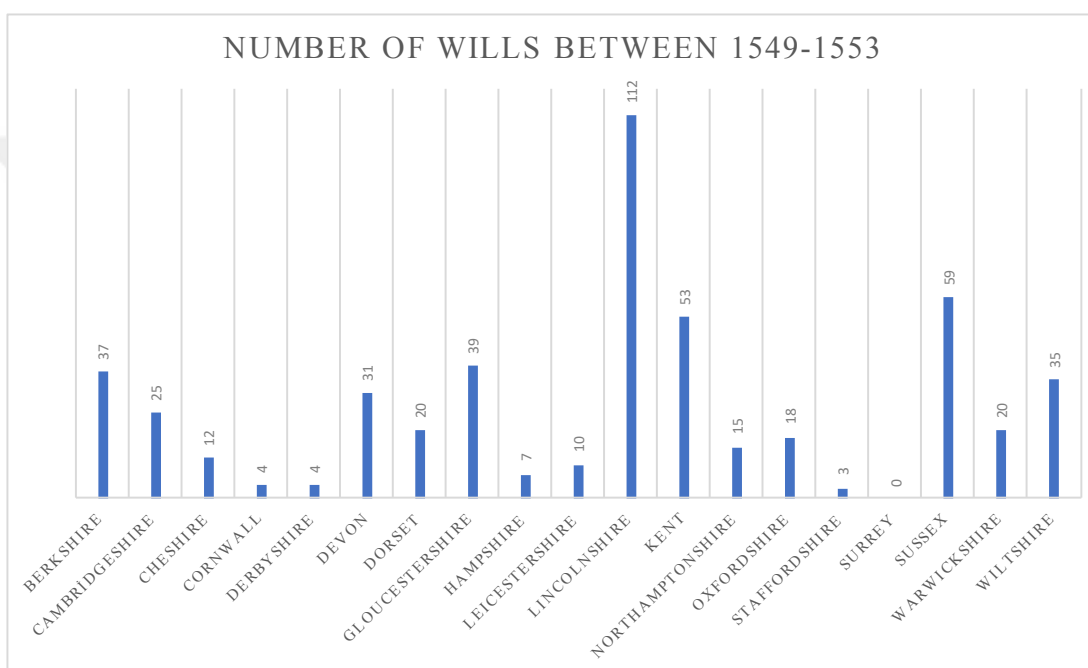


Figure 27 - Number of Wills between 1549 – 1553

These 505 wills were written between 1549 and 1553 during the reign of Edward VI. The selection of wills used in this study are collected from The National Archives PCC wills in series PROB 11. The diagram given below represents their breakdown by county. The number of wills became more over time especially between the years of 1549 and 1553. They are mostly fairly consistent until 1549 except Lincolnshire in which number of wills increases up to 112 from 59 which is the second highest number of wills in the county between 1544 and 1548.

In Cornwall, Derbyshire, Hampshire, and Staffordshire the number of wills between 1549 and 1553 preserved in PROB 11 are less than ten so methodologically, there is no guarantee that the number of wills in those counties is representative in terms of the testamentary activities of testators during these 5 years.

4.5 The General Pattern of Traditional Wills during the Edwardian Reformation

During the reign of Edward VI, there are 505 wills according to The National Archives PROB 11 and the number of wills fluctuates between 1549 and 1553.

Table 5 - An overall data between 1549 – 1553

Counties	No. of Wills	No. of Trad. Wills	% of Trad. Wills
Berkshire	37	3	8,1
Cambridgeshire	25	1	4
Cheshire	12	6	50
Cornwall	4	2	50
Derbyshire	4	1	25
Devon	31	5	16,1
Dorset	20	3	15
Gloucestershire	39	2	5,1
Hampshire	7	2	28,5
Leicestershire	10	1	10
Lincolnshire	112	11	9,82
Kent	53	6	11,3
Northamptonshire	15	2	13,3
Oxfordshire	18	2	11,1
Staffordshire	3	2	66,6
Surrey			
Sussex	59	5	8,47
Warwickshire	20	2	10
Wiltshire	35	4	11,42
Total	505	60	

For all of these 505 wills from Edward VI's reign, between 1549 and 1553, the general pattern, that I call traditional is given below in the chart, for counties and shires in the Archdiocese of Canterbury.

On the diagram given below (figure 28) if there are no number given representing the percentage of traditional wills, it means, there are no wills surviving in those counties between the given years according to The National Archives PROB 11. In cases where there are wills and they are all non-traditional, I will give the number zero such as Surrey in figure 28.

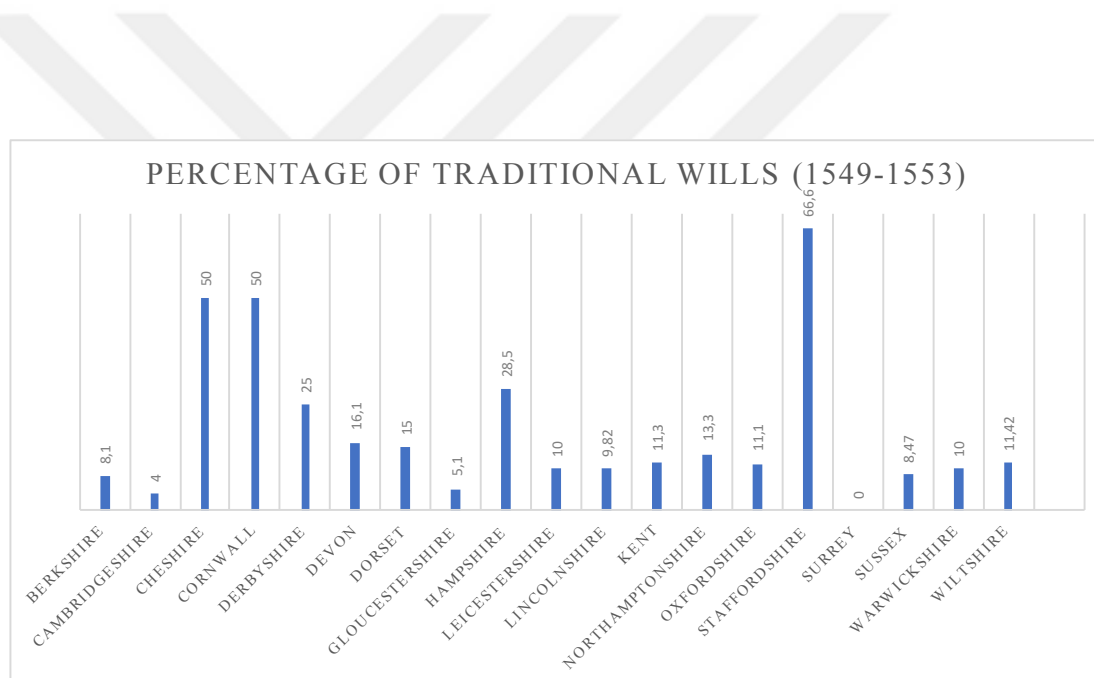


Figure 28 - Percentage of Traditional Wills 1549 - 1553

The wills collected from 18 different counties as it is shown on the chart given above (see part 4.4). Of the 1997 wills collected for this study, from the PCC, only a single will from Surrey was collected for the period 1509 and 1553. Therefore, instead of 19 counties, between the years of 1549 and 1553, the number of counties that are involved to this part of the research is 18.

Geographically, in the south-west of England such as Cornwall Dorset, Devon, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire, there is no similar pattern in terms of the percentage of traditional wills. Cornwall has one of the highest percentages of traditional wills among 18 counties. Dorset, Devon and Wiltshire have almost the same pattern but in Gloucestershire, the percentage is far less with 5.5%.

In the south-east of England and among the home counties such as Hampshire, Berkshire, Kent and Sussex, the pattern of traditional wills is quite different. In the home counties, Berkshire and Sussex, there is a similar pattern and Kent has a quite similar pattern with 11,3% but in Hampshire, the percentage is far more than the home counties with 28.5% of traditional wills. It may be concluded that in the home counties, there is a similar pattern.

In the eastern midlands such as Oxfordshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire, there are quite similar pattern except Cambridgeshire which has the lowest percentage with 4%.

In the western part of the midlands and the north-western part of England such as Cheshire Staffordshire and Derbyshire, the pattern of traditional wills are far more than the other counties in England. Staffordshire's percentage of traditional wills is 66.6 and Cheshire's is 50% but in Derbyshire, the percentage is 25% which may show the fact the patterns are quite different but one of the highest among 18 counties which may indicate that in the western midland and north-western counties, testators followed the traditional pattern more.

4.6 The Edwardian Reformation from the Evidence of Wills in England

As stated above, certain theological and doctrinal changes accelerated after the death of Henry VIII. Religious upheaval effected the stability of both laymen and clergy.

Even among the clergy, there was not only a problem between Catholics and Protestants, but Protestants were divided according to whether they thought that the recent changes especially in 1549 were not enough to Anglicise England. The more England became Reformed and Protestant, the more reactions surfaced. The common belief is that the northern part of England is more conservative than the southern part, which is not the case for Edwardian regime. In many southern counties such as Cornwall, Devon, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Cornwall and Gloucestershire, there were local risings against the religious policy of the Edwardian regime. It is known that these risings were suppressed locally but from the evidence of wills, it is possible to trace the reactions of Catholic people and their conversion. With the given percentages in the chart above, the process of the transition from the Henrician to the Edwardian Reformation and whether they were successful or not may be followed. In this part of the thesis, the southern and northern counties are analysed in five-year periods to demonstrate the reflection of the changing religious beliefs of testators during this period of significant religious upheaval. Firstly, the southern counties are analysed.

In Berkshire, which was one of the most conservative counties in England (see Chapter II) between the years of 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills is 45%. Starting from 1549 to 1553, there is a gradual decline in the percentage of wills and between the abovementioned dates, the percentage of traditional wills is 8,1%. One of the main reasons of this sudden decrease in traditional wills may be the repression and brutal policy of the Edwardian regime.

The defeat of rebellion was also followed by repression.

In Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Berkshire, Lord Grey pursued an identical policy as that followed by Warwick in Norfolk... Grey left a letter for the magistrates of those counties ordering that rebels should be executed in

market towns and “the heddes of every of them in the said Townes severally to be sett upp in the highest place ... for the more terror of the said evell people.”¹⁸⁷

In Cornwall, between the same years, during the reign of Henry VIII, the last percentage of traditional wills is 33.3%. The expected percentage of traditional wills during the reign of Edward VI is less than 33.3% but under the religious policy of Somerset and Northumberland, the percentage increases up to 50% which may show the fact that the effect of the local rising and the policy that the regime followed caused people to convert into Catholicism. The evidence may be followed through the chart.

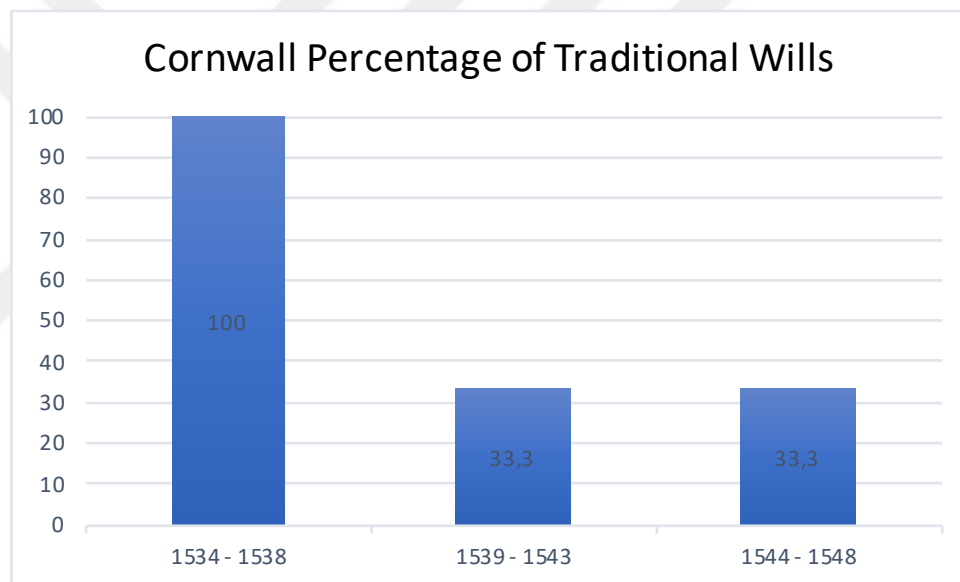


Figure 29 - Cornwall Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

100% percent Catholic Cornwall between the years of 1534 and 1538 decreases to 33.3% between 1539 and 1543. The same percentage may be followed between 1544 and 1548 until the Edwardian regime. 16.7% percent increase in the traditional wills which is not seen in 10 years but during the reign of Edward VI is the evidence of the

¹⁸⁷ Andy Wood, *The 1549 Rebellions and the Making of Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 74.

local reaction to Edwardian Reformation because of the new religious policy. Other than Cornwall, one of the first risings was in Devon.

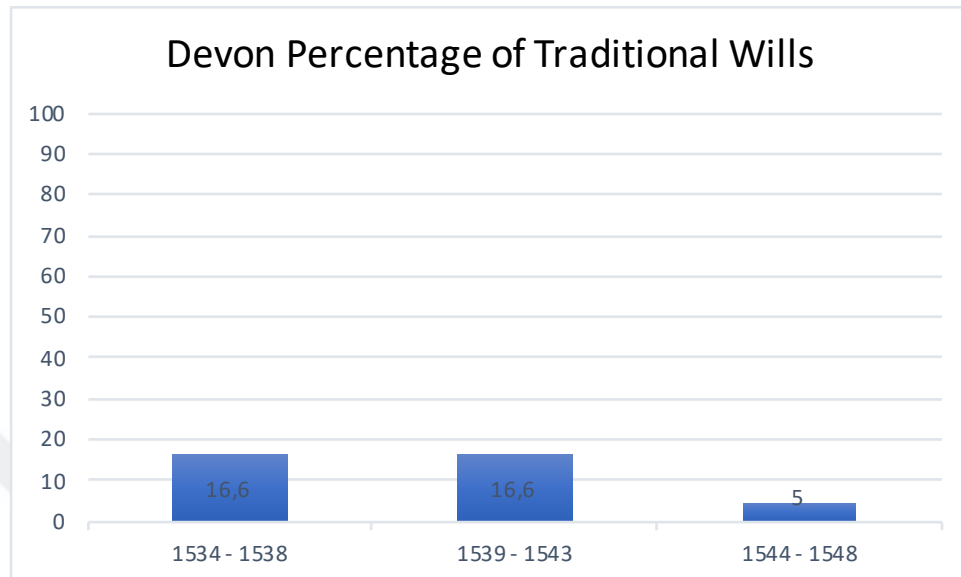


Figure 30 - Devon Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

Between 1534 and 1538, the percentage of the Catholic wills is 16.6% which does not change during the next five years of the reign of Henry VIII but decreases to 5% at the end of his reign. During the reign of Edward, the percentage increases up to 16,1%. The 11.5% difference during the Edwardian regime firstly shows the fact that the rebellion in Cornwall also effected the local people of Devon, secondly the local reaction against to the Book of Common Prayer since the rebellions in 1549 was the cause of the new liturgical and doctrinal changes against to the old religion.

Unlike in Cornwall and Devon, in Dorset, the percentage of traditional wills between 1544 and 1548 is 52%. Geographically, the expected percentage of traditional wills in Dorset is more than 52% but the percentage of traditional wills in the county decreases to 15% which indicates the fact that Dorset kept its silence for the Edwardian

Reformation and accepted the way of the new religion. The evidence may be tracked with the will from Wiltshire in which there was also a local rising.

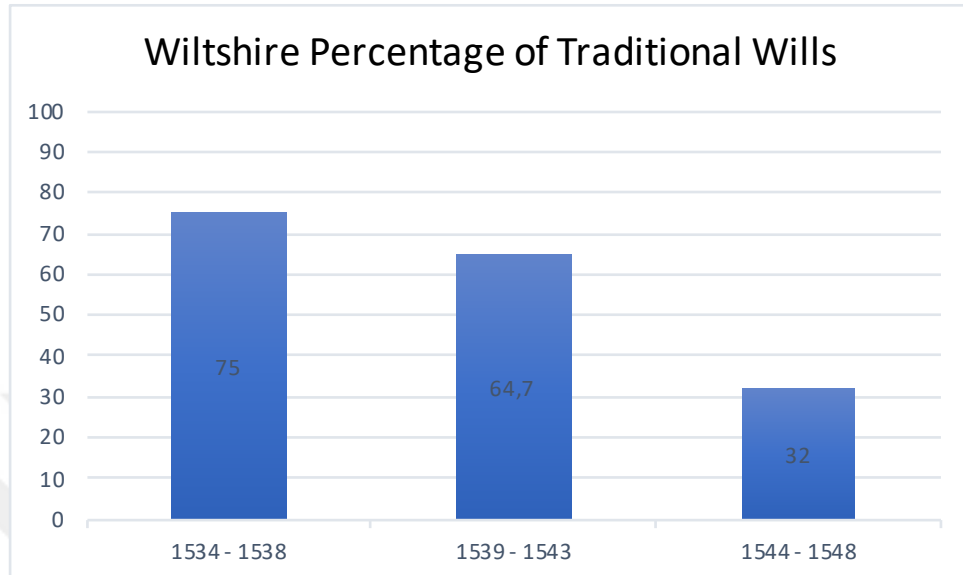


Figure 31 - Wiltshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills is 32% and during the Edwardian regime, the percentage decreases to 11.42%. The difference of the percentage of traditional wills in Wiltshire between the years of 1544-48 and 1549-53 is much less than Dorset. There are two cases that may affect the percentage of traditional wills in both counties. The first one is the number of wills. If the number of wills between two five-year periods may be compared, the mathematical difference may be found and so the effect of the number of wills too. The number of PCC wills between the years of 1544 and 1548 in Dorset is 23 and between the years of 1549 and 1553 is 20. The difference is too few. The number of PCC wills between the years of 1544 and 1548 in Wiltshire is 25 and between the years of 1549 and 1553 is 35. After the comparison of the numbers given above, the difference of the percentage of traditional wills in Wiltshire is supposed to be much lesser than Dorset in percentage

in which there was also a local rising against the new religious policy of the Edwardian regime unlike in Dorset. Even if the difference of the number of wills is only 3, the percentage of the decrease of traditional wills in Dorset is more than Wiltshire. The second case may be the effect of the Edwardian Reformation on local people's personal piety. From the evidence of wills, it may be concluded that Dorset much more smoothly accepted process of the transition of the Reformation and its doctrines and the theology than Wiltshire.

In Hampshire, the percentage of traditional wills between 1544 and 1548 is 50%. At the end of the reign of Henry VIII, the half of the county was still Catholic but after a five-year period, the percentage decreases to 28.5% where almost half of the county became Protestant and more than the half of them rejected the new policy of Edwardian regime.

One of the biggest counties in the southern part of England is Sussex in which there was no rising in 1549 against the Book of Common Prayer or the policy of the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland. As one of the coastal counties in England, Sussex is "expected to be exposed to Lutheranism because of its geographical location and through its ports" like Kent that "provided easy access to the county".¹⁸⁸ In Sussex, the percentage of traditional wills between 1544 and 1548 is 42.3% which suggest the fact that at the end of the reign of Henry VIII, almost half of the Sussex was still Catholic. Under the Edwardian regime, the percentage of traditional wills decreases to 8.42%. In Sussex, rejection of the new theology is less than the other counties. The 33.88% difference in a five-year period indicates the fact that unlike in the other coastal counties in the southern part of England such as Cornwall and Devon, in Sussex, there was no rising against the Book of the Common Prayer or the other

¹⁸⁸ Michael Zell, *Early Modern Kent, 1540-1640* (Kent History Project: 5. Boydell Press/Kent County Council, 2000), 183.

theological changes. The Edwardian Reformation fused in the minds and hearts of the local people. There is one question that could not be answered yet. Even if there were reactions to the Edwardian Reformation and mostly the religious policy of the Duke of Somerset and Northumberland in Berkshire, Cornwall, Devon, Wiltshire, Surrey and Kent, how could Dorset, Hampshire and Sussex that were surrounded by local risings in neighbouring counties, the other counties remained stable during the Edwardian Reformation is still uncanny.

As the seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Kent was faced with the religious authority rather more than any other counties in England. Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage of the traditional wills is 43.9% and between 1549 and 1553, the percentage of Catholic wills decreases to 10% during the reign of Edward VI. The major difference between the Henrician and Edwardian Reformations and the influence of Thomas Cranmer may be followed with the help of the data. The 33.9% difference of declining traditional way demonstrate the success of the Edwardian Reformation compared to the Henrician Reformation and the success of the suppression of the risings in Kent.

In Gloucestershire where there was also a local rising, the percentage of traditional wills between the years of 1544 and 1548 is 23.6%.

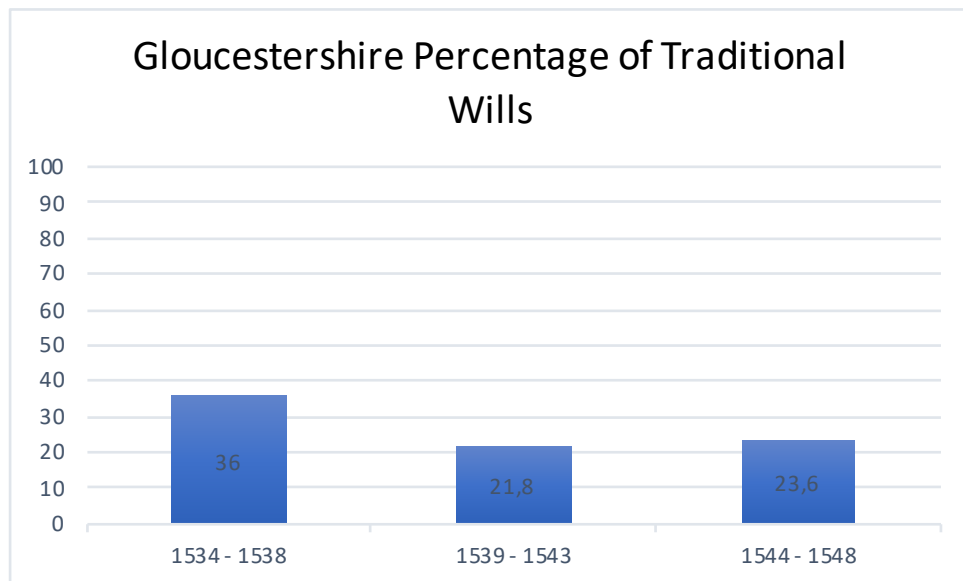


Figure 32 - Gloucestershire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

Even in between the years of 1534 and 1538, during the starting point of the Henrician Reformation, the percentage of traditional wills is lower than some other counties in England. Between 1549 and 1553, the percentage of traditional wills is 5.1%. Even if there was a local rising in Gloucestershire, it was not as successful as in Wiltshire and Berkshire. From the evidence of the wills collected during the Edwardian Reformation, it may be stated that the rising in Gloucestershire was affected by the risings of Wiltshire and Oxfordshire but when the percentage of wills is compared among three counties between 1544 and 1548, it seems that Gloucestershire was already more Protestant than the other two counties and also from the percentage of traditional wills between 1549 and 1553 suggests the fact that 94.9% of the county may have become Protestant at the end of the reign of Edward VI. From the evidence, the rising was only a last hope, an attempt to reverse the process of the Edwardian Reformation in the county which was already forced to follow the new teachings and doctrines of the new religion.

In Oxfordshire, the case is quite different from Gloucestershire where there was another local rising. The percentage of traditional wills between the years of 1544 and 1548 is 12.5% which decreases to 11.1%. The difference of the percentage of traditional wills is rather low which indicates the fact the Edwardian Reformation was not successful in the county when it is compared with the other counties in the southern part of England.

In the more northern parts of England, different cases may be seen from the evidence of wills. For this thesis, the most northern counties from where the PCC wills collected to see the religious upheavals for the Edwardian Reformation are Cheshire, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire. In this part of the thesis, the northern counties are analysed to see the reflection the changing religious beliefs of testators during this period of significant religious upheaval. In Cheshire, the percentage of traditional wills between the years of 1544 and 1548 is zero since there aren't any wills that were written in this five-year period. Therefore, the comparison of the end of the Henrician Reformation and the Edwardian Reformation is impossible to make for that period. Between 1539 and 1543, the percentage of traditional wills in Cheshire is 50%. In the chart given at the beginning of this part, the percentage of traditional wills is 50% between the years of 1549 and 1553. From the evidence of wills, it may be inferred that in a 10-year period, the new religious policy of the Duke of Somerset and Northumberland, and the certain changes in the theology and the suppression of the government under the Edwardian Reformation did not affect Cheshire in which people kept their forefathers' religion and rejected the new one. The Pilgrimage of Grace rebellion in Yorkshire in 1536 and the following Bigod's rebellion in Cumberland and Westmoreland in 1537 (see Chapter III) may be the consequence of keeping the conservative tradition alive for the

following years until the end of the reign of Edward VI in Cheshire. It may be concluded that in Cheshire the Edwardian Reformation failed.

In Derbyshire, the situation is different from Cheshire.

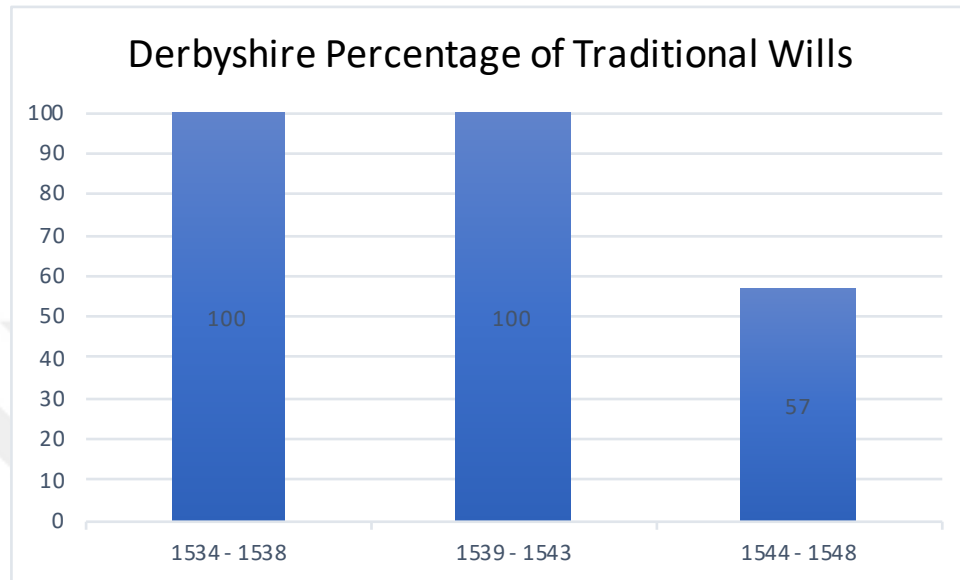


Figure 33 - Derbyshire Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

From the evidence of wills and the chart, it may be inferred that Derbyshire was much more conservative than Cheshire in which laymen were 100% Catholic until 1543. Between the years of 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills is 57 which indicates that more than half of the people were still Catholic at the end of the Henrician Reformation. Between the years of 1549 and 1553, the percentage of traditional wills decreases to 25% which is one of the highest percentages of traditional wills during the reign of Edward VI. In Lincolnshire, there is a gradual decline on the traditional way of bequeathing the soul. Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills is 37.28% which decreases to 9.82 which is the second lowest percentage of Catholics in the most northern part of England for this study. One of the northern - at least among the counties I analyse for my research - counties in England

is Staffordshire and what makes it indispensably significant is the percentage of traditional wills between 1549 and 1553, during the reign of Edward VI. The percentage of traditional wills is 66.6 which is the highest percentage among 18 counties in England during the Edwardian Reformation. Between 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills is 50% which indicates that the half of the county was still Catholic at the end of the reign of Henry VIII and at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. Between the years of 1549 and 1553, instead of decreasing like it happened in the other 17 counties and as it is expected during the time of suppression, the percentage increases 16.6% in total the percentage of Catholics become 66.6% which is unexpectedly high. From the evidence of wills, it may be concluded that in Staffordshire, the Henrician Reformation was successful but the Edwardian Reformation failed to carry out the reformative process. In Warwickshire, the percentage of traditional wills is 30% at the end of the Henrician Reformation which decreases to 10% during the Edwardian Reformation. The notable differences of the percentage of traditional wills in northern counties demonstrates the fact that even if the counties share borders and are very close to one another in terms of their border, for some cases, reactions in one county did not affect the other one, at least for the case of Staffordshire which was surrendered by Protestant counties. In Leicestershire, between 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills is 44.4% which decreases to 10%. The 34.4% difference between two five-year periods shows the success of the Edwardian Reformation in the county in which 90% of the people possibly became Protestant. In Northamptonshire, there is also gradual decline of bequeathing the soul and between the years of 1544 and 1548, the percentage of traditional wills is 41.6% which decreases to 13.3%.

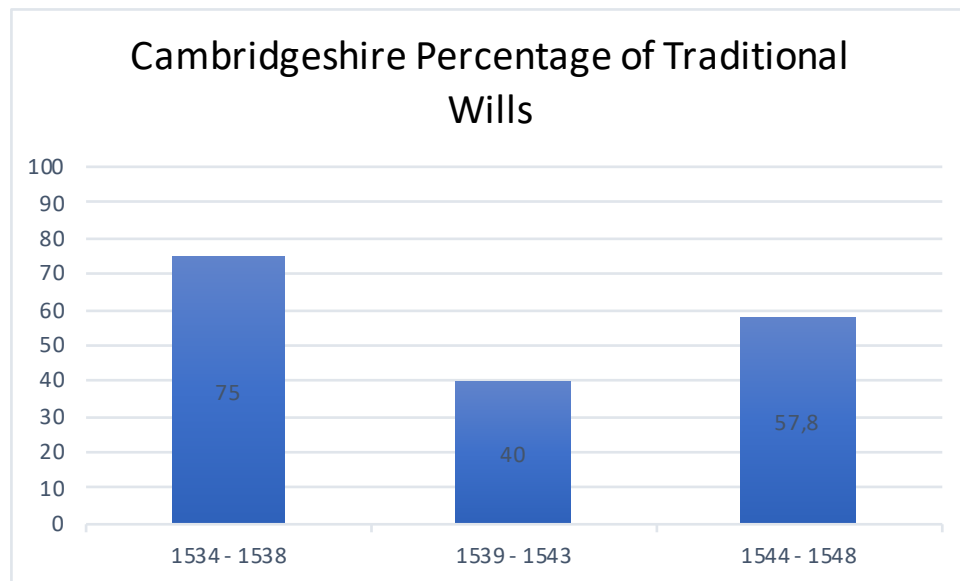


Figure 34 - Cambridgeshire - Percentage of Traditional Wills, 1534 - 1548

In Cambridgeshire, the process of the Reformation and the change in the personal piety is quite appealing. The percentage of traditional wills between the years of 1544 and 1548 is 57.8% which is the highest among 18 counties that are involved in this study. As it is shown in the chart given above, the percentage of traditional wills in the county is 4% which is the lowest rate among 18 counties in England. The fact that the county has both the highest and the lowest percentage of traditional wills indicates that the Henrician Reformation was not as successful as the Edwardian Reformation since there is 53.8% difference between two five-year periods. The suppression of the Edwardian regime and the people's change in belief system may be clearly seen from the evidence of wills in the county.

All examples and explanations mentioned above state that in 17 counties in England, except Staffordshire which has the highest percentage of traditional wills with 66.6%, the religious policies of the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland were successfully carried out under Edward VI. Even if there were local reactions against the Protestant theology and its products such as the liturgy and doctrines, control of

the Catholic Church by commissioners, the Book of Homilies and the idea of Justification by Faith Alone, policy on iconoclasm by destroying shrines, cover of the shrines, pictures, paintings, monuments and the superstition of Catholicism which prevents the true way of worshipping the God, the purgatory and the Masses along with the Dissolution of Chantries which caused local risings in many counties such as Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Cornwall, Devon, Gloucestershire, Lincolnshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Surrey, Wiltshire and Worcestershire, the process of the Edwardian Reformation was carried out widely along with linking England foreign Protestantism. It may be concluded that Protestantism spread through England under the reign of Edward VI and from the evidence of preambles in wills, it may be indicated that England reached the highest percentage of Protestantism between 1549 and 1553.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION: THIS IS THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

All examples and explanations mentioned in chapter 1 may demonstrate that the appearance of the European Reformation with Martin Luther spread over the world and influenced many theologians and scholars. In addition, Lollardy and questioning of the Papal authority in England affected Englishmen in the long-term. From the evidence of preambles in 1997 wills, collected from The National Archives, PCC, PROB 11, it may be argued that the influence of Lollardy did exist during the first years of the reign of Henry VIII. The percentage of traditional wills was not 100% which may show that Protestantism did exist in the first quarter of the 16th century but the percentage of non-traditional wills was not very high compared with the traditional ones (see Appendix II).

After the exposure to the European Reformation which began to influence Henry VIII and effected the overall religious piety, the percentage of traditional wills began to decrease. Following the Act of Supremacy and other religious policies, the percentage of traditional wills decreased more and more during the following years. Some people obeyed the regime and followed the religion of the crown but some others seem to have refused to follow the new religion and its doctrines but continued to believe in what their forefathers believed. The division into sects led people to question the policies of the Crown and the new practice in religion. Therefore, people rebelled against the royal policies and the new religion. The local and regional attitudes towards the policies and the new religion may be tracked with the help of the preambles of

wills which demonstrates that even though people rebelled against the crown, they submitted or pretended to submit themselves to the new religion in the end (see Appendix II).

Especially after the suppression of the risings in the late 1530s, the percentage of traditional wills decreased in general which may suggest that the attitude of people towards the English Reformation changed as well. During last years of Henry VIII and the first years of the reign of Edward VI, the percentage of traditional wills in some counties were still above 50% which altered quickly in the following years and decreased in percentage.

By the end of the reign of Edward VI, in 19 of the counties of England included in this research (except Cheshire, Cornwall and Staffordshire), people reduced the traditional way of will-writing, in other words Catholicism, which shows the fact that England had become a Protestant county by the end of 1553. Overall, the religion of the gentry and middling classes changed during the English Reformation as reflected in the preambles to wills.

This thesis has focused on the English Reformation as reflected in the preambles to 1997 wills collected from The National Archives, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, PROB 11. Preambles and committal parts are categorised to analyse the changing religious beliefs of the respective testators listed in Appendix V. This study does not cover religious bequests of the testators to track the evidence of religious changes which may also provide and reveal a similar pattern in terms of the percentage of traditional wills during the course of the English Reformation. For this study, I excluded the language and the choice of verbs used in these wills for the committal of the soul that testators used along with acknowledgments of monarchs. In my unpublished conference paper entitled “The Religion of the Region of Kent:

Development of Protestantism from the Evidence of Preambles in Wills from c. 1509 to 1553”, I analysed the language and the choice of verbs and concluded that the use of certain verbs and nouns may suggest an orientation to Catholicism or Protestantism. Furthermore, acknowledgement of monarchs in wills, with enough data, may provide a pattern which may suggest that adding or reducing certain titles from monarchs such as “*By the Grace of God, King of England France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Supreme Head of Church of England and Ireland*” may also provide an orientation to Catholicism or Protestantism.

For further research, in order to clarify the connection between Wycliffe’s movement, Lollardy, and the Reformation in terms of the percentage of traditional wills not being one hundred percent in some counties during the reign of Henry VIII, wills from the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth century may be analysed together to see whether there is a connection between these two movements in terms of personal beliefs and piety of testators. Outer influences on wills cannot be underestimated so in order to, at least, see whether priests influenced the wills of testators. Wills from one particular parish may be collected and analysed to see whether after the change of a vicar the general pattern of wills changes or not.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Chronology of the English Reformation, 1509 – 1553

1501: Prince Arthur marries Katherine of Aragon

1502: Prince Arthur dies

1509: Henry VIII becomes the King of England

1509: Henry VIII marries Katherine of Aragon

1511: Henry, the Duke of Cornwall, was born and dies in 6 weeks

1516: Mary Tudor was born

1517: Martin Luther writes his 95 Theses

1521: Pope Leo X rewarded Henry VIII for his book Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther and earns the title Defender of the Faith.

1525-26: William Tyndale translates the New Testament into English

1529: Thomas Wolsey was removed as Lord Chancellor

1530: Thomas Wolsey dies

1530: William Tyndale translates half of the Old Testament

1531: Act for the Pardon of the Clergy

1532: The Supplication of the Commons

1532: The Reply of the Ordinaries

1532: The Submission of the Clergy

1532: Act for the Conditional Restraint of Annates

1533: Thomas Cranmer was appointed as the Archbishop of Canterbury

1533: Henry VIII marries Anne Boleyn

1533: Act in Restraint of Appeals

1533: Elizabeth Tudor was born

1534: Act for the Submission of the Clergy and Restraint of Appeals

1534: Act Restraining the Payment of Annates and Concerning the Election of Bishops

1534: The Ecclesiastical License Act

1534: The Abjuration of Papal Supremacy by the Clergy

1534: The Act of Supremacy

1534: Oath of Allegiance to Henry VIII and His Successors

1534: The Suffragan Bishops Act

1535: The Coverdale Bible was published in Antwerp

1535: Valor Ecclesiasticus

1536: Statue of Uses

1536: The Wittenberg Articles

1536: The Ten Articles

1536: The First Henrician Injunctions

1536: The Dissolution of the Lesser Monasteries Act

1536: Anne Boleyn is executed

1536: The Pilgrimage of Grace Rebellion

1537: Bishops' Book was published

1537: the Matthew Bible was produced by John Rogers

1537: Bigod's Rebellion

1537: Edward VI was born

1538: The Second Henrician Injunctions

1538: The Thirteen Articles

1539: The Act of the Six Articles

1539: Act for the Dissolution of the Greater Monasteries

1540: Cranmer's Preface to the Great Bible

1540: Thomas Cromwell dies

1547: Henry VIII dies

1547: Edward VI becomes the King of England

1547: The Edwardian Injunctions

1547: The Sacrament Act

1547: The Election of Bishops Act

1549: The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer

1549: The Act of Uniformity

1549: Act for the Abolishing and Putting Away of Diverse Books and Images

1549: The Preface to the Ordinal

1549: The Prayer Book Rebellion

1549: Act to Take Away All Positive Laws against the Marriage of Priests

1552: The Second Book of Common Prayer

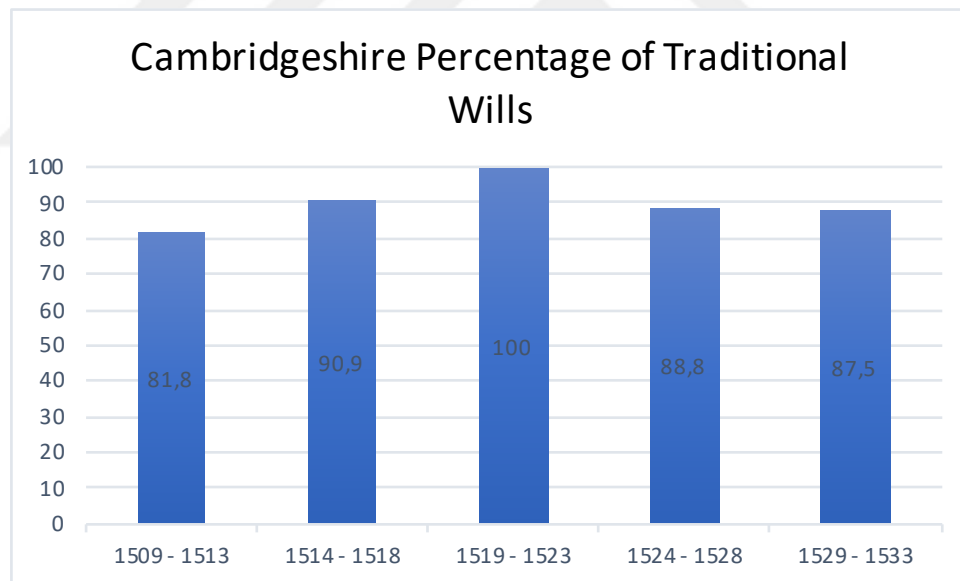
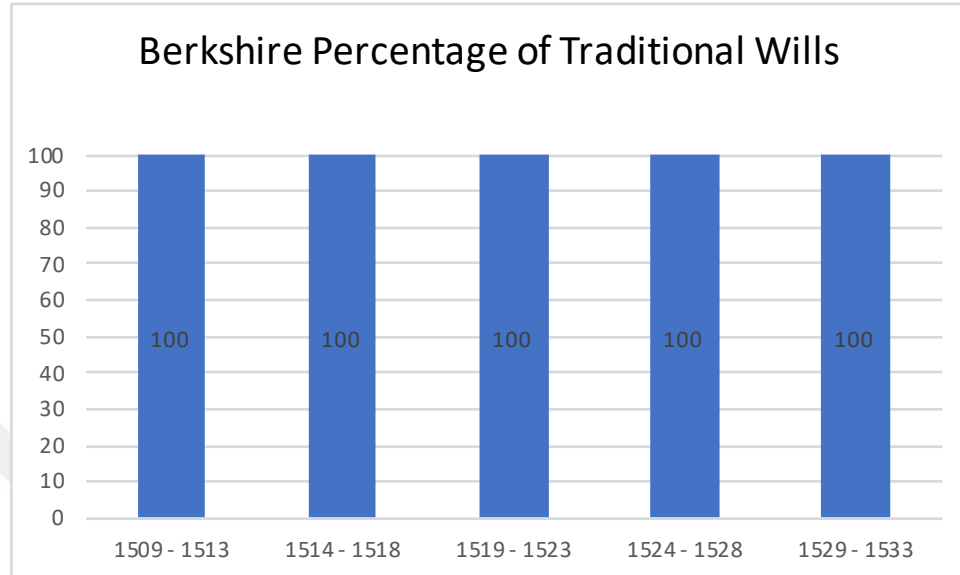
1552: The Act of Uniformity

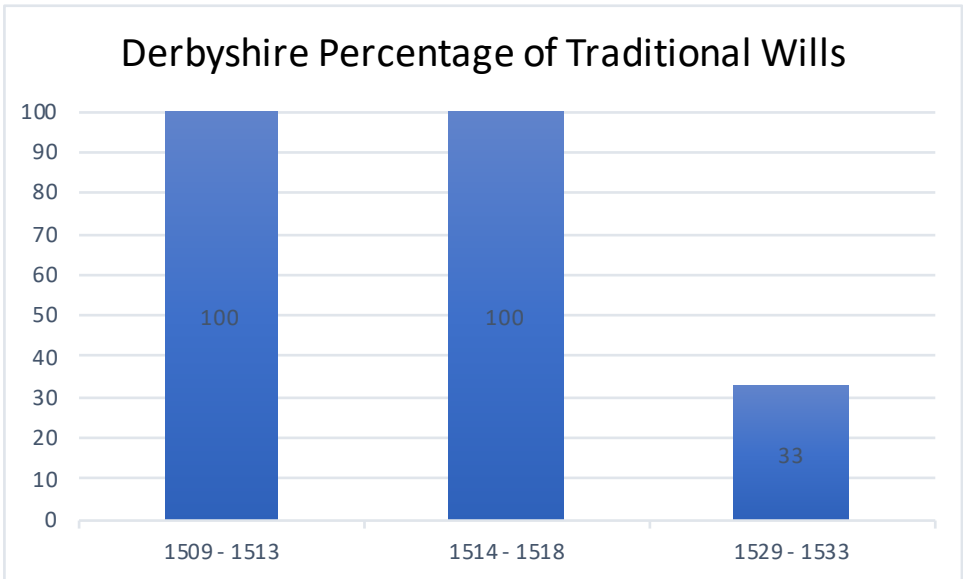
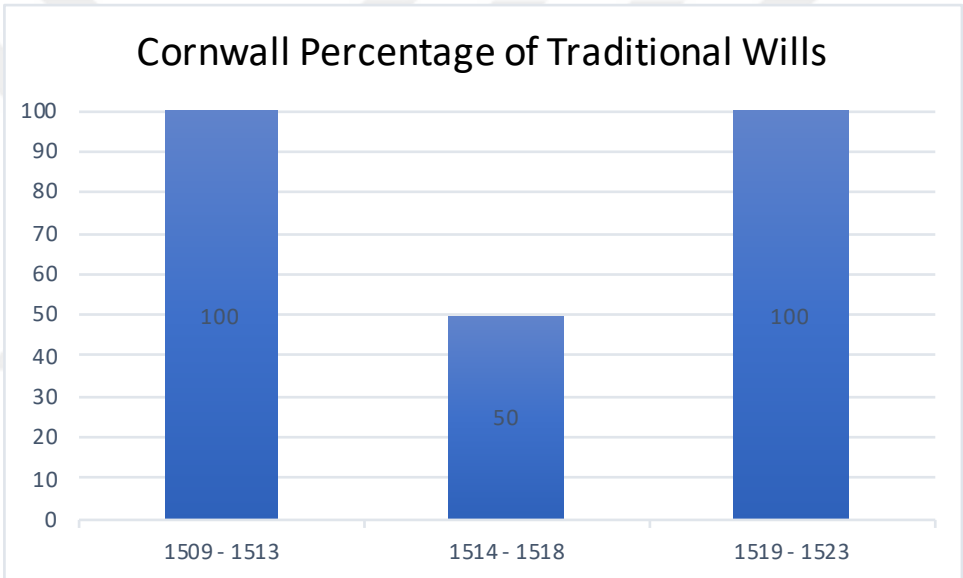
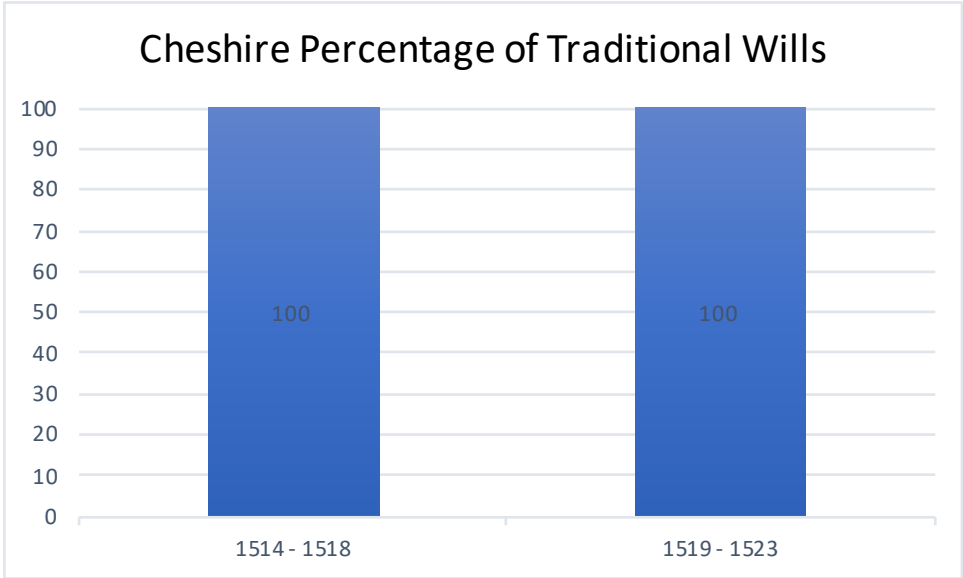
1553: The Forty-Two Articles

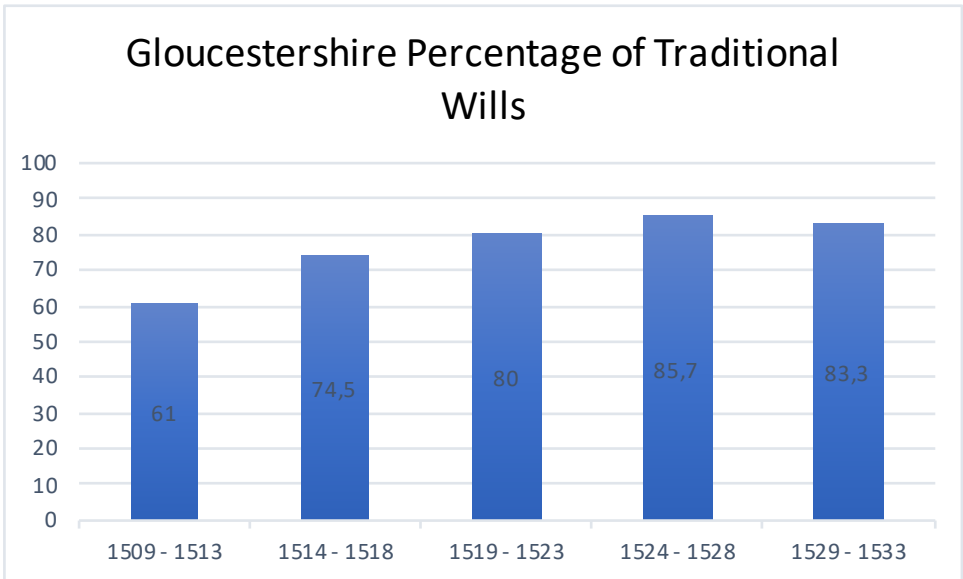
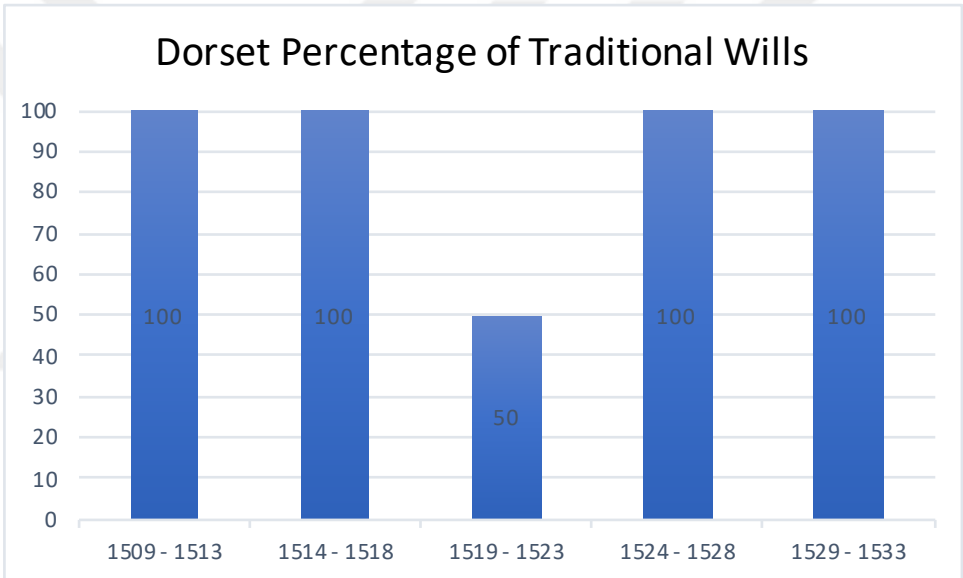
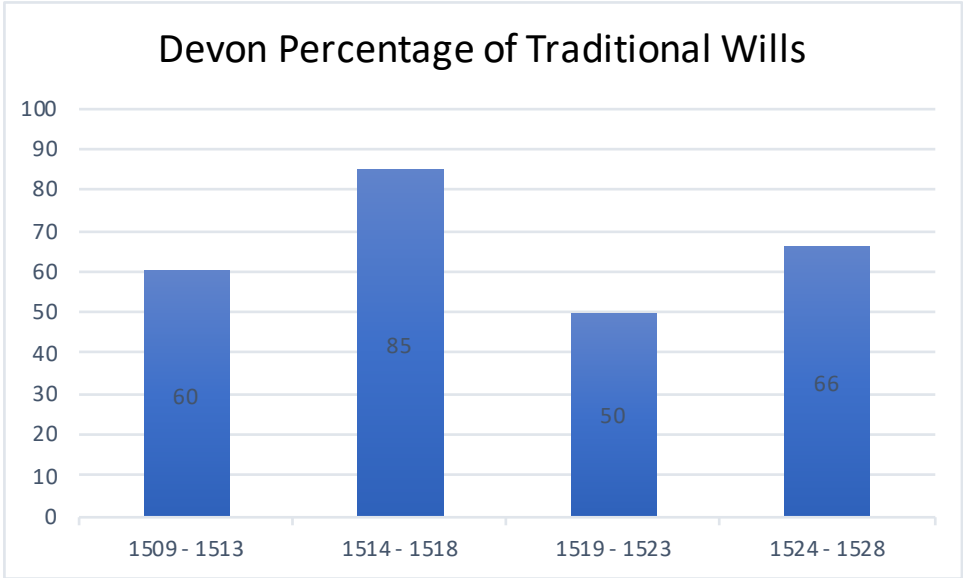
1553: Edward VI dies

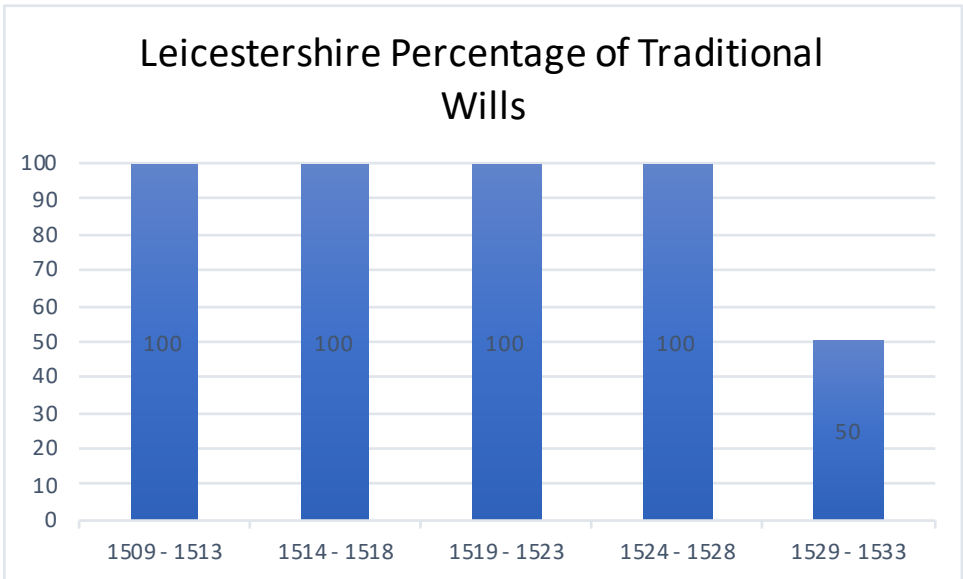
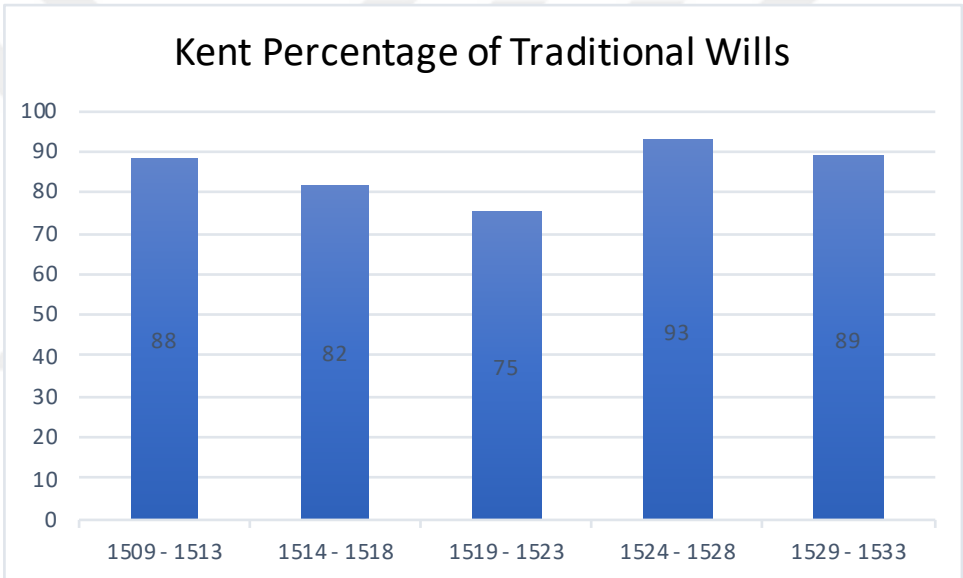
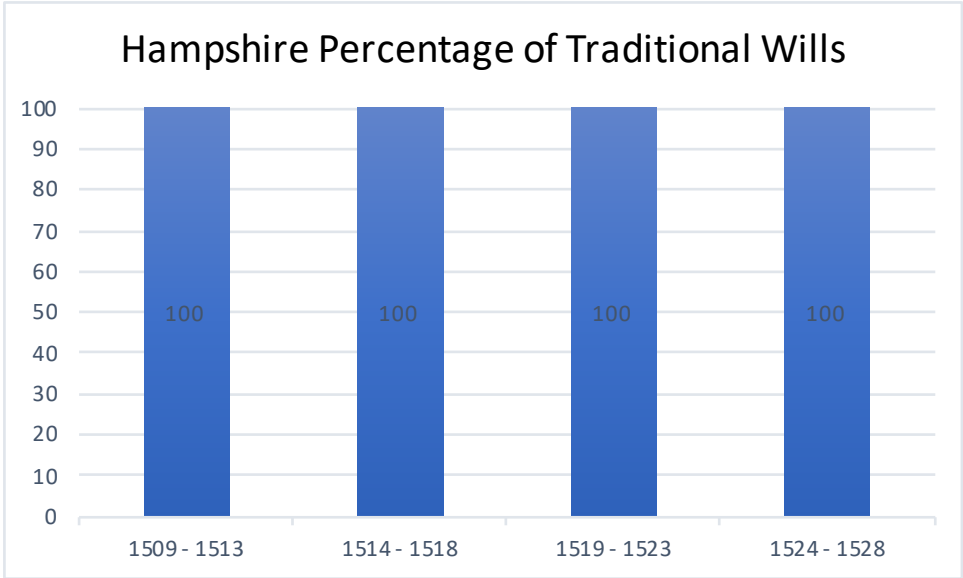
APPENDIX II

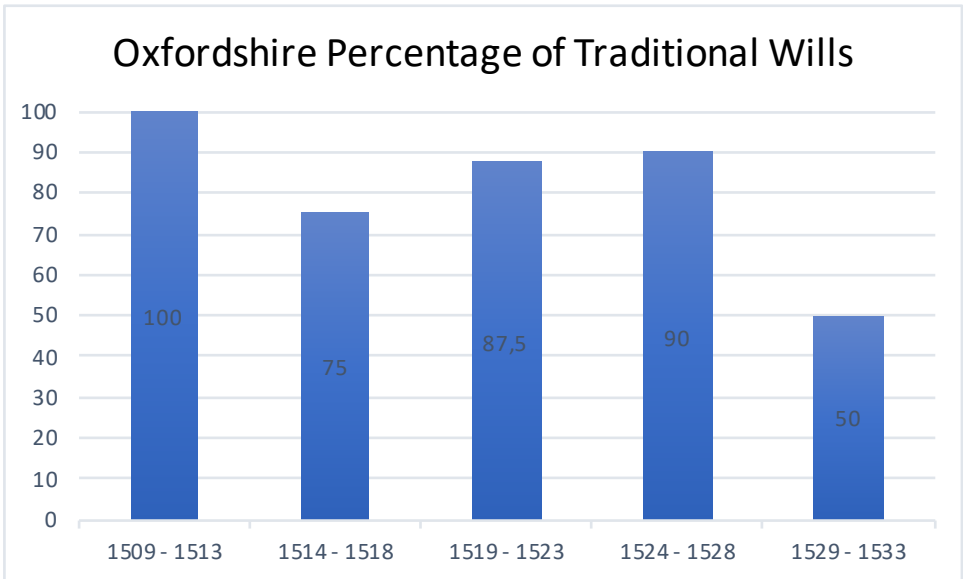
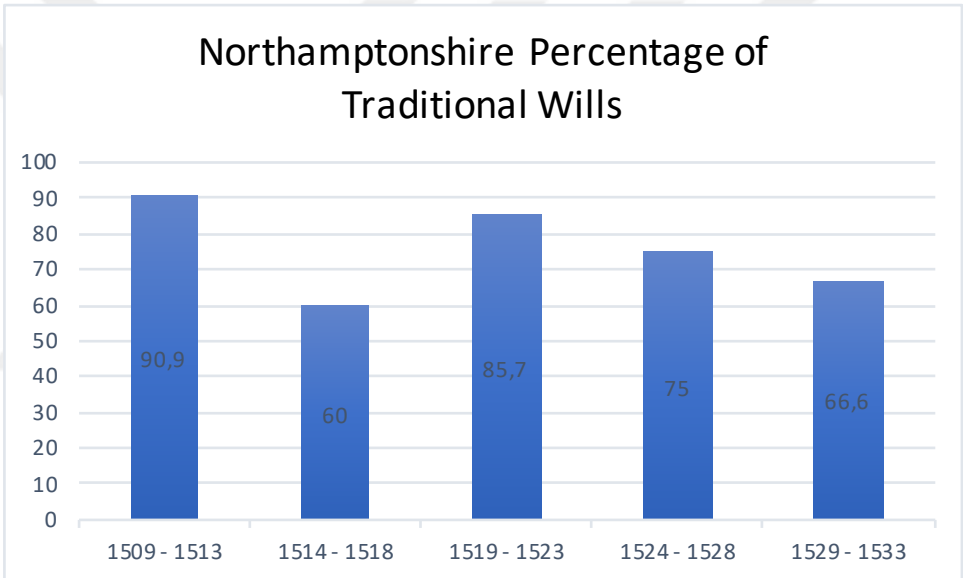
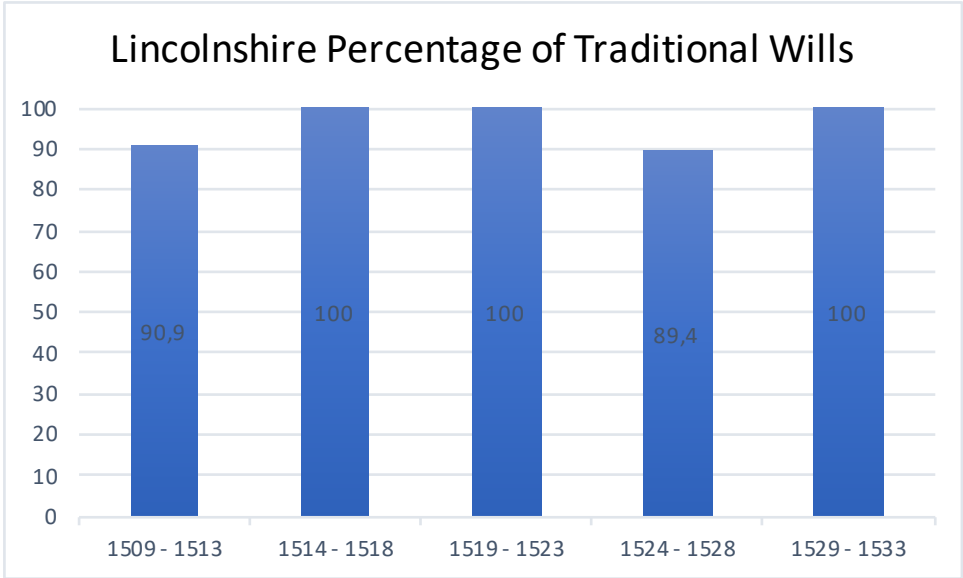
The Percentage of Traditional Wills from the Evidence of Preambles in Wills, 1509-1533



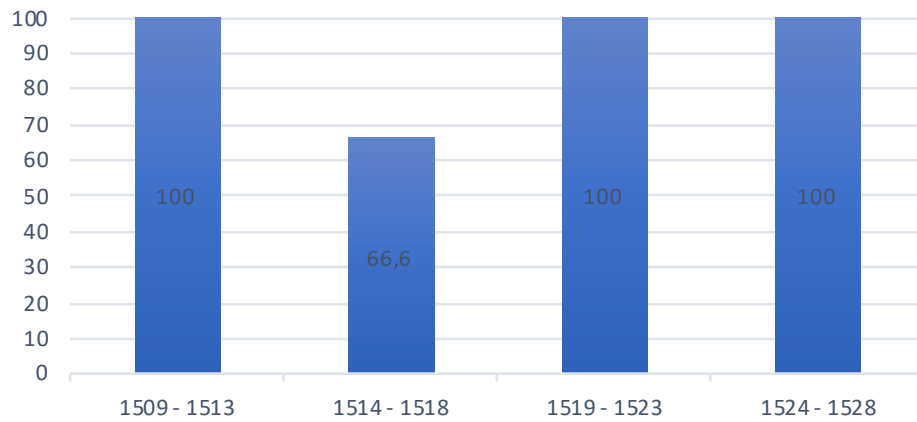




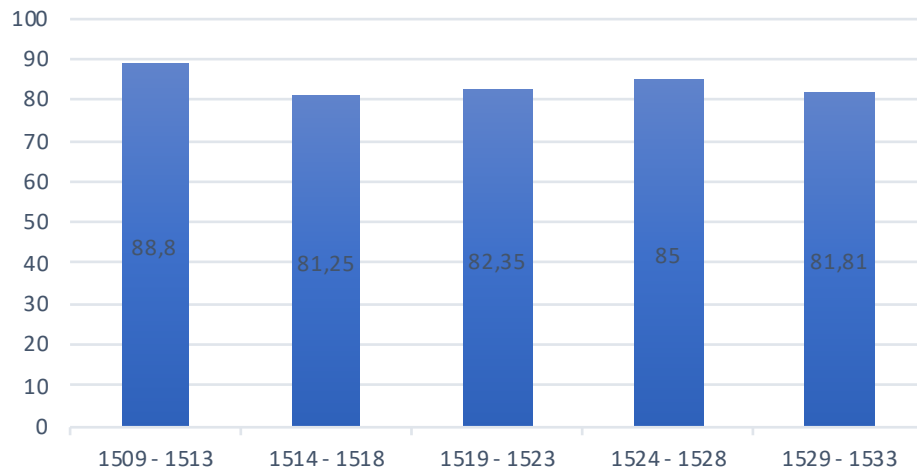




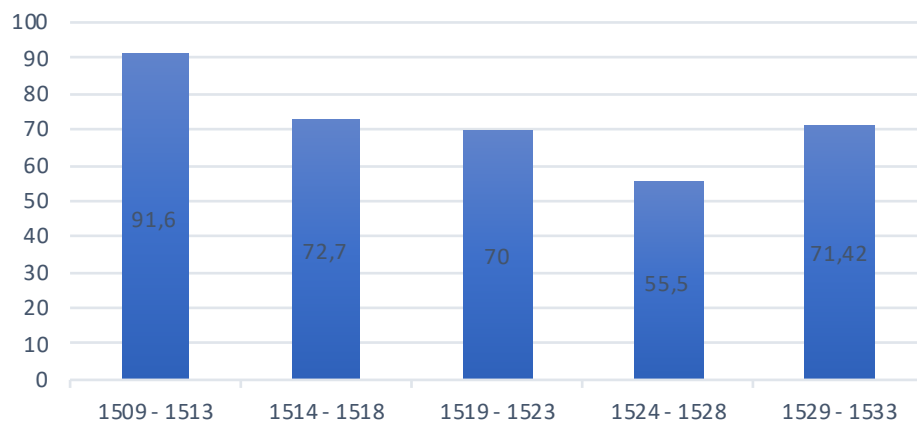
Staffordshire Percentage of Traditional Wills

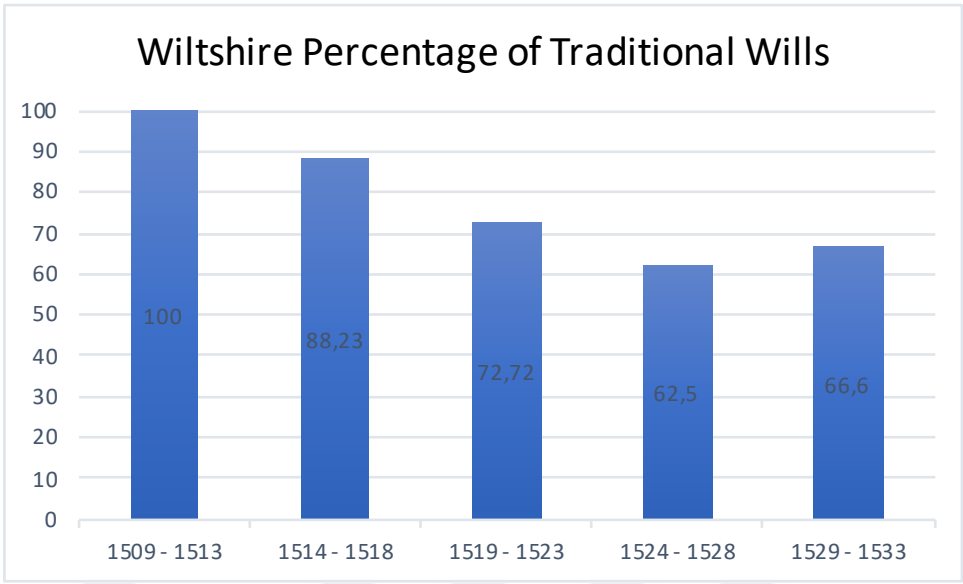


Sussex Percentage of Traditional Wills

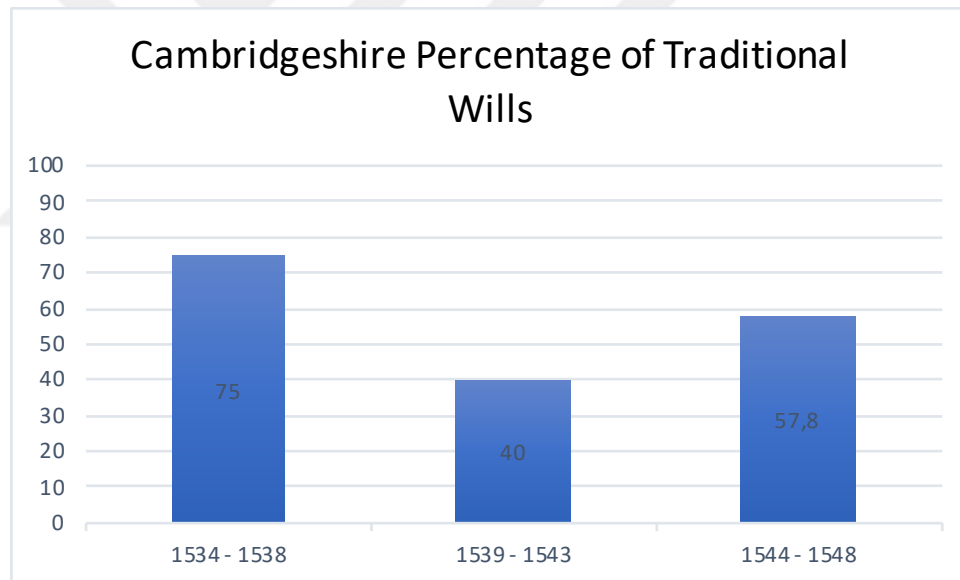
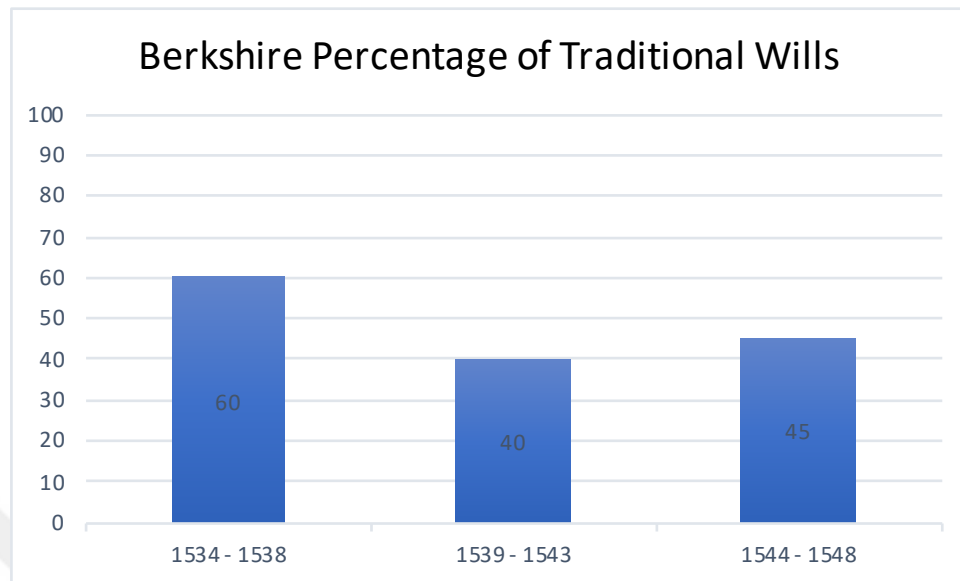


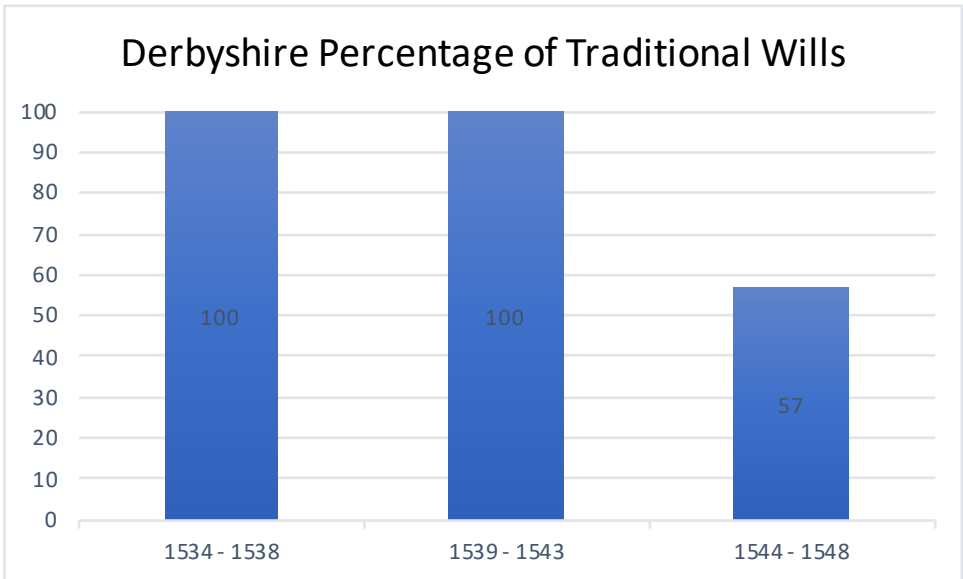
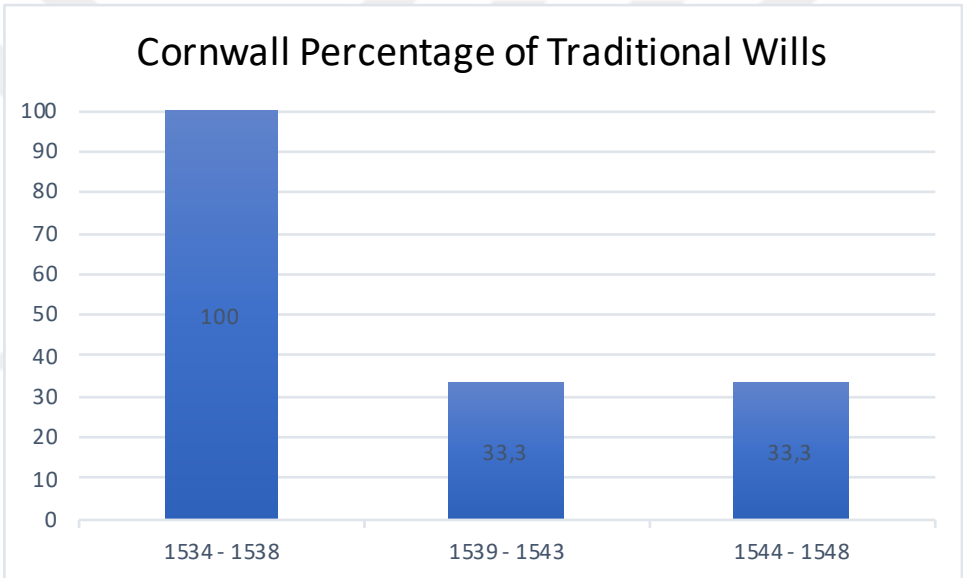
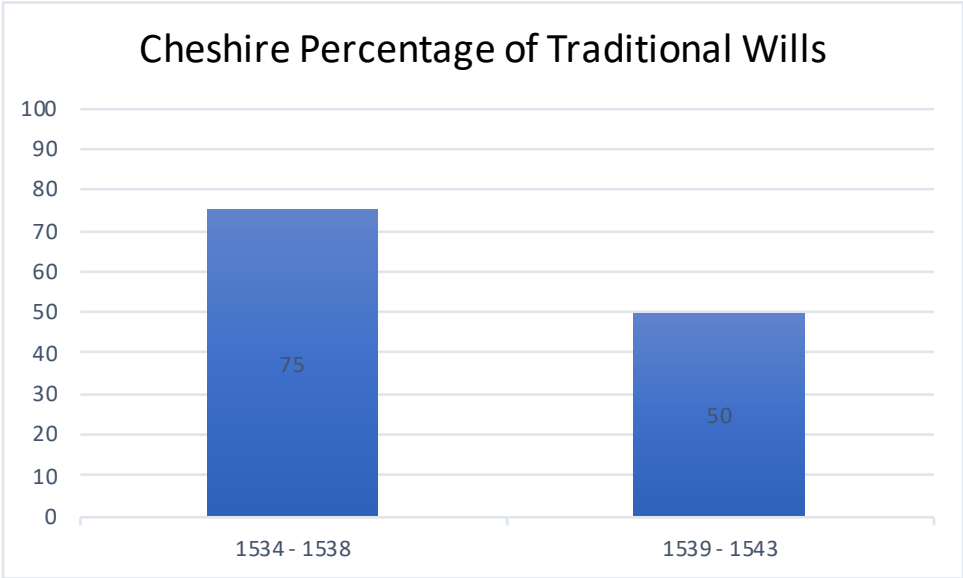
Warwickshire Percentage of Traditional Wills

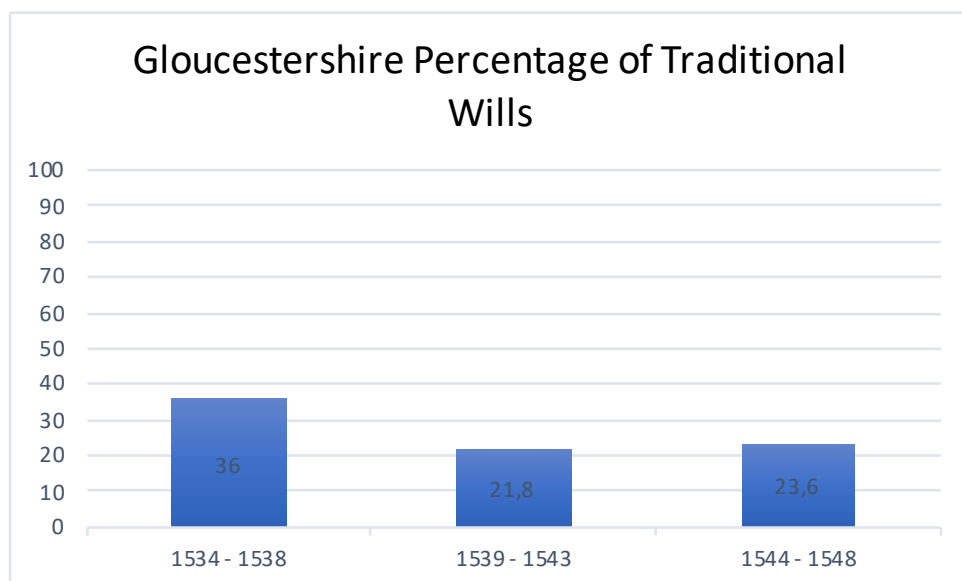
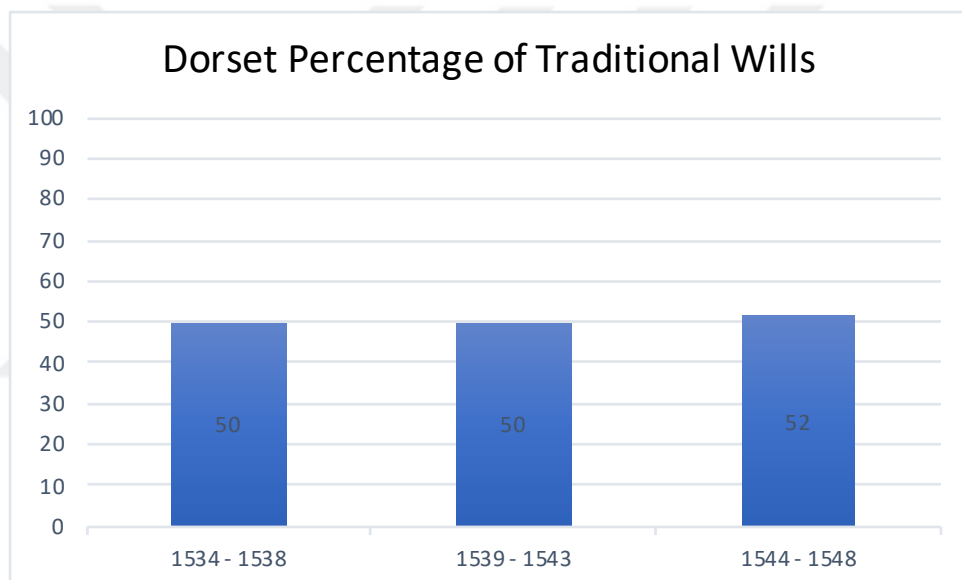
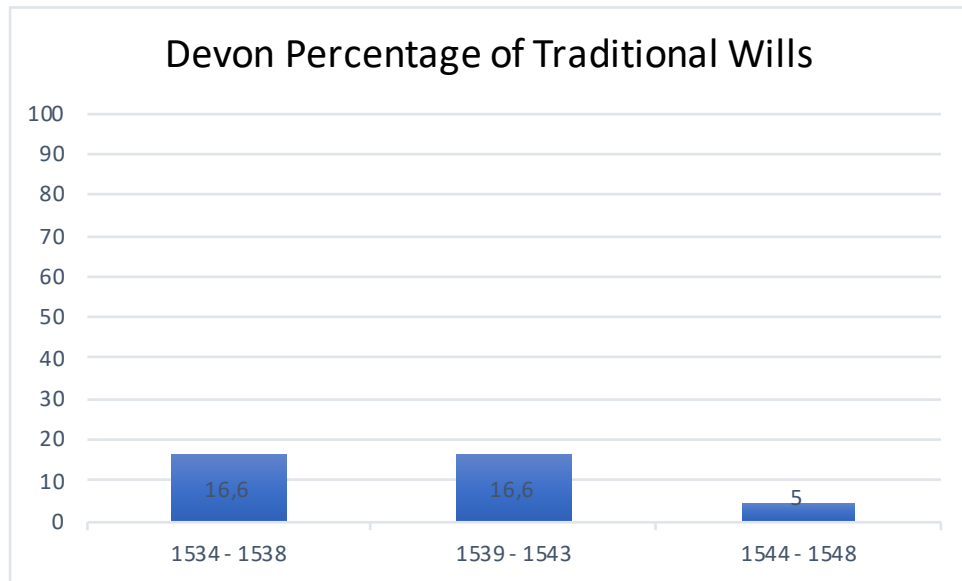


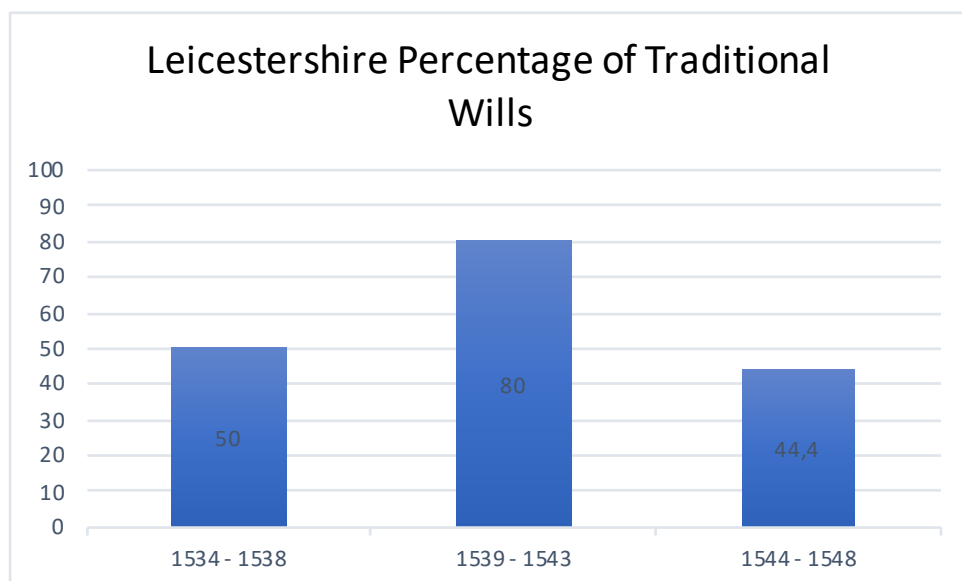
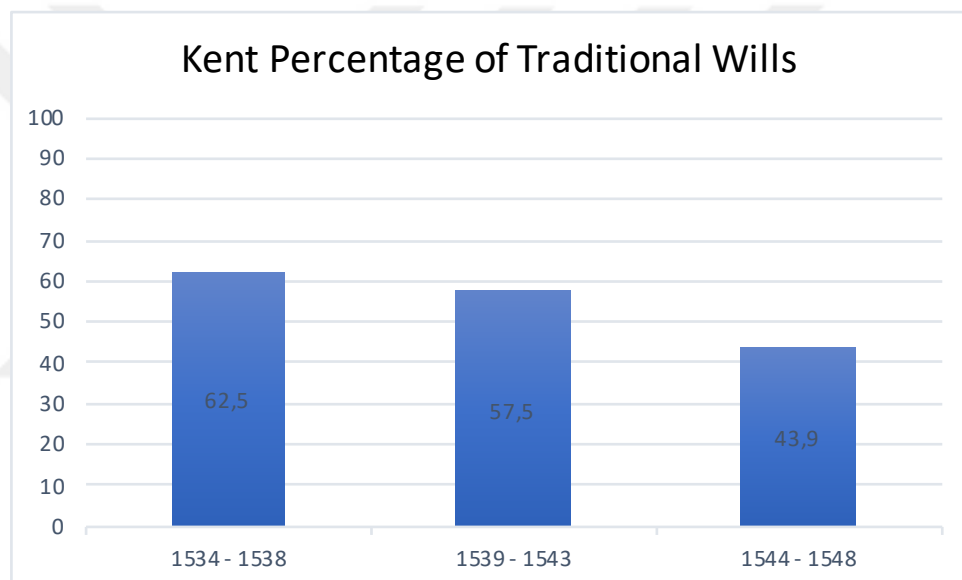
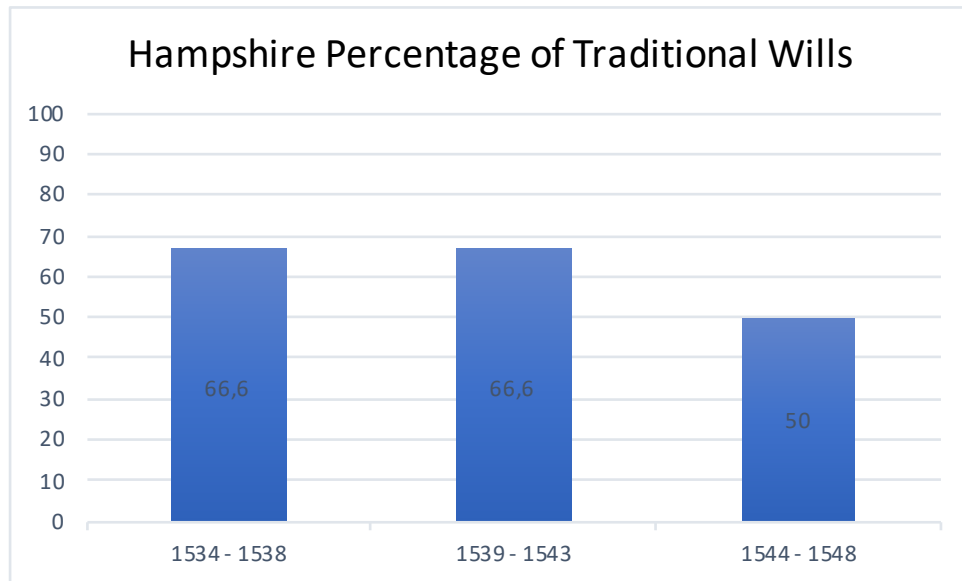


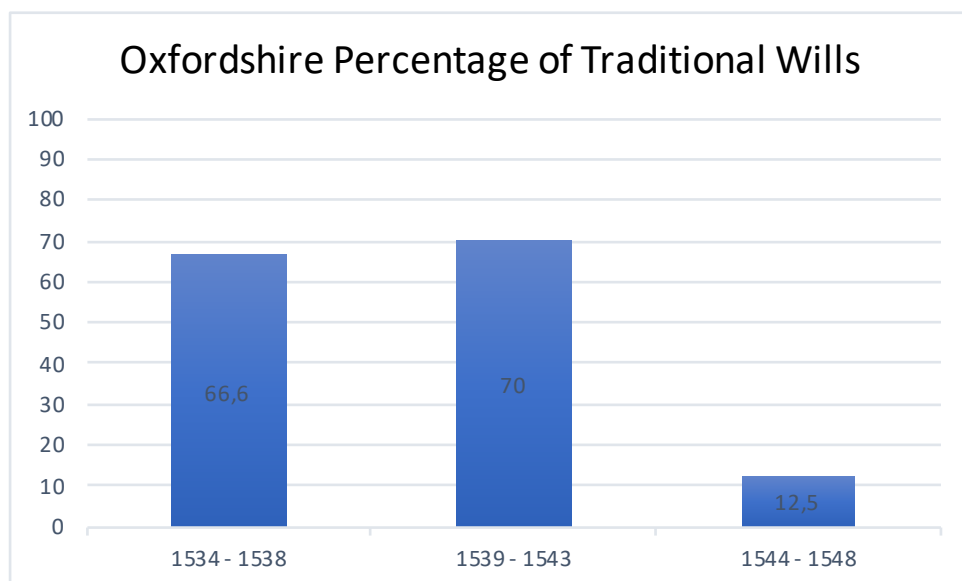
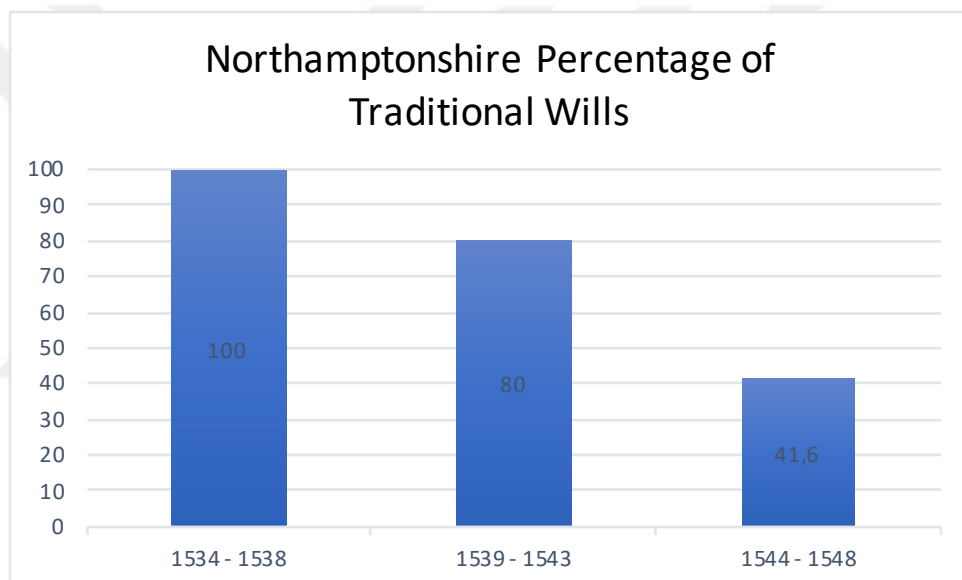
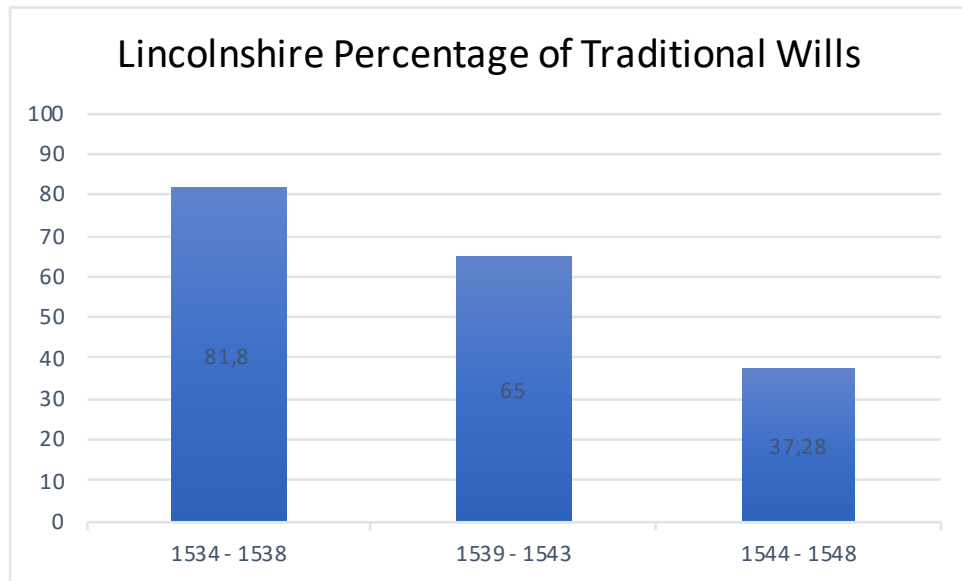
The Percentage of Traditional Wills from the Evidence of Preambles in Wills, 1534-1548

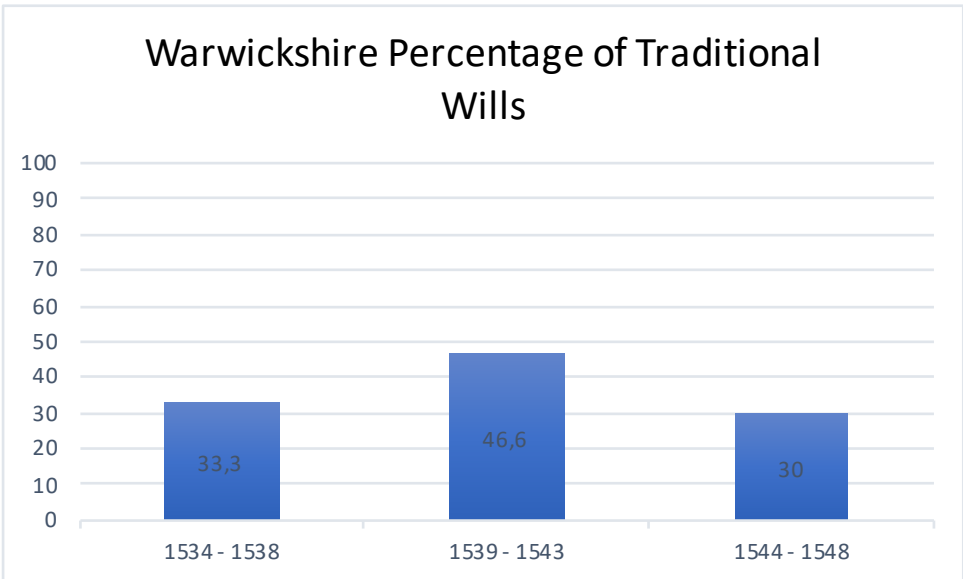
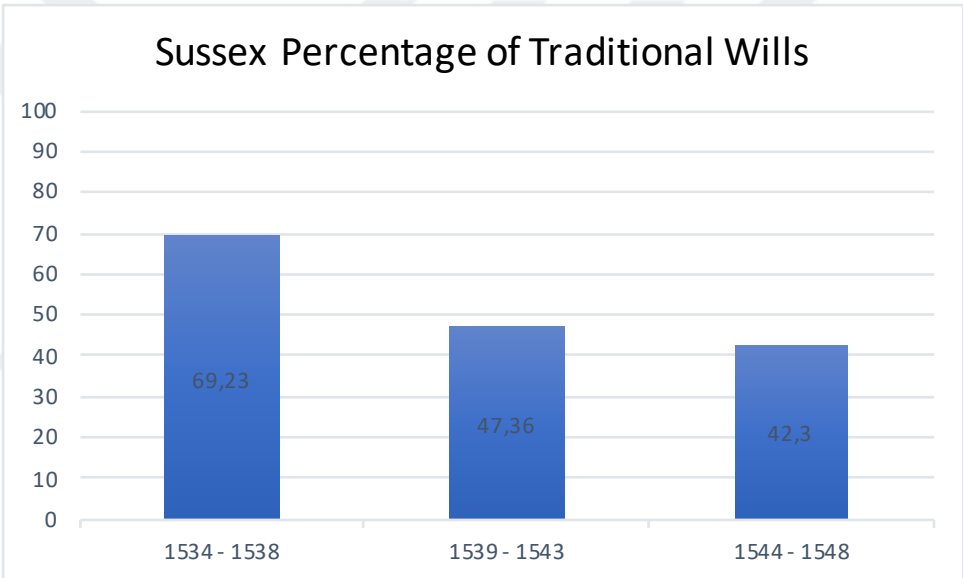
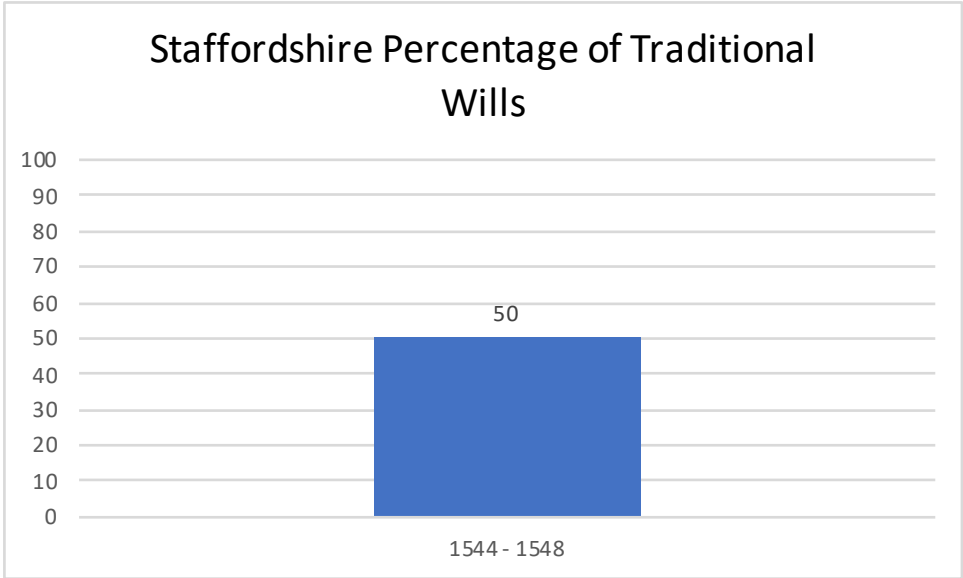


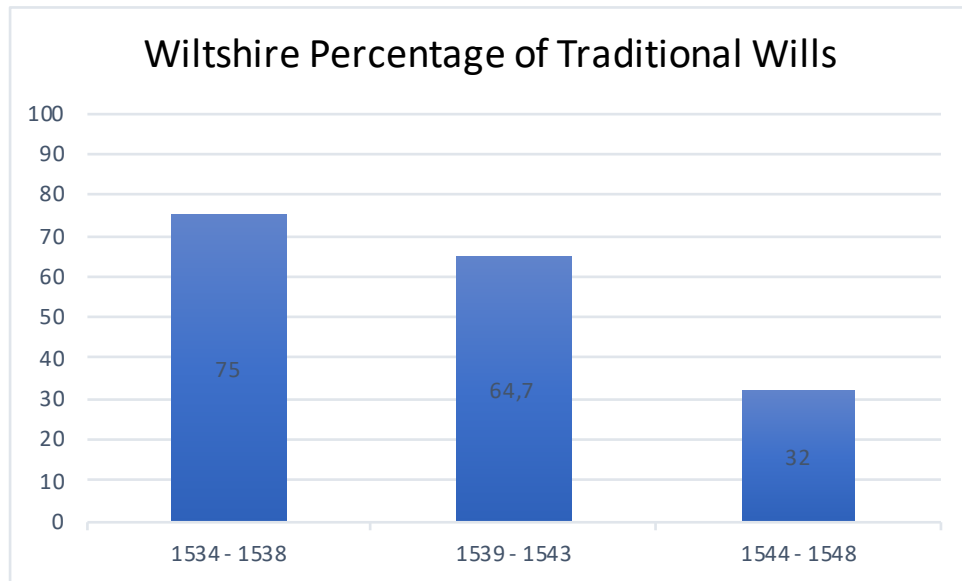




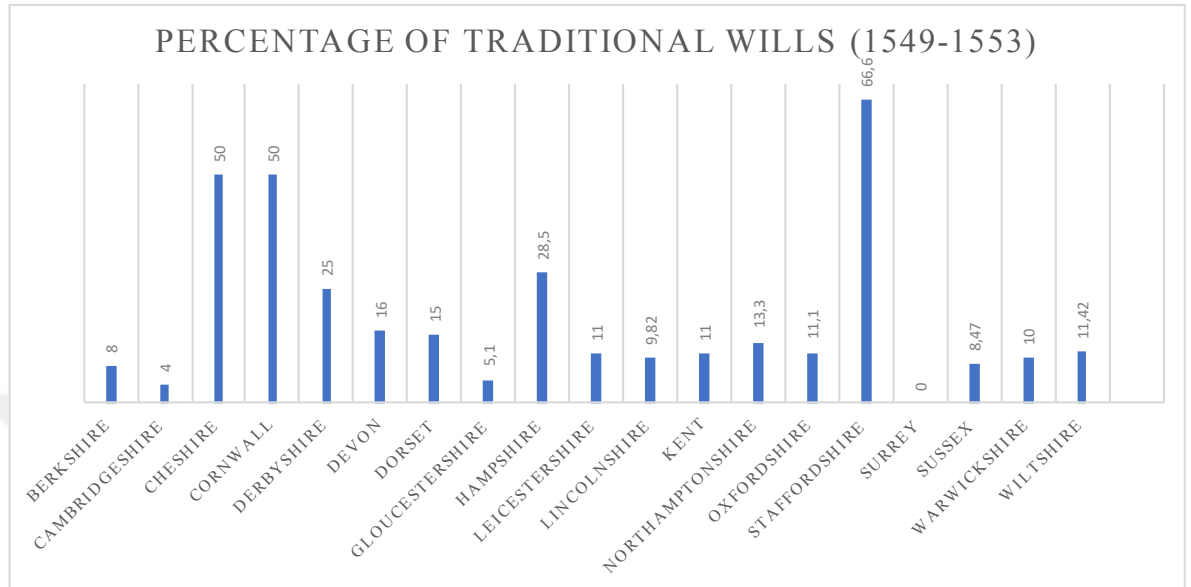








The Percentage of Traditional Wills from the Evidence of Preambles in Wills, 1549-1553



APPENDIX III

A Typical Sixteenth Century Will

The Will of John Kighley, of Newhall, Gent.

[PREABMLE] In the Name of God Amen. [DATING CLAUSE] In the xvijth day of Decembre, 1541, [IDENTIFYING CLAUSE] I, John Kighley, of Newall, gent., beinge of holl mynde and perfecte remembrance and memorie, doth ordan this my testament. [COMMITTAL] First, I bequest my soul unto Almightye God my creator and redeemer, and oure blissed Marie virgyne, and all the sanctes of heaven, and my bodie to be buried within the church yerde of my parish churche of Otteley, of northside, nere myne awncestors, and to have a thrughe stone laide and prepared therfor. [BEQUESTS] Also I bequest one silver spone of the weght of iiij s. to the blissed sacrament, for to be bestowed aboute anorment of the same. Also, I bequeath to Laurence Kighley childer one silver spone, and also to Laurence Kighley, sone of Percyvall Kighley my god sone, one silver spone; to Richarde Kighley one silver spone; also to the saide Laurence Kighley, thelder, my best gowne; also to the saide Richarde Kighley one dublett of Russell worsted; also to Thomas Mawde, son of William Mawde, one say dublett; also to Elisabeth Dyneley my best worsted hate; also to Richarde Ynglande one paire of sheites, one paire of blankettes, a coverlet and a bolster; also to Georgie Englande his sone one fresed coote and a ledder dublett; to Margaret Vevers one little posnett and one sheit. [EXECUTORS] Also I make Thomas Kighley, esquire, my nephue, my executor of this my last will, whome I give

all my goodes afor not bequested, to bringe me forth and to mynistre for me at his
discresson, for the helthe of my soul. **[THE NAME OF WITNESSES]** Thes beinge
witness, Richarde Lyndley, of Otteley, gent., James Cawdray and Richarde Michill, of
Newall. **[PROTABE CLAUSE]** (Proved 24 Feb. 1542-3.)¹⁸⁹



¹⁸⁹ James Raine and John William Clay, eds. *Testamenta Eboracensia A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 6 (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1902), 144.

APPENDIX IV

Map of England and Wales under the Tudors¹⁹⁰



¹⁹⁰ England and Wales under the Tudors (1485-1603), accessed July 05, 2019.
http://www.emersonkent.com/map_archive/england_wales_1485.htm.

APPENDIX V

List of 1997 Wills from The Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1509 – 1553

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1509.04.18	COORTE	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.05.10	GLOUCESTER	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.09.08	BENET	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1509.09.24	GAYNES	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.04.05	TORNE	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1510.08.11	FETIPLACE	RICHARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1510.08.20	SOPER	JOHANNIS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1511.12.10	MICHELSTON	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.02.25	NEWBURY	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.12.26	WROTTESELEY	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.05.22	PARETT	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.06.08	LAYNHAM	HENRY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1514.10.03	NICHOLAS	NICHOLAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1515.08.04	WRIGHT	RICHARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.03.01	WELLYSBURN	HUMFREY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.10.01	MELVYN	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1517.04.17	ADENE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1517.06.28	POWNSAR	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517.11.26	TODDE	ALICE	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.07.20	LAMBE	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.05.02	BRYLL	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1520.02.18	JUSTYN	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.02.09	GREY	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.09.04	BRITO	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1522	CLERK	RICHARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1522.08.28	BENETT	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.04.13	BRYLL	JANE	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.05.08	HARTCOURTE	MARGERY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.06.05	CARTER	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524	ALDWORTH	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.06.30	HEYWARD	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.08.16	FETYPLACE	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525.03.10	HETHER	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1525.09.22	CARPENTER	HENRY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/22

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1525.05.27	WALTER	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.01.05	KOBILWHIGHT	JAMES	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.01.20	ROKYS	HENRY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.03.08	EVERERD	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.10.18	BENETT	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1528.11.08	YONGE	WYLLYAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1528.12.24	FETEPLACE	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.11.24	GONELD	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1533.01.23	CHESTER	EDITH	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1533.08.22	UNTON	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1533.10.04	ADDELET	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1534.11.15	BEDOW	RICHARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.04.10	EVERARD	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1535.05.05	KNYGHY	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1535.06.01	HALL	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1535.12.04	HARCOURT	FRANCES	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1535.12.14	JUSTICE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.04.21	VINTON	ELIZABETH	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.10.21	DALE	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1537.02.25	RUSSELL	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.04.29	DOWNEY	EDWARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1537.05.19	PONTREY	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.08.20	LAMBOLD	JEROMY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.10.12	GORDON	KATHERINE	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.10.27	BARTON	WALTER	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.11.27	YATE	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1538.05.07	STONE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.07.18	WHYTTON	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.07.20	WARDE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.12.20	AMAY	RICHARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.07.18	WHITTON	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/42B
1539.04.25	WAYTE	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1539.08.30	WHITE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1539.11.28	ANDELETT	KATERYN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.02.23	LUPTON	ROGER	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.03.31	FETEPLACE	EDMUND	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1518.07.20	BARKER	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1540.06.12	SYMONS	ANDREW	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.08.20	WATTS	MARGARET	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.11.26	RATHUM	ROWLAND	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/28

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1540.02.02	FORDEHAM	STEPHAN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.09.25	EVERYTT	MARY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1541.07.10	MARTYN	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.02.07	CAWET	STEPHAN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.21.01	YOUNG	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.12.08	ALYE	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.01.14	CHAMBERLAYN	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.07.30	KNIGHT	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1543.01.05	BRINKLOW	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1543.11.17	HARCOURT	AGNES	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1543.05.23	YATE	JAMES	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.05.04	HOLDEN	HENRY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.12.06	EDRITGE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.08.28	SCROPE	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.06.12	TONK	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.09.15	WALLS	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.08.01	ALDWORTH	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.09.07	ALDWORTH	ALICE	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.08.29	BRINKLOW	ISABELL	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.03.01	YATE	RICHARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.02.08	KEBLEWHYTE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.09.11	TURNER	RICHARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.05.19	JENYVER	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.10.02	OKHAM	NICHOLAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.12.14	UNTON	ALEXANDER	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.11.02	GIBBES	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.07.27	POLLINGTON	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1548.06.26	TROPNETT	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.09.04	BURKEN	RICHARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.01.13	APPRICE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548	BUTLER	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1549.08.29	LAWRENCE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.08.07	BUKERIDGE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.08.09	HUNBTLEY	HENRY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.08.18	BARKER	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1549.12.04	TRIMFLYTT	ALICE	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.08.22	FITZAPLACE	EDWARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.11.21	DORMER	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.04.16	BOWKYSBALL	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.07.02	KNIGHT	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1550.08.10	CLYDESDALE	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.08.22	REYNALDES	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.08.20	CESLAKE	ALEXANDER	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.07.20	WILMOTE	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1550.07.31	OKHAM	ALICE	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.09.12	SMART	MORRYS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
19.08.1550	MORE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.09.22	BRODERWICK	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.03.10	STANBANK	EDWARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.05.01	FURMAN	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/39
1551.09.02	HOLCOTT	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.05.01	FARMAN	ROBERT	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.15	BUCKLAND	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.14	BUTCHER	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/51
1551.08.04	BARKER	ANTHONY	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1551.08.25	BARKER	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.06.10	BLACK	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1552.10.01	WELDON	EDWARD	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1552.05.09	SANDES	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1552.09.02	KIRTON	WYLLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.06.10	BLAKE	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.07.12	HEYNES	SIMON	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1553.08.28	DIGGLE	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1553.02.13	PERSON	JOHN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1553.06.09	BYSELEY	THOMAS	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.08.03	WARE	STEPHEN	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.10.14	MOLLINS	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.07.12	KEATE	WILLIAM	BERKSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1509.06.12	PRATTE	RICHARD	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.11.17	BUKWORTH	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1509.11.17	BUCKWORTH	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.10.17	FERRO	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/16
1511.04.18	WILKINS	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.02.16	SHOTBOLT	GEORGE	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.04.01	DANIEL	SIMON	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.04.02	CELEON	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.10.08	COOLENES	ROBERT	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.01.10	ROBSON	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.11.10	SEMAN	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/18
1514.03.20	STANLEY	JAMES	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/18

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1514.03.15	MORE	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/18
1515	FOLKS	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/18
1515.02.03	STOWKYN	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/18
1515.03.04	ERLICHE	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.01.22	AUNSELL	HANKYN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.05.05	FYNDERN	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/18
1517.08.23	HASELDEY	FRANCIS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/20
1517.07.17	COTTON	ROBERT	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/18
1517.12.24	SMYTH	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.03.20	PEPIS	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/19
1520	CHAMBLEYN	RALPH	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1520.01.12	NOYLE	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.04.08	PEPES	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.09.22	RANKYN	HUGH	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.12.06	BLADWILL	LODOVICI	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.07.28	WYTHE	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/20
1522.11.15	COORS	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/21
1522.08.17	BARBOUR	EMME	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/21
1522.11.15	BURY	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.05.16	BELL	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.11.17	WITHALL	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1524.03.03	CLERK	RICHARD	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1524.02.27	MASSY	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/23
1524.07.04	RANDS	LAURENCE	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/23
1525.07.06	DUNSTABELL	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1525.02.02	WISEMAN	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.05.25	MANFOLD	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1525.04.06	WOOLWARD	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.09.29	CHANDISSHE	ROGER	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.03.25	HASILDEN	ANTONY	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.01.30	PURGOLD	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.10.18	BETON	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/25
1527.04.18	FINCHIN	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.10.15	DORRYTER	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.02.12	LAWRENCE	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.11.11	WOODE	NICHOLAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.04.19	SMYTH	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.06.29	BRASHAY	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/23
1529.06.25	ROLFF	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/24
1530.07.28	MALORY	ANTONY	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/27

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1530.07.08	MOUSY	ROGER	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/23
1531.05.25	SMYTH	ROBERT	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/24
1531.07.24	GRAUNT	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/24
1531.06.26	FULLER	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/24
1532.12.17	GOODMAN	ROBERT	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/27
1532.08.04	AUSTON	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/24
1534.04.30	HARDING	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.11.01	COOKE	HENRY	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/25
1537.08.02	FARROUR	RICHARD	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.08.10	HALL	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/28
1537.11.24	ALYNTON	MARY	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/28
1538.08.02	WHETELEY	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538	MARTYN	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/28
1538.07.20	FYNCHAM	SYMEON	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.03.08	SKOTT	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.11.01	REED	RICHARD	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.11.02	BROWNE	ROBERT	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/28
1541.10.01	LUKYN	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.05.13	HARYSON	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/28
1542.11.18	HARVY	NICHOLAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.10.07	ARTHUR	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/30
1542.03.08	WYGAN	EDWARD	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.03.01	EDMONDS	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.11.15	PAYTON	ELIZABETH	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.09.01	ALYN	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.03.16	WRYGHT	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.11.02	GOWER	RAFFE	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.03.12	SEWSTER	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.02.27	LOUND	RICHARD	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/32
1546.04.28	MALARYE	ALICE	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.12.03	CREWE	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.03.10	HENRYSON	MARGARET	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.09.29	RIDLEY	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.05.06	CORNOLT	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.09.29	OBORNE	HENRY	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/33
1547.09.15	GREENE	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/33
1548.04.22	BARNARD	HENRY	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.08.11	BRITTEYN	ANNE	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.08.02	BRITTEYN	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.12.12	PERSON	NICHOLAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/32

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1548.10.14	SELBY	RICHARD	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.08.28	PAXMAN	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/43
1549.10.08	GENT	NICHOLAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/37
1549.08.16	BESTE	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.10.25	CHENERY	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.01.20	AUNGER	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.04.10	CHAPMAN	ALEN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/36
1550.09.28	PYCKERING	HELEN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.07.31	PAYTON	ROBERT	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.11.22	GOODWYN	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.04.29	LOVEDEN	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.06.0	EBDEN	LAWRENCE	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.12	FANNE	JOHIS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.18	CHAMBERS	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/36
1551.07.18	CHAMBRE	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/36
1551.06.18	PAMPLYN	JOHN	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.09.01	WHYTALL	JOANE	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.01.15	BULMER	EDWARD	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.11.27	WELLES	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/37
1552.11.03	WELLS	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.05.15	ALYINGTON	ROBERT	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.09.24	PHILLIPP	OLYVER	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/35
1553.03.01	GODCOCK	HENRY	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/39
1553.05.30	WISE	WILLIAM	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.03.27	ISACCE	RICHARD	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/43
1553.04.25	STYLES	THOMAS	CAMBRIDGESHIRE	PROB 11/50
1515.03.11	HUNT	THOMAS	CESHIRE	PROB 11/18
1518.08.28	DEYKYN	NICHOLAS	CESHIRE	PROB 11/19
1521.04.20	BROSTER	RICHARD	CESHIRE	PROB 11/21
1534.01.18	DRAPER	JOHN	CESHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.12.25	MYDDELTON	THOMAS	CESHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.05.26	CALVELEY	GEORGE	CESHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537	BRERETON	RANDOLPH	CESHIRE	PROB 11/27
1539.10.01	ROGERS	RAFFE	CESHIRE	PROB 11/26
1541.11.10	GRAVENOR	RYCHARD	CESHIRE	PROB 11/32
1550.08.02	WIGGAN	ROBERT	CESHIRE	PROB 11/33
1500.03.06	REDICH	ROBERT	CESHIRE	PROB 11/16
1505.09.26	WALKER	RICHARD	CESHIRE	PROB 11/16
1508.09.16	SMYTH	ROGER	CESHIRE	PROB 11/16
1508.09.20	EGERTON	WILLIAM	CESHIRE	PROB 11/17

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1511.10.17	WATRON	ELIZABETH	CESHIRE	PROB 11/17
1515.03.07	MAYNWARING	JOHN	CESHIRE	PROB 11/20
1525.08.02	MORTON	WILLIAM	CESHIRE	PROB 11/21
1529.06.11	LEIGH	GEORGE	CESHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.06.03	BREERTON	RANDALL	CESHIRE	PROB 11/23
1535.08.01	BULL	RAFE	CESHIRE	PROB 11/25
1548.08.27	MIDDLETON	DAVID	CESHIRE	PROB 11/32
1512.04.23	CORBETT	ROBERT	CORNWALL	PROB 11/17
1514.06.14	SHUKBOROUGH	WILLIAM	CORNWALL	PROB 11/17
1515.08.27	KYNGDON	WALTER	CORNWALL	PROB 11/18
1522.11.27	COCKS	WILLIAM	CORNWALL	PROB 11/21
1537.04.26	TREGRAN	JOHN	CORNWALL	PROB 11/27
1538.09.11	HARRES	THOMAS	CORNWALL	PROB 11/28
1540.08.06	LUCAS	JOHN	CORNWALL	PROB 11/28
1542.08.26	GYSKY	ROBERT	CORNWALL	PROB 11/29
1542.05.08	MOREMAN	JOHN	CORNWALL	PROB 11/37
1544.06.20	LONGFORD	GEORGE	CORNWALL	PROB 11/30
1545.01.01	CARMYNOWE	JOHN	CORNWALL	PROB 11/37
1547.08.29	BODY	WILLIAM	CORNWALL	PROB 11/32
1550.07.07	GORYTON	PETER	CORNWALL	PROB 11/35
1552.03	CORRITON	PETER	CORNWALL	PROB 11/36
1552.02.27	CORYTON	PETER	CORNWALL	PROB 11/35
1553	CORRITON	PETER	CORNWALL	PROB 11/36
1511.08.31	BYRD	JOHN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1518.08.15	STRYNGAR	JOHN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1520.02.10	MILWARDE	ARTHUR	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/55
1531.03.06	PORTE	JOHN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1532.01.14	FOLIAMBE	GODFREY	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1533.02.26	DONNE	THOMAS	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1537.04.04	COKAYNE	THOMAS	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538	POLE	JOHN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1540.04.30	POORTE	MARGERY	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1543.12.01	CLARKE	THOMAS	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.02.08	LEVERTON	JOHN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1545.06.15	LEGHE	WILLIAM	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.02.08	SACHEVELL	ROBERT	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1546.08.14	PRESTE	JOHN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.11.24	CROFTES	WILLIAM	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.09.23	SYMSON	JOHN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.03.08	BABINGTON	ROALDN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/32

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1549.05.03	FEYRNE	JOHN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.10.20	REVE	ROBERT	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.02.03	POOLE	GERMAYN	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.06.16	EYRE	CHRISTOPHER	DERBYSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1509.04.03	SAVEREY	ROBERT	DEVON	PROB 11/16
1512.01.17	GOLLOND	ROBERT	DEVON	PROB 11/17
1512.07.15	SEYER	AGNES	DEVON	PROB 11/17
1513.07.15	SEYER	AGNES	DEVON	PROB 11/17
1513.05.03	BOWRING	ROBERT	DEVON	PROB 11/17
1515.02.22	WEST	RAYNOLDE	DEVON	PROB 11/18
1515.12.04	PHILIPP	WALTER	DEVON	PROB 11/18
1516.05.20	OLDOM	BERNARD	DEVON	PROB 11/18
1516.06.10	ROBYNS	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/19
1517.06.20	DILLON	NICHOLAS	DEVON	PROB 11/19
1517.02.16	VYGURS	WILLIAM	DEVON	PROB 11/19
1518.01.02	CATERALL	LAWRENCE	DEVON	PROB 11/19
1519.03.02	HEWET	RICHARD	DEVON	PROB 11/19
1519.03.12	CRUGGE	WILLIAM	DEVON	PROB 11/19
1520.01.16	CROCKER	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/20
1523.04.01	BRIGEMAN	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/21
1524.07.22	WHITING	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/23
1525.04.08	PLUMTON	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/22
1526.04.06	HAMYLN	THOMAS	DEVON	PROB 11/22
1529.10.12	PREDY AUX	RICHARD	DEVON	PROB 11/23
1529.08.06	GRENEWAY	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/24
1532.11.26	WEBBER	WILLIAM	DEVON	PROB 11/25
1533.01.13	CROMWELL	MATILDA	DEVON	PROB 11/25
1534.08.07	HOKER	ROBERT	DEVON	PROB 11/26
1535.03.06	TRELAWNY	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/26
1536.04.01	HOLLOWAY	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/26
1537.09.07	MARCER	RICHARD	DEVON	PROB 11/26
1538.11.04	SYDENHAM	JOHANNA	DEVON	PROB 11/27
1539.05.11	SMALING	THOMAS	DEVON	PROB 11/26
1541.05.07	MORYS	WILLIAM	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1541.09.04	DELLYNG	HENRY	DEVON	PROB 11/29
1543.08.25	PASMERE	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/30
1543.07.11	FULFORDE	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1543.06.10	SYMONDS	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1545.10.07	PAYST	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/30
1545.08.01	CHAMPNER	PHILIPP	DEVON	PROB 11/31

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1545.03.12	KIRKE	GILBERT	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1545.05.16	GYLBERD	OTS	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1546.02.20	ELLIS	THOMAS	DEVON	PROB 11/127
1546.08.12	COURTNEY	PHILIPP	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1546.01.18	HALS	RICHARD	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1546.05.15	GODDYSLAND	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1546.09.24	WAY	RICHARD	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1546.12.27	TOKER	ROBERT	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1546.12.04	MAYNERD	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1547.01.07	WESTOTT	THOMAS	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1547.05.11	ENGLYSSE	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/34
1547.05.11	ENGLISH	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/56
1547.01.26	BOWREMAN	JAMES	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1547.05.12	PHILIFE	ROGER	DEVON	PROB 11/31
1548.03.29	SPURWAYNE	THOMAS	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1548.04.20	HUNT	THOMAS	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1548.08.06	BOWREMAN	ANDREW	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1548.09.07	BARNEHOUSE	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1549.03.25	LANGDON	DAVID	DEVON	PROB 11/127
1549.05.26	WHETON	WILLIAM	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1549.09.17	HULL	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1549.05.26	WHEATON	WYLLYAM	DEVON	PROB 11/34
1549.02.18	SAVELL	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1549.04.30	KNOLLYNG	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/39
1549.10.06	PERYN	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1549.03.01	COBB	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1550.08.13	POLLARD	RICHARD	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1549.12.15	HAMLIN	THOMAS	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1549.05.26	WHETON	WILLIAM	DEVON	PROB 11/32
1549.03.06	COPELSTON	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1550.04.17	SHYLSTON	WILLIAM	DEVON	PROB 11/34
1550.09.28	STAWELL	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/34
1550.08.26	DYLLON	ROBERT	DEVON	PROB 11/50
1550.05.06	LOCK	RICHARD	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1550.06.12	BLATKOLER	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1550.04.07	BOND	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/33
1551.04.07	DEYMAN	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/34
1551.07.21	BONFESSOR	ANDROWE	DEVON	PROB 11/34
1551.09.09	CRESPYN	RICHARD	DEVON	PROB 11/34
1551.10.18	BRYTNALL	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/35

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1551.06.20	STROBRIDGE	ROBERT	DEVON	PROB 11/35
1552.12.04	BRAGE	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/36
1552.11.11	RYLLE	GEORGE	DEVON	PROB 11/36
1552.11.16	HURST	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/36
1552.11.11	RELLE	GEORGE	DEVON	PROB 11/36
1552.03.10	WEBBER	GEORGE	DEVON	PROB 11/36
1552.06.08	ANTONYE	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/35
1552.03.02	CLARKE	RICHARD	DEVON	PROB 11/35
1553.06.26	PYLE	JOHN	DEVON	PROB 11/45
1509.07.30	KEYLY	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/16
1509.03.21	HUTCHYNS	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/16
1512.12.28	BAYTE	ROBERT	DORSET	PROB 11/17
1513.02.01	WALLER	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/18
1514.08.02	NEWBURGH	ROGER	DORSET	PROB 11/18
1515.11.28	WILLYAMS	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/18
1517.01.01	CAREWE	EDYTH	DORSET	PROB 11/19
1519.04.27	MESURE	WILLIAM	DORSET	PROB 11/28
1520.11.29	DYESTER	WILLIAM	DORSET	PROB 11/20
1521.03.10	LEWSON	EDWARD	DORSET	PROB 11/20
1523.02.14	FRAMPTON	JAMES	DORSET	PROB 11/21
1527.04.16	COKER	THOMAS	DORSET	PROB 11/23
1530.06.02	DORSET	THOMAS	DORSET	PROB 11/24
1534.05.24	HOODY	WILLIAM	DORSET	PROB 11/25
1535.06.09	ROGERS	HENRY	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1540.04.04	CATELL	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1541.02.01	MATHEW	WILLIAM	DORSET	PROB 11/56
1541.06.20	PHILLIPS	ROBERT	DORSET	PROB 11/29
1542.09.10	VUEDALL	WILLIAM	DORSET	PROB 11/29
1544.10.01	BURDON	THOMAS	DORSET	PROB 11/32
1544.04.05	LEYAT	CHRISTOPHER	DORSET	PROB 11/30
1544.11.01	STANFORD	WILLIAM	DORSET	PROB 11/30
1544.04.07	CAREW	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/30
1545.04.20	BLUNDELL	GEORGE	DORSET	PROB 11/30
1545.07.20	FORDE	PHILIP	DORSET	PROB 11/30
1545.06.06	HASARD	ROBERT	DORSET	PROB 11/30
1545.04.04	CATELL	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1545.02.16	POLDEN	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1545.08.27	GWYNNE	HOELL AP JEVAN AP JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1545.08.02	HASARD	AGNES	DORSET	PROB 11/31

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1545.10.29	KING	ROBERT	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1545.04.08	HOMES	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1546.03.20	BASKATT	THOMAS	DORSET	PROB 11/33
1546.04.03	HAWKER	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1546.09.20	STRANGWAYES	GILES	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1546.11.20	HORSEY	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1546	SHEPARDE	EDWARD	DORSET	PROB 11/31
1547	TYDERLEYGH	CHRISTIAN	DORSET	PROB 11/32
1548.06.28	MARTYN	ROBERT	DORSET	PROB 11/32
1548.02.11	ESTON	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/32
1548.07.08	THRONHULL	WILLIAM	DORSET	PROB 11/39
1548.05.29	WILLIAMS	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/33
1549.04.10	CHALYN	RICHARD	DORSET	PROB 11/32
1549.08.12	AWBREY	WILLIAM	DORSET	PROB 11/32
1549.09.12	TYDDER	NICHOLAS	DORSET	PROB 11/37
1549.08.20	MARTYN	WILLIAM	DORSET	PROB 11/44
1549.02.25	TENAM	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/33
1549.08.22	TRENCHARD	THOMAS	DORSET	PROB 11/33
1550.01.28	STOURTON	ROGER	DORSET	PROB 11/34
1550.07.10	TENNES	ROBERT	DORSET	PROB 11/33
1551.04.08	RYVIER	ROBERT	DORSET	PROB 11/34
1551.09.02	STEDAM	NYCHOLAS	DORSET	PROB 11/34
1551.08.17	PARRY	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/34
1551.08.08	HAYDON	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/34
1551.07.23	BAYLYE	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/34
1551.08.03	DUDBOLD	WILLYAM	DORSET	PROB 11/36
1551.08.01	GODOLGHA	ANNE	DORSET	PROB 11/35
1551.08.30	PYNNEY	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/35
1552.05.07	PULVERTOFT	ROBERT	DORSET	PROB 11/42A
1552.02.08	DIVENELL	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/40
1552.10.13	ASHLEY	HENRY	DORSET	PROB 11/36
1553.05.14	DEYE	JOHN	DORSET	PROB 11/36
1509.06.24	TAYLOR	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.05.21	RINGSTONE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.11.05	NORWOOD	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.09.25	DERAM	JAMES	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.05.23	BAKER	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.09.17	HOBBS	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.10.15	GEFFREYS	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1510	JONES	JOHANNES	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1510.11.13	ROCHE	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1511.03.08	STOKYS	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.02.16	COTYNTON	MATHEW	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.04.30	PASHELEY	SIMON	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.04.11	RYNGESTON	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.06.12	NORWOOD	ROGER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.03.11	WOLWORTH	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.07.04	COOK	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.04.14	HALIDAY	MARGARET	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.05.09	ROUNDON	WALTER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1514.10.11	MURIELL	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1514.09.13	MEYSAM	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1515.03.04	HERVY	HUMFRY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.07.07	WALE	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.12.16	BROWNE	NICHOLAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1516.05.05	HOBY	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517.07.24	COLLAS	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517.10.26	COOLE	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517.01.20	THRONE	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.06.25	RYCARDES	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.04.20	ESTERFELDE	SCOLAST	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.12.16	FISHER	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.11.06	COTTON	GEORGE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.10.06	RABYNET	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.04.12	COLAS	JOANE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.05.11	CORBRIGGE	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.04.04	HALIDAY	EDWARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.08.03	BOYFIELD	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.09.22	HICHEMAN	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1520.05.01	BARKLEY	MAURICE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1520.09.04	BROWNE	HUMFREY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1520.09.19	SEBORNE	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1519	HALL	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1521.06.09	ROBYNS	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.07.02	GREENE	MARGARET	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.05.23	POLLARD	MATILDA	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.07.02	WEBBE	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.11.06	JENKYN	OWEN AP	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.11.11	BEDFORD	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1522.03.12	COKE	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1522.11.02	HANSHAWE	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1522.09.23	ROWLAND	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1522.06.08	COOKE	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1522.08.22	CANN	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1523.04.09	PORTER	ROGER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.04.09	APPRISE	RAFE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.05.17	HAYNYS	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.07.03	CULLAM	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.11.03	BUTLER	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.11.04	AYLWORTHE	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.05.08	CLOTARBOK	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.11.11	BROWNE	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.12.19	BLAKEAMORE	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.09.08	JAYE	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1525.04.10	WHETINGTON	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525.07.05	WILLIAMS	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525.11.05	TOWKER	RISE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525	APROSE	WALTER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.04.05	WESTLEY	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.08.11	SMYTH	MATHEW	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.04.02	SHEPHARD	GEORGE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.07.29	VAUGHAN	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.08.27	NORTON	ANDREW	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.10.07	KEMYS	HENRY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.05.18	COKE	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.05.18	DRAPER	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.06.25	BOTTELL	MARGARET	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1528.03.12	BODYE	EDMOND	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1528.03.23	BAYNAM	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1528.05.04	EDWARDS	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1529.05.13	THOMAS	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1529.12.23	VAUGHAN	JOHAN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1529.08.01	DAWYS	ROGER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.09.06	WHITTYTON	MATHEW	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530	TODDE	GEFFERY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1530.09.20	HUNGERFORD	EDWARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1531.07.22	BRAYNE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1531.10.18	TROLLEY	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1532.12.12	THROKMERTON	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1533.04.03	YONGE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1533.09.23	RESTELL	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1533.08.18	WELLYS	ANTHONY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1534.07.31	TOLL	ELIZABETH	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.04.21	WYROLD	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.06.01	DAVYS	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.11.22	MORGAN	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.08.20	BROWNE	JOHANNES	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1535.10.27	HUTTON	DAVID	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.01.17	PICKERING	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.02.10	BROOKE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.02.02	FREMAN	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1536.07.30	WOODHOUSE	NICHOLAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1536.04.22	BADRAME	GEORGE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.08.14	YATEMAN	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.06.01	POOLE	LEONARDO	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.01.15	HUTTON	ALICE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.10.11	BARROW	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.03.12	BRADWAY	GYLES	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1537.03.20	COURTELOVE	EDWARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1538.06.29	YOUNG	NICHOLAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.05.20	BROWNE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.12.31	FREWE	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.07.21	HEWES	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.12.20	BROWNE	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1538.01.13	GRONOWE	HUGH	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1538.03.18	POTTER	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1538.07.01	GYLWYN	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.08.03	SHIPMAN	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1539.01.26	HAWKYNS	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.04.12	DEWIK	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.08.03	LECHE	RAUFF	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.12.18	MATHEW	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.10.29	HORNE	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1540.10.01	SEWELL	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1540.08.19	BISLEY	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.09.06	WELCHE	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.04.23	WEST	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.07.09	WILLIAMS	LAWRENCE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.01.07	PRYDYAMP	RYCHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.04.24	ETKYNS	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1540.11.26	FOWLER	ROGER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1541.02.02	CANYONE	EDWARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1541.02.27	PYRRY	ALEXANDER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.12.20	MARMYON	HENRY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.03.29	HART	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1541.05.10	WHITNEY	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1542.07.12	WINSMORE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.09.10	WHITE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.02.04	CLARKMAN	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.12.20	VAUGHAN	MAURICE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.09.10	YEVANS	LEWIS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.02.05	DORBAY	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541	CARPENTER	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1543.01.23	TRAUNTER	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11//29
1543.05.26	GOSLYN	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1543.11.12	HASARD	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1543.04.14	COGAN	GILBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1543.08.25	GLENFORTH	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1543.10.16	CLARKE	CHRISTOPHER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.05.03	TAME	EDMUND	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.11.23	WYE	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.06.01	POYNTZ	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.10.04	LANE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.05.01	COOKE	JONE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1544.11.26	WRAXHAM	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.05.02	TWYSILL	ELIZABETH	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.07.20	COMPTON	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.06.17	LEWYS	DAVID	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.10.02	LEWES	ALICE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545	HALL	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.09.28	HARRYSON	NICHOLAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.08.22	DAVYES	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.07.28	POLE	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.06.18	THOMAS	EDWARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.12.01	TANNE	ELIZABETH	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.09.08	ARNOLD	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.07.17	ABYNGDON	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.11.20	GEFFREY	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.08.10	COMPTON	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.06.09	BEYNAM	GEORGE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1546	WHYTINGTON	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546	THORNE	NICHOLAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.09.10	CLOTHBOKE	WALTER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.11.20	COLCHESTER	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.08.31	WALSHE	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.02.20	MONYOY	EDWARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.03.20	FRENCH	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.09.10	THORNE	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/38
1547.01.17	WADHAM	EDWARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.09.21	DODYNGTON	GYLES	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1548.09.13	PARR	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/127
1548.05.17	DANE	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.11.04	WILSON	NICHOLAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.01.19	BURGEMAN	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.04.10	SCALES	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.09.12	BOWSER	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1548	DARK	AGNES	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.06.28	BRODSTON	ANTHONY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.03.26	BYCKNILL	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.04.03	SEABORNE	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.10.15	BASSETT	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.01.12	PYKES	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.02.08	APHOWELL	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.07.10	BUTTLER	EDWARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.12.01	MOWE	SAMUEL	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1550.04.01	GOUGH	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1550.08.17	KING	NICHOLAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.10.22	BLAKE	MARTIN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.07.31	WIGMOUR	ROGER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1551.04.06	EVERTEN	NICHOLAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.13	BOCHER	ANTHONY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.11	MARTEN	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.09	SAUNDER	RICHARD	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.09.22	MATHEW	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.02	FREMAN	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.09.05	EVETT	WALTER	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.08.06	COOPER	HUMPHREY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/40
1551.02.24	ELKINS	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/45
1551.07.16	LYD	WYLLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/53
1551.07.16	SHIPMAN	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1551.09.14	ARNOLD	ISABELL	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.10.12	RUFFIN	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.03.20	CREWE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.07.13	ELYOTT	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.09.07	SHAWE	GEORGE	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.01.14	STEVYNS	HENRY	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.01.08	BALSTONE	THOMAS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.04.24	WORWHODE	OWEN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.06.07	KYNFIELD	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.07.15	PYRS	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1553.01.29	PYNNOCK	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/39
1553.02.08	CHAMBERS	ROBERT	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/39
1553	GERVEYS	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1553.03.31	CALLYS	WILLIAM	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.07.10	PALMER	JOHN	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1540.01.10	BONNER	THOMS	GLOUCESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1510.12.17	YEVEN	THOMAS	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1516.10.23	COWART	NICHOLAS	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.06.05	STONAKER	WILLIAM	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1517.12.07	HAYNE	THOMAS	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1521.02.21	ALEXANDER	WALTER	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1525.05.16	LYGH	ANNYS	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1526.04.06	WILGATE	GREGORY	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.12.05	MAISTER	PETER	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.03.28	PERS	JOHN	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1536.10.10	BEAUMONT	RICHARD	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1537.11.03	LEGG	ROBERT	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.09.24	CROSE	JAMES	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1539.12.08	PERSON	NICHOLAS	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1540.05.03	CHUBBE	JOHN	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.04.06	LEIGH	JOHN	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.11.14	TAWKE	JOHN	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1541.10.01	BORY	THOMAS	HAMPSHIRE	PRON 11/29
1543.04.29	ELYOT	RICHARD	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1547.09.26	WALLER	RICHARD	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1548.08.16	FLETCHER	THOMASINE	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.04.30	COKAYN	THOMAS	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.08.09	POCOCK	RICHARD	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.12.20	THORPE	WILLIAM	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.12.20	THORP	WILLIAM	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/33

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1549.04.11	BORD	ANDREW	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.05.04	THOMAS	SAMPSON	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/45
1550.12.01	MILLE	JOHN	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.14	COWPER	THOMAS	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.05.14	RYGGE	THOMAS	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.10	LYSTAR	MYCHAEAL	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1552.08.24	HARRINGTON	WILLIAM	HAMPSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1509.05.31	DAVY	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/16
1509.08.25	LECHE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/16
1509.09.15	WISEMAN	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/16
1509.07.03	MASTER	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/16
1509.11.20	GELOT	PHILIPPE	KENT	PROB 11/16
1510.06.06	BARWORTH	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/16
1510.08.26	CHAMBERLYN	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/16
1510.09.08	BROKE	CLEMENT	KENT	PROB 11/16
1510.01.14	ALEYN	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/16
1510.11.09	CROTYNDEN	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/17
1511.05.30	FREER	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/17
1511.05.25	BRAMPSTON	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/17
1511.06.03	ROBYNS	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/17
1511.09.17	MYLNER	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/17
1511.01.31	IDEN	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/17
1511.11	TURNER	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/17
1511.03.14	BREKENDEN	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/18
1512.07.25	LEWES	STEPHEN	KENT	PROB 11/17
1512.04.12	MAY	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/17
1512.03.05	IDEN	POWLE	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.08.09	PARGATE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/20
1513.05.16	BLANKETT	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.08.25	PULTON	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/27
1513.09.10	BENDYCH	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.09.08	BUTLER	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.03.18	SYMONDS	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.08.06	POKYLL	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.03.04	GOLBE	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.10.05	PERRY	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.04.30	SEPTEN	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.02.15	BLOWER	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/17
1513.11.28	FOULE	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/18
1513.11.14	AYLOND	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/18

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1513.05.10	NORTON	ALEXANDER	KENT	PROB 11/18
1514.08.12	DOWE	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/17
1514.01.26	SONDES	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/18
1514.10.05	ROBERD	ALICE	KENT	PROB 11/18
1514.03.01	WEBBES	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/18
1514.04.28	WELBECK	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/18
1514.03.22	ENGEHAM	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/18
1515.04.19	COVENEY	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/20
1515.04.16	HARRENDEN	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/18
1515.04.06	LEMINGLEY	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/18
1515.06.11	ARMESTRONG	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/18
1515.06.06	ROBYNSON	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/18
1515.12.10	HERENDEN	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/18
1515.03.11	ROBERD	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/18
1516.04.14	OLYVER	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/18
1516.05.14	THOMAS	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/18
1516.03.01	LAUNSON	HENRY	KENT	PROB 11/18
1516.05.23	PENSON	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/18
1516.07.16	CLEYTON	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/18
1516.10.10	HODGESON	MILES	KENT	PROB 11/18
1516.10.02	INGELER	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/18
1517.08.07	LEUCONOUR	WYLLYAM	KENT	PROB 11/18
1517.08.12	CRIGGE	WYLLYAM	KENT	PROB 11/18
1517.08.11	DYNE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/18
1517.08.17	GARTHFord	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/18
1517.12.17	NOX	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/19
1517.07.07	SKERNE	EDWARD	KENT	PROB 11/19
1517.02.26	BOVETON	NICHOLAS	KENT	PROB 11/19
1518.02.04	IFFLEY	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/19
1519.01.25	ALEN	ROGER	KENT	PROB 11/20
1519.07	SPICER	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/23
1519.12.25	BROKHILL	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/19
1519.06.02	GROCYN	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/19
1520.10.02	WALTON	EDMOND	KENT	PROB 11/22
1521.10.01	BREFIELD	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/22
1522.04.28	PECHE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/20
1522.12.30	WEDDER	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/21
1522.01.10	CORNYSSHE	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/21
1522.05.05	ASTYN	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/20
1522.07.08	SKIPWITH	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/20

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1522.03.27	KIRKBY	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/19
1523.06.18	BANSTRET	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/21
1523	FISHER	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/21
1523.01.21	MARSHALL	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/21
1522	ROBERT	WALTER	KENT	PROB 11/20
1524.10.03	DUNMOW	STEPHEN	KENT	PROB 11/21
1524.02.26	SPREVER	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/21
1525.10.17	FOWLE	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/21
1525.12.26	SMARTE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/22
1525.01.21	ABELL	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/22
1525.03.17	CHYCH	KATHERINE	KENT	PROB 11/22
1525.11.24	GODFREY	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.05.10	FISHER	ELIZABETH	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.04.05	LEE	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.09.21	BEWLEY	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.12.10	BAWLEY	MARGARET	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.01.02	OLYVER	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.02.24	MEED	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.02.14	ROOST	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.07.04	HAWSE	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.05.20	BECKYTH	HUGH	KENT	PROB 11/22
1526.07.25	ELFIGH	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/22
1527.04.26	OWTRED	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/22
1527.04.24	SHEYNY	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/22
1527.04.21	YOMAN	SIMON	KENT	PROB 11/22
1527.07.31	SWETEFYRE	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/22
1527.07.02	CLERK	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/22
1527.09.16	CURTOP	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/22
1527.08.25	REEDE	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/22
1527	DEWETT	SYMOND	KENT	PROB 11/22
1527.03.15	JOHNSON	ALICE	KENT	PROB 11/23
1528.04.12	GYBSONNE	NICHOLAS	KENT	PROB 11/22
1528.05.02	SMYTH	STEVEN	KENT	PROB 11/22
1528.10.08	PETLEY	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/22
1528.07.08	MAPLESDEN	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/22
1528.07.09	BLAKDEN	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/22
1528.10.19	MORES	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/22
1528.03.14	FYNCH	EDWARD	KENT	PROB 11/23
1529.04.12	APPULTON	ROGER	KENT	PROB 11/23
1529.05.22	STYLE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/23

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1529.09.25	PAGE	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/23
1530.03.23	PRATT	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/25
1530.05.22	CARPENTER	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/23
1530.09.16	KEYMSLEY	ANDREW	KENT	PROB 11/23
1530.04.23	THOMAS	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/23
1530.08.28	SCOTTE	STEVEN	KENT	PROB 11/24
1530.08.08	STYLE	KATHERINE	KENT	PROB 11/24
1530.06.25	ROGER	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/24
1530.02.23	SEDLEY	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/24
1530.03.31	BAKER	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/26
1531.02.12	TATTE	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/25
1531.02.25	SHELLEY	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/25
1531.08.30	NOTTE	ASSABELL	KENT	PROB 11/25
1531.04.15	HERDLE	GERVEAS	KENT	PROB 11/25
1531.11.27	HINCLETON	NICHOLAS	KENT	PROB 11/25
1531.11.18	FEREBY	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/24
1531.08.25	HUNT	JOAN	KENT	PROB 11/24
1531.05.06	DAVY	ALICE	KENT	PROB 11/24
1532.11.04	BIGGE	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/25
1532.10.16	NORTON	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/25
1532	GYBSON	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/25
1532.01.08	MALDEN	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/27
1532.05.12	WIBORN	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/24
1532.08.08	HORSEMONDEN	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/24
1532.06.19	ASTYN	NICHOLAS	KENT	PROB 11/24
1532.03.30	MULTON	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/24
1532.02.12	BRAMSTON	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/24
1533.02.03	ROBIN	EDMOND	KENT	PROB 11/25
1533.05.12	FANE	HENRY	KENT	PROB 11/25
1533.08.15	LEWSTON	HUMPHREY	KENT	PROB 11/25
1533.03.22	SWANNE	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/25
1533.05.08	WADLOW	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/25
1533.10.28	BROWNE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/25
1533.03.09	COKSE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/25
1533.12.05	DENNS	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/25
1534.08.04	HERUNDEN	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/25
1534.04.16	DINGILDEN	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/25
1534.10.09	STEVEN	GEORGE	KENT	PROB 11/27
1535.06.07	VELEVETT	ROLAND	KENT	PROB 11/25
1535.05.13	PLAKUBY	HENRY	KENT	PROB 11/25

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1535.02.20	DIGGES	JAMES	KENT	PROB 11/28
1536.06.12	MAPLISDEN	GEORGE	KENT	PROB 11/34
1536.11.02	GUSTON	GEORGE	KENT	PROB 11/27
1536.09.16	SAMSON	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/27
1537.03.25	STONE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/27
1538.04.05	FRAY	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/27
1538.03.31	BARRE	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/27
1538.03.03	LYNCH	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/27
1537	WYATTE	HENRY	KENT	PROB 11/26
1538.08.02	BESTE	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/26
1538.01.12	HAWTE	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/26
1539.07.30	SWOONE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/27
1539	METCALF	NICHOLAS	KENT	PROB 11/27
1539.08.29	DRANER	STEPHEN	KENT	PROB 11/27
1539.08.25	PEELE	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/27
1539.02.09	OWTRED	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/28
1539.02.28	ALEYN	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/28
1539.11.20	TURKE	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/33
1539.03.21	JODE	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/26
1539.03.24	HARTE	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/26
1540.05.02	HYLS	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.10.03	MONE	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.10.02	MARDEN	ALLEN	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.02.28	WOODGATE	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.06.25	KNACHEBULL	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.03.05	WALSINGHAM	JAMES	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.10.06	CHALNER	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.11.06	FLATCHER	EDMUND	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.04.21	JOHNSON	EDWARD	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.05.20	COLPEPER	ALEXANDER	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.10.10	WARNER	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/28
1540.08.21	FAYREY	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/28
1541.08.28	GOLDFINCH	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/39
1541.01.30	RODES	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/29
1541.01.10	WARYNG	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/29
1541.02.01	NEILSAM	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/29
1541.11.23	HACCHE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/29
1541.09.10	ASSHERYNDEN	GILES	KENT	PROB 11/29
1541.08.01	PECHE	ELIZABETH	KENT	PROB 11/30
1541.05.05	MYLLER	ELIZABETH	KENT	PROB 11/28

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1541.08.28	GOLDSMYTH	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/28
1541.07.10	NEWLANDE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/31
1541	DOWNE	JOHANE	KENT	PROB 11/29
1542.05.23	NEVYLE	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/29
1542.07.03	ADENE	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/29
1542.07.24	ADOWNE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/29
1543.06.13	DYGGIS	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/32
1542	CRYELL	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/29
1543.04.03	SHAW	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/29
1543.10.15	SALYSBURY	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/30
1543.03.18	KNIGHT	EDMUND	KENT	PROB 11/30
1544.05.10	WARRING	ALEXANDER	KENT	PROB 11/30
1544.12.20	FRYDAY	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/30
1544.12.31	CHAPMAN	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/30
1544.08.04	SAXBY	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/30
1544.07.20	WILLOUGHBY	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/30
1544.06.30	WYLLESDON	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/31
1544.07.12	BOWNDE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/31
1545.03.26	BRYNGBORNE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/30
1545.05.20	TUMBER	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/30
1545.04.08	BISHOP	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/30
1545.09.16	WYBORNE	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/30
1545.07.13	TAILOR	SIMON	KENT	PROB 11/30
1545.10.30	VAUGHAN	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/30
1545.10.25	ROLFE	VYNCENT	KENT	PROB 11/30
1545.11.29	WYNTER	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/31
1545.11.09	REDWOOD	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/31
1545.09.30	BOWDEN	EDWARD	KENT	PROB 11/31
1545.01.06	CRESWELL	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/31
1545.07.04	IDEN	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/31
1545.03.12	CHERYTON	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/31
1545.03.04	LOVEKYN	ARTHUR	KENT	PROB 11/31
1546.10.16	LOVELASE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/32
1546.06.24	BRYNKLEY	STEPHEN	KENT	PROB 11/31
1546.06.16	TEBOLDE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/31
1546.07.23	WALKOTT	ROGER	KENT	PROB 11/31
1546.08.14	ASTALL	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/31
1546.08.12	BROGRAVE	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/31
1546.08	BROGRAVE	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/31
1546.02.17	TUNBRIDGE	JAMES	KENT	PROB 11/31

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1546.06.20	ELMYSTON	JAFFREY	KENT	PROB 11/31
1547.01.09	HARMAN	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/32
1547.09.02	BODLEY	ELYS	KENT	PROB 11/32
1547.02.06	MASKALL	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/32
1547.05.26	PLUME	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/32
1547.12.06	COVENAY	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/35
1546	WHITNEY	JAMES	KENT	PROB 11/31
1547.11.30	HORDON	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/31
1548.04.18	HAYTE	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/32
1548.04.30	HALSNOTH	STEPHEN	KENT	PROB 11/32
1548.10.16	TAPPYNG	RAUFFE	KENT	PROB 11/33
1547	PLUNNE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/31
1549.05.16	SPONER	EDWARD	KENT	PROB 11/32
1549.05.06	SMYTHE	JOANE	KENT	PROB 11/32
1549.07.06	SMYTH	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/32
1549.03.28	COODE	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/33
1549.07.21	PATENDEN	HENRY	KENT	PROB 11/33
1549.11.25	MEDEHURST	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/33
1549.08.26	TYCHBURNE	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/33
1549.07.05	THWAITS	EDWARD	KENT	PROB 11/33
1549.11.14	TWYSDEN	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/33
1549.03.15	LYNCH	ELIZABETH	KENT	PROB 11/33
1549.08.12	BOUGHTON	EDWARD	KENT	PROB 11/33
1550.01.20	DUNE	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/34
1550.06.28	COPPINGER	RAUFFE	KENT	PROB 11/34
1550.06.21	TEBALD	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/33
1550.05.17	GODFREY	OLIVER	KENT	PROB 11/33
1550.06.21	TOBALD	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/11
1550.03.17	NEWINSON	CHRISTOFER	KENT	PROB 11/35
1551.07.18	UMPTON	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/34
1551.07.30	PALMER	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/34
1551.08.22	RENOLD	PATTRYKE	KENT	PROB 11/34
1551.08.07	PROVES	HUGH	KENT	PROB 11/34
1551.08.19	COPER	STEPHEN	KENT	PROB 11/34
1551.07.26	AUSTEY	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/34
1551.07.13	APPULTON	ROGER	KENT	PROB 11/40
1551.08.24	SNOWDE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/37
1551.06.20	WYLBORE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/36
1551.10.18	HAMON	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/36
1551.03.30	LYPPING	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/50

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1550	HENDLEY	WALTER	KENT	PROB 11/33
1551.07.18	MARDEN	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/35
1551.02.04	SHARPE	ALLEN	KENT	PROB 11/35
1551.05.26	STACYE	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/35
1551.05.01	STYLE	HUMFREY	KENT	PROB 11/35
1551.07.18	RICARD	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/35
1551.06.10	REDMAN	ANNE	KENT	PROB 11/35
1551.07.29	BLOOER	CHRISTOPHER	KENT	PROB 11/35
1551	JENYNGE	ELIZABETH	KENT	PROB 11/34
1552.12.17	BUTCHIN	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/37
1552.12.29	THOMSON	MARGARET	KENT	PROB 11/36
1552.10.06	HORDEN	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/36
1552.02.14	CORNELL	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/36
1552.12.08	HANDFELD	GEORGE	KENT	PROB 11/36
1552.11.14	ROGER	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/36
1552.12.06	STRODELLE	ROBERT	KENT	PROB 11/36
1552.01.10	WATER	WILLIAM	KENT	PROB 11/36
1552.05.14	FRENCH	THOMAS	KENT	PROB 11/35
1552.07.14	HOGBEN	CLEMENT	KENT	PROB 11/35
1552.02.25	HAMMERSAM	EDMUND	KENT	PROB 11/35
1553.10.26	PARKEHURST	RICHARD	KENT	PROB 11/41
1553.11.15	ALEY	AGNES	KENT	PROB 11/39
1553.03.10	BLAKE	JAMES	KENT	PROB 11/36
1553.04.09	GRIGGE	JOHN	KENT	PROB 11/36
1553.03.12	FINCHE	HERBERT	KENT	PROB 11/36
1509.04.15	WOOD	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.06.14	YNGWARDBY	RICHARD	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1512.12.07	WIGSTON	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.01.13	WHITTEMAN	RICHARD	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.04.16	NOBLE	HUGH	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1516.01.02	SHIRLEY	RAUF	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1520.09.24	TALBOTT	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1520.03.20	NEWTON	THOMAS	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1521.10.08	NEWTON	THOMAS	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1524	CHAPLEYN	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1526.09.03	ASTON	JANE	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1529.08.01	DIGBY	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1532.10.04	LUDFORD	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.12.07	HYNDE	THOMAS	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.01.21	TYPLER	ROBERT	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/48

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1535.08.01	BULL	RAFE	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.06.26	WIGHTON	WILLIAM	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.09.08	RADCLYFF	ROGER	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1536.07.25	TRYGGE	GEORGE	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1537.03.06	SHERARD	THOMAS	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.01.16	DEN	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.04.03	CANE	RICHARD	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.12.19	BETT	THOMAS	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1538.07.30	BOROWE	ROBERT	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1538.08.17	FYNNYS	RICHARD	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.12.07	WALDRAM	THOMAS	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.10.04	PULTENEY	THOMAS	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.08.07	BARTON	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.01.21	SPELLINGTON	PETER	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1541.05.16	WINGSTON	AGNES	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1544.01.11	RADCLIFF	GEOFFREY	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.05.25	VILLERS	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.02.28	DRAPER	THOMAS	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.04.08	DALBY	EDMUND	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1547.12.04	MAYE	ROBERT	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.05.01	PULTENEY	FRAUNCES	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.07.18	MAYE	EDWARD	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1548.03.09	THROPE	WILLIAM	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.08.30	ALDING	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.04.29	TURVILLE	WILLIAM	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.09.06	STARESMORE	JOHN	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/68
1549.12.30	WOODE	RANDOLPHI	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.10.12	NORMANDY	HENRY	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.10.26	ASH	RICHARD	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.03.27	MALL	THOMAS	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1551.04.29	SMYTH	WILLIAM	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.03.15	PAGE	GEFFEY	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.05.16	TOMSON	ROBERT	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1553.04.04	WIGLEY	HENRY	LEICESTERSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1509.09.22	KNIGHT	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.06.14	ABREY	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.08.27	COLYN	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.01.26	BULLLOKE	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509	MARKHAM	MARGARET	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.01.10	GENNET	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/16

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1510.12.17	BRAINE	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.05.22	REDE	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.05.26	BEKINGHAM	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1510.04.22	KINES	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1510.04.20	GADBURY	EDMOND	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.09.02	COSBY	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.12.23	CHAMAN	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.11.04	BAROWE	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.08.10	REED	AGNES	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.03.10	MARKBY	SIMON	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.02.16	STUKELEY	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1512.04.15	DYMOKE	LEON	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1513.08.08	SMITH	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.12.26	SMITH	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.10.30	CLAYTON	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.01.16	COBWELL	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1515.04.14	WILLIAMSON	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.05.09	HENNYS	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1516.02.16	HOODE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1516.03.21	BEDALE	HENRY	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517.08.13	VYCCARS	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.07.08	CROSS	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.05.13	CARRE	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.10.18	TROLLOPPE	ANDREW	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.04.05	VAUGHAN	JOHANNES	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.12.20	WARNER	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1520.03.19	DYMOKE	ANNE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.08.23	CHAPMAN	AGNES	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.10.30	PASMER	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1522.10.15	HARCROFTE	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1523.08.03	DIGHTON	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.04.16	SHEREWOOD	DAVID	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.08.10	GREGORY	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.09.22	WHITTON	ROGER	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.11.21	WHETCROFTE	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525.06.25	HUBBERD	ADLARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1525.05.01	CLIFFORD	ELIZABETH	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1525	MAYNARD	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1525.01.04	SUTTON	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1525.03.20	PENYNGTON	ADAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1525.02.25	ROBYNSON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1526.10.06	CALOW	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.07.25	DOBYN	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.10.08	LEE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.10.17	COPULDYKE	MARGARET	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.02.18	DANDISON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.08.10	VUCOLL	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.07.05	SUGRE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1528.04.23	CONY	ROGER	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.10.23	HARDWYKE	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1529.03.29	ISAAK	HENRY	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.03.28	TYD	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.03.28	TYDD	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.04.03	WINBECH	CRISTOPHER	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.04.02	TOPLYFF	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.06.06	IRBY	AMBROS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1532.07.03	EDMOND	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1532.08	HUGH	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1532.02.25	TOPCLIFF	MARGARET	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1532.07.02	GRENE	WALTER	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1533.08.11	TOMLINSON	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1533.07.10	ROBERTSON	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1533.08.12	WOLBY	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1534.10.22	NEVYLL	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534	BUSTERD	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.01.23	CAWNER	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535	CYSSELL	DAVID	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1535.10.01	MORES	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.11.27	WENNAN	ANNE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1535.02.23	ETTWELL	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1535.01.02	SKINNER	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1536.04.03	CARNE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.09.24	RAYNE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1536.01.06	GREENE	RADI	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1536.04.10	REDE	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1537.08.10	HOWELL	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537	THORNTON	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.10.06	GILDON	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.11.01	HILTON	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.09.18	BYLLESBY	ANDROWE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/26

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1538.04.21	TEMPER	SYMON	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.04.04	LYSTER	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1538.07.20	BLUETT	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1538.01.22	WAYSE	JEFFREY	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1538.08.20	PLOMTON	BALDWYN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.06.22	BLAKE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1539.11.04	GODSMAN	LAWRENCE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.10.01	TAMEWORTH	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.07.22	JACKSON	EDWARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.07.31	MALLOCK	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.02.26	WRIGHT	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1540.03.09	ROPER	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1540.09.06	CLAWE	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.08.06	ASBOUGHE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1541.08.28	EDLINGSON	ALAN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.10.20	BERY	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.02.12	MOUNSON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.06.22	BUSLEY	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1542.08.03	KNYGHT	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.03.18	CHATTER	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1542.09.27	FEWATER	JAMES	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1543.05.28	HOLLYS	FRAUNCES	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1543.12.19	DAWDO	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1543.10.03	FYSHER	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1543.03.12	WEST	WYLLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1544.10.16	KNIGHT	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.08.06	WYTTON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.11.24	COCKLEY	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.06.24	SKIPSWITH	EDWARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.08.06	WATSON	GEORGE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.12.29	CONY	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.02.22	DIGHTON	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/58
1544.11.18	BOLL	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1544.01.18	KYME	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.07.08	HATLEY	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1545.05.17	WALBEEF	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.09.08	FISHER	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.08.23	ELYOTT	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.06.01	WHITMAN	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1545.05.05	HARDCASTELL	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1545.04.04	WORTH	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.02.26	BAYLYE	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.02.12	PENYNGTON	LAWRENCE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.09.30	DYMOCKE	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.02.25	NEWTON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.02.26	DAVIE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.11.19	HUSEY	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.04.20	ELYS	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.12.26	WELBYE	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.05.30	ELLYK	BRYAN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.07.13	FAWER	GEORGE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1546.04.01	HERINGE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.04.07	TOTHEBY	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.07.29	WELBYE	ROGER	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.09.11	BECK	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.04.26	SPYRKES	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.09.22	SKERDOWE	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.06.01	BEVERCOTT	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.08.20	PAYNTER	MARGERY	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.01.14	GRENE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.12.04	SANTPALL	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.12.04	DALYSON	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.09.02	WYNGFELDE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.12.17	THEW	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.05.15	HABER	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.06.20	CROSTON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.06.22	SMYTHE	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.10.29	GUTNAPE	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1548.04.23	MARLAY	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.07.06	COLSON	AGNES	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.07.15	NORTH	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.04.20	IRBY	ANTHONY	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.08.31	MASON	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.08.31	DYGHTON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.09.20	CHAPMAN	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.02.25	BUSSY	EDWARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.12.16	CLARK	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.03.19	SEYMARE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548	ARGRAM	MARGARET	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.11.22	BRYNKLEY	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1548.02.19	TWYDAYLL	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1548.09.10	CLAYTON	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1548.04.14	WHITE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/44
1548.12.10	HUNTWIKE	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1549.03.24	NICHOLSON	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.11.10	FORSETT	EDWARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.02.22	LOUND	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1549.01.11	DOUGHTY	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1549.07.28	BURTON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1549.05.22	LATHAM	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.11.17	READE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.03.08	COLVELL	GODFREY	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.07.20	CLAXTON	BARTHOLOMEW	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.02.28	GYLDAY	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.06.12	SKIPWITH	ALICE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.04.25	BAWDREY	LEONARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.03.22	SUTTON	CHARLES	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.07.08	THYMELBY	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.08.09	BARENDISTON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.02.14	LOVE	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.08.15	HORNSEY	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.02.24	BARNABE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.02.27	SPENSER	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.11.25	SMYTHE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.07.12	PYE	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.02.20	JOHNSON	MORRICE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.03.02	EYRLINGTON	NICHOLAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.03.28	THYMELBY	MATHEW	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.04.18	HOLDERNES	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.05.20	SOWTER	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.04.12	LUPTON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.07.19	WILSON	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.05.26	TOFT	HENRY	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.10.27	GRANTHAM	VINCENT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.11.14	CLERK	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.03.29	BELSAY	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.04.16	BROKILSBY	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.06.17	SMYTHE	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.06.27	FORSTER	ADAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.08.25	JAY	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1551.07.15	POOLES	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.28	SMYTH	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.11.01	MARKHAM	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.10.28	RICHARDSON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.10.12	RATHBYE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.11.01	BLOWER	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.20	AUDLEY	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.10.06	BOSSALL	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.11	ALLEY	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1551.11.02	BAGSHAWE	NICHOLAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1551.12.27	IRELAND	HUMFREY	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.04.03	IDLE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.02.04	HOLDEN	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.02.12	JACKSON	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.12.14	SHEPPERD	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.09.10	SMYTH	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.07.23	CLAYMOND	FRANCES	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.07.22	ASHDALE	ANDREW	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.02.21	TOWNE	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1552.12.30	TASHE	WYLLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.12.28	ALMON	RICHARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.12.26	WINBYSHE	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.12.26	HODSHON	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.01.25	NEWELL	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.03.13	EVERIET	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.10.13	USTWAITE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.03.12	FISHWICK	WALTER	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.01.07	SWANNE	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.01.04	BYNKS	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.08.15	JACKSON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.03.04	CALLOWE	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.02.18	BOULLAN	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.04.10	FYSHER	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.04.24	REDE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.04.28	CLARKE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.05.23	STOWE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.0427	ROBERTSON	NICHOLAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.07.08	SPENCER	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.07.15	GRYCE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.07.18	HUNYNG	EDWARD	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1552.05.16	HARDYE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.06.06	MARRES	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.07.21	HOLLAND	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.04.10	ALLEN	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.10.20	REED	ANNE	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.09.10	COLSTON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1553.07.16	SMYTH	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/45
1553.10.01	BRAUNCHE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/40
1553.04.28	SCROPE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/38
1553.07.17	SMITH	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/45
1553.01.08	CONY	ROBERT	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1553.02.25	PALMER	CHRISTOPHER	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1553.06.07	BROWNE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.06.07	BROWNE	WILLIAM	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.07.20	RAWLINGSON	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.06.06	GARDYNER	HENRY	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553	LANGRAKE	EDMUND	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.07.19	GORSBYE	THOMAS	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.10.01	BRAUNCHE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.07.01	GRANTHAM	HUGH	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.07.13	RUTT	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.02.03	THORPE	JOHN	LINCOLNSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552	SPYNKS	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1510.09.26	CRYSPE	RICHARD	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.05.14	GRYFFYN	NICHOLAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.01.09	HUMFREY	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1510.04.06	QUARNOUR	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.06.04	TEMPEST	CRISTOFER	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.12.27	LOVET	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1511.06.17	FREBODY	WALTER	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.10.24	SMYTH	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.03.03	SAUNDERS	EDWARD	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1512.07.21	LELLE	MARGARET	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.05.19	NEWMAN	ELIZABETH	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1514.09.18	HALL	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1514.06.11	SHEFFORD	ROBERT	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1515.04.10	SOMERSETT	HUMFREY	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1517.04.10	CURROUR	RICHARD	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1518.10.01	COLLYS	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.11.01	MANTELL	ROBERT	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/19

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1520.03.06	KNYGHT	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1520.06.10	FRENCHAM	JAMES	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1519	BOYVILL	GEORGE	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1522.03.12	THOMSON	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.03.16	SMYHT	MAUD	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.01.08	SALTAR	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525.04.10	PALMER	ANDREW	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.09.16	ROBINSON	GEORGE	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.03.03	KIRKHAM	GEORGE	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.12.18	BELCHER	EDMOND	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.05.04	DODYNGTON	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1530.03.24	PARVYN	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1533.06.27	FITZWILLIAM	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.05.28	FITZWILLIAM	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.12.01	THOMPSON	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.11.25	CAVE	CLEMENT	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.03.31	ABELL	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.08.02	BOUNDE	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536	MANNYNG	EDMUND	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.12.18	COBBE	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.10.26	DENNETT	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.06.13	CAWE	RICHARD	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.05.02	NEWBY	JAMES	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.07.17	GRENEHALL	EDWARD	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1538.11.02	THURLBYE	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.09.26	BALLE	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1540.04.03	MONYNG	ROBERT	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.05.11	FLETAM	NICHOLAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.06.09	CARILL	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1541.12.04	LACH	ROGER	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.11.27	TURNER	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.06.10	ANDREWS	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.11.20	LOVETT	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.08.10	MORGAN	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1543.11.12	ELMES	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.06.20	SAUNDERS	LAWRENCE	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.11.28	HASELBRIDGE	MILES	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.03.01	HUSSE	ANNE	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.02.15	PEGGE	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.06.20	STAFFORD	HUMFREY	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/31

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1546	SHYPE	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.06.13	LEYKE	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.11.07	BLEFELD	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.01.10	CHAUNTRELL	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.04.29	CLEY	ELIZABETH	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1548.09.05	FISHER	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.01.31	BURNARD	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.12.02	JUDDE	WILLIAM	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.10.20	CATLYN	ROBERT	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.11.30	MAX	EDMOND	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.10.17	GREGORY	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.07.08	MONYNG	JOHANE	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.04.01	ZOUCHE	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.05.28	JULYANS	THOMAS	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1550.07.12	RAYNER	ROBERT	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1550.05.25	WYLDEBORE	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1550.05.20	HASELWOOD	JOHN	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1551.07.01	FARMER	RICHARD	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.03.01	GATESBYE	RICHARD	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.04.02	GOLLYE	GEORGE	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1553.12.07	METCALF	HENRY	NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1510.04.11	ELMYS	ELIZABETH	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.04.04	ROGERS	JOHAN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1515.08.03	EGGECOMB	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1515.02.28	ANDREWES	THOMAS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1517.08.12	PYCHARD	THOMAS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517.03.27	COBBS	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.06.25	COTTUSMORE	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.07.24	BULCOMBE	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1520.01.06	LIGHT	THOMAS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1520.02.07	PAVE	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.03.28	REEDE	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.12.16	ASHFIELD	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1522.09.24	JOSOPP	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1523	SHEPARD	ELYS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.02.05	GAMSON	THOMAS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525.01.02	HETHE	MICHAEL	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1525.02.24	ARDERNE	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.05.01	LEEK	RICHARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.07.12	ELMES	HUMPHREY	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/22

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1526.06.22	HOGGS	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.11.24	CURSON	WALTER	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.11.06	CICOLL	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.12.28	BROKEHAM	RICHARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.06.12	FENYS	EDWARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.01.29	MAWNDE	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1533.10.20	WOMAN	RICHARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.06.07	BULSTROD	MARGARET	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.01.02	CHARY	PERYA	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.03.15	BIGGELEY	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1536.01.17	BUSBY	RICHARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1536.05.16	WILGOSE	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1537.03.27	FLECTHER	THOMAS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1538.11.20	WHYTTON	EDMOND	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.02.01	ROOPER	GEORGE	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.06.02	WODEWARD	ROBERT	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.09.09	ALYNGER	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.01.25	HAMILDEN	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.02.08	ETON	RICHARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.06.07	GADBURY	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.02.08	BARRY	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1541.12.01	LYDE	HENRY	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1541.05.12	GOWGHT	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.07.18	HETHE	RICHARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.03.01	GELY	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1543.05.03	DRABYN	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1544.02.04	JONES	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.01.10	WARNER	RICHARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.05.07	ETON	ANNE	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.10.26	LEYNTHALE	THOMAS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1548.03.23	WELLISBURY	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.01.08	PAYNE	ROBERT	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548	COOKE	ROBERT	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1548.06.18	FOX	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.09.15	RYVE	RICHARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.10.01	DRYNG	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1550.12.14	EGERLEY	ROBERT	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.08.04	CARTER	THOMAS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.01.01	COOPE	ANTHONY	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.04.18	PAROT	ROBERT	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/56

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1550.04.24	CLARKE	RICHARD	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/42B
1551.02.07	WENTWORTH	NICHOLAS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/39
1551.11.12	ARDERNE	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/39
1551.07.14	CARLETON	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.01.26	DAWES	THOMAS	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1551.01.12	SHEPARD	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.01.06	SECOLE	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.09.13	REDING	JOHN	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.12.12	ALMINGTON	ROBERT	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.09.11	FERMOR	WILLIAM	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1553.01.11	BRYGHAM	ANTHONY	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.08.12	HORNE	EDMUND	OXFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1510.03.26	TURNER	RICHARD	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1514.11.01	BUSBY	ANDREW	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1514.09.08	HARPER	MARGARET	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1515.08.27	KYNGDON	WALTER	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1521	WELLYS	JOHN	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1523.06.11	DORINGTON	ROBERT	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525.05.16	FOSTER	ROBERT	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1532.02.13	GREY	RICHARD	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1540.03.28	MYNTON	JOHN	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1544.03.09	COLYER	JAMES	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1546.10.15	OKS	WILLIAM	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.08.11	WHOREWOOD	EDWARD	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.09.26	ETON	THOMAS	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1550.01.26	SKRYMSHER	THOMAS	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.04.30	POWELL	THOMAS	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551	SKRYMSHER	THOMAS	STAFFORDSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1547.06.27	ELYOTT	NICHOLAS	SURRY	PROB 11/31
1509.08.08	SNELLING	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/16
1509.04.22	FARNFOLDE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/16
1509.11.20	SAXPES	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/16
1509.02.11	SHERLEY	RAUFF	SUSSEX	PROB 11/16
1509.03.03	BURWELL	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/16
1510.07.03	ESTON	STEPHEN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/16
1510.03.02	ONLEY	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1510.01.06	HOLTE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1510.07.06	LOVES	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1510.06.20	MYKING	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1510	WAYTT	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/16

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1511.11.20	MORLEY	AGNES	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1511.11.20	MORLEY	AGNES	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1512.11.09	SCORAR	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20L
1513.04.10	BROWNE	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.05.21	NORE	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.05.28	FENNER	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.05.07	FENNER	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.11.11	HORLEY	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.06.20	JEFFREY	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.02.16	KIKEBY	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1514.02.18	FOYD	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1514.07.21	EYR	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1515.10.01	TAILLOUR	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1516.09.22	CULPEPER	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1516.04.05	RUNDELL	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1516.03.12	SOMER	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1517.06.22	LODGE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1518.08.20	WYGMORE	ANDREW	SUSSEX	PROB 11/19
1521.04.17	POTTEN	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1521.07.22	AWECKOCK	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1510.03.02	ONLEY	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1510.01.06	HOLTE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1510.07.06	LOVES	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1510.06.20	MYKING	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1510	WAYTT	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/16
1511.11.20	MORLEY	AGNES	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1511.11.20	MORLEY	AGNES	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1512.11.09	SCORAR	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1513.04.10	BROWNE	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.05.21	NORE	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.05.28	FENNER	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.05.07	FENNER	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.11.11	HORLEY	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.06.22	JEFFREY	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1513.02.16	KIKEBY	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/17
1514.02.18	FOYD	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1514.07.21	EYR	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1515.10.01	TAILLOUR	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1516.09.22	CULPEPER	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1516.04.05	RUNDELL	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1516.03.12	SOMER	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1517.06.22	LODGE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/18
1518.08.20	WYGMORE	ANDREW	SUSSEX	PROB 11/19
1521.04.17	POTTEN	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1521.07.22	AWECKOCK	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1521.08.20	COBY	HENRY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1521.08.05	SUTTON	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1521.01.31	BOOTE	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1522.10.15	AUSTEN	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/21
1522.11.12	BELE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/21
1522.12.20	LEWKENOUR	EDWARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1522.10.03	FAWEY	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1522.11.16	PARCHYNG	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/20
1522.04.30	MUSTERDEN	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/19
1523.08.23	PUTLER	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/ 21
1523.10.02	MULGAR	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/21
1523.12.23	IDON	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/21
1523.02.16	ADAMES	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1524.04.04	PYERS	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/21
1524.03.07	BREKENDEN	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/21
1524.07.05	HOOKE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/21
1524.05.24	SHRYNE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/21
1524.07.15	WHITE	AGNES	SUSSEX	PROB 11/21
1524.04.09	GARYS	EDMOND	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1525.01.05	TOREL	HENRY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1525.04.26	COOKE	JONE	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1525.11.03	BURTON	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1525.01.05	TOREL	HENRY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1526.05.25	TWYTTS	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1526.01.17	EVANS	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1527.02.04	COLPAS	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1527.02.24	THACCHER	JOAN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1527.02.01	MASTALL	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1527.10.01	LEWKENOR	EDWARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1527.03.16	JEFFEREY	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1528.12.04	STOOKS	HENRY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1528	AWOOD	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1528	WYBERNE	ANTONY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/22
1529.07.25	WYMOND	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/23
1529.11.16	CALVELEY	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/23

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1529.12.10	LONFORD	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/24
1530.05.29	ASHBURNEHAM	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/24
1531.05.04	BYFFYN	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/25
1532.03.14	WALTER	HENRY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/25
1532.08.15	TRODYS	OLIVER	SUSSEX	PROB 11/25
1533.04.25	MOWSEHERST	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/25
1533.07.05	PERSON	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/25
1534.10.08	LANKE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1533	HEMAN	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/25
1534.04.15	SCOTT	EDWARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/25
1534.10.08	GEFFREY	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1535.05.01	COMBE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/25
1535.03.18	COLYN	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/28
1536.08.02	CHURBORNE	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/25
1536.07.27	LISTER	ADAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1536.12.15	DAVY	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1536.08.14	THEECHER	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1536.08.28	BOWYER	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1537.08.29	PAYNE	GEORGE	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1537.01.15	ERNELEY	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1538.10.26	PELHAM	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1538.10.25	DYNELEY	FRANCIS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1539.03.08	PAY	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1539.09.06	CULPEPPER	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/27
1539.10.30	FAREFOLD	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1540.08.10	TURCKE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/28
1540.09.24	LANE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/28
1540.08.22	PYPER	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/28
1541.12.15	ISTED	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/29
1541.09.07	JESSON	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/29
1541.10.12	WOOD	ELIZABETH	SUSSEX	PROB 11/29
1541.09.06	COBYE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/30
1542.09.19	SMYTHE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/29
1542	WHITFIELD	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/29
1542.01.12	LEWKENOR	ROGER	SUSSEX	PROB 11/29
1541	WALLER	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/29
1542.10.17	SUSSEX	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1543.03.31	MARCH	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/29
1543.11.27	FEWEWILLIAMS	XPOFER	SUSSEX	PROB 11/30
1543.01.23	ERLE	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/30

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1543.06.02	SYRE	GEORGE	SUSSEX	PROB 11/30
1544.02.05	PELLAND	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1544.03.01	LEWKENS	EDMOND	SUSSEX	PROB 11/30
1544.05.10	BRADSHAW	ELY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/30
1544	WINFREY	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/30
1545.08.30	LEAGEANT	EDWARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/30
1545.05.28	HARDAM	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1545.05.25	CHAUNTLER	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1545.01.20	IRELAND	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1545.03.25	NYSELL	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1546.07.22	COLPES	HENRY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1546.04.28	SMYTHE	HENRY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1546.07.03	BACHELER	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1546.03.16	COVERT	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1547.09.16	ALEN	ANNE	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1547.08.31	FOWLE	GEORGE	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1547.04.17	HARRISON	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1547.09.30	MEDCAULF	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1547.05.31	BERHAM	HENRY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/31
1548.07.12	LALHAM	EDWARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1548.09	SAWYER	CHRISTOPHER	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1548.04.11	WHITE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1548.07.25	WYBARNE	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1548.03.13	BAKER	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/36
1548.08.04	GAINFORD	NICHOLAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1548.08.31	REYNOLD	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1548.02.07	HAWES	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1549.04.11	FREND	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1549.05.10	HOLLOCK	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1549.05.15	SCRAS	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/32
1549.08.08	COMPS	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1549.02.14	COLLEN	ALEXANDER	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1549.12.13	DAWTREY	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1549.11.21	ROBINSON	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1549.01.21	DELVE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1549.02.08	JENNE	NICHOLAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1549.11.17	ELLYS	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1549.01.02	OXENBRIDG	WILLIAM	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1549.02.16	OTES	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1549.11.15	COOPER	EDWARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1550.12.16	COOPER	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1550.11.23	MYLLES	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1550.07.30	VOYCE	HENRY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1550.08.08	SHELLEY	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1550.05.28	CRESWELLAR	AUGUSTYNE	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1550.10.20	BELLINGEHAM	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/36
1550.08.19	STYLER	NICHOLAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/36
1549	PRYMER	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1550.04.20	DENYS	ROGER	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1550.05.10	HORD	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1550.07.25	WOOD	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/33
1550.12.04	MYLLER	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1550.10.12	WEST	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1550.08.26	POPE	EDMOND	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1550.05.24	HALLE	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.04.29	YEMAN	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1551.09.02	ROBERTS	MARTYN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1551.06.06	MYCHELL	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1551.08.16	HOLMAN	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1551.09.30	PRESTALL	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1551.07.12	TOMSON	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1551.05.01	BORHAM	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/37
1551.03.08	SMYTH	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/36
1551.11.11	GREGORYE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.12.07	MORRYSHE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.12.03	JONES	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.03.18	THOMPSON	JOHAN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.07.13	BOWNER	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.04.22	DERLY	LAWRENCE	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.07.24	GRYNFELD	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.12.23	LEE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.01.14	BREDON	ANDREW	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.02.04	HAYNES	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.08.08	BACHELER	GEORGE	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551	ABROOK	JOHIS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/34
1552.01.30	COWPER	JOHANE	SUSSEX	PROB 11/36
1552.08.01	MARLETT	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/36
1552.10	DWKE	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/36
1552.01.31	PTREGE	RICHARD	SUSSEX	PROB 11/36
1552.05.31	BENET	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1552.08.08	JERVYS	NICHOLAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1552.05.20	PARRAT	JOHN	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1552.06.02	HERWARD	HUMFREY	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1553.01.14	SANDFORD	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/36
1552	MAY	THOMAS	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1551.02.16	WYNSON	ROBERT	SUSSEX	PROB 11/35
1509.05.21	MARLER	HARRY	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.01.16	NORTON	JOHANNES	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.04.13	LEE	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.05.27	JACKSON	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.08.22	TURNOR	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.11.10	EGYNTON	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.01.19	MINAR	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.01.16	SHAW	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1510.03.02	HARWELL	AGNES	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.03.26	HUNGEFORD	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1513.07.27	WILLE	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1513.04.10	LEE	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.01.01	PADLAND	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.03.31	FOTE	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.06.18	GREENE	HUMFREY	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.12.20	ALESTRE	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517.01.20	TRUSSELL	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1517.08.22	DYGBY	SYMOND	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518	THROKMORTON	ROBERT	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1518.09.23	TURNOUR	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.12.01	FORD	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.03.24	HADDON	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.09.20	PIFFORD	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.11.03	HARDWEN	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.10.20	BURWEY	NICHOLAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1520.09.13	SKIPWITH	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1520.04.19	COMAUNDER	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1521.04.17	HILL	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.03.11	HOPKYNS	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.10.18	BEMYCHE	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1522.04.12	SPENCER	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1522.10.04	DAWYS	HUGH	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1523.10.10	STRONG	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.05.20	CLERK	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/21

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1524.07.05	BOREWAY	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.10.10	CRONE	JOANNE	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1525.06.15	PYSFORD	HENRY	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525.10.18	EVERARD	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1526.01.12	MARLER	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1527.11.25	WARDE	HENRY	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.08.17	WYIAM	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1528.07.10	ATWOOD	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1529.07.28	ASTELL	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1529.07.26	BANWELL	WILLYAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1530.04.06	DAWSON	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.05.01	KYLBYE	HENRY	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.05.16	WAREN	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1531.01.31	SPENSER	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1532.04.13	HUMFREY	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1534.11.24	COLD	EDWARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536.03.09	SLADE	FRAUNCES	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1536	SMYTH	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1539.01.11	PEYTON	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1539.10.03	WAYD	CHRISTOPHER	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1539.09.18	COOKE	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.01.08	NETHERMYLL	JULIAN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1539.11.13	GRYFFITH	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539	DODDE	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.10.19	LAPWORTH	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.12.20	WARD	ISABELL	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.04.16	FILDING	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1541.04.30	BRADSHAY	PETER	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1542.11.04	WIGSTON	ROGER	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.11.22	WREN	CHRISTOPHER	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.03.14	BANWELL	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1543.10.21	ATWOOD	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1543.12.07	KYRVYN	ROBERT	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.09.04	GRAY	LAWRENCE	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.02.07	GRENE	ROBERT	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/45
1545.09.01	KITELEY	EUSTACH	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.12.08	DODD	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.10.21	LATHAM	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545.02.07	SAMUELL	HENRY	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1545	WODALL	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1546.03.07	GREVILL	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1546.11.18	COTTERELL	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1546.05.22	DYMOCKE	CHARLES	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.06.20	BANWELL	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.08.15	GOODRIGE	ARTHUR	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.02.20	HAWE	RICHARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.10.02	COTON	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.05.18	COLCHESTER	HUMPHREY	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.11.04	DEVEROUX	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/61
1548.08.30	WAYTLEY	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.10.20	BLOUNT	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.12.31	CLARKE	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1548.01.26	BENTLEY	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.08.18	GEDE	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.07.17	FORSTER	GYLES	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.03.14	WOODWARD	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1549.03.08	SMYTH	THOMS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549	WILLOUGHBY	HENRY	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1550.11.11	PERS	ROBERT	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.11.11	PEERS	ROBERT	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.01.15	BEWFOO	ELIZABETH	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.11.20	FREKYLLTON	NICHOLAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.06.24	HOPLEY	EDWARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.07.01	BARTON	EDWARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.06.26	PEYTOO	MARGARET	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1551.10.17	WILMER	WILLIAM	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.11.06	WREN	EDWARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.02.24	BOND	THOMAS	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/39
1552.03.06	GEYNER	CUTBEARD	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/39
1552.07.22	CONWAY	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.08.01	WARNER	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.01.31	PORTER	HEWE	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/43
1553.09.07	MOUNFORD	JOHN	WARWICKSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1509.03.19	ROBYNS	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.06.10	LAMBARD	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.10.20	CRABBE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.06.01	STYLEMAN	ROBERT	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1509.02.01	COKE	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.04.15	POTTER	JAMES	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.08.06	CERVINGTON	WALTER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/16

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1510.07.25	SYMON	ROGER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1510.11.20	BEYNGER	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/16
1511.07.09	DEWKE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.07.24	WILFORD	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1511.07.11	BURTON	ROGER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1512.04.08	STRANGWAYS	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1513.04.10	CLEVELAND	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1514.07.14	POWER	CHRISTOPHER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1514.12.05	LUKES	WALTER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/17
1515.03.20	MORGAN	GEORGE	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.05.18	RYPPINGDEN	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.10.02	MALIBROKE	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.02.07	BARBY	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1516.01.10	SCROPE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1517.08.20	POWTON	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/44
1517.09.11	SPENSER	NICHOLAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517.07.13	PENGRYF	HENRY	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517.11.18	SELWODE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1517	ANSLOW	GEORGE	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/18
1518.04.06	FEVYR	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.03.24	TYZEN	JACOBUS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.08.28	CHAPMAN	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.01.10	FLEMYNG	MARTIN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1518.11.29	CLEY	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1519.05.19	BECHE	ROBERTUS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1520.04.20	MOCKARY	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1521.07.05	PYARD	CHRISTOPHER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/20
1521.04.23	BAYNARD	PHILIPP	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/19
1522.01.01	PAUNSCEFOTE	HENRY	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.05.08	COOK	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.05.11	CHANCY	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.07.13	WEBBE	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.11.07	LEIGH	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.02.10	BUTTON	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1523.03.09	SKYLLYNG	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.06.20	LANGTON	ROBERT	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.07.07	MARTYN	ROBERT	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1524.01.23	BENGER	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/21
1525.07.04	MERCHANT	MORYS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1526.10.08	BRODGATE	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/22

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1527.09.16	HART	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528	FLOWIE	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/22
1528.07.25	DARELL	EDWARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1529.03.19	WHITEACRE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1530.08.20	MARTYN	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1530.07.26	HARTON	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1530.09.16	ACTON	HENRY	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/23
1531.08.30	BECHE	STEVEN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1531.04.02	JEFFERY	WALTER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1532.07.28	LOBBE	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/24
1533.11.07	PAGE	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1533.08.31	HILLEY	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.12.03	VAUGHAN	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1534.07.12	BROWNE	MARY	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1535.05.01	PLANN	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.10.29	CURRY	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.09.25	STONE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.07.02	PYCKENHAM	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/25
1535.02.13	STANLAKE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1536.03.15	SMYTH	PHILIP	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1536.04.10	GODDERD	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1536.05.08	PEERSE	JOANE	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.04.16	NYCOLLS	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.09.14	DEANE	EDWARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537	AFFERNWELL	NICHOLAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1537.11.16	KNIGHT	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.05.20	BATH	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.04.01	SMYTH	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.01.18	TURNEY	GEORGE	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.02.18	WILLIAMS	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.05.11	EAMONS	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1538.02.18	BENNETT	CHARLES	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/26
1539.07.26	ERLE	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/27
1540.04.29	SOUTH	ROBERT	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.04.05	ARDEN	WALTER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.08.10	NORRINGTON	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.12.28	HYATTE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1540.11.01	HAWLES	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/28
1541.10.01	BISHOP	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1541.06.04	LACKSTOCKE	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/28

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1542.06.09	MORGAN	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.01.18	GREEVESON	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.11.12	YORK	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.12.02	LONG	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.01.16	BRYNDE	EDMUND	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.11.02	BENET	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1542.02.16	SNELL	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1543.04.14	BAYLY	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/29
1543.07.27	BODHENHAM	CECELY	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1544.02.09	BIGGS	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.10.21	BALFFRONTE	ROBERT	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.07.08	BAYNTON	EDWARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1544.12.28	ADAMS	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/30
1545.10.20	WARE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1545.04.26	WODLAND	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1545	LANGFORD	ALEXANDER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.03.12	ASHLOOKE	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/3
1546.07.15	EVANNCE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.08.04	EVANNCE	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.03.04	FLOWER	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.06.18	MAY	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.07.28	CORDAY	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.08.16	AMERYCKE	SYBYLL	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1546.03.19	WILCOX	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547	BROHAM	ELIZABETH	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.01.03	COLDESTON	HENRY	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.10.16	DICKE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1547.10.16	DYKE	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/44
1547.06.05	HOLME	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1547.03.28	BUTTON	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/31
1548.06.20	WYMER	NICHOLAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.02.07	ROGERS	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.04.16	BONHAM	ANNE	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1548.09.28	YATE	ELLEN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.03.15	FLOWER	NICHOLAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.06.04	GORTON	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.04.25	MARKE	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/32
1549.05.29	HEYWARD	AGNES	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1549.07.29	BAYNARD	HENRY	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1549.08.29	HARRIS	WALTER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/48

DATE	SURNAME	FIRST NAME	COUNTY	REFERENCE
1549.08.18	BRAWORTH	GAWYNE	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.10.16	SAWGHT	ROBERT	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.03.16	GODDARD	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.08.19	MYCHELL	CUTBERT	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1549.07.30	DEMBERS	SYLVESTER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1550.09.05	HALLE	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.07.22	SPENSER	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.06.07	NORBORNE	HUMFREY	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.10.31	MARTYN	ALICE	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.10.14	MODY	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1550.08.08	RAGGE	HENRY	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/33
1551.09.14	GAWEN	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/41
1550	SPENSER	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.08.25	CHAFYN	CHRISTOPHER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/34
1551.10.08	GRENELEY	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/38
1551.07.21	ASSHELOCKE	CHRISTOPHER	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.11.18	LONGFORD	EDWARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1551.01.08	ROGERS	ELIZABETH	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.06.26	BAYLY	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/42A
1552.05.26	FRANKLYN	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/37
1552.02.14	MOMPESSON	EDWARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1552.03.28	PAYNE	MICHAEL	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.03.14	PERSONS	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.08.26	BAROWGH	RICHARD	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.10.16	BUSSHELL	JOHN	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1552.04.01	BAYLY	WILLYAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/35
1553.06.09	SKOTT	THOMAS	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.05.20	KENT	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/36
1553.01.22	WEBBE	WILLIAM	WILTSHIRE	PROB 11/36