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William Revetour, Chaplain and Clerk of York, Testator

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On the second of August, 1446, William Revetour, chantry chaplain of the civic chapel of St William on Ousebridge, made his will taking particular care of the younger generation of his immediate family – the children of John and Alice Haryngton. On 11 August, realising that he was indeed dying, he added a codicil providing, among other additions, special bequests to his god-daughter, Isabel Bolton, and her brother and sister, the unmarried children of John Bolton. On 3 September the will was probated and a week later, on 3 September, his sister, Alice Haryngton, arrived in York to take up her duties as one of the executrices of her brother's will.

Revetour's will has long been known since excerpts of it were published by James Raine in volume 2 of *Testamenta Eboracencia* in 1855.¹ Raine's note to the will indicates particular excitement about the references it contains to plays. He was writing thirty years before the publication of the *York Cycle* by Lucy Toulmin Smith² and the only Yorkshire plays known to him were the 'Towneley Mysteries' published by the Surtees Society in 1836.³ Raine speculates about Revetour's possible authorship of the two plays in his possession – the Creed Play and a play on St James – and prints a very truncated version of the will concentrating on the personal library that Revetour left behind him. Seventeen years later, still before the publication of the *York Cycle*, Robert Skaife published most of the documents surviving in London and York concerning the Corpus Christi Guild. In the biographical note to Revetour's first appearance in that volume, Skaife wrote, 'A chantry priest in the chapel of St-William-on-Ouse-bridge, a man of great taste and accomplishments, and the author, it is supposed, of one, or more, of those religious dramas, or miracle plays, for which the city of York was then celebrated'.⁴ I discussed Revetour's bequest of the Creed Play to the Corpus Christi Guild and the subsequent activities of John Fox, one of his executors, to ensure the play was performed regularly as one of the first fruits of my research in the dramatic records of York.⁵

Recently, I have returned to the question of William Revetour's possible
involvement in the playmaking of York in the early fifteenth century and, in the
course of my research, I rediscovered his will. The complete will is a fascinating
social document providing us with a window through which we can see the life and
relationships of one man in York in the early fifteenth century. Revetour is the only
individual whose name we know to have a specific concern with play texts in York. In
1376, William de Thorp rather casually leaves 'libros meos de ludis' to Richard de
Yedingham if he wants them, but there is no hint of what these plays were. Revetour
was in a particularly strategic position to be part of the process of revision as chaplain
in the civic chapel, deputy town clerk and friend and advisor, as his will shows, to
several powerful mayors in the key period between 1415 and 1433 when a substantial
revision of the Corpus Christi Play was undertaken.

The facts that we know of Revetour's life are quickly given. His father Roger
Morbel was a nailer from Swynton. William was made free of the City of York
1419-20 'per patres' as 'Willelmus Revetour, clericus, fil. Rogeri Morbell, revetour'. On
17 May, 1421, he was ordained acolyte by Archbishop Bowet and joined the
Corpus Christi Guild in 1423-24. The next mention of Revetour in the records is on
11 July of the same year, when he is named as witness to a will of Nicholas
Worthill. He is identified as 'sub-clericus camere' which Skaife translates as 'deputy
town clerk' and Percy as 'deputy clerk of the chamber'. At this time, Roger Burton,
whom Barrie Dobson refers to as 'the most active holder of that office in the fifteenth
century', was common clerk. On 10 August, 1428, Revetour's patron, Nicholas
Blackburn, the elder, appointed him permanent chaplain of the memorial chantry of
Richard Toller in St William's Chapel, Ousebridge, a position that brought Revetour
an additional annual income of six marks. Three and a half years later, on 20
February 1432, Blackburn named him executor of his will adding in the English
codicil, 'I Wyte Vnto William Revetour Preeste for hys gude labour yat he has done
and bus do aboute me'. Over the next year he was involved as executor and
beneficiary of two more wills in the Blackburn family and a land transaction that
involved Margaret Bolton, married daughter of John Bolton. In 1440-41, he served
one term as the Keeper of the Corpus Christi Guild and during that year many of his
circle named in the will became members of the Guild. No records of special
activities survive from this year until the year of his death five years later.

What follows is an annotated edition of the will. Thanks to the assiduous
labours of the record keepers of York, one of whom was Revetour himself, and the
equally assiduous antiquarians and scholars of the last two centuries, it has been
possible to identify almost all the people named in the will. The one major lacuna in
the notations is the identification of Revetour's immediate family. Neither his sister,
Alice Haryngton, nor any of the Haryngton children named in the will appear in the records. Two John Haryngtons, however, do appear in the records for the right period. One is John Haryngton, mercer, made free in 1416-17 three years before Revetour himself. No other reference to this Haryngton appears in the records. If he were Revetour's brother-in-law and living in York, one would have expected that he and his wife would have joined the Corpus Christi Guild especially in the year William was Keeper and seems to have encouraged many in his circle into becoming members. The second John Haryngton is the son of Sir Thomas Haryngton of Hornby in Lancashire whose Yorkshire seat was at Brierly in the West Riding not far from Swynton. Minstrels of both father and son are paid by the York chamberlains in this period. This John died with his father at the battle of Wakefield in 1460. Raine prints the will of Sir Thomas and, in his notes, names John's wife as Maud, daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford. A later John Haryngton, who was related to the Haryngton's of Brierly, became York city clerk at the request of Richard III in 1484. It seems likely, therefore, that Revetour's sister's family did not live in York. Alice arrived to take up her duties as co-executrice seven days after Revetour's death arguing that she lived a two- or three-day journey from the city. Given the relative wealth displayed by the will and the other connections among the Revetour circle into the landed gentry, it is possible that Revetour's brother-in-law was connected with the Haryngtons of Brierly and lived in the West Riding. He may or may not be the John Haryngton made free in 1416-17. The will reveals Revetour to be a man of considerable substance and possessions not only in books but in clothes and furniture. His interest in several of the religious houses in York and its suburbs is clear as is his concern for the support of the chantry priests and other lesser religious who did daily service in the many chantries of the city. The circle of friends and relatives that emerges from the will was extensive and included not only his fellow priests but many of the most powerful citizens of York in this period. His concern for the younger members of his family and the families of his friends and patrons whom he remembered with specific and useful gifts, shows a man who valued human relationships.
NOTES


6 Records of Early English Drama: York, ed. by Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979) I, 3. (Hereafter REED.)


8 Register of the Freemen of the City of York, ed. by Francis Collins, Surtees Society, 96 (London: Whittaker, 1897) p. 81. There are three Swyntons in Yorkshire – one near Malton, one near Masham both in the North Riding and one in the West Riding near Rotherham. Since Morbel was a nailer, it is reasonable to suggest that the family came from the West Riding Swynton where there were substantial deposits of iron.

9 Collins, p. 130. Most of the documents cited are dated by regnal year or from a feast day in one calendar year to the same feast day in a subsequent year. In most cases, therefore, the documents cover more than one calendar year. Unless a more precise date (such as a feast day) is provided for an event, it is impossible to be more specific and the double years are given.

10 Skaife, p. 24.

11 Skaife, p. 23.


14 York City Chamberlains’ Account Rolls 1396-1500, ed. by R. B. Dobson, Surtees Society, 192 (Gateshead: Northumberland Press, 1980) p. 11. Burton was clerk from 1415-36 (ibid). By 1442, John Shirwood was common clerk (ibid, p. 21).

15 See footnote 14.


17 Borthrick Institute of Historical Research, Prob. Reg. 2, fol. 606v. Raine, p. 19. As late as 17 September 1436, Revetour was engaged with land owned by Blackburn in the
Fleshshambles (Percy, p. 113).

18 See notes 13 and 26.
19 See notes 39 and 65.
20 Skaife, p. 37.
21 Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Prob. Reg. 2, fols 137v-38v. I wish to express my gratitude to my colleague, Dr Abigail Ann Young, for her help in transcribing and translating this document, particularly the unusual probate formula. I would also like to thank Professor David Smith, Director of the Borthwick Institute, for granting permission for the publication of this document.
22 Collins, p. 125.
23 Elza Tiner, 'Patrons and Travelling Companies in York', REED Newsletter, 17 (1992), 1-36 (p. 16).
24 REED, I, 69-75.
25 Raine, p. 251.
Testamentum domini Wille/omi Reuetour capellani
Ciuitatis Ebor'
William Revetour, Chaplain and Clerk of York, Testator

ffratrorum mendicancium Ebor' xx s. equis porcionibus diuidendos\(^5\) Item lego ad distribuendum pauperibus in lez Masendieux\(^6\) in Ebor' & suburbibus eiusdem & leprosis xx s. Et tribus Reclusis Ebor' iij s. eque diuidendos Item lego cuilibet canonico capellano domus sancti Andree in suburbis Ebor' vj d.\(^7\) Et cuilibet alio canonico non capellano dicre domus iij d. Item lego cuilibet moniali domus sancti Clementis in suburbis Ebor' vj d.\(^8\) Item lego fabricae ecclesie Cathedralis beati Petri Ebor' x s.\(^9\) Et Gilde sancti christi Ebor' iij s. iij d.\(^10\) Et fabricae domus sancti Antonij in Ebor' iij s. iij d.\(^11\) Item lego fabricae feretri corporis christi Ebor' vnum Goblet argenti\(^12\) Item lego duobus capellanis ydoneis & honestis videlicet vni eorum ad celebrandum in ecclesia parochiali sancti Iohannis Euangeliste predicta et alteri in predicta Capella sancti willelmi pro anima mea & animabus suprad/cfis necnon pro

\(^5\) All four orders had major houses in York. The Augustinian friary, famous for its library (The Friars' Libraries, ed. by K. W. Humphreys, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues [London: The British Library, 1990]), stood on the north bank of the Ouse between the later site of the Guildhall and St Leonard's Hospital in Lendal. This friary, along with its neighbour St Leonard's, rented the ninth station (located very close to their front gate) for the Corpus Christi Play in 1454, the same year as Thomas Tubbat rented station four (see notes 1 and 38, REED, I, 85). The Dominican Friary stood across the Ouse just north of Toft Green. The Franciscan house was on the north bank of the Ouse beyond Ousebridge near the Castle while the Carmelite house stood not far from the Mercer's Hall off Fossgate.

\(^6\) There were many 'maisondieus' in York including one on Ousebridge. See B. P. Johnson, 'The Gilds of York' in The Noble City of York, ed. by Alberic Stacpole and others (York: Cerialis Press, 1972) p. 492.

\(^7\) The Gilbertine Priory of St Anthony stood just outside the walls to the south of the Castle on the bank of the Ouse. It was founded in 1202 to provide chaplains for the nunnery of St Clements across the river. Alberic Stacpole, 'The Monastic and Religious Orders in York, 606-1540' in Stacpole and others, p. 644.

\(^8\) The Benedictine convent of St Clements was south of the city just outside the Skeldergate postern.

\(^9\) The Minster.

\(^10\) The Guild of St Christopher with whom the Guild of St George subsequently merged had entered into an agreement in 1445 (the year before this will) to share the cost of rebuilding the Guildhall in Coneystreet beside the Augustinian Friary (An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York, V, The Central Area ([London]: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, 1981, p. 77).

\(^11\) St Anthony's Hall, now the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, is located on Aldwark facing Peasholme Green. It was under construction at the time this will was written (RCHM, p. 91).

\(^12\) The shrine of Corpus Christi was carried in the annual procession by the Guild. At the time of this bequest, the guild did not have the splendid reliquary donated to the guild by Thomas de Spofforth in 1449 that became the central element of the procession (Skaife, p. 14). Inventories of the guild subsequent to 1446 are published in REED, I, 631-48.

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Revetour was the executor of Alice Cokker's will and kept a legacy for Isabel Blackburn in trust for her. This included some silver and household goods. The acknowledgment of Revetour's position as trustee is recorded in the B/Y Memorandum Book (Percy, p. 103). Isabel Blackburn was daughter of Nicholas and Margaret Blackburn (see note 14).

Nicholas Blackburn, the elder, was made free as 'Nicholas de Blakburn de Richemond' in 1396-97 (Collins, p. 98). In 1405-06 he is referred to in the Patent Rolls as 'admirallus flotae navium regis ab ore Thamesis versus partes boriales' (Skaife, p. 16). He was mayor in 1412 (Dobson, p. 209). He joined the Corpus Christi Guild in 1414-15 (Skaife, p. 16). Blackburn and his wife Margaret had five children – John who predeceased him, Nicholas, the younger, who was also mayor in 1429 (Dobson, p. 209), William, Isabel (see note 13) and Alice who married John Bolton (see note 15). The family were parishioners of All Saints North Street and contributed one of the most famous windows in the church with portraits of both Nicholas and their wives in the lowest row of panels (Peter Gibson, 'The Stained and Painted Glass of York' in Stacpole and others, p. 166). Nicholas, the elder, endowed at least three chantry chapels – one in St Anne's Chapel Fossbridge (Dobson, p. xxxvi) and two in the conventual church of the Friars Preacher (Percy, p. 155). He left 'my beste vestment, my best Missall, and my best chaleys' to the chantry on Fossbridge (Raine, p. 21). He also left four torches to the Corpus Christi Guild for the procession (REED, I, 52) and fifteen pounds recorded in the Obituary Rolls of the Guild for the year of his death (Skaife, p. 246). Revetour was executor of his will (Raine, p. 21). Margaret Blackburn died in 1435 and left Revetour a bowl and a chaffer that he passes on in this will (see notes 26 and 65).

John Bolton, Nicholas Blackburn's son-in-law, was the son of John Bolton, mercer, who was mayor in 1410 (Dobson, p. 209). John, the younger, appears frequently in the records of the city in this period. He was one of the 'twenty-four' present at the sermon of Friar William Melton in 1426 and party to the decision (never acted upon, see Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The Procession and Play of Corpus Christi in York after 1426,' Leeds Studies in English, n.s. 7 (1973-74), pp. 55-62) to move the Corpus Christi Play to the Friday to allow a better celebration of the procession and subsequent mass on Corpus Christi Day itself (REED, I, 42-43). He was MP for the city 1428 (Raine, 18) and mayor in 1431-32 (Dobson, p. 210). As mayor he acted for the city in the agreement between the city and the keepers of the Corpus Christi Guild to house the shrine in St William's Chapel (Ousebridge) and to have the right to carry the shrine (or arrange for it to be carried) in the procession (REED, I, 50-52). He and his wife Alice joined the Guild that year (Skaife, p. 30). Bolton died in 1445 and left all his effects to Alice and their unmarried children (Raine, p. 18). Revetour left bequests to three of the Bolton children, his god-daughter Isabel and her sister Agnes and a brother, John, in the codicil to this will (see notes 65 and 67).

John Naire is named as Keeper of the Corpus Christi Guild in three periods 1426-27 (Skaife, p. 15), 1433-35 (p. 33) and 1442-45 (p. 41). He did not become a freeman of the city until 1449-50 (Collins, p. 169).
William Revetour, Chaplain and Clerk of York, Testator

iiij d. Et domino Thome Smyth capellano

iij s. iiij d. Et domino Iohanni yoman capellano

iij s. iiij d. Et Iohanni Pacok clerico

xx d. Et domino Iohanni Belamy

iij s. iiij d. Item lego Alicie Bolton seniori

vnum librum de oracione dominica & Stimulo consciencie in Anglica tractatum

Item lego Iohanni Swynton

xiiij s. iiij d.

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17 The first mention of Sir Thomas Smith is his entry into the Corpus Christi Guild in 1440-41, the year Revetour was Keeper (Skaife, p. 37). He was made free 1442-43 (Collins, p. 161); Keeper of the Corpus Christi Guild 1445-46 and 1455-57 (Skaife, pp. 43, 54.) He rented a room in St William's Chapel 1442-43, (Dobson, p. 21); and was paid several years by the city as the chantry priest in the chantry chapel of Nicholas Blackburn on Fossbridge (Dobson, pp. 21, 23, 32) In 1455 he was left 10 marks in the will of John, Lord Scrope (Raine, p. 193).

18 John Yoman was Keeper of the Corpus Christi Guild 1451-53 (Skaife, p. 49)

19 John Pacok, clerk, was made free 1424-25 (Collins, p. 136). He is mentioned twice as party to minor legal transactions in 1425 (Percy, p. 80) and in 1429 (Sellers, A/Y, II, pp. 183-84).

20 John Belamy was made free 'per patres' as the son of 'Willelmi Belamy, cordwaner' 1444-45 (Collins, p. 164).

21 Alice Bolton was widow of John Bolton, the younger (see note 15).

22 The new Manual Of Writings in the Middles Ages describes the 'Prick of Conscience' as 'A long eschatological poem describing the wretchedness of man's nature and condition and expounding popular doctrine on the four last things - death, judgment, heaven and hell.' (Robert R. Raymo, 'Works of Religious and Philosophical Instruction', A Manual of Writings in Middle English, Vol. 7, ed. by A. E. Hartung (New Haven, Connecticut: The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science, 1986), p. 2268). It contains a prologue and seven parts in approximately 9,600 short lines in rhyming couplets. It has been misattributed to both Richard Rolle and Robert Grosseteste. The Yorkshire version is thought to date from 1350. There is a famous medieval window in All Saints North Street that depicts the last things and is known as the 'Prick of Conscience' window (Gibson, p. 167). One of the most interesting aspects of Revetour's bequests of books is the number of vernacular versions of the scriptures, the creeds, prayers and devotional literature that he had in his possession. This is in sharp contrast to the two great libraries in York whose library lists survive – that of the Augustinian friary and St Mary's Abbey (see English Benedictine Libraries, ed. by R. Sharpe and others, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (London: The British Library, 1996), pp. 677-797) where there appear to have been no vernacular texts of biblical and devotional material. The friary had a copy of the Gospel of Nicodemus (Humphreys, #285c) and six copies of St Bernard's Meditationes (#95d, #106t, #108a, #144a, #147f and #592b as well as a 'tabule super Bernardi cantica et meditacionum' #250b). Both the friary and St Mary's had a considerable amount of the writings of St Bernard on the life of the Virgin. All this material appears to have been in Latin.

23 Only two John Swyntons appear in the York records for this period. One, a girdler, was made free 1394-95 (Collins, p. 95) who would have been an old man by 1446 and the second, a fishmonger, was made free in 1407-08 (Collins, p. 111). It is unlikely that either of these men are the legatee. Revetour's family came from Swynton (see endnote 8). Given William's concern for the younger members of his family and the additional items of

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et vnam togam nigrum penulatam cum Agnis nigris Et vxori eius vj s. viij d. Item lego Iohanni Haryngton duodecim cocliaria argenti signata cum I et H/ et vnam togam blodium meam optimam Et alicie vxori eius sorori mea vnum Ouche auri cum quadam aquila in eodem circumposita certis lapidibus & vnam togam de vyolett furratam & vnum par preculatorum de leet cum quadam cruce in eodem pendentu cum gaudiis in modum turris deauratis. Item lego willelmo Haryngton filio dictorum Iohannis & Alicie vnum magnum psalterium cum communi Sanctorum in eodem notato & alium librum de Euangelifis & legenda Sanctorum in Anglica tractatum & vnam mensam vocatam a Countre ligatam bene cum ferro vnum lectum plumalem vnum par linthiaminum vnum lectum de albo & blodio cum tapeta eiusdem Paleum & vnum cocliar plicabile argenti Item lego Isabelle Haryngton sorori eius eius vnum cocliar argenti & vj s. viij d. vnum lectum plumalem vnum par linthiaminum vnum coopertorium de rubio & glauco cum capeta eiusdem cum leonibus & auibus in eisdem & vnam ollam enum cum patella & vnam peluim Et Thome Haryngton vnum cocliar argenti & vj s. viij d. vnum paruum lectum plumalem vnum par linthiaminum & duo coopertoria de rubio & glauco & blodio & rubio et vnum Bolster Item lego Ricardo Haryngton vnum cocliar argenti & vj s. viij d., vnum Materas & vnum Quylt Et Agneti Haryngton sorori eius vnum cocliar argenti & vj s. viij d. & vnam Peluim Item lego domino willelmo de Kexby capellano vnam togam de blodio mixtam penulatam cum Croupes Et domino Iohanni de Naburn vnum togam de Murray penulatam Item do & lego deo omnipotenti beateque virgini Marie ac sancto willelmo & sancte Barbare ad deseruiendum in Capella sancti Willelmi supradicri in festis eorundem vnum vestimentum album cum tunicellis eiusdem pro diacono &

clothing left to John Swynton in the codicil, it is possible that this is a young cousin still living in Swynton.

24 This bequest to his brother-in-law begins the section of extensive and practical bequests to his immediate family.

25 The bequest to nephew William of some of his service books suggests that William was in orders.

26 Revetour received a pot from Margaret Blackburn, widow of Nicholas Blackburn, the elder, in her will probated 29 April 1435 (Raine, p. 50).

27 No Sir William de Kexby appears in the York records of this period. The village of Kexby is ten kilometres west of York and the site of a bridge over the Derwent. That there was a connection with Kexby within Revetour's circle is possibly indicated by the fact that Margaret Blackburn left one hundred pounds 'fabricae pontis de Kexby' in the codicil of her will (Raine, p. 50). William was probably the parish priest.

28 No Sir John de Naburn appears in the York records of this period. He was probably parish priest of the village of Naburn six kilometres south of York on the Ouse.
subdiacono & vnam paruam legendam Item lego Cantaric Ricardi Toller in eadem Capella fundata vnum vestimentum de rubio & viride cum bestijsi auri in eodem & in le Orfray eiusdem Aue maria/ & vnum gradale Item lego Conuentui domus ffratrum Minorum Ebor paruam librum Biblie integre cum Interpretione Et dompno Thome Swyon monacho de ffontibus librum Iohannis Crisostomi super Matheum de opere imperfecto Item lego ffraterniati Corporis Christi in Ebor quemdam librum vocatum le Crede Play cum libris & vexilliis eaidem pertinentibus Et gilde sancti Christofori quemdam ludum de sancto Iacobo Apostolo in sex paginis compilatum Item lego Alicie Giles xx s. Et domino Willemo Clareburgh capellano ij s. Item lego Domino Iohanni ffox capellano vnum librum Iannenc'de opere quadragesimali

29 Revetour had been appointed perpetual chaplain of this chantry by Nicholas Blackburn in 1428 (see above).

30 This bequest to St William's Chapel is noted on fol. 250 v of the A/Y Memorandum Book (Sellers, A/Y, II, 113).

31 Thomas de Swynton (perhaps another family connection) was abbot of Fountains 1471-78. He joined the Corpus Christi Guild the year he became abbot (Skaife, p. 81). He may have been instrumental in persuading his abbot in 1454 to join with the churchwardens of St John's Church (one of whom was Thomas Tutbagg, see note 38) in the rental of the fourth station for the Corpus Christi Play (see note 1). There were two copies of this work by Pseudo Chrysostom in the Augustinian Friary Library (Humphreys, #22, #28) and one in the library of St Mary's Abbey (Sharpe, #712, #536).

32 These bequests are printed in REED, I, 68, and discussed in Johnston, 'The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York.' When York was published in 1979, we translated 'paginas' as pageants. Given the subsequent research by REED editors that is making it clear that processional pageant performance was the exception rather than the norm across the kingdom, it is perfectly possible that 'paginas' here carries the primary meaning of 'pages'.

33 No Alice Giles appears in the York records of the period. Indeed, the name Giles does not appear at all. Revetour had particular concern for her since in the codicil to the will he left her a further twenty shillings 'ad firmam suam pro anno isto.'

34 William Clareburgh was Keeper of the Corpus Christi Guild 1435-36 (Skaife, p. 34) and again 1441-42 (Skaife, p. 39).

35 John Fox, as one of Revetour's executors, played a key role in ensuring that the Creed Play was given regular performances. He first supervised the recopying of the text and then convinced the city that the play should be performed every ten years (REED, I, 87-88. For a full discussion of the Creed Play until its suppression in 1568 see Johnston, 'The Plays of the Religious Guilds'). Like Revetour, he is named as beneficiary in the codicil to the will of Margaret Blackburn receiving household goods. He was installed as 'master of the hospital of our Lord Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin in Fossgate, York' (The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers, 1356-1917, ed. by Maud Sellers, Surtees Society, 129 (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1918) p. 51) on St Blaise's Day (3 February, the day the York civic officials took office) by Archbishop Kemp (p. 54). This was the hospital of the Guild of Holy Trinity or the Mercers' Guild. He held this appointment (putting him in daily contact with the powerful Mercers' Guild who controlled the city government) for forty

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years. He was a keeper of the Corpus Christi Guild in 1453-55 (Skaife, p. 51) and master of the Guild in 1471 (Skaife, p. 79; the heading gives only 1471).

36 I have been unable to identify this service book.

37 Thomas Thorp was Keeper of the Corpus Christi Guild three times 1419-20 (Skaife, p. 20); 1425-26 (p. 25); 1437-38 (p. 35).

38 The first mention of Thomas Tutbagg (Tubbat, Tubbac, Tucbage) in the records of York is in 1440-41 when he and his wife Katherine joined the Corpus Christi Guild along with their servant Isabella Thorp (Skaife, p. 38). This was the year Revetour was Keeper. REED, I, 85, mistranscribed 'Tubbat' as 'Tubbar'. This was corrected by Dobson (p. 90). He served as chamberlain in 1454-55 (Dobson, p. 211), the year he was also churchwarden of St John's Ousebridge and arranged for the rental of the fourth station for the Corpus Christi Play (see note 1). He was a Mercer and part of the venture of the Kattryn of Hull in 1457 (Sellers, Mercers, p. 59). For the Mercers' European trading ventures see Alexandra F. Johnston, 'Traders and Playmakers: English Guildsmen and the Low Countries,' in England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages, ed. by Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul, (Stroud: Alan Sutton,1995) pp. 99-114.) He is listed along with his wife Katherine as a member of the Mercers' company in 1472 (Sellers, Mercers, p. 67) and was still alive and paying fees to the company in 1477 (Sellers, Mercers, p.73). Although there is no listing of his receipt of his freedom, his son Robert was made free 'per patres' in 1470-71 (Collins, p. 191).

39 The Russell brothers were prominent citizens in this period. John, a merchant, made free in 1428-29 (Collins, p. 142) and paid 15 s. as an entrance fee to the Guild of Holy Trinity (the Mercers' Guild) 'to be resayved into the company, and to be a brother and his wife a sister' in 1436 (Sellers, Mercers, p. 46). Sellers notes that this was an unusually low entrance fee (p. xxii). He and his wife Joan joined the Corpus Christi Guild in 1440-41, the year Revetour was Keeper (Skaife, p. 36). He served as Chamberlain in 1442-43 (Dobson, p. 210). He died in 1443 leaving a coverlet to Margaret Gascogn daughter of John Bolton the younger (see notes 15 and 65). His more famous brother Richard was Chamberlain in 1409 (Dobson, p. 208) and mayor in 1421 and 1430 (Dobson, p. 209). He died in 1435. Raine prints his will (Raine, pp. 52-57). No William Russell appears in the records for this period.

40 This may have been either Robert Grosseteste's Comptus est scientia numerationis et divisionis temporum or John de Sacro Bosco's Comptus est scientia considerans tempora. Neither work appears in either York library list but other works by Grosseteste were in both and there were four copies of Sacro Bosco's Tractatus de sphera and two other works by him in the Augustinian Friary (Humphreys, p. 264).

41 See note 37. In the event he refused to serve as executor (see the codicil below).
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sororem meam Thomam Tutbagg & Aliciam Giles facio & constituo executores meos & executrices meas per presentes Et totum residuum omnium bonorum meorum do & lego disposicioni & ordinacioni in missarum celebracione & aliis piis operibus caritatis faciendis supradictorum executorum meorum pro salute anime mee & animarum supra dictarum ac animarum omnium fidelium defunctorum In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti testamento sigillum meum apposui Data Ebor' die & Anno domini Supradictis Hijs testibus Dominis Iohanne Naire & Thoma Smyth & Nicholo fferiby & aliis [notarial mark] Item memorandum quod die Louis in crastino sancti laurencij Anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo quadragesimo sexto Ego Willelwus Reuetour de Ebor' capellanus gracia dei mediante & auxiante volens testamentum meum per me prius factum augmentare ad laudem dei & ob salutem anime mee de quibusdam bonis in dicto testamento non legat/i Videlicet do & lego lumini sancte Barbe virginis in Capella sancti Wille/mi super Pontem Vse in Ebor' iij s. iiij d. Et lumini sancte Barbare virginis in eadem Capella ij s. Item lego ad inueniendam quamdam candelam cere in ecclesia sancte Margarete in Ebor' coram ymagine dicte Margarete vt ardeat cotidie ibidem ad missam parochiale ij s. Item lego Iohanni Sweynton quamdam tunicam de pelle pruciana & vnam camisiam Et vxori eiusdem iiij vlnas panni linei ad camisiam faciendam Et Iohanne Cuke consanguinee mee duas vlnas panni lanei albi ad tunicam tres vlnas panni linei ad camisiam & iiij s. iiij d. Et Iohanne Hamerton duas vlnas panni lanei albi & tres vlnas panni linei Item lego domino Thome Smyth capellano quoddam paruum Counter stantem in camera mea ex parte boriali Et Alicie Tutbagg quoddam haliwaterffatt de auricallo Et katerine Tutbag quemdam Crucifixum de Alabastre

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See note 38.

See note 33.

See note 16.

See note 17.

Feriby in its variant spellings is a York name. However, the only Nicholas Feriby to appear in the records was a resident canon of the Minster in 1390 (Percy, p. 142).

Thursday, August 11.

See note 23.

Joan Cook was possibly a relative of John Cook, Keeper of the Corpus Christi 1465-66 (Skaife, p. 66) and 1468 (p. 69; the heading gives only 1468).

Joan Hamerton was probably a relative of John Hamerton (see note 3).

See note 43.

Alice Tutbagg was probably the daughter of Thomas and Katherine Tutbagg (see note 38).

See note 38.
The name Thorlethorp appears in the York records in the late fourteenth century (see Percy, p. 72). Since we know that the next named beneficiary was a nun, it seems reasonable to assume Katherine Thorlthorp was also a religious.

'Domp. Johanna Rosell, monialis de Monkton' joined the Corpus Christi Guild in 1440-41, the year Revetour was keeper (Skaitfe, p. 38) She may have been a member of the Russell family (see note 39) since John Russell and his wife Joan also joined the Guild that year. The presence of the Benedictine Nunnery in Monkton (a village on the Ouse a few miles north west of York towards Boroughbridge) earned it the name of Nun Monkton which it bears today.

Margaret Holtby was probably related to John and Robert Holtby. Robert was made free 'per patres' John Holtby, girdler (Collins, p. 123). He was a Mercer and served as Constable of the Guild in 1436 (Sellers, Mercers, pp. 45-46).

There is no Masendieu or any variant as a surname in the various lists of York names. Emma may simply have been a poor woman living in one of the York Maisondieus, possibly the one on Ousebridge (see note 6).

Margaret Bank may have been the wife of William Bank, the mayor's esquire in this period, whose stipend appears regularly in the Chamberlains' Rolls from 1442-43 to 1454-55 (Dobson, passim) with whom Revetour, as the chantry priest of the civic chapel, would have had daily contact.

The only trace of the surname 'Philipp' in this period is in the will of John Tidman, chaplain, who asked to be buried in All Saints North Street and left a banner depicting the Joys of Mary to 'Alicie uxorii Willelmi Philipp' and another banner depicting St John the Evangelist and St John the Baptist to 'Jacabo Philipp clerico' in 1458 (Raine, p. 213).

There are many Cotes men named in the records of the period but no way to identify to which family Isabelle belonged.

See note 38.

The Girdlers produced the episode of the Slaughter of the Innocents in the Corpus Christi Play (REED, I, 19, 25 et passim).

See note 33.

The only John Diconson to appear in the records for this period was a shipman, made free in 1428-29 (Collins, p. 142).
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65 For the Bolton family see note 15. Revetour had received a chaffer such as the one he leaves to Agnes from Margaret Blackburn in her will (Raine, p. 50). Agnes 'filia Joh. Bolton aldermanni' joined the Corpus Christi Guild in 1440-41, the year Revetour was Keeper (Skaife, p. 38). That same year her brother-in-law, Henry Gascoigne the younger son of Sir William Gascoigne of Cawthorpe, and husband of Margaret Bolton also joined the Guild as well as others named in this will.

66 St William's Shrine stood behind the High Altar of the Minster until 1541 (Reginald Cant, 'The Minster', in Stacpole, and others, p. 49).

67 This John Bolton was probably the last of the Bolton children. In 1458-59, 'Johannes Bolton capellanus, fil. Johannis Bolton' was made free 'per patres' Collins, p. 179). Perhaps the legacy from Revetour directed his vocation.

68 The last sentence, noting Alice Haryngton's arrival one week after the date of probate is squeezed into the right margin and between the last line of this will and the first of the next.
Appendix 1

The will of Sir William Revetour, chaplain of the City of York

In the name of God, Amen. The second of August in the year of Our Lord one thousand, four-hundred and forty six, I, William Revetour of York, chaplain, in full possession of my mind and of sound memory, ordain, make, and write my will in this manner: First I give, and leave, and commend my soul to God almighty, to the most blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Anne the mother of the same Virgin and to Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist and to all the saints and my body to be interred in the parish church of Saint John the Evangelist at the end of Ousebridge in York. Item, I leave to the fabric of the same church for my said burial, 3 s. 4 d. And to every chaplain of the said church who continues to celebrate services there, 6 d. And to every chaplain of the church of the Holy Trinity in the King's Court in York to pray in particular for the souls of my parents, that is to say of Roger Revetour and Joan his wife and for my soul and the souls of all the faithful dead, 6 d. And to the parish clerk there, 4 d. And to the subclerk, 2 d. Item, I leave to every chaplain in the church of Saint Mary in Castlegate in York to pray in particular for the souls of John Hamerton, at one time clerk of York, and Joan and Margaret, his wives, and for my soul and the souls of all the faithful dead, 6 d. And to the parish clerk there, 4 d. And to the subclerk, 2 d. Item, I leave six pounds of wax to be made in two candles for burning around my body at offices for the dead and mass on the day of my burial, one of which I wish to remain for burning in the Chapel of Saint William upon Ousebridge before Our Lady there and the other (for burning) before the high altar of the aforesaid church of Saint John the Evangelist. Item, I leave for funeral expenses incurred for me at the discretion of my executors, 40 s. Item, I leave to the four orders of mendicant friars in York, 20 s. to be divided into equal portions. Item, I leave for distributing to the poor in the Maisondieus in York and to the lepers in the suburbs of the same, 20 s. And to three recluses, 3 s. to be equally divided. Item, I leave to every canon, who is a chaplain of the house of Saint Andrew the suburbs of York, 6 d. And to every canon who is not a chaplain of the said house, 4 d. Item, I leave to every nun of the house of Saint Clement in the suburbs of York, 6 d. Item, I leave to the fabric of the Cathedral Church of the blessed Peter in York, 10 s. And to the Guild of Saint Christopher in York, 3 s. 4 d. And to the fabric of the house of Saint Anthony in York, 3 s. 4 d. Item, I leave to the fabric of the shrine of Corpus Christi of York, one silver goblet. Item, I leave to two suitable and honest chaplains, that is to say, to one of them for celebrating services in the aforesaid parish church of Saint John the
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Evangelist and to the other (for celebrating services) in the aforesaid Chapel of Saint William for my soul and the souls above mentioned and also for the souls of William Cokker and Alice his wife, Nicholas Blackburn, the elder, and Margaret his wife, John Bolton one time merchant of York and for the souls to whom I am bound (i.e. to whom I am bound by relationships) and for the souls of all the faithful dead for one whole year (beginning) soon after my death, 14 marks. Item, I leave to Sir John Naire, chaplain, 3 s. 4 d. And to Sir Thomas Smyth, chaplain, 3 s. 4 d. And to Sir John Yoman, chaplain 3 s. 4 d. And to John Pacok, clerk 20 d. And to Sir John Belamy, 3 s. 4 d. Item, I leave to Alice Bolton, the elder, one book treating of the Lord's Prayer and the Prick of Conscience in English. Item, I leave to John Swynton, 13 s. 4 d. and one black gown edged with black lambs' wool. And to his wife, 6 s. 8 d. Item, I leave to John Haryngton twelve silver spoons marked with I and H/ and one blue gown, my best. And to Alice his wife, my sister, one brooch of gold with an eagle in the same surrounded with certain stones and one gown of violet, furred and one rosary of jet with a certain cross hanging in the same with gilt beads in the shape of a tower. Item, I leave to William Haryngton, son of the said John and Alice, one large psalter with the service for saints' days written (scored?) in it and another book treating of the gospels and the lives of the saints, in English, and one table called a 'Counter' well bound with iron, one feather bed with one pair of linen sheets, one bed of white and blue striped with a tapet (hanging) of the same (pattern?), one folding spoon of silver. Item, I leave to Isabelle Haryngton, his sister, one silver spoon and 6 s. 8 d., one feather bed, one pair of linen sheets, one bedspread of red and grey with a tapet (hanging) of the same (colours?) with lions and birds on them and one pot, a brass kettle with a bowl and one basin. And to Thomas Haryngton, one silver spoon and 6 s. 8 d., one small feather bed, one pair of linen sheets, and two bedspreads of red and grey and blue and red and one bolster. Item, I leave to Richard Haryngton, one silver spoon and 6 s. 8 d., one mattress and one quilt. And to Agnes Haryngton, his sister, a silver spoon and 6 s. 8 d. and a basin. Item, I leave to Sir William de Kexby, chaplain, one blue motley gown edged with Croupes [a kind of fur]. And to Sir John de Naburn, one gown of murray edged with fur. Item, I give and bequeath to almighty God and the blessed Virgin Mary and Saint William and Saint Barbara, a white vestment with tunicles of the same colour for the deacon and the subdeacon to be used in the Chapel of Saint William above mentioned on their feasts and one small lectionary. Item, I leave to the chantry chapel of Richard Toller, founded in that same Chapel, a vestment of red and green with beasts of gold in the same and in the Orphrey [ornamental band] of the same 'Ave Maria' and one gradual. Item, I leave to the convent of the Friars Minor of York a small book of the complete Bible with
interpretation. And to Sir Thomas Swynton, monk of Fountains, a book of John Chrysostom on Matthew 'De opere imperfecto'. Item, I leave to the Guild of Corpus Christi in York, a certain book called the Creed Play with the books and banners belonging to it. And to the Guild of Saint Christopher, a certain play about Saint James the Apostle in six pageants [pages?]. I leave to Alice Giles, 20 s. And to Sir William Clareburgh, chaplain, 2 s. Item, I leave to Sir John Fox, chaplain, one book of Iannenc' concerning Lenten service and one glossed psalter and 6 s. 8 d. so that he will undertake the work of administering this my will. And to Thomas Thorp, chaplain, one book of prefaces (to the mass) with settings, together with the canon (of the mass) and 6 s. 8 d. under the same condition. And to Thomas Tutbagg, a certain book treating of the Bible in English and 6 s. 8 d. under the said condition. Item, I leave to William Russell, son of John Russell, late merchant of York, a certain book which begins 'Compotus Est scientia etc.' Moreover, I make and appoint Sir John Fox, Sir Thomas Thorp, chaplains, Alice Haryngton, my sister, Thomas Tutbagg and Alice Giles as my executors and executrices of this aforesaid mentioned will, through this present document. And the total residue of all my goods, I give and leave to the disposition and order of my aforesaid executors, to have the celebration of masses and other pious works of charity carried out for the salvation of my soul and the abovewritten souls and the souls of all the faithful dead. In testimony of which matter, I affix my seal to this present will Given at York the day and year of our lord above written. These things witnessed to by Sir John Naire, Sir Thomas Smyth, Sir Nicholas Feriby, chaplains and others. [Notarial mark]

_Codicil_

Item, be it remembered that Thursday the day after the (feast of) Saint Laurence, in the year of Our Lord, 1446, I, William Revetour of York, chaplain, the grace of God helping and aiding, wishing to add to my will previously made by me to the praise of God and the salvation of my soul concerning certain goods not bequeathed in the said will. That is the say, I give and leave to the light of Saint Mary the Virgin in the Chapel of Saint William upon Ousebridge in York 3 s. 4 d. And to the light of Saint Barbara, virgin, in the same Chapel 2 s. Item, I leave for the provision of a certain candle of wax in the church of Saint Margaret in York so that it burns daily there before the image of the said Margaret at the parochial mass, 2 s. Item, I leave to John Swynton, a coat of Prussian leather and one shirt. And to his wife, three ells of linen cloth for the making of a shirt. And to Joan Cuke, my kinswoman, two ells of white
woollen cloth for a coat and three ells of linen cloth for a shirt and 3 s. 4 d. And to Joan Hamerton, two ells of white woollen cloth and three ells of linen cloth. Item, I leave to Sir Thomas Smyth, chaplain, a certain small 'Counter' standing in my room on the north side. And to Alice Tutbagg, a certain 'haliwaterffatt' of brass. And to Katerine Tutbag, a crucifix of alabaster. Item, I leave to Dame Katherine Thorthorpe, 20d. And to Dame Joan Rosell, 20 d. Item, I leave to Margaret Holtby, three ells of linen cloth. And to Emme de Masendieu, three ells of linen cloth. And to Margaret Bank, three (ells) of linen cloth. And Margaret Philipp, three ells of linen cloth. And to Isabell Cotes, three ells of linen cloth. Item, I leave to Isabell Haryngton my green fur-edged gown and one chest of the best kind. And to Thomas, her brother, another chest. And to Agnes, the servant of Thomas Tutbagg, another small chest. Item, I leave to the Girdlers of the City of York for their play on the feast of Corpus Christi, one brazen crown gilded and one belt with gilded and enamel bosses. Item, I leave to Alice Giles for her rent for this year another 20 s. And to John Diconson, my russet gown. Item, I leave to Agnes Bolton, daughter of John Bolton late a citizen and Mercer of York, one large chaffer for heating water. And to Isabel, her sister, my goddaughter, one large Primer with seven pictures within in the Flemish manner. Item, I leave to Sir William, the chaplain of Heslington, 12 d. Item, I leave to the shrine of Saint William at York, one gold ring in the episcopal manner with a green stone without glass. Item, I leave to John Bolton, a certain large roll treating the Bible in Latin with pictures on the one side and a table of the Lord's Prayer in Latin on the other side. [notarial mark]

**Probate**

On 3 September in the abovesaid year of the Lord, the will and codicil aforesaid were proved and (their) administration entrusted to Sir John Fox, chaplain, Thomas Tutbagg, and Alice Giles, named as executors in the same will (and) sworn according to the legal form, while Sir Thomas Thorpe, co-executor, completely refused to accept this administration, authority was reserved to entrust a like administration to Alice Haryngton, another co-executrix named in this will, with the intention of receiving her in form of law when she comes. On 10 September aforesaid, a like administration was entrusted to the aforesaid Alice Haryngton, executrix.