

NOTES

1 Reading the Religious Life of Margaret Paston

1. Norman Davis, ed., *The Paston Letters and Papers* (2 vols., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971–1976). This is the basic edition I use and the letters are cited throughout these essays by volume and number, not by pages. The older edition by James Gairdner is used on occasion: James Gairdner, ed., *The Paston Letters, 1422–1509 A.D.* (3 vols., Westminster: Constable, 1895). There is now a third volume to round out Davis's work: Richard Beadle and Colin Richmond, eds., *The Paston Letters, III*, EETS, s.s. 22 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) (referred to as III, below, when cited). For a brief summary of Margaret's life, see my pamphlet, *Margaret Paston, Matriarch of the Paston Family* (Dereham, Norfolk: Larks Press, 2009).
2. Though the data rarely lend themselves to an individualized case study, there are some useful papers: Michael Hicks, "The Piety of Margaret, Lady Hungerford (d. 1478)," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 (1987), pp. 19–38; W. Mark Ormrod, "The Personal Religion of Edward III," *Speculum* 64 (1989), pp. 849–77; Rachel Gibbons, "The Piety of Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France, 1385–1422," in *Courts, Counties and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages*, ed., Diana E. S. Dunn (Stroud: Sutton, 1996), pp. 205–24; and for a longer and more discursive treatment, Jonathan Hughes, *The Religious Life of Richard III: Piety and Prayer in the North of England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997). On the limits of "know-ability" in such matters, Deborah Youngs, *Humphrey Newton (1466–1539): An Early Tudor Gentleman* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008): Despite the preservation of Newton's commonplace book, we have the caveat: "It may not offer a window into his soul but it does shine a spotlight on several aspects of his spirituality and the influence the Church had upon his everyday actions. We can see what he knew of Christianity, what he was particularly devoted to; we can consider his contemplative and active piety and assess the relationship between his person devotion and communal practice."
3. Agnes reported to William about the meeting between the couple, probably in the spring of 1440 (I, 13): "as for the furste aqweyntaunce be-tween

John Paston and the seyde gentilwomman, she made hym gentil chere in gyntyl wyse and seyde he was verrayly yowre son.”

4. Helen Castor, writing about John I in the *ODNB*: “His partnership with his wife, Margaret, seems to have been a successful one.” For Margaret’s dowry, see the Inquisition Post Mortem on John I (II, 900). Gairdner seems to side more with the Pastons regarding the social balance of the marriage: Gairdner, I, xxviii, “no disparagement to the fortunes or rank of either family.”
5. The interesting story of the preservation, publication, dispersal, and reunification of (most of) the letters is told by David Stoker, “‘Innumerable Letters of Good Consequence in History:’ The Discovery and First Publication of the Paston Letters,” *The Library*, sixth series, 17 (1995), pp. 107–55; Davis also covers this ground, I, xxiv–xxxv. Charles L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1913), p. 199, suggesting that it was John I, trained in law and apt to have an eye for any opportunity that might come along, who saw the wisdom of collecting and preserving the papers. I naturally lean toward the idea that it was Margaret’s idea and her initiative.
6. Gairdner, I, xxix; Colin Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Endings* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 88; Roger Virgoe, *Private Life in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 140, 158. Kingsford, *Historical Literature*, p. 206 for a positive assessment of Margaret as wife and mother. For another assessment, Joan W. Kirby, “Women in the Plumpton Correspondence: Fiction and Reality,” in *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to John Taylor*, ed. Ian Wood and Graham A. Loud (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), pp. 219–32; p. 220, “Margaret Paston, for example, emerges as loving wife, hard-headed manager, harsh parent and stout-hearted defend of the family’s ‘livelode.’”
7. Typicality, of course, is the presumed bedrock of social history. For some skepticism about Margaret’s typicality and the pitfalls of generalizing from her life, Helen Jewell, *Women in Medieval England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 229–32, and Rowena E. Archer, “Piety in Question: Noblewomen and Religion in the Later Middle Ages,” in *Women and Religion in Medieval England*, ed. Diana Wood (Oxford: Oxbow, 2003), pp. 118–40. However, Colin Richmond argues for her typicality as one of her strengths or positive aspects, *Endings*, pp. 88–127.
8. Norman Davis, “The Language of the Pastons,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 40 (1955), pp. 120–44. Davis had a particular interest in the letters and writing of the women (which primarily means Margaret and then Agnes) and he held that the language of their letters, despite their consistent use of scribes, was much like their spoken language; Davis, “The Text of Margaret Paston’s Letters,” *Medium Aevum* 18 (1949), pp. 13–28; Davis, “A Scribal Problem in the Paston Letters,” *English and Germanic Studies* 4 (1951–52), pp. 31–64; Davis, “Margaret Paston’s Use of ‘Do,’” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972), pp. 55–62.

9. Defending Margaret as an author worthy of attention, in Davis's edition of the Paston letters, 167 pages are devoted to her letters (with the usual editorial additions) and she offers us some 60,000 words. In pages, this compares with 96 pages devoted to John I, 126 for John II, and 112 for John III (and the men all have many more other-than-letters among their documents). In recent surveys of women as authors and of medieval authors in general, Margaret has finally begun to receive some notice: Janet Todd, *British Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide* (New York: Continuum, 1989), pp. 529–30; Lorna Sage, *Cambridge Guide to Women's Writing in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 491–92; Paul and June Schlueter, eds., *An Encyclopedia of British Women Writers* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), pp. 505–6. Margaret Paston was omitted from Virginia Blain, Patricia Clements, and Isobel Grundy, *The Feminist Companion to Literature in England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), though Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich were both covered. The *ODNB* devotes space to Margaret but only as she is folded into the general entry on the family (written by Colin Richmond); John I and John II merit individual entries.
10. Richmond, *Endings*, p. 92. The days of the week and the hours at which she wrote, when indicated in a letter, are topics worth more investigation; topics on my agenda for a small project.
11. Ian Jack, "The Ecclesiastical Patronage Exercised by a Baronial Family in the Late Middle Ages," *Journal of Religious History* 3 (1965), pp. 275–90; Nigel Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and their Monuments, 1300–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Michael Hicks, "Piety and Lineage in the Wars of the Roses: The Hungerford Experience," in *Kings and Nobles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Ralph A. Griffiths and James Sherborne (London: Sutton, 1986), pp. 80–108, and Hicks, "Four Studies in Conventional Piety," *Southern History* 13 (1991), pp. 1–21.
12. H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England: Studies in an Age of Transition* (first edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922): chapter 14 for "Religion," chapter 15 for "The Secular Clergy," and chapter 16 for "The Regular Clergy."
13. H. S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England*; David Knowles, "The Religion of the Pastons," *Downside Review* 42 (1924), pp. 143–63; Gillian Pritchard, "Religion and the Pastons," in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Britnell (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 65–82. Colin Richmond comments on the various Pastons, in passing, *Endings*.
14. Colin Richmond, "Religion and the Fifteenth-Century English Gentleman," in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Barrie Dobson (Gloucester: Sutton, 1984), pp. 198–208; Richmond, "The English Gentry and Religion, c. 1500," in *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1981), pp. 121–50. For a contrary view, Christine Carpenter, "The Religion

- of the Gentry in Fifteenth-Century England,” in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. 53–74, and, more recently, Christine Carpenter, “Religion,” in *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, ed. Raluca Radulescu and Alison Truelove (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 134–50; Eamon Duffy, “Religious Belief,” in *A Social History of England, 1200–1500*, ed. Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 293–339; Colin Richmond, “Religion,” in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, ed. Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 183–201; Hilary M. Carey, “Devout Literate Laypeople and the Pursuit of the Mixed Life in Later Medieval England,” *Journal of Religious History* 14 (1987), pp. 361–81; Peter Fleming, “Charity, Faith, and the Gentry of Kent, 1422–1529,” in *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History*, ed. Tony Pollard (Gloucester: Sutton, 1984), pp. 36–58; Nigel Saul, *Knights and Squires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981). Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), still at the head of the queue for the treatment of popular and lay religion and belief in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.
15. Frederick Maurice Powicke, “The Reformation as an act of state,” as his summary statement for chapter 1 of his *The Reformation in England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941).
 16. A quick survey of women in East Anglian religious life: Joel T. Rosenthal, “Local Girls Do It Better: Women and Religion in Late Medieval East Anglia,” in *Tradition and Transformation in Late Medieval England*, ed. Douglas Biggs, Sharon D. Michalove, and A. Compton Reeves (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 1–20; Norman Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1390–1532* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984). For the neighboring county, Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370–1547* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001).
 17. Edmund College and James Walsh, eds., *A Book of Showings to the anchoress Julian of Norwich* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1978); Nicholas Watson and Jacqueline Jenkins, eds., *The Writings of Julian of Norwich* (University Park, IL: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), to scratch the surface of recent work; for guidance to recent work, Liz McAvoy, ed., *A Companion to Julian of Norwich* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008). For the historian, for help amidst the deluge of Kempiana, Anthony Goodman, *Margery Kempe and her World* (London: Longman, 2002); John H. Arnold and Katherine Lewis, eds., *A Companion to “The Book of Margery Kempe”* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004); Rayn Possell, “Margery Kempe: An Exemplar of Late Medieval Piety,” *Catholic Historical Review* 89 (2003), pp. 1–29, with thanks to Maryanne Kowaleski for this reference. Much still of interest in the

- introduction to the Penguin edition: Barry A. B. A. Windeatt, trans., *The Boke of Margery Kempe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, London, 1985).
18. For an alternative lifestyle and choice, Kim M. Phillips, "Desiring Virgins: Martyrs and Femininity in Late Medieval England," in *Youth in the Middle Ages*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg and Felicity Riddy (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 45–59; Sarah Salih, *Visions of Virginity in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001). Helen Castor, *Blood and Roses* (London: Faber & Faber, 2004), p. 95, on Margaret's unhappy condition during her fifth pregnancy.
 19. Samuel Moore, "Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk, c. 1450," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 27 (1912), pp. 188–207, and 28 (1913), pp. 79–105; K. K. Jambek, "Patterns of Women's Literary Patronage: England, 1200–ca. 1475," in *The Cultural Patronage of Late Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), pp. 228–65; Mary Serjeantson, ed., *Osbern Bokenham: Legendys of Hooly Wummen*, EETS, o.s. 208 (1938); Simon Horobin, "Politics, Patronage, and Piety in the Work of Osbern Bokenham," *Speculum* 82 (2008), pp. 932–49. For Capgrave, Karen A. Winsted, *John Capgrave's Fifteenth Century* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).
 20. Mary Erler, *Women, Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jennifer Bryan, *Looking Inward: Devotional Reading and Private Self in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).
 21. Richmond, *Endings*, p. 116, Margaret Paston was "not a reader."
 22. For an example of other issues that can be pursued and of other questions we can address, when the extant material permit, Elizabeth Noble, *The World of the Stonors: A Gentry Society* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009). Both social networks and domestic arrangements are explicated at some length in this study.
 23. For the other collections of family letters: Christine Carpenter, ed., *Kingsford's Stonor Letters and Papers, 1290–1483* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) (cited hereafter as "Stonor"); Joan Kirby, ed., *The Plumpton Letters and Papers*, Camden Society, fifth series, 8 (1990) ("Plumpton"); Alison Hanham, ed., *The Cely Letters, 1472–1488*, EETS, o.s. 273 (1975) ("Cely"); and all references below are to the letters as numbered by the respective editors, not to pages. Also, Christine Carpenter, ed., *The Armburgh Papers: The Brokholes Inheritance in Warwickshire, Herefordshire, and Essex, c. 1417–c. 1453* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998). For some general reflections that extend to the various collections of fifteenth-century family letters, Joel T. Rosenthal, "The Paston Letters," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*, ed. David S. Kasten (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 5 vols, IV, pp. 184–87.

2 Margaret Paston's Calendar and Her Saints

1. H. Maynard Smith, *Pre-Reformation England* (London: Macmillan, 1938), p. 165; "men did not think of saints as spiritual beings in a far-off and inaccessible heaven, but as beings close at hand, still at work on earth, interested and active in the everyday concerns of life," coming in a chapter entitled "Superstitions and Abuses"; "Saints are like the mountain peaks of human nature," Mary D. Anderson, *Imagery in British Churches* (London: John Murray, 1955), p. 151. On prayers to the saints, John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of the Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 47–54; for the prayer to a saint on his or her day, J. Wickham Legg, *The Sarum Missal, Edited from Three Early Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916; reprinted, 1966).
2. For different views on whether the ritual half of the year outstripped the second half in terms of impact on lay consciousness; Charles Phythian-Adams, "Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry, 1450–1650," in *The English Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1200–1540, 1200–1540*, ed. Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 238–64 (essay first published in 1972); Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 46–52. Robert N. Swanson has no doubts: "the unimaginative succession of Sundays after Trinity, apparently having no function other than to be Sundays after Trinity," p. 94 of his *Religion and Devotion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Gail McMurray Gibson, *Theater of Devotion* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 166–68, noting that most of Marian feasts fell in the second half of the year.
3. Paul Brand, "Lawyers' Time in England in the Later Middle Ages," in *Time in the Medieval World*, ed. Chris Humphrey and W. Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell for the York Medieval Press, 2001), pp. 73–104. As was Margaret's wont, the dating could actually run to a few days either side of the saint's day—the morrow or the eve and the like.
4. Robert N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 285–90 on saints and private devotion; Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 179–80 on the special attributes of saints and how these were invoked.
5. For the relevant obligations of the patriarch, William A. Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. John J. G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 398–422; Felicity Ridley, "Mother Knows Best: Reading Social Change in a Courtesy Text," *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 66–86; Patricia Cullum and Jeremy P. J. Goldberg, "How Margaret Blackburn Taught her Daughters: Reading Devotional Instruction in a Book of Hours," in *Texts and Contexts in Late Medieval Britain: Essays for Felicity Riddy*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Brown et al. (Turnhout: Brill, 2000), pp. 217–36; Sue Powell,

- “The Transmission and Circulation of the *Lay Folks Catechism*,” in Alistair J. Minnis, ed., *Late Medieval Religious Texts and their Transmission: Essays in Honour of A. I. Doyle* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1994), pp. 67–84; Robert N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion in Europe, c. 1215–c. 1515* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 10–41 (the chapter being entitled “Faith and Its Demands”); Eamon Duffy, “Religious Belief,” in *A Social History of England, 1200–1500*, ed. Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 319–23.
6. Richard Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970); E. S. Dewick, “On a Manuscript Formerly Belonging to the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds,” *Archaeologia* 54/2 (1895), pp. 399–416, for efforts on behalf of new cults.
 7. Colin Richmond, “Religion,” in *Fifteenth-Century Attitudes*, p. 190. Gibson says that “hagiography is about recurrence,” p. 95 of her “Saint Anne and the Religion of Childbed: Some East Anglian Texts and Talismans,” in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: St Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), pp. 95–110.
 8. John A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965); there was no Lollard presence in Norwich between the end of Alnwick’s persecutions in 1431 and the dawn of the sixteenth century.
 9. Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom, 1000–1700* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1982). Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 155–205.
 10. Richard Pfaff, “Why Do Medieval Psalters Have Calendars?” in his *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), paper vi. On books of hours, Roger Wieck, *Painted Prayers: The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, 1998), for their components and arrangement; for calendars, pp. 26–33. Also, Lawrence Poos, “Social History and the Book of Hours,” in *the Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, ed. Roger S. Wieck (New York: George Braziller, 1988), pp. 32–40 (p. 35: “the best seller of the Middle Ages,” looking at women owners); L. M. J. Delaisse, “The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book,” in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M. C. Randall, and Richard H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974), pp. 203–25; Paul Saenger, “Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages,” in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Roger Chartier (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), pp. 141–73: p. 146, the book of hours helped foster silent reading in “the shift from the mouth to the heart”; Margaret Aston, “Devotional Literacy,” in her *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London: Hambledon, 1984), #iv, on private reading, “independent of the liturgical cycle.” Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three*

- Women and their Books of Hours* (London and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); Bridget A. Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (University Park, IL: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999) for the calculation of dates and the depiction of female saints; Charity Scott Stokes, *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006); Eamon Duffy, "The Book of Hours and Lay Piety in the Later Middle Ages," in *Elite and Popular Religion*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, *Studies in Church History* 42 (2006), pp. 140–61, and Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and their Prayers* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006). Marjorie C. Woods, "Shared Books, Primers, Psalters and Adult Acquisition of Literacy," in *New Trends in Feminine Spirituality: The Holy Women of Liège and their Impact*, ed. Juliette Dor et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 177–93: p. 185, "If a woman owned or bequeathed only one book, it was most often a primer" (that is, a book of hours).
11. For the family chapel in the time of William I (I, 11). H. S. Bennett points out that the chapel was part of the Paston claim to gentility, *The Pastons and Their England*, p. 206: "We are frequently reminded of the presence of a chaplain . . . although we hear little of his religious duties." *Calendar of Papal Letters*, vi, p. 434, for the indulgence to hear mass before daybreak.
 12. Diane Watt, *The Paston Women: Selected Letters* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), p. 2, quoting Colin Richmond to the effect that Margaret "wrote at any time and at all hours." I interpret this gnomic wisdom to mean hours of the day, not days of the month or year, though these latter alternatives also seem to be the case.
 13. Norman Davis, I, xxxvii–xxxviii, "It is legitimate to conclude that the women of the [Paston] family whose letters survive were not, or not completely literate," though since Davis wrote this (1971) the pendulum has swung toward a more sanguine view of women's literacy, at least for reading if not necessarily for writing. There is general agreement, however, with Davis's view that all of Margaret's letters were dictated to a scribe; Diane Watt, "'No Writing for Writing's Sake,'" in *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre*, ed. Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), pp. 122–38; Watt, *The Paston Women*, p. 134: Margaret Paston was "the most prolific writer . . . yet, paradoxically, she was certainly illiterate." I find this hard to accept, though conclusive evidence in either direction is thin.
 14. Margaret's letters with an existential date are: I, 128 (April 1448); I, 159 (2 July 1461); I, 170 (March 1462, at 11 o'clock); I, 173 (1463); I, 186 (30 June 1465); I, 187 (6 July 1465); I, 191 (August 1465). They are pretty straightforward: (I, 128) "Wretyn at Norwyche on the Wedenys-day next after that ye partyd hens"; (I, 159) "Wretyn in hast, the same day that ye departyd hens"; (I, 173) "Wrotyn this day"; (I, 186) "Wretyn the Sunday next after your departing"; (I, 187) "Wretyn in hast on Satyrday."

15. One of John I's letters to Margaret in 1465 is so dated: (I, 74) "wret the Saturday." John II used this styles on three occasions: (I, 233) "reten at Leyn the morrow aftermy departing from you" and also in I, 241 and I, 285. John III dated seven letters in this fashion, three of them to his mother (I, 367, 371, and 386). There are also such datings in the Stonor Letters (#83, 190, 240, and 249), those of the Plumpton's (#81, 130, and a few more), and the Celys (#32: "Wryt at Calles the Thursda after your departing").
16. Norman Davis, "The Text of Margaret Paston's Letters," *Medium Aevum* 18 (1949), pp. 12–28, and Davis, "A Scribal Problem in the Paston Letters," *English and Germanic Studies* 4 (1951–52), pp. 31–64. Mary Erler (in conversation) pointed out that had the date come at the head of the letter it might well have been part of the scribe's preparatory arrangements, but coming near the end it was more likely to have been as taken from the words of whoever was dictating the contents of the letter (and in these cases it was Margaret Paston).
17. The secular dating is conventional: I, 171, "xviiij day of Mai"; I, 180, "the x day of May... from Haylesdon"; I, 181, "xiiij day of May"; I, 182, "xx day of May." The saints who get passed over by this turn to secular dating are not otherwise noted; St Dunstan for 19 May, Ethelberht, king and martyr, for 20 May. I, 224 covers both styles, "xxijth day of may after Trinity Sunday." It was also the feast of David of Scotland, but not for East Anglian calendars.
18. Wykes penned three letters for John II; two had secular dates (I, 232 and I, 242) and one (I, 258) in 1470 with an ecclesiastical date: "Thursday next after Seynt Erkenwaldes Day."
19. Looking at all the women's letters in the Stonor and Plumpton collections (including two from Queen Elizabeth Wydeville), there are 26 in the Stonor collection: 5 with ecclesiastical dates, 16 with secular dates, 4 undated, and one other. For the Plumpton's the respective categories are 6, 8, 4, and 0.
20. Friar Brackely was an active figure in Paston affairs, though characterized by David Knowles as "a friar who bears an unmistakable family likeness to Chaucer's worthy limiter," *The Religious Orders in England: II, The End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 202. Of Brackley's Latin letters to John I, seven were undated, one with an existential date (II, 610), and three with ecclesiastical (II, 557, 608, and 609). His deathbed (April 1467) was described by John III (I, 327), who says that Brackley, when about gone, rallied to call for his confessor so he could attest, one last time, that he had acted in good faith in upholding the claim of John I to be Fastolf's heir.
21. This was conventional discourse: II, 464, the duke of Norfolk to John I (October 16, 1450), "Right Trusti and welbelouid, we grete you well... and God haue yow in his keepyng"; II, 468, earl of Oxford to John I (December 23, 1450), a letter that concludes with "as we trust yow"; II, 476, Earl of Oxford to John I (April 30, 1451), "The Trinité haue in hese keepyng."

22. Richmond, *Endings*, p. 125. Christine Carpenter, "Religion," in *Gentry Culture*, pp. 138–39: "The religion of the gentry, with few exceptions, was remorselessly orthodox and this was hardly surprising since care was taken to bring them up in orthodox belief"; Duffy, "Religious Belief," p. 331 for indications of a lack of religious zeal buy the laity, p. 336 for evidence of considerable zeal.
23. Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety: Women, Gender, and Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 47–50: an examination of data from 125 parishes in Sussex indicates no patterns, no women favoring female saints in their bequests or invocations. There may have been a tendency to "save" the big-name saints for suitably important occasions (p. 98).
24. R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 290, on the idea that "saints had to earn veneration," which posits a reciprocity that is easy to overlook or ignore.
25. On how households accommodated the strains of feasts and holidays, Kate Mertes, *The English Noble Household, 1250–1600: Good Governance and Politic Rule* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), pp. 152–54, and Mertes, "The Household as a Religious Community," in *People, Politics, and Community in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Joel T. Rosenthal and Colin F. Richmond (Gloucester: Sutton, 1987), pp. 123–39; Ffiona Swabey, *Medieval Gentlewoman: Life in a Widow's Household in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 97–131, 159 ff; Christopher Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1999), pp. 90–96, on how feasts and fasts determined household and table routines in the household.
26. Saints as distant figures is brought home by a caption to a Perugino painting of St John and St Lucy in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. It says the two saints are "vacant repositories whose affective content was supplied by the viewer."
27. W. W. Williamson, "Saints on Norfolk Roodscreens and Pulpits," *NA* 31 (1957), pp. 299–346. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 155–60, with a caveat on the difference between what we can see today and how things would have looked in the fifteenth century.
28. Christopher Woodford, *The Medieval Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich* (Norwich: Goose & Son, 1934), now superseded by David King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich*, *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi of Great Britain*, vol. 6 (Oxford: British Academy, 2006). For St Christopher on the wall at Paston, Nikolaus Pevsner, *North-East Norfolk and Norwich* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1962), p. 298.
29. R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 260–64.
30. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 181.
31. Christopher R. Cheney, *Handbook of Dates* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1955), p. 55, for the Marian festivals celebrated in England: 25 March for the Annunciation, 15 August for the Assumption, 8 December for the Conception, 3 September for the Nativity, 21 September for the

- Presentation, 2 February for the Purification, and 2 July for the Visitation. Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976); Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 125, quoting Otto von Simpson, "The age was indeed the age of the Virgin." On the cult of Mary, Eileen Power in her introduction to C. C. Swinton Bland, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (London: Routledge, 1928), pp. ix–xxxv; Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 285–351 for the medieval context; on local practices, Joan Greatorex, "Marian Studies and Devotion in the Benedictine Cathedral Priors in Later Medieval England," in *The Church and Mary*, ed. Robert N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History* 39 (2004), pp. 157–67, with details of which Marian feasts were celebrated at Norwich.
32. For others who dated letters by the feasts of apostles or evangelists and Jesus's friends: Matthew, used by William III, I, 407; Mary Magdalen, used by John III, I, 348 and 362; Apostle James, used by John I, I, 52; Bartholomew, used by Clement, I, 116; the Decollation of John the Baptist, used by John II, I, 301; Nativity of the Virgin, used by William II, I, 84 (and others); Conception of Our Lady, used by John III, I, 320 et al.; Agnes Plumpton (#190) for the feast of St Mark; and a Cely Letters (#121) for the feast of St Anne. Rubin, *Mother of God*, pp. 328–31 on Anne as the "favourite grandmother of late medieval Christendom."
 33. On regionalism and the diffusion of the legends, Gordon H. Gerould, *Saints' Legends* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1916), and William H. Hutton, *The Lives and Legends of the English Saints* (London: Wells Gardner, Darton, 1908), contrasting eastern and western saints and insular and national saints. Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, pp. 194–219, on the class origins of the saints themselves. On how new feasts might drive out old, Richard Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*; the feast of the Visitation might drive the translation of St Swithin from the calendar on 2 July, or the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus replace the feast of St Sixtus.
 34. John III, for St Faith (6 October) and for St Michael in Monte Tombe (16 October).
 35. Kenneth Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia, c. 1470–1550* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2001): In popularity of guild dedications Thomas the Apostle ranked tenth in Norwich, Thomas of Canterbury seventeenth. But as a given name Thomas ranked third, only trailing John and Richard: Virginia Davis, "The Popularity of Late Medieval Personal Names as Reflected in English Ordination Lists," in *Studies in the Personal Name*, ed. David Postles and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2006), p. 106.
 36. David H. Farmer, "Some Saints of East Anglia," *Reading Medieval Studies* 11 (1985), pp. 31–49, for a number of local saints' cults that all went unmentioned by Margaret. For Hugh of Lincoln, Farmer, "The Cult and Canonization of St Hugh," in *St Hugh of Lincol*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harding

- (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 75–88. Though Hugh's feast was in the Sarum calendar (17 November), his translation (6 October) was only celebrated at Lincoln and, beyond the diocese of Lincoln, by the Carthusians. Few signs of much interest in Katherine of Alexandria, despite her general popularity; Katherine J. Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000). No mention of the local cult of St Withburga; Jeremy Griffiths, "A Mid-Fifteenth-Century Book-List and Inventory from East Dereham, Norfolk," *NA* 42 (1996), pp. 332–39.
37. For St William of Norwich, Augustus A. Jessopp and Montague Rhodes James, ed. and trans., *The Life and Miracles of St William of Norwich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896); Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (Houndsmill: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995), p. 194; Norman P. Tanner, "Religious Practice," in *History of Norwich*, ed., Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson (London: Hambledon and London, 2004) I, pp. 137–55, on the decline of the cult, and Ian Atherton, Eric Fernie, Christopher Harper-Bill, and Hassell Smith, eds., *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096–1996* (London: Hambledon, 1996), p. 448 on this theme. Robert N. Swanson, "Indulgences at Norwich Cathedral Priory in the Later Middle Ages: Popular Piety in the Balance Sheet," *Historical Research* 76 (2003), pp. 18–29, for a similar tale of fading interest.
 38. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William G. Ryan (2 vols., Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993); Sherry L. Reames, *The Legenda Aurea: A Reexamination of Its Paradoxical History* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), pp. 197–209. Caxton only published the *Legend* in 1483, after Margaret had written her will, though before her death. Thus her "a complete legende" (I, 230) was in manuscript.
 39. Though Margaret's overlap of saints' days with those in the *Golden Legend* was high, she and Bokenham seem to have been ships that passed in the night. Of Bokenham's saints (i.e., those whose lives he chronicled) Margaret only used the dates of the feasts of Agnes, Agatha, Margaret, and Katherine. John III dated letters by the feasts of St Faith and Mary Magdelan, both covered by Bokenham. Mary Serjeantson, ed., *Osbern Bokenham: Legendys of Hooly Wummen*. On the popularity of the Feast of the Visitation, Mary C. Erler, "Home Visits: Margaret, Elizabeth, Margery Kempe and the Feast of the Visitation," in *Medieval Domesticity: Home, Housing, and Household in Medieval England*, ed. Maryanne Kowaleski and P. Jeremy P. Goldberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 259–76.
 40. The Wingfield Book of Hours is New York Public Library, Spencer Ms 3, discussed in *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, ed. John J. G. Alexander et al. (New York: Harvey Miller, 2005), pp. 227–32 (with red letter days listed, p. 230). The manuscript was probably written in Bruges, 1450–60, with

- English additions or insertions, 1460–70. It had been written or revised for Ann Neville, duchess of Buckingham. On the singular nature of each book of hours, John P. Harthan, *Books of Hours and their Owners* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977): p. 9, “no two are alike,” and a discussion, pp. 13–15, of the way in which “accuracy” concerning saints and their days was rarely checked, and the vagaries of scribes, as well as of patrons, were inscribed as accepted parts of the book’s calendar.
41. The Ormsby Psalter lists sixteen feasts for November, the Bromholm Psalter but nine, these both being fourteenth-century books from or around Norwich: Montague Rhodes James and Sidney C. Cokerell, eds., *Two East Anglian Psalters at the Bodleian Library* (London: Roxburgh Club, 1926).
 42. Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Liturgical Ms E. 3 (15799); Otto Pächt and Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), iii, no. 975; Peter Lasko and Nigel J. Morgan, *Medieval Art in East Anglia, 1300–1500* (Norwich: Thames & Hudson, 1973). Even a book of hours without fancy touches, such as British Library, Cotton Julius B vii, is noteworthy for its bold distinction between red and black letter days.
 43. William George Henderson, ed., *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Surtees Society 59–60 (1874).
 44. All three saints (Praxedis, Apollinaris, and Germanus) are covered in the *Golden Legend*. Most calendars show a considerable variation in the saints’ days noted; John Plummer, introduction and commentary, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York: George Braziller, 1966), for Morgan Library ms. 945; John Higgitt, *The Murthly Hours: Devotion, Literacy, and Luxury in Paris, London, and the Gaelic West* (London and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), with such English saints as Weberga, Oswald, Edward King and Martyr, Guthlac, John of Beverley, Alban, the Translation of Cuthbert, etc., probably reflecting the calendar observed at Worcester (pp. 306–11). A continental calendar could differ widely; Thomas Kren, “Seven Illuminated Books of Hours Written by the Parisian Scribe Jean Dubreuil, c. 1475–1485,” in *Reading Texts and Images: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage in Honour of Margaret M. Manion*, ed. Bernard J. Muir (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2002), pp. 157–200, on the Use of Le Mans and the Use of Grammont.
 45. On campaigns for canonization, Nicholas Orme, “Saint Walter of Cowbeck,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 108 (1990), pp. 387–93; Anne F. Sutton, “Caxton, the Cult of St Winifred, and Shrewsbury,” in *The Fifteenth Century: V. Of Mice and Men: Image, Belief, and Regulation in Late Medieval England*, ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 109–26. Orme, “Bishop Grandisson and Popular Religion,” *Proceedings of the Devonshire Association* 124 (1992), pp. 107–18; on the costs of such a campaign (on behalf of Thomas Cantilupe), Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, p. 37; Julia M. Luxford, “St. Margaret of Holm: New Evidence Concerning a Norfolk Benedictine Cult,” *NA* 44 (2002),

- pp. 111–19; Virginia Davis, “The Rule of St Paul, the First Hermit, in Medieval England,” in *Monks, Hermits, and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. W. J. Sheils, *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985), pp. 203–14.
46. Mary Richards, “Some Fifteenth-Century Calendars for Rochester Diocese,” *Archaeologia Cantiana* 102 (1985), pp. 71–85; David Thomson, “Two Lists of Fifteenth-Century Feasts in the Diocese of Hereford,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34 (1983), pp. 586–90. Delaisse, “The Importance of Books of Hours,” pp. 205–12, saying that distinctions between different calendars are among the most interesting characteristics of books of hours.
 47. Cults of political “martyrs” as a subspecies of hagiography but never touched by the Pastons; J. C. Russell, “The Canonization of Opposition to the King in Angevin England,” in *Haskins Anniversary Essays in Medieval History* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), pp. 279–90; John W. McKenna, “Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: The Case of Archbishop Scrope,” *Speculum* 45 (1970), pp. 608–23; Simon Walker, “Political Saints in Later Medieval England,” in *the McFarlane Legacy: Studies in Late Medieval Politics and Society*, ed. Richard H. Britnell and Anthony J. Pollard (Stroud: Sutton, 1995), pp. 77–106; Danna Pirovansky, “Bloody Miracles of a Political Martyr: The Case of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster,” in *Signs, Women, and Miracles*, ed. Kate Cooper and Jeremy Gregory, *Studies in Church History* 41 (2005), pp. 228–38.
 48. David H. Farmer, “Some Saints of East Anglia,” pp. 42–3: No bishop of Norwich was ever canonized, in contrast to bishops from Canterbury, York, Rochester, Worcester, Chichester, and Lincoln; R. N. Swanson, “Indulgences at Norwich Cathedral Priory in the Later Middle Ages: Popular Piety in the Balance Sheet,” pp. 18–29; Richard Hart, “The Shrines and Pilgrims of Norfolk,” *NA* 6 (1864), pp. 277–94. R. N. Swanson, *Church and Society*, pp. 283–88, on the surprising lack of interest in local saints.
 49. Michael A. Penman, “Christian Days and Knights: The Religious Devotion and Court of David II of Scotland, 1329–71,” *Historical Research* 78 (2002), pp. 249–72.
 50. John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, pp. 346–50 for such feasts as those of Emertiana the Virgin (23 January), Pope Gabinus (19 February), or Bishop Valery (21 May).
 51. Pevsner, *North-east Norfolk*. For Norwich, pp. 204–94; for the parish churches therein, pp. 234–55 (which includes the Methodist chapel).
 52. Some saints were riding a crest of popularity in Margaret’s day: Jonathan Bengston, “St George and the Formation of English Nationalism,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997), pp. 317–40: In 1416 Archbishop Chichele had ordered the celebration of St George’s feast, and Edward IV, with a brother named George, thought to use the saint and his legend to legitimate the house of York. On Norwich’s devotion to St. George, *VCH Norfolk* II, 539.

53. The churches listed by Pevsner mostly had Norman or Plantaganet origins, and the subsequent merging of parishes may have cost us some exotic saints. James Campbell, "Norwich," in the *Atlas of Historical Towns*, ed. Mary D. Lobel, (vol. 2, London: Oxford University Press, 1975) for the earlier churches and parishes, with dedications to Vaast and Amand (indicating a Flemish presence) as well as to Cuthbert, Ethelbert, Julian, and Vedast (who lasted in London, as St Vedast Foster Lane). Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, p. 83: "No scope was offered for choosing patron saints of parish churches since no new parish churches were established in the city during the late Middle Ages," and after mid-century (fifteenth century) building was slowing down.
54. Kenneth Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish*, p. 195.
55. The incidence of baptismal names goes, in descending order, John, William, Thomas, Richard, and Robert: Virginia Davis, "The Popularity of Late Medieval Personal Names," *Studies in the Personal Name*, pp. 103–14; Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, pp. 82–84 on naming patterns in the city; Scott Smith-Bannister, *Names and Naming Patterns in England, 1538–1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 100, 108–9, 191–3, for material that indicates little change by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from the patterns of an earlier century or two.
56. David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) lists three Henrys. A Danish hermit who died at Tynemouth in 1127 seems unlikely, as does Emperor Henry II (d. 1024). But Henry of Finland, bishop and martyr (d. 1156) had, according to William of Worcester, a chapel in his honor at the Carmelite house in Great Yarmouth, a house named in the wills of both John I and Margaret.
57. David Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, talks of a Walter of Cowick. Though mostly active in Devon, a reference by William of Worcester again suggests a Norwich birthplace; an improbable patron of Paston males but a possible candidate.
58. James (James the Greater?) ranked eighth in terms of national popularity for dedications, fourteenth in Norfolk; two churches in Norwich, St James Pockthorpe and St James-in-Conisford (now in a ruined state) but no record of any Paston connections. Philip, though an apostle, was not much of a cult figure, though for whom else would Margaret's uncle Philip (Berney) had been named?
59. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 371 on the domination of Katherine, Margaret, and Barbara in terms of popularity and, by extension, as the winners of the names-pool stakes.
60. For St Anne, Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, eds., *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*; the papers of the editors and of Gail M. Gibson are most relevant; Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park, IL: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); p. 115, for a reference to a poem acknowledging that Anne had lived long ago—a step toward "historicizing" the saints; Jon Brandenburg,

- “St Anne and her Family: The Veneration of St Anne in Connection with Concepts of Marriage and Family in the Early Modern Period,” in *Saints and She-Devils: Images of Women in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (London: Rubicon Press, 1987), pp. 101–26.
61. Though Margaret of Scotland might have been her patron saint, Margaret of Antioch (whose cult was suppressed in 1969) seems more likely for East Anglia. The feast of Margaret of Scotland was 16 November, that of her translation, 19 June; the feast of Margaret of Antioch fell on 20 July.
 62. Beatrix (Viatrix) was the martyred sister of two brother-martyrs, Simplicius and Faustinus, and with virtually no indications of English devotion.
 63. On naming conventions and the role of godparents: Michael J. Bennett, “Spiritual Kinship and the Baptismal Name in Traditional European Society”; Philip Niles, “Baptism and the Naming of Children in Late Medieval England”; Louis Haas, “Social Connections between Parents and Godparents in Late Medieval Yorkshire”; papers now brought together in Postles and Rosenthal, *Studies in the Personal Name*, pp. 115–45, 147–58, and 159–75, respectively. Gairdner speculates (I, 48) that the “my fader Garneys” of Margaret’s letter to John, 28 September 1443, is “perhaps her grandfather.” The Garneys were lords of Gelderstone. For an Italian setting, with a strong focus on ancestry and family in the choice of names, David Herlihy, “Tuscan Names,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 41 (1988), pp. 561–82.

3 Margaret Paston in Context: Things Said, Done, and Owned

1. With his particular concern for the precise language, Norman Davis talked about the question of how closely the letters mirror “real” speech: “The Language of the Pastons,” pp. 120–44. Janel M. Mueller, *The Native Tongue and the Word: Developments in English Prose Style 1380–1580* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 90–94, and for a good example of Margaret moving from “indirect to direct representation” as she becomes more vivid in telling John I of the slanging match in the street (I, 129).
2. Whether it reflects rhetorical style or the circumstances of letter writing, we have fewer references to “haste” in the Stonor or Plumpton correspondence: Stonor, #113 or #130 for some uses of this throw-in tag.
3. Pritchard, “Religion and the Paston Family,” p. 67. David Knowles, “The Religion of the Pastons,” on their pious speech, though critical about their deeper piety. Knowles, p. 154; a letter written in 1475 is the first time Margaret heads a letter with the Holy Name of Jesus (Jhs).
4. Examples from the other letter collections; Stonor, # 216, from Thomas Betson to Elizabeth Stonor in 1478. In a letter of 31 printed lines, Betson touches many of these bases: “I beseche almighty Jhesu to preserve and

kepe to his plesour... I beseche Almyghty Jhesu send hym als virtuouſ helth as I wodl have myſelf... God knowith it... I praye God comfforte you... God knowithe it... I thanke God off all... I praye God they may do hym good to God ward... our bliſſid Lord preſerve your good ladiſhip in vertu ever. Amen.”

5. Jinty Nelson, on the insecurity of the Carolingian regime: it was “not just the single crisis of 778... but, frankly, one goddamn crisis after another,” p. 172 of her “Making a Difference in Eighth-Century Politics: The Daughters of Desiderius,” in *After Rome’s Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History: Essays Presented to Walter Goffart*, ed. Alexander C. Murray (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 171–90.
6. The whole topic of blessings is now treated at length by Derek Rivard, *Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009).
7. The lines quoted are at the end of the postscript. The body of the letter concluded by signing off, “Almyghty God haue yow in his keepyng.”
8. Earlier in the letter he had said, “God of his hyghe mercy preſerue you all vn-to his mercy and grace, and ſaue you from all aduerſité.”
9. As in the Stonor letters, some of those of the Plumptonſ are repetitive; #196, in 17 printed lines Henry Ardern gets in “I beſech Jhesu contyne and increaſe vnto his pleaſer,” and “I pray Jhesu give you good ſpeed, who haue you in his gloryour keeping,” in addition to one “god-aiſoil” adreſſed to Jhesu and another to “God.”
10. Following the lead of John Boſſy, “Christian Life in the Later Middle Ages: Prayers,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ſixth ſeries, 1 (1991), pp. 137–48.
11. Theſe pieties precede a diſcuſſion of more worldly matters: “ſend me word in writing, by the bringer herof, how I ſhall pay my rent from henceforward and to whom.”
12. For what I term the Paſtonſ’ manichean view of the uniuerſe, Joel T. Roſenthal, *Telling Tales: Sources and Narration in Late Medieval England* (University Park, IL: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), pp. 149–54.
13. Armburgh papers, 64 and 65; this theme is played out ſeveral more times: p. 63, “not withſtanding that they were lykly men and luſty to have liven mony a yere, for theyre vntrewe labour, Godde ſchorted her lyfe dayes and dyede al thre with inne a while after.”
14. John L. Auſtin, “Performative Utterances,” pp. 233–52 of his *Philosophical Papers* (third ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); John R. Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969).
15. Pritchard, “Religion of the Paſtonſ,” p. 67, with various examples. Thomas F. Simmons, ed., *Lay Folks Mass Book*, EETS, o.s. 71 (1879), p. 107 for the inſtructions to pray for ſaintly interceſſion. Michael Clanchy, “Images of Ladies with Prayer Books: What Do They Signify,” in *The Church and the Book*, ed. Robert N. Swanson, *Studies in Church*

- History* 38 (2004), pp. 108–22, the quote is on p. 110, dealing with how women with little Latin acquired “passive literacy.” Also, Carey, “Devout Literate Laypeople,” for injunctions urging “daily mass and matins, fasting and almsgiving...the invariable pious duties of the leisured class” (though it is uncertain if Margaret Paston’s responsibilities would qualify as the leisured class); Andrew Taylor, “Into His Secret Chamber: Reading and Privacy in Late Medieval England,” in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. James Raven et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 41–61.
16. An example of fairly obsequious address, I, 50: John I, in a draft letter to Lord Grey, July 15, 1454, and John III tops this regarding the “Erle of Arran” (I, 352).
 17. Sarah Penketh, “Women and Books of Hours,” in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (London and Toronto: The British Library and the University of Toronto Press, 1996), pp. 266–81, arguing that such books created “intimate communication with the Virgin.” Only one Paston reference in all of their letters seems to refer to an active presence by supernatural powers; John II to John III on the French siege of Boulogne in 1477: I, 305: “thys nyght it is seyde that ther was a vision seyne abowte the wallys...a woman wyth a mervylowse light; men deme that Owre Lady there will shewe hyre-selffe a love to that towne.”
 18. Margaret’s will (I, 230) says the usual things: her soul was left to God Almighty and “to Our Lady his blessed moder” (meaning “god” means Jesus, at least here); her body was to be buried “before the ymage of Our Lady there.” Her brother-in-law William II said much the same; his soul to the Lord God and “to our blessed Lady Sainte Marye Virgyne.”
 19. Knowles, “The Religion of the Pastons,” p. 163: “our Lady’s name—apart from the wills and church dedications—is found surprisingly rarely.” For an odd and perhaps relevant slant on Marian devotion, the guidebook to the parish church of St Mary, Sparham, says that at Sparham 25 March was celebrated as a feast of Jesus—Dies Dominica—and 2 February as the “feast of the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple”; that is, as feasts of Jesus rather than as Marian feasts. No reference is given in the booklet by Rev. C. L. S. Linnell, M.A. (Oxon), 1959, or in the 1976 edition (by M. J. Sayer, M.A. (Oxon)).
 20. Christine Peters, *Patterns of Piety*, p. 98, on the idea that sometimes the major saints were “saved” for big purposes and lesser ones were invoked, or their churches endowed, at a lesser level. This might help explain the relative neglect of the Virgin in speech patterns in contrast to her heavy presence in the preambles of wills.
 21. A joke between the brothers and a rare reference to lay comment on Church rules about daily life. Plumpton, #137 (to Sir Robert Plumpton in 1497): “I wold aduise your mastership, my lady, & all your household many from henceforth to make promise, & keepe yt, to fast the euen of St. Oswald...king & marter, yerly, and that promise truly entended to be performed.”

22. The passage continues: "Involving three factors: veneration of the divine (provided by the prayers of the blessing uttered by the clergy), human behavior, condition by that veneration... and the self-interest (perceived and actual) of human life and sacred being": Derek A. Rivard, *Blessing the World*, p. 7. Also, p. 26: "The act of blessing, *barakh*, was understood as the imparting of vital power from one person to another person, thus giving another a part of the blessing of one's soul originally bestowed by God."
23. Knowles, "The Religion of the Pastons," pp. 144–45, on Agnes's imperious style. She does get some credit here: "good advice of a sort that no Paston was likely to take."
24. She continues in this vein: "euer-more desiring to here of your welfare and prosperité, the which I pray God to contynw and encesce to youre hertes desire." Plumpton, #138, for blessings from the world of parent-child, top-down mode of discourse.
25. Knowles, "Religion of the Pastons," p. 145.
26. A short but pithy summation (Stonor, #91): "my ffadyr is gone to God."
27. Stonor, #100: "or ellys I must be untreue to God and to them that be dede, and fals of my promys, which God defend me fro." Perhaps more fanciful, Stonor, #262: Annys Wydeslade to Sir William Stonor in 1480, telling him she had been ill ("the ffeisicion wolle do his cunyng upon me") and was thus unable to write: "myn excuse is y have be in helle, where y had litel comfort, but as sone as y cam to Exeter then was y yn heven." In Plumpton, #31: his tenants to Sir William Plumpton in 1480, complaining of those who lived beyond their visible means: "God or some euil angel hase notice hereof," which poses the idea of a contested universe. PL III, 982: "And yff they wolle not dredde ne obey that, then they shall be quyt by Blackbern or Whyteberd, that is to sey by God or the Deuyll." Also, III, 14, when a false claim was being presented "as thow it had be trew as the godpell," or (II, 475), "as God sauf my soule at the day of Jugement."
28. No "god assoil" for casualties at the first battle of St Albans: Gairdner, I, 332–33. The peers on both sides are named and then come "other men, to the noubre of iijc and as many or mo hurt." Roger Dalrymple, "Reaction, Consolation and Redress in the Letters of the Paston Women," in *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 16–28: p. 25 for Margaret's "emotive response" when provoked. There is a good "god assoil" in Stonor, #99: "my wyffe, zowr suster that wasse, hose sowle I beseche Jhesu have mersy upon." PL III, 142: Stephen Scrope, on his alleged mistreatment by Fastolf, "my seyde lady my moder discussed (some 5 years before), whoos soule god of hys high mercy assoile." Knowles, "Religion of the Pastons," p. 160, notes that when John II and John III addressed Margaret after Gloys's death they neglected the stock phrase but "in the next letter the usual prayer occurs, a little emphasized."
29. Fastolf got his measure of respect: II, 602, "that God on is sowle haue mercy," from John Davy, his chaplain; II, 603, "my maister, on whos

- sowle Jesu haue mercy,” from Geoffrey Sperling, one of the hands of the Hunterian manuscript of the “Canterbury Tales.”
30. On the filiopiety of the House of York, Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, with Peter Hammond, *The Reburial of Richard, Duke of York, 21–30 July 1476* (London: for the Richard III Society, 1996).
 31. Brackley’s letters to John I are also rich with biblical references, and Gairdner provides the proper citations: Gairdner, I, 289, 341, 355, and 364.
 32. For a biblical reference, by the escheator of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire to Thomas Stonor, #130: “it is reasonable a gentelman to know his pedegre and his possibilyte: seynt Poule foryete nat to write to the Romayns of what lynage he was descended. Ad Romanos xj.”
 33. For Fastolf’s will, I, 54, I, 61; Richmond, *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century: Fastolf’s Will* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), and Beadle and Richmond, *Part III*, pp. 40–191.
 34. Robert N. Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 289, pointing out that “man-made shrines” served “more as tourist attractions than as encouragements to piety.”
 35. Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, on the cults of East Anglia, including many devoted to men and women never officially canonized; David H. Farmer, “Some Saints of East Anglia” for such as Walstan, Eadnoth, and Wendreda, among others; Felix, Sigebert, Edmund, and Walstan were rood screen favorites; Duffy, “Religious Belief,” pp. 316–17, on the attraction of obscure saints; Carole Rawcliffe, “Curing Bodies and Healing Souls: Pilgrimage and the Sick in Medieval East Anglia,” in *Pilgrimage and the English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 108–40: p. 109 for a map of the major pilgrim destinations, adding Bawburgh, Great Yarmouth, and Hautbois to East Anglian sites mentioned by the Pastons. In this same volume, Eamon Duffy, “The Dynamics of Pilgrimage in Late Medieval England,” pp. 166–77; most pilgrimages were local, with details of the cult of Walstan at Bawburgh, citing Capgrave’s *Nova Legenda*; Richard Hart, “The Shrines and Pilgrimages of Norfolk,” *NA* 6 (1884), pp. 277–94, on such sites as Winfarthings (with a relic sword), St Botolph at Foulsham, and others. For what the pilgrim encountered upon arrival, Ben Nilson, “The Medieval Experience at the Shrine,” in *Pilgrimage Explored*, ed. J. Stopford (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 1999), pp. 95–122; Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), pp. 193–97, on the layout at Walsingham that greeted an arriving pilgrim. On focal points of veneration, Anne E. Nichols, “The East Anglian Lollards Revisited: Parochial Art in Norfolk,” in *Tant D’Emprises: So Many Undertakings: Essays in Honour of Anne F. Sutton*, ed. Livia Visser-Fuchs (London: Richard III Society, The Ricardian XIII, 2002), pp. 359–70.
 36. Donald J. Hall, *English Mediaeval Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1965), pp. 104–29; Christopher Harper-Bill, “The Foundation and Later History of the Medieval Shrine,” in *Walsingham: Pilgrimage and*

- History* (Walsingham: R.C. National Shrine, 1999), pp. 63–79, and Carole Rawcliffe, “Pilgrimage and the Sick in Medieval East Anglia,” pp. 39–61. John C. Dickinson, *The Shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956); Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 196–97, on the sustained level of gifting at Walsingham and Bromholm, though interest in St William of Norwich trailed off. Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998); fifteenth-century offerings at the shrine of St William of Norwich rarely amounted to more than £1 after better days in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Lollards denounced the cult of the Holy Rood at Bromholm, with its mechanical contrivances; Walsingham was “Falsingham,” John A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards*, p. 126. For St Leonards, W. T. Bensusan, “St Leonard’s Priory, Norwich,” *NA* 12 (1895), pp. 197–227; a cell of Norwich Priory with a striking image of St Leonard. For the shrines of Norwich Cathedral, Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson, ed., *Medieval Norwich* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), p. 148. For Margery Kempe as “the unpopular pilgrim” and Erasmus as the “skeptical pilgrim,” John Ure, *Pilgrimage: The Great Adventure of the Middle Ages* (London: Constable, 2006). For pilgrimage and gender, Leigh Ann Craig, *Wandering Women and Holy Matrons: Women as Pilgrims, 1300–1500* (Boston, MA & Leiden: Brill, 2009).
37. For Erasmus on Walsingham, John G. Nichols, ed., Desiderius Erasmus, *Pilgrimage to St Mary of Walsingham and St Thomas of Canterbury* (London: John Murray, 1875), pp. 11–38, and on p. 19, “She [has left us] so much milk, as it is scarcely credible it should have belonged to one woman with a single child, even if the infant had taken none of it!” James Charles Wall, *Shrines of British Saints* (London: Methuen & Co., 1905); the index covers (holy) body parts to be found at the sites.
 38. Margaret’s son Edmund said he would accompany her: “Yf it plese yow that I may wete the seayson, as my duté is, I shalle redy to awayte vpon yow.”
 39. Castor, *Blood and Roses*, points out (p. 77) that Walsingham was hostile territory for the Pastons, being deep in Duchy of Lancaster holdings where their adversaries, Thomas Tuddenham and John Heydon, were well entrenched.
 40. John III went on to say, regarding his still-unmarried sister who presumably would make the trip with their mother: “and let my sustyr Margery goo wyth yow to prey to them that sche may haue a good hosbond or sche com hom ayen.” By this time Agnes may have been living in London with William II at Warwick’s Inn near Newgate: “The place at Warwyks Inne is large and my grawntdame is agyd” as John II stated in 1474 (I, 285). On the pilgrim shrines of St Pauls, Janet Backhouse, ed., *The Medieval English Cathedral: Papers in Honour of Pamela Tudor-Craig*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, X (Donington: Paul Watkins, 2003): the relevant papers are of Caroline M. Barron, “London and St Paul’s Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages,” pp. 126–49, on the shrine of St Erkenwald; Eamon Duffy,

- “St Erkenward: London’s Cathedral Saint and His Legend,” pp. 150–67; Lucy Freeman Sandler, “The Chantry of Roger of Waltham in Old St Pauls,” pp. 168–90.
41. For “how to do it” literature regarding pilgrimages, Antonia Gransden, “Letters of Recommendation from John Whethamstede for a Poor Pilgrim, 1453–55,” *English Historical Review* 106 (1991), pp. 932–39; Christian K. Zacher, “Travel and Geographical Writings,” in *A Manual of Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences, 1986), vol. VII.
 42. A letter of about three days later is in the same vein: “Thys day seuen-nyght I trust to God to be forward to Caunterbery at the ferthest.”
 43. D. J. Hall, *English Medieval Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 210–11: an unreferenced statement that the Pastons were great patrons of Bromholm and that, at the Reformation, they may have acquired a piece of the True Cross from the house’s treasures. A reference to pilgrimage in Plumpton, #87: One “Byrd of Knasbrough” was to carry for them—either messages or goods—but “he went to Hales, and many other pilgrimages.” Alison Hanham, *The Celys and their World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 90, for a pilgrimage to Compostella in 1484: “it would be delightful to have some details of Robert’s journey but nothing more is related”; Wendy R. Childs, “The Perils, or Otherwise, of Maritime Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella in the Fifteenth Century,” in Stopford, *Pilgrimage Explored*, pp. 123–43.
 44. For Edward IV and Walsingham, Cora Schofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth* (London: Longmans Green & Co, 1923), I, pp. 491–2. Charles Ross, *Richard III* (second ed., New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 14. John II was told by Jakyn Hawte that the Queen planned to go on that 1469 expedition “yf God send hyr good hele.” She may have been following in the king’s footsteps, as Edward IV had “departyt to Walsynggame apon Fryday com vij nyght.” I, 352, John II to John III, on Norfolk’s resolve to bring his wife to Walsingham in thanksgiving after her confinement. Long afterwards, in 1503, the earl of Oxford told John III that he planed to go to Walsingham, “doing my pilgrimage” (II, 850).
 45. Far from home but of interest: John II to the sheriff of Norfolk in March 1462: “The Kyng of Fraunce is in-to Spayne on pilgrimage with fewe fors, as thei sey; what the purpose is thei can not telle certeyn.”
 46. On the Calthorp family: Josiah C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: Biographies* (London: His Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1936): entries for Sir William (1410–94), MP for Norfolk, 1445–46, and for his eldest son, Sir Philip (1463–1535), MP for Norfolk, 1491–92. Before her marriage Ann Paston Yelverton had spent time in the Calthorp household, and Calthorps were buried in the Carmelite church in Norwich.
 47. Christopher Allmand, *Henry V* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1992), pp. 273–93; Jeremy Catto, “Religious Change under Henry V,” in *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*,

- ed. G. L. Harriss (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 97–115. Edmund Clere to John I (II, 512), relating that the royal almoner was sent to Canterbury “to offer at Seint Edward” in thanksgiving because Henry VI had recovered his wits. Some miracles attributed to Henry VI took effect in East Anglia: Ronald Knox and Shane Leslie, *The Miracles of Henry VI* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923): #96, 101, and 124. Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1981), p. 257, for Margaret of Anjou and one of the king’s half-brothers at Walsingham; Susan S. Morrison, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private Piety as Public Performance* (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 16.
48. William A. Pantin, “Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman,” pp. 398–422; Pantin suggests that the man for whom the advice book was written, or its author, may have been following advice as found in Mirk’s *Festial*; Duffy, “Religious Belief,” pp. 319–23; Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, p. 98: masses were celebrated with “almost mind-boggling regularity,” which meant that other business was likely to be conducted in or around the church. Stonor, #60, for an account of three horses stolen from John Elmac, “whiles he was at the chyrche at matins to haue caried hem away.”
 49. On Margaret’s marriage portion, *Calendar of the Fine Rolls, 1471–1485*, #831, the writ of *diem clausit extremum* for Margaret, November 7, 1484. For John I’s inquisition postmortem, II, 900 (October 1466). When Henry Warns (Harry Waryns) said that Margaret had no role at Paston, he was probably referring to her control of the manor, not the living: “Mastryrs Margyt Pastun has non rewle here nor sell hafe” (II, 735).
 50. I, 216: Margaret pointed out in 1472, “I am leke to haue but lytylle good of Mauteby yf the Dukke of Norfolke haue possession styille in Caster, and yf we lesse that, we lesse the fayere-este flowere of owr garland.”
 51. As early as 1450 Margaret was reporting to John on work being done there: “I haue sent Henry to Maultby this weke to do seche thyngys as ye commawndyd in your letter” (I, 136). Later she said that the onset winter would end the working season; “there shl nomore be made there-of this year but the gabels of the chamber and the chapel windows” (I, 144). In the flurry of letters from John’s last year (1465) we have several in which he discusses the finances of Mautby (I, 72, and I, 77); in 1487 William III wrote to the bailiff there (I, 410). Some of John’s accounts have survived from 36–37 Henry VI (1458–59), showing he spent 10 shillings for “glazing the chapel at Mautby,” plus 3s 8d for work on Gresham church: Gairdner, I, pp. 433–34.
 52. The plaque in the church at Mautby lists the vicars of the parish; Robert Iteringham became vicar in 1448, Constantine Dalby in 1453, Thomas Howys in 1460, Robert Cutler in 1465, and Thomas Heveningham in 1480. Of these men, Dalby was marginally involved in family affairs while Howys was much in their world (and various letters inform us about his final illness, his resignation, and his death: I, 131, 395, 400,

- and 542). He had been parson of Blofield and Castle Combe, a Fastolf manor, and had served as a Fastolf executor: Gairdner, III, 443, on his declaration about Fastolf's final intentions. Cutler had also been vicar of Caister, and in Margaret Paston's will he is referred to regarding his mark on some swans. He told of a proverb in one of his letters (II, 652), one of the more literary allusions we find. Thomas Lyndes, whom we know from the endorsements of Margaret and John II to John I, was omitted from the list posted in the church, though he was vicar from 1465 until about 1469. He received a cash bequest in the funeral gifting of John I, and after his death his debts became a problem for John II (I, 209), who, in his own will, named Lyndes as a beneficiary of the prayers he was now subsidizing.
53. We know, from Howys's earlier activities (as in III, *passim*) that his heart was more in administrative than pastoral matters. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion*, p. 243.
 54. Margaret continues: "and thank hym for the gret cost that he dede on me at Norwich; and if I were a grette lady he shuld vnderstand that he shuld fare the better fore me."
 55. Thomas Hakon had been presented to the living at Drayton (I, 145).
 56. Kate Mertes, "The Household as a Religious Community," in Rosenthal and Richmond, *People, Politics, and Community*, pp. 123–39, on the chapel and its links with family prayers and books of hours; Jeremy Catto, "Religion and the English Nobility in the Later Fourteenth Century," in *History and Imagination: Essays in Honour of H. R. Trevor-Roper*, ed. Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Valerie Pearl, and Blair Warden (London: Duckworth, 1981), pp. 43–55. The Plumpton's concern (#222 and #226) is with a chantry chapel, not a household one.
 57. Henry S. Bennett, *The Pastons and their England*, pp. 205–6. Bennett accepts, as a matter of course, that such gentry folk had their own chapel, as does the old study by Edward L. Cutts, *Scenes and Characters of the Middle Ages* (London: Simpkin, 1925), pp. 208–12.
 58. Christopher Woolgar, *The Great Household*, p. 178 for the chapel at Caister (most household books were "closely associated with the religious arrangements of the chapel or personal devotion"), pp. 179–80 for Fastolf's books. Also, on Fastolf's books and reading circle, Deborah Youngs, "Cultural Networks," in *Gentry Culture in Late Medieval England*, pp. 119–33. Gairdner, I, 467–90, for various inventories of Fastolf's vast accumulations; no relics, no books other than service books, and mostly concerned to list a tremendous accumulation of clothing, household furnishings, and linen. Margaret Wood, *The English Mediaeval House* (London: Phoenix House, 1968) on domestic chapels. John II saw the chapel at Caister as his, now to control: "Thomas Howes hadde a free chapel in Caster, where-of the gyfte longyth to me," writing to John II in 1469 (I, 239).
 59. Even when chapel goods are included in Gairdner's documents on the Fastolf will and inventory (I, 489–91), they represent a very small

- proportion of this great estate: Gairdner, I, 445–67 for Fastolf's will, pp. 467–75 for one inventory, pp. 475–90 for that of the wardrobe.
60. My emphasis on “sacrament.” The bishop in the picture was Walter Lyhart, bishop since 1446. Because William I's chantry had been built in the cathedral, Lyhart and the Pastons must have had many dealings over the years.
 61. There is more on this in the Plumpton Letters; Plumpton, #2 (“my new chappell”), #14 (dealing with a chantry), #50 (where Thomas Thorpe signs his letter, “your chaplain & bedman”), #178 (an incumbent defends his privileges and perquisites), #183 (on the real property of a parish church), #192 (a chantry), and #222 (on the value of land attached to a chantry), among others.
 62. Margaret Aston, “Segregation in Church,” in *Women in the Church*, ed. W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History*, 27 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 237–94, on seating in the parish church. Andrew Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury, 1250–1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 250: little evidence for a “detachment from parochial life” because of private or internalized prayer or family chapels.
 63. When Katherine Chadderton talked of a new chapel (“my new chappell,” Plumpton, #2) she told of the need for some basic books (“either salter or primer”) and then “neither gold nor siluer, but some other thing for said awter.” The Stonors talked of chapel goods and heirlooms: #140, #227. Margaret's references to conversations with her sons in church may indicate that the gentry were not segregated in their seating, or that they really spoke before or after the service, or that Margaret lectured to them whenever she felt like doing so.
 64. I, 355: John III to John II, “Syr Jamys is parson of Stokysby by J Bernays gyft,” and then Paston adds, “I trowe he beryth hym the hyer.” The Berney manor of Stokely was about six miles northwest of Great Yarmouth.
 65. Daniel E. Thiery, “Plowshares and Swords: Clerical Involvement in Acts of Violence and Peacemaking in Late Medieval England, 1400–1536,” *Albion* 36/2 (2004), pp. 201–22; pp. 212–13 on Gloys as a nasty character and on Margaret Paston's seemingly uncritical acceptance of his behavior. Henry S. Bennett, *The Pastons*, siding with John II and John III; Bennett's index reference to Gloys has a subheading, “overbearing way.” Knowles says of him: “The priest is lost in the man of business” (p. 159), and Mertes, *the English Noble Household*, p. 46, on the “versatility” of household chaplains. It has been suggested that Gloys actually provoked that famous quarrel in the street: David Burnley, *Courtliness and Literature in Medieval England* (London: Longmans, 1998), pp. 213–14: Gloys “deliberately refused to acknowledge the offended men by removing his hat.” This sounds like the opening scene of “Romeo and Juliet.”
 66. Davis (II, 919) considers the sermon to be Gloys's, though Blomefield attributed it to Friar Brackley; II, 919. The sermon emphasizes the need for “connyng, boldnesse, and langages” for those who would preach “the

- wurd as the appostilles dede.” Not very inspirational, it runs to 70 lines of spiritual commonplaces. On a sermon (II, 582) at St Paul’s by “a lewd doctour of Ludgate at Pauls,” as Brackley told John I. It was October 1459, the “lewd” man said that “no man schuld preyen for these lordys traytowrys,” meaning the Yorkists.
67. He might have been speaking a foreign language when Roger Taverham told John I (II, 697) that he planned to turn his back on the world. “By the grace of God I shall go to Rome and in-to oder holy places to spende myn dayes of this present liffe in the seruisse of God.” The most painful part of this decision (“grettest lamentacion”) was that he would leave his friends: “I shall neuer see you no more, nor non of myn frendes.”
 68. The Stonors offer a few more of these “throw aways” of pious speech: Stonor, #100 (“or ellys I must be untrewed to God and to them that be dede”), or Stonor, #213 (“maister Betson at Ester was a twelmonthe was sevyng off hys goostly fadir, and that it was geven heme in penance”—for a rare reference to a sacrament).
 69. Katherine French, *The Good Women of the Parish: Gender and Religion after the Black Death* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), p. 37.
 70. One of her complaints about John I was that he had, unbeknownst to her, taken possession of valuables left for safekeeping with the cathedral priory, whence John I “barre away all, and keypyng it styll” (I, 32). For papers safely tucked away at Dale Abbey, Plumpton, #93. In a bill of complaints by John III against his uncle William II, it was charged that William “gate in-to his possession a chargere of siluer. . . and iij bollys of siluer that were in keypyng of Bachelere Waltere, a friere Carmelit of Norwich. . . which. . . the seid William yet with-holdith and kepith to his owne vse” (I, 387). Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c. 1300–1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), p. 23, and p. 180: “such ornamentes & juelles as ye have leffte here in thys howse for the honour of God,” among the instances of using a regular house as a safe deposit box.
 71. The list is small, the documents short. There were some gold chalices (I, 68), one with “calicem salutaris accipiam” engraved on it, and (I, 69) there was a pix and an osculatorium with an image of St James and a cup with an image of “Sancte Trini.” The goods had been stored in John’s coffer in the abbey (Norwich priory, or more probably Broholm).
 72. The seven images listed are of John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Denis, and James, along with two of Our Lady, and one of “owre sauowre.”
 73. Jenny Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Goods of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389–1438)* (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1993); Bedford as a patron and collector, pp. 105–26, with a fragment of the True Cross and various relics listed in the inventories.
 74. The catalogue is *Gothic Art for England, 1400–1547*, ed. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2003).

75. The “not for the Pastons” items are numbers 179 and 185, respectively, in the Catalogue; the two more likely items 191 and 196; the explanation is by Marian Campbell.
76. Susan Foster, “Private Devotion,” pp. 334–74; the Donne Triptych is item 213, the Bedford/Beauchamp Book of Hours, 223; the mould is 221, the window 217. To draw out the Don(ne)–Paston contrast, Ralph A. Griffiths, ed., *The Household Book (1510–51) of Sir Edward Don: An Anglo-Welsh Knight and His Circle*, Buckinghamshire Record Society 33 (Bedford: 2004). All the items displayed in the catalogue have been characterized as products of an “age of consumption.”
77. On the wide interests of at least one particular lawyer, C. E. Moreton, “The ‘Library’ of a Late-Fifteenth-Century Lawyer,” *The Library*, sixth series, 13 (1991), pp. 338–46. Of the 44 books listed, 10 were religious in nature: saints’ lives, sermons and treatises, and Gregory’s *Pastorale*.
78. We know the book was being circulated; it had gone from Anne to Sir John Parre, and “when he hathe doon wyth it he promysyd to delyuer it yow. I prey yow lete Portlond brynge the book hom wyth hym.”
79. I, 238: the ownership is unclear: “it is the bible that the master hath.”
80. Eamon Duffy, “Late Medieval Religion,” in *Gothic Art for England*, p. 60.
81. Mary C. Erler, “English Vowed Women at the End of the Middle Ages,” *Mediaeval Studies* 57 (1995), pp. 155–203.

4 Family Wills: Margaret Paston and the Rest

1. In proper usage of legal history, a last will governs the disposition of real property, a testament the disposition of personal goods. However, this distinction—first brought to my attention by Robin DuBoulay—has lost its edge as historians have turned so much attention to these documents and I use “will” to cover both wills and testaments.
2. John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 170–71.
3. On the funeral procession and burial of Eleanor of Castile, John Carmi Parsons, *Eleanor of Castile: Queen and Society in Thirteenth-Century England* (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1995), pp. 59–60; Elizabeth Hallum, “Introduction: The Eleanor Crosses and Royal Burial Custom,” in *Eleanor of Castile, 1290–1990*, ed., David Parsons (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1991), pp. 9–21. York and Suffolk received special treatment because “their weight had to be reduced in order that they might be taken home”: James H. Wylie, *The Reign of Henry the Fifth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1919), II, pp. 217–18. Wylie refuted suggestions that the bodies had been pickled or embalmed. For a more elaborate ceremony that was virtually contemporary with Margaret’s burial, Christopher Given-Wilson, “The Exequies of Edward IV and the Royal Funeral Ceremony in Late Medieval England,” *English Historical Review* 124 (2009), pp. 257–82.

4. Hannes Kleineke, "The Reburial Expenses of Sir Thomas Arundell," *The Ricardian* 11 (1998), pp. 288–96, and thanks to Caroline Barron for this reference. Katherine French, *The Good Women of the Parish*, p. 64, quoting Vanessa Harding: "a funeral was 'ane vent scripted by its central participant, or by those to whom he or she had delegated that power'." This is true in bold letters for the burial of John Paston I, as we see below, that being the only Paston burial for which we have the relevant details.
5. Sidney Painter, *William Marshal, Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933; reprinted, Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Medieval Academy, 1982), pp. 275–89. Painter follows the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* on the Marshal's last days.
6. For the "good death," Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of Our Death*, trans. Helen Weaver (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1981); Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, chapter 9, talking about "Last Things."
7. Though Henry II was not unattended, no sons were with him. When he learned that John had deserted him, "the will to live departed": W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1973), p. 626. Warren sets the scene in terms of "an ailing lion savaged by jackals."
8. Richmond, *Endings*, pp. 78; 59–87 for a general treatment of John II, in the context of "Gentility without Means."
9. Rowena E. Archer, "Alice Chaucer, Duchess of Suffolk," in the *ODNB*.
10. For Isabel of Warwick, F. J. Furnivall, ed., *The Fifty Earliest English Wills*, EETS, o.s. 78 (1882; reprinted, 1964), pp. 116–19. Was it modesty that kept so many others from following Isabel's lead: "my Image to be made all naked, and no thing on my hede but myn here cast bakwardys, and of the gretnes and of the fascyon lyke the mesure that Thomas Porchalyn hath yn a lyst." With a focus on Alice Chaucer, Pamela King, "'My Image to be made all Naked': Cadaver Tombs and the Commemoration of Women in Fifteenth-Century England," in *Tant D'Emprises*, pp. 294–314.
11. Though for the late medieval aristocracy the Grey Friars house in London was a popular last resting place: Charles L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London: Their History* (London: British Society for Franciscan Studies 6, 1915), pp. 134–44.
12. On wills: Eber Carle Perrow, "The Last Will and Testament as a Form of Literature," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* xvii, part 1, no. 1 (1911), pp. 682–750; Caroline A. J. Skeel, "Medieval Wills," *History* 10 (1926), pp. 300–10.
13. Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion*, especially chapter 4 (pp. 67–108). The burial of John Baret of Bury in 1487 is termed "funeral theater."
14. Furnivall, *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, p. 31, from the will of John Chelmsywyk of Shropshire, 1418.
15. Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*.

16. For Juliet's fears about awakening amidst old family bones: "Romeo and Juliet," IV, iii, 30–54. I used this reference in a talk at the 2006 Leeds Medieval Congress; I thank Roisin Cossar and Shona Kelly Wray for inviting me to participate in a session on family wills.
17. Nigel Saul, *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England*; Michael Hicks on the Hungerford family: specific articles cited above. Joel T. Rosenthal, *Patriarchy and Families of Privilege in Fifteenth-Century England* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), pp. 77–91 for the Scropes of Bolton. Also, David Lepine, "The Courtenays and Exeter Cathedral in the Later Middle Ages," *Proceedings of the Devonshire Association* 124 (1992), pp. 41–58; Jennifer C. Ward, "Fashions in Monastic Endowment: The Foundations of the Clare Family," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), pp. 427–51. For a regional approach, Peter Northeast, "Suffolk Churches in the Later Middle Ages: The Evidence of Wills," in *East Anglia's History: Studies in Honour of Norman Scarfe*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill, Carole Rawcliffe, and Richard Wilson (Norwich: Boydell for the University of East Anglia, 2002), pp. 93–106; C. E. Moreton, "A Social Gulf? The Upper and Lesser Gentry of Later Medieval England," *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), pp. 255–62. On testators' instructions, M. G. A. Vale, "Piety, Charity, and Literacy" (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 19), pp. 9–13; John Denton, "Image, Identity, and Gentility: The Woodford Experience," in *The Fifteenth Century: V. Of Mice and Men*, ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 1–17.
18. Robert Kinsey, "Hedging your Bets: The Thorpe Family Chantries and the Locations of Remembrance in 14th Century England," as read at the 2008 Harlaxton Conference.
19. Skeel, "Medieval Wills," p. 10: "On the whole it is the best side of human nature that comes out in medieval wills." Against this sanguine view, H. R. Trevor-Roper, "Why must the tomb be prefabricated, the masses prepaid? It is because, in spite of all this lip-service to the family, no one really trusted anyone else, not even his sons, once his power over them was gone. In reality the family was not cultivated as such: it was a necessary alliance from which every man hoped individually to profit," in his "Up and Down in the Country: The Paston Letters," in *Historical Essays* (New York: Harper, 1961), p. 31. John III was excoriated by the prior of Bromholm in 1476 because of his dilatory approach regarding his father's tomb (I, 371): "the ille speche whyche is in the contré now of new that the tombe is not mad."
20. Elizabeth did express family concerns: prayers for "my said housbands soul and myne, our fadres and modres soules, and, for all Cristen soules."
21. Margery was the daughter of Thomas Monceaux and widow of William Lomnor and Thomas Briggs before she married into the Paston family (I, lxii).
22. This will (II, 929) is from the Norfolk Record Office Consistory Court of Norwich, Reg ix, 128a–129b.

23. II, 930: Agnes took steps to see that these prayers would be said: "if the said Sir Robert do dye within the said yeres that than myn exectuours doo fynd som other prest for the parfourmaunce of the same." The parson of Braysted [Brasted, Kent] was to be her overseer, "in trust for the weale of my soule."
24. A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A. D. 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963). William II left without taking a degree. In his will of 1496 he certainly aimed high, naming the Cardinal, the king's mother, Lord Daubney, and his own nephew Sir Edward Poynings, as executors. Davis notes that this group declined to act (I, lvii); he does not indicate who eventually undertook the obligation.
25. Margaret had been seriously ill before her final decline; John Whetley to John II on 20 May 1478: "My meastres your moder hath ben gretly diseased, and so seke that she wened to haue dyed and hath made her wyll" (II, 782). For a widow who sank into depression, Kay Lacey, "Margaret Croke (d. 1490)." In *Medieval London Widows, 1300–1500*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 143–64: Margaret had been widowed for eight months when Thomas Betson said of her, "She is a ffyn mery woman, but ye shall kow it not yit ffynd it, nor noe of yours by that I se in her."
26. Roger Virgoe, *Private Life*, p. 267, points out that this was "the last major epidemic of bubonic plague that was to hit England during the 15th century," although it is not certain that Agnes died of the plague, she already being a very old lady. Moreover, Walter had fallen ill by early July and only died on 18 or 19 August, this being a long interval of survival for a plague victim.
27. One of Margery and Richard Calle's grandchildren may have become a friar: Richmond, *Endings*, p. 122 (while Calle himself lived to at least 1496). In a will of 1510 a bequest of money and books went to a friar William Calle, as in notes made by Roger Virgoe from PRO documents.
28. Margaret to John I, perhaps in February 1454: "I pray yow if ye haue an othere sone that ye woll lete it be named Herry in remembrans of your brother Herry" (I, 151). Though Davis's dating of this letter is uncertain, he thinks that Walter was born 1455–57 and William III around 1459—with no "Herry" on the scene. Also on infant mortality: John III and Margery Brewes had a son Christopher born in 1478 and his absence from Margaret's will argues for his early death. Also, (I, 397) for Anne Yelverton's infant who died at birth. There is a brass of Anna, daughter of Sir John (III), at Oxnead, ca. 1490: Jonathan Finch, *Church Monuments in Norfolk before 1850: The Archaeology of Commemoration*, B.A.R., British Series, 317 (2000), p. 61 (and p. 32, for a sixteenth-century alabaster monument to Clement Paston at Oxnead).
29. On their dubious origins, Caroline M. Barron, "Who Were the Pastons?" *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 4 (1972), pp. 530–35. Gairdner,

- II, pp. 283–5: “ancetors have been bondmen to the ancetors of the said John Pastson sithen the time that no minde is to the contrary . . . how their ancetors had licence to have a chaplen.” Having a private or family chapel is offered as a sign of status and perhaps even of gentility.
30. Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 171–82 for the clustering of Howard burials in only a few sites, though they were patrons of 19 houses and accordingly had a very wide range of choices.
 31. The tomb at the east end of the church at Paston is reputedly that of John I, moved from Bromholm at the time of the dissolution. But even if this is the case it was not a burial at Paston. Pevsner’s laconic “this monument may well be what is left of John Paston’s [monument],” in his *North-east Norfolk and Norwich*, p. 298. Herbert Loraine, author of the current guidebook to the church of St Margaret at Paston, is extremely circumspect about certainty regarding the monuments. Erasmus Paston (d. 1538) and his wife Mary, parents of three sons and nine daughters, were buried in the parish church at Paston: *NA* 11 (1892), p. 95. Helen Jewell, *Women in Medieval England*, p. 167: The vicar of Paston celebrated mass every Friday for the souls of William and Agnes (though neither was buried at Paston).
 32. On the Carmelites, David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England: The End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), pp. 144–48, 173. For their Norwich house, *VCH Norfolk* II, pp. 431–2; William Worcester, *Itinerary*, ed. John Harvey (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 235–37. Some Calthorpes were buried there, as was an Edmund Berry and his wife in the 1430s. John Weever, *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (London, 1764) and Blomefield, IV, 414. Tanner says in *The Church in Medieval Norwich*, pp. 119–25 that the Carmelites held their own for bequests and endowed prayers but did not fare so well in attracting the burials of the wealthy and powerful.
 33. Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370–1540* (Norwich: Boydell, 2001); Peter Northeast, ed., *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439–1474: I. Wills from the Register “Balldwyne,” part 1, 1439–1461*, Suffolk Records Society 44 (2001).
 34. Clement’s wife had been a Bacton, and Bacton was the village next to Paston, indicating how, at the start, local families and networks had sufficed for Paston ambitions.
 35. Edgar C. Robbins, *William Paston, Justice: Founder of the Paston Family, 1378–1444* (Norwich: Jarrod & Sons, 1932).
 36. Paul Binski, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Remembrance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 74.
 37. Were more prayers when said by fewer people more efficacious than fewer prayers said by many? William I opened the floodgates, stipulating that the prayers were for “. . . et omnium quorum debitores sumus, et omnium per nos iniuriam paciencium, et eorum omnium pro quibus Deo est deprecandum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum . . .”

38. Davis, I, 32, for Agnes's stating that the revenue from Swainsthorpe was dedicated for this purpose; also, Blomefield, IV, 46, on William's estate. Helen Jewell, *Women in Medieval England*, p. 167: some ties were maintained, as the Vicar of Paston celebrated mass every Friday for the souls of William I and Agnes.
39. Francis Woodman, pp. 158–61, in Ian Atherton, *Norwich Cathedral*, in the chapter on "The Gothic Campaigns."
40. Though Bromholm was a famous pilgrim site because of the Holy Rood, it was not a particularly large or rich house. The prior of Bromholm held the living of Paston until the dissolution. There were 25 monks in 1298, 19 in 1349–50, 18 in 1390, and (only) 10 in 1466, so William's bequest may have been for each resident monk: *VCH Norfolk* II, pp. 359–64. On the house as a pilgrim site because of its relic: Francis Wormald, "The Rood of Bromholm," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 1 (1937), pp. 31–45.
41. William displays a unique interest in liturgical details. His son Clement, at age 18, was to take charge of his alms-giving: "distributat manu propria in elemosinis juxta discrecionem suam inter magis paupers et debiles creatura, in honore quinque principalium vulnerum et passionis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, et quinque gaudiorum Beate Marie Virginis et Matris eius." Gairdner, I, 52, for an agreement for prayers for the souls of William and Agnes each Friday, and for Clement on 17 June, St Botolph's Day.
42. Gairdner, II, 286: "every day iiij d. to sing and pray for his soule and myn, and al the sowles that he and I have made any goode of or be beholdyn to pray for."
43. Agnes's version does have John I as present at the end. Whether we go with the mother's memory over that of the daughter, this is an interesting discrepancy. Not having been present at the end might make John less culpable in terms of how he treated his brothers but more so in terms of not being a responsible son.
44. William II was at pains to emphasize what a light load the incumbent would have to carry: "It is butt an esy cure to kepe, for ther ar natt past xxii persons to be yerly howselyd" (I, 99).
45. In the bill of complaint that John III drew up against his uncle William II (1489) he referred to items in the latter's possession but that should have gone to the Norwich Carmelites: "to th'entent that a certeyn coost shuld have ben doon vpon the liberarye...for the sowlis of William Paston, justice, and Angnes, his wiff, which chargere and bollys the said Willaim yet with-holdith and kepith to his owne use" (I, 387).
46. Frances and Joseph Gies, *A Medieval Family: The Pastons of Fifteenth-Century England* (New York: Harper Collins, 1998), p. 317.
47. For the London Carmelites, C. M. Barron and Matthew Davies, ed., *The Religious Houses of London and Middlesex* (London: VCH and the Centre for Metropolitan History, 2007), pp. 128–32 in this newly edited version of the old *VCH, London*. The house was founded in the 1240s and in 1334 it peaked at 80 friars, making it the largest Carmelite house in Britain. At the end it had a prior and 12 friars.

48. The manuscript of John II's will, dating from 1477, is very defective. He seems to be leaving bequests to "myn vnclē Edward Maudeley" and "my cousin syr William Calthorpe," figures of importance in the Paston world but not otherwise mentioned in their wills.
49. Thomas Lyndes was recommended by Margaret and John II when the living at Mautby had fallen vacant. John Daubney was well within the family's circle and ultimately a casualty of their schemes, being fatally wounded in the siege of Caister. Plate xxii in vol. II of Davis's edition shows a letter in Daubney's hand (II, 748).
50. We might see these concerns as a belated assertion of patriarchy. The will's invocation offers a roll call of saints not otherwise matched in the family: "Marye, Seint John Baptist, Seint Gorge, Seint Cristofure, and seint Barbara." Neither St Barbara nor St Christopher had feasts noted in any of Margaret's letters.
51. Entry into the church is now open on a limited basis, and a visit was made in July 2007. The church is now being converted into a stained glass museum.
52. On her favorite: "I trust to haue more joye of hym than I haue of them that bene owlder" (I, 22); this was in 1473, about when Walter would have been turning toward Oxford.
53. Walter tells one of his brothers, "I was maad baschylere . . . on Fryday . . . and I mad my fest on the Munday after" (I, 404).
54. I, 405. Among the bequests are lots of "togas," one with "manicis de mynkys" and one with "menyver." Walter must have been a style setter among his circle of young clerics, though he makes no mention of books or ecclesiastical utensils or paraphernalia.
55. The proceeding are summarized, Bennett, *The Pastons and Their England*, pp. 197–98. On John's missing will, I, 408: William III to Edmund II, telling how their father's will had been copied from the ecclesiastical register so John III could consult it in carrying out its provisions.
56. The reluctance of John I's sons to build his tomb is a familiar story (and not told here). Castor, *Blood and Roses*, pp. 250–51 and 261.
57. Blomefield, VI, 483–85. For other glimpses of John I's activity along these lines: James Gairdner, I, 433–34, for a list of John I's expenses in 36–37; Henry VI, with 10s to glaze the chapel at Mautby and a bequest to the poor of Norwich in the form of 7s for "circa reparationem murorum civitatis" to the tune of 7s.
58. David Knowles estimates a total cost of about £190: "Religion of the Pastons," p. 148: "A stupendous amount when the value of money at the time is considered." Philip Morgan thinks the costs ran about 20 percent above Knowles' estimate: "Of Worms and War, 1380–1558," in *Death in England*, ed. Peter C. Jupp and Clare Gittings (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 139. Thomas Stonor was buried, with a suitable feast, procession, etc., for £74 2s 5d in 1474 (Stonor, #138). A chief baron of the exchequer was buried in 1479 in a funeral that cost £13

- 17s 8d: Francis Steer, "A Medieval Household: The Urswick Inventory," *Essex Review* 63 (1954), pp. 4–20.
59. For the reburial of the patriarch of the House of York, Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs with Peter Hammond, *The Reburial of Richard Duke of York* (London: Richard III Society, 1996), p. 6 for a diagram of the positioning of groups of mourners, p. 8 for the route followed by the cortège, and Plate I for a Flemish painting of the 1460s depicting a royal funeral procession.
60. For maps that show the villages at which a royal cortege came to rest, Anne Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, with R. A. Griffiths, ed., *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor* (London: Richard III Society, 2005), p. 23 for the route of Edward IV's cortege, p. 59 for that of Princess Mary and Queen Elizabeth Woodville. Kleineke, "Reburial Expenses" also has a route map for the long procession.
61. Though we know nothing of the subsequent fate of Margery Paston Calle, Richard remained a trusted employee. It seem unlikely that Margery was reduced to the level of her brother's worries when he said that now Calle "shold neuer haue my good wyll for to make my sustyr to sell kandyll and mustard in Framlyngham" (I, 332). For an ironic note, in the inventory of what are probably John II's goods (I, 259) are "a peyre quernes to grynd wyth mustard."
62. *ODNB*, entry for "The Paston Family." In an extreme example of distancing one London widow reverted to the use of her maiden name after his husband's death: Robert A. Wood, "Poor Widows, c. 1393–1415," in *Medieval London Widows*, ed. Caroline M. Barron, pp. 55–67. The widow who followed this line of behavior did so after burying her second husband (p. 59).
63. Rosenthal, *Telling Tales*, pp. 144–47.
64. On the link between the de la Poles of East Anglia and duchess Alice at Ewelme in Oxfordshire, John A. Goodall, "The Architecture of Ancestry at the Collegiate Church of St. Andrews, Wingfield, Suffolk," in *Family and Dynasty in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 1997 Harlaxton Conference*, Harlaxton Medieval Studies ix, ed. Richard Eales and Shaun Tyas (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2003), pp. 157–71. On the idea of the monuments at Wingfield as models for de la Pole projects at Ewelme, King, "'My Image to be Made All Naked!'"
65. Margaret makes references to the Duchess who is usually on the other side in the partisan struggles of fifteenth-century East Anglia, I, 188, I, 196, etc. In 1462 she told John I that the Duchess was unpopular (I, 168), while in 1469 she thought the Duchess, now at Ewelme, might intervene on behalf of the Pastons. Chaucer–Paston links antedated Margaret's arrival, for in 1427 William Paston had bought Gresham from Thomas Chaucer, Alice's father: Mary-Jo Arn, "Thomas Chaucer and William Paston Take Care of Business: HLS Deed 349," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 24 (2002), pp. 237–67.

66. Pevsner says “it is a pity the aisle hasn’t survived; for it was the monument commanded by Margaret Paston, daughter of John Mautby, widow of John Paston . . . The specification for the monument exists, but not alas the monument,” *North-east Norfolk*, p. 155.
67. On the escutcheons chosen by Alice Chaucer for her tomb, G. Lamburn, “The Arms in the Chaucer Tomb at Ewelme,” *Oxoniensia* 5 (1940), pp. 78–93. For the Countess of Warwick’s escutcheons, *Fifty Earliest English Wills*, pp. 116–17; the Black Prince left comparable instructions: Teresa G. Frisch, *Gothic Art, 1140–c. 1450: Sources and Documents* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1971; reprinted, Toronto: University of Toronto Press and the Medieval Academy, 1987), pp. 114–15. For an elaborate gloss of virtually every provision in Margaret’s will: Dawson Turner, “The Will of Margaret Paston,” *NA* 3 (1852), pp. 157–72. Her genealogy, based on Harleian mss 1552, f. 173 (p. 159), explains her choice of the escutcheons; her paternal grandmother was a daughter of Richard Beauchamp of Bletsoe—and thus a legitimate if thin claim to aristocratic ancestry.
68. In her invocation Margaret commends her soul to God Almighty, Our Lady “his blessed moder,” to St Michael and St John the Baptist, and to “alle seintes.” Gairdner (Introductory volume, p. cccli) was most impressed by Margaret’s piety and he spoke of “how strongly she felt the claims of the poor, the sick, and the needy, as well as those of hospitals, friars, anchorites, and parish churches.”
69. I read this bequest to mean the transmission of books already in Margaret’s ownership. Caroline Barron reads it to mean that she left money for their purchase, so they could be given to the church. Prof. Barron is probably correct. On such bequests, Fiona Kisby, “Books in London Parish Churches before 1670: Some Preliminary Observations,” in *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford, Harlaxton Medieval Studies XI (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), pp. 305–26; Stacey Gee, “Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England,” in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees-Jones (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 199–222.
70. For Mautby parish church in the fourteenth century, Aelred Watkin, *Archdeaconry of Norfolk: Inventory of Church Goods 1368, temp. Edward III*, Norfolk Record Society xix, parts 1 and 2 (1947), p. 45: the church had a martyrology, two antiphonals (one with a psalter), two missals, and six pairs of vestments. For other churches named by Margaret, Redham, p. 40, Sparham, p. 71, and St Michael Coslany, pp. 5–6.
71. The manors–villages or the churches at Reedham, Matelask, Bessingham, and Fretton (Fritton) are almost unmentioned in the Letters; small cash cows at best, well away from the centers of Paston activity and conflict. By way of contrast John’s correspondence with Margaret showed his interest in keeping up the Mautby property, as discussed above. Turner, “The Will of Margaret Paston,” pp. 163–65, explaining the basis of her links with each village.

72. The inquisition post mortem taken on John I (II, 900) spells out the property Margaret brought upon her marriage. Gairdner, III, 417 and Blomefield, VI, 482–83, on the Mautby dowry settlement.
73. Chaucer-Paston business at Gresham is mentioned in Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olson, eds., *Chaucer Life-Records* (Austin, TX and London: University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 543.
74. Richmond, *Endings*, pp. 123–25, for a very critical assessment of Margaret's charity as illustrated in her will, one he characterizes "austere, . . . [with] no sense of a wider religious world." I strongly disagree; though each sum was small, as was the custom, there are a huge number of both institutional and individual recipients of her bequests.
75. Margaret's relations with the prior of Norwich were such that she and Agnes could run to him in midday for his support in the great slanging match between Gloys and Wymondham in 1448 (I, 129). The family felt free to go directly to the bishop (Walter Lyhart in 1469) when they sought to have him dissolve the union between Margery Paston and Richard Calle (I, 203).
76. For the friars of Yarmouth, *VCH Norfolk* II, pp. 435–37. All the friaries in the town, including that of the Austins across the water in Little Yarmouth, remained popular to the end as judged by the flow of testamentary benefactions. An Elizabeth de Clere of Ormesby was buried there in 1492, and prayers were said there for a John Fastolf, doctor of divinity and a suggestive name.
77. On Norwich's rich ration of anchorites, presumably of both sexes, Anne Warren, *Anchorites and their Patrons in Medieval England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985) and Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, pp. 198–204: 18 percent of the lay wills from Norwich named at least one anchorite or hermit. Rotha M. Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London: Methuen, 1914): the hermit at the Magdalen gate presided over the lepers who also assembled there. Turner, "The Will of Margaret Paston," p. 168: one of the anchoresses whom Margaret remembered was Catherine Mann, the recipient of 20s per annum for life from the city. Carol Hill, "Julian and Her Sisters: Female Piety in Late Medieval Norwich," in *The Fifteenth Century VI*, ed., Linda Clark (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 165–87.
78. *VCH Norfolk* II, pp. 442–50 for the hospitals of Norwich; Carole Rawcliffe, *The Hospitals of Medieval Norwich* (Norwich: University of East Anglia, 1995) and Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul: The Life, Death, and Resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999). For Margaret's quarrel with Selot, master of the hospital, Rawcliffe, *The Hospitals*, p. 104; in a letter of September 1465 (I, 192): "the demenyng and parcialté of Master John Salatt," as Margaret reports to John I in September 1465.
79. *VCH Norfolk* II, p. 449 on the lazar houses at the five gates. The largest was at the St Mary Magdalen gate, with others by the Austin's gate, Westwick, Needham, by Fybridge on Magdalen gate, and Newport at

- St Giles Gate. For Chapel in the Fields, Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson, *Medieval Norwich*, pp. 115–18: p. 118, “Until its dissolution in January, 1544, the college expressed the religious spirit of the city far more than did the cathedral.” It was from the Chapel that John I and Margaret bought the living of St Peter Hungate and turned it into “their church.”
80. On the popularity of women’s religious institutions: Marilyn Oliva, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350–1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998).
 81. On bequests for church bells: Judith Middleton-Steward, “Time and the Testator, 1370–1540,” in *The Use and Abuse of Time in Christian History*, ed. Robert N. Swanton, *Studies in Church History* 37 (2002), pp. 133–44; R. Hindry Mason, *The History of Norfolk* (London: Wertheimer, Lea, & Co., 1894), pp. 589–602 on the bells of Norfolk churches; A. G. G. Thurlow, “Church Bells of Norwich,” *NA* 28 (1945), pp. 241–84.
 82. Maureen Jurkowski, ed., *Income Tax Assessments of Norwich, 1472 and 1498*, *Norfolk Record Society* 71 (2007); the always-poor parish of St Peter Hungate in 1472 was evaluated at 25s 8½d (of which Margaret Paston was assessed at 4s on a holding of 40s). For comparison, the large and wealthy (and nearby) parish of St Peter Mancroft was assessed at £7 2s 8d.
 83. St Peter Hungate just staggered along over the centuries. By 1904 (and probably well before) it was “in such a condition that Divine Service could no longer be celebrated there” and it was transferred to the city of Norwich as a museum of architectural and ecclesiastical remnants: *Guide to the St Peter Hungate Museum* (Norwich: Norwich Museum Commission, 1955) and Geoffrey Graham and Rachel M. R. Young, *The Church of St Peter Hungate* (Norwich: Norwich Museum Commission, 1965). In the valor of 1535 it was the fourth poorest of the city’s churches; Turner, “The Will of Margaret Paston,” p. 167, on Margaret’s tie to the church.
 84. Margaret always had trouble letting go. While other children in the family came of age at 18 (as William I had stipulated for Clement in 1444) or at 21, those of Margery and Richard Calle only received their bequests at age 24. Margaret’s executors are a puzzle. She named John III, and we have his working notes on the margins of her will indicating the payments made in fulfillment of her wishes (I, 230). His three coexecutors are mysterious figures. There is no other mention of Thomas Drentall or Walter Lymyngton in the letters, and but one to Simon Gerard, that coming in a letter of about 1500 from John III to Richard Croft and indicating that Gerard must have been a lawyer and a local man of affairs. John III says, “I prey yow take the warrant to Symond Gerrard and prey hym in my name to send for the bayly of the hundred and to casue hym to geve warnyng to theym that be empanellid to kepe ther day at Thettford.”
 85. Among the ranks and categories of the unmentioned, Colin Richmond notes the absence of fraternities or guilds in any of the Paston wills (though Agnes was a lay sister of the Carmelites); Richmond, *Endings*,

- pp. 124–5. Also, though Margaret focuses on Mautby parish church in much detail, she makes no mention of ancestors actually buried there.
86. Katherine French, *The Good Women*, p. 37, on “the material culture of piety,” and—following Martha Howell’s judgment (with apologies to Kit French for lifting from her scholarly digging)—on the way women thought of the property they transmitted in their wills more as cultural and social capital than as economic capital: p. 42, and p. 46, for “gifts that adorn the liturgy.”
 87. Caroline M. Barron, “Johanna Hill (d. 1441) and Johanna Sturdy (d. c. 1460), Bell-Founders,” in *Medieval London Widows, 1300–1500*, ed. Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton (London: Hambledon Press, 1994), pp. 99–112: the quote is on p. 108.
 88. Kay Lacey, “Margaret Croke (d. 1491),” in *Medieval London Widows*, pp. 143, 157–58.

5 What Did Margaret See?

1. For the later history of the family, George Edward Cokayne (“G.E.C.”), ed., *The Complete Peerage*, XII, part ii (under Yarmouth) (12 vols. in 13, London: St Catherine’s Press, 1910–1959): Robert Paston, son and heir of Sir William of Oxnead and first baronet Paston, succeeded his father as second baronet in 1641 and was created Viscount Yarmouth in 1673 and Earl of Yarmouth in 1679. He was followed by his son and heir, William (1654–1732). The second earl survived his loyalty to James II, having been treasurer of that king’s household, and he eventually became (in 1719) vice admiral of Norfolk. Like his father he was a fellow of the Royal Society, and in the footsteps of his distant ancestor John I he too spent time in prison (in his case, it was in the Tower in 1690 and 1691, facing charges of high treason). His management of his affairs and fortune was so bad that by the end it was just a tale of “vast debts... [and he] cannot be perswaded to take any method of putting his affairs into a better posture,” as a contemporary summed it up. His son Charles had predeceased him and had died (in 1718) without male heirs. R. W. Ketton-Cremer has a chapter on “The End of the Pastons” in his *Norfolk Portraits* (Norwich: Faber & Faber, 1944).
2. The letters directly relating to the Pastons (rather than to Fastolf) are now collected in the first part of Beadle and Richmond, *Part III*, including letters that wound up in such places as The Morgan Library in New York and the Houghton Library of Harvard. On the letters, Davis, I, xxiv–xxxv; David A. Stoker, “Innumerable Letters of Good Consequence in History: The Discovery and First Publication of the Paston Letters,” *The Library*, sixth series, 17 (1995), pp. 107–55.
3. John III bought “Paston house” in St Etheldred parish from William Yelverton in 1474, and in 1487 he moved to The Music House in King Street or perhaps to the Elm Hill home that burned in 1507. The site of

- the Music House was occupied by the Strangers Club at one time; Ernest A Kent, "Isaac's House or the Music House," *NA* 29 (1945), pp. 31–38; K. N. Marshall, *The Pastons, 1378–1732* (Norwich: Jarold, 1957); R. W. Ketton-Cremer, *Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition: The Pastons, May–August 1953* (Norwich: Norwich Castle Museum, 1953), Introduction. In 1599 Erasmus Paston moved the family from Caister to Oxnead and Caister had to be sold in 1659 to pay a debt of £6500 that Sir William Paston owed to William Crowe, a London moneylender: Colin Tooke, *Caister: 2000 Years of a Village* (Caister, 2000). When Sir Edward Coke married Lady Paston he bought what had been one of the Paston houses in Hungate, Norwich: Kent, p. 36.
4. Entries in Emden's biographical dictionaries of Oxford and Cambridge have been mentioned above. Because they sat in Parliament, there are entries for John I, John II, and William II in Josiah C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: II, Biographies*, pp. 665–67.
 5. On the guild of St George: Ken Farnhill, *Guilds and the Parish Community in Late Medieval East Anglia, c. 1470–1550* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2001); Ben R. McRae, "After 1452: The Evolution of the Guild of St George in the Wake of Yelverton's Mediation," *NA* 45/1 (2006), pp. 26–40; Mary Grace, ed., *Records of the Gild of St George in Norwich, 1389–1547: A Transcript with an Introduction*, Norfolk Record Society 9 (1937). Grace alludes to Paston membership in the guild but offers no documentation in support of this statement.
 6. Anthony Goodman, *Margery Kempe and her World* (London: Longman, 2002) pursues a similar line of thinking; what did Margery Kempe see when entering churches and other sites still standing?
 7. Fiona Swabey, *Medieval Gentlewoman*, pp. 97–132, for table attendance at meals. Marian Dale and V. Redstone, *Household Book of Alice de Bryene* (Suffolk: Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History, 1931); Woolgar, *The Great Household*, pp. 87–89.
 8. Looking at Margaret's letters that indicate where she was when she wrote: 25 were penned at Norwich, 4 at Caister, 2 at Oxnead, 4 at Hellesdon, and 1 each at Geldiston, Thetford, and Sustead. Her first dated letter from Mautby was written on 28 January 1475, and from then on all seven dated letters emanated from her residence there.
 9. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, ed., *Gothic Art for England, 1400–1547* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2003). This being the catalogue of a major exhibition; particularly relevant are chapters by Geoff Egan, Marian Campbell, Susan Foster, Paul Williamson, and Paul Binski. For items likely to have been found in a household like that of the Pastons, Peter Lasko and N. J. Morgan, *Medieval Art in East Anglia, 1300–1520* (Norwich: Jarold, 1973); the catalogue of a 1973 exhibition at Norwich Castle Museum.
 10. Just for comparison, we can look at the will of a northern widow, Elizabeth Sywardby (d. 1468). Her books include a missal valued at £4, a psalter, an English version of St Brigitte's revelations (valued at 46s 8d),

- a life of Christ “in lingua maternal,” a mystery of the passion of Our Lord in English, a Life of Christ, and various vestments, images, and lesser items: James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia iv*, Surtees Society 53 (1869), pp. 161–68.
11. We know of 43 depictions of St Christopher in Norfolk churches, out of 186 for all of England. Ernest W. Tristram. *English Wall Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955), pp. 62–63 and 233–34 for Paston, p. 174 for Fritton; John Salmon, “St Christopher in English Medieval Art and Life,” *JBAA* n.s. 41 (1936), pp. 76–115, noting that Christopher’s popularity as a subject of wall painting did not translate into many church dedications; N. H. Brindley, “Notes on the Mural Painting of St Christopher in English Churches,” *Antiquaries Journal* 4 (1924), pp. 227–41.
 12. Monica Bardswell, “Recent Discoveries at Paston,” *NA* 22 (1926), pp. 190–93; the Christopher figure is 12 feet in height, and there also is a badly faded three living–three dead, plus what might have been a last judgment: E. Carleton Williams, “Mural Painting of the 3 Living and 3 Dead,” *JBAA*, third series, 7 (1942), pp. 31–39, with about 30 English examples. *VCH Norfolk* II, pp. 529–53 for a general survey of religious painting, pp. 530–35 for the cathedral, pp. 539–40 on St Michael at Plea in Norwich.
 13. On the destruction of the Lady Chapel, Francis Woodman, in Ian Atherton, ed., *Norwich Cathedral*, pp. 158–61; the chapel’s outline can be detected in the grass; it measures 36 feet by 72 feet. On the fate of the Norman Tower, the clocher, and the bells, Paul Catermole, in *Norwich Cathedral*, pp. 502–3; an ironic twist is that the lead from the bells was bought for £200 by Clement Paston of Oxnead around 1750. Colin Richmond doubts that the chantry for William I was ever built, John I having taken so much money from the family treasure that not enough remained for the project. I think this unlikely, as subsequent complaints by Agnes are about John’s duplicitous conduct, while no one laments the absence of a memorial to William (as they later were to do for John I), and we are told several times that the revenues from the manor of Swainsthorpe were designated for prayers for William.
 14. A. E. Nichols, *The Early Art of Norfolk: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 2004), p. 114, where the only material listed for Mautby is the statue of the Virgin before which Margaret asked to be buried (on the assumption that it is the same statue). Samuel R. Howard, *Mautby Remembrance* (Hemsby, Norfolk: Desne Publishing, 1996), p. 116: “The chapel at Mautby Hall was demolished in 1979, although it had been disused for that purpose for three centuries (at least). It was formerly opened and consecrated for worship for Margaret Paston’s use in her old age... For the past hundred years it has been used in connection with the farm as a cow house. It had no repairs carried out.” Though this is local lore, it is hard to imagine that Pevsner,

- among others, would have failed to notice an historical cow barn with fifteenth-century connections.
15. Claude J. W. Messent, *The Round Towers to English Parish Churches* (Norfolk: Fletcher & Son, 1958); Jack Sterry, *Round Tower Churches: Hidden Treasures of North Norfolk* (Norwich: Crown, 2003). On the temptation to assign improbably early dates to the round towers, Stephen Heywood, "Architecture in Norfolk," in *A Festival of Norfolk Archaeology*, ed. Sue Margeson (Norfolk: Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 1996), pp. 72–85. Also, Dorothy Shreeve and Lyn Stilgoe, *The Round Tower Churches of Norfolk* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2001).
 16. For lugubrious details of nineteenth-century restoration, J. Charles Cox, *Norfolk* (London: G. Allen & Co, 1911). The parish church at Matlack was restored in 1878, its tower in 1903; Gresham was "badly restored" in 1856 and its much-vaunted round tower in 1886; Sparham in 1889. Also, H. Munro Cautley, *Norfolk Churches* (Ipswich: N. Adlard, 1949). For more sad tales of this sort: Montague Rhodes James, *Norfolk and Suffolk* (London: J. M. Dent, 1930), p. 10, treating the "many sins" of restoration, the three most heinous being the addition of organ chambers, the introduction of varnished pitch pine, and the use of "cathedral glass" to fill in windows in place of the old "clear glazing." Kathleen Kameric, *Popular Piety and Art in the Late Middle Ages: Image Worship and Idolatry in England, 1350–1500* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 70–84 on what has been lost because of zealous restoration.
 17. Nichols, *Early Art*, pp. 184–88; other depictions of St Edmund are in Norwich Cathedral and at Sparham, as well as at Carrow Priory (which was also remembered by Margaret in her will).
 18. Sterry, *Round Tower Churches*, pp. 40–42; Nikolaus Pevsner, *North-east Norfolk and Norwich*, p. 88: an arch on "simple (early Norman) imposts," among the few features of interest. Pevsner accepts the tower as Anglo-Saxon and Sterry says it may be mid-tenth century.
 19. Sterry, *Round Tower Churches*, pp. 38–39: "eight corbel heads... could be portraits of those who built the church, they could be medieval characters, or could represent different moods." Two are depicted, p. 39.
 20. Ann E. Nichols, *Seeable Signs: The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments, 1350–1544* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994); the Gresham font (#126) is thought to be c. 1500, a "golden age" for such pieces. It probably owes its preservation to having been plastered over, and its eighth side shows the baptism of Christ. H. S. Squirrel, "The Seven Sacrament Fonts of Norfolk," *NA* 25 (1934), pp. 83–94; there are 23 such fonts in Norfolk, 14 in Suffolk. Squirrel talks of the near "perfect preservation" of the Gresham font, and of an artist who must have been a "sensitive and very human personality." Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, Plate 123 for the Gresham font.
 21. On the Paston manor house at Gresham, Pevsner, *North-east Norfolk*, p. 155; Ketton-Cremer, *Catalogue*, p. 4; "the scanty ruins of their square fortified house still surrounded by its moat, exist in a dense wood." This

- wood happens to be in the midst of a large agricultural field and the site has not been excavated.
22. Philip Nelson, *Ancient Painted Glass in England, 1170–1500* (London: Methuen, 1913), p. 154, for a depiction of St Anthony with a bell and one of St Leonard, from the church of St Mary, Sparham. Blomefield, VII, 255–62; Peter Mautby asked for buried at Sparham in 1438 (or 1428, according to the church’s guidebook).
 23. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 304; the screen is depicted, p. 114; Pevsner, *North-east Norfolk*, p. 319, for the scrolls. Pevsner suggests that some bench ends (though not the benches) are of the fifteenth century. W. W. Williamson, “Saints on Norfolk Rood Screens and Pulpits,” *NA* 31 (1959), pp. 299–346; Simon Cotton, “Medieval Roodscreens in Norfolk: Their Construction and Painting Dates,” *NA* 40 (1987), pp. 44–55. The quotations on the scrolls are from Job 10:19 and 14, and the “Church Tours” guidebook talks of this as an indication of the “morbid obsession with death” that characterizes medieval society.
 24. The 1962 edition of Pevsner’s *North-east Norfolk* has the virtue of antedating the fire and therefore of describing the church as it might have looked in Margaret’s day. She had gone to Reedham (in November 1452) to see her uncle Philip, he being “so seke sith that I come to Redham that I wld he shuyld never an askapid it, nor not is leke to do but if he have redy help” (I, 144). The current guidebook to the church says Margaret gave 8s 4d at some point to help with the construction of the tower; no reference to this is in any of the extant letters. A brass of 1502 to Alyce Yelverton and a monument of the 1580s to Henry Berney do suggest links with Margaret’s family: Blomefield, XI, 121–23.
 25. The current guidebook for the church says that after the fire there was a debate about moving the church closer to the center of the current village. However, it was decided to rebuild where it had been “resorted to for prayer by countless numbers of people with the same purpose for 1300 years.” The medieval font, lost in the fire, has been replaced by a font from the “redundant” Norwich church of St Miles Coslany.
 26. Pevsner, *North-east Norfolk*, pp. 260–61, the entry being for “St Andrew’s Hall,” p. 260: “The only English friar’s church which has come down to our day so complete—in spite of what Norwich did to it (and had to do) to use it as a public hall.” For excavations of the site, Percy A. Nash, “The Sackfriars and Blackfriars Conventual Buildings in the Parish of St Andrew and St Peter Hungate, Norwich,” *NA* 22 (1926), pp. 370–82.
 27. Carole Rawcliffe, *Medicine for the Soul* is now the definitive study. Margaret’s bequest was made despite her quarrel with Master John Selot over what she perceived as his partisanship—hostile to the Paston interests in town. The Hospital was a popular recipient of benefactions: Rawcliffe, chapter 4 (“Paupers and Provisions”).
 28. Atherton, *Norwich Cathedral*, passim. So much building was being carried out through the entire course of the century that I will not try to pinpoint each project. Virtually every aspect of the cathedral was

- undergoing changes, additions, or restorations. For more on what Margaret might have seen, Arthur B. Whittingham, *The Stalls of Norwich Cathedral* (Norwich: Norwich Cathedral Chapter, 1961); Whittingham, "The Erpingham Retable or Reredos in Norwich Cathedral," *NA* 39 (1985), pp. 202–6, dating it around 1475, or just in time to catch Margaret's gaze, assuming she came back to Norwich after moving to Mautby; Veronica Sekules, "Religious Politics and the Cloister Bosses of Norwich Cathedral," *JBA* 159 (2006), pp. 284–306; Martial Rose and Julie Hedgecoe, *Stories in Stone: The Medieval Roof Carvings of Norwich* (London: Herbert Press, 1997).
29. J. Philip McAlear, "The Façade of Norwich Cathedral: The Nineteenth Century Restoration," *NA* 41 (1993), pp. 381–409.
 30. Pevsner, *North-east Norfolk*, pp. 248–49, noting some bits of "original glass" in the east window of the north aisle, though original may only meant from c. 1500. Nichols, *Early Art*, notes some small bits of embroidery and sculpture for St Michael but hardly a major find.
 31. The quote on the church's ruinous condition is from the 1968 guidebook to St Peter when it was being used as a museum of ecclesiastical bits and pieces. The 1968 guidebook by Rachel M. A. Young for the City of Norwich Museums replaced a 1958 version, and both depict the interior with the display cases that marked St Peter's use at the time. Because it is no longer a consecrated church, Pevsner's treatment (*North-east Norfolk*, p. 262) is in his "public buildings" section. He does single out the roof with its hammerbeams and arched braces—features of the Paston building scheme—as being of exceptional interest.
 32. David King has prepared a detailed treatment of these, though as yet his notes are unpublished. King discusses the bits of heraldic glass with the arms of John II and John III, though probably these date from the early sixteenth century. For an earlier survey of the interior, George King, "Ancient Stained Glass in the Church of St Peter Hungate, Norwich," *NA* 16 (1907), pp. 205–18; G. V. Barnard, "St Peter Hungate," *Archaeological Journal* 106 (1949), pp. 79–111.
 33. Though this great window has been dealt with many times over the years, it now has the publication it deserves: David King, *The Medieval Stained Glass of St Peter Mancroft, Norwich*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi: Great Britain, vol. 5 (London: British Academy, 2006).
 34. David King's extensive notes on the church, with particular emphasis on its glass, are as yet unpublished. I thank him for his generosity in sharing his elaborate and learned notes, as I do Carole Hill and Carole Rawcliffe who helped arrange my "guided visit" of a church now being made accessible (at a fee) to the public as a glass museum.
 35. On Margaret's social circles, Colin Richmond, "Elizabeth Clere: Friend of the Pastons," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Joyce Wogan-Brown et al., pp. 251–73. Perhaps Margaret, like her mother-in-law Agnes, had outlived most of her friends (Richmond, III, p. 115). That none of them figure in her will may be a sign of her isolated and melancholy last years,

- though it is unsafe to draw conclusions from what is not covered in a will. On social ties in the world of Margaret Paston, Philippa Maddern, “‘Best Trusted Friends’: Concepts and Practices of Friendship among the Fifteenth-Century Norfolk Gentry,” in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nicholas Rogers (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1994), pp. 100–17.
36. Though Walter may have been leaning toward the law after taking his BA (II, 734): “May be bachelor at soch tyme as shal lyke yow, and then to go to lawe. I kan think it to his preferring,” as his tutor, Edmund Alyard, wrote to Margaret in March 1479.
37. J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament*, II, p. 666.
38. C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), p. 206. Other voices, other views: Laurie A. Fink, *Women's Writing in English: Medieval England* (London: Longmans, 1999), p. 194: “Margaret would hardly be anyone’s candidate for mother of the year,” as a counterbalance to the more poetic “Delightful Dame Margaret! Her gentle wraith seems to haunt the meads of Mautby and the ruins of her Caister Home,” William A. Dutt, *The Norfolk Broads*, fourth ed. (London: Methuen, 1931), p. 190.

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INDEX

Page numbers in **bold** denote figures and tables.

- Apostles and evangelists, 32–3
Armburgh Papers, 52
Arundell, Sir Thomas, 84
- Barnet, Battle of, 49
Bassingham, Norfolk, 108, 113, 138
Bennett, Henry Stanley, 6
Berney family, 42, 59, 111, 136, 140–1
Berry Family, 87, 97–8
 see also Paston Family, Agnes
Biblical knowledge, 31–3, 60–1, 72
Blessings bestowed, 48–9, 56–8
Blomefield, Francis, 121
Books, 9–10, 47, 75–9, 91, 112, 116, 127–8
 see also *Grete Boke*
Books of Hours, 10, 16–17, 35, 78
Bokenham, Osbern, 9, 125
Bossy, John, 83
Brackley, Friar, 21, 23, 60–1, 73
Bromholm (Norfolk) and Bromholm priory, 16, 59, 62, 95, 99, 101, 103–5, 129–30
Bryene, Alice de, 124–5
Buckingham, Duke of, 65
Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk, 16
- Caister, Norfolk, 51, 54, 61, 67, 101
Calendar, 14, 17, 20, **23–28** (Margaret's saints), 30–1, 35–7 (Sarum use), 38–9, 29–30 (sacred half of the year),
Calle, Richard, 21, 42–3, 50, 61, 66, 72–4, 104
Calthorpe, Lady, 65
Canterbury, archbishop of, 69, 64 (as pilgrim site)
Castor, Helen, 110
Cely Family, 21
Chaucer, Thomas, 139
Clere, Elisabeth, 72
Cursing in speech, 52
- Dam, John, 97
Dance of Death, **133**
Daubney, John, 101
Davis, Norman, 4, 17, 54, 98, 148
Deathbeds, 73, 83–6, 96–7, 100
Duffy, Eamon, 43, 80, 140
- Easter, 28, 30–1
 see also Calendar
Edward IV, 60
Eleanor of Castile, 84
Erasmus of Rotterdam, 63
Erpingham, Thomas, 93, 130
Ewelme, Oxfordshire, 110
- Fastolf, Sir John and the Fastolf inheritance, 2, 21–2, 59–61, 73, 75, 101, 122, 128
Fenn, James, 121
Fritton, Suffolk, 108, 113, **132**, 137–8
Funerals, 86, 147–8

- Gairdner, James, 2, 149
 Gentry, religious life of, 6–7
 Gerard, Simon (executor of Margaret Paston), 116, 128
 Gloys, James (Paston chaplain), 10, 57, 59, 68, 70, 76, 78, 123, 125
 Godparents and godchildren, 73, 117
 Golden Legend, 10, 34–5
 Gresham, Norfolk, 2, 73, **132**, 139
Grete Boke (of John II), 78–9
- Hastings, lord, 54
 Hellesdon, Norfolk (looting of), 74–5
 Henry II, 85
 Henry VI, 60, 64
 Holy Family, 32–3
 Howes, Thomas (vicar of Mautby), 67
 Hungerford family, 87
- Infant mortality, 59, 92–3
 Inventories of goods, 74–7, 128
 Invocations (of speech), 49, 51
- Julian of Norwich, 4, 9
- Kempe, Margery, 4, 9, 80, 126
 Kempe, Thomas, bishop of London, 97
 King, David, 145
 Knowles, David, 6, 47, 58
- Language, 60–1 (English and Latin)
 Letters, dated and undated, 14, 19–20; 20 (courier)
 Literary patronage, 8, 124
 London, 63, 87–9 (death in London), 95, 97, 99–100, 102, 106, 130 (family burials)
 Lyndis, Thomas (vicar of Mautby), 69, 101, 106
- Magic, 71
 Marriage, 2, 72–3
 Mary, Blessed Virgin and Marian feasts, 33, 35, 53, 55, 95
see also Holy Family
- Matlask, Norfolk, 108, 113, 138
 Mautby, Norfolk, 2, 66 (manor and chapel repairs), 68–70 (chapel license), 110–12, (Margaret's burial), 116, 136, 137–8
 Moleyns, Lord, 139
 Morley, Lady, 72
- Norfolk, 2, 65 (pilgrim sites), Guilds and patron saints, 40–1, **108** (testamentary bequests), Duke and Duchess, 54, 73, 93, 99
 Norwich, 69, 71, 74, 142–3 (bishops and priors): 6, 94–5, 109, 114, 130, 142–3, (cathedral): 87, 94, 97–9, **134**, 142 (Carmelite house): 14, 74, 114–15, 130 (regular and mendicants houses): **133** (Elm Hill); 39–41 (parish churches); **114** (Margaret's bequests)
- Oxford University, 102, 121 (Magdalen College)
 Oxnead, Norfolk, 72, 98
- Paston, (Norfolk) and parish church, 31, 94, 121 (manor house and barn), 129–30 (St Christopher wall painting)
 Paston Family, 1–3 (genealogy and mobility) **3**, 6–7; 17 (chapel); 2–3, **19** (letters of); **22** (letters to); 41–3 (family names); 74–6, 86–9, 93 (burial tradition); burial sites, **88–9**; 93 (longevity); 74–6, 128 (inventories of possessions), 121 (ultimate fate):
 Agnes, 10, 20, 54, 57–9, 62, 70, 72, 87, 96–9
 Agnes (2nd wife of John III), 91–2
 Anne Yelverton (daughter of John I and Margaret), 116
 Clement I and Beatrice, 87, 94–5
 Clement II, 58
 Edmund I, 79, 99–100

- Edmund II, 56–7, 63
- Elizabeth Poynings Browne
(daughter William I and Agnes),
45–55, 58, 90, 129
- John I (d. 1466), 21, 62, 66, 69, 89,
102–7, 107, 147–8
- John II (d. 1479), 2, 6, 16, 20, 43
(illegitimate daughter), 54, 65,
69, 77–9, 85, 89, 99–101
- John III, 20, 54–6, 57, 62–65, 98–9
- Margaret, 20–21 (scribes); 14–28,
23–8, **29** (dating of letters),
29; **32**, **36–7** (saints named
in letters); 4–5, 11, 18–19, 45 (as
letter writer); 46 (style of speech);
62–3 (travels and pilgrimage); 69
(ill); 17, 147–9 (retirement and
widowhood); 110, 141–2 (will
and identity)
- Margaret (widow Edmund II), 91
- Margery Brewes (wife, John III),
116
- Margery (wife of Richard Calle),
72–3
- Walter, 54, 70–1, 101–2
- William I, 68, 84–5, 89, 94–7, 117
- William II, 79, 92, 98
- William III, 116
- Pevsner, Nikolas (*Buildings of England*),
40, 143–4
- Pilgrimage, 62–5, 71
- Plague, 70–1
- Plumpton Family and Papers, 21, 50
- Pregnancy and Confinement, 73
- Pritchard, Gillian, 6, 47
- Purdons, Margaret, 125–6
- Reedham, Norfolk, 108, 112–13, **131**,
140–1
- Reformation, 6–7
- Relics and charms, 71, 76, 128–9
- Religion, privatization of, 80
- Richmond, Colin, 2, 5, 6, 16, 28, 127
- Round Tower Churches, 137–8
- Sacraments, 73
- Saints and saints' days, 13–15, 28–34,
38–9, 138
- Saint Christopher wall painting, 31, 41,
129–30, **132**
- Scropes of Bolton, 87
- Sparham, Norfolk, 108, 113, **133** (wall
painting of Dance of Death),
139–40
- Stonor Family and Papers, 21, 73
- Suffolk, Duke and Duchess, 67, 85, 93,
110–11
- Tendell, Marie (god-daughter of
Margaret Paston), 117, 128
- Tewkesbury, Battle of, 59
- Trinity, invocation of, 51, 55
- Victoria & Albert Museum, 77–8, 127
- Virgoe, Roger, 2
- Walsingham, Norfolk, 5, 8, 16, 62–5, 71
- Warwick, earls of, 85, 87
- William the Marshal, 84
- Wills, 83, 118–19 (widows)
- Women's spiritual life and patronage,
5–6, 8–10
- Woodville, Anthony, earl Rivers, 65
- Wykes, John, 21 (family scribe)
- Yarmouth, Norfolk, 110, 114–15
Earl of (Charles Paston), 121
- York missal, 38