

The Plantagenet in the Parish: The Burial of Richard III's Daughter in Medieval London

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Westminster Abbey, the necropolis of royalty, is today a centre piece for commemoration.¹ It represents a line of kings, their consorts, children and cousins, their bodies and monuments flanked by those of loyal retainers and officials who had served the Crown. The medieval abbey contained the remains of Edward the Confessor through to Henry VII and was a mausoleum of monarchy. Studies have shown that this was not exclusive: members of the medieval royal family sometimes chose to be buried elsewhere, often in particular religious houses with which they were personally associated.² Edward IV (d. 1483) was himself buried in his new foundation at St George's Chapel, Windsor, where he was commemorated within his sumptuous chantry chapel.³ But the question of what became of their illegitimate issue has sometimes been less clear. One important royal bastard, Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset (d. 1536), the illegitimate son of Henry VIII, was buried appropriately with his in-laws, the Howard family in Thetford Priory.⁴ There is less certainty on the burials of other royal by-blows and the location of one such grave, of Lady Katherine Plantagenet, illegitimate daughter of Richard III, has hitherto remained unknown. This article seeks to correct this.

Monuments in Medieval London

Few monuments have survived in medieval London. Church rebuilding work during the middle ages, the removal of tombs and the stripping out of the religious houses during the Reformation, together with iconoclasm during the Civil War took their toll on London's commemorative heritage. Whatever was

I am grateful to Caroline M. Barron and Anne F. Sutton for their comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

¹ Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London*, Volume 1: *Westminster*, London 1924; P. Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400*, London 1995.

² Queen Margaret (d. 1318), second wife of Edward I was, for example, buried in the Grey Friars. C.L. Kingsford, *The Grey Friars of London*, Aberdeen 1915, pp. 70-71. Patterns of royal and aristocratic burials in medieval London are discussed in, C. Steer, 'Royal and noble commemoration in the mendicant houses of London, c. 1240-1540', in C.M. Barron and C. Burgess, eds, *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England*, Donington 2010, pp. 117-42.

³ A.F. Sutton, L. Visser-Fuchs with R.A. Griffiths, *The Royal Funerals of the House of York at Windsor*, London, 2005, pp. 93-110.

⁴ His remains were later exhumed and reinterred in St Michael's church in Framlingham, Suffolk. P. Lindley, 'Disrespect for the dead? The destruction of tomb monuments in mid-sixteenth century England', *Church Monuments*, vol. 19 (2004), pp. 53-79.

left in early September 1666 was, within a few short days, to be lost in the Great Fire which destroyed two thirds of the city and eighty-seven parish churches together with the old Cathedral of St Paul's.⁵ Yet a number of written accounts were drawn up before these calamitous events took place, which recorded those tombs and burials in city churches which were of particular interest to their authors.⁶ One important record was made c. 1500-05 by the herald Thomas Benolt (d. 1534). He visited Westminster Abbey, twenty-five parish churches and fifteen religious houses in London from which he recorded over 900 monuments which had caught his eye.⁷ From Benolt's account, now at the College of Arms, we learn of those members of the royal family, the aristocracy, knights – and their families – who died in medieval London and who chose to be buried in the city's religious houses. We learn that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the mendicant houses of friars were an especially popular burial site for royalty and nobility. Edward IV's treasurer Walter Blount, Lord Mountjoy (d. 1474), for example, requested burial in the Grey Friars convent in Newgate, where successive generations of his family chose to join him with an impressive series of sculptured effigies, tomb chests and commemorative brasses placed as their memorials.⁸ We also learn that there were few members of the aristocracy who chose to be buried in a parish church in medieval London.

The parish church of St James Garlickhithe, located on Garlick Hill and Little Trinity Lane, to the south of the city near the Thames, is the exception. It was in this church that Benolt recorded fifteen monuments including two aristocratic burials, 'the ladie stanley moder to the lord straunge wtout a stone' and another for 'the countesse of huntyngdon ladie Herbert wtout a stone' (**figure 1**).⁹ There are a number of important questions to ask of these entries, not least who were they? Of equal importance is why were these two ladies buried in a parish church in medieval London and why St James Garlickhithe? The reference to 'without a stone' is intriguing: why was there no monument placed over the grave of either lady?

The case of 'Lady Stanley' is straightforward because of the reference to her as 'moder to the lord straunge'. She can be no other than Eleanor Neville, one of the six daughters of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and sister of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, 'the Kingmaker'. Eleanor was married to Thomas, Lord Stanley, and she was the mother of George, Lord Strange, who was reputedly poisoned at a banquet in 1503. Eleanor is thought to have died as

⁵ A handful of damaged sculptured effigies from the late sixteenth century survived from St Paul's and are now on display in the crypt of the cathedral, see N. Llewellyn, 'Post-Reformation monuments' in J. Schofield, *St Paul's Cathedral Before Wren*, Swindon 2011, pp. 187-93.

⁶ C. Steer, 'The written evidence for memory and commemoration in medieval London', *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, vol. 63 (2012), pp. 263-65.

⁷ London, College of Arms, MS CGY 647, ff. 1r-46.

⁸ Kingsford, *Grey Friars of London*, pp. 88-91.

⁹ London, College of Arms, MS CGY 647, f. 24r.

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The bodies buried in seynt James
chyrche in garlick hyne

first thomas stonore of oxenford shire
john bodring
the hons
The lady stanley moder to the lord strange
Wont a stone
The comesse of humbergton lady thebert
Wont a stone
Robt yalefor yerz of london non castla.
Willid ulgham
Nicholis statgum
john bromer
john yfote
Willid venour yerz of newcastell
Robt cygelyk tympse yerz of london
john stanley
willid yore yerz of london
The lord strange. & george stanley

Figure 1: Thomas Benolt's entry for St James Garlickhithe, made c. 1500-04, College of Arms, Young Collection, CGY 647, f. 24r. Reproduced by permission of the Kings, Heralds and Pursuivants of Arms.

early as *c.* 1470/71 which makes her burial at St James Garlickhithe the earliest known aristocratic burial in a city of London parish church before the Reformation.¹⁰ Other members of the Stanley family were also buried in this church. The College of Arms Benolt manuscript recorded the burials of Eleanor's son, George, Lord Strange (d. 1503) and also George's grandson, John (d. 1503), (**figure 2**). Elizabeth, Countess of Worcester (d. 1498), and widow of Sir William Stanley (ex. 1495), was also buried in this Stanley mausoleum with her unnamed child.¹¹ There are no descriptions of the monuments for Elizabeth, John or George, but it is possible that they were commemorated by monumental brasses. London had a number of workshops producing such memorials and we know from elsewhere that other cadet members of the Stanley family wanted to be commemorated by brasses and several of these survive.¹² There was also a practical consideration: brasses were frequently placed on the floor above the grave which enabled ease of access during processions and ensured visibility for the liturgy. This was particularly important for urban churches where space constraints often influenced the choice of funerary monument.

According to Benolt, Lady Stanley, was buried in St James Garlickhithe but without a tombstone, although he did record monuments for Eleanor's son George, and for her great-grandson, John. Benolt makes a point in referring to her burial 'without a stone'. We know from the famous Paston case that funerary monuments were not always set up immediately after death: in the case of John Paston I (d. 1466) buried in Bromholm Priory (Norfolk), the delay in providing a suitable tomb was, according to his widow Margaret in a letter to their son John II (who was responsible for arranging the monument), a scandal in Norfolk and the family were the talk of the county.¹³ It is curious that in the thirty years which had elapsed between Lady Stanley's death and Benolt's account of her grave from St James Garlickhithe, Eleanor's husband, Thomas, had made no effort to commemorate her in this city church. But some form of memorial was apparently in place because Benolt had seen a reference to her

¹⁰ M.J. Bennett entry on Thomas Stanley, first Earl of Derby, *ODNB*. It is likely that Lord and Lady Stanley were in London during the ceremonies associated with the Readeption in October 1470 and that Eleanor died in the autumn/winter of 1470/71. I thank Professor Bennett for his discussion with me on this point.

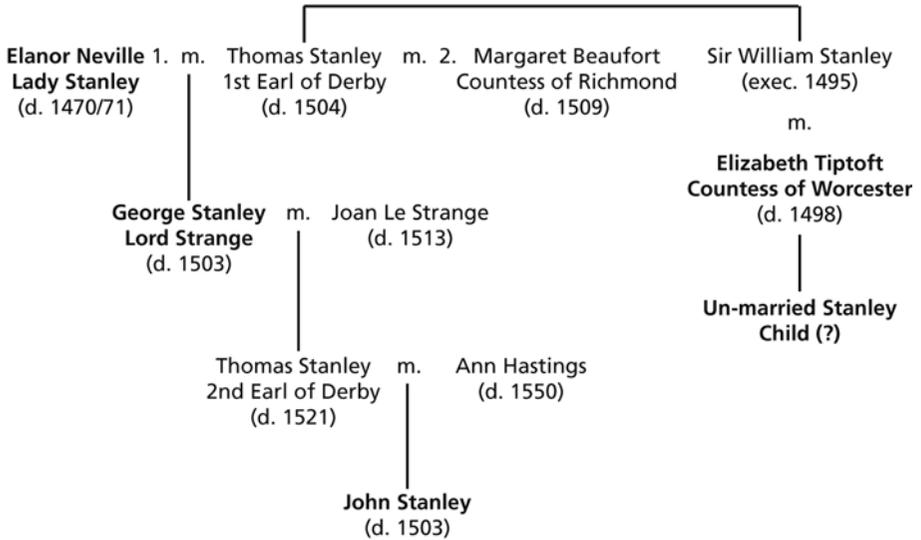
¹¹ John Stow, *A Survey of London*, ed C.L. Kingsford, 2 vols, Oxford 1908, vol. 1, p. 249. Benolt omitted this particular Stanley burial probably because the monument and epitaph were not yet in place when he visited the church.

¹² Edward Stanley, Lord Mounteagle (d. 1524), younger son of Thomas, first Earl of Derby, gave extensive instructions concerning his commemorative brass in his will, TNA: PRO, PROB 11/21, ff. 192r-194r. The brass for Sir Humphrey Stanley (d. 1505), kinsman to Lord Derby, survives in Westminster Abbey, and another to Henry Stanley, esquire (d. 1528), nephew to Lord Mounteagle, and a younger son of the second earl, survives in the church of St John the Baptist, Hillingdon, Middlesex.

¹³ N. Davis, ed., *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, 2 vols. Oxford 1971, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 212, 264 and 371; see also N. Saul, *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation*, Oxford 2009, p. 112.

burial within the church: the use of hanging tables as a means of commemoration was an alternative to brasses and effigies, and perhaps such a table, containing a record of Eleanor's burial in the church, was set up near to her grave. It was likewise acceptable to use a framed parchment containing an epitaph as a form of memorial.¹⁴ We do not know what form of memorial Benolt saw but it was no doubt accompanied by the Neville-Stanley arms which would have attracted this herald's attention.

Figure 2: Family tree showing the Stanleys (in bold) buried in St James Garlickhithe.



An effigy for Eleanor Stanley was proposed to accompany her husband's own tomb in Burscough Priory (Lancashire).¹⁵ In his will of 1504, Thomas Stanley, now earl of Derby, asked to be buried in the middle of the chapel in the north aisle of the Priory where his parents and ancestors were buried.¹⁶ The earl gave further instruction concerning his monument:

And I will that the towmbes which I have purveyed and caused to be made for me and for the personage of myne owne good lady and wif and for Alionor late my wif for a perpetuall remembraunce to be prayed fore be sett in the chapell aforesaid where as my body shalbe buried

¹⁴ V. Gillespie, 'Medieval hypertext: image and text from York Minster', in P.R. Robinson and R. *ŷn*, eds, *Of the Making of Books, Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M.B. Parkes*, Aldershot 1997, pp. 206-29.

¹⁵ I thank Kirsten Claiden-Yardley for her comments on the Stanley monuments in Lancashire.

¹⁶ TNA: PRO, PROB 11/14, ff. 148r-149v.

Lord Derby had made arrangements for a funerary monument for himself and for his wives Eleanor Neville and Margaret Beaufort prior to his death.¹⁷ And yet neither Eleanor nor Margaret was actually buried with him: Eleanor had been interred in St James Garlickhithe in London and it seems most unlikely that Margaret, who at best can be described as formidable, would have readily acquiesced to her own burial in a Lancashire priory with her third husband's family.¹⁸ The commission of the Derby monument shows that Stanley was using the effigies of his two wives as adjuncts alongside his own effigy. This reminds us that monuments were not necessarily grave markers and in this particular case the Stanley monument in Burscough Priory served as a cenotaph memorial for Eleanor and Margaret. The impressive tomb effigy for Margaret, commissioned on her own instructions, lies in Westminster Abbey, but for Eleanor it would seem that an inscription was all she was to have near her own grave in London with a sculptured effigy of her set alongside Derby over his grave in his family mausoleum in Lancashire.

The Identity of the Countess of Huntingdon

The identity for 'the countesse of huntyngdon ladie Herbert' is not quite so straightforward. The earldom of Huntingdon had enjoyed a chequered history ever since Waltheof, the first earl, was executed in 1075.¹⁹ Members of the English and Scottish royal families held the earldom during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before it became extinct in 1237. One hundred years later William de Clinton (d.1354) was granted the earldom by his comrade in arms, Edward III, but died without issue when the earldom again became extinct. The title remained dormant until 1377 when Richard II made his tutor, Guy d'Angle (d. 1380) earl of Huntingdon. But the new earl also died childless and the title once again fell into abeyance until 1388 when Richard II granted the earldom to his half-brother, John Holland, later duke of Exeter (ex. 1400). The earldom was later held by Holland's son, also John (d. 1447), and grandson, Henry (d. 1475) as dukes of Exeter and earls of Huntingdon until 1461. The title remained dormant until 1471 when Henry's son-in-law, Sir Thomas Grey, stepson to Edward IV and husband of Anne Holland, was elevated to the earldom, but he relinquished this title in 1475 when he was made marquess of Dorset. Once again the earldom became in abeyance.

It is at this point of the earldom's history that the significance of the joint title of 'ladie Herbert' becomes important for until now none of the former holders of the earldom, nor their wives, had also held the junior barony of Herbert. In 1479, William Herbert (d. 1490), formerly earl of Pembroke,

¹⁷ Alabaster effigies in St Peter and St Paul, Ormskirk, are thought to be for the earl and his two wives and were moved to the church from Burscough Priory following its surrender.

¹⁸ For Margaret Beaufort's tomb effigy see, P. Lindley, *Gothic to Renaissance: Essays on Sculpture in England*, Stamford 1995, pp. 47-72.

¹⁹ For the history of the earls of Huntingdon see *CP*, vol. 6, pp. 637-54.

resigned this earldom and on 4 July he was created earl of Huntingdon.²⁰ He remained baron Herbert. The reasons for this resignation have attracted much attention and it has been argued that it was because of Edward IV's lack of confidence in the young Herbert, that the king forced him to exchange the important earldom of Pembroke for the minor earldom of Huntingdon.²¹ This was intended to consolidate the authority of the king's son, Edward, as prince of Wales, in southern Wales and to extend royal influence in the region. It was only four days later, on 8 July 1479, that the prince was created the new earl of Pembroke. Herbert had evidently struggled to control his fractious kinsmen who were stirring up trouble in south Wales during the 1470s and although he was one of the noblemen who accompanied Edward IV in his invasion of France in 1475, Herbert played little part in national government other than as chief justice and chamberlain of South Wales. But here he seems to have made little mark and he was removed from this office in April 1479 and replaced by Hugh Huntley (d. 1501).²² Huntley was a more experienced Welsh administrator having previously served as chancellor of the lordship of Monmouth since 1458 and as one of justices in the employ of the duchy of Lancaster during the 1460s.²³ He was the natural successor to Huntingdon. Following his exclusion from Wales, the earl seems to have gone on pilgrimage to the Holy Land returning in about 1480/81.²⁴

So from 4 July 1479, William Herbert was earl of Huntingdon and baron Herbert. He died in 16 July 1490 without a male heir and William Herbert was thus the only member of the medieval peerage to enjoy the titles of earl of Huntingdon and baron Herbert. He was the husband of the lady buried in St James Garlickhithe. Herbert was married twice, first in September 1466, to Mary Wydeville sister to Edward IV's queen Elizabeth Wydeville.²⁵ This was a child marriage; Herbert was about eleven or twelve years of age and Mary probably a similar age, perhaps a little younger. The marriage produced one

²⁰ For William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and then of Huntingdon, see the entry by R.A. Griffith, *ODNB* under William Herbert (ex. 1469) the first Earl of Pembroke.

²¹ D.H. Thomas, *The Herberts of Raglan and the Battle of Edgecote 1469*, Enfield 1994, pp. 73-80. Thomas remarks that 'the Herberts had the misfortune to have a negative personality as head of the family' and adds that this may have been because of ill health (the earl died in 1490 aged thirty-five), *ibid.*, 73. Ralph Griffith has likewise remarked that the young earl was but 'a pale reflection of his father's brilliance', R.A. Griffith, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages: The Structure and Personal of Government, i: South Wales, 1277-1536*, Cardiff 1972, p. 156. But see the previous article above, n. 18.

²² D.E. Lowe, 'The council of the prince of Wales and the decline of the Herbert family during the second reign of Edward IV (1471-1483)', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol. 27 (1976-8), pp. 278-97. For Huntley's will, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, DCC-Register/F, f. 26.

²³ Griffiths, *The Principality of Wales in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 156-9.

²⁴ I thank Paul Bryant-Quinn for alerting me to this pilgrimage. This is discussed further in, M.P. Bryant-Quinn, "'Aur yw pris y wisg": Llywelyn ap Morgan a'r Grog yn Aberhonddu', *Dwned*, vol. 16 (2010), pp. 51-91.

²⁵ I am grateful to Lynda Pidgeon for her comments, advice and help on Mary Wydeville and Herbert and for her remarks on the *Herbertorum Prosapia*.

surviving child, a daughter Elizabeth born in 1476 who was to marry Charles Somerset (d. 1526), illegitimate son of Henry Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (ex. 1464). Elizabeth died in 1507 and was buried in St George's Chapel, Windsor, where she was commemorated by a sculptured effigy alongside her husband, who was later created earl of Worcester. Mary's date of death is not known but this occurred before 20 July 1483 when Herbert made his will in which he asked to be buried in Tintern Abbey (Monmouthshire) 'in or neare as may be the same where my dear and best beloved wife resteth buried'.²⁶ A drawing of their monument has survived (**figure 3**).²⁷ Although the date of Mary's death is not known it is evident that her burial at Tintern Abbey in south Wales eliminates her as the countess of Huntingdon, Lady Herbert, who was buried in St James Garlickhithe.

On 29 February 1484 a marriage contract was drawn up between William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon and Katherine Plantagenet, the illegitimate daughter of Richard III.²⁸ They were to wed before the Feast of St Michael on 29 September 1484. Herbert's political rehabilitation and return to national politics had preceded his marriage to Richard's daughter for in November 1483 he had been re-appointed as chief justice of South Wales. He may also have been appointed as chamberlain of the new prince of Wales. The restoration of these offices, and Herbert's marriage to Katherine, may be seen as inducements to secure and strengthen Herbert's loyalty to the government of Richard III. This seems to have been well placed: the Herberts and their kinsmen, the Devereuxs, remained loyal to Richard III during the Tudor invasion and there can be little doubt that William Herbert would have likewise remained loyal to his father-in-law.²⁹

Katherine remains in the shadows.³⁰ The last known reference to her is on 8 March 1485 when the earl and countess of Huntingdon were granted an annuity from the king's possessions in Carmarthen, Cardigan and Haverfordwest in South Wales.³¹ She was dead by 25 November 1487 when Herbert attended the coronation of Elizabeth of York described as a widower.³² Katherine may have been a victim of the sweating sickness which swept London in the autumn of 1485 which explains why there was no permanent monument made for her. Herbert himself died on 16 July 1490 aged thirty five before he could complete

²⁶ *Herbertorum Prosapia*, Cardiff Library, MS 5.7, f. 74.

²⁷ *Ibid*, f. 151. I thank Madeleine Gray for her discussion on this drawing which was copied from an earlier, now lost, manuscript.

²⁸ Cardiff Library, MS 5.7, *Herbertorum Prosapia*, f. 71.

²⁹ A.F. Sutton and L. Visser-Fuchs with H. Kleineke, 'The children in the care of Richard III: new references', above.

³⁰ P.W. Hammond, 'The illegitimate children of Richard III', in J. Petre, ed., *Richard III: Crown and People*, Gloucester 1985, pp. 18-23.

³¹ *CPR 1476-85*, p. 538.

³² J. Leland, *De Rebus Britannici Collectanea*, 6 vols, 2nd edition, London 1770, vol. 4, pp. 216-33; reprinted in E. Cavell, ed., *The Herald's' Memoir 1486-1490: Court Ceremony, Royal Progression and Rebellion*, Donington 2009, p. 147.

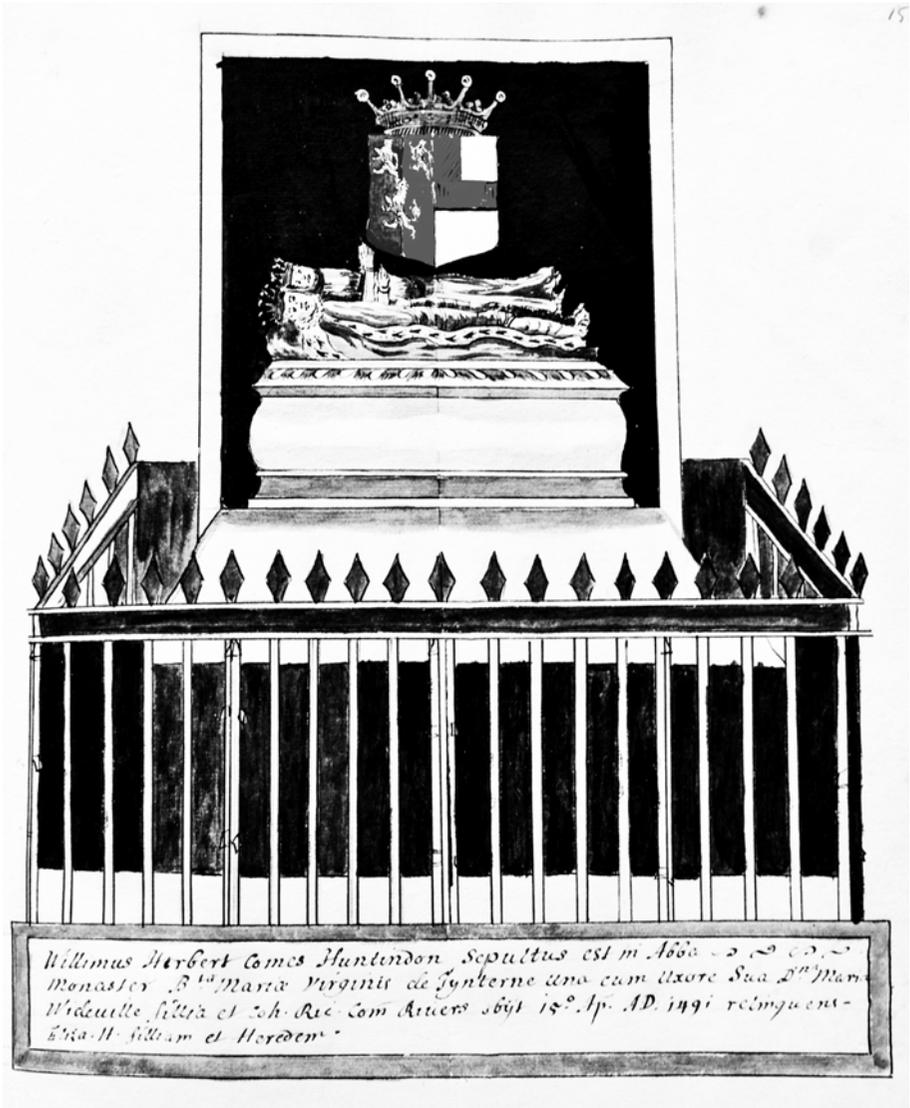


Figure 3: Tomb effigies of William Herbert, Earl of Huntingdon (d. 1490) and his first wife Mary Wydeville (d. before 1483), Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire, Cardiff Library, MS 5.7 *Herbertorum Prosapia*, f. 151. Reproduced courtesy of Cardiff Council Library Service.

the arrangements for Katherine's tomb. The earl's own monument, with his 'dear and best beloved wife', Mary Wydeville, had been arranged or was under construction in Tintern Abbey; but the monument for his second wife in St James Garlickhithe had evidently not been attended to by the time of Herbert's death. So the memorial for Katherine that Benolt saw early in the sixteenth century was probably a temporary one, such as already discussed for Lady Stanley: it was perhaps an epitaph set on a hanging table or a parchment scroll. It may only have been the Herbert arms by which Benolt identified her as a countess of Huntingdon and Lady Herbert. It is impossible to say now what may have originally been proposed: it may have been the earl's intention to remember Katherine with a commemorative brass, or he may have planned a sculptured effigy similar to the one for his first wife in Tintern Abbey. Space constraints of a city of London parish church would suggest the former.³³

Burial in a London Parish

Katherine was buried and quickly forgotten. As suggested above, the inscription recording her aristocratic status was presumably accompanied by the Herbert arms which attracted the attention of the herald Benolt. John Stow, in his own account of St James Garlickhithe, recorded a 'monument' – Stow's standard description for any type of memorial – for 'the Countesse of Huntington, the Ladie Harbert' but he did not expand on the format of this memorial nor did he add any biographical information on her.³⁴ But why was Katherine buried in this particular city church?

Huntingdon's will, made in July 1483, referred to his town house in the city of London, 'I will that Hugh Huntley, who standeth seized of my place in London, sell the said place by the advice of my executors to the contentacion [satisfaction] of my debts and said bequests'.³⁵ Huntley was Herbert's successor as chief justice of South Wales and in 1483 evidently occupied the earl's townhouse in London. It is not known whether it was necessary to sell Herbert's property in the city to meet his debts and legacies on his death in 1490: his fortunes, after he made his will, had briefly flourished. Many years after the earl's death, the ownership of a Thames-side mansion house in the parish of St James Garlickhithe, known as Worcester House in Thames Street, was linked to the Herbert inheritance.³⁶ It seems likely that this Herbert town house is to be identified with the riverside mansion in the parish of St James Garlickhithe which by the mid-sixteenth century was known as Worcester

³³ It was not unusual for aristocratic ladies to be commemorated by brasses, see for example Isabel Bouchier, Countess of Essex, and aunt of Edward IV (d. 1485), now at St Mary, Little Easton (Essex) and Joan, Lady Cromwell (d. 1479) at Holy Trinity, Tattershall (Lincolnshire), engraved in the mid-1490s.

³⁴ Stow, *Survey of London*, vol. 1, p. 249.

³⁵ Cardiff Library, MS 5.7, 'Herbertorum Prosapia', f. 74.

³⁶ Stow, *Survey of London*, vol. 1, p. 242; C.L. Kingsford, 'Historical notes on medieval London Houses', *London Topographical Society*, vol. 12 (1920), pp. 1-66 at pp. 61-62.

House. Herbert's only surviving child, his daughter Elizabeth, by his first wife, Mary Wydeville, may have inherited her father's town house. Her husband, Charles, first Earl of Worcester, asked in his will drawn up in 1524, to be buried with Elizabeth in St George's Chapel, Windsor:

That they [his executors] see my body conveied and to be brought into the churche of the College of our Lady and Seint George within the Castell of WyndSOR and the same my body to be buried by my ffirst wiff in my Chapell of Our Lady where my fyrst wif is buried within the said College of WyndSOR and where hir tombe and myn ys made by the concent and agrement of the Dean Chapitre and Chanons of the same place³⁷

If he died in his London mansion he said he wanted to be transported by barge from London to Windsor. His grandson, Charles, third earl of Worcester owned a mansion on the Thames in the parish of St James Garlickhithe, referred in 1562 as Worcester House.³⁸ But in the 1480s it may have been still known as Herbert Inn/House the 'place in London' of William Herbert, earl of Huntingdon and the home – and place of death – of his second wife, Katherine.

Conclusion

There can be little doubt that Katherine Plantagenet, the illegitimate and only daughter of Richard III, is to be identified with the 'the countesse of huntyngdon ladie Herbert' whose burial in St James Garlickhithe was recorded by Thomas Benolt. Circumstantial evidence suggests that she was a parishioner of this London parish hence her burial in a city church rather than with her husband's family in Tintern Abbey. It is an irony of history that those buried alongside Katherine were members of the very family which cost her father his throne. For the Stanleys, and for Katherine, St James Garlickhithe was considered a good place to be buried in the latter part of the fifteenth century. It was Katherine who was the Plantagenet in the parish.

³⁷ Worcester's will, TNA: PRO, PROB 11/22 ff. 97r-102r. The household goods from the earl's London house were bequeathed to his elder son, and heir, Henry, Lord Herbert.

³⁸ *The Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. J.G. Nichols, Camden Society 1848, p. 301.