

THE RELIGIOUS FRATERNITIES OF MEDIEVAL MIDDLESEX

Jessica Freeman

SUMMARY

Fraternities, guilds or brotherhoods (groups of people coming together for a common purpose or mutual benefit) were established throughout England from at least the early 14th century until their dissolution in 1548. Through the surviving sources, this paper examines the foundation, dedications and activities of such lay associations within the county of Middlesex. These fraternities can be grouped together by location and economic interest: fraternities and confraternities, craft guilds, suburban guilds in the busy extramural parishes adjacent to the City of London, town guilds which generally obtained a foundation licence, rural guilds, and hospital guilds. Within a parish, such groups supported a chapel, light, image or altar of their patron saint or saints, provided post-mortem masses for their members and financial help for the needy, and encouraged a sense of community through feasts and processions.

Most parishes in Middlesex possessed at least one fraternity or guild during the later Middle Ages which, strongly linked to parochial life, was one expression of lay piety. (Fig 1 shows parishes in which one or more Middlesex fraternities were to be found.) At their simplest, fraternities were voluntary fellowships of men and women who joined together under the patronage of a particular saint or saints, whose light, image or altar they supported, and whose feast day they celebrated. Members undertook to provide their dead brothers and sisters — still considered guild members — with a funeral, together with regular prayers and post-mortem masses for their souls. For poorer parishioners, bequests to brotherhoods were one means to ensure that proper

funeral rites took place, and that alms were channelled to those in need. Yet the type of guild which flourished in any particular place was determined by differences in population and economic activity. Although the shire fell under the influence of the wealthy and commercial City of London, and included the parish of Westminster, now home on a regular basis to the king, his household and the law courts, much of Middlesex remained a rural county which served the needs of the capital as its hinterland. The crowded suburban parishes adjacent to the City, such as St Sepulchre without Newgate, or a busy administrative, legal and religious centre like Westminster were capable of supporting several guilds, including one that climbed to prominence and gradually built up a permanent and substantial landed endowment. On the other end of the scale was the small rural parish — Edgware for example — with possibly just one or two fraternities subsisting on members' dues, bequests and ad hoc offerings, and tending to appear, blossom for a time and then as quickly die away.

REGIONAL PATTERNS

Middlesex was the second smallest county in medieval England, with natural boundaries on the south, east and west formed by the rivers Thames, Lea and Colne respectively. The wooded northern boundary was distorted so as to retain within Middlesex the manorial estates of Enfield and Edmonton, yet incorporate within Hertfordshire the southern lands of St Albans Abbey. The shire contained some of the best arable land in

England, fed by streams such as the Brent, Crane, Tyburn and Fleet. Husbandry and the carriage of produce by boat and cart were the only significant occupations, with corn, wheat and barley finding a ready market in the City.¹

Yet Middlesex suffered from a lack of collective institutions, as there was no county town nor boroughs; the shire fell under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishop of London, and the secular jurisdiction of the City's two sheriffs, although one of their three undersheriffs had responsibility for Middlesex. The Cathedral of St Paul provided a focal point as the mother church of the diocese, and may have played a more important part in the religious affairs of Middlesex than at first appears.² Middlesex retained the right to elect two knights of the shire to represent the county in Parliament, but only once, in 1275, did any Middlesex town return burgess members.³ These were Staines and Uxbridge, and their short-lived role as boroughs may have left a mark, for they were the only Middlesex parishes, apart from those in proximity to London, which obtained a licence for the foundation of a fraternity in the mid-15th century. The county's largest landowners were ecclesiastical institutions, with few magnate families; on the other hand there were several gentry dynasties, such as the Frowyks and Charltons, prominent between the 14th and 16th centuries.

Market towns were not plentiful. Westminster, Brentford, Staines, Uxbridge, and perhaps Harrow on the Hill, all noted in 1593, together with Enfield and Edmonton, were the only places that could justifiably be called towns, and much of the county remained rural in character, with roads deep in mire in winter. It was not until 1540 that Westminster was formally granted the title of city, and in 1548 about forty out of some seventy parishes had fewer than 200 communicants, a total of 22,079 (probably nearer 27,000 when 'missing' parishes and strangers are included).⁴ By the early 16th century there were 71 parishes in Middlesex proper. This number included the three chapelries of St Lawrence, West Brentford, nominally in Hanwell parish, St Margaret, Uxbridge, in Hillingdon, and St Mary, Stratford-le-Bow, in Stepney (but not the

chapel of St John, at Pinner in Harrow). In addition, for this research four parishes which lay partly in the county and partly in London — St Andrew Holborn, St Giles without Cripplegate, St Dunstan in the West, and St Sepulchre without Newgate — are included. This is because those freeholders living in the Middlesex portions attended the county's parliamentary elections. However, the three parishes dedicated to St Botolph (*ie* without Aldgate, without Aldersgate, and without Bishopsgate), which also lay partly in Middlesex, are not included since those parishes seldom appear in the county's records. This study therefore covers 75 parishes.⁵

London attracted a constant flow of migrants, and one result was that those Middlesex parishes adjacent to the City expanded into the crowded 'suburbs of London'. Here mobility, and separation from kinfolk, meant that their inhabitants found it particularly helpful to join together under the umbrella of their parish church in smaller, voluntary associations of parish and ward fraternity as well as craft gild, creating a sense of community and providing neighbourly assistance. Virtually all London's extramural parishes had a fraternity, and several more than one, and these were amongst the most prosperous at the dissolution of the chantries in 1548, particularly St Dunstan, St Giles and St Sepulchre.⁶

The other suburban parishes adjacent to the City but completely in Middlesex were St Pancras in the Fields, St James Clerkenwell, St Mary Islington, St Mary Whitechapel, St Augustine (now St John) Hackney, and St Leonard Shoreditch. Gradually filling in the green spaces between London and Westminster lay St Clement Danes, St Mary-le-Strand and St Martin in the Fields (all three once part of an extended parish of Westminster, but never as wealthy nor populous), plus the tiny parish of St Giles in the Fields. Spread around the county were semi-rural villages like Thames-side Chelsea, where wealthy Londoners often retired. Lastly there were the small, country parishes, usually in the northern, central and western areas of the county, such as Stanmore Parva, inhabited by increasingly prosperous husbandmen.⁷ All these differences in location, size and economic activity determine the Middlesex

fraternity, and are also often revealed in their fundraising activity. Rural parishes and guilds had fewer resources and depended for funds on a wide range of activities with large numbers of participants, whereas fraternities in urban parishes could rely more heavily on rental income, the administration of which was shouldered by specially-appointed wardens.

SOURCES

Two pieces of royal inquisitiveness and acquisitiveness, the 1388–9 gild returns and the 1547–8 Chantry Certificates, make convenient starting and ending points for this survey. Other sources are royal licences, accounts and wills.

1388–9 gild returns

In 1388 Parliament required all fraternities and craft guilds to make a return giving details of their foundation, government, feasts, meetings and property endowments. However, because of the uncertainty surrounding this order, most guilds stressed their devotional activities, as against their fraternal and economic pursuits. Responses to this enquiry, known as ‘1388–9 gild returns’ exist for only nine Middlesex fraternities and four of these are found within just two suburban parishes, St Sepulchre (St Stephen, and the Conception of Our Lady) and St Giles without Cripplegate (Our Lady and St Giles, and *Corpus Christi*). In addition, there was the fraternity dedicated to the Nativity of Our Lady attached to the chapel and hospital of St Mary Rounceval at Charing Cross, between the City and Westminster, and four craft guilds — one each at St Giles without Cripplegate and the convent of St John the Baptist, Haliwell in Shoreditch, and two at the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God (the London Charterhouse, previously the site of a plague-chapel), which lay just outside the City.⁸ But despite the lack of returns from 1388–9, it is clear that guilds flourished elsewhere in Middlesex from at least the mid-14th century onwards. Nicholas Oteway, for example, made a bequest to the light of the fraternity of the Holy Rood at St Leonard Shoreditch in 1364, and William Tornour to the rural fraternities of St Lawrence at Stanmore Parva and St Leonard at Edgware

in 1379. St Mary-le-Strand had a fraternity, with an unknown dedication, by 1368.⁹

1547–8 Chantry Certificates

1547–8 saw the final dissolution of chantries (the endowed chapels where masses for the dead were sung) by Parliament, and this included fraternities, since many of their objects were similar. The 1547 Act proscribed landed endowments connected with so-called superstitious practices, for example prayers and obits (memorial services) for the dead as well as the maintenance of lamps. Such lands were liable to confiscation, although gild and lightwardens often tried to conceal these assets. The churchwardens’ accounts for 1588–9 in one parish pragmatically noted the gradual dissolution of such fraternities:

Note yat in ye beginning of yis Queens reign. al ye other wardens of ye church to wytt lightwardens, were put downe. & had no vse in yis parishe: as ye wardens of St Syth & St Iohn & St christofer wer put down in ye Latter end of king henry ye vijijth ^& king Edward^ tyme when the Landes given to such fratrnites & brotherhoodes were taken away by statute.¹⁰

The commissioners sent a written set of questions to the officials of every parish and the returns were made up into the ‘chantry certificates’. Those in Middlesex are summarised in the 1548 Chantry Certificate for London and Middlesex. Within Middlesex, only ten fraternities were recorded as holding land. These were all situated in the suburbs of London or in the towns: Enfield, Hackney, Holborn, Islington, St Dunstan in the West, St Giles without Cripplegate, St Sepulchre without Newgate, Staines, Uxbridge, and Westminster. The Chantry Certificate also refers to chantries rather than guilds at Edmonton and Littleton (although the terms were often used inter-changeably since both concerned themselves with prayers for the dead).¹¹ Yet chance references in wills prove that other Middlesex guilds had been bequeathed land by their members, which should have been recorded in the 1548 Certificate, but had been either lost or hidden from the king’s commissioners. In 1468, for instance, Thomas Whitfelde

alias Leche left the gild dedicated to St Katherine and St Margaret in Whitechapel (or Matfelon) parish, a freehold tenement called Horspoles in the town of 'Tottenham Street', but this is unrecorded in 1548.¹²

Royal licences

Five of the ten fraternities which were formally dissolved in 1548 also appear among the seven Middlesex gilds which acquired royal licences, mainly in the 1440s, to place their fraternity on a more formal footing. The period between 1440 and 1475 saw 14 London gilds securing such licences, which was partly due to concern about further legislation against mortmain,¹³ but also to a 'flurry of reorganisation and reinvigoration which characterises London guild life' at this time,¹⁴ and which must have influenced parishes in Middlesex, particularly those near the City. For it was the larger parish fraternities which went to the trouble and expense of obtaining a licence, such as those at St Giles without Cripplegate in 1392 and again in 1443, Westminster in 1440, Holborn in 1443, Uxbridge in 1448, and Staines in 1456.¹⁵ The other two licences were for gilds connected to hospitals: the first licence was for the Gild of the Nine Orders of Holy Angels, founded together with a hospital for poor men at Brentford in 1446; the other licence, granted in 1475, was to the existing gild of the Nativity of Our Lady, founded in the chapel of St Mary Rounceval hospital in 1385.¹⁶

Accounts

Middlesex, however, has very few medieval gild or churchwardens' accounts. The St Mary Rounceval gild accounts survive for the years 1520–4 and 1538–40, giving a picture of the activities of a small fraternity within a hospital towards the end of its existence. Income came from membership fees, bequests, rents and the sale of pardons, and this maintained three chaplains and supported an almshouse with nine or ten beds for destitute and dying men. Four Middlesex parishes have medieval accounts. These were those of St Margaret Westminster (several years of gild accounts between 1474 and 1521 plus churchwardens' accounts

from 1460, with gaps), St Martin in the Fields (churchwardens' accounts from 1525), St Dunstan in the West (churchwardens' accounts from 1517), and St Andrew Holborn (one year of lightwardens' accounts for 1477–8).¹⁷ Thomas Bentley's account of the parish of St Andrew Holborn, written in the 1580s, reveals that he had read the now-lost brotherhood rolls of the gilds of St Zita (Sythe), and of St John and St Christopher, both founded in that parish, as well as the accounts of the lightwardens.¹⁸

The St Dunstan in the West churchwardens' accounts frequently mention the fraternity of Our Lady and St Dunstan and show that its officers played an important role in the parish, but the gild's own records have not survived. In contrast, the churchwardens' accounts for St Martin in the Fields make no reference to payments to any parish gild, even though there was a fraternity there dedicated to St John in 1474, another dedicated to St James by 1512, and altars and chapels to Our Lady of Pity, St Cuthbert, and St John.¹⁹

Wills

Most information about Middlesex fraternities comes from wills.²⁰ Nine probate courts had jurisdiction in Middlesex, and the records for seven partially survive for this period. In the Commissary Court of London wills for 43 parishes exist from 1374, mainly in the northern two-thirds of the county. Other probate records are found in the Archdeaconry Court of London (only for the years 1393–1415, recommencing 1549 with original wills 1524–1649 covering gaps) and in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury (from 1383).²¹ Some 1,350 wills of those who either lived or held land in the county have been studied, perhaps 10% of the total of surviving wills for Middlesex testators between 1374 and 1548. This sample concentrated firstly on those who were known to be Parliamentary attestors (*ie* the forty-shilling freeholders entitled to participate in elections of Middlesex members of Parliament) between 1407 and 1478, and then extended to their families, friends and neighbours before and after these dates. Also, because of differing survival rates for wills in separate probate jurisdictions, testators are not evenly distributed across the county. Harrow on the

34 parishes with fraternities:

- 1 Acton
- 2 Brentford West/New
- 3 East Bedfont
- 4 Edgware
- 5 Edmonton
- 6 Enfield
- 7 Fulham
- 8 Hackney
- 9 Hampstead
- 10 Hanworth
- 11 Haringey/Hornsey
- 12 Harmondsworth
- 13 Hillingdon
- 14 Holborn
- 15 Islington
- 16 Isleworth
- 17 Ruislip
- 18 St Clement Danes
- 19 St Dunstan
- 20 St Giles without in the West
- 21 St Giles without Cripplegate
- 22 St Martin in the Fields
- 23 St Mary-le-Strand
- 24 St Sepulchre without Newgate
- 25 Shoreditch
- 26 South Mimms
- 27 Staines
- 28 Stanmore Parva
- 29 Stanwell
- 30 Stepney
- 31 Stratford-le-Bow
- 32 Tottenham
- 33 Uxbridge
- 34 Westminster
- 35 Whitechapel

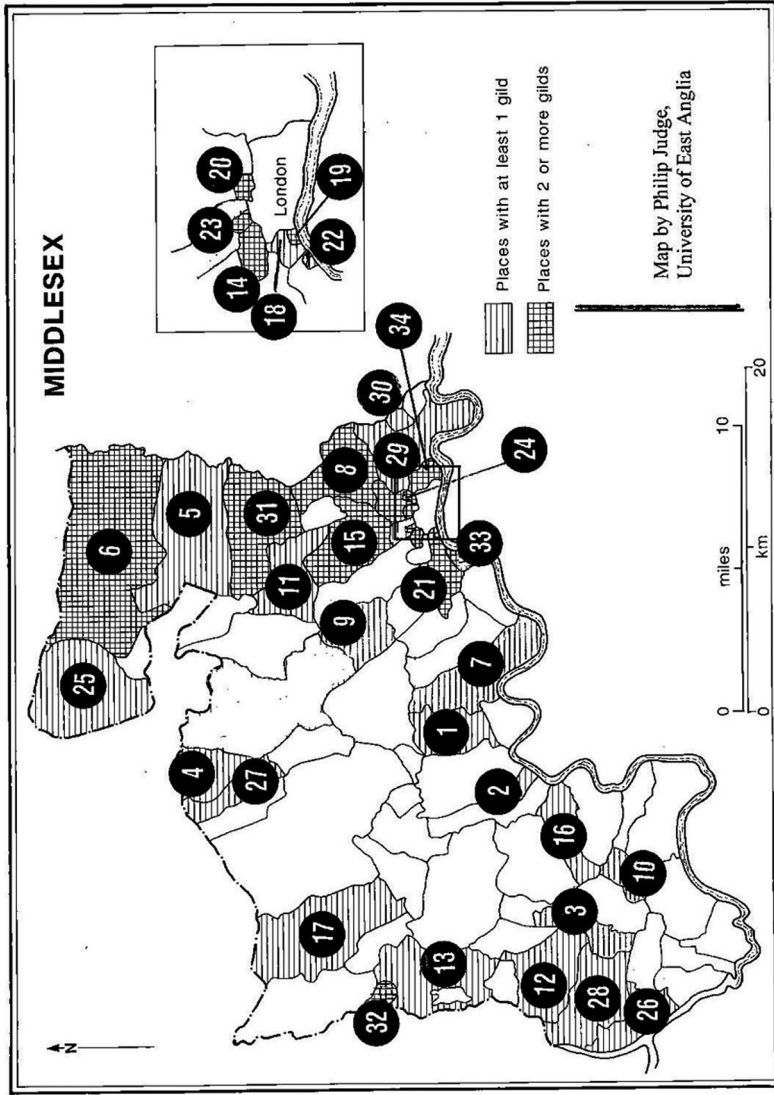


Fig 1. Map showing the 34 Middlesex parishes with fraternities

Hill, West Twyford, St Pancras in the Fields and St Giles in the Fields, for example, are under-represented in testamentary records and so unsurprisingly no fraternities have been identified in these parishes. But over 80 different Middlesex fraternities within 34 parishes (see Fig 1) and two hospitals have been noted between 1340 and 1548, with bequests to guilds or altars occurring in roughly 15% of wills sampled.

FRATERNITIES

Craft guilds: Painters, Glovers, Cutlers, Carpenters, Bakers, Moneyers

There is evidence for craft guilds, which were, not unexpectedly, all situated close to London. However, the definition of a craft brotherhood at its early stage of development is problematic, and it is difficult to pinpoint when a guild became a vehicle for the regulation of a particular trade and limited to those in that occupation. Four of these craft guilds were in existence by the third-quarter of the 14th century. That of the 'good people of the Painters trade', in honour of the Virgin Mary and St Luke, whose statues they annually refurbished, was founded at St Giles without Cripplegate. Its origins perhaps lay in a bequest in 1280 by Geoffrey de Catenham, painter, to maintain a lamp in this church. 'La petite compagnie des Gaunters' or Glovers (Our Lord, His sweet Mother and All Saints of Paradise, founded before 1354) and the Cutlers (Jesus and Mary His Mother) met at the London Charterhouse. The Carpenters, whose guild of the Virgin Mary and St Joseph was said in 1388 to have been founded in 1333, met at the convent of St John the Baptist, Haliwell in Shoreditch (in summer), and at St Thomas of Acre in London (in winter).²²

Two other probable craft guilds date from the mid-15th century, those of the Bakers at St Mary Stratford-le-Bow and the Coiners or Moneyers at St Leonard Shoreditch. In 1473 Richard Robyns, miller of Stratford-le-Bow, bequeathed St Clement's Brethren two shillings 'to the box' and, to St Clement's altar, a table cloth. A further bequest was made to the fraternity — described as within the chapel of Our Lady of Stratford-le-Bow — by a baker's widow, Alice Leylond, in

1485. It is likely that, even though it was not a craft guild in the strictest sense, many of its members were bakers, especially as St Clement was the patron saint of bakers.²³ There was a high demand for bread in London, and bakers from Stratford-le-Bow in particular, as well as those of Stepney and Bromley St Leonard, took advantage of this in the face of opposition from the London bakers, whose own Company was one of influence in the City. It would thus have been helpful for the Stratford bakers to have a local association to provide a vehicle for co-operation.²⁴

At St Leonard Shoreditch, John Aleyn, coiner, left 6s 8d to the 'community box of my craft of coiners (*communi pixidi mistere mee de conours*)' in 1457. There was a group of moneyers living in the parish from the 14th century onwards who worked at the mint in the Tower of London, and it is likely that this bequest acknowledges the beginning of a craft guild, which probably developed under the auspices of the fraternity of Our Lady in the parish church. Seven coiners out of 16 who left extant wills c.1370–c.1545 bequeathed a legacy to this fraternity, the earliest being John Clopton in 1377. Pious aims thus joined with a need to regulate a craft, and the fact that only a further six parishioners out of 57 wills examined for this parish made a testamentary bequest to Our Lady guild reinforces the suggestion of a particular link between fraternity and company. In his 1545 will, Richard Harryonge (Harrye Yonge), the provost or warden, left money to his Moneyers' Company to pray for his soul and to 'make them merry', as did one of his successor provosts, John Germain, citizen and upholder of London, in early 1558. (As the Moneyers were not a City company, those wishing to benefit from London citizenship would have needed to join one of the City's livery companies.)²⁵

Suburban guilds: St Giles Cripplegate, St Sepulchre Newgate, St Dunstan in the West, St Augustine Hackney, St Mary Islington and St Leonard Shoreditch

The main concerns of parish fraternities are set out in the ordinances for one of the earliest Middlesex guilds known, that dedicated to Our Lady and St Giles founded in the church of St Giles without Cripplegate

in 1339 by the vicar and parishioners to furnish lights in the new Lady chapel, at a cost of a farthing a week each. From the occupations of the early officers, it seems likely that this gild of Our Lady and St Giles was initially linked with leather workers, but the gild's subsequent development illustrates how such an institution could prosper if conditions were favourable. By 1388 the gild could afford the wages of a chaplain, to be chosen by the vicar (if a brother), the two wardens and twelve of the 'better' brethren, confirming that the fraternity was under lay control. Each member was to have funeral masses sung by the Carmelites in Fleet Street. There was a fund to help brethren in 'accidental poverty', at a rate of 10½d a week, but not if they were found begging in another parish, and burial could be provided if necessary.²⁶ Membership of a gild was a personal, voluntary choice, although probably one that required acceptance by the existing membership, and which was limited by the ability to pay the required dues. The poorest parishioners were therefore excluded. Gild membership distinguished a man, or woman, from the wider parish group, and marked them as persons of some social respectability.

In September 1392 the fraternity of Our Lady and St Giles was granted a licence to alienate in mortmain two messuages to the vicar of St Giles for the purpose of maintaining long established lights, one in honour of St Mary and St Giles on the rood beam, and the other in honour of the Holy Trinity and *Corpus Christi*, and to pay the wages of a chaplain to celebrate divine service for the brethren and sisters, living and dead. It was 31 years since a previous vicar, John Phelip, had made his will, in which he left messuages and shops to maintain the existing lights and fraternity ('established a hundred years and more'), and to find a chaplain to act as the morrow mass priest, that is, a cleric who provided early morning masses for the convenience of parishioners.²⁷ Judging from the occupations of the parishioners named, any particular association with the leather trade had waned, or perhaps this gild had amalgamated with the Painters' gild of Our Lady and St Luke. Four of the gild brothers had, however, been common councillors for Cripple-gate ward between 1384 and 1388,

and another a sub-collector of taxes, so possibly the fraternity was now linked with the administration of a busy parish.²⁸

Then in January 1443 came a further development when the vicar and parishioners were granted a licence to found a perpetual gild, with two chaplains, and to acquire lands and rents to the value of £10 *pa*, which by the following October consisted of three messuages and 16 cottages. The London citizens named in the licences show a wide range of occupations — poulterer, brewer, pewterer, waxchandler and goldsmith — while two others, titled 'gentleman', were likely to be lawyers. These men were probably the 'masters' of the parish, those of proven ability in managing parochial affairs who had previously served as churchwardens.²⁹ Over the century the gild grew in wealth and prestige and when it was dissolved in 1548 the gross income from lands was over £179. The fraternity appears to have owned a common hall, no doubt used for meetings and feasts, which was granted away in 1549 by the king after the dissolution of the chantries.³⁰

Another early gild founded in the parish was a 'little company of a *Corpus Christi* light', founded by John Balauncer in 1352 to reverence the body of Christ, and provide a light before the Trinity altar. This was short-lived and is not recorded after 1392. By 1543 the parish supported two further, small gilds, dedicated to St George, and to St Patrick.³¹

St Sepulchre without Newgate was another suburban parish with a long established gild, dedicated to St Stephen, which had prospered since its foundation in 1376. In 1388 the fraternity maintained a chaplain to sing continually before their saint's image and, out of a common box, provided trentals (an office of the dead, of 30 masses for 30 successive days) for its deceased brothers and sisters at the Franciscan, Augustinian and Carmelite friaries. Members were expected to attend, and make offerings at, masses on St Stephen's day (26 December) and the funerals of brothers. A brother dying within 20 miles would be brought home for burial, if necessary at the gild's expense, whilst those members who died on pilgrimage to Rome or Jerusalem were to have funeral services appropriate to the most senior gild brothers.³² St Stephen's gild attracted many monetary bequests in the first quarter of the

15th century, but the 1463 will of the citizen and brewer John Davy reveals there was by then another gild in the parish, dedicated to Our Lady. Within a decade the two gilds apparently amalgamated since St Stephen is not mentioned separately thereafter, and at about the same time either St Gabriel was added to the dedication or another small gild was taken over. When in 1473 John Gilling, the parish clerk, made his will, he bequeathed 10 cows, 77 sheep, grain and straw, to the fraternity of Our Lady and St Stephen and St Gabriel in the parish, as well as the proceeds from the sale of lands in Hampstead, to pay for a chaplain to celebrate for a year in the parish church for the souls of Gilling and his wife. At its dissolution the gild, by then known as Our Lady and St Stephen, maintained a priest at Our Lady's altar, and held six cottages and at least five tenements.³³ The vigour of parish life here is shown by the fact that between 1481 and 1529 there was yet another active gild, dedicated to *Corpus Christi*; this does not appear in the Chantry Certificate so presumably it held no lands. In 1481 Mathew Dewe, priest, left this gild a mitre, cross and ornaments of St Nicholas Bishop. He stated that the 'masters' of the fraternity, not the churchwardens, were to be the custodians of these objects, which were probably used for the 'boy bishop' festivities.³⁴

No other Middlesex fraternities appear in the 1388–9 gild returns, although this does not mean that those which are known only from later evidence did not exist in the 14th century. Another suburban parish, St Dunstan in the West (in Fleet Street), supported a strong and flourishing brotherhood dedicated to Our Lady and St Dunstan. One of the earliest references to the gild is in the 1453 will of John Holdernes, citizen and tailor of St Dunstan's, and in all likelihood, because many prominent tailors lived in Fleet Street, this fraternity, although not a craft gild, attracted bequests from men in this trade or their widows. By 1548 the gild was richly endowed, with an income from lands of over £130 *pa*. As well as the fraternity priests, the gild supported a clerk, probably the same John Cotton who is described as organ player and conduct, that is, a singing man, either lay or cleric, hired on a casual basis.³⁵

The St Dunstan's churchwardens' accounts show that two other sets of parochial accounts (now lost) were compiled every year. These were of the 'master' of St Dunstan, and of the wardens of the Rood light. The churchwardens' accounts contain many references to 'the masters', and it is almost certain that these are to be identified with the masters or wardens of the gild of Our Lady and St Dunstan, and that the fraternity was responsible not only for much of the ceremony connected with parish life, but also for poor relief and post-mortem masses. In 1538 Johanna, widow of John Everard, pewterer, a 'master of the parish', bequeathed £20 to the brotherhood to keep an obit for herself and her husband for 20 years. The master of St Dunstan's was to receive 12 pence to attend this obit, but the vicar only half that amount.³⁶ Between 1548 and 1550 Henry VIII granted away the confiscated endowments of the fraternity, by then comprising 20 messuages and the Harp on the Hoop brewhouse.³⁷

In the east of the county there was a prosperous gild of the Holy Trinity at St Augustine's church in Hackney in existence by 1418, when Richard Aston (or Austyn) left his brother a new hood of the livery of the Trinity, as well as an annual bequest to the lights of the Holy Trinity. In 1469 Richard Austyn left nine marks for a chaplain to celebrate mass in Hackney church '*in loco capellani vocatus le bretherede preest*' for one year; he also specifically left his brother a red hood, perhaps part of the gild livery. John Yonge, in 1487, left five marks for a priest, '*distinctus a presbitero fraternites*', to celebrate for his soul for 2½ years in his parish church of Hackney.³⁸ By 1480 the gild was of sufficient reputation for Sir Bartholomew James, alderman and onetime mayor of London, to endow the wardens, brethren and sisters of the gild of the Holy Trinity and Our Lady with lands to maintain a chantry not only for himself and his wife but also for King Edward IV and his queen. In 1548 James's endowment consisted of a tenement in St Nicholas Shambles worth £8 a year from which the fraternity supported a chaplain. The will of the then vicar, in 1501, asking to be prayed for as a brother of that gild, confirms that he was actively engaged with the gild established in his church.³⁹

Hackney was unusual in having gilds for

the different wards of the parish, for in 1452 Thomas Aston left a bequest to the light of the fraternity of St Mary of the ward of Humberton in the parish church. In 1479 another Thomas Aston made bequests to the same 'warde de Homberton', as well as to the parish fraternity of the Trinity and Our Lady. It is unlikely that one ward had a fraternity whilst others did not, so that when in 1454 William Auston left money towards the maintenance of the lights of the ward of Mare Street in the church, and in 1469 John Godying left a torch to the ward of Church Street, in addition to a small bequest to the fraternity of the Trinity and Our Lady, these will probably refer to small ward gilds whose members had joined together to maintain certain lights in a more exclusive fellowship defined by residence. This neighbourhood allegiance is confirmed by their bequests for mending the parish highways: Thomas Aston the elder left the use of his horse and cart for four days to repair Humberstone Street between his mansion and the Cross, and Thomas the younger 3s 4d to the same road. William Auston remembered the footpath along Mare Street, and Godying both Church and Mare Streets.⁴⁰

The Holy Trinity gild at Hackney, like most other Middlesex fraternities, attracted bequests particularly from the 1450s onwards. This may simply reflect the greater survival of evidence, but with an improvement in the economy in the later 15th century, membership may have become affordable by larger numbers of wage labourers as Bainbridge suggests from her research into Cambridgeshire gilds. There are early references to gilds at St Andrew Holborn, where William Hervy left a bequest to St John's fraternity in 1380, and John Eleys to St Zita in 1394, but once again the majority of bequests date from the mid-15th century. In the case of London fraternities, the evidence of wills enrolled in the Court of Husting (commencing in 1288) demonstrates that bequests to gilds rose sharply in the half century following the Black Death, for they were in one sense communal chantries. It is likely that the wish for a decent burial during the plague years was in a large part the motive for their foundation, and this desire must also be true for Middlesex fraternities. Later, although the fear of plague receded, gilds continued to

attract members, for monetary resources had increased and so men and women found they had a surplus to spend on the ceremonial and social side of religion, including fraternities, and a greater emphasis on processions and gild feasts emerged.⁴¹

Larger fraternities were able to hire their own chaplains, chosen by the laity and employed either on a regular basis or when funds permitted, and this resource was important to members. The fraternity dedicated to the Holy Trinity in the church of St Mary, Islington, was wealthy enough by 1428 to support its own priest, for in May that year Constance Sunday left 20 pence to *dominus* John, the new chaplain of the gild, provided he remained in office for a year. He was probably identical with John Crowlaye, chaplain, whose will was dated October 1428; he asked to be buried at St Mary Islington, and bequeathed a missal and a hymnal to that church. His successor was also short-lived, for in 1432 Thomas Smyth, then described as the chaplain for the Holy Trinity gild, made his own will. Like many priests who eked out a living serving chantries and gilds on a short-term basis, he was ill-endowed with this world's goods. He left 12 pence each to five chaplains, four at St Mildred Poultry, London, to be at his month's mind, and his gown with a black hood, a brass cooking pot and other household goods to Alice, daughter of the Thomas Glover who was appointed Smyth's executor.⁴²

The Trinity gild at Islington co-existed with a second brotherhood, since in 1448 Thomas Yon (Iun, Ivun) gave identical bequests to the two fraternities dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and to St Thomas the Martyr (Thomas à Becket). In his 1465 will, Stephen Straunge also left St Thomas's fraternity in Islington church 3s 4d on condition that a priest conducted mass for the brothers and sisters of the brotherhood, otherwise the money would go for other pious uses. This would imply that up to that point the fraternity did not have its own chaplain, but relied on the services of the parish priest. By funding a priest for the benefit of the gild, Straunge was thereby providing a valuable additional spiritual resource for the parish. These two mid-15th-century brotherhoods at Islington were later eclipsed by a third. In 1499 William Hert willed that a priest should

sing for his soul for a year, at an annual stipend of 10 marks, before the Jesus altar of Islington church. This must surely refer to the gild of the Name of Jesus, already established by 1497 according to the will of Stephen Rygevale (Rugevale/Regenale). Its main duty was to celebrate masses or antiphons of the Holy Name each Friday. In 1548, the gild held a close of 12 acres, worth £7 *pa*, of which £1 6s 8d was paid to the brotherhood for singing masses for the soul of the donor, Richard Cloudesley, while 6s 8d was given to the poor.⁴³

Gilds could, and often did, draw members from outside their own parish. In 1460 Elizabeth Brere of Clerkenwell, widow of Walter Bryer *alias* Smyth, remembered the two Islington fraternities of St Thomas and the Holy Trinity, as well as that of St Giles in the church of St Giles without Cripplegate. Perhaps because the inhabitants of Clerkenwell used the church of St James, attached to the priory of the Augustinian canons of St Mary Clerkenwell, as their parish church, there may not have been a parish fraternity and so the parishioners joined gilds outside the parish. There is a single reference, in 1396, to a fraternity of the Virgin Mary in the church of St Mary Clerkenwell, but this was probably founded at the convent church of St Mary, where the testator wished to be buried, and not within the parish church of St James. There was, however, an altar dedicated to St James within the parish in the mid-15th century.⁴⁴ Then too, brothers and sisters often retained loyalty to gilds in former parishes. Johanna Wymarke lived in Islington when she made her will in 1482, but the fraternity to which she made a bequest was the Holy Trinity at St Botolph Aldersgate in London, where she had previously lived, and of which her husband, Thomas, had been warden. It is likely that she expected the benefits of membership, in particular intercessory masses and prayers for her soul, even though no longer a parishioner.⁴⁵

Of the other suburban gilds, St Leonard Shoreditch was a parish where there is evidence of 14th-century gilds — dedicated to the Holy Rood in 1364, and Our Lady from 1395. From the early 16th century the brotherhood of St Christopher in Shoreditch had a joint dedication with St James and thrived until the Dissolution together with

another gild dedicated to St Leonard, as well as that of Our Lady. Although according to the Chantry Certificate there were no fraternities with landed endowments, a legal dispute in 1589 over whether a certain tenement had been used by the parish gilds of St Christopher and St James, and Our Lady, as a meeting-place for feasts in the 1530s, suggests that the ownership of the building had been concealed from the Commissioners in 1548 by claiming it was used as the parish schoolhouse.⁴⁶

One surprising gap is the sparse evidence for gilds in the large parish of St Dunstan Stepney and its thriving hamlets, despite an ample number of surviving wills. But it may not be a coincidence that bequests to a fraternity dedicated to Our Lady in the parish church commence in early 1447, around the time the chapel of St Mary in the Marsh, Stepney, was abandoned due to flooding, suggesting a change in devotional practice. Further bequests followed: the most unusual was that of John Hillery in 1481, who left the gild two hives of bees, honey and wax, which the wardens were to 'put to the most advantage'.⁴⁷ There was an image of St Anne in the church in 1449, an altar by 1488, and from 1524 bequests commence to a fraternity dedicated jointly to Our Lady and St Anne. However, as at Hackney, there is also evidence for fellowship based on residence. In 1532 William Callow *alias* Johnson not only remembered the fraternity of Our Lady and St Anne in his will, but left 20 pence to the maintenance of each of 'thes lythys by thes hamlettes', Poplar, Limehouse, Radcliffe, Mile End and Bethnal Green.⁴⁸

Town gilds: Uxbridge, Staines, Brentford, Westminster, Enfield and Edmonton

Gilds are not found in the same density, nor with such rich assets, outside these suburban parishes, except in Uxbridge and Staines. The suburban parishes have evidence from returns to the 1388 enquiry and from 1548 chantry certificates to illuminate their activities, but in the Middlesex towns we have to rely on evidence from foundation licences. Such documents exist, however, only for well-endowed fraternities, and so conclusions cannot be drawn about this group as a whole from such sources.

To the west of London was the prosperous town of Uxbridge, lying in the parish of Hillingdon. There were fraternities dedicated to the Holy Cross and to St Leonard by 1430, whilst in 1496 there was also a gild dedicated to the Holy Trinity, of which the vicar, Stephen Freshney, was a member.⁴⁹ These were, however, overshadowed by the gild dedicated jointly to St Mary and St Margaret for, in April 1448, Robert Olyver, Thomas Munday, John Palmer and John Barforde of Uxbridge obtained a licence to found a gild for themselves and others, both men and women, in the chapel of St Margaret Uxbridge. Robert Olyver esquire held the manor of Dawley in nearby Harlington and appears as one of the substantial men of the county in the commission of 1434.⁵⁰ Thomas Mundy received a pardon in 1423 for not appearing to answer two London vintners regarding a debt owed to a third. John Palmer was a chapman, who in 1443 made a gift of his goods and chattels to Henry Frowyk, citizen and alderman of London, and other prominent men. Henry Palmer, almost certainly John's father, left a bequest to the fraternity of Our Lady at Uxbridge in 1457.⁵¹ By 1548 the fraternity had an income of £10 14s a year from lands, which perhaps included the acre of meadow given by William Cotterell in 1475 to the fraternity of the chapel of Uxbridge for his funeral expenses.⁵²

Eight years later, in 1456, the parishioners of the neighbouring town of Staines also obtained a licence for their own gild dedicated to the Nativity of Our Lady. It is possible here to see something of the process by which a gild came into being, and of the role of a widow carrying out complex intercessory provisions for a deceased husband. The initial impetus for this gild may have been the bequest in 1455 by Robert Elkyn of Staines of six ewes and lambs to the lights of the altar of Our Lady in the chancel. Such assets, in cash or animals, were known as the 'stock' or 'store' of that light, image or altar, and paid for candles, lamps and wax. Gilds often developed out of such an original bequest to the stock of a particular saint. Elkyn's executors were Cecily, his wife, and John London, and it is probably no coincidence that the next year certain fellow parishioners, including

Elkyn's executors, obtained a licence to found at St Mary's church in Staines a gild of Our Lady in the chapel of the Holy Cross. The chaplain was to celebrate a daily mass not only for the good estate of the founders and their souls after their death, but also — as at Uxbridge — for those of Henry VI and Queen Margaret.⁵³

The fraternity's founders were Sir John Bourchier, Lord Berners, Sir John Wenlock, John Breknock, John Hardwyck, William Turney and Joan his wife, Cecily Elkyn, Agnes Bennet, Emma Clerk, John Ebmede, John London and John Clerk, and the parishioners of the parish church of St Mary Staines. The first four men all had useful connections with the royal court. Bourchier, younger brother of Henry, Earl of Essex, and Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, was to become chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth Woodville's household by the 1460s, and constable of Windsor Castle in 1461. Wenlock, chamberlain to Queen Margaret by 1448, switched allegiance to the Yorkists in 1459, when he became chief butler of England, but returned to his former loyalty at the Readeption of Henry VI, and was killed at the Battle of Tewkesbury in 1471. Breknock, the son of David Breknock, wardrobe to John, Duke of Bedford, had a successful career himself as a royal clerk, and rose to become treasurer of the household, whilst Hardwyck was clerk of the kitchen to Henry VI.⁵⁴ The other men were prominent in the town of Staines and closely linked by ties of neighbourhood, if not by blood and marriage. For example, in August 1462 John Breknock esquire, together with William Turney, John Ebmede, John Clerk, John London and others, and the constables of the towns of Staines, Egham and Thorp, was commissioned to arrest and bring before the king and his council certain potential rebels. John Clerk and John Ebmede, yeomen, were two of those granted pontage (a tax to support repairs) for Staines Bridge in 1461. All frequently acted as feoffees, attorneys and witnesses for, and with, each other on numerous occasions.⁵⁵

By the mid-15th century it was not unusual for the foundation deed to include the names of women, and virtually all fraternities admitted sisters as well as brothers. Agnes, widow of John Bennet who died in 1445,

and Emma Clerke were sisters; John Clerke was Emma's son, and the Clerke family had held land in Staines from at least the 1360s. When William Turney made his will in 1467, he appointed as one executor John Ebmede the younger, to whom he left his scarlet cap, perhaps belonging to the gild livery. Turney also left a bequest to the 'chantry chaplain' at his parish church, probably an indication that there was a fraternity priest by this date. His wife Johanna, whose own will was made in 1468, had previously been married to John Ebmede the elder. However, it is surprising that none of the post-1456 wills of the founders mention Our Lady's gild directly, simply leaving small legacies to the lights of St Mary.⁵⁶

Although the sequence of events is clear at Staines, the difficulty of pinpointing when devotion to a particular saint developed from maintenance of lights and candles by a small group of parishioners before an image or on an altar, to the formation of an actual gild with increased membership, is shown in the case of St Lawrence at West Brentford. In 1396 John Whetele gave 20 pence to the lights of St Lawrence, much more than the eight pence he bequeathed to each of the other lights in the church, implying that the St Lawrence light was somehow special. At some unknown date in the next 60 years the gild had been founded, since in 1454 Alice White of West Brentford made her testamentary bequest to the fraternity of St Lawrence in the chapel there.⁵⁷

The important gild of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in St Margaret, Westminster, first appears in the records in 1429 when John West of the Exchequer in Westminster left to the fraternity of Our Lady in his parish church of St Margaret '*unum coopertorium rubeum de worstede*'. It was probably founded around that date, although a royal licence was not obtained until 1440. Four prominent Westminster parishioners are mentioned in the licence: William Norton esquire and Robert Forster, both Abbey officers, Robert Nyk or Nick, brewer, and David Selly, vintner and merchant.⁵⁸ This was not a gild for the poor, since admission cost 6s 8d, although within that section of society most trades were represented, including 'Doche' residents, *ie* from the Low Countries or Germany, women as well as men. From 1474 its annual income

was around £80, and by 1548 masses for the dead were provided by four permanent chantry priests, plus a conduct, and it could afford to pay the fraternity beadle a wage of £2 13s 4d *pa*. Rosser has pointed out in his discussion of Westminster gilds that fraternities had an important social role, apart from their religious activities and craft links, and provided a distinctive unit for those who wanted an additional or more exclusive fellowship. The leading officers in the Assumption gild were those who in a self-governing town would have played a major part in their town council. Since Westminster was an unincorporated town, which existed in the shadow of the Abbey and the royal court, social status was demonstrated by holding a leading office in the gild, which was usually reached via service as a churchwarden and as one of the jury of chief pledges of the manor court. Several gild brothers and sisters came from the neighbouring parish of Chelsea, where the fraternity held land, such as the widow of the carpenter Henry Justice. For those unable to afford the entry fees and dues payable to the Assumption gild, there would have been other fraternities available within the parish. However, the nature of the surviving evidence means that the eight other gilds known to have existed at Westminster are only recorded from c.1498 to 1520. By the 1530s and '40s, therefore, Westminster enjoyed a rich ceremonial life from both parish and gild activities, which also provided opportunities for leadership. It was a parish 'where the Henrician and Edwardian reformations could not fail to have a devastating impact'.⁵⁹

Two other towns worth consideration, despite the lack of a foundation licence, are Enfield and Edmonton, which lay to the north-east of the county with 1,000 and 600 communicants respectively in 1548. Although in 1433 Richard White simply left four pence to the altar of St James in the church of St Andrew, Enfield, by 1436 John Gerrard made his bequest to the fraternity of St James in that church. Either Richard did not belong to the fraternity, or it was a question of terminology, and he or his scrivener made the bequest to the altar rather than the gild. The fraternity no doubt met in the chapel of St James constructed just before 1401 by Maud, daughter and heir of

Thomas Durant, and widow of John Wroth, both of Enfield, who married secondly Sir Baldwin Raddington, a prominent courtier and warden of London in 1392. This new construction may have provided the impulse for the establishment of a fraternity, perhaps to raise funds to furnish an altar.⁶⁰ In 1398 Sir Baldwin had obtained a licence to found a chantry at the altar of Our Lady in Enfield parish church, and to endow it with lands valued at £10 a year. These properties were held in trust by numerous parochial feoffees throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, and thus escaped the attentions of the king's commissioners in 1548.⁶¹

There was also a fraternity dedicated to Our Lady in Enfield church, first mentioned in 1464 when Walter Ford left it the rent from a tenement to keep his perpetual obit. In the 1480s Robert Browne also remembered the fraternity of Our Lady.⁶² It is not clear, however, how these Enfield guilds of St James and of Our Lady are connected with the two brotherhood priests mentioned in the 1548 Chantry Certificate. Both chaplains may have served Our Lady's gild. One brotherhood priest was partly supported by profits from lands given by John Forde, presumably those he bequeathed in his will of 1495/6, that 'I and my friends be prayed for'. In the years before 1548, Maud Hammond, a member of a family of Enfield maltmen, had given a tenement to maintain the brotherhood priest, and Walter Baldwyn meadow lands to support the light before Our Lady's altar. However, the half acre of arable land in Longfield which John Leper gave to the fraternity of Our Lady in 1494 is not noted in 1548.⁶³

The second brotherhood priest at Enfield was maintained by the income from messuages and several hundred acres of land situated in or near Benfleet, Essex, with a yearly value of £10. This was Poynetts' estate, bequeathed by Agnes Middleton in the 1460s to endow a priest to pray daily at the altar of Our Lady, in the north chancel chapel, for her soul and those of her four husbands. According to then extant parish records, the vicar and parishioners obtained a licence from Edward IV to found a chantry at that altar, to be known as Blossom's Chantry, after Agnes's first husband. But this chantry is not mentioned by name in the 1548 Chantry Certificate and by then had

apparently merged with an unnamed parish fraternity, probably that of Our Lady.⁶⁴

At nearby Edmonton the only reference to a gild — dedicated to Our Lady in the parish church of All Saints — occurs in 1529 in the will of John Kyrkton or Kirton, gentleman. The parish did, however, support two chantry priests and a house in which they lived, while the churchwardens and parishioners had built three shops in the churchyard to rent out, using the proceeds for church repairs and for the parson's stipend. There was therefore a vitality to Edmonton's parochial life which may have shown itself in ways other than through the formation of parish fraternities.⁶⁵

Firm conclusions are difficult to make on the basis of a small number of licences of foundation. The evidence in Uxbridge and Westminster is that their respective fraternities of St Mary and St Margaret, and of the Assumption of Our Lady, enjoyed connections with the county or town élites, which placed themselves at the top of a hierarchy of fraternities within each town. Uxbridge had at least three other guilds, and in Westminster from the end of the 15th century a further eight fraternities are noted. Although there is information on only one gild at Staines, that also maintained connections with the county élite and the royal court. It seems unlikely that other guilds enjoyed the same status as those which had secured royal licences, although it is possible that a fraternity in Enfield, perhaps that in honour of Our Lady, but for which no licence survives, achieved a similar position in that town. There was clearly a particular political and social role played by the leading fraternity in unincorporated towns, which is shown most strongly at Westminster. The fraternity in West Brentford, however, although it was a market town, never acquired any landed endowments and so failed to gain a commanding position.

Rural guilds: Ruislip, Stanwell, Tottenham, Fulham, South Mimms and Feltham

For fraternities in more rural parishes there is seldom any information beyond a testamentary reference, and it is difficult to know how many of the lights, images and altars to which testators left innumerable

small bequests were in fact maintained by guilds rather than by parish officers such as lightwardens. The maintenance of lights before a particular saint could expand into a fraternity, as at Staines, although many rural guilds were probably informal and may not have lasted long. At Ruislip, two wills of 1493 and 1494 leave bequests to 'Our Lady founded', a brotherhood which could have been of recent foundation, or at least have then been placed on a more formal basis. A third will, that of John Feyrn or Atferne of Brentford in 1517, also left a bequest to the 'foundation' of Ruislip.⁶⁶ By 1449 St Mary Stanwell had just one known guild, dedicated to Our Lady, yet there were three Christo-centric lights, plus six to other saints, suggesting alternative paths to devotion.⁶⁷ The Holy Trinity altar at All Saints, Tottenham, received bequests from 1453, while the fraternity of the same name was granted a fine of 40s imposed by the manor court in 1514–15. A further guild, dedicated to Our Lady, was active in the parish in 1484.⁶⁸ At Fulham, where the bishop of London maintained a residence, jurors in 1552 presented evidence of the administration and assets of a parish brotherhood dedicated to St Peter:

thier hathe beyne a brothered Cawled Saynt peters brothered at the Dyssolucyon of the whiche brothered wasse wardens Edward Lathar and other three men of the same parryssh having the goodes and stocke in ther handes the certeyn some the whiche we cannott knowe Ther was bothe money and kyne.⁶⁹

The guild of the Resurrection and St Blaise was based in 1519 at the chapel 'apon the hethe' in the parish of St Giles, South Mimms — an instance of a fraternity helping to maintain a small, isolated place of worship.⁷⁰ The chapel was, however, probably erected to commemorate those slain in 1471 at the Battle of Barnet. In 1538 there is a reference to 'Chapell yerd', in 1539 to the hermitage 'on the Hethe', and c.1589 to 'the Hermytage it lyeth in the heath ... it was ... a chappell wherein the dead bodies were buried in Barnett feilde'.⁷¹

South Mimms also provides evidence that men and women in Middlesex followed the practices of other rural parishes in southern England. When the north aisle was erected

in 1526, one window was 'made by the yong men and maydes', and another 'by the good women' of the parish; these windows were 'taken out' (*ie* the details written down) in 1621. Their dedications indicate that there were at least two associations of parishioners, if not formal guilds, grouped by age and gender in the early 16th century and involved in fund-raising activities.⁷² At Feltham, another country parish, and one of the few where a reliquary of its patron saint is mentioned, William Helperby, in 1538, left two pence each to the Bachelor light and to the Maidens' light in his parish church of St Dunstan. Chelsea also had a Bachelors' light by 1518.⁷³ Suburban and town parishes could follow this pattern: in 1540 midwives supported a light at St Martin in the Fields, and by 1512 the 'parish maidens' at St Margaret Westminster had their own collection for St Margaret's chapel. Increased parochial activities, such as church decorations or processions, often coincided with greater participation, and fund-raising, in the parish by women.⁷⁴

Hospital guilds: Nine Orders of Holy Angels at Brentford and St Mary, Rounceval

Rather different from these parish guilds were the two fraternities attached to hospitals. The first of these demonstrates that even an apparently well set-up guild might not last. Master John Somerset, physician and Chancellor of the Exchequer to Henry VI, received a licence in 1446 to found at Brentford Bridge, just inside the parish of Isleworth, a hospital for nine poor men, and a guild of a master, brethren and sisters, to be called the Guild of the Nine Orders of Holy Angels, a popular devotion of the time. Although endowed with the manors of Osterley and Wyke and over 700 acres in Heston, Isleworth and Norwood, the guild and hospital were never firmly established, probably because Somerset died unexpectedly, and intestate, shortly afterwards. The guild was soon in financial trouble, and some time before 1454 the London Ironmongers' Company had purchased the chapel, selling it in 1482–3 for £83 6s 8d. In 1487–90 Dame Johanna, the wealthy widow of a lawyer and member of Parliament for Middlesex, Thomas Luyt, both of whom had retired to the precincts

of St Bartholomew West Smithfield while retaining a house at Isleworth, took control of the chapel. By then the hospital seems to have lost its gild and become a private concern, for Dame Johanna kept some of her household possessions at the chapel and her own chaplain may also have served the hospital. Before 1498 much of the land had been alienated to Edward Cheseman esquire, who was also Dame Johanna's executor. Sometime before 1508 Hugh Denys of Westminster, king's esquire, purchased from Edward's son, Robert, the manors of Osterley and Wyke. Denys, who had died by 1516, bequeathed these lands to the Carthusian priory of Sheen, across the Thames in Surrey, charged with certain payments with the intention of enlarging or perhaps re-founding the hospital (there was to be a chantry of two priests, and seven almsmen). Since he requested burial either at Sheen or else in the chapel of All Angels, the latter was still functioning. Edward, Duke of Somerset was granted the chapel and its lands in 1547, when they were said to be 'late' of yet another institution, Syon Abbey.⁷⁵

The second hospital gild was the fraternity dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the glorious Virgin and All Saints founded in 1385 by local residents in the chapel of the hospital of Rounceval, Charing Cross in Westminster to burn a candle at the daily mass and to celebrate the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady (8 September). The hospital had existed since about 1230, probably to care for pilgrims coming to St Edward the Confessor's shrine at Westminster. It then seems to have run into monetary difficulties until its regeneration in 1385 as a local fraternity and as a hospice for travellers and for the poor and sick of Westminster. The gild obtained a royal licence in 1475, perhaps due to the influence of Jasper Tudor, uncle of Henry VII. Gild membership reinforced links between the two parishes of St Martin in the Fields and Westminster: Henry Romayn of St Martin's, for example, served as warden at Rounceval, and John Wright was master of the Rounceval gild in 1522–24, and a churchwarden at St Margaret's 1534–36. In 1542 the Tabernacle of Our Lady in the hospital chapel was removed to St Margaret's, while some vestments went to St Martin's.⁷⁶ The legacies of Richard North of Chelsea in

1389 to the 'house of Rounsevale' and John Pymberd of Hendon in 1417 to the 'chapel of Rounsevele', show a familiarity with Westminster, and may indicate membership of the gild, although possibly the sale of indulgences triggered the bequests. The hospital was known for its robustness in this regard, witness Chaucer and his 'gentil pardoner of Rouncival'. In the 1520s local printers such as Wynkyn de Worde were paid for printing thousands of notices publicising the sale of indulgences, generally at the various feasts of Our Lady. Other bequests were received from tradesmen like Goverd (Godfrey) Russing, a Westminster goldsmith, who in 1514 recalled the 'brotherhood of Our Lady kept at Rowncyvale'.⁷⁷

Confraternities

Fraternities or confraternities were established in Middlesex religious houses such as the priory of the Order of Holy Trinity and Redemption of the Captives of the Holy Land (Trinitarian Brothers) at Hounslow. There will have been greater membership by Middlesex parishioners of these confraternities than is suggested by surviving evidence (see Appendix).⁷⁸ Confraternities within London houses were also supported by Middlesex testators, for example, in both the priory and the hospital chapel of St Bartholomew, West Smithfield. There were links too between those living outside the City with fraternities attached to London companies such as the Vintners.⁷⁹ Within the church of the Dominicans or Friars Preachers at Blackfriars there was a fraternity of St Barbara specifically for 'strangers', mainly those from Germany and the Low Countries.⁸⁰

GILD DEDICATIONS

The overall pattern of gild and altar dedications in Middlesex is shown in Table 1 overleaf, where it is also compared to dedications in the City of London, and Surrey:

Our Lady's popularity had increased throughout the country during the Middle Ages, and there were at least 40 gilds and altars dedicated to the Virgin Mary — in her various guises, Conception, Nativity or Assumption — in Middlesex parishes (23.6%), either alone or joined with another

Table 1. Overall pattern and comparison of gild and altar dedications, Middlesex, London and Surrey. (These figures should be read in broad rather than absolute terms. Dedications of 4% or more are in bold type, those to various feasts of saints have been grouped together, and those to simply 'St John' have been taken to refer to the Baptist.)

Patron of Fraternity/Gild or Altar, 14th–16th centuries	Middlesex <i>Gilds & Altars</i>	City of London⁸¹ <i>Gilds & Altars</i>	Surrey⁸² <i>Gilds only</i>
Our Lady (BV Mary)	40 (23.6%)	59 (21.6%)	8 (15.7%)
Alban		1 (0.4%)	
All Saints/All Hallows	3 (1.7%)	5 (1.8%)	3 (5.7%)
All Souls		1 (0.4%)	
Alphage/Aelfheah		1 (0.4%)	
Amand		1 (0.4%)	
Angels, Nine Orders of	1 (0.6%)		
Anne	5 (2.9%)	16 (5.8%)	2 (3.8%)
Anthony/Antholin		2 (0.7%)	
Augustine of Canterbury		1 (0.4%)	
Augustine of Hippo		1 (0.4%)	
Barbara	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	1 (1.7%)
Blaise	1 (0.6%)		
Bride/Bridget	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	
Charity		2 (0.7%)	
Christopher	4 (2.3%)	11 (3.4%)	3 (5.7%)
Clement	2 (1.1%)	4 (1.4%)	2 (3.8%)
Cornelius	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	
Corpus Christi	6 (3.5%)	12 (4.5%)	1 (1.8%)
Cuthbert	1 (0.6%)		
Dunstan	2 (1.1%)	2 (0.7%)	
Erkenwald		1 (0.4%)	
Erasmus	1 (0.6%)	2 (0.7%)	
Etheldreda	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	
Fabian (& Sebastian)		1 (0.4%)	
Five Wounds	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	
Gabriel	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	
George	3 (1.7%)	14 (5.0%)	2 (3.8%)
Giles (Egidius)	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	1 (1.8%)
Hilda		1 (0.4%)	
Holy Rood/Cross	5 (2.9%)	5 (1.8%)	.3 (5.7%)
Holy Trinity	13 (7.7%)	18 (6.5%)	5 (9.5%)
Holy Wisdom		1 (0.4%)	
James	4 (2.3%)	3 (1.0%)	2 (3.8%)
Jerome		1 (0.4%)	
Jesus, Holy Name of	3 (1.7%)	9 (3.0%)	6 (11.5%)
John the Baptist	8 (4.7%)	18 (6.5%)	2 (3.8%)
John the Evangelist		3 (1.0%)	
Joseph	1 (0.6%)		
Katherine	11 (6.5%)	23 (8.3%)	3 (5.7%)
Lawrence	2 (1.1%)	5 (1.8%)	
Leonard	5 (2.9%)	2 (0.7%)	

Patron of Fraternity/Gild or Altar, 14th–16th centuries	Middlesex <i>Gilds & Altars</i>	City of London ⁸¹ <i>Gilds & Altars</i>	Surrey ⁸² <i>Gilds only</i>
Loy/Eloi (Eligius)	1 (0.6%)	2 (0.7%)	1 (1.8%)
Luke	1 (0.6%)		
Margaret	3 (1.7%)	4	1 (1.8%)
Mary Magdalene	3 (1.7%)	3 (1.0%)	
Michael	1 (0.6%)	3 (1.0%)	
Mildred		2 (0.7%)	
Morrow Mass	1 (0.6%)		
Nicholas	3 (1.7%)	7 (2.5%)	2 (3.8%)
Patrick	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	
Peter	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	
Resurrection of Christ	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.4%)	
Sebastian		1 (0.4%)	
Stephen	2 (1.1%)	4 (1.4%)	
Thomas the Apostle		1 (0.4%)	
Thomas Becket/Martyr	2 (1.1%)	6 (2.1%)	
Ursula	1 (0.6%)	3 (1.0%)	1 (1.8%)
Women	1 (0.6%)		
Young men/Bachelors & Maidens	5 (2.9%)		
Zita/Sythe	1 (0.6%)	4 (1.4%)	
Wards (of parish)	4 (2.3%)		
Unnamed	10 (5.9%)		6 (11.5%)
TOTAL	169	276	53

saint. It is likely that the chaplain attached to a gild dedicated to Our Lady was responsible for the Saturday mass in honour of the Virgin. She was followed in popularity by 13 gild or altar dedications to the Holy Trinity (7.7%), with its feast day celebrated on the eighth Sunday after Easter (in May or June), and found in the more substantial parishes nearer London such as Hackney. The six *Corpus Christi* foundations (3.5%), a feast celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity, were largely confined to the suburban parishes of Holborn, St Giles, St Sepulchre, Westminster, and Whitechapel.⁸³ Then there was St John the Baptist (4.7%), whose nativity was commemorated on 24 June, and St Katherine (6.5%), feast day 25 November. Large numbers of lights were also dedicated to her, and Stratford-le-Bow even boasted, by 1497, a chapel of St Katherine on its bridge. This pattern of gild dedications generally agrees with the distribution of lights in Middlesex parishes, where there is evidence in around 60 parishes of a light dedicated to Our Lady (although there was probably

one in every church), with a further 11 dedications to Our Lady of Pity, showing the Virgin supporting the Lord's body after the descent from the Cross. 17 parishes had lights or altars dedicated to the Trinity, although only one to *Corpus Christi*.⁸⁴ At least another dozen parish churches and chapels recorded bequests to the light or image of St John the Baptist and to St Christopher. Many testators also left a few pence for the lights before the holy rood or cross, or in honour of All Souls (the commemoration, not the feast, of the dead), while four left bequests to the Easter Sepulchre in their church.⁸⁵

But Middlesex gild dedications surprisingly do not in general reflect the same pre-occupations as fraternities within London, where dedications to St Anne and St George were numerous. Table 1 compares Middlesex dedications to London and Surrey. Surrey, which like Middlesex had an urban fringe and a rural hinterland, was different again. The favoured dedications of gilds in that county were Our Lady, followed by the Name of Jesus (found in urban contexts), and the

Holy Trinity. As with Middlesex, however, few Surrey guilds – just three – shared the dedication of their parish church. The county was also unusual in having two guilds exclusively for female parishioners, both dedicated to St Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary, and both in Southwark.⁸⁶ Middlesex was distinctive in certain respects, such as a devotion to St Leonard, patron saint of prisoners, peasants and horses. Other uncommon dedications included St Clement, both as parish patron and also due to his association with bakers, crucial suppliers of food to London, St Barbara, St Cornelius, perhaps because of immigrants from the Low Countries, St Lawrence, St Augustine, and St Dunstan, a former bishop of London, and therefore of local importance.⁸⁷ The rural guild to the Resurrection and St Blaise at South Mimms is probably connected to the fact that it was based in what was a mortuary chapel for the dead of the 1471 Battle of Barnet. St Blaise was the patron saint of woolcombers and those working in the wool trade, and invoked for the cure of cattle (both important to farmers), and also, as a physician, for the sick.⁸⁸ At St Mary-le-Strand there was a guild dedicated to St Ursula and her Company of Eleven Thousand Virgins by 1493. As John Stow records that the church was otherwise known as St Ursula, this may be a case of a fraternity completely overshadowing the parish church in which it was founded.⁸⁹

By 1394 St Andrew Holborn possessed a fraternity to the servant-saint, Zita of Lucca, Italy. Although she might now be considered an obscure saint, recent research has produced over a hundred instances of local devotion to St Zita in England, with more than fifty images in glass, and on screens and murals, and at least three lights dedicated to her in Middlesex parish churches.⁹⁰

Gilds in Middlesex were seldom founded in honour of the patron saint of the parish church. Exceptions are the 14 gilds shown in Table 2 below.

It seems that parish churches with uncommon dedications may have been more likely to name a parish fraternity after their patron saint. This pattern of dedications differs markedly from Norfolk and Suffolk where, for example, almost three-quarters of gilds in honour of St Andrew shared the parish patron, with Our Lady and St Michael and St James also benefiting from such an association. On the other hand, most churches will have had an image of their parish's patron saint, even if there was no fraternity. Hackney, for instance, possessed an image of their patron saint, St Augustine of Hippo, in 1502.⁹²

Because of the lack of references, since there is no analysis of *all* surviving Middlesex wills, it is difficult to provide a chronological framework for the popularity of saints, and it is trends rather than exact rankings that can

Table 2. Gild dedications related to parish church dedications

Gild dedication	Total of gild dedications in parishes	Total no. of parish church dedications	Total no. of gild dedications related to parish church dedications
Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary	40	31	6 (20%) ⁹¹ (Acton, East Bedfont, St Mary-le-Strand, Staines, Stanwell, Whitechapel/Matfelon)
St Clement	2	1	1 (100%) (St Clement Danes)
St Dunstan	2	4	1 (25%) (St Dunstan in the West)
St Giles	1	4	1 (25%) (St Giles without Cripplegate)
St John the Baptist	1	1	1 (100%) (Hillingdon)
St Lawrence	1	3	2 (67%) (Brentford West/New, Stanmore Parva)
St Leonard	1	2	1 (50%) (Shoreditch)
St Margaret	1	3	1 (67%) (Uxbridge)

be determined. Overall, the patron saints honoured in Middlesex reflect both national — Our Lady and the Trinity — and local — St Leonard and St Dunstan — associations, as well as economic and religious factors. And it is clear that the popularity of individual saints went in and out of fashion during the medieval period, and that this is reflected in both parish and fraternity dedications.⁹³

GILD ACTIVITIES

Charity

Most gilds supported the poor, sick and old in line with their financial resources, perhaps through the provision of lodgings and pensions or by occasional gifts of money. Our Lady gild at Uxbridge owned a tenement which in 1548 was held rent-free by a poor blind man. The Westminster gild of St Cornelius maintained a hospital for those with epilepsy, and that of the Assumption owned, in 1474, four cottages for housing poor parishioners. In 1511 Gilbert Alynson of Westminster left eight pence to each of Our Lady's 'bedefolk', *ie* the almsmen and women. At St Giles Cripplegate, £35 8s 8d was received by the brotherhood of Our Lady and St Giles from the profits of various lands, and £19 2s 1d was then disbursed to 16 poor householders. These payments may relate to a now lost almshouse (perhaps active 1272–1443), whose assets were then acquired by the fraternity of St Giles.⁹⁴

Funeral provision

As in London, the provision of a fitting funeral was of major concern to Middlesex testators in the 14th and the first half of the 15th century, although this had lessened by the end of that century. Testators often left detailed instructions for their funeral rites and for the other services that they expected their gild to perform for them. In 1454 Alice White of West Brentford wished the lights of the fraternity of St Lawrence to burn around her body at her burial, and in 1470 John Hart *alias* Chapman of Uxbridge gave six cows (which would be farmed out for cash) to the fraternity of St John the Baptist at Hillingdon to provide for his obsequies.⁹⁵

Preaching

John Ebmede of Staines, grandson of two of the founders of the brotherhood of Our Lady, made exceptionally detailed provisions in his will of 1490. He bequeathed to his parish gild what was later known as the 'Preaching Close ... late of the fraternity of the most Blessed and Glorious Virgin of Staines' on condition that a sermon was preached yearly for ever. The preacher was to be a doctor of divinity or a graduate clerk, being a Master of Art at the least, and he was to give his sermon on the Monday in Rogation Week at a cross in Ashford where the processions of three parishes — Staines, Stanwell and Ashford — 'have used of old time to meet'. Possibly the fraternity members customarily processed wearing their gild livery. And, if 'the weather be so rainy' that the processions could not meet, John directed that the sermon was to be preached the same day in Staines church. Any income received over and above the five shillings given to the preacher was to be spent by the warden, brothers and sisters of the same 'chantry' on wine.⁹⁶

Patronal meeting and feast

For gild members one important event was the annual gathering on the day of the patronal festival, celebrated with a special mass — which brought together in worship and prayer both living members and the memory of deceased brothers and sisters — before the altar or in the chapel of the brotherhood. Here the vestments belonging to the fraternity would be displayed, and its livery worn, if its members were sufficiently wealthy. The gild mass was followed by the yearly meeting when accounts were presented, officers elected, subscriptions collected, and other decisions made. Gild officers were distinct from parochial officers as John Gilling, parish clerk of St Sepulchre, makes clear in his will. He left substantial bequests to both his church, by way of the churchwardens, and to the fraternity of Our Lady, St Stephen and St Gabriel, through its gild wardens.⁹⁷

The meeting would be followed by the annual dinner when the fraternity's plate and utensils would be brought out and members enjoyed a festive and common meal together in a spirit of peace and friendship.

Gild expenditure on such activities may well have contributed to the local economy. The character of these feasts, in the case of a wealthy gild, can be judged from the bequest made in 1490 to the fraternity of Our Lady at Staines by John Ebmede. The silver included a salt-cellar with cover, two mazers and twelve spoons, brass pots and pans, a tapestry tester striped red and green with a banker and cushions, a set of 36 pewter dishes, tablecloths, laten basins, ewers and a chaffing dish, a brazen mortar with a pestle of iron, and a ship's chest for storage. It is possible, however, that Ebmede was a gild officer and so had custody of its possessions, and that his bequest was simply a confirmation of their rightful ownership.⁹⁸ The most sumptuous Middlesex feast of all, with ample food, drink and entertainment by minstrels, was that held every three years by the Assumption Gild of St Margaret Westminster on 15 August, the day when the assumption of the Virgin's body and soul into heaven was celebrated. More modestly, Richard Smith of Hackney in 1477 bequeathed his fraternity of the Trinity and St Mary in his parish church a kinderkin of good ale, perhaps for a coming feast day. At Acton, the gild of Our Lady received a diaper towel from the brewer Adam Barker in 1478 and a similar humble bequest from Annes Bampton the next year.⁹⁹

Oversight and discipline

Oversight of gild officers was ultimately provided by the bishop of London. At the end of the 15th century John Wynchecombe and Hugh Wood were cited in the bishop's Commissary Court for refusing to render their accounts as wardens or stewards (*gardiani sive iconomi*) of the fraternity of St Mary, Uxbridge.¹⁰⁰ Then too, gild regulations emphasising brotherly love were not necessarily just a form of words. In 1496 Helena Clerk of St Sepulchre was reported to the same ecclesiastical court for non-observance of the statutes and ordinances of her fraternity of St Christopher, on the grounds that she had abused and reviled her brothers and sisters. In particular, it was said that she had accused two brethren of defaming her by alleging that she had stolen two cups, and that one of them had had carnal knowledge of her '*supra latrina*'.¹⁰¹

Gentry membership

It is difficult to decide what role, if any, the gentry played in parish fraternities, since from the evidence of their wills they seldom left specific bequests to gilds. Most Middlesex bequests by gentry occur in the later 15th century in the wills of lawyers. At Hackney in 1484 the attorney Simon Elrington left a bequest to the Holy Trinity gild there, and also asked that the chantry priest 'of the Trinity' and the vicar keep him on the parish bede roll (the list of benefactors to the church, for whose souls the faithful were asked to pray). In 1487 another lawyer, Thomas Luyt, husband of the Dame Johanna already mentioned in connection with the hospital gild of Nine Angels, left torches to the brotherhoods of St Margaret, Uxbridge and Our Lady, Staines, both parishes where he was a landowner.¹⁰² Parishioners could also support a gild outside the county: John Goodyer, gentleman of Monken Hadley, Middlesex, made a bequest in 1504 to the Trinity Gild in the church of St John the Baptist, Chipping Barnet, across the border in Hertfordshire. An image of the Trinity was noted in this church in 1446, with the gild founded in 1449.¹⁰³ Another substantial member of the Middlesex gentry, Robert Wroth of Enfield, esquire and member of Parliament, left 20 shillings to the fraternity of Our Lady in his parish church in 1535. But in general it appears that the country gentry tended not to participate in their local parish fraternities.¹⁰⁴

CONCLUSION

This survey of Middlesex fraternities has necessarily been mainly dependent on chance references in a sample of surviving wills. The importance of fraternities within most parishes is difficult to judge, as is how much their activities, such as the provision of candles, and the upkeep of altars, images or paintings, overlapped with other providers. There are, however, some distinctive features of the fraternities in the three settings. The more populous parishes forming the suburbs of London had gilds that were of a different character to those of the market towns, or the more distant, rural parishes of Middlesex. The fraternities within London's suburbs may

have begun, or sometimes ended, their lives as craft associations; some of them appear to have been religious associations where the membership reflected the dominance of particular trades in certain parishes, such as the moneyers at Shoreditch, and the bakers at Stratford-le-Bow. The foundation licences indicate the connections of market towns with the county élites which other gilds may not have enjoyed, and it is likely that these fraternities had a strong political dimension and acted as a form of government in towns like Westminster and Uxbridge which lacked formal recognition of their urban status. There is evidence of fraternities growing up based on the administrative structure of parish wards, as at Hackney. These gilds could have had more in common with the rural fraternities of which there are tantalising glimpses in the wills of their inhabitants from the 1360s to 1540s, but for which few details emerge about membership and administration, assets and activities, although that in honour of St Peter at Fulham is an exception. Dedications for both old favourites — St Katherine and St Margaret¹⁰⁵ — are found, together with saints with distinctive local associations — St Dunstan and St Leonard — as well as those popular nationally — Our Lady and the Trinity.

Fraternities also defy neat categorisation. Some of the larger, prosperous fraternities were well documented, St Giles without Cripplegate for example, and this gives an impression of the importance of such associations for local residents. Yet even parishes with wealthy gilds, such as St Sepulchre without Newgate, could contain small, inadequately funded fraternities only successful for a few years. In 1388 St Sepulchre had sheltered a smaller brotherhood founded by poor parishioners in honour of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, although they then held no goods or chattels. It was probably established just after the Black Death, for in 1349 the tanner John Shenefeld bequeathed one of his messuages to the fraternity of the light of St Mary in this church. However, by 1402 the gild had disappeared, for London's mayor held an inquisition that year to discover what had happened to tenements it held, implying that the gild had received other landed endowments in the enthusiasm of its

early years.¹⁰⁶ At St Clement Danes, a semi-urban parish situated without Temple Bar, the gild dedicated to its patron saint was able to attract royal donations from Queen Elizabeth of York in 1503 and Henry VIII in 1538. The fraternity priest here acted as the morrow mass priest, for in 1518 a bequest was left to the Morrow mass Brotherhood of the parish, whilst another testator had given six pence to 'the Morrow mass' in the church in 1492. Since Roger Bowle or Rowle is referred to as both the morrow mass priest (with a devotion in honour of the Five Wounds of Christ) and the fraternity priest in 1548 and 1549, the two gilds were almost certainly one and the same.¹⁰⁷

Perhaps the final word on Middlesex fraternities can be found in two surviving documents: first the will of John Sewell made in 1434, and second the evidence given in a court case by Thomas Haddon of Shoreditch in 1589. John Sewell, an Islington husbandman, stressed the spiritual nature of the gilds: he left 3s 4d to the '*confratres*' of the fraternity of the Holy Trinity in the church of St Mary there, to pray for his soul, and those of his ancestors, friends and all the faithful deceased. Thomas Haddon was aged about 70 in 1589, so that he could remember the years before 1548. He said that many of the parishioners, both men and women, often met together at a local house in Shoreditch to make 'good cheer' and contribute financially towards the maintenance of the church, and that these meetings were called amongst them brotherhoods of St Christopher and St James, and of Our Lady.¹⁰⁸ Whilst circumspect about the religious nature of gilds, since soul masses were no longer acceptable in Protestant England, Thomas Haddon nevertheless conveyed a sense of the conviviality of these fraternities, organised as they were by the laity, and of the contribution that they made to the community and neighbourliness of the parish in late medieval England.

APPENDIX (see pp 226–41)

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APPENDIX: MIDDLESEX FRATERNITIES/GILDS AND ALTARS/CHANTRIES OF MIDDLESEX TESTATORS c.1340–c.1548

Generally only the earliest and latest dates when an altar, fraternity/gild/ brotherhood or chantry is known to be active are listed, so not every will that mentions a fraternity, gild or altar has been included; references to images or lights are noted if they pre- or post-date the establishment of a gild of the same dedication.

1. Fraternities within Middlesex parishes

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Acton, <i>St Mary</i>	Our Lady gild	1464	Thomas Jourdemain	GL: MS 09171/5 f.353
		1479	Annes Bampton	GL: MS 09171/6 f.277
	Our Lady, St. Anne & St. Margaret's altar	1504	Richard Pontesbury	TNA: PROB 11/14 f. 91
Brentford, West/New, <i>St Lawrence</i>	St Lawrence's light	1396	John Whetele	GL: MS 09171/1 f.351v
	St Lawrence gild	1454	Alice White	GL: MS 09171/5 f.135v
	Our Lady's altar	1377	John Torngold	GL: MS 09171/1 f.51v
Bromley St Leonard, <i>St Mary</i>	Holy Trinity altar	1435	William Gobyoune	GL: MS 09171/3 f.457v
Chiswick, <i>St Nicholas</i>	St Katherine's altar	1297	<i>parish</i>	<i>Visitations of Churches, Camden Society,</i> NS 55 (1895), 57–8
	St Margaret's altar	1297	<i>parish</i>	
	Our Lady & St. Mary Magdalene's altar	1297	<i>parish</i>	
Clerkenwell, <i>St James the Less</i>	St James' altar	1460	Elizabeth Brere	GL: MS 09171/5 f.296
	Holy Trinity altar	1472	Stephen Pentecost	GL: MS 09171/6 f.123
		1460	Elizabeth Brere	GL: MS 09171/5 f.296
East Bedfont, <i>St Mary</i>	Our Lady gild	1473	Isabella Sayer	GL: MS 09171/6 f.163

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Edgware, <i>St. Margaret</i>	St Leonard gild	1379	William Tornour	GL: MS 09171/1 f.66
Edmonton, <i>All Saints</i>	Our Lady undercroft image	1461	John Shelforthe	GL: MS 09171/5 f.313
	Our Lady gild	1529	John Kyrton/Kyrketon	TNA: PROB 11/23 f.114v
	St John Baptist's altar	1529	John Kyrton/Kyrketon	TNA: PROB 11/23 f.114v
	Chantry	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.173
	Chantry	1548	lands in Edmonton, grant	<i>CPR 1547-48</i> , p 385
Enfield, <i>St. Andrew</i>	St James' altar	1433	Richard White	GL: MS 09171/3 f.370
	St James gild	1436	John Gerard	GL: MS 09171/3 f.491
	St James' altar	1472	John Hunnesdon, snr	GL: MS 09171/6 f.145v
	Our Lady's altar	1433	Richard White	GL: MS 09171/3 f.370
	Our Lady gild	1464	Walter Forde	Pam 1990, I, 29
	Our Lady's altar	1472	John Hunnesdon, snr	GL: MS 09171/6 f.145v
	Our Lady gild	1535	Robert Wroth, esquire	TNA: PROB 11/25 f.36
	Brotherhood priest	1548	John Forde	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.185
	unnamed gild	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.185
Feltham, <i>St. Dunstan</i>	St Dunstan's image and reliquary	1496	Stephen Freshney, vicar	TNA: PROB 11/11 f.58A
Finchley <i>St. Mary</i>	St Margaret's altar	1448	Henry Bigmore	GL: MS 09171/4 f.268
	St Nicholas' altar	1448	Henry Bigmore	GL: MS 09171/4 f.268
	St Gregory's altar	1496	Johane Pratt	GL: MS 09171/8 f.120v
	St Faith's altar	1532	William Shepard	TNA: PROB 11/25 f.23v
Friern Barnet <i>St. James</i>	St Katherine's chapel/ altar in hermitage	1498	Richard Large	GL: MS 09171/10 f.142v
Fulham, <i>All Saints</i>	St Peter gild	1540	<i>parish</i>	TNA: E315/498, pp 8-10

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Greenford Magna <i>Holy Cross</i>	Holy Cross altar	1435	Hugh atte Hache	GL: MS 09171/3 f.423v
	Our Lady's altar	1448	Walter Colyn	GL: MS 09171/4 f.232
	Trinity & Our Lady lights	1549	Lands in Greenford, grant	<i>CPR 1548-49</i> , 418
Hackney, <i>St Augustine of Hippo</i> (now St John the Baptist)	Holy Trinity gild	1418	Richard Aston/Austin	GL: MS 09171/3 f.17
	Trinity & Our Lady images	1439	Thomas Cotis/Cotes	GL: MS 09171/4 f.45
	Holy Trinity & Our Lady gild	1453	Richard Ford	GL: MS 09171/5 f.110v
		1533	Emmot Clifford	GL: MS 09171/10 f.200
	Our Lady gild	1496	John Hawykns	GL: MS 09171/8 f.197
	'ie Bretherede preest'	1469	Richard Austin	GL: MS 09171/6 f.40v
	Fraternity priest	1487	John Yonge	GL: MS 09171/8 f.1v
	Our Lady of the Ward of Humberton Street gild	1452	Thomas Aston/Austin	GL: MS 09171/5 f.42v
	Ward of Humberton gild	1479	Thomas Aston/Austin	GL: MS 09171/6 f.263v
	Ward of Mare Street gild	1454	William Austin	GL: MS 09171/5 f.148v
	Ward of Church Street gild	1469	John Godyng	GL: MS 09171/6 f.35
	Trinity & Our Lady gild	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.151
Hampstead, <i>St Mary</i> (now St John)	St Christopher gild	1477	John Rye	GL: MS 09171/6 f.205
	St Christopher's light	1494	John Helyot/Elyot	GL: MS 09171/8 f.67
Hanworth, <i>St George</i>	'gild church', probably a chapel with a gild altar	1548	<i>parish</i>	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no. 167
	Our Lady's altar	1395	William Swanlond	GL: MS 09171/1 f.279v
Haringey <i>alias</i> Hornsey, <i>St Mary</i>	Holy Trinity gild	1402	Henry Cokke	GL: MS 09171/2 f.17
		1409	Geffrey atte Field	GL: MS 09171/2 f.152v

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Harington, <i>SS Peter & Paul</i>	St Katherine's light	1433	John Hoberd	GL: MS 09171/3 f.348
	St Katherine's altar	1490	Christina Aubrey	GL: MS 09171/8 f.36
Harmondsworth, <i>St Mary</i>	<i>Corpus Christi</i> gild	1392	Simon Hart, vicar	GL: MS 09171/1 f.255v
	Our Lady's altar	1447 1502	John Boys Thomas Downer	GL, Register Stafford, f.163v TNA: PROB 11/13 f.166
Hendon, <i>St Mary</i>	Our Lady's altar in choir 'le Torchis' [?gild]	1457 1488	Juliana Manwood/Manhead William Nicholl	GL: MS 09171/5 f.200 GL: MS 09171/7 f.124v
	Our Lady's altar St Leonard's altar	1500 1500	William Holwey William Holwey	TNA: PROB 11/12 f.30 TNA: PROB 11/12 f.30
Hillingdon, <i>St John Baptist</i>	St John the Baptist's image St John the Baptist gild	1404 1470	Alice Yonge John Hert	GL: MS 09171/3 f.52 TNA: PROB 11/6 f.15
	<i>Corpus Christi</i> gild St John gild	1368 1368 1380	John Heynes John Heynes William Hervy	<i>Husting Wills</i> , II, 120 <i>Husting Wills</i> , II, 120 <i>Husting Wills</i> , II, 221-2
Holborn, <i>St Andrew</i>	St John's altar St Zita (Sithe) gild	1542 1394 1443	William Whyteryg John Eleys	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> , no.149 <i>Husting Wills</i> , II, 311 <i>CPR 1441-1446</i> , 194-5
	St Zita's altar	1542	Licence to found gild William Whyteryg	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> , no.149
	St Zita gild	1548	William Forman	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.75
	Our Lady's altar St Etheldreda's image	1415 1467	Henry Rokulf Robert Spenser	LMA: <i>Husting Rolls</i> , 144/50 GL: MS 09171/6 f.19v
	St Etheldreda's altar/image St Christopher's altar	1485 1542	Peter Walpole William Whyteryg	TNA: PROB 11/7 f.146 <i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> , no.149
	St Zita gild	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Cert.</i> , no. 75

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference		
Islington, <i>St Mary</i>	Holy Trinity gild	1427	John Straunge	GL: MS 09171/3 f.190v		
		1432	Thomas Smyth, gild chaplain	GL: MS 09171/3 f.312		
		1434	John Sewalle	GL: MS 09171/3 f.404		
		1439	Richard Lambard	GL: MS 09171/4 f.82		
		1448	Thomas Yon/Ivun/Iun	GL: MS 09171/4 f.240v		
		1474	Richard Adam	TNA: PROB 11/4 f.142		
		1499	Thomas Coore, vicar	GL: MS 09171/8 f.183v		
		1448	Thomas Yon/Ivun/Iun	GL: MS 09171/4 f.240v		
		1454	Helena Hart	GL: MS 09171/5 f.133v		
		1456	Maurice England	GL: MS 09171/5 f.197v		
		1474	Richard Adam	TNA: PROB 11/5 f.142		
		1479	Walter Parker	GL: MS 09171/6 f.247		
		1497	Stephen Rugevale/Rigenell	GL: MS 09171/8 f.143		
		1499	William Hart	TNA: PROB 11/11 f.247		
Isleworth, <i>All Saints</i>	Jesus gild	1526	Stephen England	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> no. 99		
		1540	John Rowland	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> no.136		
		1466	Stephen Adam	GL: MS 09171/6 f.5v		
		1478	Stephen Lynell	GL: MS 09171/6 f.224		
		1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Cert.</i> , no. 121		
		1517	Robert Hyghydon/Higdon	GL: MS 09171/9 f.50		
		Kensington, <i>St Mary</i>	Holy Cross altar	1400	Hammond More	GL: MS 09171/1 f.479
				1324	Thomas de Litelton	<i>CPR 1334-38</i> , p 246
				1451	Edward Monke	GL: MS 09171/5 f.51v
				1514	Hugh Adam	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> , no.31
Littleton, <i>St Mary Magdalene</i>	Our Lady's altar	1470	Richard Hall, priest	GL: MS 09171/6 f.174v		
		1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.184		

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Monken Hadley, <i>St Mary & St James</i>	St Anne's altar	1504	John Goodyer	TNA: PROB 11/14 f.92
	Our Lady 'founded'	1493	Gilbert Crosyer	GL: MS 09171/8 f.84v
	Our Lady gild	1516	Richard Wyston	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> , no.26
Ruislip, <i>St Martin of Tours</i>	'Foundation of Ruislip'	1517	John Atferne/Fern/feyrn	GL: MS 09171/9 f.57v
	St John Baptist's altar	1384	John French	GL: MS 09171/1 f.124v
<i>St Clement Danes</i> , (without Temple Bar, Strand)	St Clement gild	1492	Thomas Berell	GL: MS 09171/8 f.125
	'Morrow mass'	1503	Queen Elizabeth of York	Nicolas, <i>Privy Purse Exp.</i> 86
	Morrow Mass brotherhood	1538	Henry VIII	<i>Letters & Papers Henry VIII</i> , 13(2), no.1280, f.1
	'Morrow mass priest of the Five Wounds'	1492	Thomas Berell	GL: MS 09171/8 f.125
	'Fraternity priest'	1518	William Pusey	GL: MS 09171/9 f.96v
<i>St Dunstan in the West</i> , Fleet Street	'Morrow mass priest of the Five Wounds'	1548	Roger Bowle, priest	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.152
	Our Lady's altar	1549	Roger Rowle	<i>CPR 1549-51</i> , 15
	Our Lady & St Dunstan gild	1436	John Toller	GL: MS 09171/3 f.514
	St Dunstan gild	1453	John Holdernesse	GL: MS 09171/5 f.119
	St Dunstan gild	1458	Agnes Guybon	TNA: PROB 11/4 f.116
	St Dunstan gild	1518	George Barlow, priest	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> , no. 56
	Our Lady & St Dunstan gild	1548	<i>parish</i>	<i>CPR 1547-48</i> , 72 & 229
	St Katherine's altar	1518	Richard Scattergood	GL: MS 09171/9 f.109
	St Dunstan's altar	1538	Henry VIII	<i>Letters & Papers Henry VIII</i> , 13(2), no.1280 f.20b
	Our Lady gild	1514	Henry Ketylon	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> , no. 6
	St Bride gild	1538	Johanna Everard	TNA: PROB 11/27 f.147v
	Our Lady & St Dunstan gild	1540	William Mason	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> , no. 133
	1548	<i>parish</i>	<i>CPR 1547-48</i> , 45	
	1536	John Everard	TNA: PROB 11/27 f.122	
	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Cert.</i> , no. 20	

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
<i>St Giles</i> without Cripplegate	<i>Corpus Christi</i> gild	1352	John Balauncer	Westlake 1919, 237
		pre 1352	Thomas Plestre	TNA, C47/46/469
	Holy Trinity & <i>Corpus Christi</i> gild	1392	<i>Parishioners</i>	<i>CPR</i> 1391–96, 178
	Our Lady & St Giles gild	1339	Vicar and parishioners	Westlake 1919, 185
		1380	John Orleaux	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 216–17
		1443	<i>License to found</i>	<i>CPR</i> 1441–46, 140, 207
		1458	William Babe	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 560
		1500	John Stokker	GL: MS 09171/8 f.225
		1545	<i>parish</i>	<i>Viewers' Certificates</i> , 192
	Our Lady gild	1345	Agnes de Woubourne	<i>Husting Wills</i> , i, 504
		1361	John Phelip	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 28
		1514	<i>parish</i>	<i>Viewers' Certificates</i> , 26
	St Giles gild	1408	John Ougham	GL: MS 09171/2 f.129v
	'le Comen Hall' of St Giles	1541	Johanna Lincoln	GL: MS 25,262/1 f.30
	St Giles & St Loy gild	1549	<i>parish</i>	<i>CPR</i> 1547–48, 294–5
St John gild	1424	Margery Aleyn	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 483	
St George gild	1361	John de Eneveld	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 33–4	
St Patrick gild	1543	John Frend	GL: MS 25,626/1 f.35v	
Our Lady & St Giles gild	1543	John Frend	GL: MS 25,626/1 f.35v	
	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Cert.</i> , no. 18	
<i>St Martin in the Fields</i> , Charing Cross	St John gild	1474	William Thomson	GL: ms 09171/6 f.254v
	St John's aisle	1533	<i>parish</i>	<i>St Martin-in-the-Fields Churchwardens' Accounts</i> , pp 20, 28*, 30–1, 61, 70, 72, 74*–5 and 90
	Our Lady of Pity's altar	1530	<i>parish</i>	
	St Cuthbert's altar	1533	<i>parish</i>	
	St Cuthbert's aisle	1544	<i>parish</i>	
	Midwives' light [?gild]	1540	midwives	
	St James gild	1512	William Whiting	WCA: PCW Wyks, f.76
<i>St Mary-le-Strand</i>	<i>parish</i> 'fraternity'	1368	John fitz Rauf	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 113
	Our Lady, St Ursula and 11,000 Virgins gild	1493	Richard Reynolde	GL: MS 09171/8 f.69

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
<i>St Pancras in the Fields</i>	Our Lady's altar/tabernacle	1297	<i>parish</i>	<i>Visitations of Churches, Camden Society</i> NS. 55(1895), 61-2
	St Katherine's altar	1297	<i>parish</i>	
	St Mary Magdalene's altar	1297	<i>parish</i>	
	St Nicholas' altar	1297	<i>parish</i>	
<i>St Sepulchre</i> without Newgate	Light of Our Lady	1349	John de Shenefeld	<i>Husting Wills</i> , i, 540-1
	Conception of Our Lady gild	1388	<i>Poor parishioners</i>	Westlake 1919, 184
	St Katherine gild	1361	William de Wyle	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 44-5
	St Stephen gild	1376	Richard Barnes & others	Westlake 1919, 185
	St Stephen's altar	1424	John Gibbs	GL: MS 09171/3 f.121
	St Stephen gild	1405	Lucy Sandwiche	GL: MS 9051/1 f.170
		1463	John Davy	GL: MS 09171/5 f.348
	Our Lady gild	1463	John Davy	GL: MS 09171/5 f.348
	Our Lady's altar	1548	John Jenour	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.14
	Our Lady & St Stephen gild	1470	William Keynes	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 603
		1520	William Company	GL: MS 09171/9 f.159v
	Our Lady, St Stephen & St Gabriel gild	1473	John Gilling, parish clerk	GL: MS 09171/6 f.133
		1503	Peter Hille	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 616-17
	St John Baptist's altar	1467	John Drayton	GL: MS 09171/6 f.2v
	Our Lady & St John the Baptist gild	c.1508	<i>parish</i>	<i>Viewers' Certificates</i> , 2
	<i>Corpus Christi</i> gild	1481	Matthew Dewe, priest	GL: MS 09171/6 ff 314v-315
	<i>Corpus Christi</i> altar	1516	Thomas Stokes	GL: MS 09171/9 f.11v
<i>Corpus Christi</i> gild	1529	Annes Wotton	<i>Consistory Ct Wills</i> , no.105	
St George gild	1514	Henry Marshall	TNA: PROB 11/18 f.7v	
	1517	William Mille	TNA: PROB 11/18 f.248v	
Our Lady & St Stephen gild	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Cert.</i> , no. 14	

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Shoreditch, <i>St Leonard</i>	Holy Rood gild	1364	Nicholas Otewy	<i>Husting Wills</i> , ii, 95
	'le fraternitie'	1377	John Clopton	GL: MS 09171/1 f.48
	Our Lady gild	1395	Richard Bowmerssb, vicar	GL: MS 09051/1 f.29v
	(?& Mistery of Coiners)	1413	Richard Clerk	GL: MS 09051/1 f.291
		1457	John Hille	TNA: PROB 11/14 ff.97-97v
	Our Lady gild	1500	Robert Harryong	TNA: PROB 11/12 f.131v
	St Katherine's altar	c.1530	<i>evidence of Thos Haddon</i>	TNA: E134/31Eliz/East18
	St Christopher gild	1457	John Hill	TNA: PROB 11/4 ff.97-97v
	St Christopher & St James gild	1500	Robert Harryong	TNA: PROB 11/12 f.131v
		c.1530	<i>evidence of Thos Haddon</i>	TNA: E134/31Eliz/East18
	St Leonard gild	1530	John Baw [] dwyn	GL: MS 09171/10 f.151
	Community Box of the Mystery of Coiners (?Our Lady gild, Shoreditch)	1457	John Aleyn, coinier,	GL: MS 09171/5 f.228v
	Moneyers Company (?Our Lady gild)	1545	Richard Harryonge, coinier, Shoreditch	TNA: PROB 11/30 f.263
South Mimms, <i>St Giles</i>	Our Lady's altar	c1310	<i>parish</i>	<i>St Bart's Cart.</i> , nos 1220, 1227
	St Katherine's altar	1496	Richard Carpenter	GL: MS 09171/8 f.124v
	Resurrection & St Blaise gild 'at the chapel upon the heath'	1519	Roger Bryw/Brett	GL: MS 09171/9 f.149
	Women [?gild]	1526	'good women of <i>parish</i> '	LMA: DRO/5/A1/1
	Young men & maidens [?gild]	1526	'young men and maidens'	LMA: DRO/5/A1/1

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Staines, <i>St Mary</i>	Our Lady's light	1455	Robert Elkyn	GL: MS 09171/5 f.153
	Nativity of Our Lady gild	1456	Licence to found same	<i>CPR 1452-61</i> , 287
		1490	John Ebmede	TNA: PROB 11/9 f.42
	Our Lady's gild	1470	Richard Hall, of Littleton	GL: MS 09171/6 f.174v
	Our Lady in chancel altar	1457	John Brown, jnr	GL: MS 09171/5 f.200
	Our Lady chantry altar	1521	Richard Hurloke	TNA: PROB 11/20 f.66v
		1548	<i>parish</i>	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.125
		1548	<i>parish</i>	<i>CPR 1548-49</i> , 418-9
		1549	<i>parish</i>	<i>CPR 1549-51</i> , 16
	Holy Rood altar	1486	John Byle	Windsor Castle Deed, IG7
	1457	John Brown	GL: MS 09171/5 f.200	
	1449	John Brown, snr	GL: MS 09171/5 f.2	
	1449	John Brown	GL: MS 09171/5 f.2	
	1449	John Brown	GL: MS 09171/5 f.2	
	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.125	
Stanmore Parva, <i>St Lawrence</i>	St Lawrence gild	1379	William Tornour/Turner	GL: MS 09171/1 f.66
Stanwell, <i>St Mary</i>	St Stephen's chapel	1399	William Bernewell, vicar	GL, MS 09171/1 f.435Av
	Our Lady gild	1449	John Large	GL: MS 09171/4 f.259v
		1528	Roland Audryan	TNA: PROB 11/22 f.291v
	'brotherhood light'	1507	John Floodgate	TNA: PROB 11/14 f.241
		1519	Alice Lorchon/Lorkin	GL: MS 09171/9 f.116
Stepney, <i>St Dunstan</i>	Chantry	1294-9	John de Silverstone	<i>VCH Middx</i> , xi, 72
	Holy Trinity altar	1413	Thomas Clifford	GL: MS 09171/2 f.226
	Our Lady gild	1447	Walter Reyson	GL: MS 09171/4 f.203v
	St Katherine's altar	1586	John Hall	GL: MS 09171/10 f.307v
	Chantry	1487	William Potter	GL: MS 09171/8 f.104
	Chantry priest	1460	Ann/Amey Steph[k]lyn	GL: MS 09171/5 f.306
	Our Lady & St Anne gild	1503	Richard Eggoos	PROB 11/14
		1524	John Gardiner	GL: MS 09171/10 f.52v
		1531	Richard Foster	GL: MS 09171/10 f.187

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Straatford-le-Bow, <i>St Mary</i>	'fraternity brothers'	1443	John Stikker	GL: MS 09171/4 f.159
	St Clement gild	1473	Richard Robyns	GL: MS 09171/6 f.167
		1485	Alice Leylond	GL: MS 09171/7 f.53v
	St Clement's altar	1499	Clement Maltby	GL: MS 09171/8 f.179v
	St Clement's gild	1531	William Cockys	GL: MS 09171/10 f.159
	St Leonard gild	1520	Richard Knyght	GL: MS 09171/9 f.158
Tottenham, <i>All Saints</i> or <i>All Hallows</i>	Our Lady gild	1484	Robert Hart	GL: MS 09171/7 f.8
	Holy Trinity light	1450	John Rogger	GL: MS 09171/5 f.2v
	Holy Trinity altar	1453	John Drake	GL: MS 09171/5 f.119
	Holy Trinity gild	1484	Henry Edriche	GL: MS 09171/7 f.115v
	Holy Trinity altar	1500	William Edr-ych	GL: MS 09171/8 f.241v
	Holy Trinity gild	1515	<i>Manor court fines to be paid to fraternity</i>	<i>Tottenham Manor Court Rolls</i> , vi, 1510–1531, p 48
	Chantry at St Katherine's altar	1456	John Drayton, goldsmith	W Robinson, <i>Tottenham</i> (1840), ii, 3–4
Twickenham, <i>St Mary</i>	St Anne's altar	1500	Thomas Goodwyn, priest	TNA: PROB 22/13 f.115
Uxbridge, <i>St Margaret</i>	Holy Cross gild	1430	John Dyer	GL: MS 09171/3 f.261v
	St Leonard gild	1430	John Wilkyn <i>alias</i> Woxbrigg	GL: MS 09171/3 f.257
	Our Lady & St Margaret gild	1448	<i>Licence to found gild</i>	<i>CPR 1445–52</i> , p 186
		1457	Henry Palmer	GL: MS 09171/5 f.234v
	Shiryngton's Chantry	1459	Master Walter Shiryngton	<i>Soc. of Archivists' Journal</i> , iv (1973), 588–92
	'fraternity of the Chapel'	1475	William Coterell	GL: MS 09171/6 f.176
	St Margaret gild	1478	Thomas Luyt	TNA: PROB 11/8 f.53v
	St Margaret's altar	1493	Richard Bromer	GL: MS 09171/8 f.65
	Our Lady's image	1404	Alice Yonge	GL: MS 09171/3 f.52
	Our Lady's altar	1511	William Baynard	WCA: PCW Wyks, ff.65–6
Holy Trinity gild	1496	Stephen Freshney, Feltham	TNA: PROB 11/11 f.58A	
Our Lady gild	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.119	

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Westminster, St. Margaret	Our Lady gild	1429	John West	<i>Register Chichele</i> , II, 435–6
	Our Lady, Assumption of	1440	<i>Licence to found gild</i>	<i>CPR 1436–41</i> , p. 448
		1467	Katherine Fawne	GL: MS 09171/6 f.112v
		1503	Queen Elizabeth of York	Nicolas, <i>Privy Purse Expens</i> , 97
		1516	Thomas Bough	WCA: PCW Wyks, f.109v
	Our Lady's altar	1511	William Baynard	WCA: PCW Wyks, f.66
	St John's torches	1500-1	<i>parish</i>	Rosser 1989, 283
	St John gild	1508	Nicholas Streete, tailor	WCA: PCW Wyks, f.50v
	St Cornelius torches	1498	<i>Churchwardens' A/Cs</i>	Rosser 1989, 284
	St Cornelius gild	1508	Nicholas Streete	WCA: PCW Wyks, f.50v
	St Cornelius chantry	1514	<i>Licence to found</i>	Rosser 1989, 284
	St Cornelius gild	c.1518–20	<i>Pardon/ indulgence</i>	Rosser 1989, 284–5
	St George gild	1521–2	Joan Thurscrosse's gift	Rosser 1989, 285
	St George gild	c.1509	<i>parish</i>	Rosser 1989, 283–4
	<i>Corpus Christi</i> image	1489	John Meryden	TNA: PROB 11/8 f.162
	<i>Corpus Christi</i> gild	c.1514	curate of St Margaret's	Rosser 1989, 273
	Holy Trinity gild	1516	Robert Trower	Rosser, 1989, 283
	St Erasmus altar	1516	Thomas Bough	WCA: PCW Wyks, f.109v
	St Christopher gild	1517	<i>Churchwardens' A/Cs</i>	Rosser 1989, 282
St Anne gild	1517	<i>Churchwardens' A/Cs</i>	Rosser 1989, 282	
Maidens' Collection	1498	<i>parish</i> maidens	WCA: CWA, E1, f.370	
Our Lady gild	1548	<i>Dissolved</i>	<i>Chantry Certificate</i> , no.139	
West Drayton, St. Martin	4 unnamed altars	1297	<i>parish</i>	<i>Visitations of Churches</i> , Camden Soc.NS 55 (1895), 54–5
West Twyford, St. Mary	2 unnamed altars	1251	<i>parish</i>	<i>Visitations of Churches</i> , Camden Soc. <i>Miscellany</i> .ix (1895), 4; Camden Soc. NS 55 (1895), 63–4
		1297	<i>parish</i>	

Parish	Fraternity/Gild or Altar	Date	Benefactor	Reference
Whitechapel, <i>alias</i> Matfelon, <i>St. Mary</i>	<i>Corpus Christi</i> gild	1483	John Faunte/Faunte	GL: MS 09171/3 f.345v
		1463	Thomas Roke, snr	GL: MS 09171/5 f.347
		1475	John Roke, jnr	GL: MS 09171/6 f.172
		1467	Thomas Roke	GL: MS 09171/6 f.8
	<i>Corpus Christi</i> & Our Lady gild	1516	John Burnehyll/Burnell	GL: MS 09171/9 f.2v
		1462	Thomas Lambert	GL: MS 09171/5 f.323
	St Katherine the Virgin gild	1474	John Caunton	GL: MS 09171/6 f.188v
	SS Katherine & Margaret gild	1467	Thomas Roke	GL: MS 09171/6 f.8
	Our Lady gild	1516	John Burnehyll/Burnell	GL: MS 09171/9 f.2v
	Holy Trinity & Our Lady gild	1474	John Caunton	GL: MS 09171/6 f.188v
	1478	Margaret Caunton	GL: MS 09171/6 f.296v	
Willesden, <i>St. Mary</i>	St Katherine's altar	1349	Ralph Fairsire	<i>Husting Wills</i> , i, 553
	2 unnamed altars	1537	Christiana Twyford	Dean & Chapter St Paul's
		1297	parish	<i>Visitations of Churches</i> , Camden Soc. NS 55 (1895), 59

2. Craft guilds with fraternities in a Middlesex religious house or parish

(Bakers: see under Stratford-le-Bow; Moneyers or Coiners: see under Shoreditch)

House/Parish	Craft (Fraternity)	Date	Masters	Reference
<i>St Giles</i> without Cripple-gate	Painters (Our Lady & St Luke)	pre 1388 (?1283)		TNA: C47/6/463
<i>Charterhouse</i> , House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, Clerkenwell	Cutlers (Jesus & Mary His Mother)	pre 1388	Thomas Erynelim & Thomas Kyrketon	TNA: C47/42/215
	Glovers (Our Lord, His sweet Mother & All Saints of Paradise)	c.1370	John Baker & Reynard Erchedekne	
<i>St John the Baptist</i> Haliwell, Shoreditch and <i>St Thomas of Acre</i> , London (in winter months)	Carpenters (Our Lady & St Joseph)	pre 1388 (?1354)	Nicholas Cock & John Derneford	TNA: C47/42/217
		c.1333		TNA: C47/46/465 Barron & Wright 1995, 113, 131–3

3. Fraternities within hospitals in Middlesex

Hospital	Fraternity	Date	Benefactor, Parish	Reference
<i>Holy Angels</i> Brentford, West	Our Lady & Nine Orders of Holy Angels	1446	John Somerset, Brentford	<i>CPR 1446-52</i> , 29
		1511	Hugh Denys, Westminster	WCA: PCW Wyks, f.77
<i>St Mary</i> Rounceval, Charing Cross, Westminster	St Mary, Holy Trinity & All Saints	1385	<i>parish</i>	Westlake 1919, 187
		1475	<i>parish</i>	<i>CPR 1467-77</i> , 542
		1502	Queen Elizabeth of York	Nicolas, <i>Privy Expenses</i> , 21
		1506	Roger Gerrard, Westminster	WCA: PCW Wyks, f.21v
		1533	Thomas Pytfyn, Westminster	Rosser 1989, 317
		1389	Richard North, Chelsea	GL: MS 09171/1 f.187v
		1417	John Pymberd, Hendon	GL: MS 09171/2 f.383v
		1550	Lands in Essex, grant	<i>CPR 1549-51</i> , p 242
		1551	Lands in Surrey, grant	<i>CPR 1550-543</i> , p 205

The liberty of St Katherine by the Tower (within which was the hospital) was considered to be part of the suburbs of London, and so has been included here.

<i>St Katherine by the Tower</i>	St Barbara	1518	Royal family	C. Jamison, <i>History of Royal Hospital of St Katherine by the Tower of London</i> (1952), 49-50
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4. Fraternities within religious houses in Middlesex

Religious House	(Con)Fraternity	Date	Benefactor, Parish	Reference
<i>Holy Trinity</i> , Hounslow (Trinitarian or Redemptionist Friars)	Confraternity	1465	Thomas Broke, citizen	GL: MS 09171/6 f.145v
		1479	William Chedworth, Stepney Chamber Clerk of London	TNA: C 2702/32/32
		1514	Thomas Annesley, London	TNA:PROB 11/17 f.265v
<i>St John of Jerusalem</i> , Clerkenwell (Knights Hospitaliers)	unnamed	1391	William Rule, Stepney <i>etc</i>	GL: MS 09171/1 f.232
<i>St John Baptist</i> Hallwell, Shoreditch (Augustinian Canonesses)	Holy Trinity & All Saints	1474	John Burghul, chaplain at Hallwell	GL: MS 09171/6 f.147
<i>St Mary</i> Clerkenwell (Augustinian Canonesses)	Our Lady	1396	Peter Bosenhoo <i>alias</i> Turk; Clerkenwell	GL: MS 09171/1 f.379v

NOTES

¹ *Victoria History of the County of Middlesex (VCH Middlesex)* ii, 87, 127 and 205–7. By the 15th century malting had grown in importance.

² Barron & Rousseau 2004, 39. Thomas Nycholas described himself as ‘burgess of the Burgage’ of Uxbridge town in 1523, Guildhall Library (GL), MS 09171/10 fol 17.

³ Jenkinson 1910, 234, 238; Freeman 2002, chs 1 and 6.

⁴ British Library, London (BL), Harleian MS 570 fol 16 (John Norden, *Speculum Britanniae*); *VCH Middlesex* ii, 121; A Luders *et al* (eds) *Statutes of the Realm* (11 vols, 1810–1828), III, 668 (28 Hen. VII c.12); *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificate, 1548 (Chantry Certificate)*, p xxxi. Out of the 62 Middlesex units taxed in 1377 (which incorporated all or parts of 50 parishes), 16 had a taxpaying population of under 100, and 22, under 400, with the total number of taxpayers a little over 11,000 (*The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381*, ii, 62–4).

⁵ Lobel & Johns 1989, *The Parishes c.1520*; Keene & Harding 1985, pp xvi–xix; Humphrey-Smith 1984, map 22. Both West Brentford and Stratford-le-Bow, but not Uxbridge, had obtained the right of burial from their mother-church for their own parishioners by the mid-15th century.

⁶ Barron 1985, 28. By the early 16th century there were 107 parishes within the City’s jurisdiction, with ten in the suburbs, some lying partly in Middlesex, *ibid.*, 13.

⁷ For a discussion of charitable giving in Middlesex on similar, broadly-based population grounds, see Jordan 1960, 42–6.

⁸ Westlake 1919, 184–5, 187–8, 236–7.

⁹ *Calendar of Wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258–A.D. 1688*, (*Calendar of Husting Wills*) ii, 95 (Oteway) and 113 (John FitzRauf); GL, MS 09171/1 fol 66 (Tournour).

¹⁰ St Andrew Holborn, GL, MS 04249 fol 229v.

¹¹ *Chantry Certificate*, pp ix–xi (endowments for almshouses and hospitals were exempt from confiscation): nos 14 (St Sepulchre: Our Lady and St Stephen), 18 (St Giles: Our Lady and St Giles), 20 (St Dunstan: Our Lady and St Dunstan), 75 (Holborn: St Zita), 119 (Uxbridge: Our Lady), 121 (Islington: Name of Jesus), 125 (Staines: unnamed, but Our Lady), 139 (Westminster: Assumption of Our Lady), 151 (Hackney: Holy Trinity and Our Lady), 173 (Edmonton: chantry), 184 (Littleton: chantry), and 185 (Enfield: unnamed but Our Lady). There is also mention of revenue paid to the ‘late brotherhood of Ronceval’ (no. 139).

¹² GL, MS 09171/6 fol 36v. Whitfelde *alias* Leech left ‘barbourys basonys’ in his will.

¹³ Mortmain (‘dead hand’) is a legal term that means ownership of land by a corporation, such as the Church, religious order, fraternity or chantry (as distinct from those who administered such land). This land would not go to the king on the death of the holder since the corporation would not die; and, as the land was held in perpetuity, it would never pass by inheritance. Thus no feudal incidents or taxes would be payable upon it, resulting in a potential financial loss by the crown or manorial lords. A royal licence was required to transfer the land as mortmain.

¹⁴ Barron 1985, 22.

¹⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls (CPR) 1391–6*, 170; 1441–6, 140–1; 1436–41, 448; 1441–6, 194–5; 1446–52, 186; 1452–61, 287.

¹⁶ *CPR 1446–52*, 29; 1467–77, 542; Merrit 2005, ch 1.

¹⁷ Hutton 1994, 278, 280; Kümin 1996, 267, 269; *St Martin-in-the-Fields, Accounts of The Churchwardens 1525–1603*, where the originals are now lost; Barron 1985, 18; Barron & Roscoe 1980, 31, 55–9. The accounts for St Dunstan are at the London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), GL, MS 02968/1, whilst those for the Assumption Gild and Rounceval are bound together in one unnumbered volume, and the churchwardens’ accounts are in the Westminster Abbey Muments Room, Rosser 1989, 315–19.

¹⁸ The original is GL, MS 04249, which was printed, not entirely accurately, as an appendix in Griffith 1813.

¹⁹ Sullivan 1993, 3 (I am grateful to Mr Sullivan, through the good offices of Dr Clive Burgess, for permission to refer to his dissertation); GL, MS 09171/6 fol 254v (will, William T[h]om[p]eson); Westminster City Archives (WCA), Peculiar Court of Westminster (PCW), Wyks, fol 76 (will, William Whiting); *St Martin-in-the-Fields, Accounts of The Churchwardens*, 20, 28*, 30–1, 61, 72, 74*–5, 90.

²⁰ In a strict technical sense, a will or *ultima voluntas in scriptis* was concerned with the devising of land, and a testament with the bequest of the goods and chattels of a personal estate, but the terms are used indifferently: Burgess 1990, 30.

²¹ There is an index only for Archdeaconry wills 1368–1421. A small number of Middlesex wills are to be found in the Consistory Court of London (from 1492), London Court of Husting (from 1258), Peculiar of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster (from 1504), and the Peculiar of the Dean and Chapter of St Paul’s (1535–1672). See Gibson & Churchill 2001, 36–8.

²² Barron & Wright 1995, 113, 131–3; Barron 1985, 16–17; TNA: C47/46/463; Englefield 1923, 18, 32–3; TNA: C47/42/216; Coote 1871, 6–7, 28–32; TNA: C47/42/215; Welch 1916, i, 249–54; TNA: C47/46/465; Marsh 1913–14, ii, p vii. The Yeomanry of Curriers, which included sisters, met as a little company of a light of one taper in honour of the Trinity and Our Lady, in the choir of White Friars in Fleet Street, London, Barron & Wright 1995, 124–5.

²³ GL, MSS 09171/6 fol 167, 7 fol 53v (Thomas Hyllarde's will of 1467 refers to Richard Robyns as a miller, MS 09171/6 fol 6v). The brotherhood of St Clement of the craft of the Bakers was referred to in the 1473 will of John de York, baker of High Street, Stratford, but it is more likely to refer to the London Bakers' gild, which was also dedicated to St Clement. In addition, York left a bequest to the brotherhood of Our Lady and St Giles at St Giles without Cripplegate, GL, MS 09171/6 fol 140.

²⁴ Thrupp 1933, 4–5, 57–60, 152–3 (the author mistakenly identifies Stratford as Stratford Langthorne, Essex, although her sources refer to Stratford-le-Bow).

²⁵ GL, MS 09171/5 fol 228v; Freeman 2000, 67–82; GL, MS 0917/1 fol 48; TNA: PROB 11/30 fol 263. Gernayn's further request to be entered as a brother in the fraternity of the Name of Jesus in the church of St Faith within St Paul's Cathedral, London, reflects the short-lived religious reversal under Queen Mary, PROB 11/41 fol 133; New 1999.

²⁶ TNA: C47/42/205 (the 1388 return is missing part of its right-hand portion). Among the founders in 1339 were [–] Baudri, Walter Pecok and John Alisaundre; in 1339/40 the light wardens were Walter Baudri, Simon Seman, Robert de Haringey and William (le) Rede; and in 1346/7 the gild wardens were Simon Seman, John Phippe or Fippe, and Gilbert de Chelchethe. Baudri, Seman and Chelchethe were tanners, Alisaundre, a weaver, Heringey and Phippe, curriers, and Rede, a leather merchant: *Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book E, c.1314–1337*, 118, 241; *Calendar of Plea and Memoranda Rolls, 1323–1364*, 230, 205; *Calendar ... Letter Book F, c.1337–1352*, 42, 180; *Calendar of Husting Wills*, ii, 256 (John Phippe, 1385); Keene 1994, 16, 19.

²⁷ CPR 1391–6, 170, 178; *Calendar of Husting Wills* ii, 28. The vicar and parishioners also obtained a royal pardon for maintaining, without a licence, the fraternity and lights from the lands given by John Phelip. This probably relates to the right of the London citizens to devise property held

within the City to the Church without applying for a royal mortmain licence, although the crown made such an application prudent.

²⁸ Of the parishioners named, William Thomer was a tanner, Gilbert Prince and William Larke, painters, John Hygun, a (metal) refiner, all common councillors, and Richard Serle (or Serne), a currier. Hygun was one executor of Prince's will in 1396, who left a missal, chalice and set of vestments to the 'chantries' in the church of St Giles, while his dwelling house was to go to this fraternity if his children died without issue, *Calendar ... Letter Book H, c.1375–1399*, 43–4, 130, 239, 333, 423; *Calendar of Husting Wills* ii, 319–20.

²⁹ CPR 1441–6, 140–1, 207. These were John Northey, poulterer, Hugh Riche, waxchandler, William Potvile or Petevyle and Richard Newman, brewers, William ate Welle, pewterer, and Henry Boode, goldsmith, *Calendar ... Letter Book K, temp Henry VI*, 93, 227, 397; PRO, C1/42/49 (Walter Stokker); CPR 1429–36, 536; 143–41, 342 (Thomas Wharf, of Middleton, co York).

³⁰ *Chantry Certificate*, no. 18; *London Viewers' and their Certificates 1508–1588*, 26; CPR 1547–8, 294–5. The 1461 will of Lincoln's Inn lawyer Robert Heworth of Clerkenwell illustrates one process by which a gild acquired endowments. He bequeathed the Swan brewhouse and nine cottages in Redcrouch Street to St Giles's fraternity in St Giles Cripplegate. In return, the wardens were to pray for the souls of Robert himself and for Robert Marshall, grocer, Richard Groome and Estrilde his wife, William and Adrian Groome '[t]her auncestres and all christian soules as ... conteyned in the testament of Richard Grome and William his son as the lande wille suffice'. Richard Groome was a London currier who died in 1377 leaving lands, rents and tenements in Redcrouch Street, part of which he directed were to be charged with the maintenance of a chantry priest at St Giles. Adrian was his grandson, a citizen and cheesemonger born in Flanders who died in 1445. As Heworth himself was almost certainly an immigrant from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Northumberland, it seems he had inherited these pious obligations together with his acquisitions in Redcrouch Street: GL, MS 09171/5 fol 316 (Heworth); Pailey 1896, i, 4; *Calendar of Husting Wills* ii, 198–9 (Richard Groome); GL, MS 09171/4 fol 168v (Adrian Groome); *Calendar of Close Rolls (CCR) 1435–41*, 273; BL, Harley Roll H.33; *Chantry Certificate*, no. 18 (where William Grome is listed under Grove).

³¹ TNA: C47/46/469; CPR 1391–6, 176; GL, MS 25,626/1 fol 35v (will, John Frende).

³² TNA: C47/42/207. The four masters who completed the return in 1388–9 included two bakers, William Kirkeby and Simon French, *Letter Book H, c.1375–1399*, 43, 389. Before c.1250, the church was dedicated to St Edmund, not St Sepulchre.

³³ GL, MSS 09171/5 fol 348, 6 fol 133; *Chantry Certificate*, no. 14.

³⁴ GL, MS 09171/6 fols 314v–315; *London Consistory Court Wills, 1492–1547*, no. 105 (Annes Wotton). This ceremony of inversion of the established order, where costumed choirboys took the place of their elders and which centred around a boy bishop, was held on St Nicholas's feast day, 6 December.

³⁵ GL, MS 09171/5 fol 119; *Chantry Certificate*, no. 20. There was a close relationship between the parish and the London Tailors' Company's own powerful fraternity of St John the Baptist, for three rectors of St Dunstan's were admitted as members to this craft fraternity between 1435 and 1444: Davies 1994, 16.

³⁶ GL, MS 02968/1 fol 53; Sullivan 1993, 5–13; TNA: PROB 11/27 fol 147v. The 1536 will of John Everard, PROB 11/27 fols 122–122v, leaves one bequest to the brotherhood of St Dunstan, and another to that of St Bride, apparently in this parish.

³⁷ *Chantry Certificate*, no. 20; *CPR 1548–9*, 45, 72, 229; *1549–51*, 408–10; Sullivan 1993, 11–12. Although not mentioned specifically, the parish also seems to have lost at the same time a building known as St Dunstan's Hall.

³⁸ GL, MSS 09171/3 fol 17, 6 fol 40v, 8 fol 1v.

³⁹ *Calendar of Husting Wills*, ii, 587–8; *Chantry Certificate*, no. 151; TNA: PROB 11/13 fol 134 (John Betts).

⁴⁰ GL, MSS 09171/5 fol 42v, 6 fol 263v, 5 fol 148v, 6 fol 35. The family spelt its name indifferently as Aston, Auston or Austyn. The Cornish town of Bodmin had guilds located otherwise than at the parish church, *ie* at 'Borsetreet' and 'Forestreet', Mattingley 2005, 90–1.

⁴¹ Bainbridge 1996, 45; *Calendar of Husting Wills*, ii, 221–2, 311–12; Barron 1985, 24–5, 27–8.

⁴² GL, MS 09171/3 fols 199, 203v, 312. Alice was probably Smyth's servant.

⁴³ GL, MSS 09171/4 fol 240v, 5 fol 371; TNA: PROB 11/11 fol 247; GL, MS 09171/8 fol 143; New 1999, 48; *Chantry Certificate*, no. 121.

⁴⁴ GL, MSS 09171/5 fol 296, 1 fol 379v (Peter Bosenhoo *alias* Turk of Clerkenwell), 6 fol 123 (Stephen Pentecost, 1472). St Mary is the only parish fraternity at Clerkenwell noted in Paxton 1992, 144, 148.

⁴⁵ GL, MS 09171/6 fol 340. Thomas Wymarke, brewer and common councilman, was warden in 1458, 1460 and 1463 and in his own will had bequeathed 20s to the same fraternity, *Parish Fraternity Register: Fraternity of the Holy Trinity and Saints Fabian and Sebastian, St Botolph without Aldersgate*, xxii, 101, 103, 123–4, 131, 141, 143; GL, MS 09171/6 fol 248v.

⁴⁶ *Calendar of Husting Wills*, ii, 95 (Nicholas Oteway); GL, MS 09051/1 fol 29v (Richard Bowmerssh, vicar); TNA: PROB 11/12 fol 131v (Robert Harryong/Heryonge); GL, MS 09171/10/1 fol 151 (John Baw[1]dwynd); TNA: E134/31Eliz/East18.

⁴⁷ *VCH Middlesex* xi, 73–4. St Mary in the Marsh was probably the chapel built by William of Pontefract, and is first mentioned in the will of William Potter in 1380; Stephen Guyote in 1404 left small bequests to the works, priest and clerk of the chapel of St Mary in the Marsh, and in August 1447, John Stoke left it a basin and ewer, GL, MSS 09171/1 fol 71, 2 fol 51v, 4 fol 216v. The first bequests to Our Lady gild were Walter Reyson, January 1446/7 and John Holbeme, December 1447, GL, MSS 09171/4 fols 203v, 206v; 6 fol 324v (Hillery). The image of Our Lady stood in the south aisle, GL, MS 09171/6 fols 103 (John Elond, 1471), 148 (Richard Colton, 1473).

⁴⁸ GL, MSS 09171/4 fol 262 (John Powdram of Limehouse), 7 fol 137v (Edmund Dowse), 10 fol 52v (John Gardyner), fol 180 (William Callow).

⁴⁹ GL, MS 09171/3 fols 261v (will, John Dyer), 257 (will, John Woxebrugge *alias* Wilkyn); TNA: PROB 11/11 fol 58A (Stephen Freshney).

⁵⁰ *CPR 1446–52*, 186; *VCH Middlesex* iii, 264; *CPR 1429–36*, 408.

⁵¹ *CPR 1422–9*, 146; *Calendar of Fine Rolls 1441–7*, 187 (John Palmer's other feoffees were Master Richard Andrew, the king's secretary, Master Walter Shiryngton, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, William Warrewyk of New Sarum, merchant, and William Proctour, one of the auditors of the exchequer); GL, MS 09171/5 fol 234v (will, Henry Palmer). Nothing is known of John Barforde.

⁵² *Chantry Certificate*, no. 119; GL, MS 09171/6 fol 176.

⁵³ *CPR 1452–61*, 287; Barron 1985, 30–2; GL, MS 09171/5 fol 153.

⁵⁴ Myers 1985, 256, 287, 226–7; Roskell 1958, 12–48; Stratford 1993, 407–8.

⁵⁵ *CPR 1461–7*, 206, 212 (together with William Mulso); *The Manuscripts of St George's Chapel, Windsor Castle*, see index under Bennett, Clark, Ebmede, Elkyn, (John) London and Turney.

⁵⁶ Barron 1985, 30–2; TNA: PROB 11/3 fol 249v (will, John Benet); GL, MS 09171/6 fol 4v (will, Agnes Benete, 1467); *Manuscripts of St George's Chapel*, p 342, MSS XV.21.37–8, 40–1, 43, 47; TNA: CP 25/1/151/74/527; PROB 11/5 fol 185v; GL, MS 09171/6 fol 15.

⁵⁷ GL, MSS 09171/1 fol 351v, 5 fol 135v.

⁵⁸ *The Register of Henry Chichele Archbishop of Canterbury 1414–1443*, ii, 435–6, 682; *CPR 1436–41*, 448; Rosser 1989, 377–8, 392–3, 397–8; *CCR 1413–19*, 425. The first three men were all Middlesex Parliamentary attestors, *ie* 40 shilling freeholders entitled to vote, in 1432, TNA: C219/14/3.

⁵⁹ Rosser 1989, 281–90; *Chantry Certificate*, no. 139; Westminster Abbey Muniments (WAM), Accounts of Assumption Guild, 1474–7, fols 15v, 17v; GL, MS 09171/5 fol 51v (will, Henry Justice, 1452); WAM, MS 4804; TNA: KB 9/1060, mb 73; Merritt 2005, 17.

⁶⁰ GL, MSS 09171/3 fols 370, 491; 2 fol 10 (will, Baldwin Raddington); Roskell *et al* 1992, iv, 910. Sir Baldwin's previous wife was Idonea, daughter of John Stodeye, a London vintner, and widow of Sir Nicholas Brembre, citizen and grocer, onetime mayor of London, executed 1388; *Westminster Chronicle 1381–1394*, 503, 507, 407; Rawcliffe 1994, 85–98.

⁶¹ LMA, ACC/0903 (Enfield Parochial Charities); Lysons 1792–96, ii (*County of Middlesex*), 313.

⁶² Pam 1990, i, 29; *Chantry Certificate*, no. 185 (which states that Walter bequeathed the tenement to the church); GL, MS 09171/8 fol 77; Robinson 1823, ii, 163. The will of Walter Forde has only survived as an abstract in secondary sources.

⁶³ *Chantry Certificate*, no. 185; GL, MS 09171/8 fol 86v; Robinson 1823, ii, 163, 234–5; *CCR 1468–1476*, no. 1279; TNA: C1/64/851; GL, MS 09171/8 fol 83v.

⁶⁴ Pam 1990, i, 29; GL, MS 09171/5 fol 324–4v (Agnes's husbands were Robert Blossom, John Hulfeld, William Dobney, and Charles Middleton); Lysons 1792–96, ii, 313–14. By the reign of James I, the income from Blossom's Chantry had been conveyed to trustees to maintain the new parish grammar school.

⁶⁵ TNA: PROB 11/23 fols 114v–115v; *Chantry Certificate*, no. 173; *CPR 1547–48*, 385 (grant of lands, messuages, cottages and orchards late the chantry). Among the last chantry priests were Thomas Oggesbourne and John Hargrove, GL, MS 25,630/1, p 331.

⁶⁶ GL, MSS 09171/8 fols 84v (Gilbert Crosyer), 85 (Richard Alryght), 9 fol 57v.

⁶⁷ GL, MS 09171/4 fol 259v (John Large). Lights were in honour of the Holy Rood, Trinity, and the Saviour, and to Saints John, Michael, Nicholas, Sebastian and Stephen. Five parishioners left bequests to the light of the Holy Cross in Chelsea parish church between 1393 and 1441, GL, MSS 09171/1, fols 222, 281, 236v; 2 fol 227v; 4 fol 50.

⁶⁸ *Manor of Tottenham Series VI: Court Rolls of the Manor of Tottenham 2 Henry VIII to 22 Henry VIII (1510–1531)*, v and 48; GL, MSS 09171/5 fol 119 (John Drake), 7 fols 115v (Henry Edriche), 8 (Robert Hart).

⁶⁹ TNA: E315/498, p 10. The 'stocke' would have been animals.

⁷⁰ GL, MS 09171/9 fol 149 (will of Roger Bryt or Bret, a husbandman).

⁷¹ GL, MS 03313 (Great Chronicle of London); Hatfield, Herts, CFEP Gen.66/7 (Valuation of South Mimms' manor); *John Stowe, Annales or Chronicle of England* (1615 edn), 423; Weever 1631; Hatfield CFEP Gen.105/1 (Court Roll), fols 41v and 105/2. References to the chapel are collected in Warren 2002, 1–8.

⁷² Cass 1877, 49; LMA: DRO/5/A1/1; TNA: PROB 11/11 fol 58A (Stephen Freshney). Three windows of St Neot, Cornwall, were given by the wives, young men, and maidens of the parish in 1523, 1528 and 1529. In 1486 the wives of Walberswick, Suffolk, gave a window, Rushworth 1927–9, 182–4; Peters 2003, 27–36 also provides instances of women acting as lightwardens.

⁷³ GL, MSS 09171/10 fol 306v, 9 fol 101 (Richard Normanton). Previously dedicated to All Hallows/Saints, Chelsea church is now dedicated to St Luke. Joan Andrew of Ealing in 1490 left 20 pence to the light of the reliquary on the altar, GL, MS 09171/8 fol 22.

⁷⁴ *St Martin-in-the-Fields* 70; WAM: Church Wardens' Accounts, St Margarets, E1, fol 370; E2, entries for the years 1512, 1513 and 1514, *passim*; French 1998, 406.

⁷⁵ Sutton & Visser-Fuchs 1996, 244–5; *CPR 1446–52*, 29; *VCH Middlesex* i, 204–5; iii, 109; Honeybourne 1967, 56–60; GL, MSS 16,988/1 fol 33, 16,981/1, 16,988/1 fol 46 (I owe these references to the Ironmongers' Company, Wardens' Accounts, to Mrs L J Rhys); TNA: C67/41 mb 22; WCA: PCW Register Wyks, fol 77; *CPR 1547–8*, 172–3; Lysons 1792–96, iii, 24–5.

⁷⁶ TNA: C47/42/212; Westlake 1919, 187, 92–103; Rosser 1989, 310–21; *CPR 1467–77*, 542; Merritt 2005, 24–5, 29–31. Ronceval, whose famous Augustinian mother-house was at Roncesvalles, Spain, serving pilgrims to Compostela, was suppressed by the crown as an alien priory in 1415.

⁷⁷ GL, MSS 09171/1 fol 187v, 2 fol 383v; Rosser 1989, 313–18, lists further bequests to Rounceval from those of Westminster and London; WCA: PCW Wyks, fol 99.

⁷⁸ *VCH Middlesex* i, 191. See the 1479 deed for membership of the Confraternity of the Trinitarian priory by William Chedworth, Chamber Clerk/Controller of London, and Johanna his wife, TNA: C270/32/32; Barron 2004, 363; GL, MS 09171/6 fol 145v (will, Thomas Broke).

⁷⁹ GL, MSS 09171/4 fol 137v (William Brokherst, Islington, 1444), 5 fols 346, 346v (John Roger, Harrow, 1463) for St Bartholomew. Thomas Goore, vicar of Islington, left 30 lb of wax to the confraternity of St Thomas of Acre in London, GL, MS 09171/8 fol 183v. Bequests were made by Thomas Roke, butcher of Whitechapel, to St Luke the Evangelist of the Butchers' Company, and John Pekker, of Hackney, and John Aleyn (who had retired to Chelsea), both vintners, to St Martin of Tours of the Vintners' Company, GL, MSS 09171/6 fol 8, 5 fol 283; TNA: PROB 11/1 fol 98v.

⁸⁰ LMA: DL/C/207 fols 198–9, 219, 253v–5. For a discussion of such 'stranger' fraternities, see Colson 2010, 111–43.

⁸¹ Barron 2009, 142–4.

⁸² Groom 2001, 123, 168–70 (listing only gild, not altar dedications). Because of the lack of surviving wills for Surrey, just 53 gilds were identified, with most known only from the mid-15th century; 32% were established in one of the parishes within Southwark.

⁸³ Elsewhere in England, both the Holy Trinity and *Corpus Christi* were also popular gild dedications. The Trinity was the second most common gild dedication in Yorkshire, whereas in Cambridgeshire, it was *Corpus Christi* followed by the Holy Trinity, and in Cornwall, St George the Martyr and then the Trinity: Farnhill 2001, 39–40.

⁸⁴ *Sarum Missal in English* ii, 74; GL, MS 09171/8 fol 153v (will, Thomas Sawyer). The sixth *Corpus Christi* gild was found at the rural parish of Harmondsworth, GL, MS 09171/1 fol 255v (Simon [Hert], 1392, vicar, presented in 1381, *CPR 1381–5*, 20); there was a *Corpus Christi* light at Fulham in 1466, GL, MS 09171/5 fol 383 (Katherine Adam).

⁸⁵ Easter Sepulchres (where the sacrament was reserved between the eve of Good Friday and Easter Day) were mentioned at East Bedfont, Brentford West, Harefield and St Sepulchre (GL: MSS 09171/3 fol 302v (William Trewe); 10 fol 171 (Johanna Redmayne); 4 fol 172v (Richard

Clerk); TNA, PROB 11/8 fol 87v (Margery Bensted)).

⁸⁶ Barron 1985, 32; Groom 2001, 133–6, 168–70.

⁸⁷ GL, MS 09171/6 fol 167 (will, Richard Robyns); WCA: PCW Wykes, fol 50v (will, Nicholas Streete); LMA: DL/C/207 fols 198–9; TNA: PROB 11/4 fol 116 (will, Agnes Guybon). St Leonard of Noblac was a 6th-century Frankish hermit, virtually unknown until the 11th century, his cult possibly due to a returning crusader; St Clement of Rome, allegedly an early pope, martyred in AD 100–1 by being thrown into the sea tied to an anchor; St Barbara, a legendary 3rd-century virgin martyr venerated since the 7th century, patron of those associated with fire and lightning; St Cornelius, a 3rd-century pope, patron saint of sufferers of earache and epilepsy; St Lawrence, a 3rd-century deacon of Rome, martyred on a gridiron, patron saint of tanners; St Augustine of Hippo, theologian, died AD 430; St Dunstan, abbot, bishop, and archbishop of Canterbury, died AD 988, said to have pulled the devil by the nose with red-hot tongs (and the most popular saint in England until St Thomas à Becket), patron of goldsmiths: Walsh 2001. The most influential of medieval martyrologies was *Legenda Aurea*, or Golden Legend, by Jacobus de Voraigne (c.1230–98), translated into French in the 14th century and into English in 1483.

⁸⁸ GL, MS 09171/9 fol 149 (Roger Bret/Bryt). St Blaise, Bishop of Sebaste, Armenia, was martyred c.AD 316 by tearing with iron woolcombs; feast day 3 February.

⁸⁹ GL, MS 09171/8 fol 69 (Richard Reynolde); *A Survey of London by John Stow, Reprinted from the text of 1603* (ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 1908), ii, 92, and see Barron 2009, 133, where she notes that by 1326 a chapel dedicated to the Holy Innocents had merged with the church of St Mary-le-Strand. The 4th-century legend of St Ursula relates that she was a British princess who, accompanied by 11,000 virgins, went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and on her return was massacred with her companions at Cologne; feast day 22 October. The '11,000' is almost certainly a misreading of the number from an original text.

⁹⁰ Barron 2007, 194–5; Sutcliffe 1993, 83–9; GL, MSS 09171/4 fol 156 (John Bynding, 1444, Uxbridge); 09171/6 fol 184 (1473, John Edlyn, Ruislip); TNA: PROB 11/4 fol 43 (William Rasour, 1491, Chiswick). Other unusual dedications of lights in Middlesex were St Louis of France at Enfield and St Thomas of Lancaster at Hillingdon

(GL, MSS 09171/5 fol 298 (John Ford, 1460), 8 fol 143 (John Rabbe, 1497), 10 fol 21v (Henry Holgill, 1523)), St Victor at Harmondsworth, and St Mary Magdalene and St Theobald at Littleton (GL, MSS 09171/9 fol 186 (Edmund Hodgson, 1521) and 10 fol 83 (Richard Londlay, 1526)).

⁹¹ Other Middlesex churches dedicated to Our Lady were Bromley St Leonard, Finchley, Greenford Magna, Hampstead, Hampton on Thames, Hanwell, Harefield, Haringey, Harmondsworth, Harrow on the Hill, Hayes, Hendon, Islington, Kensington, Monken Hadley, Northolt, St Mary-lebone, Stanmore Magna, Stoke Newington, Stratford le Bow, Sunbury, Teddington, Twickenham, West Twyford and Willesden; to St Dunstan: Cranford, Feltham and Stepney; to St Giles: Ickenham, South Mimms and St Giles in the Fields; to St Lawrence: Cowley; to St Leonard: Heston; and to St Margaret: Edgware and Westminster.

⁹² Farnhill 2001, 37–9; TNA: PROB 11/13 fol 134 (John Betts).

⁹³ Before 1352, Our Lady, *Corpus Christi*, St John the Baptist and St Giles were recorded as gild patrons, all of whom were still popular after 1500. By 1400 gilds in honour of the Holy Cross, Saints Katherine, Lawrence, Leonard, Stephen and Zita can be found. Other dedications appearing during the 15th century were to the Holy Trinity, and Saints James, Christopher, Clement, Dunstan and Margaret, with Anne, George, Patrick and Peter appearing in the early 16th century.

⁹⁴ *Chantry Certificate*, no. 119; Rosser 1989, 320–1; WCA: PCW Wyks, fol 71; *Chantry Certificates*, nos 14, 18, and xxviii; Barron & Davies 2007, 234. The Brief Chantry Certificate (TNA, E301/88) lists 11 poor at St Giles but under the heading of the *Corpus Christi* brotherhood.

⁹⁵ Barron 1985, 27; GL, MS 09171/5 fol 135v; TNA: PROB 11/6 fol 15. Of the eight torches that Richard Cloudesley *alias* Yon of Islington bequeathed to the high altar of his parish church in 1517, four, after his month's mind, were to remain to the brotherhood of Jesus in the same church. Further, he directed that four poor men of the parish were each to be given gowns 'as shall honestly wear them while they last, and not to sell them or put them to pledge': two of which were to have the name of 'Jesu' on them, and two to have 'Maria' on them. But it is unclear if, and how, the gift of these gowns involved the Jesus brotherhood, GL, MS 09171/9 fol 75. The influence in the parish of this cult appears in the

1472 bequest by Stephen Pentecost, when he left a shilling each to three paupers 'in honour of Jesu Christ and his blessed apostles', GL, MS 09171/6 fol 123.

⁹⁶ Rosser 1988, 43; TNA: PROB11/9 fol 42; *CPR 1548–9*, 419; *Chantry Certificate*, no. 125 (where the close was said to be worth 6s 8d). Ebmede's bequest is an instance of how the words fraternity and chantry were used interchangeably.

⁹⁷ GL, MS 09171/6 fol 133.

⁹⁸ TNA: PROB11/9 fol 42.

⁹⁹ Rosser 1989, 291 where there is a detailed description of the celebrations; Merritt 2005, 14–17; Rosser 1994, 430–6; GL, MS 09171/6 fols 246v, 225v, 277. As both Acton wills were witnessed and probably written by *dominus* Thomas Grafton, the parish priest, these bequests may have been influenced by him. A kinderkin of ale was 16 gallons, equivalent to half a barrel.

¹⁰⁰ GL, MS 09064/8 fol 38 (*iconomi* for *oekonomi*).

¹⁰¹ GL, MS 09064/8 fol 24.

¹⁰² GL, MS 09171/7 fol 15v (indexed as Elderton); TNA: PROB 11/8 fol 54v. The bequest of John Kyrkton of Edmonton, gentleman, has already been mentioned.

¹⁰³ TNA: PROB 11/14 fol 141; *Victoria County History of Hertfordshire* ii (2), 332, 334; *CPR 1548–9*, 59, 78; Marcham 1950. In 1502 Roger Wright, maltman of Monken Hadley, also made a bequest to this Trinity gild, TNA: PROB 11/14 fol 92.

¹⁰⁴ TNA: PROB 11/25 fol 273; Richmond 1991, 135–57.

¹⁰⁵ St Katherine of Alexandria is claimed as a noted 4th-century scholar and martyr, but her legend dates from the 10th century; St Margaret of Antioch was a legendary martyr with a devotion in the West since the 12th century, feast 20 July. The suffering and virginity of these early Roman female martyrs were seen as giving them special power to intercede on behalf of sinners; they were especially protective of women in childbed, and in guarding against sudden death, Duffy 1992, 171–6.

¹⁰⁶ TNA: C47/42/201; *Calendar of Husting Wills*, i, 540–1; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous 1399–1422*, 107–8; Barron 1985, 35.

¹⁰⁷ Barron 1985, 35; *Privy purse expenses of Elizabeth of York*, 86; *Letters & Papers of Henry VIII*, 13(2), no. 1280, fol 1; GL, MSS 9171/9 fol 96v (William Pusey), 8 fol 125 (Thomas Berell); *Chantry Certificate*, no. 152; *CPR 1549–51*, 15. The devotion to the Five Wounds had grown during the 14th century, Rosser 1988, 43.

¹⁰⁸ GL, MS 09171/3 fol 404 (it was unusual for fraternity brothers to be called ‘*confratres*’, and it generally meant a group associated in some way to a larger body); Barron 1985, 27–8; *Survey of London*, VIII, *Parish of St Leonard Shoreditch*, 94; TNA: E134/31Eliz/East18.

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