

**PIETY, FRATERNITY AND POWER:
RELIGIOUS GILDS IN LATE MEDIEVAL YORKSHIRE
1389-1547**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of religious guilds, within the historic boundaries of Yorkshire, from the late fourteenth century to their dissolution. Following a brief survey of sources, it uses the gild returns of 1389 to build a picture of the distribution and functions of religious guilds at that date. The next two chapters describe the ways in which guilds developed over the following 150 years, making wide use of testamentary evidence. It is argued that, as public manifestations of that strand of late medieval lay piety that was both orthodox and official, they became allies of the Lancastrian regime and its successors in their religious conservatism. Enjoying official approval, they became increasingly wealthy and influential in their local communities as their size and numbers increased. Ambitious individuals used fraternal contacts to seek or maintain political authority, as guilds themselves became ever more closely controlled by local government in both a rural and an urban context. The following chapter, which focuses on York, by far the largest and best documented urban centre in the county, pursues this theme further and examines the growing relationship between guilds and craft organisations. The two case studies that follow analyse, at a much more detailed level, the general arguments proposed in the preceding chapters, through the study of original documentation relating to the Corpus Christi Guild of York and the St. Mary Guild in Holy Trinity in Hull. Prior to a general conclusion, the thesis examines the processes leading up to the guilds' dissolution at the hands of a Tudor government that was no longer in tune with their religious conservatism. Sources used in analysing this process include the certificates of the king's commissioners of 1546 and 1548. A Gazetteer of all the guilds found during the course of research is added as an appendix.

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INTRODUCTION

An HABERDASSHERE and a CARPENTER,
A WEBBE, a DYERE, and a TAPYCER, -
And they were clothed alle in o lyveree
Of a solempne and a greet fraternitee.
Full fresshe and newe hir geere apiked was;
Hir knyves were chaped noght with bras
But al with silver; wrought ful clene and weel
Hire girdles and her pouches everydeel.
Wel semed ech of hem a fair burgeys
To sitten in a yeldhalle on a deys.
Everich, for the wisdom that he kan,
Was shaply for to been an alderman.
For catel hadde they ynogh and rente,
And eek hir wyves wolde it wel assente;
And elles certeyne were they to blame.
It is ful fair to been ycleped "madame",
And goon to vigilies al before,
And have a mantel roialliche ybore.¹

Chaucer's craftsmen, en route to Canterbury, give us a rarely-drawn picture of gild members through contemporary eyes. Their pride in their fraternity is displayed for the world to see, in its livery, which they all wear. Their equipment, newly trimmed in silver, displays their wealth and status. These are substantial citizens with ample means, whose political ambitions are reinforced by the social aspirations of their wives. Although they are on a major pilgrimage and are members of a religious gild, Chaucer's description does not hint at the piety which should have been basic to both activities. This should not surprise us. "The Canterbury Tales" is a satirical work, in which many characters, with greater devotional responsibilities, are much more roughly treated. Compared with the venal Friar, or the mountebank Pardoner, the gildsmen and their wives are figures of mild fun, in their pride, ambition and display of wealth, but their faults are relatively harmless.

¹Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales: General Prologue*, ll.361-78.

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This view, contemporary with the gild returns of 1389, is, even allowing for Chaucer's intention to entertain rather than record, an interesting one. Whilst the activities of the five gildsmen do not impose a moral threat to society, they are, nevertheless, by implication, using pious institutions for worldly ends. Their fraternity is seen as a route by which these wealthy craftsmen can realise their political ambitions, within the urban society in which they live. It is a means by which they can achieve power within their local community.

The developing relationship of religious gilds with secular power, of different kinds and at many levels, in the society of Late Medieval Yorkshire, will be a major theme of this thesis. This was a complex and changing phenomenon. Each gild was a unique institution, with its own particular structures and functions, many of which altered throughout the period. They varied in scale from village-based, rural, parish gilds to immensely influential civic fraternities in large centres of population. How far they were subject to the control of local authority, whether of local lords, aristocrats, gentry, ecclesiastics wielding secular power, mayors and corporations, or representatives of the king, and the extent to which membership provided a conduit for influence and promotion with these power bases, will be addressed. This can be done most fully in the case of urban gilds, where the evidence is more plentiful.

Beyond local politics, I hope to show that gilds were also subject to national trends, to the actions of government and to the vicissitudes of dynastic power struggles. At the outset of the period under consideration, they were under parliamentary threat of suppression. Subsequently, it will be demonstrated that they followed the doctrinally orthodox religious policies of the Lancastrian kings. Time and again, however, gild popularity will be shown to have wavered, in Yorkshire, in the face of the political and military crises of internecine conflicts, such

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as that between York and Lancaster, and to have been re-established in times of stability. Examination of the long-drawn-out process of their final dissolution will involve a discussion of how far their suppression was the result of an inherent inability to adjust to the radical doctrines of the Reformation, imposed by a government that was now out of tune with orthodox beliefs and practices. They will emerge as profoundly conservative institutions, whose political role, within the local area, was to manipulate the current regime rather than to promote innovation. These attitudes were demonstrated and furthered by increasingly elaborate ceremonial, driven by traditional forms of piety.

Not all power, however, is political. Guilds were also economic entities. Their expenditure on feasting and on ceremonial objects, for example, might have contributed to local economies and their methods of generating income, through trade, agriculture or rents, imply that many fraternities wielded considerable economic influence. This topic will lead to an examination of the complicated relationships between religious fraternities and craft or merchant organisations. Questions such as to what extent all guilds were religious, how far craft associations were guilds at all and to what degree rural guilds were agricultural combines will be considered. Most guilds that were substantial enough to have left records were landlords and property-owners, some of them on a very large scale. In a number of cases, the only proof of their existence lies in post-Reformation land transactions.² Their ownership of land and property will be examined. Basic to these questions is their geographical distribution and the extent to which they were found in economically successful communities.

²*E.g.* St. Michael Guild, Bempton, St. Margaret Guild, Flamborough, Holy Cross Guild, Sedburgh. See Gazetteer.

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Gilds were also local employers. Large gilds had professional beadles and offered fees for casual tasks of a ceremonial, secretarial or menial character.³ Perhaps the most important employees, however, were priests. It will be argued that Services, commonly found in the West Riding, were types of gild whose principal function was to maintain a priest. The employment of gild chaplains raises the question of the relationship between gilds and ecclesiastical power. A body of laymen employing a priest within the structure of a parish, or of a religious house, implies a conflict of allegiance on the part of the priest himself. As a cleric he was subject to the authority of his bishop but, as the employee of a body that might be closely associated with lay powers, he might also have a special relationship with local government. Although the gild priest's position was technically similar to that of the private chaplain of a magnate, it posed a potential threat to the organisation of the parishes within which most religious gilds operated. How far this threat was realised will be considered, especially in the case of York, where relevant evidence survives.

The need of fraternities to employ priests underlines their basis in traditional medieval piety. The fundamental devotional purpose of a gild was the celebration of the cult of its dedication. It will be seen that this was fulfilled in a public and corporate way through its fraternal activities, such as feasting, ceremonial, the maintenance of images and lights, and, above all, through common acts of worship, for which a priest, whether fully employed by the gild or paid a fee for the occasion, was essential. The charitable actions that it performed on behalf of its members and, particularly, its conducting of funerals and obits will be shown to have arisen from an acceptance of the orthodox doctrines of

³*E.g.* Corpus Christi, York, see Chapter 5, pp.304-05.

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purgatory and justification by works. The whole ethos of the religious gild, as an institution, can be seen as largely supportive of those aspects of the "official" church which were most vulnerable to the attacks of its critics, including the use of indulgences, the purchase of masses for the dead, the worship of saints and the promotion of elaborate and costly ceremonial.

Much of the research relating to religious gilds has concentrated upon their devotional role. However, doctrine and politics in the Late Middle Ages are so intertwined that it is difficult, and probably profitless, to attempt to disentangle them. The veneration of images and the doctrine of purgatory, for example, were political as well as doctrinal issues in both the late fourteenth and the mid-sixteenth centuries. Furthermore, whilst the economic activities of gilds were intended to finance their pious objectives, the wealth of the most successful fraternities permitted increasingly lavish displays, which were often used for worldly as well as devotional ends. It seems likely that, in his account of the social and political aspirations of five affluent gildsmen, Chaucer conveyed a basically accurate picture.

Historiography

The place of the religious gild, or fraternity, in Late Medieval society, has, until very recently, been either ignored or underestimated by most twentieth century historians. The reason for this lies in the nature of the evidence. It seems certain that the vast majority of gild records were deliberately and covertly destroyed, during the lengthy and confused period of their dissolution, by the gilds themselves. Those documents that survived did so because of luck, or particularly effective concealment, or because the gild itself changed its nature at that time.

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Toulmin Smith's collection of those 1389 gild returns that were written in English, together with abstracts and translations of other documents, published posthumously in 1870 and edited by his daughter, was one of the first books to draw attention to the importance of religious or "social" fraternities, although Lujo Brentano's introductory essay tells us more about nineteenth century perceptions of social development than about medieval gilds.⁴ In this century, H.F. Westlake's *The Parish Gilds of Mediæval England* remains the standard critical work.⁵ No major volume has been published, since 1919, that is solely devoted to the study of religious gilds as a general topic.

Much of the work that has subsequently appeared, in learned articles and in books, where gild history is a relevant but not a principal concern, relies heavily on two areas of research. Some historians, like Westlake himself, have made extensive use of the 1389 gild returns.⁶ This quarry of detailed information on gilds gives an apparently comprehensive account of late fourteenth century fraternities. However, the returns are extant for a limited area of the country, principally East Anglia, Lincolnshire and London, giving only a partial picture of gild geography. Furthermore, the circumstances of the survey, and the questions that it asked, coloured some of the responses. Both the nature of the evidence and the interests of Westlake, their principal summariser, place some emphasis on the devotional purposes of gilds. Whilst this was undoubtedly an important

⁴Ed. T. Smith, *English Gilds* Early English Texts Original Series 40, (Oxford 1870, reprinted 1963).

⁵H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediæval England* (SPCK, 1919). His book will be considered in some detail in Chapter 1.

⁶PRO C47/46.

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aspect of their function, secular factors have often been underestimated.

Other commentators have approached guilds through the perspective of the Reformation. Whilst the contribution of fraternities to late medieval lay piety, in the sixteenth century, was largely ignored until the late 1970s, historians such as Scarisbrick, Bossy, Haigh and Duffy have since recognised their importance and have given them a place in pre-reformation society.⁷ However, the reformation context, within which these historians have written, dictates that guilds be seen largely as pious institutions. They concentrate on funerary practices, on the holding of obits and on the maintenance of shrines and images, using them to illustrate a widespread lay acceptance of the doctrine of purgatory and the penitential cycle. Duffy's book, in particular, provides valuable insights into the place of the guild within the parish and into the processes that led to their dissolution. However, the focus of these studies generally is on guilds as the victims of changing government attitudes, at the time of their suppression, rather than as the allies of authority during their heyday.

Miri Rubin's recent book also treats guilds from a particular viewpoint that is mainly devotional.⁸ She examines Corpus Christi fraternities as part of her study of the liturgy and development of the cult. Its proliferation was part of a series of trends in eucharistic doctrine which led to the foundation of new guilds and the development of processional

⁷J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford, 1984), J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West* (Oxford, 1985), E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (Yale, 1992), C. Haigh, *English Reformations* (Oxford, 1993).

⁸M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge UP, 1991); "Corpus Christi Fraternities and Late Medieval Piety", *Voluntary Religion*, eds. W.J. Shields and D. Wood (Studies in Church History No. 23, Oxford, 1986) pp.97-109.

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ceremonial throughout Late Medieval Europe. Her analysis of iconography and her descriptions of ritual are of great assistance in interpreting Yorkshire evidence, especially the documentation of the York Corpus Christi Gild. Her purposes, here, do not include the wider social, economic and political dimensions of guilds. However, her recent articles, analysing the political role of elite guilds and of Corpus Christi processions and calling into question the distinction commonly made between urban and rural guilds, are important contributions to current thought in these areas.⁹

Rubin's book also contributes to the large body of literature on the history of drama and civic ceremonial, in which guilds figure. In England, however, much of the surviving evidence in this sphere relates to Corpus Christi plays and the other dramatic activities of mercantile and craft organisations rather than those of religious fraternities. This is particularly true of the Northern English cycle plays whose surviving texts have generated a vast quantity of research, both historical and literary, overshadowing the activities of the religious guilds. This uneven survival of sources is directly related to the exemption of occupational associations from dissolution, in the mid-sixteenth century, and the survival of performances of the cycles into the Elizabethan era. Detailed discussion of the York, Beverley and Wakefield cycles is outside the remit of this thesis, although passing reference may be made to them.

In contrast to those historians that approach guilds through a study of their devotional functions are those who are interested principally in

⁹M. Rubin, "Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages", *Enterprise and Individuals in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. J. Kermode, (Alan Sutton, Stroud, 1991) pp.132-148. "Religious Culture in Town and Country: Reflections on a Great Divide", *Church and City 1000-1500 Essays in honour of Christopher Brooke*, eds. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992), pp.3-22.

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their social and political roles. A major pioneer in this field is Charles Phythian-Adams, whose work on Coventry is an important contribution to our understanding of religious guilds in an urban context.¹⁰ His account of their contribution to the ceremonial year has provoked an ongoing debate concerning the social and political functions of processions and rituals in this period and, especially, how far civic display, involving guilds, was an agent of harmony within a community and to what extent it was a vehicle for strife and sedition.¹¹ Equally influential is his analysis of the close relationship of the Corpus Christi and Holy Trinity Guilds with the town authorities, showing that the latter was, in effect, a manifestation of the local government itself.

This important theme, too, has since been pursued by others. Gervase Rosser's study of Medieval Westminster, for example, shows that the Guild of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary also acted as a "surrogate town council".¹² Emphasising the social, economic and political aspects of guilds within the parish, he demonstrates that they wielded a powerful influence in local affairs. In other articles, less locally focused, Rosser examines further the relationship between guild and parish, arguing that guild influence frequently crossed parish boundaries, implying that the

¹⁰C. Phythian-Adams, "Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry 1450-1550", *Crisis and Order in English Towns*, eds. P. Clark and P. Slack (London, 1972), pp.57-85. *Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1979).

¹¹E.g. M. James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town", *Past and Present* (1983) pp.3-29. B.R. McRee, "Unity or Division? The Social Meaning of Guild Ceremony in Urban Communities", *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. B.A. Hanawalt and K.L. Reyerson, (Minnesota, 1994), pp.189-207.

¹²G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200-1540* (Oxford, 1989), pp.281-93.

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two institutions could be in opposition to each other.¹³ In a more recent article he has continued to pursue the social importance of guilds through a detailed examination of feasting, demonstrating that guild feasts had both social and eucharistic significance.¹⁴

As is clear from some of the above examples, much of the secondary literature relating to religious guilds is a mosaic of local studies. The work of antiquarians has been vastly supplemented by learned articles, pamphlets, introductions to printed editions of documents and sections of local and regional histories. Here each historian is examining aspects of medieval life within a particular community. Fraternities are seen as a part of a local picture which is often, in turn, related to the larger canvas of the country as a whole. Such work is vital to our understanding of the nature of guilds and their importance in wider context. This thesis is intended to contribute to this literature through a study of the guilds of the largest English county.

Historians of other regions, or who have worked on localities within Yorkshire, including those who address themes that are tangential to guild history, have, through their writing, provided ideas and material that have been of great value to this thesis. Whilst it would be impossible to catalogue all of them in this Introduction, it is appropriate to mention just a few of those whose ideas and information have proved particularly useful.

¹³G. Rosser, "Communities of Parish and Guild in the Late Middle Ages", *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750*, ed. S.J. Wright (Hutchinson, 1988), pp.29-55. "Parochial Conformity and Voluntary Religion in Late-Medieval England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series I (London, 1991), 173-89.

¹⁴G. Rosser, "Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England", *Journal of British Studies* 33: 4 (October 1994), pp.430-46.

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Peter Heath's article on Hull, for example, provided a useful starting point for an examination of Yorkshire gilds through testamentary evidence, reinforced by Clive Burgess's use of wills in his studies of Bristol parishes.¹⁵ Burgess's work on chantries and anniversaries has also formed vital context for Barrie Dobson's articles on chantries in York and to interpretations of the Yorkshire chantry certificates by Kitching and Rosenthal, all of which were of great value in assessing the relationship of gilds to chantries in the county.¹⁶ Vital to my chapter on York has been Heather Swanson's studies of medieval artisans and their relationship with the city government, and Jeremy Goldberg's work, especially his recent book which, although written from the perspective of women's history, was essential to my understanding of the world of work in general in Late Medieval York and Yorkshire.¹⁷ These were of

¹⁵P. Heath, "Urban Piety in the later Middle Ages: the Evidence of Hull Wills", *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. B. Dobson (Alan Sutton, 1984). C. Burgess, "'By Quick and by Dead': wills and pious provision in medieval Bristol", *EHR* 102 (1987) pp.56-84; "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered", *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, ed. M. Hicks (Gloucester, 1990), pp.14-33.

¹⁶C. Burgess, "'For the Increase of Divine Service': Chantries in the Parish in Late Medieval Bristol" *JEH* 36:1 (January, 1985), pp.46-65; "A Service for the Dead: The Form and Function of the Anniversary in Late Medieval Bristol", *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 105 (1987), pp.183-211; "'A fond thing vainly invented': an essay on Purgatory and pious motive in later medieval England", *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750*, ed. S.J. Wright (London, 1988), pp.56-84; C. Burgess and B. Kūmin, "Penitential Bequests and Parish Regimes in Late Medieval England", *JEH* 44:4 (October, 1993), pp.610-630. R.B. Dobson, "The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries by the Citizens of Medieval York", *The Province of York, Studies in Church History* 4 (Leiden, 1967), pp.22-38; "Citizens and Chantries in Late Medieval York", *Church and City 1000-1500: Essays in honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin, M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992) p.3-22. C.J. Kitching, "The Chantries of the East Riding of Yorkshire at the Dissolution in 1548", *YAJ* 44 (Wakefield, 1972) pp. 178-194. J.T. Rosenthal, "The Yorkshire Chantry Certificates of 1546: An Analysis", *Northern History* 9 (1974), pp.26-47.

¹⁷H. Swanson, "The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns", *Past and Present* 121 (Nov. 1988) pp.29-48; *Medieval Artisans* (Oxford, 1989). P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c.1300-1520* (Oxford, 1992).

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great assistance, especially in stimulating my analysis of the overlapping functions of guilds and craft associations. Important background to the dissolution of the guilds in Yorkshire included work by Claire Cross and David Palliser.¹⁸ Useful comparative material from other areas included Caroline Barron's article on London Guilds, Dorothy Owen's work on medieval Lincolnshire and King's Lynn and N.P. Tanner's study of Norwich.¹⁹ Recent work specifically devoted to religious guilds in Yorkshire is, however, with the exception of Eileen White's pamphlet, extremely sparse, and any thesis that deals with them must inevitably rely principally on primary sources.²⁰

Sources

The primary sources used in this thesis fall into three main categories: national records, local gild and civic documents and testamentary evidence. Parish records are not included in these classifications because there are almost none surviving in Yorkshire for this period.

¹⁸C. Cross, "The Economic Problems of the See of York: Decline and Recovery in the Sixteenth Century" in *Land Church and People*, ed. J. Thirsk (British Agricultural History Society 18 Supplement, Reading, 1970) pp.64-83; "Parochial Structure and the Dissemination of Protestantism in Sixteenth Century England: A Tale of Two Cities", *The Church in Town and Countryside, Studies in Church History 16*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1979), pp.269-78. D.M. Palliser, *The Reformation in York 1534-1553*, (Borthwick Paper 40, 1971); D.M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (OUP, 1979).

¹⁹C.M. Barron, "The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London", *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society*, ed. C.M. Barron and C. Harper-Bill (Boydell Press, 1985), pp.13-37. D.M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire : History of Lincolnshire V* (Lincoln, 1981, reprinted 1990); *The Making of King's Lynn: a Documentary Survey*, Records of Social and Economic History New Series IX (London, The British Academy, 1984). N.P. Tanner, "The Reformation and Regionalism: Further Reflections on the Church in Late Medieval Norwich", in *Towns and People in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.A.F. Thomson (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1988) pp.129-147.

²⁰E. White, *The St. Christopher and St. George Guild of York* (Borthwick Paper No. 72, 1987).

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Most of the sources that are briefly described here are analysed in more detail at relevant points in the thesis.

National records concerning gilds are, on the face of it, unsatisfactory for this county. Only thirteen returns are extant from the survey of 1389 and only a handful of institutions were described as gilds in the commissioners' certificates of 1546 and 1548.²¹ However, the surviving county writs for the 1389 returns provide useful information and the extant returns are, individually, often very informative.²² Furthermore, a close examination of the commissioners' certificates reveals that more gilds survived to the eve of the Reformation, than appears to be the case from first impressions.²³

Gild documents survive only in the larger centres of population. The best recorded fraternity is probably the Corpus Christi Gild of York, whose extant documentation includes a complete membership book and a broken series of account rolls.²⁴ There is also a body of information concerning the Holy Trinity Gild in Fossgate, York, which was related to the mystery of mercers in the city.²⁵ Civic records contain many passing references to York gilds as well as the ordinances of a large number of crafts. Beverley records, too, contain gild references, and the ordinances of a few gilds and many craft organisations are written

²¹PRO C47/46/444-455.

²²PRO C47/46/482 28, 30.

²³PRO 301 65-69

²⁴BL Lansdowne MS. 304, YCA G C99:1-8, C100:1-6, C101:1-4, C102:1-3, C103:1-2.

²⁵D.M. Smith (ed.), *A Guide to the Archives of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of York*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 16 (York, 1990), lists the gild records which are housed in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall York.

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into its "Great Gild Book".²⁶ In Hull, besides the town records, there are extant accounts of the gilds of Holy Trinity and of St. Mary, both in the parish of Holy Trinity, the latter comprising an uninterrupted sequence covering the period 1463-1536, and a small rental book of the Corpus Christi Gild.²⁷ The choice of Corpus Christi, York, and St. Mary in Holy Trinity, Hull, as gilds on which to base special case studies, was made taking into consideration the availability and quality of the sources and the absence of recent research.

Clearly, national and local gild records were unable to offer a general picture of gilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire. Some indication of their spread throughout the country and of changes over the 150 years of the period can, however, be gleaned from the wills of those individuals who made bequests to them and were, therefore, almost certainly members. This survey of wills was a large undertaking. I am grateful for permission to use an index, compiled by Eileen White, of bequests made in York to York gilds.²⁸ Whilst it may not be wholly complete, omitting, as it does, some suburban bequests, it enabled me to find and read the majority of wills relating to gilds within the city. The huge quantity of wills made, over the period, in the rest of the county could only be sampled in the time available to me. The sources of the sample were limited to wills recorded in the probate registers of the Diocesan Exchequer Court, the Dean and Chapter's Court and the Archbishops'

²⁶Ed. A.F. Leach, *Beverley Town Documents*, Selden Society Vol. 14 (1900). HCRO BC II3.

²⁷D. Woodward, "The Accounts of the Building of Trinity House, Hull, 1465-1476", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 62 (Leeds, 1990), 153-70, A.J. Mill, "The Hull Noah Play", *Modern Language Review* 33:4 (October 1938), pp.489-505 (including edited accounts), KHRO BRA87, BRA88.

²⁸The MS index is lodged in the BIHR.

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Registers, making use of the standard will indices.²⁹ The total number of available wills relating to the historic county of Yorkshire, excluding York, for this period, from these sources, is approximately fifteen thousand. The method of sampling chosen, of four years in every twelve, throughout the period, yielded a total of 5,261 wills read. This total also included all extant fourteenth century wills and those for 1547, the year of dissolution. The actual dates of all the sample periods are shown in Figure 2.1. Wills from peculiar jurisdictions in the county were investigated only through such printed sources as were available.³⁰ They yielded little information. A much more useful exercise was an analysis of printed Lincolnshire wills, which was undertaken for comparative purposes.³¹ The limitations of testamentary evidence are discussed elsewhere but the task enabled the locations of known guilds to be mapped and the existence of what were, clearly, large and important fraternities, such as the Corpus Christi Guild of Pontefract and the St. Mary Guild of Swine, to be recognised.³² It also allowed a number of the more affluent guild members to be identified.

All these sources provide a body of evidence for guilds in Yorkshire, the bulk of which is too great to be cited within the argument of the thesis.

²⁹F. Collins, *Index of Wills in the York Registry* Vol I 1389-1514, Vol II 1514-1553, YAS Record Series VI (1889), XI (1891). *Index of Wills etc. from the Dean and Chapter's Court at York 1321-1636* YAS Record Series No. 38 (1907). J. Charlesworth and A.V. Hudson, *Index of Wills and Administrations entered in the Registers of the Archbishops at York: The Archbishops' Wills*, YAS Record Series No. 93 (1937).

³⁰E.J. Raine (ed.), *Wills and Inventories from the Registry of the Archdeaconry of Richmond* (SS 26, 1853), F. Collins, (ed.) *Wills and Administrations from the Knaresborough Court Rolls I* (SS 104, 1902).

³¹C.W. Foster (ed.), *Lincoln Wills*, (3 Vols.) I 1271-1526, II 1505-30, III 1530-32, *The Lincoln Record Society*, 5 (Lincoln, 1914), 10 (Horncastle, 1918), 24 (London, 1930).

³²The limitations of testamentary evidence are discussed in Chapter 2, pp.74-80.

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In order to make this material available, and to minimise footnotes, it has been summarised in the Appendix, which takes the form of a Gazetteer, listing, alphabetically, locations where religious gilds have been identified, in York and Yorkshire, and giving the references for each in chronological order.

The structure of the thesis itself has been, to some degree, dictated by the nature of the sources. The starting point of 1389 was chosen, not only because the gild survey provides an impression of the spread of fraternities in the county, but also because there is little testamentary or other evidence relating to gilds in Yorkshire before this date. The sample of county wills offers a broad general impression of gild history over the next century and a half, permitting an analysis of trends and geographical variations in both the distribution of gilds and of their memberships. The York material offers the opportunity of examining the functions of gilds in more depth, in a specific urban context. The two case studies, based on particular collections of documents, are used to illustrate and reinforce general impressions by studying two gilds in greater detail. The final chapter is not solely an account of the dissolution of the gilds. The process itself, through its documentation, reveals much about the nature of gilds themselves against a background of doctrinal and political change.

CHAPTER ONE : ENGLISH GILDS IN 1389

In 1388, the Cambridge Parliament of Richard II's government viewed gilds with such suspicion that it contemplated the suppression of large numbers of them. It also believed that they were so wealthy that their confiscated funds could finance the king's French wars.¹ These suspicions and beliefs clearly show that the government, at this time, saw gilds as important political and economic entities whose purposes were not necessarily compatible with their own. The survey, that was conducted during the following year, produced a series of returns that provide a benchmark against which to measure the subsequent development of gilds. An examination of the context of the survey, including the motives of the petitioners to the Cambridge Parliament, in initiating it, and those of the king in implementing it, will help to explain how the gilds were seen by the authorities. The mechanisms by which information was elicited from the gilds, the questions that the gild officers were asked and the manner of their replies, are also essential background to an understanding of their relationships with authority.

The surviving returns paint a picture of a common purpose but wide variation, in practice and organisation, over a large range of fraternities, of differing sizes and in a variety of environments, at a fixed point in time. Using a general examination of the material as a basis, The chapter will go on to explore the nature and function of religious gilds in England, during the second half of the fourteenth century. In particular, a more detailed assessment of the returns from Yorkshire will form a useful background to themes to be pursued in subsequent chapters. A general analysis of the material will also be used to address the question

¹J.A. Tuck, "The Cambridge Parliament, 1388", *The English Historical Review* No.CCXXXI (London, 1969), pp.236-38, provides the basis for this discussion..

of how far gilds were proliferating during the late fourteenth century, providing a starting point for the study of their distribution and development which will be undertaken in Chapter Two.

The Context of the 1389 Gild Returns

The returns were called for as a result of a petition to the Cambridge Parliament of 10th September to 17th October, 1388. It proposed that almost all gilds and fraternities be suppressed. The motivation for the petition was ostensibly financial. The Commons asked that the possessions of the dissolved gilds be sold to finance the war in France. This was clearly an attractive proposition for Richard II, and a device to reduce the burden of taxation upon those whose interests were represented in the Commons. There is no doubt that gilds were perceived as wealthy institutions that might be expected to provide the crown with a considerable sum. That many such fraternities were, indeed, affluent institutions was further recognised in 1391, when parliament made them subject to mortmain legislation.² The proposal was made against a background of agitation and parliamentary lobbying, by Lollards, in favour of a general disendowment of the institutions of the church.³ Whilst the possessions of gilds do not seem to have been directly attacked by this, ultimately unsuccessful, reforming movement, its existence may have been part of the motivation for the initiative.

²*Statutes of the Realm II*, (London, 1816, repr. 1963), p.80.

³M. Aston, "'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics and Disendowment", *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. B. Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), pp.49-54.

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Other purposes, however, lay behind the proposal. These are evident in part of its wording. The Commons did not wish to suppress all gilds. Their proposal included certain significant exceptions. In addition to excluding "ancient chantries" from the general dissolution, it also excepted

autres choses ordenez al honour de sient esglise et encres de divine service sanz liverie, confederacie, meintenance, ou riotes en arrerissement du ley.⁴

The wording of this exclusion reveals that the Commons saw certain gilds and fraternities as possible focuses for sedition and public unrest. The landowning representatives were still influenced by the events of the Peasants' Revolt, seven years previously, and by its violent aftermath in certain areas of the country. Although there is a view that gilds were institutions that promoted harmony in society, Parliament clearly took a contrary position.⁵ This perception may have had some justification.

It has been suggested that parish gilds, at this time, might have been used to foment action against local lords.⁶ In a near-contemporary case, the Holy Trinity Guild of York was accused, before Chancery, of occupying a tenement in the City by force of arms.⁷ Gilds also could be used for more subtle political purposes, later exemplified by the involvement of the Duke of Suffolk in the processions of the St. George Guild in Norwich during the 1430s.⁸ Abroad, gilds were sometimes

⁴Quoted in Tuck, p.237.

⁵E.g. James, "Ritual, Drama and the Social Body", p.10.

⁶M.M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society* (London, 1972), p.120.

⁷W. Baildon, *Select Cases in Chancery*, Selden Society 10 (London, 1896), pp.75-6, case 79, circa 1396.

⁸B. McCree, "Unity or Division?", pp.198-9.

Missing pages are unavailable

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culminating in a measure taken by Henry VI's administration, in 1436, confirming that local authorities must license all new gilds whose ordinances were "reasonable".¹³

The petition's provision excepting gilds of ancient foundation from dissolution was probably not entirely a matter of reverence for traditional and hallowed institutions. There must also have been anxiety on the part of burgesses, who would wish to ensure that grants of gild merchant enshrining the freedoms of their boroughs, were not threatened. Similar concerns were also reflected in the subsequent decision of the crown to issue a separate writ calling for returns from occupational gilds. The suppression of officially recognised craft organisations would be detrimental to the economic survival and prosperity of cities and boroughs. The charter granted by Henry II to the York weavers, for example, granted them the exclusive right of making dyed and striped cloth throughout most of Yorkshire.¹⁴ The city would be anxious to retain such privileges.

The Commons' initiative was directed at fraternities of recent foundation. This suggests that they thought that there had been a proliferation of gilds in recent years, and that some of the new fraternities were potential agents of sedition. An organisation that allowed groups to assemble, to wear liveries and to threaten the king's peace by holding processions and meetings, that could easily become riots, was a threat to local authority. A newly-formed gild might even have been instituted by persons involved in the recent troubles. The

¹³*Statutes of the Realm II*, pp.298-9.

¹⁴M. Sellars, *York Memorandum Book, Part I*, Surtees Society 120 (Durham, 1912) pp.xxvii, 240.

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Cambridge Parliament was clearly unhappy about the level of social unrest in general terms. Other petitions to the Parliament demanded the abolition of all recent liveries and for powers to prevent maintenance and the intimidation of juries.¹⁵ Against this background, the move against gilds can be seen as a series of measures promoting law and order and, at the same time, offering the crown a financial opportunity. The king lost no time in investigating the gilds in the light of this petition.

The Writs¹⁶

Writs were sent to sheriffs on 1st November, 1388, commanding that they issue proclamations instructing gild officers to make returns by the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin in the following February. The Sheriffs of London were to make public proclamation in the city and suburbs. The sheriffs of all shires were to do the same in the full shire moot and in all cities, boroughs, market towns and other places within their bailiwicks, ordering all gild officials to make full written returns by the appointed date.

The information that was required was comprehensive and the instructions were precise. The masters and wardens of all gilds and brotherhoods were to report on the circumstances of the foundation of their fraternities, presumably to discover if they were recent or not. They were to supply information concerning the gilds' oaths, meetings, feasts and practices of all kinds. Their privileges, ordinances and customs were to be described. This would provide information as to

¹⁵Tuck, pp.234-35.

¹⁶PRO C47/46/482. Smith, *English Gilds*, pp.127-31.

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the nature of the gild, perhaps to enable the government to assess whether it constituted a threat to law and order. All the gilds' lands and property, whether held in mortmain or not, and all their other possessions, were to be listed and their annual value assessed and stated. Persons who held gild property or real estate were to be identified in order to help the authorities to estimate whether a significant financial return would result from the dissolution. In a general catch-all provision, all other matters concerning each gild were to be revealed. All these questions were to be answered fully. The failure of any gild to comply with these instructions would lead to the withdrawal of any charters and letters patent and the sequestration of all its property.

A separate series of writs required the wardens and searchers of all misteries and crafts to produce charters and letters patent by the octave of St. Hilary (20th January). This shows that a clear distinction was being made, by the government, between craft organisations and the rest. It also implies that the only occupational bodies, recognised by the government, were those in possession of charters or letters patent. Misteries and crafts failing to reply were threatened with the annulment of their royal charters and privileges. Significantly there was no provision for penalising unchartered misteries, which were probably regarded as illegal. Opposition by previous administrations to the unauthorised foundation of craft gilds supports this impression. The bailiffs of Norwich, for example, evidently felt that the king's authority was threatened by the formation of prohibited gilds of tanners, shoemakers, fullers and saddlers in the late thirteenth century.¹⁷ The

¹⁷W. Hudson, *Leet Jurisdiction in the City of Norwich during the Thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries*, Selden Society 5 (London, 1822), pp.13, 42-3.

earlier date of return required of occupational bodies might suggest that fewer replies were expected from them.

The sheriffs executed the writs by organising proclamations at strategic places in their territories. Some of the surviving writs are indorsed with a description of the way in which this was carried out. In London, for example, Sheriffs Karlille and Austyn reported that the proclamation had been made, on 4th January, in Fleet Street, Westcheap, Cornhill, Bridge Street, the Vintry and Southwark by William Averey, clerk, and William Popiltone, sergeant.¹⁸ The process was inevitably more complicated in Worcestershire where, to deal with the greater distances involved, the process began on 12th December and lasted until Christmas Eve. Five officials made proclamation in nine towns as well as the shire moot.¹⁹

The writ sent to John Godard, Sheriff of Yorkshire, although very faded in places, seems to be identical to that received by the sheriffs of London, apart from the address.²⁰ On its dorse, written in a minuscule hand, are recorded the dates and locations of the reading of the proclamation throughout the county, giving the names of the persons entrusted with the task. Here the process was even more complicated, reflecting the administrative difficulties involved in covering the largest county in the land.²¹ The indorsement begins with a brief preamble in which John Godard stated that public proclamation had been made in all the cities, boroughs, towns and other places within his bailiwick to the effect that each and every master and keeper of gilds and fraternities

¹⁸Smith, *English Gilds*, p.129.

¹⁹*ibid.* p.131.

²⁰PRO C47/46/482 28, Smith p.127.

²¹*ibid.*, p.129.

must carry out the wishes of the king and his council. The replies, in the form commanded, were to reach Chancery by the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin. There then follows the timetable of the proclamations, which is reproduced in tabular form in Figure 1.1.

Analysis of the locations mentioned in the timetable suggests that it was largely based on the normal administrative structure of wapentakes, boroughs and liberties. However, seven of the county's wapentakes were not covered. If we assume that the Ainsty was included in the York proclamations and that that in Richmond took in Gilling East as well as Gilling West, the wapentakes of Halikeld and Hang, in the North Riding, and of Morley, Staincross and Tickhill in the West were not visited by the sheriff's agents. By contrast the proclamations were made in two centres in each of Holderness, Harthill and Langbargh.

Below the timetable, across the bottom of the parchment, written in a series of highly contracted figures, is a list of Yorkshire wapentakes and liberties.

Ebor, Hull, Staincliffe, Claro, S kyrack, Beverley, Holderness,
Hang, Whitby, Harthill, Scarborough, Howden, Birdforth,
Pickering, Allerton, Richmond, Tickhill, Gilling, Osgoldcross,
Langbargh, Bulmer, Buckrose, Strafforth, Ripon, Morley.

It is far from being a complete list, although it includes three of the wapentakes missing from the timetable: Hang, Morley and Tickhill. Whilst its purpose remains a mystery, a tentative suggestion might be that it was a check-list of some kind, perhaps for the use of John Whitburn, who made a second series of proclamations in January, 1389, or possibly to aid Sheriff Godard in collating the returns.

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FIGURE 1.1 : PROCLAMATIONS OF THE WRIT FOR 1389 GILD RETURNS IN YORKSHIRE

Based on the reply made by Sheriff John Godard of York on the dorse of the writ and attached copy: PRO C47/46/482 28 and 30, but also including the wapentakes, poll tax populations and the presence of gilds in the places of proclamation.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Wapentake</u>	<u>Proclaimed by</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Gild Date</u>
Tue 15th Dec 1388 (Tue fol St Lucy)	York	County	John de Hamerton and John de Otryngton	7248	1306
Thu 17th Dec 1388 (Thu following)	Otley WR	Skyrack	William de Craven	(68)	1518
	Wetherby WR	Claro	Thomas Chaloner	90	none
	Ripon WR	Liberty	William de Cawod	(280)	1379
Fri 18th Dec 1388 (Fri following)	Sherburn in Elmet WR	Barkston Ash	Robert Warde	170	1484
	Wakefield WR	Agbrigg	Ralph Yong	482	1521
	Hull ER	Borough	Thomas de Wandefford	1557	1358
Sun 20th Dec 1388 (Sun following)	Beverley ER	Borough	John Voynour	2663	1355
	Doncaster WR	Strafforth	Robert Kyng	800	1398
	Pontefract WR	Osgoldcross	Richard Talcok	1085	1387
	Pocklington ER	Harthill	Robert de Fenton	341	1396
	Kilham ER	Dickering	William Stabler	368	1493
	Hornsea ER	Holderness	John de Kyrkby	535	1504
	Malton NR	Ryedale	Edmund Tanner	354	1399
	Skipton WR	Staincliffe	Alan Catterall	176	1548
	Stokesley NR	Langbargh	Richard de Preston	nr	none
	Allerton NR	Liberty	John Halbarne	312	1485
	Richmond NR	Gilling West	William Wawayne	568	1446
	Helmesley NR	Ryedale	Edmund Tanner	348	1461
	Howden ER	Liberty	Stephen Cecill	(407)	1549
	Mon 21st Dec 1388 (Mon in St Thomas Apostle)	Thirsk NR	Birdforth	William Stedeman	nr
Rotherham WR		Strafforth	Robert Kyng	321	1356
Leeds WR		Skyrack	William de Craven	160	1515
Selby WR		Barkston Ash	Robert Warde	586	1441
Guisborough NR		Langbargh	Richard de Preston	nr	1478
Settle WR		Staincliffe	Alan Catterall	87	none
South Cave ER		Harthill	Robert de Fenton	19	none
Pickering NR		Liberty	John de Rouceby	420	1496
Tue 22nd Dec 1388 (Tue following)	Scarborough NR	Borough	William de Stapilton	2873	1349
	Whitby NR	Liberty	John Gower	640	1349
	Hedon ER	Holderness	William de Lyndewod	482	1392
	Easingwold NR	Bulmer	Robert Grymshagh	206	1430
	Sherburn ER	Buckrose	Thomas Foxholes	133	1505

NOTES

Tue 5th & Wed 6th Jan 1389 (Tue before Epiphany and days following): proclamation repeated in county of York by John Whitburn.

Wed 20th Jan 1389 (Octave of St. Hilary): deadline for occupational returns to reach Chancery.

Tue 2nd Feb 1389 (Purification): deadline for other returns to reach Chancery.

Wapentake: wapentake, liberty, or borough etc.

Population: poll tax population in 1377. Figures in brackets taken from poll tax values of 1379 or 1381.

"nr": no return.

Gild Date: earliest known date of a recorded gild in the location.

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On the dorse of a second copy of the writ is the same timetable, word for word, with one minor exception, but neither the preamble nor the list of wapentakes is present.²² Toulmin Smith implies that this second writ applies to craft guilds in the county but this does not seem to be the case.²³ Such a writ for Yorkshire was not found.

The system, used by the sheriff, of proclaiming the writ in most, but not all, of the county's administrative units ensured that a majority of the larger centres of population were included. Only three locations with a poll tax population of over 400 in 1377, Kirkbymoorside, Sheffield and Tickhill, were not visited by his officers.²⁴ Of these, Kirkbymoorside was the only large location in the county where no evidence for guilds was found.²⁵ There is, however, testamentary evidence for the existence of a gild of the Assumption in Tickhill as early as 1395, only six years after the return was made.²⁶ Using many of the county's administrative centres also had the effect of including, on the timetable, a number of places with very small poll tax populations. Wetherby, with 90, Settle, with 87, and South Cave with only 19 all fall into this category. A glance at the map at Figure 1.2, however, demonstrates that the sheriff, in his choice of locations for publishing the writ, attempted to ensure that most of the well-populated areas of the county were covered.

²²PRO C47/46/482 30,

²³T. Smith, p.132.

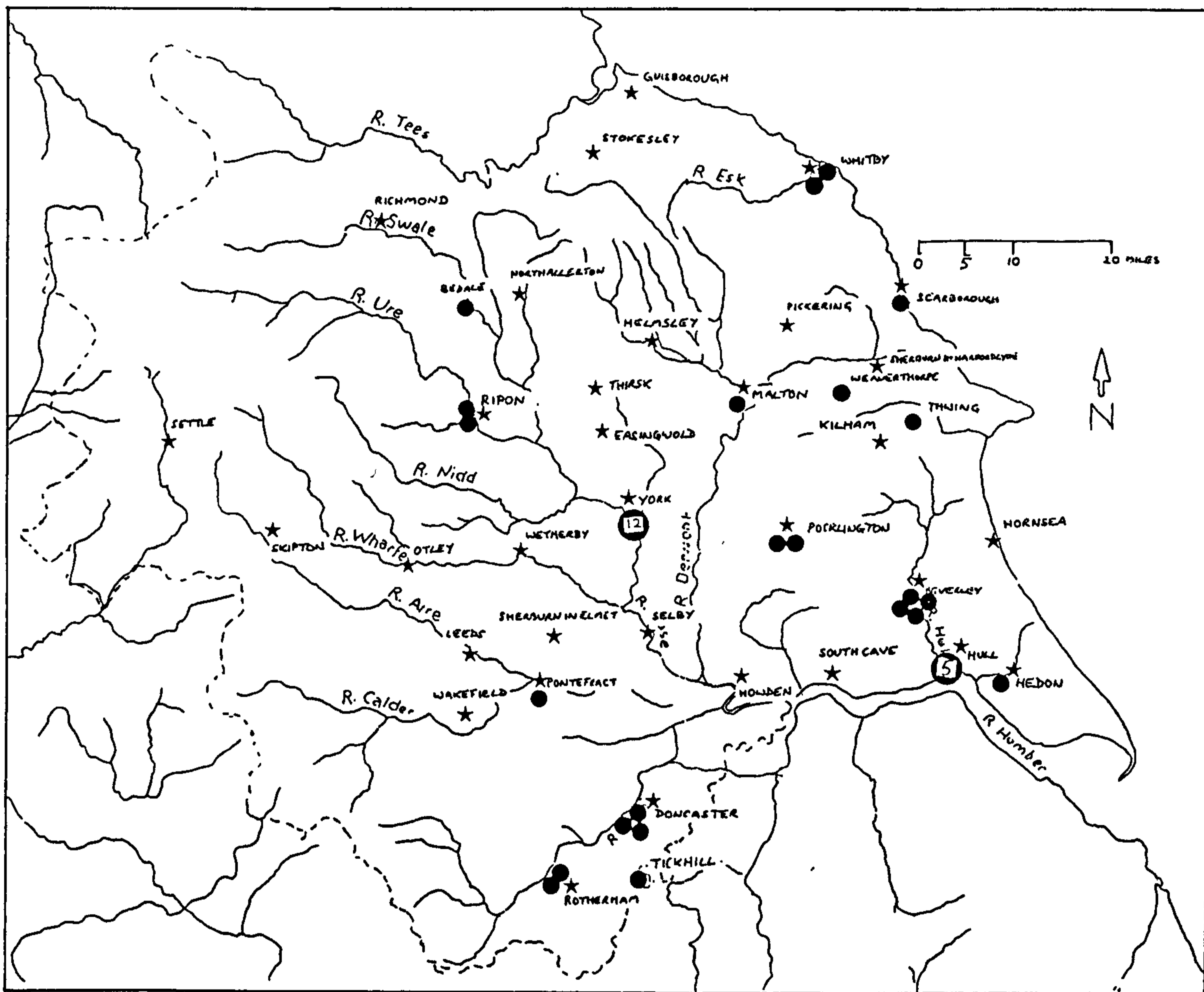
²⁴I am grateful to Richard Smith for the use of his unpublished list of 1377 poll tax values in Yorkshire.

²⁵See below, Chapter 3, p.87.

²⁶BIHR PR I 93v-94r 1395 John de Derfeld vicar of Darfield.

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FIGURE 1.2 : MAP OF 1389 GILD PROCLAMATIONS AND RECORDED
FOURTEENTH CENTURY GILDS IN YORKSHIRE



Notes

1. Each small black disk indicates the presence of a gild recorded before 1400 within the named location. Places where more than four gilds were recorded before this date are indicated by a larger disk with a number indicating the number of gilds found there.
2. Each star indicates a place where the gild return was proclaimed.

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Evidence of guilds in fourteenth century Yorkshire is not plentiful. Only 40 recorded bequests were made to fraternities in the county, including York, before 1400.²⁷ Furthermore, only 13 guilds were named in the return, most of which do not appear in testamentary evidence. However, the majority of the 40 fourteenth century guilds that were identified in the county were found in locations where the proclamation was read. The only exceptions were those in Bedale, Thwing, Weaverthorpe and Tickhill. At least 12 of the locations, to which Godard's emissaries were being dispatched, were places where guilds are known to have been active. It seems likely that he was aware that guilds were flourishing in these places. According to the preamble to his indorsement of the writ, the returns were to be made by the *Magistri & Custodes Gildarum & fraternitati*. The inference is that most major population centres sustained guilds at this time. That they also existed in four towns where the writ was not read but which made returns, and in other places, where bequests to guilds were made, implies that they also flourished, unrecorded, elsewhere.

The proclamations were made over a period of eight days between 15th and 22nd December. It was evidently thought wise to complete them before Christmas. There is no particular geographical pattern to the days on which each was made. The proclamation was made in York on the first day, probably in a number of locations, as the city was the only place to have two officials assigned to read the writ. The timetable was arranged in such a way as to provide travelling time for those officials who proclaimed in more than one place. Thus, William de Craven was in Otley on the 17th and in Leeds on the 21st, Richard de Preston in

²⁷See below, Figure 2.1. That there were 40 bequests made to guilds and 40 guilds identified in fourteenth century Yorkshire is coincidental.

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Stokesley on the 20th and in Guisborough on the 21st, Robert de Fenton in Pocklington on the 20th and in South Cave on the 21st, Alan Catterall in Skipton on the 20th and in Settle on the 21st and Robert Kyng in Rotherham on the 21st and in Doncaster on the 22nd. Edmund Tanner managed to proclaim in Helmesley and Malton on the same day.

That some of the agents were assigned two locations, which were, in each case, relatively close to one other, suggests that Sheriff Godard chose local men. What we know of a few of them seems to bear this out. John de Hamerton, who read the writ in York, was described as a clerk in a lawsuit of 1388.²⁸ He was probably the John Hamerton who appears as the son of Alan de Hamerton, merchant, who was city chamberlain in 1405, in the latter's will.²⁹ His companion, John de Otryngton, was a lawyer who was made free as a serjeant in 1363 and may have been a son of William de Ottrington, another merchant, who was chamberlain in 1355 and bailiff in 1360-1.³⁰ William de Stapilton of Scarborough was a burgess and a former bailiff of the town. That he may have been remiss in levying a fine from a fellow burgess in 1385 did not prevent him from being employed by the sheriff on this occasion.³¹ William Wawayne, who proclaimed in Richmond, was a commissioner of oyer and terminer there in 1386.³² John de Kyrkby, who read the writ in Hornsea, was active in the South East of the county. He figured in a legal dispute with John de Cotyngham of

²⁸*Cal. Pat. Richard II*, 07/10/1388 p.488.

²⁹BIHR PR III 244.

³⁰F. Collins (ed.), *Register of the Freemen of the City of York Vol I 1272-1558* (Surtees Society No. 96, 1897), p.57. R.L. Skaife, "City Officials of York" 3 volumes, MSS York City Reference Library.

³¹*Cal. Close Richard II*, 12/11/1385 p.15.

³²*Cal. Pat. Richard II*, 26/07/1386 p.257.

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Beverley in 1385.³³ Master William de Cawod, clerk, who proclaimed in Ripon, was also involved in contemporary lawsuits.³⁴ He cannot, however, be placed geographically and it is not known whether he was a local man. Robert Warde, who did so in Sherburn in Elmet and Selby, was possibly a York merchant. A man of that name was recorded as trading between Hull and Prussia, during legal proceedings that took place in 1388.³⁵ If Godard's agent was not some other Robert Warde, he was a clear exception to the practice of employing men with local contacts for this purpose. Unfortunately the other 19 names cannot be identified, including John Whitburn, who made the general proclamation in January. The eight identifiable men were all clerks, lawyers or men with legal experience. Some of them at least, and especially those designated clerks, were probably on the sheriff's permanent staff and his local agents in the places where they proclaimed.³⁶

After Christmas, on 5th of January and the days following, the proclamation was made a second time throughout the county. The other copy of the itinerary, in its only deviation from the text of that on the dorse of the second copy of the writ, says it was proclaimed *in pleno Comitatu Ebor.*³⁷ This was carried out by John Whitburn. As the completed returns were due in London on 2nd February, it seems likely that Whitburn's mission included collecting the completed documents. The map indicates that he must have followed a long and complicated itinerary in covering all the proclamation places, if he discharged these

³³*Cal. Close Richard II*, 08/08/1386, *Cal. Pat. Richard II*, 26/07/1386, p.257.

³⁴*Ibid.*, 22/10/1385 p.86-7.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 31/10/1386 p.268, 11/05/1389 p.674.

³⁶H.M. Jewell, *English Local Administration in the Middle Ages* (Newton Abbot, 1972), p.198.

³⁷PRO C47/46/482 30.

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duties personally. It seems likely that returns from a place such as Bedale, where the writ was not read, although its return is extant, were collected from the nearest proclamation point. After collection, the returns would have been collated by Godard and his staff before dispatch to Chancery in time for the deadline.

The returns from all the county sheriffs were due to be submitted to Chancery on 10th February. We do not know whether they all arrived on time, how many of them were accompanied by indorsed copies of the writs, or indeed how many returns there originally were. Nor do we know who, if anyone, read them. What is certain is that no gilds were suppressed as a result of the survey. The information might have been used later, perhaps in connection with the statute which extended the provisions of mortmain legislation to include gilds, in 1391, but the likelihood is that the documents simply gathered dust for several centuries.³⁸

Making the Returns

Whilst the process of serving the writ, receiving the returns and sending them to Chancery was firmly in the hands of the county sheriff and his agents, the actual composition of the returns themselves was officially in the hands of the gild officers. However, interference in the process seems to have taken place in some towns on the part of other local agencies. All four extant returns from Beverley were scrutinised by the same lawyer. Each ends with the note *Robertus de Garton est Attornatus*.³⁹ Unless Robert de Garton was employed by all four gilds to

³⁸Tuck, p.238.

³⁹PRO C47/46/445-8.

supervise their returns, it suggests that the town authorities appointed him to ensure that the king's writ was obeyed. His role may have been to verify lists of the gilds' possessions, which were added to each return in a different hand, that might be his. There is evidence of a different kind from Ripon which indicates that this return, too, was not exclusively the work of gild officials. The return is for two gilds, both on the same parchment.⁴⁰ The second gild is introduced by the phrase *La certification dune Autre fraternite*. That the compiler of the return placed the description of a second gild, that he was unable to name, on the same page as that of the gild of St. Mary, St. Wilfrid and All Saints, suggests that the involvement of the master of the "other gild" must have been minimal. The two York returns both bore the seal of the Vicar General of the Archbishop of York, explaining that their wardens' seals would not be generally recognised.⁴¹ The presence of these seals, however, suggests that both gilds' returns were scrutinised by the archiepiscopal authorities. In Hull, the Dean of Harthill similarly used his seal to confirm the identities of the men, wives and unmarried women who were members of the Gild of St. Mary in St. Mary's Chapel.⁴² The returns of the gilds of Corpus Christi and St. John the Baptist both included the seals of the mayor and bailiff, who were first among the witnesses.⁴³ The brief return from Bedale is particularly revealing.⁴⁴ This gild was clearly the concern of the Nevilles. Although it was sustained by the good men of the town and the mesne, and by *plusours persons & vicairs du parosse*, the short list of founders is headed by the

⁴⁰PRO C47/46/452.

⁴¹PRO C/47/46/454, 455.

⁴²PRO C/47/46/451.

⁴³PRO C/47/46/449, 450.

⁴⁴PRO C/47/46/444.

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name of *le Sieur Nevill qui dieu assoil*. Here we have an example of a gild founded, supported and probably controlled by local government in the shape of an aristocratic family. It seems likely that the Nevilles or their agents were instrumental in drawing up the reply, which was written in legal French, rather than the more usual Latin. It is certain, then, that at least some of the Yorkshire returns were not solely the work of gild officers and were, at the very least, subject to scrutiny by other powerful agencies with which the gilds sustained relationships.

Gilds responded to the writ in at least three different ways. Some reproduced their ordinances, thus emphasising the privileges and duties of membership, some transcribed their charters of incorporation, which concentrated on the general aims of the gild and the circumstances of its foundation, whilst others seem to have drawn up a statement especially for the return. The gild's choice of format thus governed the content of the return. Foundation dates often appear in the superscription of the manuscript. Information concerning the gild's finances and possessions is usually added at the end. Whilst the writ asked for such a financial statement, it was not a part of a gild's ordinances or charter and had to be added as a kind of appendix.

The returns from Yorkshire demonstrate these characteristics.⁴⁵ Three of the Beverley returns were based on ordinances. That of Corpus Christi claimed recent foundation following the precepts of Popes Urban IV and John XXII.⁴⁶ As the latter died in 1334, the return would appear to be a copy of ordinances from the first half of the fourteenth century. The document was described as a copy (*copia*). The St. Helen and St.

⁴⁵See Figure 1.1.

⁴⁶PRO C47/46/445.

Mary gild returns were both introduced as ordinances (*ordinacio*).⁴⁷ These three returns contain brief statements concerning possessions added in a separate hand. That from the Great Gild of St. John of Beverley Hanshus is a special case.⁴⁸ It was evidently a response to the writ concerning occupational gilds.⁴⁹ It is a series of copies of charters, the oldest being from Archbishop Thurstan in the reign of Henry I and the latest being an *inspeximus* of Richard II. They all refer to the liberties granted to the town through its gild merchant. No ordinances were recorded. All three gilds in Hull supplied foundation deeds, rather than ordinances, including the names of founders and witnesses.⁵⁰ Whilst gild activities and objectives were included, these documents emphasised such factors as the responsibilities of membership, internal discipline and financial matters. The two York gilds made statements that seem to have been based on their ordinances.⁵¹ At one point, the Paternoster Gild quotes a disciplinary clause from them. These statements were probably tailor-made for the occasion. Rotherham's return was also probably a statement based on ordinances but included an account of its extensive property-holdings.⁵² Ripon provided two statements and Bedale one, that was very brief.⁵³ In making any analysis of the content of the returns, it is vital to be aware of the sources used by their authors in compiling them.

⁴⁷PRO C47/46/446, 448.

⁴⁸PRO C47/46/447.

⁴⁹Smith, *English Gilds*, also suggests this, p.150.

⁵⁰PRO C47/46/449-51.

⁵¹PRO C47/46/454-55

⁵²PRO C47/46/453

⁵³PRO C47/46/452-444.

The Distribution of the Returns

That only 13 returns are extant from Yorkshire is disappointing. It is, however, certain that this does not present a full picture of gilds in the county in 1389. Indeed, it is clear from Figure 1.3 that the whole corpus of documentation for all the returns is incomplete. The survival of the writs is random. They are extant for counties where no returns are present and are missing in the case of some counties where returns have survived. Returns exist in large numbers for Norfolk and Lincolnshire, and in moderate quantity for Cambridgeshire, London and Suffolk, to the virtual exclusion of most other areas of the country. They are absent in places such as Bristol, Southampton and Worcester, which all had merchant gilds that were, by this time, of considerable antiquity and which should have made returns under the terms of the writ.⁵⁴ There are examples of merchant gilds in Cornwall, too, that date back to the early thirteenth century in both Helston and Liskerret.⁵⁵ Even in counties where quite large quantities of returns survive, they may be far from complete. In Suffolk, apart from two from Beccles, most were made for Bury St. Edmunds and the surrounding area. None has survived from the entire south-east of the county, although gilds are known to have existed in Ipswich, Framlingham, Kelsale and Woodbridge.⁵⁶

The evidence from Yorkshire also shows that more gilds were flourishing, in the late fourteenth century, than the returns indicate. Only one gild, figuring in the 13 extant returns, also appears in the

⁵⁴C. Gross, *The Gild Merchant Vol. II* (Oxford, 1890), pp.24-28, 213-214, 272-273.

⁵⁵*Ibid.* p.108.

⁵⁶P. Northeast, "Parish Gilds", *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk*, ed. D. Dymond and E. Martin (Bury St. Edmunds, 1988), pp.58-9.

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FIGURE 1.3 : DISTRIBUTION OF EXTANT WRITS AND RETURNS

Sources: T.Smith, *English Gilds*, H.F. Westlake, *The Parish Gilds of Mediaeval England*.

<u>County</u>	<u>Writ</u>	<u>Returns</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Norfolk	-	165	32.5
Lincolnshire	s	124	24.4
Cambridgeshire	c	60	11.8
London	cs	42	8.3
Suffolk	-	39	7.7
Yorkshire	cs*	13	2.6
Northamptonshire	cs	10	2.0
Derbyshire	s	8	1.6
Essex	-	8	1.6
Warwickshire	-	7	1.4
Oxfordshire	-	6	1.2
Gloucestershire	-	5	1.0
Hertfordshire	-	4	0.8
Leicestershire	-	3	0.6
Shropshire	-	2	0.4
Bedfordshire	-	1	0.2
Berkshire	-	1	0.2
Devonshire	-	1	0.2
Dorset	-	1	0.2
Kent	-	1	0.2
Rutland	cs	1	0.2
Lancashire	-	1	0.2
Somerset	-	1	0.2
Staffordshire	-	1	0.2
Sussex	cs†	1	0.2
Rutland	cs	1	0.2
Somerset	-	1	0.2
Staffordshire	-	1	0.2
Sussex	-	1	0.2
Wiltshire	cs	1	0.2
Bristol	s	-	-
Cornwall	cs	-	-
Hampshire	cs	-	-
Surrey	cs†	-	-
Worcestershire	cs	-	-
Unknown	-	2	0.4

* Smith (p.132) says that Yorkshire had two writs, one "social" the other "craft", but both appear to be "social", in Smith's terminology.

† Surrey and Sussex were treated as one county in the issuing of the writs.

NOTES

Writs: "c" and "s" indicate the survival of writs in respect of "craft" and "social" gilds respectively according to Smith.

Returns: the number of surviving returns in each county, calculated from Westlake.

Percentage: each county's percentage share of the total returns.

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probate registers before 1389 but bequests were made to six other gilds in the county.⁵⁷ Furthermore, there generally seems to have been some interval between the foundation of a gild and the first bequest to it. Seven of the 13 Yorkshire gilds mentioned in the returns first received bequests during the two decades 1389-1408.⁵⁸ It might, therefore, be fair to assume that at least some of the 23 other gilds appearing in the probate registers between 1389 and 1399 were founded before 1389 but did not make extant returns.⁵⁹

Whilst it could be argued that, in the political atmosphere of the day, some gild officers were unwilling to make returns, and it seems certain that a number of fraternities in both London and Lynn avoided making them, it is hard to accept this as more than a minor cause of the

⁵⁷YML L2(4) 84v 1386 St. John the Baptist, York. BIHR Reg 10 346r-v 1349 St. George, Scarborough; YML L2(4) 45r-v 1365 St. Mary Fossgate, York; BIHR Reg 14 16r 1378 Corpus Christi, Weaverthorpe and Holy Trinity, Thwing; BIHR PR I 8v 1387 Corpus Christi, Pontefract; BIHR PR I 3v-4r 1389 Resurrection of Christ, Hull.

⁵⁸BIHR PR I 18v 1390 St. Mary, Ripon; Corpus Christi, Hull, BIHR PR I 62r-v 1393; BIHR PR I 74v 1394 Paternoster, York; BIHR PR III 4r 1398 Corpus Christi, Beverley; BIHR PR III 252v-253r 1406 St. John the Baptist, Hull; BIHR PR II 575v 1408, St. Mary in St. Mary, Hull; BIHR Reg 18 344r-v St. John of Beverley, Beverley.

⁵⁹BIHR PR I 6v, 1390 St. John the Baptist in St. Denys, York; BIHR PR 34r 1391 Holy Trinity in St. Mary, Hull; BIHR PR I 40v 1391 St. Katherine, Rotherham; BIHR PR I 66r 1394, III 30v 1398 St. Christopher, York; BIHR PR I 74v 1394, I 81v 1395, IIA 3v St. George, York; BIHR PR I 96r-v 1395 (St. Mary of the) Weavers, York; BIHR PR I 92r-v 1395 St. Mary, Whitby; YML L2(4) 118r 1396, 117v 1397 St. Mary, Pocklington; YML L2(4) 118r 1396, 117v 1397 Holy Cross, Pocklington; BIHR PR II 93v-94r Assumption of the Virgin, Tickhill; BIHR PR II 2r, 1396 Holy Cross, Whitby; BIHR PR I 1396 St. Mary in Holmkirk, Beverley; BIHR PR II 9r 1397 Corpus Christi, Doncaster; BIHR PR II 9r 1397 Paternoster, Doncaster; BIHR PR II 9r 1397 St. Katherine, Doncaster; BIHR PR III 4r 1398 St. Mary in St. Mary, Beverley; BIHR PR III 11r 1398 St. Christopher, Hull; BIHR PR III 11r 1398 St. George in St. Mary, Hull; YML L2(4) 121r 1399 St. Thomas of Canterbury in St. Michael le Belfrey, York; BIHR PR III 26r-v 1399 SS. Christopher and Andrew in St. Helen Stonegate, York; BIHR PR III 42v 1399 St. Clement Pope, Scarborough; BIHR PR III 42v 1399 St. Katherine, Scarborough; BIHR PR III 29r 1399 St. Eloi in Holy Trinity, Hull; BIHR PR III 28v-29r 1399 St. Mary, Malton.

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preponderance of responses from the eastern central counties.⁶⁰ East Anglia was in a state of some social disarray during the years following the Peasants' Revolt, which might suggest a need for the sheriffs to carry out their duties vigorously, but local unrest would be likely to make the gathering of information from gilds in these areas more not less difficult.⁶¹ The low numbers of returns from Essex and Kent, the epicentres of the Revolt itself, also weakens such an argument.

Clearly the most likely explanation is that a major proportion of the documentation has been subsequently lost from the Chancery records. This view is lent additional weight by the presence of four of the London returns in the Bodleian Library.⁶² The central eastern counties might have made a particularly large number of replies, but this would be highly speculative. Clearly, the incomplete nature of the returns implies that generalisations based upon them, such as the distributional picture attempted by Scarisbrick, do not have a countrywide validity.⁶³ Furthermore, an overall view of those returns that have survived is further hampered by the lack of a satisfactory printed source.

Sources

In the absence of a comprehensive edition of the certificates, the only systematic view of them is Westlake's analysis.⁶⁴ He lists all the returns

⁶⁰C.M. Barron, "The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London", p.20. D.M. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, p.60.

⁶¹Ed. R.B. Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381* (London, Macmillan, 1983, 2nd edition), pp.xxvi, 233-64 *passim*.

⁶²C.M. Barron, "The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London", p.20.

⁶³Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and The English People*, pp.28-9.

⁶⁴Westlake, pp.137-238.

in the Public Record Office, but his summaries are not sufficiently detailed to show which format each gild used. Unfortunately this work, useful though it is, also introduces other variables into the information supplied by the returns. If the entries in Westlake's table are compared with more detailed accounts of specific groups of returns, such as Toulmin Smith's transcriptions of the English language ones, or those from the county of Yorkshire, it seems that they are generally reliable as regards such details as foundation dates, and in their accounts of the "Origin, Purpose and Religious Provisions" and of "Friendly Benefits to Members". The column headed "Remarks", however, should be approached with caution. Although the entries under this heading contain accurate information, it is not recorded with any consistency. For example, Westlake mentions the wearing of livery in seven of the 42 returns from London gilds. Only two London gild certificates were transcribed by Smith. One of them, for St James, Garlickhythe, records the wearing of livery, but Westlake does not include this in his "remarks".⁶⁵ Clearly he did not intend to record every mention of livery in the returns. Twenty-five of Smith's transcriptions itemise gild goods, mainly sums of money, unmentioned by Westlake, in London, Lynn, Norwich, Oxborough and Wiggenshall. Twenty reports of feasts, nineteen sets of disciplinary ordinances, and the presence of seven gild houses, all in Lynn, are also missing. Generally speaking, most of Westlake's more obvious omissions can be identified most readily in the returns from Lynn.⁶⁶ His purpose in compiling his list seems to have been to examine the religious and welfare aspects of gild membership. His additional comments are largely a selection of scraps of information

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p.181, Smith, *English Gilds*, p. pp.3-4.

⁶⁶Westlake pp.192-200, Smith pp.45-109.

that he felt were interesting, or curious, in the returns of particular gilds, or groups of gilds. Whilst much of this information is of anecdotal value, statistics based upon it are of limited use in providing an overall picture. Further examination of Smith's transcriptions also reveals that many of the documents he examined are damaged or incomplete. This is not always made clear in Westlake's list. As the conclusions of many of the individual returns in Smith's sample are missing or illegible, the gilds' lists of goods and possessions are often absent. Damage at the beginning of a manuscript sometimes explains the lack of a foundation date for a gild.⁶⁷

Figure 1.4 compares the information contained in Westlake's summary with that yielded by Smith's sample of returns written in English. Although the latter provides complete transcriptions of a limited number of returns, they are, however, clearly atypical. Most replies were made in Latin. Gilds that chose to make their returns in English may well have been small, and possibly lacked clerical support. It is likely to be no coincidence that only one of them was wealthy enough to employ a chaplain. Thus Smith, too, presents an unbalanced picture.

In the case of the Yorkshire returns, the original manuscripts have been used and the information they offer is complete. Figure 1.5 is an attempt to collate this data. It is arranged under similar letter-headings to Figure 1.4 to aid comparison. Even this evidence, however, may not present a full picture. Whilst these gilds almost certainly carried out all the activities they described, they may well have pursued others that the officers did not think it worth while to mention. In Bedale, for example, the only gild function that the very brief return records is the

⁶⁷E.g. PRO C47/46/455, St. John the Baptist, York.

FIGURE 1.4 : GILD ACTIVITIES FROM SMITH'S SAMPLE AND WESTLAKE'S SUMMARY

<u>Source</u>	<u>Smith</u>		<u>Westlake</u>	
	<u>Returns</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Returns</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
A Lights: altar lights and/or torches maintained	45	91.8%	409	80.5%
B Chaplains: clerics employed	1	2.0%	183	36.0%
C Funerals: provision of members' obsequies	44	89.8%	340	66.9%
D Feasts: celebratory meals or ales	18	36.7%	68	13.4%
E Processions: organised processions and/or plays	9	18.4%	62	12.2%
F Church: assistance with church maintenance	1	2.0%	69	13.6%
G Welfare: relief of sick or needy members	36	73.5%	185	36.4%
H Lands: recorded ownership of real estate	1	2.0%	30	5.9%
I Goods: cash in hand, valuables, church furnishings	25	51.0%	39	7.7%
J Discipline: regulation of members' behaviour	19	38.8%	47	9.3%
K Charity: relief of sick or needy non-members	2	4.1%	46	9.1%
L Premises: gild hall or chapel	7	14.3%	8	1.6%
M Livery: wearing of uniform dress or badges	4	8.2%	16	3.1%
O Pilgrimage: encouragement and/or financial support	1	2.0%	25	4.9%
N Subscription: annual levy and/or entrance fee	4	8.2%	10	2.0%
P Compulsory bequests	0	0%	12	2.4%
<u>Total</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>508</u>	<u>100%</u>

NOTES

Returns: The number of returns in which various activities are mentioned in each source.
Percentage: The above as a percentage of the total number of returns recorded in each source.

maintenance of a chaplain to say mass at the Holy Cross altar in the church.⁶⁸ There is no mention of supplying a light, holding a feast or attending a gild mass or obit, which so many fraternities did. If these activities did not occur in Bedale, the Holy Trinity Gild there was unusual. It seems likely that the Nevilles were more concerned with reporting the pious expense of employing a priest than in commenting on social or ceremonial activities. Thus the content of each return must be viewed in the light of its format, even where the primary source has been used.

⁶⁸PRO C47/46/444.

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FIGURE 1.5 : YORKSHIRE RETURNS

No.	Town	Parish	Founded	Gild	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	Q
444	Bedale	-	-	Holy Trinity	-	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
445	Beverley	-	-	Corpus Christi	-	-	C	-	E	-	G	-	I	J	-	-	-	-	-	2
446	Beverley	Fr Friary	1378	St. Helen	A	-	C	D	E	F	-	-	-	-	K	-	-	N	-	2
447	Beverley	-	1119-35	St. John Han	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
448	Beverley	St. Mary	1355	St. Mary Purif	A	B	C	D	E	-	G	-	-	-	-	-	-	N	-	2
449	Hull	-	1358	Corpus Christi	-	-	C	-	-	-	G	-	-	J	-	-	-	N	-	3
450	Hull	-	-	St. John Bapt	-	-	C	D	-	-	G	-	I	J	-	-	-	N	-	3
451	Hull	St. Mary	1357	St. Mary	-	-	C	-	-	-	G	-	-	J	-	-	-	N	O	3
452	Ripon	St. Wilfrid	-	Ss. Wilfrid Etc.	-	B	-	-	-	F	-	-	-	J	-	L	-	-	-	1
452	Ripon	St. Wilfrid	-	unnamed	-	B	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	K	-	-	-	-	1
453	Rotherham	-	1356	Holy Cross	A	B	C	-	E	-	-	H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
454	York	Minster	-	Paternoster	A	-	C	-	E	-	G	-	-	J	-	-	M	-	-	2
455	York	Minster	-	St. John Bapt	A	-	-	-	E	-	-	-	-	J	-	-	-	N	-	2

NOTES

No.: certificate number following C47/46/-. Founded: foundation date where known.
Activities claimed by gild: A: lights maintained. B: chaplain employed. C: members' funerals held. D: feasts attended. E: ceremonial events conducted (including plays or processions). F: contributed to church upkeep. G: relieved members in need. H: owned lands. I: owned goods. J: disciplined members. K: did charitable works. L: owned chapel or hall. M: wore livery. N: paid subscription or entry fee. O: supported members on pilgrimage. Q: indicates type of return: 1: Statements, 2: Ordinances, 3: Foundation Deeds, 4: Charters.

The Content of the Returns

For all the imperfections of the source, it provides an essential snapshot of the preoccupations and activities of English gilds in 1389. It enables us to build up a picture of what a gild was, and what it did, of the advantages its members enjoyed and the obligations they discharged. It provides us with a series of models against which other gilds, and similar organisations, can be measured and gives us a point from which later development can be discerned.

The basic purpose of all gilds was devotional. This is clear from Figure 1.4, although it is necessary to be aware of Westlake's interest in these matters, which he reported particularly fully. Presence at the gild's religious services was every member's duty and privilege. This was so

universal a characteristic that it has not been listed in Figures 1.4 or 1.5. The 80 per cent of fraternities that reported maintaining lights and the 67 per cent stating that members attended the funerals and obits of their gild brothers and sisters, shows that corporate worship and care for the souls of members was clearly a central function of most gilds in 1389. Veneration of the gild's saint or cult through services and votive lights was a principal method of promoting this. The St. John the Baptist Gild, York, for example, reported an annual service for all members, both living and dead, and the maintenance of a light on Sundays and feast days at the saint's altar in the Minster.⁶⁹

Perhaps the ultimate, and the most expensive, method of expressing devotion to the gild's dedicated saint or cult, and of ministering to the pious aspirations of its members, was to employ a gild chaplain. In Westlake's account, 36 per cent of all gilds, including Holy Trinity, Bedale, and Holy Cross, Rotherham, did so.⁷⁰ 22 gilds in his summary reported employing more than one, including the St. John the Baptist Gild of Coventry which supported seven.⁷¹ What is more, a further eight fraternities hoped to employ one when they could afford it. In some cases, such as that of the gild at Cirencester, the employment of chaplains seems to have been a gild's only declared function.⁷² This was not necessarily based on a desire of the gild to compete with the parish. On the contrary, some gild chaplains were clearly intended to be assistants to the parish priest, as in the church of St Ebb, in Oxford, where the St Mary Gild provided one "to assist the rector in choir at

⁶⁹PRO C47/46/455.

⁷⁰PRO C47/46/444, 453.

⁷¹Westlake p.231.

⁷²*ibid.*, p.152.

mattins, the hours etc. and especially at the Virgin's altar for the fraternity", or in the church of All Saints in Maldon, in Essex, where the Holy Trinity Gild's chaplain also assisted the incumbent at divine service.⁷³

In some cases the duty of the gild chaplain, and, indeed, the function of the gild itself, was the maintenance of worship in a chapel in the parish church or churchyard, as in Waltham Cross where the Holy Sepulchre Gild provided services and lights for the dead in the charnel chapel, and in Ripon, where the gild members of St. Mary, St. Wilfrid and All Saints kept an ancient chapel in repair and provided a chaplain to say daily mass there.⁷⁴ Other gilds maintained chapels of ease at some distance from the parish church. In Thetford, the Fraternity of the Chapel of the Nativity provided three chaplains to say masses for the traders in their chapel in the marketplace, half a mile away from the other churches in the town.⁷⁵ In such cases it is hard to see whether the gild was supporting the parish, by providing an ancillary service, or competing with it by offering rival facilities. There may have been elements of both attitudes in the choices that such fraternities offered their members.⁷⁶ Overall, however, Eamon Duffy's impression that most fifteenth and sixteenth century gilds "worked within and for the structure of the parish, not against it," could be extended to the late fourteenth century, on the evidence of the returns.⁷⁷

⁷³*Ibid.* pp.223, 151.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, pp.153, 234. PRO C47/46/452.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p.211.

⁷⁶G. Rosser, "Parochial Conformity and Voluntary Religion in Late Medieval England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series (London, 1991) , pp.185-9.

⁷⁷E. Duffy, p.145.

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General support of the parish is further indicated by the 13.6 per cent of gilds that reported making contributions to the upkeep of their parish church. This figure is drawn from the less reliable part of Westlake's table, and may not include all the data. Certain gilds, including, for example, the Assumption of St Mary at Pampesworth, Cambridgeshire, the Assumption of St Mary at Fincham, Norfolk, and the fraternity of Kettlebaston, Suffolk, stated this as their principal purpose.⁷⁸

Most returns included statements to the effect that the fraternity encouraged peace and brotherly love. Beyond this, nine per cent of gilds in Westlake's list mentioned the presence of regulations intended to control the behaviour of their own members. The three gilds in Outwell, Norfolk, for example, all condemned undue talking and the introduction of too many guests at gild meetings, and like many other gilds, discouraged disputes between members, whilst the Wisbech Guild of St. Peter recorded ordinances against brawling and gaming.⁷⁹ Disciplinary measures were included in seven of the 13 Yorkshire returns, including that of St. Mary in St. Mary's, Hull, and St. John the Baptist, York, which both prescribed fines, in quantities of wax, for misdemeanours within the gild, expulsion for those whose conduct might bring disgrace upon it, and a reconciliation process for quarrelling members.⁸⁰ This kind of regulation also appears in 39 per cent of Smith's transcriptions. A number of these are from returns that are clearly based on gild ordinances or foundation deeds and are therefore

⁷⁸Westlake, p.145 (Pampesworth), p.190 (Fincham), p.229 (Kettlebaston).

⁷⁹Ibid., p.206 (Outwell), 148 (Wisbech).

⁸⁰PRO C47/46/451, 455.

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unlikely to have been influenced by recent local or national unrest.⁸¹ Indeed, there is evidence for similar ordinances, and for their enforcement, throughout the late middle ages, especially in market towns and cities.⁸²

Westlake devotes a whole column of his summary to the welfare, or "friendly" benefits, that members derived from gild activities. The relief of distressed members and those who had fallen on hard times was undertaken by over a third of Westlake's list. The Paternoster Gild of York undertook to help members who had been impoverished as a result of robbery, fire or false imprisonment, and the St. John the Baptist Gild of the city undertook to pay 7d. a week to members in need.⁸³ In Hull, the St. Mary Gild in St. Mary's distinguished between the poor and infirm, who received 7d. a week, and impoverished but able-bodied men and unmarried women who were to be granted 10s., which they must try to pay back over three years.⁸⁴ If they failed to do so the debt was then cancelled. In many returns the principal charitable provision offered to members was free, decent burial. The Gild of St. Mary in Beverley undertook to bury poor members of the gild honourably and solemnly, with five big candles, sung mass and burial, and members who failed to attend would be fined.⁸⁵ Eight of the Yorkshire returns made provision for funerals and obits and, in Westlake's list, over two thirds of the gilds reported on these activities.

⁸¹E.g, Smith, p.20 (St. Katherine, Norwich), p.47 (St. Thomas of Canterbury, Lynn).

⁸²B.R. McRee, "Religious Gilds and Regulation of Behaviour in Late Medieval Towns", *People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J. Rosenthal and C. Richmond (Sutton, Gloucester, 1987), pp.108-122.

⁸³PRO C47/46/454, 455.

⁸⁴PRO C47/46/451.

⁸⁵PRO C47/46/448.

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Broadly speaking, at this time, guilds seem to have concentrated their charitable work on the needs of their own members. Calculations from Westlake's list show that only nine per cent of guilds extended such benefits to non-members and Smith's sample only yields four per cent. The Guild of St. Helen in Beverley, which maintained three or four poor, bed-ridden men and paid for their funerals, provides the only Yorkshire example.⁸⁶ Most accounts of guilds providing education or general poor relief are found in sixteenth rather than fourteenth century evidence.⁸⁷

Records of fraternities, from the earliest times, place great emphasis on the holding of guild meals.⁸⁸ Westlake's list shows only 13 per cent of guilds mentioning feasts in their returns, although over a third of Smith's sample does. However, even this latter figure seems remarkably low. Some of Westlake's notes mention them in a somewhat oblique way. The Trinity Guild in St. Peter's in Ely, for instance, reported that thirty poor ate with the brothers and sisters at their Trinity feast.⁸⁹ The return of the Guild of Our Lady, in Tideswell, Derbyshire, which was founded *circa* 1349, suggests a possible reason for the absence of feasting in some of the certificates.⁹⁰ It asserts that the members have not held a feast for seven years. They stopped, therefore, about the time of the Peasants' Revolt. This implies that the guild had, perhaps under pressure from local authority, modified its practices in the light of the political climate. Feasting offered an opportunity for riotous behaviour that could serve as a stimulus to even more serious social unrest.

⁸⁶PRO C47/46/446.

⁸⁷Scarisbrick, p.30.

⁸⁸S. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900-1300* (Oxford, 1984), pp.67-8. Fryde, "Guilds in England before the Black Death", pp.217-8.

⁸⁹Westlake, p.144.

⁹⁰*ibid.*, p.150.

Ordinances governing members' conduct at such gatherings suggest that rowdy behaviour was not uncommon, as exemplified by returns from Bishop's Lynn.⁹¹ The Gild of St. John the Baptist, in Hull, also referred to feasting in the context of disciplinary regulations.⁹² In Beverley, the feasts of the Gilds of St. Mary and St. Helen were held in conjunction with the meetings that followed their annual processions, and which included the election of officers.⁹³ The return of the St. Mary Gild states that the members ate their bread and cheese, and drank their beer, rejoicing in the praise of the Virgin. The gild feast was symbolic of fraternity and clearly had a eucharistic element.⁹⁴ Good behaviour was a matter of pious respect as well as civic order.

Another aspect of gild life that had implications for law and order lay in the holding of processions, plays and ceremonial events. Such activities lay at the heart of parish and civic life and the gilds were major contributors to them. Their incidence, as calculated from Westlake and Smith, was, however, surprisingly low. Only half of Lincoln's gilds reported carrying candles on their saints' days.⁹⁵ In Bury St. Edmunds, out of 17 gilds making returns, only that of St. John the Baptist in the church of St. James is mentioned as carrying a taper to the church on the feast of the Decollation.⁹⁶ Bury might well have been a special case. The town was excepted from the general pardon of 1381.⁹⁷ It could be that the atmosphere there was still such that the gilds were encouraged

⁹¹*E.g. Smith, English Gilds*, pp.81, 84, 87, 89.

⁹²PRO C47/46/450.

⁹³PRO C47/46/446, 448.

⁹⁴G. Rosser, "Going to the Fraternity Feast", pp.430-46.

⁹⁵Westlake pp.167-74.

⁹⁶*ibid.*, p.227.

⁹⁷R.B. Dobson, *The Peasants' Revolt*, pp. 233-64, *passim*.

to suspend this kind of activity, just as feasting had ceased at Tideswell since the Revolt. If most gild processions were no longer held in Bury, it suggests that there may have been an awareness in some fraternities that this, too, was a politically dangerous activity. If this were the case, then some of those gilds which compiled replies for the return, rather than simply submitting their ordinances, might have failed to mention their processions.

In Beverley the three religious gilds laid considerable emphasis on their ceremonial activities. Their returns contained detailed descriptions of the processions of the Gilds of St. Helen, and the Purification of the Virgin, and directions for the costuming of the clerical members of the Corpus Christi Gild during its procession.⁹⁸ In York, ceremonial was also vital to the Paternoster Gild. Its principal stated purpose was to organise performances of the Paternoster Play, although it also sustained a light and a written explanation of the Lord's Prayer in the Minster, and held gild funerals and obits.⁹⁹ All these returns were based on gild ordinances which, by their nature, tended to include statements on the gilds' present purposes and current activities.

An adjunct to the question of ceremonial is that of livery. Westlake is not reliable here. Of those gilds that he notes as having liveries, a majority were in London. Clearly, public display was likely to be more common in urban areas, where there were many spectators to impress. It seems inconceivable that none of the great gilds of Coventry, Boston or Bury wore livery. Even in Smith's sample there were only two

⁹⁸PRO C47/46/454, 446. These activities are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, pp.166-7.

⁹⁹PRO C47/46/448

liveried fraternities reported in his group of Lynn gilds and only one in those of Norwich, although both towns had a large number of recorded gilds. In Yorkshire, only the York Paternoster Gild mentioned livery, which its members wore when riding through the city with their play.¹⁰⁰ Although the writs did not specify directly that gilds report on their liveries, the catch-all provision of "all other things touching these gilds and brotherhoods", indicates that they were expected to do so.¹⁰¹ It was specifically mentioned in the petition to the Cambridge Parliament.¹⁰² Chaucer's *Prologue* indicates that livery was generally perceived as stereotypical of gildsmen.¹⁰³ Any reluctance, on the part of a gild, to record the wearing of livery, unless it was referred to in its charter or ordinances, was probably a matter of political prudence.

Gild Possessions and Finance

The instruction of the writs was very clear as regards recording the lands, buildings, rents and possessions of the gilds. As the ostensible reason for the proposed suppression was to raise revenue for the king's French war, this information was vital to the inquiry. Since the ordinances and charters, of the gilds surveyed, did not list these items, the financial state and material possessions of a gild generally took the form of an addition to its return. Such information, then, would have been based on the contemporary situation of the fraternity. It is also certain that, given the circumstances, gild officials would ensure that the financial statements would be pitched as low as possible. The writ

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁰¹Smith, p.128.

¹⁰²See above p.27. Tuck, pp.234-5

¹⁰³Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales : General Prologue*, Ll.363-4.

shows that Chancery was aware of this as it required all persons who held any lands or possessions, belonging to the gild, to be named, thus attempting to block one method of concealment. This part of the writ was fulfilled by the Holy Cross Gild in Rotherham, which listed cottages, messuages and fields held by named members, including John Fledburgh, the vicar, Robert de Bollom, gentleman, Richard Ploghright, Richard FitzSimond and Robert Skynner.¹⁰⁴ Other gilds may have paid less attention to the detail of the writ. In Hull, for example, the Corpus Christi Gild made no reference to owning houses and lands but, only four years after the return was made, the will of Thomas de Styllingflete used a *messuagium Gilde corporis Christi* as a landmark to identify the position of one of his own messuages.¹⁰⁵ It seems likely that the building was in gild ownership for some years prior to this for it to be used for such a purpose.

Concealment of chattels and cash-in-hand is more difficult to prove. Many gilds pleaded poverty, emphasising the devotional or parochial uses to which they put all their funds. That of St. John the Baptist of Whittlesford prayed that the gild's chattels be not touched because the church roof must soon be repaired.¹⁰⁶ Others, like the Lynn Young Scholars, said that they had already spent all their goods "about honest werkys".¹⁰⁷ The Lynn fraternities of St. Anthony, St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Leonard, affirmed that their "katel" was "redy to our lord þe kinges will", probably in the hope that such complaisance would

¹⁰⁴PRO C47/46/453.

¹⁰⁵PRO C47/46/449, BIHR PR I 62r-v.

¹⁰⁶Westlake, p.147

¹⁰⁷*ibid.*, p.53

buy off the threat of suppression.¹⁰⁸ The whole political background against which the returns were made encouraged the gild officials to minimise their assets.

There seems little doubt that the authorities believed gilds to be affluent and that their suppression would provide sufficient funds materially to assist the king to fight a war. The returns, however, gave little impression of a vast source of untapped wealth. The authorities may well have been disappointed, seeing the gilds either as being less affluent than they had believed, or more expert in concealment than they had thought. The confiscation of their assets could have been so difficult as to prove unprofitable. This might provide a possible clue to the authorities' later inaction.

It seems probable that the gilds' sources of income were also under-reported. Only a few Yorkshire gilds admitted taking contributions from members. The 43 men and women whose names appear as founders of the Corpus Christi Gild in Holy Trinity, Hull, each contributed ten silver shillings a year for five years for this purpose.¹⁰⁹ Thereafter they undertook to pay one penny and one farthing a week for life. The St. John the Baptist Gild in Hull charged its members the much lower fee of two shillings each year.¹¹⁰ The other Yorkshire returns did not report subscriptions or entrance fees, although some Beverley gilds mentioned an obligation to make small church offerings at their annual masses. Only the gild in Rotherham admitted an income

¹⁰⁸*ibid.* pp.46, 48 50.

¹⁰⁹PRO C47/46/449.

¹¹⁰PRO C47/46/450.

from real estate. Again, it seems likely that some gilds were as reluctant to declare their sources of income as they were their assets.

Concealment, however, did not necessarily imply fabrication. There is every indication that gilds fulfilled all their devotional and charitable purposes to the best of their ability and that their financial obligations were considerable. The income from the property owned by the Holy Cross Gild of Rotherham was used for maintaining their chaplain, for torches and surges to be burned at the Holy Cross altar and at funerals and for alms.¹¹¹ It had no other goods or chattels. The Gild of St. Mary, St. Wilfrid and All Saints in Ripon was founded for the restoration and maintenance of an old, ruined chapel of St. Mary dating from the time of St. Wilfrid.¹¹² All their money was spent on this and on the chaplain who sang mass there daily. The "other fraternity", that is reported on in the same certificate, sustained a chaplain to sing mass at an altar in Ripon Minster (*le haut eglise*), this being its sole objective. Expenditure was implicit in all the charitable, funereal and devotional activities that the returns described, as well as in more public, social or administrative functions such as processions, feasts and the election of officers. Many gilds probably were poor, but it was clearly in their interests to emphasise, or even exaggerate, their poverty.

Definitions of Gild and Fraternity

Some returns, perhaps from politically aware officials, called into question the status of their organisations. The Gild of St Bridget in

¹¹¹PRO C47/46/453.

¹¹²PRO C47/46/452.

¹¹³Westlake, p.182.

Fleet Street, in London, affirmed that its members had no obligations under oath, that, although they wore hoods on the saint's day, their gatherings were not malicious, and that they were not really a fraternity at all.¹¹³ The officers of the St. Mary Gild, in the same church, claimed that they were simply wardens of the light of St. Mary and that this was not a gild either.¹¹⁴ The Societies of Corpus Christi and St Christopher in Great Yarmouth also denied that they were gilds and asserted that they had no goods or possessions.¹¹⁵ That of Corpus Christi claimed simply to sustain a light. The St. Christopher Society maintained an altar and a priest, but members subscribed on a yearly basis and could withdraw when they wished. However, even if they did not regard themselves as gilds, the Sheriffs of London and Norfolk were clearly persuaded to the contrary view, as demonstrated by the very existence of the returns.

Such ambiguities beg the question as to what did, and what did not, constitute a gild in the Late Middle Ages. The official view, implicit in the writs, was that they were groups of lay men and women, bound by oaths and agreed rules, that met together, both regularly and on occasion. They feasted together and appointed their own officers.¹¹⁶ They might also own lands, goods and money. However, the institution and wording of the inquiry itself shows that the authorities were aware that there were differences between individual gilds that required clarification. One such difference, that was officially recognised, was that between occupational organisations and the rest. The former were all expected to have royal charters or letters patent. It was evidently not compulsory for the latter, who were, nevertheless, to produce them

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p.184.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.219.

¹¹⁶See the translation of the writs in Smith pp.127-31.

si quas habent. Occupational organisations were not called gilds in the writs; the instructions were to the masters, wardens and searchers of mysteries and crafts. The other writs were to the masters and wardens of gilds and fraternities.

In Yorkshire, the terms "gild" and "fraternity" seem to have been used interchangeably. The returns of Rotherham, Bedale and Ripon called such institutions fraternities. Those of Hull and Beverley, and the Paternoster Gild of York, defined them as gilds. The St. John the Baptist Gild, in York, referred to its wardens as *custodes fraternitatis seu gilde*. This kind of double formula was also found widely in Yorkshire wills, including some that were contemporary with the returns.¹¹⁷ The term "service" which was applied, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to gild-like organisations, especially in the West Riding, did not appear in this documentation, nor did "confraternity", which was rarely used in Yorkshire records.¹¹⁸

Although the writs asked for an account of the founding of each gild, they did not ask specifically for a statement of its purposes. These emerge from the returns in a variety of ways. All gilds were, to a greater or lesser degree, pious institutions, but their piety took different forms. As we have seen, a priority of some was the employment of chaplains, of others it was the maintenance of lights or buildings or in the holding of processions or plays. Yet others were especially concerned with deeds of charity, particularly towards their own

¹¹⁷BIHR PR I 3v 1389, Alice Sax of Hull, 6v 1390, Cecily Marshall of St. Denys, York.

¹¹⁸Services are discussed in Chapter 2, pp.112-20. "Confraternity" appears in the ordinances of the Corpus Christi Gild of York, interchangeably with "fraternity", BL Lansdowne MS. 304 ff.5r-19v *passim*, see Chapter 4, p.203.

members. Such preoccupations were generally related to the size, circumstances or geographical location of the gild in question. A city such as York could sustain the Paternoster Gild, despite its very specialised function. Beverley, with its ancient Minster and the shrine of St. John of Beverley, supported gilds that added to the rich ceremonial already present in the town.¹¹⁹ In Hull, a comparatively new town with little tradition of ceremony, the Gild of St. Mary in St. Mary's chapel demonstrated its piety by waiving the annual subscriptions of members who were making pilgrimages to the Holy Land.¹²⁰ For a gild in a seaport, this was not surprising. In the rural setting of Bedale, however, the gild's only stated function was to finance a chaplain.

Common to most gilds, as they appear in the 1389 returns, was a pious purpose and an administration capable of making a reply to the writ. Underpinning this, although they were not always made explicit, were a series of social and religious activities and a financial structure. The petitioners of 1388 believed that through these activities and structures the gilds constituted a threat to the established order and that they were increasing in number. How far they were correct in the latter assumption can be assessed by examining the foundation dates that appear on many of the returns.

The Question of Proliferation

The King's writ required the officers of each gild to state the date and circumstances of its foundation. Gild officers who were aware of the moves in the Cambridge Parliament to suppress gilds that were not

¹¹⁹See Chapter 3, below, pp.165-8.

¹²⁰PRO C47/46/451.

ancient institutions, must have realised that it was in their interests to emphasise the antiquity of their fraternities. 314, out of a total of 508, quoted actual dates of foundation in their returns.¹²¹ Some of these referred to charters of incorporation, the rest were recorded or recalled in other ways, perhaps not always accurately. 16 gilds claimed to have been founded on dates prior to 1300. Others, while not citing actual dates, said they had been founded during the reigns of particular kings including Henry I, John and Edward III. The borough gild in Malmesbury even claimed foundation in the reign of Athelstan. Thirty-five of them used formulae such as "long ago", which might have indicated foundation beyond living memory in 1389. Three gilds were founded in the reign of Richard II, implying that they were 12 years old or less. A further 13 gilds stated that they were of "recent" foundation, or were "newly founded". Although such a statement is vague it does, nevertheless, suggest that some of these gilds were also founded within the current reign. A number of foundation dates are missing from damaged returns.

Figure 1.6 shows the chronological pattern of the foundations of the 298 fourteenth century gilds whose dates are given in the returns. Despite their shortcomings, they give a clearer indication of the antiquity of individual gilds than that derived from testamentary sources, on which we are largely dependent for the following century and a half. These merely indicate a point in time in which a gild was known to be active. Even allowing for the disappearance of numbers of early fraternities, the table indicates a significant increase in gild foundations in the second half of the fourteenth century. Of the surviving returns that were precisely dated, 20 per cent of gilds were

¹²¹These figures are based on an analysis of the table in Westlake pp.138-238.

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founded before 1349 and 80 per cent from that date up to 1388. 1349 appears to represent a watershed, when 14 gilds claimed to have been founded, representing the largest number recorded in any one year.

FIGURE 1.6 : FOURTEENTH CENTURY GILD FOUNDATION DATES

Sources: Westlake, J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy 1348-1530* (Macmillan, 1977, repr. 1987), p.25.

<u>Events</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundations</u>	<u>Events</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Foundations</u>
	1306	■ 1		1356	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 6
	1307	■ ■ ■ 3		1357	■ 1
	1309	■ ■ ■ 3		1358	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 8
	1310	■ ■ 2		1359	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 9
	1313	■ 1		1360	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 6
	1315	■ 1	Plague	1361	■ ■ ■ ■ 4
	1316	■ 1	Plague	1362	■ ■ ■ ■ 4
	1317	■ 1		1363	■ ■ ■ ■ 4
	1320	■ 1		1364	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 7
	1326	■ 1		1365	■ ■ ■ ■ 4
	1328	■ ■ 2		1366	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 5
	1329	■ ■ ■ ■ 4		1367	■ ■ ■ ■ 4
	1331	■ 1	Plague	1368	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 5
	1333	■ 1	Plague	1369	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 8
	1335	■ ■ ■ 3		1370	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 5
	1336	■ ■ ■ 3		1371	■ ■ 2
	1337	■ ■ 2		1372	■ ■ ■ 3
	1338	■ ■ 2		1373	■ ■ 2
	1339	■ ■ ■ 3		1374	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 6
	1341	■ ■ ■ ■ 4	Plague	1375	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 8
	1342	■ ■ 2		1376	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 10
	1343	■ ■ ■ 3		1377	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 11
	1344	■ ■ ■ ■ 4		1378	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 11
	1345	■ 1	Plague	1379	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 12
	1346	■ ■ 2	Plague	1380	■ ■ ■ 3
	1347	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 7	Plague/Revolt	1381	■ ■ 2
Plague	1348	■ 1	Plague	1382	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 6
Plague	1349	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 14	Plague	1383	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 8
	1350	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 8		1384	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 7
	1351	■ 1		1385	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 13
	1352	■ ■ 2		1386	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 8
	1354	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 5		1387	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■ 11
	1355	■ ■ 2	Carbridge Plt	1388	■ 1

Not included are 19 gilds founded before 1300, 35 founded "long ago", 8 founded under 14th century kings and 13 founded "recently".

It seems certain that this increase was, at least in part, a response to the international trauma of the Black Death. A proliferation of gilds and confraternities has been observed throughout Europe during the second half of the fourteenth century.¹²² To some degree, perhaps, this could

be put down to general panic and a flight to religion in the face of the pestilence. More particularly, however, it was a response of individuals to the need to confront sudden, unpredictable and widespread death with a dignity and ceremony that the parish alone could not always provide. This phenomenon has been analysed amongst the confraternities of Florence by John Henderson and by Caroline Barron amongst the parish guilds of London.¹²³ Figure 1.6 indicates that peaks in gild foundation, in the areas covered by the returns, generally coincided with outbreaks of plague or other epidemics during the following forty years. An exception to this was the so-called "children's plague" of 1361-62, where a peak in foundations preceded rather than followed the outbreak.¹²⁴ The victims here were mainly children, who had not been old enough to become immune in the 1348-49 outbreak or because the disease was not Bubonic Plague but some other sickness to which the young were particularly susceptible.¹²⁵ Child mortality was unlikely to have been a stimulus to gild foundation. Children's guilds, such as the Young Scholars' Guild of Lynn, founded in 1383, were rarities in the returns.¹²⁶

The correlation between plague dates and increases in gild foundations cannot, however, simply be put down to a need for burial provision or to an increase in piety in the face of calamity. The Black Death was

¹²²J. Henderson, "Religious Confraternities and Death in Early Renaissance Florence", *Florence and Italy: Renaissance Studies in Honour of Nicolai Rubinstein*, eds. P. Denley and C. Elam (London, 1988) pp.384-5.

¹²³*Ibid.*, pp.345-7. C. Barron, "The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London", p.25.

¹²⁴J. Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy, 1348-1530* (Macmillan, 1977), pp.58-61.

¹²⁵P.J.P. Goldberg, "Mortality and Economic Change in the Diocese of York, 1390-1514", *Northern History*, 24 (1988) pp.41-3.

¹²⁶Smith, *English Guilds*, pp.51-3, but see also the *gilde puerorum* of Seamer in the *Gazetteer*.

only one factor in changes in population density and distribution that took place throughout the fourteenth century. There is evidence of the movement of individuals into towns and into the more fertile parts of the countryside, away from uplands and other areas of marginal farming.¹²⁷ In some agricultural areas there was a sharp decline in cultivated acreage and markets were disrupted, or disappeared, in a number of towns.¹²⁸ In these circumstances of social upheaval, when families were destroyed by sickness, or broken up by individuals emigrating from their familiar surroundings, a need for support of all kinds was paramount. There is some reason to suppose that parishes were unable to adjust to these social changes, their organisation and boundaries having been fixed by the end of the thirteenth century.¹²⁹ An alternative form of association was readily to hand. Gilds offered their members spiritual comfort, social support and fraternal conviviality.

It is, however, easy to exaggerate the effects of the Black Death and its consequences, direct and indirect, on the formation of gilds. John Bossy argues persuasively that the plague merely stimulated the resurgence of a movement that was already well-established, almost universally throughout Europe, partly through the influence of the friars.¹³⁰ In an English context, it may be no coincidence that the petition to the Cambridge Parliament was contemporary with Lollard attacks on the mendicant orders.¹³¹ One contentious aspect of the

¹²⁷See Chapter 2, pp.109-10.

¹²⁸R.H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500* (Cambridge, 1993) pp.156-9.

¹²⁹G. Rosser, "Communities of Parish and Guild", pp.32-3.

¹³⁰J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700* (Oxford, 1985), pp.58-9.

¹³¹M. Aston, "'Caim's Castles': Poverty, Politics and Disendowment", in *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. B. Dobson (Alan Sutton, 1984), pp.45-9.

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friars' role was their growing importance as confessors. During the fourteenth century, penance was increasingly being regarded as a private sacrament, its secrecy being more easily maintained by the employment of friars and, for the wealthy, private chaplains, than by the parish priest.¹³² By contrast, the latter's most important activity was now the celebration of mass, which had become a more public ritual than it had been in previous centuries, providing powerful ceremonial demonstrations of unity, harmony and fraternity through the symbolism of Christ's body.¹³³ The establishment of guilds, especially in their role as employers of priests, enabled laymen to become involved in promoting, supporting and elaborating eucharistic ritual.

A particular example of this trend grew out of the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi, which was established in England by 1318.¹³⁴ The response, in terms of gild foundations, was immediate. The 1389 gild returns recorded 44 dedications to Corpus Christi.¹³⁵ This, in itself, was a major contribution to gild proliferation in the fourteenth century, but it seems likely that the cult also helped to establish an ethos that encouraged the foundation of other guilds with allied dedications, such as Holy Cross, Holy Trinity, and St. John the Baptist, whose head, presented on a platter, was symbolic of the host.¹³⁶

Impelled by public manifestations of piety, and against a background of recurring epidemics and social disruption, guilds, at least in the areas

¹³²J. Hughes, "The Administration of Confession in the Diocese of York in the Fourteenth Century", ed. D.M. Smith, *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England* (York, 1991), pp.160-1.

¹³³M. James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body", pp.8-9.

¹³⁴M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.199.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, p.234.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, p.315.

covered by the returns, continued to proliferate up to and including the 1380s. If we take the foundations listed in Figure 1.4 and add to them both the number of those that were "recently" founded and those that were established in Richard II's reign, some 34.7 per cent of all gilds formed between 1300 and 1389 had been founded in the twelve years since the king's accession. This confirms the contention of the Cambridge Parliament that their number was increasing. In Yorkshire the fourteenth century evidence is sparse, and much of it belongs to the final two decades of the century. The evidence that there is, however, confirms that what appears to be a general trend occurred here too.

Conclusion

That gilds were proliferating throughout the country in the late fourteenth century seems certain. The Cambridge Parliament clearly viewed this as a threat, in its assumption that they provided opportunities for public unrest and sedition. Their growing affluence was also seen as an opportunity for central government to solve its economic difficulties. Contemporary criticisms of the wealth of the church as an institution may well have influenced the decision to petition that the gilds, whose orthodoxy was demonstrated through lavish public displays of their traditional beliefs, be suppressed. This initiative to persuade central government to take action against them was, however, ultimately unsuccessful and, at least by the early fifteenth century, there was a change in royal policy. The devotional ethos of the gilds now coincided with the Lancastrian crusade against heresy. In 1389, both the manner in which the writs were enforced and the various ways in which the fraternities responded show that gilds had established relationships with local authority in all its forms. The Yorkshire returns show us gilds that were closely associated with local

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lords, with ecclesiastical figures and with town governments. Their presence and distribution were known to central government through the agency of the county sheriff. It was perhaps inevitable that, as their activities became increasingly acceptable to the crown, their involvement with both national and local government should become ever closer. It was also inevitable that this development would stimulate changes both within the guilds themselves and in their relationships with authority in all its forms. The various ways in which these processes took place will be investigated in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER TWO : THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION AND CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF YORKSHIRE GILDS

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, religious gilds were becoming a normal phenomenon. They were normal in that those of them that were large or wealthy enough to be identified were part of the orthodox, central strand of medieval public piety, generally supported by the king's government and by the local administrations of city, borough and manor that underpinned it. They were allies of the establishment, embracing both church and state. This aspect of their normality will be fully investigated in later chapters, although it cannot be wholly ignored in this one. They were also normal in the sense that they were probably almost universal. Westlake's assertion that any medieval church without a gild was unusual, has received recent support through Rosser's estimate of the presence of 30,000 gilds in fifteenth century England.¹ An investigation of the distribution of the evidence for gilds in Yorkshire will be used to test these statements as they apply to the county. This will lead to a consideration of the economic and demographic characteristics of the places where gilds were found. How far identified gilds were associated with large, wealthy communities, and the power bases within them, and to what extent they also appeared in smaller, poorer places, will form a vital constituent in the discussion of their varying functions.

Medieval Yorkshire was a large administrative unit, embracing smaller areas with widely differing topographies. Although the gild, as an institution, was found throughout most of the county, there were local variations in the patterns of both their chronological development,

¹Westlake, p.60. Rosser, "Going to the Fraternity Feast", p.430-1.

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between 1389 and 1547, and their geographical distribution within the county. Following a general analysis, the guilds of two distinct geographical areas, the coastal East Riding and the textile areas of the West Riding, which present particular problems, relating to their economic circumstances and parish organisation, will receive special attention. The development of fraternities in the county's five largest towns will also be given separate consideration, comparing common characteristics, related to the urban environment, with the differences between them. The guilds of the City of York will be used for comparative purposes only, as they will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. This chronological and geographical survey will provide essential background to arguments that will be developed in Chapter Three.

The Nature of the Testamentary Evidence for Yorkshire Guilds

The principal body of documentation used in this chapter is testamentary. The disadvantages of using this kind of evidence have been widely discussed by historians.² Wills were made in significant quantity by a narrow band of the population that was wealthy enough to have sufficient possessions to bequeath. Furthermore they are not always very informative in detail. Burgess, for example, makes the valid point that bequests to guilds fail to show what services they offered the testator.³ They have been used here to identify the locations of guilds and the quality of individuals that made bequests to them. Generalisations based on this information can show only very broad

²Eg. Goldberg, "Mortality and Economic Change", pp.38-40. Heath, "Urban Piety", pp.210-11, Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills", pp.14-30, *passim*.

³*ibid.*, p.18.

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FIGURE 2.1 : TESTATORS MAKING BEQUESTS TO GILDS AND SERVICES IN YORKSHIRE (EXCLUDING YORK) IN WILL SAMPLE

	<u>Sample Dates</u>	<u>Wills</u>	<u>Bequests</u>	<u>Testators</u>
1.	25 March 1320 - 24 March 1400	430	24 5.6%	23 5.3%
2.	25 March 1405 - 24 March 1409	131	19 14.5%	15 11.5%
3.	25 March 1416 - 24 March 1420	40	5 12.5%	2 5.0%
4.	25 March 1427 - 24 March 1431	250	21 8.4%	18 7.2%
5.	25 March 1438 - 24 March 1442	209	24 11.5%	15 7.2%
6.	25 March 1449 - 24 March 1453	118	19 16.1%	13 11.0%
7.	25 March 1460 - 24 March 1464	138	22 15.9%	18 13.0%
8.	25 March 1471 - 24 March 1475	274	51 18.6%	34 12.4%
9.	25 March 1482 - 24 March 1486	256	69 27.0%	46 18.0%
10.	25 March 1493 - 24 March 1497	110	16 14.5%	13 11.8%
11.	25 March 1504 - 24 March 1508	558	107 19.2%	77 13.8%
12.	25 March 1515 - 24 March 1519	355	52 14.6%	38 10.7%
13.	25 March 1526 - 24 March 1530	682	84 12.3%	66 9.7%
14.	25 March 1537 - 24 March 1541	1386	80 5.8%	63 4.5%
15.	25 March 1547 - 24 March 1548	324	3 0.9%	3 0.9%
<u>Total</u>		<u>5261</u>	<u>596 11.3%</u>	<u>444 8.4%</u>

NOTES

Wills: number of wills read in each sample period.
Bequests: number of bequests made to guilds in each sample period.
Testators: number of testators making bequests to guilds in each sample period.
 Percentages relate to the total number of wills in each sample period.

trends. An additional problem, in the investigation, has been the sheer bulk of the material involved. The consequent use of the sampling system, described in the Introduction, and shown in Figure 2.1, naturally involves the omission of two-thirds of the potential information.⁴ It should be noted that two of the sample periods shown in the table are inconsistent with the rest. Period one includes all the extant fourteenth century wills in the primary manuscript sources studied, spanning 80 years, rather than four. Period 15 covers one year only, that of the dissolution.

⁴See above, pp.22-3 and Figure 2.1.

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Another constraint lies in the way that the surviving probate records run. There are serious gaps in the probate registers of the Diocesan Exchequer Court, the principal source of this evidence, especially affecting sample period three, from 1416-1420. A further gap, in 1470, falls outside the sample. There are also significant geographical gaps in the records.⁵ The sequence of Richmondshire wills, for example, does not begin until the end of the fifteenth century, and Howdenshire was under the jurisdiction of the see of Durham. Whilst three local gilds were recorded in two Richmond wills, that have strayed into the probate registers, and a gild in Howden has been identified from other sources, fraternities in these two areas are less well documented than most others. A smaller but important lacuna lies in the virtual absence of surviving medieval wills from the peculiar of Knaresborough, where the Gild of St. Robert was identified by bequests from Lincolnshire and Doncaster.

With the exception of the probate registers of the Dean and Chapter of York and the few wills that appear in the Archbishops' registers, there are almost no extant Yorkshire wills before 1389. The raw figures in the table suggest an increasing interest in gilds, on the part of testators, that peaked in the early years of the sixteenth century. This impression, however, fails to take account of an increase in will-making over the same period, and the percentage figures indicate that the real peak in popularity was reached in the 1480s. Before attempting to analyse these patterns, however, it is important to establish the ways in which the data is affected by changes in the status, wealth and attitudes of the testators.

⁵See Gazetteer for Richmond, Howden and Knaresborough.

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Many sixteenth century wills were made by the kind of individuals who had not made them at all in the previous century.⁶ These were often husbandmen, with a few animals, or small quantities of farm produce, to leave to their children, who made brief wills and seldom made bequests to guilds. The large number of these wills made a high frequency of such bequests improbable. The low frequency of bequests to guilds in the fourteenth century, on the other hand, seems to have been due to entirely contrary factors. Here the testators were often gentry and high clergy who, in their long and elaborate wills, generally preferred to make pious bequests to religious houses, or to found their own chantries. This group of testators made more bequests to guilds in the following century, when the latter become more politically acceptable.⁷ Within the fifteenth century, however, merchants and craftsmen, and their wives, in urban areas, and husbandmen are found in increasing numbers in the probate registers. Such people were most likely to belong to guilds and to make bequests to ~~the~~ them. If this analysis is correct, there was a greater likelihood of testators making bequests to guilds in the fifteenth century than in the fourteenth or sixteenth. Thus a higher proportion of bequests to guilds would be expected to appear in fifteenth century wills. Conclusions based on lower proportions during the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries should, therefore, be approached with some caution.

When a member of a guild made a will, his or her fraternity was not usually a principal concern. Bequests to guilds were made by a tiny minority of testators. Even the guild that received most legacies in the

⁶See Chapter 3, pp.137-9, where evidence for these changing patterns of testators making bequests to guilds is presented and discussed.

⁷See Chapter 1, pp.71-2.

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entire area, that of Corpus Christi in York, received only about 360 bequests from a total recorded membership of over 16,850.⁸ Whilst a dozen gilds in other counties affirmed, in the 1389 gild returns, that they required their members to make bequests to them, this does not seem to have been the case with any Yorkshire fraternity.⁹ However, there is some evidence to suggest that the York Corpus Christi Gild offered superior funerals in return for bequests, indicating that the two per cent of members that made bequests to it represents an atypically high figure.¹⁰ Clearly, bequests to gilds were made only by the wealthiest and most highly motivated members.

One hundred and thirty-four gilds in the county received only a single bequest and, in most cases, this is the only proof of their existence. Of course, an isolated bequest to a gild does no more than show that it was operating in a specific location at a certain date. It cannot indicate recent foundation. There are many examples of gilds that were flourishing many years before they first received a bequest. Whilst the first testamentary evidence for the existence of the Corpus Christi Gild in Hull was in 1394, its gild return in 1389 claimed a foundation date of 1358.¹¹ The Holy Cross Gild of Hedon was first recorded in 1392, but did not receive its first bequest until 1472 and the St. Mary Gild of Guisborough was operating by 1478 but was not mentioned in a will until 1547.¹² It is also obvious that, where a gild was associated with more than one bequest, the interval between them is not an accurate

⁸Skaife, *Corpus Christi Gild* p.xii. See Gazetteer.

⁹E.g. St. Christopher, St. Edmund of Bury, St. George, St. John, all in Bury St. Edmunds, Westlake pp.226-7.

¹⁰See Chapter 5, p.269.

¹¹PRO C47/46/449, BIHR PR I 62r-v.

¹²See Gazetteer for Guisborough and Hedon.

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guide to the fraternity's longevity. One can merely make the assumption that the gild was operating between the first and last record, although, even here, it is not beyond possibility that a gild might have lapsed and subsequently been re-founded during this period. Two bequests were received by 46 gilds in the will sample. Those that attracted over ten, such as the the Gilds of Corpus Christi in Pontefract, St. Mary in Swine, St. George in Doncaster or the four gilds of Hornsea, were exceptional. The particular reasons for their popularity will be examined later.¹³ As many as 41 gilds, in the county, appeared in non-testamentary sources, but received no bequests in the sample. Twenty-four of these were manifestly wealthy fraternities, owning lands and houses, like that of St. Mary in Ripley, where the disposal of its extensive former lands and properties is a matter of record, although there is no other extant evidence for its existence prior to the dissolution.¹⁴ This being the case with a rich fraternity, it seems highly probable that a substantial number of smaller gilds either did not show up in the sample or disappeared without trace.

Another factor relating to the making of bequests may well have been fashion. In some cases all the bequests to a particular gild were concentrated within a short space of time. The four bequests to the St. Botolph Gild in Bossall spanned the period from December, 1527, to May, 1539.¹⁵ Similarly, the four to the St. Mary Gild at Coxwold covered the period from September, 1537, to October, 1539.¹⁶ It could

¹³See pp.127-8 (Pontefract), 98-9 (Swine), 128-9 (Doncaster), 101-2 (Hornsea)..

¹⁴Ripley: Page: *Com. Cert. Vol. II* (SS. No. 92, 1894) p.226, *Cal. Pat. 2EdVI and 3EdVI*, pp.70-72.

¹⁵See Gazetteer for Bossall.

¹⁶See Gazetteer for Coxwold.

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be argued that both these gilds were briefly popular but ephemeral. However, the St Mary Gild of Patrington, whose two bequests were willed in October, 1485, and March, 1486, was still operating just prior to the dissolution sixty years later.¹⁷ A more plausible solution may be that certain gilds were fashionable at a particular time, when testators either cooperated for a particular, unrecorded, gild project or wished to compete with one another in generosity to their fraternities.

Taking into consideration the imperfections of the records, the constraints of working with samples and the low probability of gild members making bequests to them, it seems likely that there were far more small gilds in late medieval Yorkshire than have emerged from records studied. It is also likely that they were more stable institutions than the tiny number of bequests that many of them attracted suggests.

Chronological Patterns of Gild Activity

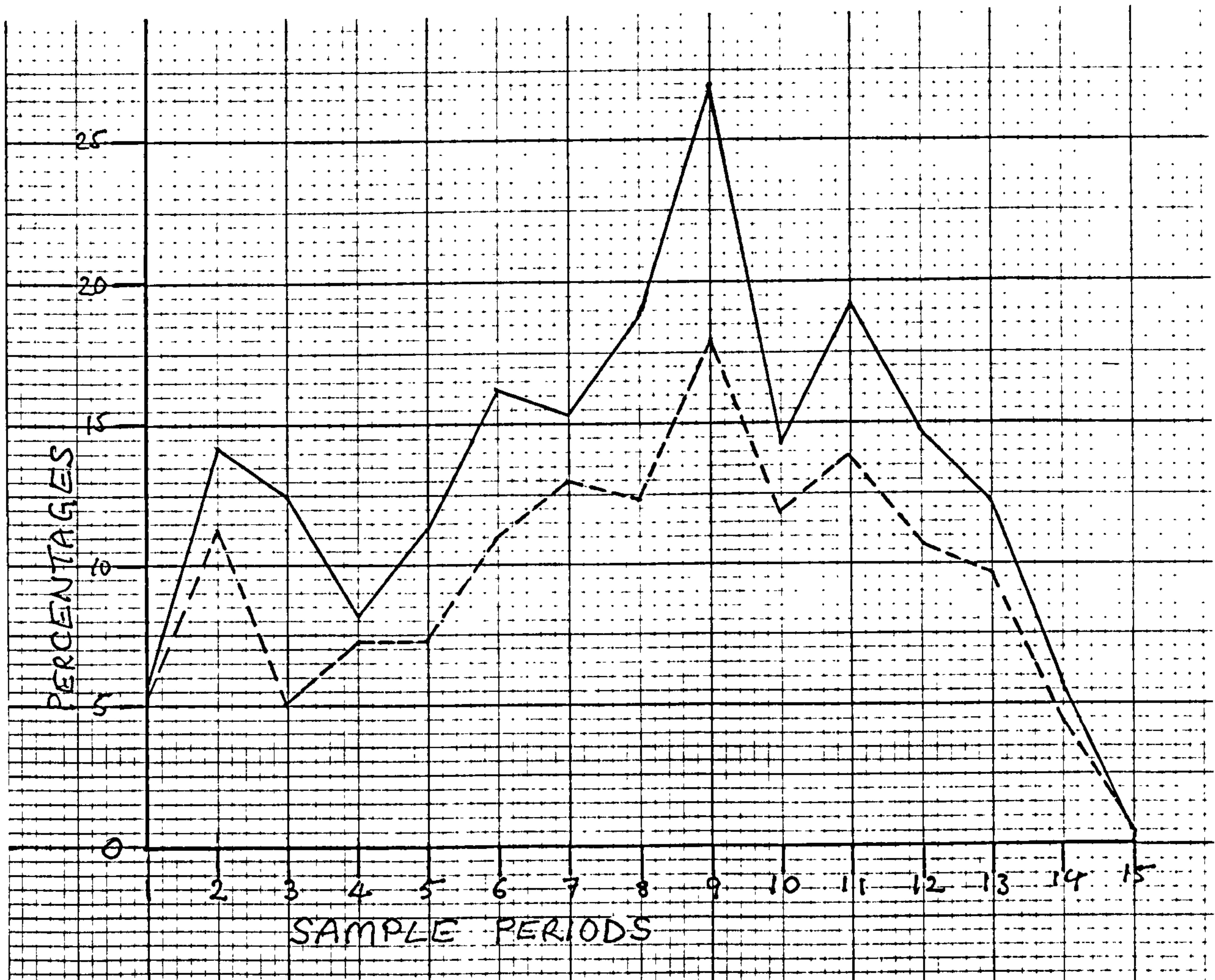
Bearing in mind its shortcomings, and including bequests to services within the calculations, the testamentary evidence, nevertheless, offers some indication of the chronological ebb and flow of gild activity in Late Medieval Yorkshire.¹⁸ The evidence of the county wills sampled, excluding York, indicates a steady increase in the number of previously unrecorded gilds that received bequests between 1349 and 1547. From the first recorded bequest, that to the St. George Gild in Scarborough in 1349, to the end of the fourteenth century, 24 gilds were recorded.¹⁹ In the first half of the fifteenth century there were bequests to 32

¹⁷See Gazetteer for Patrington.

¹⁸Services are discussed below, pp.112-21.

¹⁹See Gazetteer for Scarborough.

FIGURE 2.2 : GRAPH : PERCENTAGE OF TESTATORS MAKING BEQUESTS TO GILDS IN YORKSHIRE (EXCLUDING YORK)



NOTES

The broken line shows the number of testators making bequests to guilds expressed as a percentage of all testators in each sample period. The solid line shows the numbers of bequests they made similarly expressed.

Sample Periods: Running from 25th March to 24th March as follows:

- | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. 1320 - 1400 | 2. 1405 - 1409 | 3. 1416 - 1420 | 4. 1427 - 1431 |
| 5. 1438 - 1442 | 6. 1449 - 1453 | 7. 1460 - 1464 | 8. 1471-1485 |
| 9. 1482 - 1486 | 10. 1493 - 1497 | 11. 1504 - 1508 | 12. 1515 - 1519 |
| 13. 1526 - 1530 | 14. 1537 - 1541 | 15. 1547 - 1548 | |

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"new" gilds. The second half of the century saw an additional 70 appearing in wills, whilst the half-century that culminated in the dissolution of the gilds in 1547 yielded a further 82. This is, of course, a very rough indicator. More sophisticated information can be gleaned from the information laid out in Figure 2.1 and, especially, the graph at Figure 2.2, showing the peaks and troughs in the numbers of testators making bequests to gilds, and of the numbers of the bequests themselves, as a proportion of the total number of wills made in each sample period.

A general impression emerges that the popularity of gilds was at its highest between 1438 and 1530 when bequests to them maintained a level above the mean percentage of 11.3. It seems likely that both of these dates are, at least in part, related to national political events. The statute of Henry VI, of 1436, which required the registration of gild ordinances by local government agencies, whilst probably representing just one stage in the royal support of fraternities, appears to have acted as a stimulus to their growing popularity.²⁰ Although this measure seems to have had an immediate influence in York, it evidently took effect more gradually in the county at large.²¹ At the other end of the sample sequence, the wills of 1537-41 immediately follow the Pilgrimage of Grace, coinciding with a period in which the gilds' devotional purposes were being attacked by central government. The bloody aftermath of the rebellion rendered a steep decline in bequests to gilds inevitable.²²

²⁰*Statutes of the Realm* (London, 1816, repr. 1963), pp.298-9. See also p.18 below.

²¹See Chapter 4, below, p.197.

²²See Chapter Seven, below, pp.375-381.

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A further indication of the popularity of guilds in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is in the multiple membership enjoyed by many testators. The divergence between the numbers of testators and bequests, found in the sample of 1416-20, may not be particularly significant, in view of its small size, but it is clear that during the peak periods of 1482-86 and 1504-08, this was a general trend. The fashion of supporting more than one guild at a time held sway from the 1440s until the first decade of the sixteenth century. This might point to a particularly high degree of guild activity during that time span, but there are other implications. Membership of one guild might have expressed an individual's loyalty to a particular saint or to a need for spiritual or material support from fellow members. Membership of several suggests involvement in a web of social contacts that often had commercial, or political, as well as devotional connotations. This could signal a shift in the nature and purposes of guilds, during this period, especially in urban areas, where such contacts were most readily made.

Within the broad pattern of proliferation and decline of bequests to guilds occur the two peaks shown in the samples of 1482-86 and 1504-08. It seems likely that these were the result of local variation. Before this can be established, however, it is essential to identify those areas where testamentary evidence is most likely to occur.

Gild Distribution: Wealth and Population

There is a high probability of guilds being found in large, prosperous locations. A township with a big population was more likely to provide a large number of wills, offering a greater likelihood that some of these might contain bequests to guilds. Furthermore, such a place would have a greater chance of supporting persons of sufficient wealth to enable

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them to make such bequests. The prosperity of a place, irrespective of its size, might also make the identification of guilds there more likely, especially if other factors were present to contribute to its importance, thereby attracting the presence or the attention of wealthy testators.

The size, wealth and importance of a medieval settlement can be measured in a variety of ways. Taxation returns can demonstrate the size or wealth of a community. The lay subsidy of 1334 is a useful indicator of the wealth of a community at that date. It was based on an assessment to the value of one fifteenth of the movable property in most locations. About two per cent of places were assessed at one tenth, but this is too small a proportion radically to affect totals. Because the way in which payments were made was determined locally, the lay subsidy is a guide to the wealth, not the population, of a community.²³ Clergy and their villeins were exempt from payment. This implies that townships, where there were concentrations of clergy and ancient, church-owned land, were wealthier than the figures suggest, although this factor is probably not very significant.

Some 60 per cent of all the locations in Yorkshire, that were assessed, paid more than £1, and only 19, or 12.8 per cent, of the 149 locations where guilds and services were later found, and whose assessments were recorded, paid less than that amount. The assessments for these 19 places ranged from 9s. to 18s. The arithmetical mean valuation, for all locations where guilds were found, excepting York, was £4.5s.8d. Clearly the 19 towns assessed at less than £1 had exceptionally low

²³R.E. Glasscock, *The Lay Subsidy of 1334* (British Academy, Oxford, 1975) p.xxiv. For the individual assessments of all places in Yorkshire where guilds were found, see the Gazetteer.

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assessments for gild locations.²⁴ It must, however, be pointed out that some of these communities, such as Halifax, became considerably wealthier during the fifteenth century.²⁵ Services in Halifax first appeared, in the will sample, as late as 1526.²⁶ Equally exceptional were Market Weighton, Newbald and Yarm, the only three centres out of a total of 18, with an assessment of £8 and over, where gilds were not identified from the will sample, or from other sources.²⁷ However, it would be true to say that gilds developed, if they were not already present, in most communities that had been wealthy enough, in 1334, to be assessed at £1 or more. Unfortunately, for our purposes, this lay subsidy provides figures for a date that is earlier than any testamentary evidence for Yorkshire gilds. All conclusions drawn from them are subject to later changes in the prosperity of an area.

Sixteenth century lay subsidy assessments do not provide a satisfactory picture of all population centres in the county. Detailed information for parts of the North and East Ridings may not have been returned by the government surveyors, in the 1520s, and data for these areas is also

²⁴Elland (9s.), Kirkby Overblow (10s.), Spofforth (11s.), Halifax with Heptonstall (11s.), Foston (12s.), Stirton (12s.), Kirkburton (12s.), Huddersfield (13s 4d), Kirby Misperton (13s 4d), Penistone (14s.), Ripley (15s.), Keighley (15s.), Almondbury (16s.), Kirkheaton (16s.), Birstall (17s.), Alne (18s.), Bossall (18s.), Hawnby (18s.), Thorne (18s.).

²⁵Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, p.75.

²⁶BIHR PR IX 349, Richard Ambler, St. Mary, St. George, Morrow Mass Services. For an explanation of the term "service", see below, pp.113-21.

²⁷With the exception of Ravenser Odd (£15) which had disappeared under the sea by 1367, prior to most Yorkshire gild references. See J.A. Sheppard, *The Draining of the Marshlands of South Holderness and the Vale of York* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1966), p.6.

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missing from the returns of the 1540s, although they do provide some indications of broad trends, especially in York itself.²⁸

Population can be measured by the poll tax of 1377.²⁹ It was paid by lay persons over the age of fourteen, at a standard rate of 4d. per head. The question of how far the figures provided by the returns have been distorted by evasion has been widely discussed, but this is a more significant factor when applied to the poll taxes of 1379 and 1380-1.³⁰ There are, however, several gaps in the Yorkshire assessments, some of which have been filled from later returns, for the purposes of the Gazetteer in the Appendix, but they have not been included in the following calculations.³¹

Whatever its shortcomings, the 1377 poll tax provides an essential rough guide to the relative sizes of communities in the later fourteenth century. The smallest community where gilds or services were found was Penistone with a poll tax population of 20. Fifty other places, with

²⁸J. Sheail, "Distribution of taxable population and Wealth in England during the Early Sixteenth Century", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 55, (1972), p.116 and note, p.118. A detailed return, of 1524, from the City of York and the Ainsty, is available in printed form: E. Peacock, "Subsidy Roll for York and Ainsty", *YAJ* 4, (London, 1877) pp.170-201.

²⁹I am grateful to Dr. Richard Smith who has kindly allowed me to use his unpublished poll tax values of the surviving Yorkshire returns for 1377.

³⁰"Rotularia Collectorum Subsidii Regi a Laicis Anno Secundo Concessi in Westrythyngo in Comitatu Eboraci", *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* Vols. V, VI & VII, (1879, 1881, 1883), J.C. Cox "Poll Tax of the East Riding", *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society* Vol 15 (1908), B.J.D. Harrison "The 1377 Poll Tax Returns for the North Riding", *Cleveland and Teeside Local history Society Bulletin* No. 10 (1970).

³¹P.J.P. Goldberg, "Urban Identity and the Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381", *ECHR* 2nd Ser. XLIII (1990), pp.194-5, 214.

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a poll tax population of less than 100, also supported gilds. However, the arithmetical mean poll tax population of the 132 locations, where gilds were found, was 236. If this figure is compared with all the 1,027 Yorkshire locations taxed in 1377, with a population of 30 taxpayers or more, excluding York, we can see a considerable disparity. The arithmetical mean of this population is 103. This shows that gilds were found preponderantly in communities with large populations. Certainly, most large locations sustained gilds. Gilds or services were recorded in the will sample, or from other sources, from 14 out of a possible 15 towns with poll tax populations in excess of 400, Kirkbymoorside, with 511, being the only exception.

FIGURE 2.3 : DISTRIBUTION OF RECORDED GILDS WITHIN 1377 POLL TAX POPULATIONS

<u>Population:</u>	<u>20-119</u>	<u>120-219</u>	<u>220-319</u>	<u>320-419</u>	<u>420-519</u>	<u>520-619</u>	<u>620+</u>
All Locations:	898	157	24	27	4	3	8
Gild Locations:	62	33	13	10	3	3	8
Percentage:	6.9	21.0	54.2	37.0	75.0	100	100

NOTES

Population: Poll tax populations grouped according to size.

All Locations: Total number of all locations appearing in each population group.

Gild Locations: Number of locations where gilds and/or services were identified from all sources.

Percentage The number of gild locations expressed as a percentage all locations within each population group.

Poll tax populations are taken from unpublished figures supplied by Richard Smith

54 locations with 1377 Poll Tax populations of less than 20 had no recorded gilds.

Gilds or services were found in 27 locations where whose assessments were not recorded.

The City of York is excluded from these calculations.

Figure 2.1 shows that gilds were present in most large population centres and, that the larger the centre, the greater was the probability of gilds being found there. However, it also indicates that gilds were discovered in 95 locations where poll tax populations were less than 220. This represents 72 per cent of all the places where gilds were identified. Such a high proportion might suggest that there were many

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more guilds in places with populations at all levels than have come to light. Indeed, bearing in mind the low probability of guild members making bequests to their fraternities, it tends to support the contention that guilds were an almost universal phenomenon. However, the question remains as to why testators made bequests to individual guilds in specific localities. Although the survival of evidence may be random to some degree, there seems little doubt that, in many cases, the guilds that can still be identified were of particular size or importance. The influences that made them so are best approached through an analysis of their geographical distribution.

Gild Distribution: Geography

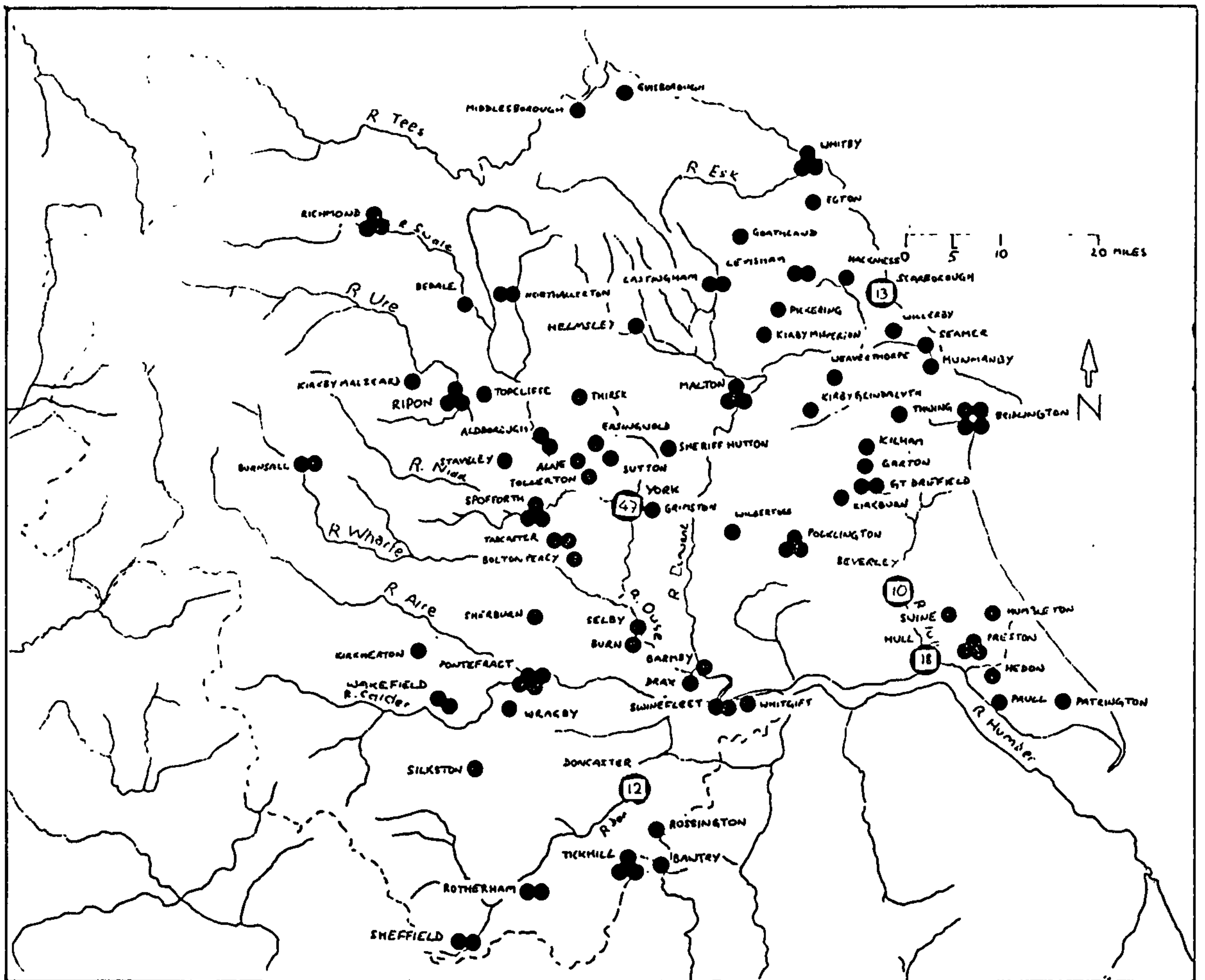
The maps at Figures 2.2 and 2.3 show all the guilds and services that were found in the county, from all sources, before and after 1500.³² The choice of the year 1500 as a watershed is not arbitrary. It falls after the peak in bequests to guilds that was identified in the sample period in the 1480s but before the later peak found in the very early sixteenth century.³³ Comparison of the maps shows that the changes in guild distribution, taking place during this period, are well illustrated by the selection of this date. The earlier map demonstrates a comparatively even distribution of locations, where guilds were found, throughout most of the rural areas of the county. They were, however, found in greatest concentration in York, Hull, Scarborough, Doncaster and Beverley, all large urban centres. The later map shows a decline in the numbers of recorded guilds in all these places, although

³²For a discussion of the term "services" see pp.112-21 below.

³³See Figure 2.5.

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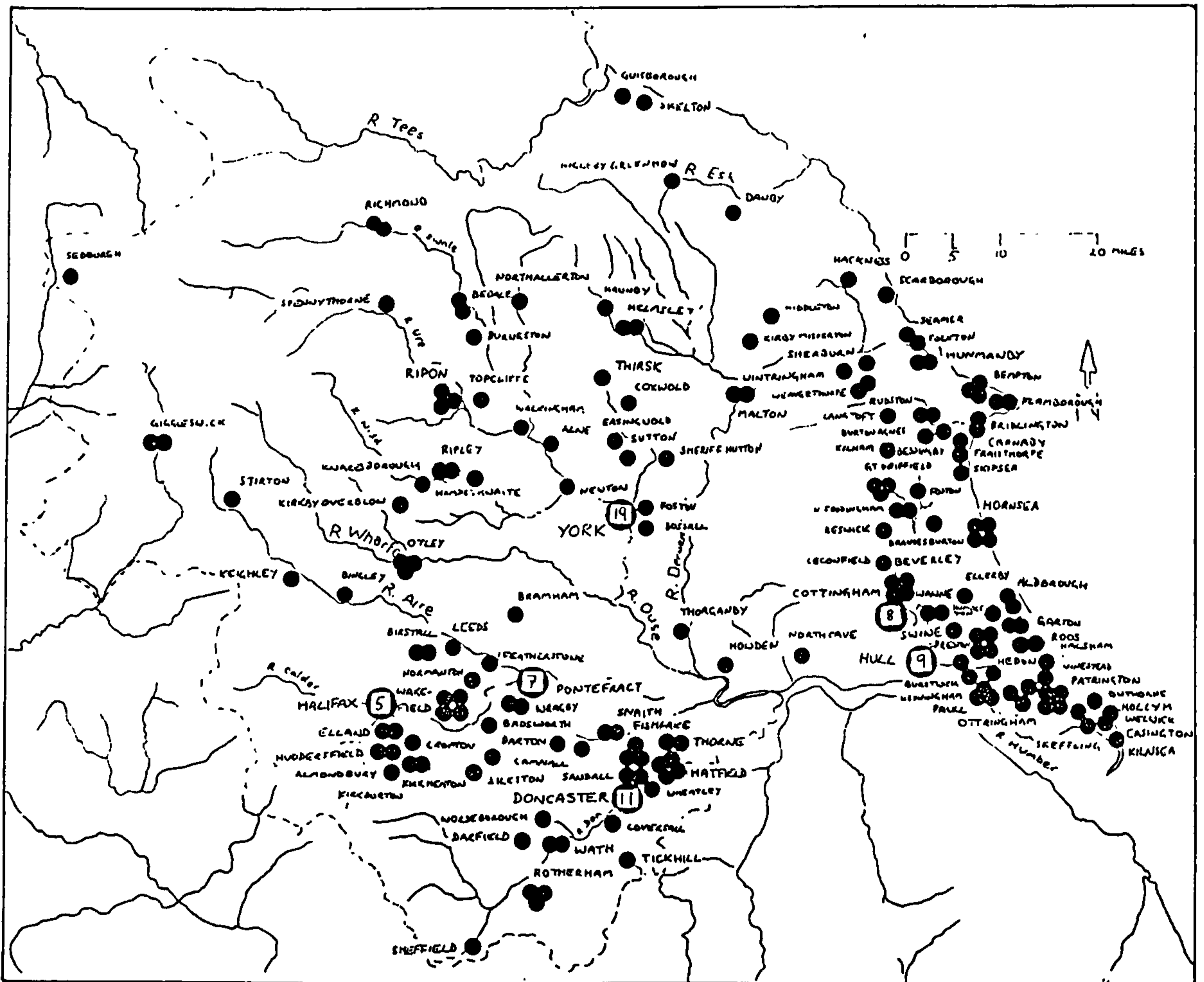
FIGURE 2.4 : MAP : GILDS AND SERVICES RECORDED BEFORE 1500



1. The map shows gilds recorded before 1500. Sources include testamentary evidence and those gilds mentioned in the 1389 gild returns.
2. Each small black disk indicates the presence of a gild within the named location. Touching disks indicate more than one gild in a location, up to a total of four.
3. Centres of population with more than four gilds are indicated by a larger disk with a number in it corresponding to the number of gilds recorded there.

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FIGURE 2.5 : MAP : GILDS AND SERVICES RECORDED AFTER 1500



1. The map shows guilds that are known to have existed between 1500 and 1550. It includes those that were first recorded between 1500 and their dissolution in 1547, and those that have been identified from evidence yielded by the process of dissolution. Sources include testamentary evidence, the Commissioners' Certificates of 1536 and 1538, the Calendar of Patent Rolls.
2. Each small black disk indicates the presence of a gild within the named location. Touching disks indicate more than one gild in a location, up to a total of four.
3. Centres of population with more than four guilds are indicated by a larger disk with a number in it corresponding to the number of guilds recorded there.

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Doncaster almost maintained its earlier figure. Three other centres, Cottingham, Pontefract and Halifax, were found with more than four guilds after 1500. The most dramatic difference, however, is the discovery of "new" guilds in quite small population centres. These were concentrated in two areas. The largest was found in the East Riding, in the wapentakes of Holderness and Dickering, between the Wolds and the sea. The other lay in the West Riding, largely between the River Aire and the southern county boundary. These two areas, and the five largest towns in the county, will be discussed in detail in later sections of this chapter, but the patterns displayed in the maps are also relevant to a general discussion of the characteristics of those locations where guilds were recorded.

One characteristic might indicate a connection between guilds and economic activity. Many religious guilds were directly involved in the promotion of trade and commerce. The Guild of St. Mary in Holy Trinity, in Hull, was engaged in overseas trade on its own account and also lent money to its members for this purpose.³⁴ Gervase Rosser has shown that the Holy Cross Guild, in Stratford-upon-Avon, formed a focus for tradesmen both from the town itself and from a large number of villages in the surrounding countryside and he argues that this was a widespread practice.³⁵ It has also been suggested that the need of individuals to maintain social and business contacts, within a commercial centre, often led to their belonging to a range of guilds with different social profiles.³⁶

³⁴KHRO BRA/87, pp.1-5.

³⁵Rosser, "Communities of Parish and Guild", pp.33-4, "Going to the Fraternity Feast", p.441.

³⁶B.A. Hanawalt and B.R. McRee, "The guilds of *homo prudens* in late medieval England", *Continuity and Change* 7 (1992), p.167.

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Where Yorkshire gilds served as vehicles for such contacts, we would expect to find concentrations of them in places where there were opportunities for a high level of commercial activity. An essential prerequisite for this was a favourable position on the country's communications network. Places situated on established highways, and particularly where roads intersected, were likely sites for fairs and markets that would attract wealth into the community. If gild membership was linked with economic activity, gilds might be expected to be found there too. Although our knowledge of the medieval road system is far from complete, Yorkshire was crossed by several well-known major thoroughfares.³⁷ The Matthew Paris maps indicate an important route passing through Doncaster, Pontefract, Boroughbridge and Northallerton. Boroughbridge will fall largely outside the sample, as the town was in the deanery of Richmondshire, but the other three towns all sustained religious gilds, Doncaster supporting 18, Pontefract eight and Northallerton two.³⁸ Also along this route were much smaller locations that supported single gilds. Rossington had a poll tax population of only 45 and Bramham, with 125, was also comparatively modest in size. An itinerary of King John mentioned a Yorkshire route that connected Tickhill, Doncaster, Pontefract, York and Northallerton. Tickhill sustained three gilds. This route also passed through, or least very close to, a number of gild centres of smaller population, including Sherburn-in-Elmet, with 133 poll tax payers, Bolton Percy, with 90, and Sutton on the Forest, with 105, as well as Easingwold, that had the

³⁷B.P. Hindle, "The road network of medieval England and Wales" in *Journal of Historical Geography* 2, (1976) pp.207-221 *passim* and especially pp.209, 215, 218 and Fig. 12, p.220.

³⁸For detailed referencing of gilds instanced in the following paragraphs see the Gazetteer.

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larger poll tax population of 206. There was also a route from York to Beverley, regularly used by Edward II, which would have passed through Wilberfoss, with 105 taxpayers, and Pocklington, with 341.

Water transport was of even greater importance to a local economy as it was the best means of transporting goods in bulk. Scarborough and Hull, the county's largest coastal or estuarial ports, supported 13 and 17 gilds respectively. Smaller coastal ports, where fraternities were found, included Whitby with three gilds, Flamborough with two, Bridlington with three, Hornsea with four, and Paull with three. In the early sixteenth century, gilds were also recorded in a number of estuarine villages in South Holderness, including Easington and Kilnsea. Of more significance, perhaps, in terms of explaining the presence of fraternities in centres of low poll tax population, were ports with recorded gilds that were situated on navigable rivers.³⁹ Only the northern Pennines and the central portion of the North York Moors were more than fifteen miles from navigable water and gilds were not recorded in these areas.⁴⁰ There was clear commercial advantage in being situated on a river bank, controlling shipping and tolls. Where navigable waterways were crossed by roads, or joined other rivers, this advantage was multiplied.

Research on the navigable rivers of the Humber estuary shows that many Yorkshire communities, of widely varying populations, known to be associated with gilds, were also favourably placed on the medieval

³⁹J.F. Edwards and B.P. Hindle, "The transportation system of medieval England and Wales" in *Journal of Historical Geography* (Vol. 17, No. 2, April 1991) pp.123-133 *passim*, especially pp. 127-9.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, Figure 2 p.130

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waterways network.⁴¹ Clearly York itself was the largest river port in the county, but if the Ouse, and its tributaries to the north of the City, are taken as an example of a navigable river system, it flowed not only through several large communities, that had gilds recorded in the sample, but through several smaller ones. Newton upon Ouse, for example, had a poll tax population of 107 and sustained a gild. Close to the confluence of the Ure and Swale, near Boroughbridge, Aldborough, with a population of 78, sustained two and was also on the main north-south road network. Further north, up the navigable Swale, Topcliffe, with a poll tax population of only 56, maintained a gild that attracted eight bequests, that received mention in both of the commissioners' surveys and which ran a small choir school.⁴² There may have been other reasons for the popularity of St. Mary's Gild in Topcliffe, but its position on the river between Boroughbridge and Richmond, which was the highest possible navigational point, must have been a major factor. Similar examples could be found in other parts of the Humber river system.

As has been suggested, such favourably placed communities were usually the sites of markets and fairs. In particular, a weekly market infers a place that was able to attract commerce on a regular basis. Although the list of grants of fairs and markets, recorded in the charter rolls, printed by McCutcheon, does not provide a complete list of all such institutions in medieval Yorkshire, 33 per cent of all communities

⁴¹K.L. McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets to the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Thoresby Society XXXIX (Leeds, 1940) p.127.

⁴²See Gazetteer for Topcliffe.

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that were recorded, in the sample, as having gilds appear there.⁴³ By contrast only 9.5 per cent of all the locations with a tax population of over 30, that were assessed in 1377, were associated with such grants. Clearly gilds were generally much more likely to be found in centres with markets and fairs.

Five charters were granted in respect of places whose poll tax assessments were not recorded in 1377. Of the remainder, about half were to communities whose poll tax population was below the county's mean of 266 persons. Some of these places had particularly low populations. Whitgift, with a poll tax population of only 53, had both a gild and market. Topcliffe and Newton upon Ouse have already been mentioned as small river ports. Skipsea, Ripley, Sheriff Hutton, Tollerton and Thwing all had poll tax populations of under 150 but had charters granting markets and fairs and sustained recorded gilds. Although most of these grants were made in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, pre-dating both gild evidence and the poll tax, some of the markets and fairs were still operating in the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ These included Whitgift, Topcliffe, and Tollerton.

Richard Britnell has argued that landlords' motives in obtaining grants for small markets, such as these, comprised a mixture of self-interest, in terms of their receipts from tolls, and charity, in catering for the localised needs of their tenants: smallholders, tradesmen and craftsmen.⁴⁵ This kind of relationship between a lord and his tenants

⁴³McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets*, pp.161-71. R.H. Britnell, "The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349", *EcHR* 2nd Series 24 (1981), p.210, draws attention to the partial nature of McCutcheon's information.

⁴⁴"Owen's Book of Fairs, 1770" printed in *ibid.*, pp.172-7.

⁴⁵R.H. Britnell, "The Proliferation of Markets in England, 1200-1349", *EcHR* 2nd Series 24 (1981), pp.220-1.

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suggests that members of small communities might be employed in the routine of running local markets. It seems possible that, in at least some cases, fraternities of laymen with similar charitable motivations might have provided, under the supervision of lords or their agents, ideal administrative structures for this purpose. Some weight is added to this admittedly tenuous speculation by Skipsea's charter of 1338, which was granted jointly to Edmund Earl of Lancaster, his wife and the men of the town, although Skipsea's gild was not otherwise recorded until the sixteenth century.⁴⁶

Commercial considerations were not, of course, the only reasons for the emergence of a gild in a particular location. Devotional or political factors could also play a part in determining the likelihood of a bequest being made to a fraternity in a particular place. The presence of friaries in urban centres has often been used as a broad indicator of the population and rank order of townships.⁴⁷ This is especially relevant to the thirteenth century when they were beginning to flourish in areas of high population. However, their presence in towns and cities can also be connected with a high degree of gild activity. The London friaries, for example, actively encouraged the development of gilds.⁴⁸ York's four houses between them supported no fewer than eleven gilds and there was at least one associated with a friary in Hull.⁴⁹ A relationship between friaries and gilds is hardly surprising, in view of the mendicant orders' desire to promote the concept of fraternity in general.⁵⁰

⁴⁶McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets*, p.169.

⁴⁷E.g. R.B. Dobson, "Yorkshire Towns in the Late Fourteenth Century" *Miscellany*, 18 (Thoresby Society No. 129, 1983), pp.7-8.

⁴⁸Barron, "The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London", p.23.

⁴⁹See Gazetteer for Hull, St. Ninian Gild in the Carmelite Friary.

⁵⁰Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, p.58.

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Although this was not comparable to the situation in some continental cities, such as Florence, where 41 per cent of guilds met in friary churches, the friars seem to have contributed significantly to the housing of fraternities in Yorkshire.⁵¹ The only borough that contained one of the county's eighteen friaries, but had no recorded guild in the sample, was Yarm, which was, as we have seen, an unusually wealthy centre to have been without one. Although the number of friaries was no longer an indicator of the population size of a community, by the late middle ages, guilds were likely to flourish in communities where they were present, partly because such places were often large and prosperous, but also because of the friars' willingness to support them.

Some guilds maintained relationships with nearby ecclesiastical institutions of other kinds. In some cases this was because the institution was landlord and held the advowson of the parish. This was clearly the case in Middlesborough, that had a poll tax of only 56. The St. Thomas of Canterbury Guild there was connected with a nearby cell or priory (which it was is unclear) of Whitby Abbey. In the late fifteenth century, the "prior" of the cell acted as parish priest in the impoverished church to which the guild was attached.⁵² In other cases the relationship was much more direct. The presence, in the cartulary of Guisborough Priory, of an indulgence from Archbishop Booth offering a 40 day indulgence to all who contributed to St. Mary's Guild at Guisborough, which owned extensive property in the town and which is described as being "of the priory", clearly indicates that the guild operated within the

⁵¹J. Henderson, "Confraternities and the Church in Late Medieval Florence", in *Voluntary Religion: Studies in Church History* 23, ed. W.J. Shiels and D. Wood (Blackwell, 1986) pp. 70-75.

⁵²VCH Y 3, pp.105-6. See Gazetteer for Swine.

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priory church.⁵³ It was undoubtedly subject to some control by the canons.

Not all gilds associated with religious houses were controlled by them, however. Swine in Holderness, with a poll tax population of 240, was a fairly large village remote from the principal routes of communication, with no market or fair. It sustained a St. Mary Gild, first recorded in the sample in 1484, which received 17 bequests up to and including 1547.⁵⁴ This was a larger number of bequests from the sample than was made to any gild in either Hull or Beverley. Most of the testators were local husbandmen, but they included, unusually, a gentleman, William Hedon of Marton, and a widow, Isabella Salvayne, who was also of the gentry. There was also a bequest from the clearly wealthy John Gerves, from as far away as Hornsea, who coupled it with one to the famous Scala Coeli altar of St. Mary's Gild in Boston.⁵⁵ These three bequests, together with the sheer number of the rest, suggest that the gild was larger and more highly regarded than the size or geographical position of the village might lead us to expect. However, the parish church in Swine was attached to a priory of Cistercian nuns. It was the richest nunnery in the county in both 1291 and 1535.⁵⁶ It is certain that most of the nuns were daughters of influential county families.⁵⁷ Although there were only 19 nuns there at the dissolution, it survived until 1539, which suggests that the prioress, or the patron, wielded

⁵³W. Brown, *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburn II* (*Surtees Society* 89, 1894), pp.409-10. *Cal. Pat.* Philip and Mary 4 pp.391-3. See Gazetteer for further details.

⁵⁴First bequest BIHR PR V 212r, last bequest XIII A 344r-v. See Gazetteer.

⁵⁵BIHR PR XIA 335v (Hedon), II 564r (Salvayne), IX 389r (Gerves). See Gazetteer.

⁵⁶J.E. Burton, *The Yorkshire Nunneries in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Borthwick Paper No. 56, 1979), p.45.

⁵⁷N. Vickers, "The Social Class of Yorkshire Medieval Nuns", *YAJ* 67 (1995), pp.127-32.

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some influence.⁵⁸ It is, however, clear that the gild was not directly controlled by the priory. By 1480, the gild occupied premises either within or close to the priory precinct, granted by the manorial lord, John Melton, who was to be paid an annual rent of 6s., for life, and a levy of 1d. on each of the five annual gild feasts. He was also given the right to veto the election of any gild priest who might celebrate in the priory church.⁵⁹

Despite its lay patron, however, it seems probable that the presence of the nunnery was the reason for the gild's popularity. Whether this was because of the gentle status of the nuns, who might have attracted bequests from their relations and their affinities, or whether the nunnery's intrinsic sanctity was a factor, it is hard to say. It does seem, however, that there was some special reason for the popularity of this particular gild. The other Swine gild, that of St. Peter, attracted only one bequest, that falls outside the sample period.⁶⁰ Perhaps the presence of the St. Mary Gild priest, who celebrated within the nunnery church, indicates a special relationship between the gild and the priory.

The role of John Melton in regulating the activities of the gild priest in Swine is of considerable interest. His relationship with the gild was one of patron and controller. There is no evidence to show whether he was a member. None of his family, nor that of its predecessors, the Hiltons, appeared among the recorded testators. His patronage of the St. Mary Gild, however, illustrates a relationship between gilds and secular power bases which seems to have led to the formation and development of

⁵⁸VCH Y III pp.178-82.

⁵⁹G. Poulson, *The History and Antiquities of the Seignior of Holderness Vol. II* (Hull, 1841), pp.209-10.

⁶⁰*Ibid.* See Gazetteer for Swine.

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fraternities in communities where the poll tax population was atypically small. The seats of lay magnates and their households sometimes constituted focuses of power that were not in proportion to their physical size. A gild might offer the local lord a structure through which he might control his most affluent tenants and followers, at the same time, perhaps, providing them with an organisation through which they could approach him. It also allowed him control of the gild priest, strengthening his influence over the spiritual government of the parish.

The association of the Nevilles with the gild in Bedale has already been examined.⁶¹ There are, however, other examples of gilds flourishing in the seats of Yorkshire nobility and gentry. Bossall, with 33, had one of the smallest poll tax populations of any community with recorded gilds. Its St. Botolph Gild, however, attracted four bequests in the sample. The village belonged to one of the branches of the Constable family. Spofforth's 1377 poll tax population was 111, less than half the mean for the county. The wills of Ralph Kylstern, a gild chaplain, and Richard Sudbery, rector of Crofton, in 1408 and 1428 respectively, both indicated the presence of three fraternities in the village, all active at the same time.⁶² Spofforth was a major Percy seat. The parish containing the rival, Neville, castle of Sheriff Hutton had a poll tax population of 110, which was almost identical to that of Spofforth. It had no recorded market and was not adjacent either to a major road or to navigable water. Its Holy Cross Gild, however, attracted five bequests between 1472 and 1540.⁶³ In both Spofforth and Sheriff Hutton we see

⁶¹PRO C47/46/444. See Chapter One pp.41-2.

⁶²See Gazetteer for Spofforth.

⁶³See Gazetteer for Sheriff Hutton.

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locations where gild activity was out of proportion to their comparatively modest populations. It is surely inconceivable that fraternities could have flourished in such places without the active encouragement of the families that ruled them. Although they did not usually figure in the wills of the aristocracy, some noble families, like the Nevilles of Bedale, might well have been both patrons and members.

Another important institution, influencing the establishment and survival of gilds, was the parish itself. Gervase Rosser's argument, that the foundation of many gilds was a response to the inability of the long-established parish structure to cope with fourteenth century population movements, must be addressed at this point.⁶⁴ Using Stratford-upon-Avon as an example, he contends that, because the parish was insufficiently flexible to act as an agent for forming links between a trading centre and its hinterland, the Holy Cross Gild fulfilled this function. A similar situation has been seen in south-east Suffolk where surrounding parishes, without recorded gilds, supported fraternities in Framlingham and Kelsale, manors of the Duke of Norfolk, and in the market town of Woodbridge.⁶⁵

Similar cases can be found in Yorkshire where, during the second half of the fourteenth century, there was a significant migration from the countryside into the larger population centres, supplying labour shortages created by the Black Death and subsequent epidemics.⁶⁶ In North Holderness, the four gilds of Hornsea formed a focus for local traders. Whilst most of those who made bequests to them were of the

⁶⁴Rosser, "Communities of parish and guild", p.33.

⁶⁵Northeast, "Parish Gilds", *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk*, p.58.

⁶⁶P.J.P. Goldberg, "Female Labour, Service and Marriage in the Late Medieval Urban North", *Northern History* 23, (1986), pp.19-22.

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parish of St. Nicholas, three belonged to other parishes. John Bowman of Skerne was one of ten testators who made money bequests to all four gilds, John Barker of Catwick was one of six who did so to the Corpus Christi Gild, and John Dumbler, a yeoman of Sigglesthorne, left wheat and barley to the three other gilds of Holy Trinity, St. Katherine and St. Mary.⁶⁷ The attraction was probably the important fair granted to the Abbot of St. Mary's of York, who had the lordship of the town.⁶⁸ Few other gilds were recorded within a ten mile radius. Elsewhere, whilst gilds were not recorded in close proximity to Rotherham, Sheffield or Malton, the small numbers of bequests to them were from testators within each location rather than from surrounding villages. Even the Corpus Christi Gild of Pontefract received only three of its 51 bequests from beyond the All Saints parish boundary.⁶⁹ It is, however, in York itself that Rosser's pattern can clearly be perceived.⁷⁰

Whilst it is evident that commercially active gilds in some of Yorkshire's larger townships attracted members from outside them, it is difficult to support, in wider terms, Rosser's argument, that gilds presented their members with alternatives to inadequate parish organisation. Yorkshire evidence shows that, in the vast majority of cases, parishioners made bequests to their own parish gilds and that they identified with both parish and fraternity. These gilds usually supported parish institutions. The relatively high proportion of bequests to parish gilds, by parish clergy, indicates a common interest between the two.⁷¹ Indeed, there is

⁶⁷BIHR PR IX 422r 1528 (Bowman), 391v 1528 (Barker), 479v 1529 (Dumbler).

⁶⁸McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets*, p.170.

⁶⁹BIHR PR V 261r 1485 William Fyxbe of Ruston, VI 102v 1504 John Bolton of Ledesham, IX 446v-447r 1529 James Illingworth of Friston Bywater. See Gazetteer.

⁷⁰See Chapter 4, p.246-8.

⁷¹See Chapter 3, p.147-8.

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evidence that in some parts of the county, especially in the West Riding, guilds, or institutions very like them, were being used to reinforce the structure of the parish, rather than to work against it.⁷² It is clear that the needs of particular parishes were, in some cases, a further factor in determining the distribution of recorded guilds.

To summarise, guilds were probably present in most late medieval communities. Those that were recorded were likely to include the largest and most important fraternities. These were usually identified from testamentary evidence in places that were populous and affluent. This is because such places produced wealthy testators in sufficient numbers for bequests to guilds to show up in the will sample. Guilds were also found in smaller locations which had chartered markets and fairs or where the local lord was powerful or influential. This suggests that they had a political or commercial function within their communities. In some cases they were in association with religious houses, either because the house in question was also their landlord or because they maintained some special relationship with it. Whilst devotional aspects of guilds will be examined in the next chapter, these distributional patterns will be investigated in chronological terms within particular geographical contexts in the following sections.

Guilds in the East Riding

The distributional patterns of recorded guilds can be illustrated by their presence in different topographical areas. They were, over the whole period of the sample, found less commonly in uplands, such as the High

⁷²See below pp.119-20.

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Dales, the Wolds and the North York Moors, where the population was scattered, and more frequently in the Vales of York and Pickering, and in Holderness, where good agricultural soil supported higher concentrations of more affluent people. In the North Riding generally, the sixteenth century lay subsidy returns, whatever their limitations as evidence, show particularly low populations of those wealthy enough to pay tax.⁷³ The parishes of Bainbridge and Wensley, for example, both covered a wide area of land that was largely composed of rough pasture. Bainbridge, with a 1377 poll tax population of 143, was as populous as 40 per cent of all locations with recorded gilds. Even Wensley, with 66, was as large as 15 per cent of them. No gilds were recorded from the sample in either parish. By contrast, the East Riding, apart from the Wolds, produced a particularly large number of references to gilds. This is clear from the maps at Figures 2.3 and 2.4. Comparison between the two maps also shows a massive increase in the numbers of gilds after 1500. This increase was particularly evident in the eastern part of Dickering and, above all, in South Holderness, during the early sixteenth century. It is the purpose of this section to investigate why this was so.

In the area from Flamborough Head to Spurn Head, lying to the east of the Wolds and the River Hull, some 19 gilds were identified before 1500. Most of these were recorded in communities of some size or wealth. These included Preston, Patrington, Bridlington and Hedon, all of which had 1377 poll tax populations of over 350. After 1500, some 56 gilds were found, many of which flourished in much smaller communities. Of these, seven are known only from non-testamentary

⁷³Sheail, "Distribution of Taxable Population", pp.114-9, Figs. 1-3.

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sources dating from after the dissolution. Winestead, in Holderness, for example, with a 1377 poll tax population of 95, had a cottage called a "gilde house", which was granted to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow in 1548, as part of a purchase of vast quantities of property related to former church lands.⁷⁴ From this it can be inferred that a gild was present in the village prior to the dissolution, and that it was large enough to own property. Figure 2.4 shows that other similar transactions in the East Riding reveal the presence of at least seven property-owning gilds in this area of south-east Yorkshire, in the mid-sixteenth century, that are known only through such records. A further 19 figured in both post-dissolution land sales and testamentary evidence. The St. John the Baptist Gild of Carnaby, for instance, received a bequest of barley in 1526, but also had a gild house mentioned in an Elizabethan land deal.⁷⁵ This kind of evidence is rare elsewhere in the county. A systematic study of the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* shows many transactions concerning former church real estate, but they hardly ever involved gild lands. This suggests either that North Riding gilds did not own property on the scale of the Holderness gilds, or else that they were more expert in concealing it from royal authority. The situation in the West Riding was rather different and will be discussed later.

The certificates of the commissioners' surveys in 1546 and early in 1548 are missing for almost all the East Riding. In July, 1548, however, John Bellow undertook a further, less detailed, survey to assess the pensions of the surviving chaplains, and much of this

⁷⁴*Cal. Pat. Ed. VI, 1548, p.27.*

⁷⁵BIHR PR IX 348r, *Cal. Pat. Eliz. 1569-71, p.237.*

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FIGURE 2.6 : GILD EVIDENCE IN HOLDERNESS AND E. DICKERING

<u>Location</u>	<u>1377</u>	<u>Gilds</u>	<u>Bequests</u>	<u>Pre1500</u>	<u>Post1500</u>	<u>Pensions</u>	<u>Lands</u>
Aldburgh	177	2	16	-	16	-	-
Bessingby	65	1	-	-	-	1	1
Beswick	76	1	1	-	1	-	-
Brandesburton	271	1	-	-	1	-	-
Bridlington	379	4	14	8	6	1	1
Burstwick	97	1	-	-	-	-	1
Burton Agnes	182	1	1	-	1	1	-
Carnaby	173	1	1	-	1	-	1
Cottingham *	767	8	30	-	30	2	1
Easington	262	2	3	-	3	-	1
Flamborough	278	2	1	-	1	-	1
Foston on the Wolds	118	1	1	-	1	1	1
Fraisthorpe	60	1	-	-	-	-	1
Garton on the Wolds	nr	1	1	-	1	-	-
Great Driffield	348	2	5	3	2	2	1
Halsham	164	1	-	-	-	-	1
Hedon	482	1	12	5	7	1	1
Hollym	116	1	2	-	2	-	1
Hornsea *	535	4	70	-	70	2	-
Humbleton	97	1	9	1	8	-	-
Keyningham	204	1	-	-	-	-	1
Kilham	363	1	1	1	-	1	2
Kilnsea	164	1	1	-	1	-	1
Langtoft	100	1	1	-	1	-	-
Leconfield	192	1	-	-	-	-	1
North Frodingham	196	2	2	-	2	-	-
Ottringham	337	2	8	1	7	1	2
Owthorne	95	1	1	-	1	-	-
Patrington	372	4	5	2	3	2	2
Paull	229	2	3	1	2	-	-
Preston	371	4	19	5	14	2	-
Roos	149	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rudston	198	2	4	-	4	-	2
Skeffling	215	1	-	-	-	-	1
Skipsea	95	1	2	-	2	-	-
Swine	240	1	17	1	16	1	-
Wawne	nr	2	11	1	10	-	-
Welwick	185	1	1	-	-	1	1
Winestead	95	1	-	-	-	1	1
Totals	8302	63	244	29	215	19	26
Percentages			100%	12%	88%		

NOTES

1377: poll tax population.

Gild: number of different gilds identified in each location.

Bequests: total of all bequests to gilds within each location.

Pre-1500: total of all bequests to gilds within each location before 1500.

Post-1500: total of all bequests to gilds within each location after 1500.

Pensions: pensions survey by John Bellow for Court of Augmentations July 1548, PRO E301/119: gilds and chantries with the same dedications as known gilds.

Lands: references to gilds figuring in land transactions post-dissolutinn

*The 11 bequests to all 4 gilds of Hornsea^{hav} been multiplied by 4.
The 3 bequests to all 8 gilds in Cottingham have been multiplied by 8.

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material for the East Riding is extant.⁷⁶ The certificates name gild priests in several of the larger locations, including Patrington and Ottrington.⁷⁷ They also show that the St. Mary Gild in Swine survived the dissolution of the nearby nunnery and, presumably, continued as a parish gild.⁷⁸ Furthermore, some gilds seem to have survived as chantries. A number of chantry priests are reported on in places where a gild of the same dedication was previously known to exist. Whilst the majority of these were gilds and chantries celebrating the Virgin Mary and Holy Trinity, which were common dedications for both chantries and gilds, the survival of a chantry of St. Laurence in Kilham, where a gild of that name owned property, can surely have been no coincidence.⁷⁹

Figure 2.6 shows that, in the area east of the Wolds, 88 per cent of all bequests to gilds were made in the sixteenth century, and, of the remaining 12 per cent, only one was made before 1450.⁸⁰ Beverley and Hull are not included in these figures. Nearby Cottingham, however, one half the size of Hull and a third that of Beverley, in terms of the 1377 poll tax population, surpassed them both in numbers of sixteenth century bequests to gilds. Its flourishing local market was large enough to make it likely that gilds would be found there. The same could be said of the other established towns in the area that had supported gilds in the previous century. More unexpected is the number of villages

⁷⁶PRO E301/19. See also Kitching, "East Riding Chantries", pp.178-194.

⁷⁷PRO E301/19 m.5,

⁷⁸*Ibid.*

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, m.8., *Cal. Pat. 2 Ed VI*, 1548, pp.27-9. For a discussion of terminology see p.115 below. The significance of the appearance of gilds as chantries in the commissioners' certificates is further explored in Chapter Seven pp.390-1

⁸⁰BIHR PR II 17r-v 1440, Alice Martyn to St. Mary Gild of Wawne.

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with poll tax populations of less than 100 which recorded gilds within the sixteenth century sample or were identified from property transactions. Bessingby, Beswick, Owthorne, Skipsea, Winestead, Burstwick and Humbleton all fall into this category. Although some of these places, such as Owthorne and Skipsea, received only one or two sixteenth century bequests to their gilds, Humbleton's St. Mary Gild received nine and Aldbrough's St. Mary and St. Peter Gilds received 16 between them.⁸¹

Clearly, both the evidence of land transactions, and testamentary evidence from the sample, point to a high degree of gild activity, in the rural areas of south east Yorkshire, in the early sixteenth century. Furthermore, the evidence of land transactions and of the July, 1548, certificates, also points to a high rate of survival of gilds right up to the dissolution. This is further supported by evidence from two testators in Hornsea in 1547, one of whom left 12d. each to all four gilds there "over and beside there wagies", showing that the Hornsea gilds were still collecting subscriptions as late as April in the year of their suppression.⁸² The St. Mary Gild at Swine, too, received a bequest in 1547.⁸³

Reasons for the late flowering and survival of gilds in Holderness are not immediately obvious. Apart from Hull itself, most of the area was not on the main inland communications system and, as we have seen, some of the communities had been small in 1377. However, there were estuarine havens at Hedon, Patrington, Paull, Winestead and Easington

⁸¹See Gazetteer.

⁸²BIHR PR XIII A 352v 1547 Thomas Beverlay.

⁸³BIHR PR XIII A 344r-v 1547 Hugh Andersone.

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which supported a certain amount of coastal trade.⁸⁴ The area was generally fertile but in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had suffered badly from coastal erosion. By the early sixteenth century, however, this had largely ceased.⁸⁵ This clearly led to increased agricultural prosperity. By the late fifteenth century grain and legumes were being exported through Hull in years when the harvests were good.⁸⁶ By the 1530s, the trade, although still spasmodic, included exports of corn, to Calais and London, and of butter to Spain.⁸⁷

A reversion of arable land into pasture, and consequent depopulation, has been noted generally in the East Riding in both the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁸⁸ However, the epicentre of this movement seems to have been the more marginal arable land in the Yorkshire Wolds.⁸⁹ Where actual desertion of these areas did not take place, there was often a shift from arable to pastoral farming, which required a smaller workforce. Some 70 East Riding villages disappeared between 1334 and 1550.⁹⁰ Most of these were on the Wolds, although there were two villages in Holderness that were deserted due to encroachment of the sea.⁹¹ Gilds that were recorded in Garton on the Wolds, Kirby

⁸⁴Sheppard, *The Draining of the Marshlands of South Holderness*, p.6.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

⁸⁶W. Childs, *The Trade and Shipping of Hull 1300-1500* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1990), p.13.

⁸⁷R. Davis, *The Trade and Shipping of Hull 1500-1700* (East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1964), p.14.

⁸⁸A.R.h. Baker, "Changes in the later Middle Ages", *A New Historical Geography of England*, ed. H.C. Darby (Cambridge, 1973), pp.211-12.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, p.193.

⁹⁰M. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (Lutterworth Press, London, 1954 repr. 1963), p.170.

⁹¹M.Beresford and J.G. Hurst, *Deserted Medieval Villages* (Lutterworth Press, Guildford and London, 1971), Fig.13, p.66, 21.

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Grindalyth and Kirkburn before 1500, did not receive bequests in the sample during the sixteenth century when rural wills were more plentiful.⁹² Even those of Pocklington, on the western edge of the Wolds, received their last bequest, in the sample, in 1494.⁹³ The evidence of bequests to gilds suggests that some emigrants from decaying communities in the Wolds found their way into South Holderness, as the threat from the sea diminished, and that this area enjoyed a prosperity that was lacking in some other areas of the East Riding.

This new affluence is reflected in the building and refurbishment of churches. Almost all the surviving medieval churches, in the area to the east of the Wolds, that had recorded gilds, also showed signs of rebuilding during the perpendicular period.⁹⁴ Skeffling church was completely rebuilt. Towers and steeples were constructed in many places, including Patrington, Hedon, Preston and Burton Agnes. Other churches, such as Ottringham and Hornsea, had large windows reconstructed at this period. Communities that were able to expend large sums on their churches also supported persons who wished to leave money and goods to their parish gilds, in this part of Yorkshire. Indeed, the evidence of the gild bequests themselves forms a compelling argument for the general prosperity of early sixteenth century Holderness.

This increasing affluence during the early sixteenth century clearly made it more likely that members, who had never done so previously, would

⁹²See Gazetteer for Garton on the Wolds, Kirby Grindalyth and Kirkburn.

⁹³See Gazetteer for Pocklington.

⁹⁴N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire: York and the East Riding* (Harmondsworth, 1972, repr. 1992), *passim*.

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make bequests to their guilds. As will be shown in Chapter Three, these persons were preponderantly husbandmen and their wives, many of whom continued to support their fraternities throughout the period leading up to their dissolution.

Gilds and Services in the West Riding

Compared with East Riding, where a total of 126 gilds were identified from all sources, the West Riding, with only 71, that were specifically described as gilds, showed an apparently low level of gild activity. This might have been partly due to the topography of the Upper Dales, where the economy was pastoral and the population sparse. Their absence elsewhere in the West Riding is, however, less easy to explain. The Humberhead Levels, with similar agricultural conditions to those obtaining in Holderness, and the prosperous Vale of York might have been expected to show a high level of gild activity. Furthermore, the increase in the rural manufacture of cloth was also stimulating the growth of both population and wealth in the Dales throughout the period, but especially by the late fifteenth century.⁹⁵ Gilds were, however, found in only a few of the West Riding towns involved in the textile trade, such as Leeds, where the Jesus Gild received six bequests between 1515 and 1537, and Wakefield, which had four gilds, known from sources relating to the 1520s but not associated with the will sample.⁹⁶

⁹⁵J.L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy 1150-1500* (London, repr. 1988), p.252. Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, p.75.

⁹⁶J.W. Walker, *Wakefield its History and People*, (Wakefield, 1939), p.149. See Gazetteer for Wakefield.

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The paucity of identifiable gilds in the West Riding is, however, at least partly due to a local difference in terminology. Some 36 testators in the will sample made 46 references to 31 institutions that they called "services" between 1427 and 1540.⁹⁷ Services were found in the West Riding, but rarely elsewhere in the county. Furthermore, many of them were flourishing in townships where gilds were not mentioned in the testamentary evidence, but where the size and prosperity of the town might suggest that they were likely to have existed. In 1474, for example, William Hull made bequests to the Services of St. Mary and Holy Cross in Sheffield which, with a 1377 poll tax population of 585, was the largest town in the county where no bequests to gilds occurred in the sample.⁹⁸ Wills from three further towns, where the poll tax population had been in excess of 100, Hemsworth, with 182, Wath-upon-Deerne, with 103, and Kirkby Overblow with 102, also made reference to services or to service priests.⁹⁹ Other West Riding towns, that had increased in prosperity during the expansion of the cloth trade in the fifteenth century, but where no bequests to gilds were found in the sample, also had testators who left money to services. In Wakefield, for example, John Leke, in 1452, made bequests to the Services of St. Mary and Holy Cross and both Richard Ambler, in 1526, and Robert Thomson, a clothier, in 1538, made similar bequests to

⁹⁷1427: BIHR PR II 529v Richard del Turton of Holandswayne in Silkeston to the St. Mary Service of Silkeston. 1540: BIHR PR XI 429v Thomas Dryvell of Pontefract to the St. Mary Service in the Chapel of St. Giles in Pontefract.

⁹⁸BIHR PR IV 124v 1474.

⁹⁹BIHR PR XI 461 Sir Robert Buttle service priest 1540 (Hemsworth St. Mary Service), BIHR PR XI 315r Richard Abson of Swinton 1538 (Wath St. Mary and St. Nicholas Services), BIHR PR XI 504 Robert Redman 1540 (Kirkby Overblow St. Mary Service).

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services in Halifax, dedicated to St. Mary, St. George, the Morrow Mass and St. John the Baptist.¹⁰⁰

The function of a service was the maintenance of a chaplain, whose duties generally included praying for the souls of parishioners, both living and dead, saying mass at the altar of the service and assisting the parson in parish duties. The chaplain's stipend was usually paid from the rents of properties donated by the founders of the service, who were normally unnamed parishioners. These conclusions emerge not so much from the testamentary evidence as from the certificates of the king's commissioners, in 1546 and 1548, who recorded sixty "services" in West Riding locations. Furthermore, the four surviving gild returns from the West Riding, in 1389, all mentioned the employment of a chaplain as being central to their intentions.¹⁰¹ These factors might lead us to leap to the conclusion that "service" was an alternative term used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by natives of the West Riding to describe their gilds. The situation, however, was rather more complicated than this.

Eleven of the bequests made to services, recorded from the will sample, were to that of St. Mary, in the parish church of Pontefract. Eight of the testators concerned also made bequests to gilds in the town or to their gild priests. Chief amongst these was the Corpus Christi Gild, but those of Jesus and St. Thomas were also mentioned.¹⁰² It is evident

¹⁰⁰BIHR PR II 261v 1452 John Leyke, IX 349 1526 Richard Ambler, XI 333v, 1538 Robert Thomson clothier.

¹⁰¹PRO C47/444, 452, 453. See Chapter 1 above, p.52

¹⁰²BIHR PR III 518v-519r 1438 John Thornton vicar, II 460v 1462 Robert Roper, IV 9r-v 1474 Robert Smaleshorpe, V 69v 1482 John Potter, 73r 1482 John York, 41r 1483 William Marton, IX 430r Roger Chapman alderman, 472r-v William Mures alderman.

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that, in the minds of Pontefract testators, there was a clear distinction between the St. Mary Service and the Corpus Christi, Jesus and St. Thomas Gilds. One of the testators, Robert Smaleshorpe, asked for the two chaplains of the St. Mary Service to attend his funeral as well as the two chaplains of the Corpus Christi Gild, amongst a list of clerics whose prayers he sought. However, distinctions are more blurred concerning an institution that sustained a priest in the Chapel of St. Giles, also in Pontefract. Four testators referred to it as a service, but William Mures, in 1529, called it a gild.¹⁰³ Similar confusions occurred in Giggleswick. Hugh Lawkland, in 1527, and James Car, in the following year, both left sums to the Gild of St. Mary "if it procede and go forwarde".¹⁰⁴ It may well be that the gild did not survive, despite their bequests of 10s. and 6s.8d. respectively. At all events, in 1538, John Malton, chantry priest in the town, left the large sum of £33.6s.8d. to found a St. Mary Service.¹⁰⁵ If, however, the parish would not support the service, then the money was to go the "chaplain". No service was recorded by the commissioners in either 1546 or 1548, although they recorded three chantries, including one dedicated to St. Mary.¹⁰⁶ There is nothing to link the St. Mary chantry with any of the testators to the service or the gild. It is hard to say whether we are dealing here with three separate institutions or with a single one which was differently defined on separate occasions.

¹⁰³BIHR PR II 460v 1462 Robert Roper, V 69v 1482 John Potter, 41r 1483 William Marton, IX 472r-v 1529 William Mures alderman, XI 429 1540 Thomas Dryvell.

¹⁰⁴BIHR PR IX 385r 1527 Hugh Lawkeland, 404r 1528 James Car.

¹⁰⁵BIHR PR XI 495r 1538 Sir John Malton chantry priest.

¹⁰⁶CC2 pp.253-5, 409-10. The undedicated Tempest chantry may have been that of St. Sunday, which was to have been the recipient of Lawkland's bequest if the gild did not "go forwarde".

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Inconsistencies in the testamentary evidence are, however, less confusing than those to be found in the Yorkshire chantry certificates. The term "service" did not appear in the instructions for the commissions of 1546 or of 1548.¹⁰⁷ It did, however, figure as a classification in 70 of the certificates, 60 of which referred to places in the West Riding. Whilst some of these were simply called "services", "service or gild", "service or chantry", "service or stipend" and "service or salary" were all used quite frequently. Clearly, "service or gild" indicated the presence of a gild. "The Guylde or Service of the Rode wythyn the ... Church of Tykhyll", for example, had received three bequests as a gild in the previous century.¹⁰⁸ The incumbent was expected to say three masses during the week and "do certen obites for the soules of theym which gave the lands" that financed his salary. However, these duties differed little in form from the two services, not alternatively described as gilds, in Rotherham.¹⁰⁹ The St. Mary Service priest said mass every Saturday at eight o'clock, prayed for the souls of the benefactors and conducted divine service. The St. Katherine priest's duties were similar except that he said mass at six in the morning, winter and summer. In 1391, John Norys left 13s.4d. to the Fraternity of St. Katherine.¹¹⁰ The St. Mary Service of Ripley, shown to have been a considerable landowner in the commissioners' certificate of 1546, was referred to as a gild or fraternity when the lands were sequestered in 1548.¹¹¹ Here the priest's duties included helping the

¹⁰⁷CC1 pp.2-3. CC2 pp.371-2.

¹⁰⁸CC1 p.186, BIHR PR III 241r Simon Auty 1405, BIHR PR II 563v John Sandford 1429, BIHR PR II 671r John Denby 1430.

¹⁰⁹CC1 pp.206-7.

¹¹⁰BIHR PR I 40 1391 John Norys.

¹¹¹CC2 p.226, *Cal. Pat. 2Ed VI 1548*, pp.70-2.

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curate to minister to over 700 "houslinge people" in a parish of "grete circuyte", divided by the Nidd, which was subject to flooding. In this case there was no reference to his performing obits. Some of the revenues that supported his stipend were used by the churchwardens for maintaining the fabric of the church.

Whilst the majority of these references to services are found in the West Riding certificates, a few concern other parts of Yorkshire. Those for Corpus Christi in Holy Trinity in Hull are of particular interest. In 1546 there were two certificates for the Stipend or Service of Corpus Christi.¹¹² Thomas Atkynson received a salary, derived from rents, at the hands of the mayor and commons of the city. He was "called the Corpus Christi preste" maintaining "Goddes service" in the church. Robert Apulbie's stipend was founded by Adam Tutburie "to singe at the saide alter and to pray for his sowle, his frendes sowle and all Christien sowles" the salary being paid by the mayor and commons of Hull. The Tuttebury chantry had been set up in 1384 to benefit the Corpus Christi Gild of Hull, one of the city's landowning fraternities, and its endowment was further increased in Tuttebury's will in 1398.¹¹³ The entry for the Tuttebury "stipendary or service", in 1548, explained that Apilbie's (*sic*) salary was still maintained by the town despite the decay of the Tuttebury property, which had stood empty for 20 years. Here we have what are, undoubtedly, gild chaplains' posts being described as "stipends or services". These confusions, however, reflect a real ambiguity. The Corpus Christi Gild of Hull was not unique in running a chantry chapel and all gilds that employed priests might also, with some

¹¹²CC2 pp.343-4.

¹¹³Pat. 7 Ric II p2 m17 (quoted in CC2 p.344). BIHR PR III 39v-40r 1398.

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accuracy, be described as corporate chantries. It was this aspect of them that the commissioners were investigating.

Some 18 of the 88 institutions, identified from all sources as services, were also described, either in the certificates or elsewhere, as gilds. This amounts to about twenty per cent of the total. Of the rest, some were certainly not. The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, of 1535, in a very rare reference to services in Yorkshire, shows that Thomas Smyth, service priest of Rufforth, was simply a stipendary priest whose salary was directly paid by the Hospital of St. Leonard in York.¹¹⁴ In the commissioners' certificates, the Service or Perpetual Stipend of the priest in the Chapel of Stainborne was a similar case, the salary being paid by the parson of Kirkby Overblow to maintain a chapel of ease three miles away from his church.¹¹⁵ In Wath-in-Niddersdale, the stipendary or service for the chapel of Middleton Whernowe had previously been financed by Jervaulx Abbey and the unnamed service in Selby parish church had been founded by the king to "serve the cure, by reason of the late dissolved monastery there".¹¹⁶ Other services were founded by magnates, often to sustain chapels of ease. This was so in the Garsdale Chapel in Dent-in-Craven, where the stipend was paid by Lord Scrope, and in Bradfield where the Earl of Shrewsbury founded a chapel for his tenants of Bolsterstone Manor.¹¹⁷ Eleven services, twelve and a half per cent of the whole, should probably be regarded not as gilds, but as stipends or chantries.

¹¹⁴*Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henry VII Auctoritate Regia Institutus* (Parliament, 1825) Vol. V p.38.

¹¹⁵CC2 p.398.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp.505, 402.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp.413,401.

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The remainder seem to have been guilds, in at least some respects. Each was usually financed by lands, money or goods donated or bequeathed by groups of founding parishioners, to employ a chaplain, who, like any guild priest, would pray for the souls of the founders, and of all parishioners, living and dead, say masses and assist the parson. A few services, in addition to lands, were shown by the commissioners to have possessed some wealth in terms of goods and plate.¹¹⁸ Information on more fraternal activities was largely absent. There was no mention of the sustaining of lights or the holding of feasts and processions. However, the source of much of this information is the certificates of the commissioners, whose remit was to record assets, not activities. Furthermore, the burning of candles before images had been forbidden since 1538 and religious processions were being discouraged.¹¹⁹ By the late 1540s the guilds' wealth and activities were largely concentrated on the one activity that could not be concealed from the crown, the employment of priests financed through income from real estate. Whilst "service" was also employed by the commissioners to describe stipendary priests who were not financed by parochial fraternities but by other agencies of church or state, they never used the term to describe guilds that did not intend to employ chaplains. In the few cases where a service no longer supported a priest, the reasons for this were explained.¹²⁰ In every case the service had done so once, even if the income was now used for other purposes.

¹¹⁸E.g. St. Mary Service Hatfield, CC1 p.149, Holy Trinity Service Badsworth, CC1 p.168, Morrow Mass Service Wakefield CC2 p.311,

¹¹⁹Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp.14, 156-8., 170.

¹²⁰E.g. CC1 p.168: the Holy Trinity Service of Badsworth, where there had been no chaplain for three years. The income was used for church maintenance.

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Bequests of money and, less frequently, of lands and real estate, supplemented the income that services derived from their lands. Clearly some kind of organisation was needed to administer this property; to collect rents and render accounts. Whilst this was undertaken by the town government in Hull, and in the case of the St. John the Baptist Service in Ripley, by the churchwardens, the usual agency seems to have been the service itself.¹²¹ Other bequests included several cows and a beehive.¹²² These are reminiscent of bequests of livestock and produce to guilds in other rural areas.¹²³ It seems reasonable to suggest that a service that was sufficiently organised to attract and administer bequests, in both money and kind, also had the character of a guild.

The question remains as to why this institution was particularly popular in the West Riding. This was probably directly related to the size and nature of parishes. Unusually large parishes made it difficult for incumbents to cope with parochial duties, especially in districts of rising prosperity and growth. This was a particular problem in Pennine valleys, where populations were scattered over wide areas and divided by rivers which were difficult to cross in times of bad weather, as we have seen was a problem in Ripley. The vast parish of Halifax is another case in point. We have already seen that the parish church attracted sixteenth century bequests to the services of St. Mary, St. George, the Morrow Mass and St. John the Baptist.¹²⁴ Of these, only the Morrow Mass Service was reported on in 1546, but the "Perpetuall

¹²¹CC2 p.268.

¹²²BIHR PR V 464v-465r 1495 Thomas Beaumont of Whytlay to Kirkheaton St. Mary Service, BIHR PR IV 25r 1471 Margaret Marshall of Ryhill to Wragby St. Mary Service, BIHR PR IX 395v 1527 Robert Jub of West Hardwick to Wragby St. Mary Service (cows), BIHR PR XI 541v 1539 William Shelito to Featherstone St. Mary Service (hive).

¹²³See Chapter 3, pp.181-2.

¹²⁴BIHR PR IX 349v 1526 Richard Ambler, XI 333v 1538 Robert Thomson clothier.

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Stipend or Service of the Rood Alter" also received a certificate.¹²⁵ Both of these services were supported by rents from lands given by parishioners and their priests carried out duties in the parish church. The certificate for the St. Mary Service in the chapel at Heptonstall, six miles away, is more explicit.¹²⁶ The service priest was required "to helpe the curate to mynystre all sacrementes and sacramentalles to the parocheners nigh adjoynyng to the said chapelle". It claimed that the whole of Halifax parish numbered 2,000 people. There was clearly a need for a large staff of clergy to cope with them. In Huddersfield too, the service priest of St. Mary was to assist the curate in similar duties, ministering to a population of 1,400 "or ther aboutes".¹²⁷ Clearly, in these places, the provision of additional priests was a particularly valuable contribution that pious laymen could make to the wellbeing of their parish, for the health of their own souls. These considerations would take precedence over more social functions. Besides, large populations spread over wide areas and difficult terrain must have made meetings for feasts and elaborate ceremonials difficult to organise, although we cannot be sure that they did not take place.

The puzzle of the St. Mary Service in Pontefract still remains. Perhaps it was a more loosely-organised fraternity than the Pontefract gilds, concentrating on the maintenance of the service priest and laying less emphasis on ceremonial and other fraternal activities. Maybe it owed its original foundation to immigrants from Pennine parishes who were used to calling this kind of gild a service. There is, unfortunately, insufficient evidence to pursue such speculation.

¹²⁵CC2 pp.299, 295.

¹²⁶*ibid.*, p.297.

¹²⁷*ibid.*, p.282.

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For the purposes of this thesis, all those services that received bequests and those which, from their certificates, seem to have been supported by groups of parishioners, are classified as guilds. Those that appear to have been chantries, or stipends, exclusively maintained by individuals or by other institutions, have been excluded.

When services are taken into the calculations, the West Riding emerges as an area that contributed in a major way to the proliferation of recorded guilds, especially during the first half of the sixteenth century. The maps at Figures 2.4 and 2.5 show this trend. Services are also a factor contributing to the second peak in the percentage of bequests to fraternities that occurred in the first decade of the century which can be seen in Figures 2.1 and 2.2. However, the emergence of guilds in rural centres and the increase in bequests to them is counterbalanced by a different pattern that can be discerned in the development of the county's urban guilds.

Guilds in Urban Centres

York apart, the largest urban centres of the county fall into two natural groups. The three boroughs of Beverley, with a 1377 poll tax population of 2,663, Hull, with 1,557, and Scarborough, with 1,480, shared a somewhat similar pattern of guild bequests. The testators of Pontefract with a poll tax population of 1,085, and Doncaster, with 800, behaved rather differently. The distribution of bequests to guilds in these five urban centres, throughout the sample periods, is shown in figure 2.7. The figures indicate that, in Hull, the largest number of bequests was recorded over the sample periods up to 1453. In Beverley and Scarborough, there were very few bequests to guilds at all, and the majority of these were also made in the fourteenth and early fifteenth

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centuries. By contrast, bequests to Pontefract gilds occurred most frequently in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and those in Doncaster were mainly concentrated between 1471 and 1508. Whilst the general trend, that we have seen in the county at large, is, to some extent, reflected in bequests to Pontefract and Doncaster gilds, it in no way represents the situation in Beverley, Hull or Scarborough.

FIGURE 2.7 : BEQUESTS TO GILDS IN LARGER URBAN CENTRES

<u>Sample Dates</u>	<u>Wills</u>	<u>Hull</u>	<u>Beverley</u>	<u>Scarborough</u>	<u>Pontefract</u>	<u>Doncaster</u>
1. Aug 1320 - Mar 1400	430	9	3	4	2	3
2. Mar 1405 - Mar 1409	131	5	3	2	-	-
3. Mar 1416 - Mar 1420	40	3	-	-	-	-
4. Mar 1427 - Mar 1431	250	1	2	-	5	-
5. Mar 1438 - Mar 1442	209	11	-	-	4	-
6. Mar 1449 - Mar 1453	118	6	1	1	1	-
7. Mar 1460 - Mar 1464	138	3	2	2	6	-
8. Mar 1471 - Mar 1475	274	1	-	-	6	6
9. Mar 1482 - Mar 1486	256	3	1	-	14	12
10. Mar 1493 - Mar 1497	110	2	-	-	1	1
11. Mar 1504 - Mar 1508	558	-	-	-	8	26
12. Mar 1515 - Mar 1519	355	4	-	1	2	1
13. Mar 1526 - Mar 1530	682	-	-	-	12	1
14. Mar 1537 - Mar 1541	138	2	1	-	1	-
15. Mar 1547 - Mar 1548	324	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Total</u>		<u>50</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>50</u>

When bequests to gilds in these five towns are examined as a proportion of all such bequests, their share of the total decreased rather than increased over the sampling period. Between them they received 87.5 per cent of all fourteenth century bequests. By the first decade of the sixteenth century, their share of the sample had declined to 32.4 per cent. As a group, the five large towns received, progressively, a lower proportion of bequests from the sample. Individually, however, each town had its own particular pattern within this general trend, although it is fair to point out that, in most cases, we are dealing with very small numbers of testators.

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Hull's bequests, within the sample, were spread amongst 18 recorded gilds, twelve of which belonged to Holy Trinity parish and five to the smaller, but still wealthy, St. Mary's.¹²⁸ Most of the known gilds were operating up to the middle of the fifteenth century. Joan Gregg, in 1438, made bequests to ten named gilds and, in 1451, John Harpham left a total of 40s. to sustain every gild light in Hull, at a rate of 3s.4d. each, indicating a total of twelve.¹²⁹ Of the 50 bequests to Hull gilds, 70 per cent were made before 1454. By contrast, only two were recorded between 1485 and 1517, but a further six appeared in the sample between 1517 and 1540. This pattern points to some correspondence between the town's prosperity and the incidence of such bequests. Hull suffered a general economic decline in the second half of the fifteenth century, but began to recover in the early sixteenth.¹³⁰ Certainly, the number of bequests to gilds fell dramatically during the nadir of Hull's fortunes, but the total of six, recorded in sixteenth century samples, hardly suggests a large-scale revival of interest. This does not necessarily indicate, however, that gilds were not active at this later period. Rather than make bequests directly to gilds, some Hull testators, at this time, preferred to make them to the fraternities' maisonsdieu and to the poor persons that inhabited them.¹³¹

Other evidence confirms that several Hull gilds were active at periods when bequests to them were rare. The Corpus Christi Gild, of Holy Trinity parish, whose rent book, of 1522, indicates that it was a

¹²⁸They were, technically, chapels of ease rather than parish churches. The Gild of St. Ninian in the Carmelite Friary appears in the probate registers outside the sampling period. See P. Heath, "Urban Piety", pp.222-3 and note.

¹²⁹BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Joan Gregg widow, II 231r-v 1451 John Harpham.

¹³⁰J.I. Kermode, "Merchants, Overseas Trade, and Urban Decline: York, Beverley, and Hull c. 1380-1500", *Northern History* XIII (1987), pp.55-6.

¹³¹E.g. BIHR PR XI 470 1540 James Clerke, 480r 1504 Sir Thomas Henrison priest.

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considerable property owner in the town, was reported on by the commissioners in 1548.¹³² The account book of the St. Mary Gild in Holy Trinity continued to be kept up to 1536, although the quality of the accounts shows a marked deterioration after 1512.¹³³ The Holy Trinity Gild, founded in the mid-fourteenth century, constructed its hall between 1465 and 1476, at a time when bequests to Hull gilds were at a low point.¹³⁴ It also continued to perform its Noah Play annually on Plough Day after the dissolution, although detailed accounts ended in 1531.¹³⁵ This gild, however, had, in 1456, become a shipmen's gild, exclusive to mariners skilled in navigation.¹³⁶ A similar take-over of an existing gild by a commercial group took place in 1499, when the Gild of St. George was incorporated by the town as a merchants' gild, discharging both devotional and mercantile functions.¹³⁷ The ordinances of other occupations, published in the same decade, show that craft associations in Hull now fulfilled some of the functions of religious gilds. Whilst the weavers simply maintained a votive light, the glovers also bore lights at members' funerals, and the walkers and shearmen additionally attended members' burials and weddings en masse.¹³⁸

In Beverley, the low number of bequests to gilds makes it difficult to draw meaningful conclusions from testamentary evidence alone. What there is shows that, while the 13 recorded bequests to gilds, in the sample, ranged in date between 1396 and 1538, almost half of them

¹³²CCII, p.571, KHRO BRA 88 10.

¹³³KHRO BRA87/8, p.142. See Chapter Six.

¹³⁴Woodward, "Hull Trinity House Accounts", pp.153-170.

¹³⁵A.J. Mill, "The Hull Noah Play", pp.504-8 and note.

¹³⁶Woodward, "Hull Trinity House Accounts", p.153.

¹³⁷KHRO BRE5/4.

¹³⁸KHRO BRE/1 (weavers), 2 (walkers and shearmen), 3 (glovers).

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were made before 1408. This period is, of course, very close to the beginning of the main probate registers. It suggests a high degree of gild activity around 1390 when the regulations for the Corpus Christi procession were written, naming six gilds that did not appear in the will sample.¹³⁹ Only two bequests to Beverley gilds were identified after 1500. That recorded in 1538 was, however, unusual, in that it was a musicians' gild whose membership may have been countywide.¹⁴⁰ The only gild in the town to receive more than three bequests from the sample was the Great Gild of St. John of Beverley, four of whose five legators came from outside the borough.¹⁴¹

By the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Beverley's mercantile economy had declined to that of a local market town, showing further deterioration, with falling rents and a declining population, towards the century's end.¹⁴² The, admittedly, thin testamentary evidence suggests that religious gilds were active before most wills were systematically recorded and that, while gilds survived, they did so in an atmosphere of economic decline in which few bequests were made to them. It has also been argued that their devotional functions were partly replaced by craft associations.¹⁴³ This mirrors the situation that we have seen in

¹³⁹Leach, *Beverley Town Documents*, Selden Society, 14 (1900) pp.35-6.

¹⁴⁰BIHR PR XIA 365r-v 1538 George Wilson luter, living in York to the officers of the brotherhood of Our Lady called the Red Ark.

¹⁴¹BIHR PR III 270r 1407 Reginald Gerrard of Scarborough, Reg 18 344r-v 1408 John Mayer mercer of Beverley, PR II 539v-540r 1428 Thomas Beauchamp chaplain of Hull, YML L2(4) 301 r-v 1462 John Haliday gentleman of Heslington, BIHR Reg 168r-v 1506 Robert Dunler vicar of Garton.

¹⁴²Horrox, VCH YER VI, pp.55-6, Kermode "Merchants, Overseas Trade and Urban Decline", p.55.

¹⁴³D. A. Lamburn, "Politics and Religion in Sixteenth Century Beverley", (D.Phil. Thesis, York, 1991) pp.293, 296, 305. See Chapter Three, p.168, for further discussion of this point.

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Hull, although the timing of these trends in Beverley was rather earlier. The foundation, or re-foundation of young men's gilds, in both St. John's and St. Mary's churches, during the first decade of the sixteenth century, shows, however, that gilds unconnected with crafts were still active, although the level of bequests to them was low.¹⁴⁴

Despite its high poll tax population in 1377, there were only ten bequests in the sample to the 13 recorded gilds of Scarborough. Five gilds are known only from evidence from outside the sample.¹⁴⁵ The chronological spread of the three bequests to the St. Clement Gild, the only fraternity to receive more than one, indicates that it was active for a span of at least 108 years, between 1400 and 1518.¹⁴⁶ No other bequest to a gild was found in the sample after 1462. However, economic decay and a decline in population has been detected in Scarborough from the early years of the fifteenth century.¹⁴⁷ It seems likely that many of the 13 gilds of Scarborough were founded in the years of its affluence, before the beginning of the main probate registers, and that there had been a decline in gild activity before testamentary evidence was widely recorded. A single bequest to the St. George Gild, in 1349, the earliest recorded in the county, gives some support to this view.¹⁴⁸ There is insufficient evidence from the town to indicate whether there was a commercialisation of gilds, of the kind detected in Hull and Beverley.

¹⁴⁴HCRO BC/II/3 f.47.

¹⁴⁵VCH NR 2 p.558. Ed. A. Rowntree, *The History of Scarborough* (London, 1931) p.378. See Gazetteer.

¹⁴⁶BIHR PR III 42v 1400 William Carter, BIHR PR III 276r 1407 Simon Qwaynte, BIHR PR IX 80v 1518 Richard Smyth burgess and merchant.

¹⁴⁷P. Heath, "North Sea Fishing in the Fifteenth Century: the Scarborough Fleet", *Northern History III* (1968), p.65.

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Figure 2.7 shows that the majority of bequests to guilds were made much later in both Pontefract and Doncaster than in the three larger towns. It appears that, as in Beverley, Hull and Scarborough, bequests to guilds tend to have been made in periods of economic prosperity. Both were important, long-established, market towns that were flourishing in the second half of the fifteenth century. A symptom of this is the promulgation of royal charters, incorporating Doncaster, in 1467, and Pontefract, in 1484, as boroughs.¹⁴⁹ The reasons for their prosperity were, however, somewhat different. Pontefract, dominated by its Duchy of Lancaster castle, was a town of well-established strategic importance. Doncaster, although smaller than Pontefract in 1377, was to become the premier wool market in the north by the early seventeenth century, and was already expanding.¹⁵⁰ The pattern of bequests to guilds in each town seems to reflect this contrast.

Although it had a lower poll tax population than Beverley, Hull or Scarborough, the guilds of Pontefract attracted more bequests than any other centre, apart from York. This high figure was largely due to the popularity of its Corpus Christi Guild, which received 52 bequests from the sample between 1387 and 1529. Only seven of these were made prior to 1460, whilst 14 belonged to the sample period 1482-86. The coincidence between this period and the promulgation of the town charter, in 1484, may be significant. Unfortunately this extremely popular fraternity is known only from testamentary evidence. It is

¹⁴⁸BIHR Reg 10 346r-v 1349 Alan de Snayton cleric of Scarborough.

¹⁴⁹Dobson, "Yorkshire Towns in the Late Fourteenth Century", pp.4-8.

¹⁵⁰A. Everitt, "The Marketing of Agricultural Produce, 1500-1640", *Agricultural Markets and Trade - Chapters from The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ed. J. Chartres (Cambridge, 1990), p.43.

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tempting to speculate that a gild of this importance, in a town controlled, throughout most of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by the crown, had royal support and membership. The other gilds of the town included the Jesus Gild, which was operating between 1507 and 1529, and which seems to have absorbed the St. Roch Gild at some point between 1507 and 1515.¹⁵¹ This amalgamation might suggest some particular difficulties in the town, at this time, as it also coincided with a fall in bequests to the Corpus Christi Gild.

Doncaster, with only just over half Hull's poll tax population, made the same number of bequests to its 18 gilds. The largest number of these, 14, were to the Gild of St. George and covered the period from 1471 to 1529. The testamentary evidence for gilds in Doncaster prior to 1471 rests entirely on the contents of one will made in 1398 by William Millot, who left quite substantial sums of money to the gilds of Corpus Christi, Paternoster and St. Katherine.¹⁵² Otherwise, 78 per cent of all bequests to Doncaster gilds were made in the last two decades of the fifteenth century and the first of the sixteenth. Bequests by individuals to more than one gild were particularly common in Doncaster at this time. In 1492, William Bakehouse made bequests to as many as nine.¹⁵³ This trend is further exemplified by a series of six blanket bequests to all the gilds of Doncaster, of which each testator was a member, during

¹⁵¹Jesus Gild: BIHR PR VI 122r-v 1507 John Bule, PR IX 40r-v 1515 Hugh Austwyk mercer, 430r 1529 Peter Chapman alderman, 472r-v 1529 William Mures alias Purser alderman. St. Roch Gild: BIHR PR VI 226v-227r 1507 Thomas Waldyng. Jesus and St. Roch Gild: BIHR PR IX 22r 1515 Thomas Cooke burgess.

¹⁵²BIHR PR II 9r.

¹⁵³BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse to the gilds of Corpus Christi, Holy Cross, Holy Trinity, St. Christopher, St. George, St. James and St. Sitha, St. Mary, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Thomas of Canterbury.

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the 13 months between June 1505 and July 1506.¹⁵⁴ As in Pontefract, however, this high point in bequests to gilds coincides with the granting of a charter, further extending the power of its burgesses. In 1505, the lordship of the borough was granted by Henry VII to its mayor and commonalty.¹⁵⁵ This suggests a strong connection between civic sentiment and gild membership. It has already been argued that multiple gild membership might indicate a place where gilds displayed a strong political and commercial dimension.¹⁵⁶ Although direct evidence of a commercialisation of Doncaster gilds is lacking, a bequest to a cordwainers' gild in 1505, might hint that its fraternities were, at this time, developing along the lines of those in Beverley and Hull.¹⁵⁷

Two forces seem to have been at work in urban centres during periods of decline in bequests to gilds. One was the disincentive of economic difficulties. This varied according to the fluctuating prosperity of each town. Although non-testamentary evidence suggests that gilds were active, in some towns, even during periods when there were no bequests to them, it might be fair to assume that such bequests were a barometer, if a somewhat unreliable one, of the economic health of both town and gild. The other force was the commercialisation of gilds that occurred in Hull, Beverley and, probably, Doncaster during the second half of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century. This indicates a change in the nature of some urban gilds which might have affected testators. A

¹⁵⁴BIHR PR VI 194v, 1505 Joan Pereson widow, 203r 1505 William Multiclyffe, 209r-v 1505 Thomas Dey, 195v 1505 William Wod, 212r 1505 Thomas Vance ?merchant, 221r 1506 Thomas Cook cordwainer.

¹⁵⁵P.J.P. Goldberg, "From Conquest to Corporation", *Doncaster: A Borough and its Charters*, ed. B.J. Barber (The Waterside Press, Doncaster, 1994) pp.51-2.

¹⁵⁶See p.75 above.

¹⁵⁷BIHR PR VI 149r-v 1505 Thomas Cook cordwainer "Item gilde Allutarii xxiiij lb rosyn", also bequests to the gilds of St. George, St. Sebastian, St. Barbara.

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bequest to a fraternity was basically a pious act offering spiritual rewards to the dying. If, however, the gild was perceived as offering worldly advantage as a priority, its spiritual efficacy might be called in question. An increasing secularisation may account for the decline in bequests to urban gilds in the sixteenth century, even though they continued to be active.

Conclusion

The indications are that gilds were as common an institution in Yorkshire as they were elsewhere in the country. The testamentary evidence on which this research is heavily dependent, however, generally reveals only the large and important fraternities. Nevertheless, the frequency, with which such gilds appear, can be used as a measure of their popularity over a period of time. The chronological pattern that has emerged is an increase in the popularity of gilds in the county, from 1389, which reached its zenith in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, followed by a decline prior to their dissolution in 1547. Fluctuations within this pattern were caused by local variations. The larger urban centres, for example, attracted progressively fewer bequests to gilds throughout the period, whilst they increased in rural areas and in the smaller boroughs of Pontefract and Doncaster. One effect of these contrary trends were peaks in bequests in 1482-46 and 1504-08.

Most gilds were identified in centres of high population, economic affluence, political power or religious significance. The variable importance of these factors in different areas, however, was further modified by local conditions. The proliferation of gilds in Holderness in the early sixteenth century was a response to a new-found prosperity

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based on its agriculture. West Riding services supplied a need for additional parish clergy in large parishes, with difficult terrain. Each town was subject to different commercial and political pressures. These variables result in a diversity that renders classification and generalisation, except in the widest terms, almost impossible. Variation was not only seen between guilds, but was also found within the changing functions and memberships of those few individual fraternities where documentary evidence survives. Aspects of this diversity can only be investigated further by examining what we can discover of the people who belonged to them.

CHAPTER THREE : THE MEMBERSHIP AND ACTIVITIES OF YORKSHIRE GILDS

From the evidence of the gild returns of 1389 and from some of the other surviving literature, it is possible to discover the aspirations of gilds as corporate bodies. It has been shown that these were basically devotional and fraternal.¹ They were expressed in a wide variety of ways. In order to fulfil these aspirations, however, gilds needed to raise finance and to gain and sustain the approval of the individuals and groups who governed the communities where they operated. In many cases they became commercial entities in their own right, owning real estate or engaging in trade. Many also became increasingly identified with local ruling groups. This was probably part of a two-way process, whereby gilds sought influential members, who would give them access to local government, and members joined successful gilds as a step to political power within the wider community, through fraternal links. The key to the gilds' successful relationship with local authorities was their conservative piety which was acceptable, not only to local magnates and corporations, but to the crown as the ultimate source of power.

This chapter will test these propositions by investigating the kind of person who, as a member of a Yorkshire gild, was able and willing to make a bequest to it. It will examine the occupations of such members, as far as they can be determined, and their status within their communities, in an attempt to illustrate general themes within the wide variations that the special characteristics of individual gilds, displayed in particular places and at particular times. The bequests made to fraternities by these testators, supplemented by other evidence, will

¹See Chapter 1 pp.51-9.

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throw further light on their social and economic activities, as well as leading to a discussion of their devotional preoccupations and the ways in which these were expressed. Material from the City of York will only be used for comparative purposes in pursuit of these arguments. Detailed discussion of York gilds is undertaken in the next chapter.

The Occupations and Status of Lay Testators

In the absence of membership registers for fraternities outside York itself, any investigation of the kinds of people who belonged to gilds in the county rests largely on an analysis of the testamentary evidence. This is not a wholly satisfactory process. The disadvantages of using a sample of data from a group that was restricted to the wealthier members of society, and the problems related to incomplete probate registers, have already been discussed.² A further difficulty is that many testators, especially in small towns and rural areas, did not specify their occupations or social status. In the larger towns, and especially in York, the existence of a franchise system, and of elaborate structures of local government, led to this kind of information being frequently included in the preambles to wills or in the marginal notes of the registers. In the county will sample, by contrast, the vast majority, especially of rural testators, were known simply by their names. Their status and occupations can only be deduced, where possible, from the content of their wills. Figure 3.1 makes it clear that only a minority of the occupations of testators can be identified up to the 1520s. Thereafter the proportion of testators of unknown occupation never fell below 40 per cent.

²See Introduction, pp.22-3, Chapter 2, pp.74-80.

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FIGURE 3.1 : OCCUPATION AND STATUS OF LAY TESTATORS MAKING
BEQUESTS TO GILDS AND SERVICES (EXCLUDING YORK)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Merchants</u>	<u>Craftsmen</u>	<u>Husbandmen</u>	<u>Civic</u>	<u>Gentry</u>	<u>All Women</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>All</u>
1320-1400	1	2	-	3	-	2	20	23
1405-1409	2	-	-	2	1	1	14	16
1416-1420	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
1427-1431	-	2	1	-	1	2	17	19
1438-1442	2	1	1	-	-	2	12	16
1449-1453	2	1	-	1	-	1	10	13
1460-1464	-	2	1	1	1	3	19	22
1471-1475	-	2	-	-	2	4	32	34
1482-1486	4	6	8	-	1	4	34	51
1493-1497	-	1	3	-	-	-	10	13
1504-1508	2	1	19	2	1	10	58	80
1515-1519	3	-	13	4	-	5	22	38
1526-1530	1	3	25	4	2	4	29	68
1537-1541	2	2	23	-	2	4	27	62
1547-1548	-	1	2	-	1	-	2	5
<u>Totals</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>308</u>	<u>462</u>

NOTES

- Date: Period of will sample.
Merchants: including mercers, drapers, clothiers and their wives and widows.
Craftsmen: persons of urban occupation and their wives and widows.
Husbandmen: including yeomen and those with wills indicating agricultural livelihood and their wives and widows.
Civic: burgesses, aldermen, civic officeholders and their wives and widows.
Gentry: lords, knights, esquires, gentlemen and their wives and widows.
Unknown: all testators of unknown occupation.
All all testators making bequests to guilds and services.
 N.B. Some testators appear under several headings

Despite these constraints, we would expect to find that a high proportion of urban testators, making bequests to guilds, came from the mercantile classes. This group dominated civic government throughout the Late Middle Ages, although high office was sometimes achieved by a few wealthy artisans.³ If a significant proportion of the civic elite were guild members, then we can assume, with some confidence, that there was a relationship between the government of a town and its guilds.

³J.I. Kermode, "Obvious Observations on the Formation of Oligarchies in Late Medieval English Towns", *Towns and People in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J.A.F. Thomson (Gloucester, Alan Sutton, 1988) p.97.

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Figure 3.1 shows that the 19 merchants and wholesalers who made bequests to guilds were scattered thinly throughout the sample, making it difficult to discern any overall chronological trend spanning the whole period from 1398 to 1538. Six of them were from Hull.⁴ Pontefract yielded eight and Beverley just two merchants.⁵ Doncaster and Scarborough were each represented by one.⁶ These figures seem very low for mercantile centres, where high numbers of guilds were identified. However, fifteen urban testators identified themselves by status, claiming the rank of burgess or alderman.⁷ The majority of such testators were of Hull and Beverley but, by the early sixteenth century, bequests to guilds were more commonly made by aldermen and burgesses of Pontefract and Doncaster. It is reasonable to assume that most of this civic group and the partially overlapping mercantile group together comprised the wealthiest and most influential individuals in their communities. They seem, indeed, to have supported guilds as a relatively high proportion of the will-making population at large, accounting for some 54.3 per cent of all testators making bequests to guilds, in the county's five largest towns, whose occupations are known. The political significance of the size of this grouping will be pursued in

⁴BIHR PR III 11r 1398 John Hornsee, merchant, II 575v 1408 Alan Wilcok, merchant, II 233r-v Richard Bille 1451, merchant, V 87v 1483 George Busshell, merchant, V 250v 1484 William Barron, draper, XIA 324r-v 1438 Henry Lamley draper.

⁵Pontefract: BIHR PR III 549r 1438 Thomas Wrote, clothier, V 250v 1484 John Illyngworth, draper, IX 40r-v Hugh Awstyk, mercer, IX 442v Thomas Hodgeson, merchant. Beverley: Reg 18 344r-v 1408 John Mayer, mercer, PR II 243v-244r 1452 Richard Patryngton, merchant.

⁶BIHR PR VI 212r 1505 Thomas Vance merchant of Doncaster, IX 80v 1518 Thomas Hodgeson, merchant of Scarborough.

⁷Civic officeholders making bequests to guilds called themselves burgesses in Hull, Beverley and Scarborough. In Doncaster they were aldermen, and in Pontefract both terms were used, although both towns had achieved borough status prior to the dates of all the sampled wills. Two of the testators were the widows of burgesses. See the Gazetteer for full references.

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the next chapter, in the context of the relationship between gilds and the civic government of York, where the evidence is more plentiful. In social and commercial terms, it is clear, however, that gilds attracted bequests from leading figures in the county's urban centres.

Sixteen of the 24 testators who came from what might be seen as the social stratum below that of merchant and wholesaler were also from the five large towns. This whole group, identified in Figure 3.1 as craftsmen, comprised five from textile manufacture, six from victualling, three leatherworkers, two metalworkers, two mariners, a carpenter, a potter, a musician and a lawyer. Several of these testators, however, either by their occupations or from the nature of their bequests, were evidently men of considerable wealth. One of the Hull mariners was part-owner of his ship.⁸ William Scoforth, walker of Beverley, left 5s. and a pound of wax to the St. Mary Gild, and 6s.8d to Corpus Christi, and John Cryche, baker of Doncaster, left 20d. and a helmet, for ceremonial use, to the St. George Gild of Doncaster.⁹ It seems likely that such men were sufficiently prosperous members of their communities to be included within the ruling group.

This was also the case with the handful of testators of known occupation from smaller towns. Individual merchants made bequests to gilds in Bridlington and Leeds.¹⁰ In Middlesborough, a clothier made a bequest to a gild there and another, in Halifax, left money to a local

⁸8HRO BRA 87/1522 1523 John Armstrong mariner of Hull, BIHR PR III 4r 1398.

⁹William Scoforth walker of Beverley, BIHR PR V 256r 1484 John Cryche baker of Doncaster.

¹⁰BIHR PR VIII 40v 1507 John Smyth of Bridlington, IX 70v 1517 Brian Baynes of Leeds.

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service.¹¹ William Marshall, a lawyer from Middleton by Pickering, who left the receipts from a croft and toft to the masters of the local Gild of St. Mary for a 99 year period, was clearly a man of local importance and an owner of agricultural land.¹² William Barker, a barker from Whitby, left the large sum of 13s.4d. to his Holy Trinity Gild, butchers from Leeds and Ripon both left 3s.4d. to local gilds and a carpenter from Aldborough in Holderness bequeathed a measure of wheat to the St. Peter Gild there.¹³ This latter bequest, however, suggests that the carpenter combined his craft with agriculture. Typically of craftsmen in small rural communities, he was evidently also a husbandman.

Husbandmen might, in some respects, be regarded as the rural equivalent of wealthy urban artisans, and the marketing activities of the two groups overlapped.¹⁴ Figure 3.1 shows that husbandmen accounted for 69 per cent of all known occupations. Furthermore, they were found in sufficient quantity for a real trend to be perceived. Although not all of these individuals actually stated that they were husbandmen, it is reasonable to assume, from the contents of their wills, that they all gained their living from the land, leaving quantities of produce and animals to their legatees, as well as farmland and meadows. These characteristics appeared in the wills of the 20 testators who called themselves husbandmen and the five who called

¹¹BIHR PR III 987v-988r 1439 Robert Thomson of Middlesborough, XI 333 1538 Robert Thomson of Halifax.

¹²BIHR PR IX 436r 1528 William Marshall

¹³BIHR PR I 92r-v 1396 William Barker, IX 366v 1527 William Atkinson butcher of Leeds, V 275r 1485 Richard Ellington butcher of Ripon, IX 432r 1538 Ralph Marshall carpenter of Aldbrough.

¹⁴M. Rubin, "Religious Culture in Town and Country: reflections on a great divide", *Church and City 1000-1500 Essays in honour of Christopher Brooke*, eds. D. Abulafia M. Franklin and M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992), pp.16-17.

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themselves yeomen. It seems logical to group with them those who did not do so but whose wills showed similar features.

There were no testators who appeared to be husbandmen making bequests to guilds in the sample prior to 1428. The first to describe himself thus was John Faceby, of Sutton-in-the-Forest, in 1463.¹⁵ From the 1480s, however, the proportion of husbandmen rose steadily from 15 per cent of all those making bequests to guilds to 40 per cent by 1547. Although a small sample makes this final percentage of questionable significance, the two preceding periods yielded values of around 37 per cent from groups of over 60 testators. The reason for this steep rise is related both to an overall increase in the proportion of rural testators and to a growing interest in gild membership.¹⁶ Whilst a number of these wills are so brief that it is difficult to judge how wealthy a testator might have been, some of the husbandmen who made bequests to guilds were clearly substantial farmers and landowners. Richard Hull and John Pryston, both of Coniston in the parish of Swine, each left a bushel of barley to the St. Mary Gild and made other bequests of livestock and produce.¹⁷ Peter Asy, who bequeathed barley to the guilds of St. Mary and St. Katherine in Preston, was wealthy enough to commission a trental of masses.¹⁸ John Bell of Coxwold parish, who owned property for rent and an array of farm implements, gave a sheep to the St. Mary Gild.¹⁹ These men were wealthy enough to wield considerable influence, as landowners and employers, within

¹⁵BIHR PR III 295v.

¹⁶See Chapter 2 above, pp.68.

¹⁷BIHR PR IX 443v 1529 Richard Hull husbandman, IX 483 1529 John Pryston.

¹⁸BIHR PR XIA 275v 1537 Peter Asy husbandman.

¹⁹BIHR PR XIA 261r 1537 John Bell.

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their communities and to be important members of the affinities of the local lords, at least some of whom controlled gilds within the areas they governed.

Bequests to gilds from lords themselves, however, were rare. Those noblemen and gentry whose wills were locally proved comprised only three per cent of testators to gilds in the county. No more than two appeared in any one sample period. They included no titled aristocracy, although some were men of local importance, such as Sir Thomas Reedness, Lord of Whitgift, who left 6s.8d. to its Holy Trinity Gild, and Robert Roos Esquire of Ingmanthorpe, who bequeathed 3s.4d. to the Holy Cross Gild of Ripon.²⁰ Others called themselves gentlemen, like George Davell who left 6s.8d. to the St. Mary Gild of Coxwold and a further 20s. to Sir Thomas Swanne, the gild priest, to pray for him.²¹ How far the Nevilles in Bedale, the Reednesses in Whitgift and the Meltons in Swine personally participated in the activities of their parish gilds is a moot point. Their political and economic control of local fraternities was probably exerted, at least partly, through their agents.

This does not necessarily indicate that noble and gentle laymen and women were not members of gilds. Their names often appear in the membership lists of large or exclusive urban fraternities. Membership of such gilds offered public figures a wider or more influential network of political and economic contacts than more local gilds could possess. The register of the Corpus Christi Gild of Boston, Lincolnshire, for example, shows that it attracted many aristocratic members.²² The

²⁰BIHR PR III 276v 1407 Sir Thomas Redness (*sic*), XI 12r-v 1529 Robert Roos esq.

²¹BIHR PR XIA 348r-v 1538 George Davell.

²²BL MS Harley 4795. See also H.Fenning, "The Guild of Corpus Christi", *The Guilds in Boston*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Boston, 1993), pp.35-9.

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three extant bequests to it, in the Lincoln will registers, however, were all made by members of the urban elite.²³ The membership register of the Corpus Christi Gild of York is also rich in the names of county families, and whilst some of this group were prepared to pay higher membership fees than most other entrants, few of them made bequests to it.²⁴

That the nobility and gentry were members of influential guilds, yet were not in the habit of making bequests to them, suggests that their interest in them was, unlike that of some other testators, not centred on their funerary practices or intercessory role. In his analysis of aristocratic wills, J.T. Rosenthal found that, amidst a plethora of pious legacies, the nobility of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries founded chantries and commissioned obits from religious houses and, especially, from the mendicant orders.²⁵ He records only one bequest by an aristocrat to a gild, and implies that this was prompted by charity towards the fraternity, rather than a request for its prayers.²⁶ Since persons of noble status preferred to cater for their daily devotional needs by maintaining family chapels in their houses and to provide for the care of their souls after death by founding chantries, the motives for their membership of guilds were as likely to be social and political as pious.²⁷ However, the large and exclusive guilds, where membership attracted the benefits of indulgences or other tokens of especial sanctity, which were as relevant

²³Foster, *Lincoln Wills*, 1526 Joseph Benson, Merchant of the Staple I pp.175-8, 1527 John Leek mercer II pp.40-3, Thomas Murre roper III pp.42-3.

²⁴See Chapter 5 below pp.272-3, 292.

²⁵J.T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise - Gift Giving and the Aristocracy 1307-1495* (London, 1972), pp.81-122 *passim.*, p. 121-2, p.128.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p.109 Isabella Morley to the Gild of St. Andrew, Buxton.

²⁷J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries, Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, (Woodbridge, 1988), p.10-11

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to the piety of the living as to the testaments of the dead, offered them devotional benefits as well as socio-political influence. The Corpus Christi Gild of York, for example, possessed several indulgences and a large collection of relics, besides being governed by churchmen.²⁸

Mixed motives for joining gilds are discernible in all lay groups and this is equally true of one that cuts across them all, but demands separate consideration. Women accounted for just over nine per cent of all testators to gilds. Here there is no doubt of the size of the group as, unlike artisans or mercers, individuals are almost always easily identified. The incidence of their bequests, fluctuating between six and fourteen per cent of the total of the various sample periods, roughly follows the general pattern of all bequests. The 1389 gild returns and surviving gild registers clearly show that almost all gilds had sisters, as well as brothers, amongst their members, and that men and their wives usually joined gilds as couples, often at a reduced entrance fee.²⁹

This latter point provides one clue as to why many women became gild members, and why more of them did not make bequests to them. 86 per cent of female testators to gilds were certainly widows, and some of the rest may have been, their wills containing insufficient evidence to confirm their status. Wives that pre-deceased their husbands seldom made wills.³⁰ Furthermore it is clear that, in a number of cases, the husband's bequest to a gild included that of the widow. Instructions by husbands concerning their obits generally included provision for their

²⁸See Chapter 5 pp.302.

²⁹E.g. Registers of: Corpus Christi Gild in York (Lansdowne MS. 304), Holy Trinity Gild in Coventry (ed. M.D. Harris, London, Dugdale Society, 1935), the Gild of Trinity and SS, Fabian and Sebastian in St. Botolph without Aldersgate in London (ed. P Basing, London Record Society, 1982).

³⁰C. Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills", p.19.

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wives. The elaborate orders for gild obits that are bound with the register of Corpus Christi Gild in Boston, Lincolnshire, are a case in point.³¹ That of Henry and Katherine Basse was a joint affair, and the gild bellman was enjoined to urge the citizens, at each station where he announced the service every year, that they should "pray for the sawles of Herry Basse of Boston mercer and Kateryn hys wyfe brother and sister in Corpus Christi gilde".³² Several male testators left real estate that would revert to a gild on the death of their widows. In 1472, John Sturmy of Hedon left a house to the officials of the Gild of Holy Cross on the death of his wife and son and, in 1474, Robert Smaleshorpe left a tenement in Bondgate to the Corpus Christi Gild of Pontefract under similar conditions.³³ In these cases the widow might have considered that any obligation to the gild had already been discharged. Widows also made arrangements with gilds for their dead husbands. The assignment of John Haynson's property to the St. Mary Gild of Holy Trinity in Hull, in 1476, seems to have been the decision of Margaret, his widow, whose name was subsequently added to the obit.³⁴ Since female gild members were less likely to make bequests to their fraternities than males, the testamentary evidence produces an underestimate of their numbers.

Joint membership by married couples suggests that wives shared their husbands' motives, whether devotional, social or political. The wives of Chaucer's craftsmen saw their gild as route to social aggrandisement,

³¹BL MS Harley 4795 ff.78r-89.

³²*Ibid.*, f.83.

³³BIHR PR IV 179, IV 9r-v.

³⁴For a full discussion of this episode see Chapter 6 below, pp.334-8.

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through their husbands' political manipulation of the gild.³⁶ This is not, however, the whole story. There is some indication of both independence and an enthusiasm for gilds on the part of individual women. For example, they did not always belong exclusively to the same gilds as their husbands. William Walker of Richmond left 3s.4d. each to the gilds of St. Mary and St. John in his will of 8th September, 1484. Ten days later Margaret Walker, his wife, left 3s.4d. to the Gild of St. Mary too, but she also bequeathed 20d. to St. Thomas' Gild.³⁷ She left nothing to St. John's Gild. An even greater degree of independence was shown by Agnes Maners, widow, who founded a obit within the Gild of Corpus Christi in York, that was to be celebrated in St. Margaret's Walmgate, for her soul, those of her parents, her friends and all the faithful dead.³⁸ She made no mention of her husband, Thomas, with whom she had joined the gild in 1441-42, and whose will, if he made one, has not survived.³⁹ Particular enthusiasm for gilds appears in the will of Joan Gregg of Hull who left 20s. each to ten gilds in the town and to one in London.⁴⁰ Such examples suggest that gild membership offered particular benefits to women.

Whilst there is no evidence that women were eligible for office in any Yorkshire fraternity, there is an indication that, at in least two Beverley gilds, they were regarded as a special group that, in a ceremonial

³⁶See Introduction, p.9.

³⁷BIHR PR V 235r-v. Both wills appear on the same folio and received probate on the same date (11/02/1485); it is not known which partner died first.

³⁸Lansdowne MS. 304 f.12r.

³⁹*ibid.*, f.38v

⁴⁰BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438.

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context, commanded its own particular place.⁴¹ In the gild processions of both St. Helen and the Purification of the Virgin, all the gild sisters followed immediately after the tableaux of the saints, carrying lights, ahead of the other members.⁴² In view of the popularity of female saints, especially St. Mary, as gild patrons, it seems likely that women were regarded as distinct group in other gilds.⁴³ There is evidence, albeit inconclusive, of a wives' gild in Roos, Holderness, that endowed a window in the church there.⁴⁴ Religious gilds may well have been particularly important to pious laywomen. Opportunities for a communal lay religious life, which the beguinages and tertiary orders provided for continental women, were lacking in England.⁴⁵ To those who did not wish to live the solitary life of an anchoress and preferred to remain within the world, gilds were the only available means of pursuing piety in the company of other women. It was, after all, the solution adopted by Margery Kempe, who, after her many pilgrimages, joined the Holy Trinity Gild of Lynn in 1438.⁴⁶

Such considerations are a reminder of the basically devotional purposes of gilds. We have seen that lay testators came principally from groups that might be supposed to be politically and economically active, both in

⁴¹Skarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, p.25, points out that women could, in theory, become officers of gilds, although they rarely did so.

⁴²PRO C47/46/446, 448.

⁴³See below p.158 and Figure 3.4.

⁴⁴G. Poulson, *History of Holderness*, p.97, refers to a fragment of inscribed glass in the church clerestory (see Gazetteer). I am indebted to Richard Marks for this reference.

⁴⁵R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Blackwell, 1989) p.274.

⁴⁶B.A. Windeatt ed. and transl., *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Penguin, London, 1985), pp.30, 328.

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town and country. By and large, these are the gild members that we know about, but they may not have been typical. Many of the comparatively wealthy men and women who cared enough about their fraternities to make bequests to them were probably leading members of gilds, insiders who were fully conversant with the micro-politics of their organisation and control. It is possible that the rank and file were more concerned with the devotional and fraternal aspects of membership than with political and economic undercurrents. On a macro-political scale, however, it is difficult to separate politics from piety. The Lancastrian suppression of heresy had the active support of the church hierarchy.⁴⁷ If gilds were manifestations of orthodox lay piety, we would expect them to be seen as allies of the church, as well as the state, in this process.

The Status of Clerics Making Bequests to Gilds and Services

The attitudes of the higher clergy towards gilds do not emerge through testamentary evidence. Like the aristocracy, they did not support gilds in this way. The only cleric in the sample, above the rank of rector, who made a bequest to a gild, was James Clapeham, Master of the College of Holy Trinity in Pontefract, who left 20s. to the Corpus Christi Gild in the town.⁴⁸ Membership registers show, however, that large numbers of higher clergy were members of influential urban gilds, including those of Corpus Christi, in both York and Boston, Lincolnshire, but they do not seem to have recorded many bequests even to them.⁴⁹

⁴⁷R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society*, p.340.

⁴⁸BIHR PR V 446r-v 1494.

⁴⁹For Corpus Christi York see below pp.277-8. For Corpus Christi Boston see H. Fenning, "The Guild of Corpus Christi", p.36.

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FIGURE 3.2 : STATUS OF CLERICAL TESTATORS MAKING BEQUESTS TO GILDS (EXCLUDING YORK)

<u>Date</u>	<u>All Clerics</u>	<u>High Clerics</u>	<u>Rectors</u>	<u>Vicars</u>	<u>Chaplains</u>	<u>All Testators</u>
1320-1400	2	-	-	1	1	23
1405-1409	2	-	-	-	2	16
1416-1420	1	-	-	-	1	2
1427-1431	3	-	1	-	2	19
1438-1442	2	-	-	2	-	16
1449-1453	2	-	-	1	1	13
1460-1464	3	-	-	1	2	22
1471-1475	7	-	2	-	5	34
1482-1486	9	-	1	2	6	51
1493-1497	3	1	1	1	-	13
1504-1508	8	-	-	6	2	80
1515-1519	4	-	-	3	1	38
1526-1530	2	-	-	1	1	68
1537-1541	3	-	-	-	3	62
1547-1548	1	-	-	-	1	5
<u>Total</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>425</u>

NOTES

<u>Date:</u>	period of will sample.
<u>All Clerics:</u>	all clerical testators who made bequests to gilds or services.
<u>High Clerics:</u>	all clerics above the rank of rector..
<u>Rectors:</u>	all rectors.
<u>Vicars:</u>	all vicars.
<u>Chaplains:</u>	all unbeneficed clergy including gild and service priests.
<u>All:</u>	all testators making bequests to gilds and services.

The inventory of the Corpus Christi Gild in York shows, however, that high clerics were generous to such gilds in their lifetimes, rather than at their deaths.⁵⁰ This suggests that gifts to fraternities were seen, by such dignitaries as the bishops of Carlisle and Hereford, as enhancing their political or social influence rather than inducing the intercessory prayers of gildsmen and women. Most gilds, outside York, that emerged through the will sample, were too small to wield this kind of influence, although the Corpus Christi Gild in Pontefract was probably an exception.

⁵⁰Landsdowne MS. 304 f.2r-5v.

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There is little doubt, however, of a general support for guilds, on the part of testators from lower secular clergy, especially within the context of the parish. That an average of twelve and a half per cent of all testators making bequests to guilds in Yorkshire were clerics should be seen in the context of a country where secular clergy accounted for four per cent of all males.⁵¹

It has been argued that the institutions of guild and parish represented opposing influences.⁵² Certainly, on the face of it, the position of a guild priest, appointed by a body of laymen to work within the parish, but not entirely under the direct control of the incumbent, seems anomalous. The parish itself, however, has been described as kind of fraternity in its own right.⁵³ Viewed in this way, a parish guild can be seen as an association of leading lay parishioners, who were responsible to the churchwardens.⁵⁴ In parishes where there were several guilds, the presence of numbers of bequests to, for example, the four guilds of Hornsea or the eight guilds of Cottingham, shows that their memberships overlapped to a considerable degree, and suggests that guilds were complementary, not antagonistic to one another in their support of the parish.⁵⁵ It is likely that, in these cases, individual guilds had their own responsibilities in terms of ritual and of the maintenance of their chapels.

If, on the other hand, conflict between parish and guild were the norm, we would not expect beneficed clergy to make bequests to them.

⁵¹C. Haigh, *English Reformations* (Oxford, 1993) pp.4-5.

⁵²G. Rosser, "Communities of Parish and Guild", pp.39-44.

⁵³Swanson, *Church and Society*, p. 280.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p.281.

⁵⁵See Gazetteer for Hornsea and Cottingham.

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However, rectors and vicars together accounted for 43.4 per cent of all the clerics who made bequests to guilds, in the sample, suggesting that they regarded them as allies, not opponents, in the context of the parish. Of the five rectors who made bequests, one did so only to guilds outside his parish and four of the 18 vicars did the same.⁵⁶ These exceptions might have been expressing loyalty to fraternities in places where they had family connections or that had played a part in earlier phases of their careers, although it is tempting to speculate that Richard Sudbury's bequest to guilds in Spofforth showed a Percy connection. The majority, however, supported local fraternities.

As chaplains formed the majority of all clerics, especially in northern counties, during the late fifteenth century, it is only to be expected that, as Figure 3.2 shows, they comprised the largest single group, in the sample, of clerical testators making bequests to Yorkshire guilds.⁵⁷ Of the 29 chaplains recorded, five were employed by guilds, four were chantry chaplains, one was a service priest and the remaining 19 were unspecified. Apart from their duties to guild, service or chantry, chaplains also had a parochial role. Most of them assisted the incumbent in a variety of duties, either in the parish church or in chapels of ease. This was particularly evident in the large rural parishes of the West Riding, where chapels of ease made a major contribution to parochial care.⁵⁸

⁵⁶BIHR PR II 540v-541r 1428 Richard Sudbury rector of Crofton made bequests to three guilds in Spofforth, BIHR PR II 483r-v 1464 Thomas Covell vicar of Topcliffe made bequests to guilds in Bridlington, BIHR Reg 25 161v-162r 1505 John Holme vicar of Ganton made a bequest to Holy Trinity Guild Sherburn in Hartford Lythe, BIHR Reg 25 168-v 1506 Robert Dunler of Ganton made a bequest to the Guild of St. John of Beverley.

⁵⁷A.K. Mchardy, "Careers and Disappointments in the Late-Medieval Church", *The Ministry : Clerical and Lay*, Studies in Church History 26 (Oxford, 1989), p.114-15.

⁵⁸See Chapter 2, pp.119-20.

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It is, of course, hardly surprising that a gild or service chaplain should support, in his will, an institution that had employed him and to which he had devoted at least some of his life's work. His bequests would also secure the prayers of his gild brothers and sisters and of the gild priest, his successor, whose post his bequest might help to maintain. Such bequests were sometimes generous. Thomas Rawson, chaplain of the fraternity of St. Mary in Easingwold, left 6s.8d. to the gild in 1541 and, in 1506, the same gild received 10s. to repair its chalice, 13s.2d. for its "works" and cooking utensils, already in the keeping of its wardens, from William Robynson, chaplain of the parish.⁵⁹ Most chaplains made bequests to gilds in their own parishes, implying that they were local members. Some also made bequests to gilds in other places, or to several gilds in the same parish.⁶⁰ Only one chaplain made a bequest to a gild elsewhere and not to one of those in his own parish.⁶¹

As many as 83 per cent of clerical testators to gilds, in the county sample, were working in rural parishes. In the five largest towns, there were no clerical bequests in the sample from Scarborough or Hull and both Beverley and Doncaster provided just one testator each.⁶² The remaining seven were all from Pontefract, all made bequests to the Corpus Christi Gild and none was later than 1494. Thus 13 per cent of

⁵⁹BIHR PR II 247r 1451.

⁶⁰E.g. BIHR PR II 1408 Ralph Kylstern gild chaplain of Spofforth made bequests to three gilds in Spofforth and also to St. Mary Gild Staveley. BIHR PR X 72r 1529 Sir Henry Toplady, chaplain of the chapel of Farlington in the parish of Sheriff Hutton left 3s.4d. each to gilds in Sutton-in-the-Forest and Sheriff Hutton.

⁶¹YML L2(4) 330v 1475 William Paynter chantry priest of Preston, Holderness, left 3s 4d to the Holy Cross Gild of Hedon.

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all clerics made bequests to a single urban gild which attracted an unusually large number of bequests from all groups of testators. These bequests were made at the period when the gild was at its most popular and, of course, contributed to a high number of bequests at this time. The popularity of this Pontefract gild with local clergy might also indicate that, like the Corpus Christi Gilds of Beverley and York, it was run by the chaplains of the town.⁶³ If this fraternity is seen as a special case, support for gilds and services by the clergy could be viewed as a largely rural, rather than an urban, phenomenon. This reflects their role in providing chaplains for large rural parishes.

Clerical support for gilds was not evenly distributed over time. If we discount the numbers of clerical testators, making bequests to them in the atypically small samples for 1416-20, where the main probate register is defective, and for 1547-48, when dissolution was actually taking place, we can see that they were found with the greatest frequency between 1470 and 1500. A decline in the early years of the sixteenth century accelerated in the 1520s and 1530s. No rectors made bequests to gild, in the sample, during the sixteenth century, and the last vicar did so in 1528.⁶⁴ This suggests that clerical bequests to gilds followed the general pattern of bequests that was seen in Figures 2.1 and 2.2. However, it might also imply changes in clerical attitudes

⁶²BIHR PR II 539v-540r 1428 Thomas Beauchamp chaplain of Beverley, BIHR PR IV 25r 1471 Thomas Tynlay gild chaplain of Doncaster.

⁶³BIHR PR III 668v 1430, BIHR PR III 518v-519r 1438, BIHR PR IV 33r 1471, BIHR PR V 83v 1482, BIHR PR V 31v 1482, BIHR PR V 211v 1484, BIHR PR V 446r-v 1494.

⁶⁴BIHR Reg 27 164r Henry Smythson, vicar of Hunmanby bequeathed a quarter of barley to the St. Mary Gild there.

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towards guilds, throughout the whole period, although the numbers involved are very small and the totals derived from them could be misleading.

Reasons for some of these changes in attitude can be sought in government religio-political policy. The impetus towards orthodox spirituality, that had been set in motion by official opposition to Lollardy, led the governments of Henry V and Henry VI to promote the use of confession as a means of preventing the spread of heresy. The resulting measures were codified and eventually accepted by the convocations of Canterbury and York in 1462.⁶⁵ The pastoral demands that they laid upon priests might explain the need for parishes to employ more chaplains. This need would be fulfilled, in part, by gild and service priests, especially in rural areas far from urban friaries. Their appointment being the indirect result of official promptings, it is not surprising that most chaplains were orthodox in their beliefs and practices, following the regimes laid down in the recommended priestly manuals, that were in general use at this time.⁶⁶ As both employees and confessors of gild members, their involvement with them would have become increasingly close. They probably developed loyalties to what were basically religiously conservative institutions, to their lay members and to their saintly cults. Furthermore, the content of the teachings derived from the books that they used served to reinforce the doctrine

⁶⁵J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp.262-3.

⁶⁶P. Mackie, "Chaplains in the Diocese of York, 1480-1530: The Testamentary Evidence", *YAJ* 58 (1986), pp.132, 127. Hughes, "The Administration of Confession in the Diocese of York in the Fourteenth Century", p.107.

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of purgatory, which was central to so many of the funerary and intercessory activities of guilds.⁶⁷

It is tempting to ascribe the decline in clerical bequests to guilds, in the early sixteenth century, to changing attitudes towards spiritual orthodoxy. There is, however, little evidence to support this. A more mundane, but perhaps more probable, explanation is the poverty of parochial clergy, both beneficed and unbeneficed, that has been widely observed at this period.⁶⁸ From the 1530s, however, the reasons for the cessation of bequests to guilds by beneficed clergy probably lie in the process of reformation that was driven by government actions. They were charged, in 1536, through Cromwell's injunctions, with enforcing the Act of Ten Articles that contained provisions attacking beliefs and practices central to the whole ethos of religious guilds.⁶⁹ In particular, the official line included an attack on saints' cults and images. The Vicar General's officers were already destroying nationally venerated shrines.⁷⁰ Whatever the attitude of individual clerics to these changes, support for local guilds had already become politically and doctrinally questionable. Nevertheless, three bequests to guilds, appearing in the sample after 1536, made by chaplains, demonstrate a persistent religious conservatism amongst the lower ranks of the clergy, in rural parts of the county, despite the actions of government.⁷¹

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp.114-5.

⁶⁸Mackie "Chaplains in the Diocese of York", p.124.

⁶⁹See Chapter Seven, p.369.

⁷⁰M. Aston, *English Iconoclasts* (Oxford, 1988), p.224. Duffy, pp.402-3

⁷¹BIHR PR XIA 243r 1537 Sir Thomas Ladestoke chaplain of Foston, YML L2(5)a 186v 1540 William Carbot chaplain of Topcliffe, BIHR Reg 29 73r 1540 Robert Ketand priest of St. Mary, Alne. BIHR PR XIII A 401v-402r 1547 Thomas Hodgeson, former gild priest of Corpus Christi in St. Nicholas Hornsea did not make a bequest.

Lay Piety and the Dedications of Gilds

The doctrinal orthodoxy that rendered gilds acceptable to the establishment of both church and state can clearly be seen in their choices of dedication. A gild's piety was focused upon the veneration of its own particular saint or cult. The nature of its rituals and their place within the calendar were dependent on its choice of devotional patron. The physical manifestation of the dedication, the cult image, was usually a central feature of the members' worship through votive lights, decoration and ceremonial use. A gild's character and sometimes the parameters of its membership were dictated by the dedication. The vast majority of choices reflected the mainstream preoccupation with the humanity of Christ and His sacrifice.

The most popular cult, in terms of gild dedications, that was directly connected to the godhead was that of Holy Trinity. By the late Middle Ages, this concept, a symbol of Christian orthodoxy and unity, was often related iconographically to that of Corpus Christi.⁷² God the Father was depicted supporting the crucified Christ. In some versions, known as the Throne of Grace (*Gnadenstuhl*), the seated Father was portrayed supporting the crucifix with the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove hovering above it.⁷³ Later examples show the Father standing, supporting the bleeding body of Christ in its manifestation as the Man of Sorrows, as shown in Figure 3.3.⁷⁴ Both symbolise God offering the broken body of His Son in remission for sins of the world, an act that was replicated in every celebration of the Eucharist.

⁷²Duffy, pp.35-40.

⁷³G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art II*, transl. J. Seligman, (London, 1972) pp.122-3.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, pp.220-1.

FIGURE 3.3 : CORPUS CHRISTI TRINITY - MAN OF SORROWS



York, Holy Trinity Goodramgate, East Window (I 2c). The head of God the Father is a replacement and too small in scale.

Photograph by P.A. Newton (1982) from the Newton Collection, University of York.

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These images, in both versions, appear frequently in the glass of York parish churches.⁷⁵ It was the subject of a full-page miniature in the York-produced Bolton Hours of *circa* 1420, and appears on the obverse of the fifteenth century Middleham Jewel.⁷⁶ The comparatively recently instituted feast of Corpus Christi was also linked to Trinity Sunday in the church calendar, falling on the following Thursday.

Figure 3.4 shows that Corpus Christi, itself, had a dozen gilds dedicated to it in the county. This cult was, in many ways, the apex of the worship of Christ as God in Man, and of the late medieval obsession with the physical nature of Christ's redemptive sacrifice. The Host, that was seen literally as His body, was revered through its new liturgy, through processions and, in some places, through plays.⁷⁷ It is not surprising that Corpus Christi gilds were found in many of the larger population centres in Yorkshire.⁷⁸ A large town was a suitable setting for mounting a worthy procession, or for providing a fitting audience for a play cycle, such as those of York, Wakefield and Beverley. It has been argued that, symbolically, the body of Christ could also stand for the body politic of a town or city, and the processions and ceremonies

⁷⁵J.A. Knowles, *Essays in the History of the York School of Glass-Painting* (London, SPCK, 1936), pp.169-73. Windows displaying a Man of Sorrows Trinity are in Holy Trinity Goodramgate (I 2c) (See Figure 3.4), St. Martin Coneystreet (sIV 1-2c), and the Minster (nXX 4-5). The Minster window originated in St. John Ousebridge. Also in the Minster (sXXVII 2a) is a *gnadenstuhl* Trinity originally from St. Martin Coneystreet.

⁷⁶YML MS Add.2 f.33r (*gnadenstuhl*). The Middleham Jewel (*gnadenstuhl*) is in the Yorkshire Museum.

⁷⁷M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 243-287 *passim*.

⁷⁸Corpus Christi gilds were found in Bempton, Beverley, Cottingham, Doncaster, Hornsea, Hull, Ottringham, Patrington, Pontefract, Scarborough, Wakefield and Weaverthorpe. See Gazetteer.

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FIGURE 3.4: FREQUENCY OF YORKSHIRE GILD AND SERVICE DEDICATIONS (EXCLUDING YORK)

<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Dedication</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Dedication</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Dedication</u>
105	37.1	St. Mary Virgin*	2	0.7	All Saints	1	0.4	St Hilda
32	11.3	Holy Trinity	2		Apostles	1		St. John Apostle
14	4.9	Holy Cross†	2		Morrow Mass	1		St. Leonard
13	4.6	St. Katherine	2		Paternoster	1		St. Loy
12	4.2	Corpus Christi	2		St. Erasmus	1		St. Margaret
10	3.5	St. John Baptist	2		St. John Beverley	1		St. Peter Milan
7	2.5	St. Christopher	2		St. Lazarus	1		St. Roch
6	2.1	Jesus	2		St. Michael	1		St. Saviour
6		St. George	2		Youngmen	1		St. Sebastian
6		St. Nicholas	1	0.4	Puerorum	1		St. Sitha
5	1.8	St. Helen	1		Resurrection	1		St. Sondag
4	1.4	Plough	1		St. Andrew	1		St. Thomas Apostle
3	1.1	St. Anne	1		St. Anthony	1		St. Thomas Lancs.
3		St. James	1		St. Barbara	1		Sepulchre
3		St. Laurence	1		St. Bega			
3		St. Mary Magdalene	1		St. Botolph			
3		St. Peter	1		St. Clement			
3		St. Robert	1		St. Gregory			
3		St. Thomas Cant.	1		St. Giles			

NOTES

*Also to Our Lady etc. including Assumption (2), Purification (1), Coronation (1), The Mother (of Pity) (1)

†Also to The Rood, St. Crux etc.

Number: Number of known gilds bearing each dedication.

%: Percentage of known gilds bearing each dedication.

There were 19 gilds of unknown dedication. Not included are the following composite dedications: Holy Trinity and St. Mary; St. Mary and St. Helen; Jesus and St. Mary; St. George, Corpus Christi and Saviour; St. Anthony and St. Sitha; St. James and St. Sitha; St. Christopher and St. George; Jesus and St. Roch; St. Mary, St. Wilfrid and All Saints; Holy Cross and St. Mary.

of the cult can be seen as means of ritually binding together its inhabitants, with their conflicting interests in an act of social harmony.⁷⁹

Other gilds were concerned with various aspects of the life and passion of Christ. The 14 dedications to Holy Cross, the Rood or St. Crux might indicate that some of the gilds in question, apart from maintaining the parish rood, supported the elaborate rituals of Holy Week, in particular,

⁷⁹M. James, "Ritual, Drama and the Social Body", pp.6-9.

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on Good Friday, which was also known as the *Adoratio Crucis*.⁸⁰ Others, however, might have been connected, rather, with the feasts of the Invention or the Exultation of the Cross. Testators tended not to be specific as to which aspect of the Rood was venerated. According to its 1389 gild return, the Holy Cross Gild of Rotherham seems to have held its annual procession on the feast of the Exaltation.⁸¹ The five gilds dedicated to St. Helen, the finder of the True Cross, were also connected with the cross as an object of veneration in itself. Gilds of the Resurrection and the Sepulchre were more clearly connected with the celebration of Holy Week.⁸²

The late medieval cult of The Holy Name of Jesus was represented in Yorkshire by six single and two composite gild dedications, as a token of its wide popularity elsewhere.⁸³ The principal function of the Paternoster Gild in York was to promote the Paternoster Play in celebration of the words of Christ. The gild in Beverley may also have been connected with the town's Paternoster Play, although recent research throws some doubt upon this.⁸⁴ The existence of Doncaster's Paternoster Gild is proved from a single testamentary source and whether there was a play there is unknown.⁸⁵ Gild dedications in general, however, emphasise the humanity of Christ and the sacrifice of His Passion rather than His Ministry or His Resurrection, which only attracted one gild dedication in the county.

⁸⁰Duffy, pp.22-23.

⁸¹PRO C47/46/453.

⁸²Duffy p.34.

⁸³*ibid.*, pp.113-16.

⁸⁴D.J.K. Wyatt, "Performance and Ceremonial in Beverley before 1642 - an annotated edition of local archive materials" (D.Phil Thesis, York 1983), p.xxxiv.

⁸⁵BIHR PR II 9r 1398 William Millot.

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The most popular cult of all was that of the Virgin Mary, through whom Christ received His human form through His Incarnation.⁸⁶ Figure 3.4 shows that over a third of all the gilds identified in the county were dedicated to her. In most cases, bequests to St. Mary gilds were made to "Our Lady", in English language wills, and *beate Marie (virginis)*, in those in Latin. Gilds dedicated to specific aspects of the Virgin and her life were much rarer, although, as with Holy Cross gilds, testators did not always refer to the dedication in full. The Gild of St. Mary in the Church of St. Mary in Beverley was dedicated to the Purification, and held its procession on that date according to the 1389 gild return, but none of the bequests made to it referred to this.⁸⁷ Similarly the gilds of her Assumption in Tickhill, and her Coronation in Doncaster are referred to as St. Mary gilds in the testamentary evidence, perhaps due to a desire for brevity on the part of testators or their scribes.⁸⁸

In some cases, however, the lack of a dedication to a specific aspect of the cult might indicate a merger of gilds, especially in the larger population centres. In Preston, Holderness, there were two complementary St. Mary gilds. That of St. Mary the Virgin attracted ten bequests between 1472 and 1537. Five of the same testators also made bequests to the Gild of The Mother (*matris*) or, in one case, to St. Mary of Pity (*beate Marie pietatis*).⁸⁹ No testator who made a bequest to the Gild of The Mother failed also to leave something to that of The Virgin. It seems likely that the two gilds celebrated different parts of

⁸⁶J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, pp.8-11. E. Cameron, *The European Reformation* (Oxford, 1991), pp.16-17.

⁸⁷PRO C47/46/448, BIHR PR II 639r-v, III 4r, V 212v.

⁸⁸BIHR PR III 241r 1405 (Tickhill). BIHR PR VI 191v 1505, V 31r 1482 (Doncaster).

⁸⁹BIHR PR IV 177r 1472, 221r 1474, VI 114v 1504, VI 152r 1505, 233v 1507. See Gazetteer for Preston.

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the Marian calendar in their ceremonial, the former commemorating Christ's Incarnation, on such feasts as the Annunciation, Nativity and Purification, and the latter His sacrifice, enhancing the parish rituals of Holy Week. They evidently worked closely together and shared a gild hall.⁹⁰ Perhaps they merged at some time after 1507, as testators in Preston, after this date, made bequests to St. Mary the Virgin only.⁹¹

Christ's humanity was further emphasised at this period by placing Him in the wider context of the rest of His immediate family, His friends and His disciples, as shown, not only in the Bible, but also, in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine.⁹² A number of county gild dedications demonstrate this trend. The most popular male saint was St. John the Baptist, the forerunner and cousin of Christ. St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene and St. Lazarus and the apostles James, Andrew, John, Peter and Thomas, were all represented with varying degrees of popularity, and there were two gilds dedicated to the Apostles as group.

Gild dedications to other saints were generally conservative, being made to legendary and semi-legendary martyrs and miracle workers whose popularity had been long established. St. Katherine of Alexandria was especially favoured, with thirteen dedications. As the "bride of Christ", the intercessory saint for the dying and the patroness of young girls, students, nurses, spinners, wheelwrights and millers, her appeal was wide.⁹³ *The Golden Legend* claimed that she possessed a particular dignity, having been granted, at her death, five "privileges" that God

⁹⁰VCH YER 5, p.199.

⁹¹BIHR PR IX 33v-34r 1516, XIA 275v 1537.

⁹²Bossy, *Christianity in the West*, pp.9-10. Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, translated W.G. Ryan, 2 Vols. (Princeton, 1993).

⁹³Duffy, p.164. D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 2nd Edition, reprint 1990).

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only bestowed singly upon other saints.⁹⁴ St. Christopher's popularity was related to his role as the bearer of Christ's body and that of St. Nicholas by his ability, like Jesus, to resurrect the dead and by his patronage of children. The popularity of the national patron, St. George, had been boosted by Henry V's invocation of the saint at Agincourt.⁹⁵

A few gilds were dedicated to local saints. St. Hilda of Whitby was commemorated in a gild in nearby Hackness.⁹⁶ St. Robert of Knaresborough had gilds dedicated to him in Knaresborough itself and in Aldborough and Burnshall.⁹⁷ St. John of Beverley was the dedicatee of two gilds in Beverley itself: the Great Gild of St. John and the Gild of St. John in May.⁹⁸ There was a gild of the uncanonised St. Thomas of Lancaster in Pontefract, where he had been executed and where he was buried in the Cluniac Priory.⁹⁹ St. Wilfrid shared a gild dedication in Ripon with St. Mary and All Saints.¹⁰⁰ No gild of St. John of Bridlington or St. William of York was identified within the will sample. Other northern saints, such as St. Oswald, St. Cuthbert, St. Edwin and St. Paulinus, were also absent. Southern English saints attracting gild dedications were St. Thomas of Canterbury, whose cult was nationwide, and the East Anglian St. Botolph, whose gild in Bossall was

⁹⁴*The Golden Legend* II, p.341. I am indebted to Katherine Lewis for this reference.

⁹⁵D.H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

⁹⁶Ed. J.C. Atkinson, *The Whitby Cartulary II* (Surtees Society 72, 1879), p.746, BIHR PR III 601v-602r 1440, V 73v 1472, IX 77v 1518, XIB 415r 1539.

⁹⁷Ed. C.W. Foster, *Lincoln Wills III*, p.118 (Knaresborough 1531), YML L2(4) 336v 1474 (Aldborough), BIHR PR IV 174r (Burnshall).

⁹⁸PRO C47/46/447, Leach *Beverley Town Documents*, p.36.

⁹⁹BIHR PR II 537v-538r 1428.

¹⁰⁰PRO C47/46/452.

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probably related to the place-name.¹⁰¹ The dedication of the Beverley Gild of St. Peter of Milan probably indicates that it was a Dominican confraternity.¹⁰²

The presence of a Gild of St. Sunday, in Doncaster, is less easy to explain.¹⁰³ Although there was only one gild identified, parish lights of St. Sunday were found in Stretton and in Sherburn where there was also a bequest to the St. Sunday banner.¹⁰⁴ It is unclear whether he was a personification of the Lord's Day or an actual saint. If it was the former, then, like the Morrow Mass Services of Halifax and Wakefield, the dedication was a practical description of the function of the fraternity.¹⁰⁵ Both services provided a chaplain, one of whose duties was to say early morning mass. Also descriptive were the titles of the two Youngmen's Gilds, also known as gilds of the Four Yeomen, that were founded, or re-founded, in Beverley, in 1503, in St. Mary's Parish and, in 1508, in the Minster Parish.¹⁰⁶ The young men of each parish were to elect four officials, called Yeomen, to rule the gild, to ensure the maintenance of seven serges of wax, that were to burn before the altar of St. Mary and to bear torches in the Corpus Christi procession. The *Gilde Puerorum* of Seamer might have been a similar organisation,

¹⁰¹St. Thomas of Canterbury Gilds included Doncaster: BIHR PR VI 191v and Middlesborough: BIHR PR III 987v-988r. St. Botolph Gild in Bossall: BIHR PR IX 378r 1527, 397r 1528, 459r, 442v 1529.

¹⁰²Ed. Leach, *Beverley Town Documents*, p.36.

¹⁰³BIHR PR VII 10v-11r 1507.

¹⁰⁴Roland Dumwith BIHR PR IX 372 1527 (light in Stretton), John Atkynson BIHR PR IX 370 1527 (light in Sherburn), BIHR PR IX 394 1527 (banner in Sherburn).

¹⁰⁵Halifax: CC2 p.299, BIHR PR IX 349 1526, Wakefield: CC2 pp.311, 416.

¹⁰⁶HRO BC/II/3 f.47.

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although it could, alternatively, have been a gild of The Holy Innocents.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, it might even have been a children's fraternity in both senses, as boys' gilds sometimes participated in the celebration of a variety of feast days, including those of St. Nicholas, St. Clement and St. Katherine, as well as Holy Innocents.¹⁰⁸

The Plough Gilds found in the four East Riding towns of Brandesburton, Cottingham, Preston and Wawne represented a different and older tradition than the cults of saints.¹⁰⁹ The ceremonies of Plough Monday were, in origin, pre-Christian fertility rites that had been absorbed into the calendar of the church.¹¹⁰ The money raised by young men, harnessed to a plough and demanding payment from householders, on pain of ploughing up their doorways, would, probably, have been put into a stock to be managed by the gild for pious purposes. In Preston the gild seems to have sustained a Plough Light, which received bequests in 1506 and 1507.¹¹¹ Plough lights were also found in the Holderness villages of Burton-Pidsea and Sproatley.¹¹² Here, in this corner of the county, were gilds which did not belong to medieval Christian orthodoxy so much as to popular superstition, to beliefs and rituals that pre-dated the church and were to survive the reformation.¹¹³ In intention and function they represent the antithesis of the Corpus Christi gilds of the towns and cities.

¹⁰⁷BIHR PR IV 190r 1473. Duffy p.13.

¹⁰⁸Duffy, p.13.

¹⁰⁹BIHR PR IX 1517 (Brandesburton), BIHR PR IX 41v 1517 (Cottingham), BIHR PR V 282v 1485, VI 233v 1507 (Preston), BIHR PR VI 102r-v 1504, YML L2(5)a 42r-v (Wawne).

¹¹⁰Duffy, p.13.

¹¹¹BIHR PR VI 184 1506, 231 1507.

¹¹²BIHR PR XI 252 1537 (Burton Pidsea), IX 413 1528 (Sproatley).

¹¹³Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp.9-12.

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The general impression left by the dedications that Yorkshire people chose for their gilds is one of religious conservatism. The rare occurrence of occasional local saints and non-devotional dedications was far outweighed by the veneration paid to the Virgin, the Holy Trinity, to Christ in His various aspects and to saints whose appeal was common to late medieval Christendom. The details of how the cults were publicly celebrated by rural gilds is sparse, however, and can only be deduced from testamentary evidence. Outside York, other documentation is extant only in Hull and Beverley.

Urban Gilds and Religious Ceremonial : Hull and Beverley

A gild's procession and feast, which usually took place on the same day, formed the highlight of its year. The procession was a public expression of its identity and its devotion to its cult. In an urban context, gilds were often also major participants in civic ceremonial, which gave each fraternity the opportunity to make a public statement of its role within the structure of the community of which it was a part. The manner and scale of this participation varied widely, not only in relation to the size and purposes of each gild, but also to the nature of the community and its structures. In a city such as York, ceremonial relationships between the city and its gilds were complex, and there are extant records through which they can be examined.¹¹⁴ Elsewhere in the county, there are few accounts of gild ceremonial. Despite the large numbers of fraternities identified in Scarborough and Doncaster and the

¹¹⁴See Chapter Five, pp.222-30, where the relationships between city and gild is examined in some detail.

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many bequests made to the Corpus Christi gild of Pontefract, no such records survive, and even in Hull and Beverley the evidence is patchy.

Hull, in the late Middle Ages, was, in ecclesiastical terms, poorly provided for.¹¹⁵ As a result of its late foundation, its two churches lacked full parochial status. There were only two friaries and one monastery in the City. A relative lack of parish clergy had led to the establishment of chantries, and of the Priests of the Table, to compensate for this, but, even so, Hull had an estimated total of less than 50 priests, in the early sixteenth century, compared with 600 in York. Peter Heath, from a study of testamentary evidence, detects a general lack of enthusiasm both for religious change and for the status quo as the forces of the reformation gathered strength elsewhere.¹¹⁶ This view is, to some extent, reflected in its gild records. Although some 18 fraternities were found in Hull, none attracted more than eight bequests from the sample, most of which dated from before the sixteenth century.¹¹⁷

Three of Yorkshire's surviving 1389 gild returns relate to Hull. They all seem to have been based on documents concerning the foundation of the gilds in the late 1350s.¹¹⁸ They contain information concerning membership conditions, discipline and payments, and make provision for the relief of poor members. There are references to feasts and

¹¹⁵C. Cross, "Parochial Structure and the Dissemination of Protestantism in Sixteenth Century England", pp.270-1.

¹¹⁶P. Heath, "Urban Piety", pp.228-9.

¹¹⁷See Table 3.6 above.

¹¹⁸PRO C47/46/449-451. St. Mary was founded in 1357, Corpus Christi in 1358. St. John the Baptist's foundation date is missing from the damaged return, but its provisions are similar to the other two, although it is rather briefer.

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meetings, but not to public ceremonial or the maintenance of lights. These omissions, however, are probably related to the Hull returns being based on foundation deeds rather than ordinances.¹¹⁹

Hull seems to have differed from Beverley in its attitude to plays and processions. There is no record of a Corpus Christi cycle here or accounts of large-scale religious events. The Plough Day "Noah" play, of the Holy Trinity Guild, which is known to have been performed annually between 1461 and 1536, involved just one elaborate pageant.¹²⁰ No script has survived, if indeed the event was not a moving tableau or dumb show, and whether it was part of a larger civic ceremonial is not known. The account book of the Guild of St. Mary in Holy Trinity Church, however, shows that the Rood was borne through the streets, annually, on Holy Cross or Rogation Day, by the fraternity, and that lights and torches were carried in the Corpus Christi Day procession and on its gild day.¹²¹ This fraternity, then, took part in two processions apart from its own. The Rogation Day procession might have been parochial, that of Corpus Christi was possibly civic. This evidence hints that Hull was richer in civic and gild ceremonial, than its otherwise sparse gild documentation implies.

Beverley, by contrast, was a borough with a strong ecclesiastical ethos. Although it had only three parish churches, one was the Collegiate Minster of St. John, one of the four "Mother" churches of the diocese. It was immensely wealthy and the destination of pilgrims visiting the shrine of St. John. St. Mary's, too, was a large and affluent church.

¹¹⁹See Chapter 1, p.43.

¹²⁰A.J. Mill, "The Hull Noah Play", pp.489-505.

¹²¹KHRO BRA 87 pp.2, 107, 118. See Chapter 6 pp.318-9 for a more detailed account.

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St. Nicholas Holmkirk served a rather poorer district and only one gild is known to have been connected with it.¹²² Although, like Hull, Beverley had two friaries, theirs were the more powerful and influential Dominicans and Franciscans, whilst Hull housed Augustinians and Carmelites. There was also a Preceptory of the Knights of St. John. Unlike Hull, Beverley was an old-established borough and religious centre with a tradition of drama and pageantry. This is made clear by the 1389 gild returns from three religious gilds which laid considerable emphasis on their ceremonial activities.

The Gild of St. Helen, based on the church of the Friars Minor, described its St. Helen's Day procession in some detail.¹²³ It was led by a fair young man, dressed as the saint, accompanied by two old men, one with a spade and one with a cross. This symbolised St. Helen's discovery of the true cross. The sisters of the gild came next, two by two, then the brothers and, finally, the gild Aldermen. The procession, to the sound of music (*"cum maxima melodia"*), passed to the conventual church where mass was held at the saint's altar. This was followed by a feast of bread, cheese and beer. The Gild of the Purification of St. Mary, of the parish church of St. Mary, had a similar procession on the feast of the Purification.¹²⁴ A young man, dressed as a virgin queen, seeming to have a baby in his arms (*"quasi filium in ulnis suis"*), with two men as Joseph and Simeon, attended by two angels carrying 24 candles on a framework, and other lights, headed the procession. Then the sisters of the gild, followed by the brothers, two by two, carrying lights, to the accompaniment of music, processed to

¹²²BIHR PR I 98r 1396 John Jakeson to the gild of St. Mary in Holmkirk 5s.

¹²³PRO C47/46/446.

¹²⁴PRO C47/46/448.

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St. Mary's Church. There the "virgin" offered the "child" to Simeon at the high altar, and the members offered their candles and a penny. There was a feast in the evening, and, on the following Friday, a solemn mass for the souls of departed brothers and sisters. The clerically-run Corpus Christi gild spent less space describing its ceremonial but laid down that every member who was a chaplain must attend the Corpus Christi Day procession in alb, stole and maniple.¹²⁵

The twin climaxes of Beverley's ceremonial year were the spectacular Rogation Day procession, in which all the city's major gilds participated, and the Corpus Christi plays. These events were recorded in The Great Gild Book of Beverley but references to them also appear in other parts of the town records.¹²⁶ The Rogation Day procession, in which the shrine of St. John of Beverley was carried through the town, was probably organised by the Gild of St. John in May.¹²⁷ On Rogation Monday the craft gilds of Beverley built, covered and decorated wooden castles before which the masters of each craft sat, in rich clothing, to wait for the procession to pass.¹²⁸ In the afternoon there was a riding of the masters. Music was played in some of the castles according to the 1555 ordinances of the minstrels' gild.¹²⁹ The Corpus Christi procession, in 1431, included the gild lights of Corpus Christi, St. Mary, St. Helen, Paternoster, St. John the Baptist, St. John in May and St. Peter of Milan, as well as the merchants' gild of St. John of Beverley

¹²⁵PRO C47/46/445.

¹²⁶The Great Gild Book: HRO BC/II/3. Printed transcriptions in Leach, *Beverley Town Documents*. A recent edition of the records pertaining to ceremonial and drama is Wyatt, "Performance and Ceremonial in Beverley before 1642".

¹²⁷Wyatt, p.xxxiv.

¹²⁸Leach, pp.34-5, 77, 99.

¹²⁹KHRO BC/II/3 ff.41v-42r.

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and 19 craft gilds.¹³⁰ The plays, however, seem to have been entirely the responsibility of the craft associations.¹³¹ This was certainly so in York, and there are indications that it might also have been the case in Wakefield.¹³²

In his examination of sixteenth century Beverley, David Lamburn suggests that the religious activities of the crafts and trades of the borough might have led to a decline, that he perceives, in the influence and activities of religious gilds.¹³³ From an assessment of their ordinances he points out that, in addition to their participation in civic drama and ceremonial, the craft associations were carrying out the funereal, memorial, charitable and devotional activities that authorities, such as Scarisbrick and White, regard as being the province of religious gilds. He goes on to cite the decline in bequests to religious fraternities, the need to re-found the Youngmen's Gilds and the lack of a political focus for religious gilds as evidence of their dwindling importance in the town.¹³⁴ No religious gild was recorded as participating in the processions of Rogation Day or Corpus Christi after the 1520s.¹³⁵ He asserts that the craft and merchant organisations of Beverley were exceptional in "having a more notably religious aspect" than other towns, "especially Hull".¹³⁶

¹³⁰Leach, pp.35-6.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, pp.33, 34.

¹³²For York see Chapter 5, p.225. A.C. Cawley, ed. *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle* (Manchester, 1958), p.xv.

¹³³D.A. Lamburn, "Politics and Religion in Sixteenth Century Beverley" (D.Phil. Thesis, York, 1991), pp.293, 296, 305.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, pp.305-6.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, p.311.

¹³⁶*Ibid.*, p.295.

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There is, however, evidence from Hull that, by the 1490s, gilds exclusive to particular occupations were being incorporated, either as new foundations, or by taking over existing fraternities, and that these new gilds made wide provision for religious observances, including the the keeping of obits.¹³⁷ They all kept lights before images in Holy Trinity Church, the weavers before St. Peter, the walkers and shearmen before St. Christopher, the glovers before Our Lady of Pylo and the merchants before St. George. In Beverley, several occupations behaved in the same way, maintaining lights in St. Mary's Church, the mercers in honour of the Holy Trinity, the drapers before the image of St. Michael Archangel and the barbers before the image of St. John the Baptist.¹³⁸ In both Hull and Beverley a blurring of the distinction between gilds and occupations seems to have been taking place towards the close of the fifteenth century. Whilst there is insufficient evidence to tell if this process was taking place in other towns and in smaller places in the county, the changing relationship between gilds and crafts will be pursued in the next chapter in the context of the City of York.

In more general terms, it is clear that, in both Hull and Beverley, gilds had an important ceremonial role in the community, not only through the public expression of their devotion to their own cults and images, but also by participating in civic and parish processions, where their individual identities formed part of a larger whole. Whilst the different characteristics of Hull and Beverley might have been reflected in a larger scale of religious ceremony in Beverley, the contrast could have been more apparent than real. It is likely that at least some of the differences are a product of the survival of a smaller quantity of relevant material in

¹³⁷KHRO BRE5/1-4. See Chapter 7, p.345.

¹³⁸A.F. Leach, *Beverley Town Documents*, pp.76, 99, 109.

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Hull. Clearly the testamentary evidence for Pontefract and Doncaster, as well as for smaller places, such as Hornsea, shows the presence of guilds that were, in many cases, more popular than those of Hull and Beverley. It seems certain that their unrecorded ceremonial practices were equally important to their communities of both parish and town.

Some indication of the scale of the ceremonial, liturgical and social practices of guilds can be gleaned from the articles of intrinsic worth or practical value that members bequeathed their fraternities in smaller towns and villages.¹³⁹ The quality of both the guild's worship and its feasting was enhanced by the will of William Robinson, chaplain of Easingwold, who, in 1506, besides forgiving a debt of 13s.2d. to the Master of the St. Mary Guild, left 10s. for the repair of the guild chalice and also bequeathed it the cooking utensils that were already in the hands of the Wardens.¹⁴⁰ Spectacular gifts of jewellery included a silver horn left by Henry Lokwod, in 1489, to the Guild of St. Mary in the Porch at Thirsk.¹⁴¹ John Sandford of Tickhill, in 1429, instructed his executors "forto gyfe to þe rude gylde of Tykill his best girdell harnest w/it apare of lambre bedes and a nothir girdell harnest wit S and a ryng of golde w/it a diamant to Sancte *Christopher Gilde*".¹⁴² More directly devotional were the mass book and vestments that Robert Ketland left to the St. Mary Guild of Alne in 1540.¹⁴³ Of both devotional and practical use were bequests of wax, such as the pound of it given by Thomas Ledys

¹³⁹See Figure 3.5.

¹⁴⁰BIHR PR VI 244r.

¹⁴¹BIHR PR V 250v.

¹⁴²BIHR PR II 563v.

¹⁴³BIHR Reg 29 73.

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of Ripon to the fraternity of the Holy Cross, in 1474.¹⁴⁴ Useful bequests included the chests that William Carter left to the gilds of St. Clement and St. Katherine in Scarborough in 1400.¹⁴⁵

This range of gifts, whilst giving us a tantalising glimpse of the wealth of gilds, demonstrates that much of it was related to religious display and ceremonial. The burning of Robert Ketland's wax, in the form of votive or funeral lights, lit the various ceremonies but also symbolised prayer. The feasting, too, that William Robinson's cooking pots would have been used to supply, had its devotional aspects. The fraternal and sororal meal was a symbol of the Last Supper, and the feeding of the five thousand, besides being a social event to cement the gild's unity in brother and sisterhood. If processions, masses and obits were the focus of the religious life of a gild, its social focus was the feast, and the two were closely bound together as Rosser has demonstrated in a recent article.¹⁴⁶ Information relating to feasting in the county's rural fraternities is sparse, although occasional bequests of malt and cooking utensils indicate that it was probably as common here as elsewhere.¹⁴⁷

The general indications are that the activities that were recorded in Beverley and Hull also occurred in gilds throughout the county. If they took place, perhaps, on a smaller scale in Hull than in Beverley we might deduce that they did so on an even smaller scale elsewhere. There is no reason to suppose, however, that the gilds of Alne, Thirsk or Tickhill

¹⁴⁴BIHR PR IV 10v.

¹⁴⁵BIHR PR III 42v.

¹⁴⁶G. Rosser, "Going to the Fraternity Feast".

¹⁴⁷See also Chapter Six, pp.323-6, where evidence relating to the feast of the St. Mary Gild in Holy Trinity, Hull, is discussed.

performed rituals and held processions that were any less important to their members or to the communities in which they operated than those of Beverley or even York. The evidence of testators suggests the contrary. By establishing the identity of its membership group within a community a gild might also provide that community with a ritual and devotional service and a focus for political and economic power.

Gild Administration

The capacity of a gild to play its part in the life of a community was obviously related to its ability to administer its affairs. At the heart of this lay its economic strength. Many of those gilds that were sufficiently successful to have been recorded, in one way or another, were not only dependent on the continuing membership of wealthy members, although their presence was one indicator of success. They also became wealthy institutions in their own right, owning lands and buildings and engaging corporately in business or agriculture. We have seen that identified gilds were found most frequently in prosperous locations.¹⁴⁸ In some cases at least one factor in a community's prosperity might have been the presence of a successful fraternity.

In the absence of gild accounts outside the larger urban areas, clues to the ways in which gilds administered themselves can only be sought through testamentary evidence, and, in particular, by an analysis of bequests. Figure 3.5 shows the kinds of bequest that were made to gilds during each of the sample periods. Clearly, by far the most usual

¹⁴⁸M. Rubin, "Small Groups: Identity and Solidarity in the Late Middle Ages", p.132-148.

¹⁴⁹See Chapter 2, p.83ff.

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kind of bequest to a gild was a sum of money. The actual amounts varied widely. In the early part of the period covered, when the wills were, as we have seen, predominantly those of wealthy individuals, bequests of 13s.4d. and more were not uncommon. In the sixteenth century sums were generally lower, and 12d. was more usual. This reflects the higher proportion of people of more modest means making wills by this period.

FIGURE 3.5 : ANALYSIS OF TYPES OF BEQUESTS TO GILDS AND SERVICES IN YORKSHIRE (EXCLUDING YORK)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Money</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Livestock</u>	<u>Produce</u>	<u>Jewels</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>All</u>
1320-1400	28 (90.3%)	1 (3.2%)	-	-	-	3 (9.9%)	31
1405-1409	20 (100%)	-	-	-	1 (5.0)	2 (10.0%)	20
1416-1420	4 (100%)	-	-	-	-	-	4
1427-1431	16 (76.2%)	-	1 (4.8%)	1 (4.8%)	1 (4.8%)	3 (14.3%)	21
1438-1442	24 (92.3%)	-	1 (3.8%)	-	-	-	26
1449-1453	17 (100%)	-	1 (5.9%)	-	-	-	17
1460-1464	18 (72.0%)	3 (12.0%)	1 (4.0%)	-	-	1 (4.0%)	25
1471-1475	40 (83.3%)	4 (8.3%)	3 (6.3%)	1 (2.1%)	1 (2.1%)	1 (2.1%)	48
1482-1486	61 (84.7%)	1 (1.4 %)	-	8 (11.1%)	3 (4.2%)	2 (2.8%)	72
1493-1497	6 (42.9%)	1 (7.1%)	1 (7.1%)	2 (14.3%)	1 (7.1%)	-	14
1504-1508	84 (77.8%)	6 (5.6%)	4 (3.7%)	12 (11.1%)	-	4 (3.7%)	108
1515-1519	37 (71.2%)	1 (1.9%)	3 (5.8%)	9 (17.3%)	-	1 (1.9%)	52
1526-1530	64 (77.1%)	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.2%)	29 (34.9%)	-	-	83
1537-1541	46 (52.9%)	-	6 (6.9%)	25 (28.7%)	1 (1.1%)	3 (3.4%)	87
1547-1548	2 (40.0%)	-	-	-	-	1 (20.0%)	5
Totals	464 (60.4%)	18 (2.3%)	24 (3.1%)	87 (11.3%)	8 (1.0%)	21 (2.7%)	773

NOTES

- Date:** date of will sample.
- Money:** number of money bequests.
- Land:** real estate including farmland, houses, tenements and messuages both as outright bequests and reversions.
- Livestock** including cattle, sheep, beehives.
- Produce:** including wheat, barley, malt, peas.
- Jewels:** valuables including silverware, rings, girdles, beads, embroidery.
- Other:** other goods including wax, chests, furniture, armour, plain utensils, plain fabric.
- All:** total number of bequests to individual gilds (not the number of testators). This includes wills containing references to gilds or bequests where the amount is not specific. The sums of categorised bequest may not, therefore, tally with the totals.

Percentages are related to total number of bequests in each period.

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Most money bequests were simply that. The testators gave no indication of what the sum was to be used for. They trusted the gild to use the bequest wisely. Other testators attached specific conditions. In such cases it is possible to draw inferences from them. In 1394, Thomas de Stylyngflete, burgess of Hull, paid 13s.4d. each to the gilds of Corpus Christi and the Resurrection, on condition that they burn candles at his obsequies.¹⁵⁰ This suggests that both gilds provided a basic funeral for their members but required extra payment for lights. Bequests to gilds outside the testator's parish were sometimes conditional on a particular service. Ralph Kylstern, gild chaplain of Spofforth, left money to three local gilds in 1408, but also bequeathed 20s. to the Gild of St. Mary in Staveley, for prayers for the souls of his parents.¹⁵¹ They had, presumably, lived there and he might still have been a member of the gild. In 1504, James Newton of Aldburgh in Holderness left 20d. towards the repair of the St. Mary Gild light.¹⁵² Here Newton was making a practical contribution to necessary maintenance, as well as sharing in the prayers associated with the light. In 1516, Peter Letheley of Sheriff Hutton left 6s.8d. to the Rood gild of the town for his burial. He left a further 6s.8d. to St. Mary's Gild in Sutton-in-the-Forest. He also bequeathed a house in Huby to Thomas Sted on condition that he and his heirs "gyff yerley to our ladys gilde in Sutton xxd".¹⁵³ Whilst Letheley was paying for his local gild to conduct his funeral, he was also providing an income to another gild through the agency of his legatee.

¹⁵⁰BIHR PR I 62r-v.

¹⁵¹BIHR PR II 576v.

¹⁵²BIHR PR VI 103v.

¹⁵³BIHR PR IX 35v.

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Where the bequest was not specific, the uses to which a gild would have put the money bequeathed to it can be adduced from extant gild accounts, such as those of St. Mary in Holy Trinity, Hull, and Corpus Christi, York, which showed expenditure on feasts and ceremonials, on the salaries of officials, on the maintenance of lights, on the provision of masses and obits and on contributions to civic or parish causes.¹⁵⁴

For example, some gilds took a lead in the discharge of the laity's parochial obligations towards the upkeep of parts of the church and its furnishings. In Hull, the Gild of St. Mary in Holy Trinity bought and repaired church organs.¹⁵⁵ There is little surviving evidence for such activities in the more rural areas of Yorkshire, but it seems likely that gilds behaved similarly to that of St. Peter in Boxford, Suffolk, which contributed 43s.4d. to the repair of the pinnacle of the church steeple in 1537, or the Gild of St. John the Baptist in Dunstable, which repaired the church roof, installing wooden sculptures, probably of fraternity members.¹⁵⁶ An unnamed gild in Roos, in Holderness, endowed a window in the parish church. This was clearly a modest donation compared with the sumptuous glass provided by the great Palmers' Guild of Ludlow, Shropshire, but was probably a significant gesture in a small rural parish.¹⁵⁷ Other gilds in the county took responsibility for the repair of their own chapels, or for parts of the church appropriate to

¹⁵⁴See chapters 6 and 7 below for a full discussion of these accounts.

¹⁵⁵KHRO BRA87 pp.130-2, 137.

¹⁵⁶P. Northeast ed., *Boxford Churchwarden's Accounts 1530-1531*, (Suffolk Records Society XXIII, 1982) p.26. J. Lund, "Medieval Figures in Dunstable Priory Church", *Bedfordshire Magazine*, 24, 186 (Luton, Autumn, 1993).

¹⁵⁷G. Poulson, *History of Holderness*, p.97. E.W. Ganderton and J. Lafond, *Ludlow Stained and Painted Glass* (Ludlow, 1961), East Window (No. 16) of Chapel of St. John, in St. Laurence parish church, "appropriated to the Palmers [gild]" and embellished in fourteenth century.

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their dedications and some testators reflected this in their bequests. Joan Elwyn of Hedon, for example, left 6s.8d. in 1472 to the Holy Cross Gild in St. Augustine's parish church for painting the rood there.¹⁵⁸

These outlays financed the outward and visible, social and devotional manifestations of gild life. More mundane were payments in respect of repairs to gild property, the laundering and cleaning of vestments and the payment of taxes. The St. Mary Gild in Holy Trinity, Hull, also laid out money in trade.¹⁵⁹ It used some of its own funds in international commerce through the agency of its merchant members and also made loans to some of them, on which they were able to make a personal profit. The benefits of membership were not only social and devotional, they were, in this case, also commercial. Other Yorkshire fraternities in the county laid out funds on building works. Accounts relating to the building of halls are extant for Holy Trinity Gild in Hull and for two gilds in York.¹⁶⁰

Expenditure on a large scale, however, could not be covered by bequests and entrance fees only. A more regular and reliable income was provided by the acquisition and exploitation of lands and buildings. Bequests of real estate were, naturally, much rarer than those of money. Almost all of them were made in the sample periods between 1460 and 1530. Their purpose was, almost always, to provide an income in rents to the gild. Hugh Awstwyk's direction, in 1515, that a

¹⁵⁸⁸BIHR PR IV 84r-v.

¹⁵⁹E.g. KHRO BRA 87 p.5. See Chapter 6 p.326-32, below.

¹⁶⁰Woodward, "Hull Trinity House Accounts", pp.153-70. The Company of Merchant Adventurers, York, Guild of St. Mary, Account Rolls c.1357-1367 1-5, Account Book 1358-1369. YCA G4, 16 and White, *The St. Christopher and St. George Gild of York*, pp.3-4.

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room "be devised to the use of Jesus gilde in pontefract", in return for annual prayers, was unusual.¹⁶¹ A more typical example was Edmund Portyngton of Beverley who, in 1463, left two houses in Keldgate to revert to the Corpus Christi Gild after the deaths of his legatees.¹⁶² Other testators, such as John Bule of Pontefract, left land. He bequeathed half an acre to the Jesus Gild in 1507.¹⁶³ Like the "sellio", or field strip, called Scaylyland, that William Dowse left to the fraternity of St. Mary in Easingwold, in 1430, it was almost certainly agricultural land intended to provide an income in rent.¹⁶⁴ There is also much non-testamentary evidence for gilds owning large tracts of agricultural lands. In 1546, for example, the Tickhill Gild or Service of the Rood was reported as owning cottages, crofts, barns, meadows, tofts and other "parcells" of land to an annual rental value of £7.8s.7d.¹⁶⁵

Gild real estate seems to have been administered by two principal methods. The rental book of the Hull Corpus Christi Gild, which covers 1522-25, relates to the tenements of the gild.¹⁶⁶ They comprised eleven houses, five little houses, a hall and five gardens. Rents were collected at Pentecost and Martinmas and account was kept of expenses, such as labour and materials for repairs. The nature of the account suggests that it was kept directly by gild officers. The way in which they administered their property was probably similar to that shown in extant

¹⁶¹BIHR PR IX 40r-v.

¹⁶²BIHR PR II 595r-v.

¹⁶³BIHR PR VI 122r.

¹⁶⁴BIHR PR II 666r.

¹⁶⁵PRO E301/67 item 47.

¹⁶⁶KHRO BRA 88.

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correspondence between Holy Trinity Gild of Coventry and its tenants, showing that the fraternity was a careful and caring landlord.¹⁶⁷

The St. Mary Gild in Holy Trinity in Hull also derived some income from rents, according to its accounts, although no rental book has survived.¹⁶⁸ Its most profitable tenement, however, which it obtained from the estate of John Haynson, in return for celebrating an annual obit, was farmed out to a succession of influential gild members. They provided the gild with an annual income and, presumably, made a personal profit in return for the responsibility and risk of maintaining the property. This was not always a profitable arrangement, as the terms sometimes had to be re-negotiated when the farm changed hands, as the general level of rents declined. In 1504, for example, the current mayor of Hull, Richard Garner, agreed to take over the Haynson property and repair it paying a much reduced farm.¹⁶⁹ By 1507 it was held by John Meteson at the same lower farm.¹⁷⁰ It also seems likely that, even when not formally farmed out, rents were not always collected directly from the householders. It is explicit in some of the rentals of the Holy Trinity Gild in Coventry, that the gild was receiving rents from individuals in respect of several tenements or cottages, which were certainly sub-let.¹⁷¹ The 1546 chantry certificate of the

¹⁶⁷L. Fox, "The Administration of Gild Property in Coventry in the Fifteenth Century", *English Historical Review* 55 (1940).

¹⁶⁸For a fuller description of the gild's financial dealings see Chapter 7 below.

¹⁶⁹KHRO BRA 87 p.116.

¹⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p.120.

¹⁷¹Ed. G. Templeman, *The Records of the Guild of Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. John the Baptist and St. Katherine of Coventry II* (Dugdale Society, Oxford, 1944), pp.81-92, *passim*.

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York Corpus Christi Gild indicates that this was also happening in York.¹⁷²

By 1540 there are indications that individuals were regarding their tenure of gild land as heritable property. Richard Birde of Hornsea left his wife his "take in the gilde land" and Thomas Bell of Topcliffe made Master Richard Norton Esquire "feoffe in same possession of the landes of oure ladie gilde of Topclif that I was in my lif tyme".¹⁷³ Both these bequests were, however, made under the shadow of the Reformation, and might represent attempts to claim land that could already be seen as vulnerable to royal sequestration.

From the late fifteenth century, an increasingly important type of bequest was that of livestock. This reflects the growing proportion of testators who were husbandmen. It seems likely that the cow, worth 8s., that Thomas Beaumont left to the St. Mary Service in Heaton, in 1495, the two calves that Thomas Crispyn, rector of Lastingham, bequeathed to the gilds of Holy Trinity and St. Mary respectively, in 1475, and the beehive that Robert Newell, chaplain of Pontefract, left to the Corpus Christi Gild, in 1471, were intended, by the testators, to provide an income for the gild, rather than directly to provide food for gild feasts.¹⁷⁴ The practical details of the way in which such property was administered are provided by a reference relating to sheep.

These were by far the most usual animals for fraternities to receive from testators in the sample, and, of these, breeding ewes were the most common. In 1538, John Roger of Danby left *unam ovem matricem* to

¹⁷²CC1, p.55.

¹⁷³BIHR PR XIB 484-1v 1540 Richard Birde, XII 6 1540 Thomas Bell.

¹⁷⁴BIHR PR V 464v-465r Thomas Beaumont of Heaton, IV 118v 1475 Thomas Crispyn rector of Lastingham, IV 33r Robert Newall chaplain of Pontefract.

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the St. Mary Gild and, in 1506 John Symondson of Helmsley bequeathed as many as four mother sheep to the Holy Trinity Gild in the town.¹⁷⁵ In the Commissioners' Certificates of 1548, a note relating to the assessment for Ryedale, referring to the parish of Helmsley, explains how a group, not described as a gild, but behaving very like one, kept sheep for a pious purpose.¹⁷⁶ The entry is worth quoting in full.

Memorandum That there was in tyme paste gathered amongst the tenandes belonging to the chapell of Pokley a stok of shepe to the number of foure score yewes and was put in diverse of the tenandes handes paing therefore yerely for the occupieing of the same iijd apece and for every yewe decaed xijd to thintent to have a preste to do dyvine service in the said chapell at such tymes as the tennandes there could not come to the paryshe churche for water the whiche iij^{XX} yewes¹⁷⁷ are now decaed and iij li remaining in the tennandes handes for the same Towardes the finding of the said incumbent iij li.

The average value of a sheep in the period 1450-99 was approximately 22d.¹⁷⁸ In 1530 it had risen to about 26½d. The tenants, who were keeping the stock, were paying about an eighth of each sheep's value as a kind of rent. In the case of a loss in numbers, the tenant was charged about half the value of each missing sheep.

Whilst it would be dangerous to assert that all gilds receiving bequests of sheep operated stock systems like that of Pockley Chapel, it seems reasonable to suggest that many did so. In rural areas this kind of arrangement probably suited all three parties. The testator could leave

¹⁷⁵BIHR PR XIA 364r 1438 John Roger of Danby, VI 162r 1506 Robert Symondson of Helmsley.

¹⁷⁶PRO E301/63 item 124.

¹⁷⁷Page in CC2 p.509 reads this word mistakenly as "years".

¹⁷⁸P.J. Bowden, *Economic change: wages, profits and rents 1500-1750*, Chapters from *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1*, gen. ed. J Thirsk (Cambridge, 1990), p.171. The price actually cited is 1.84s. Prices of sheep are calculated from tables on p.136.

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livestock directly to the gild rather than give his executor the trouble of selling it. The gild received a steady income, in cash, from the tenants, with the minimum of administrative trouble. The tenants of the stock were able to make a small profit as well as performing a useful, and possibly prestigious, service to the gild. The arrangement was similar to the way in which gilds farmed out lands and tenements that had been left them, although the agreements might have been less formal, in the case of livestock, and therefore less likely to be recorded.

Second in frequency to money bequests were those of produce. Figure 3.4 shows a marked increase in bequests of this kind in the sixteenth century, especially in the sample periods between 1526 and 1541. This, of course, also coincides with the increase of bequests from husbandmen. Apart from one bequest of peas, these were of three commodities, wheat, barley and malt.¹⁷⁹ They were most commonly bequeathed by the half quarter, a weight of approximately 14lbs., or by the *mette* or *medius* which was a capacity measure of approximately two gallons.¹⁸⁰ The average price of a half quarter of wheat, between 1450 and 1499, was 3s.2d. and barley was cheaper at 1s.5d. per half quarter.¹⁸¹ However, this type of bequest was becoming more frequent at a time when the sums of money left to gilds were becoming smaller. Bequests in kind did not, therefore, imply that the testator was necessarily employing a cheap option.

¹⁷⁹BIHR PR XIA 261r in 1537 John Moryson of Wawne left St. Mary Gild 2 bushels of peas.

¹⁸⁰G.V. Harrison, "Agricultural Weights and Measures" in Bowden, *Economic change: wages, profits and rents 1500-1750*, pp.307-18. J.L. Fisher, *A Medieval Farming Glossary* (London, 1968).

¹⁸¹Calculated from Bowden *op. cit.* p.171. This price for wheat is probably too high for Yorkshire, as the average is distorted by high prices in the Home counties, *ibid.*, p.210.

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Testators did not indicate how the gilds were to use these gifts. Grain by the half quarter might have been sown in the agricultural lands owned by the gilds or be sold for profit. However, it seems likely, in at least some cases, especially where grain was donated in smaller measures, that the wheat was used to make bread and the barley to make beer, the staple diet for annual gild feasts.¹⁸² In the case of bequests of malt, it is inescapable that brewing was intended. Although there is no record of gilds in Yorkshire storing ale for their own use, the 1389 returns for several gilds in Lynn, in Norfolk, reported fraternities with a supply of ale, a place to keep it and regulations concerning its use.¹⁸³ It seems likely that bread-making and brewing offered trade and, presumably, profit to members who were bakers, brewers, millers and maltsters. In the absence of membership registers, there is no direct evidence for this, but a parallel case can be found in York, where the butchers, who supplied meat for the feasts for the Corpus Christi Gild, were all members.¹⁸⁴ The presence, amongst the county testators, of a cook, a baker, an innkeeper and two butchers suggest an interest in gilds by members of the victualling trades.¹⁸⁵

Clearly gild membership presented economic opportunity at many different levels. These groups of bequests reinforce the evidence of registers, account records, rentals and surveys, not only that gilds flourished in prosperous places, but that they themselves were

¹⁸²See Chapter 4 p.230 and Chapter 7 p.323, below.

¹⁸³Smith, *English Gilds*, pp.90, 95, 98, 101, 104, 107, 109. The fullest and best preserved example is the Gild of St. Nicholas, West Lynn, p.98.

¹⁸⁴See Chapter 6 p.284 below.

¹⁸⁵Bernard Gerardson cook of St. Katherine's Gild Hull, BIHR PR II 203v-204r 1449, Robert Hill baker of St. George Gild Doncaster, BIHR PR V 266r 1485. See also p.3 and Figure 4.1 above.

contributors to the prosperity of the places where they flourished. The evidence from rural testators suggests that the parish gilds in small towns and villages were as involved with the agrarian economy, and with extracting profit from it, as the urban gilds were within the trading and craft context of the larger towns and cities.¹⁸⁶ Here, the distinction between the craft and the gild is somewhat blurred, the craft in question being husbandry. This blurring is underlined, perhaps, by the identification of four gilds in the county dedicated to The Plough, rather than to any recognised saint or religious cult.¹⁸⁷

Conclusion

As basically pious institutions, fraternities needed wealth and influence in order to pursue their devotional, ceremonial, charitable and fraternal functions effectively within their communities. An indicator of their success, in the absence of local records, is the status and occupations of the testators who made bequests to them. A number of these were prosperous and powerful people. Whilst this was most obviously the case in an urban context, the yeomen and rich husbandmen of the countryside were probably as influential as the aldermen, burgesses and merchants of the towns. Clerical support for gilds was also important. Bequests from the lower clergy underlined the contributions made by gilds to parish life. Individuals who wielded power on a larger scale, higher clergy and nobility, did not, however, generally make bequests to gilds, although they were often members of large urban fraternities. Whilst they might have joined for political and social reasons, the

¹⁸⁶Involvement of urban gilds with crafts and commerce is investigated in Chapter Four, in the context of York, and illustrated in Chapter Six, by material from Hull.

¹⁸⁷See p.162, above.

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devotional aspects of the gilds could well have been equally important to them, especially as they reflected the attitude of the government in their religious orthodoxy. Piety might also have been a principal motive of many female members, whose numbers were probably greater than testamentary evidence might suggest. Gilds offered them an identity within a devotional association that was denied them elsewhere.

The conservative nature of the piety of fraternities is demonstrated by the objects they chose as their dedications, which were often Christo-centric, emphasising the Marian and eucharistic cults that were typical of late medieval orthodoxy.¹⁸⁸ The other saints they adopted were usually the traditional figures of medieval hagiography.¹⁸⁹ Their allegiance to their chosen dedication was demonstrated through public ceremonial. This was not only shown through the processions that celebrated fraternities' own cults. In urban areas they also participated in pious events related both to the parish and to the town as a whole, where they celebrated their identity as a group within a structure of relationships with other institutions.¹⁹⁰ These included occupational groups, with whom they became increasingly identified, and the town government. Such groups became anxious to control gilds, especially those that were acquiring wealth and political influence.¹⁹¹

As expenditure by gilds on pious objectives led to the development of administrative machineries and, as they became property owners, traders and corporate farmers, they began to display what we might perceive as secular characteristics. Whether this is to view the situation

¹⁸⁸See pp.153-9 above.

¹⁸⁹See pp.159-60 above.

¹⁹⁰See Chapter 4, pp. 227-8.

¹⁹¹See Chapter 4, pp.218-9.

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with post-Reformation hindsight, and how far members were able to reconcile the contrary roles played by their guilds, are matters for further discussion.¹⁹² So too are the complex relationships between guilds and other institutions, in the course of their development. Further investigation of these questions is best pursued through an examination of the more plentiful records of York itself.

¹⁹²Rubin, "Small Groups and Identity", pp.147-8.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE RELIGIOUS GILDS OF MEDIEVAL YORK

From about the third decade of the fifteenth century, the larger urban religious guilds, now encouraged by royal approval, were increasingly seen as agents of religious orthodoxy. This stance led them to be favoured by individuals with commercial and political ambitions, whose conventional piety chimed with official policies. In York, many guild members were of the mercantile classes, who were striving to maintain power. Others, from the artisan groupings, were trying to gain it. We can see an increasing symbiosis between the largest guilds and the city government, resulting in an enhancement of their more secular aspects. Membership of the Corpus Christi, St. Christopher and St. Anthony Guilds may not have actually been a qualification for city office, but many officeholders were members. Conversely, the activities of these great guilds were also closely monitored and controlled by the city government, which encouraged the amalgamations that made the largest guilds even larger. Their ceremonial activities became progressively more concerned with display, as their wealth in treasure and real estate burgeoned. At the same time, the relationship between religious guilds and occupations underwent a change, during the fifteenth century, that seems to have led to an increasing commercialisation of the former.

This chapter will examine these changes and attempt to interpret their significance. A central question is how far the gradual subjection of devotional objectives to secular pressures affected a relative decline in urban fraternities, as the recipients of pious bequests, when compared with the continued increase in such bequests to rural guilds, prior to 1536. If this decline signalled a growing disenchantment with the great urban guilds as devotional institutions, it does not, however, follow that they ceased to be seen as pathways to political power, for as long as

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they continued to receive the support of central government and the church hierarchy. It seems likely, however, that patterns of gild membership were more complex than this, and that national political factors and shifting economic circumstances also played a part.

The Chronological Distribution of Testamentary Evidence

The testamentary evidence relating to York fraternities, used in this chapter, is based on a substantially complete list of gild bequests, rather than a series of samples.¹ It is possible, therefore, to look at trends in more detail here than in the rest of the county. In York, this evidence can be supplemented by city, ecclesiastical and even gild records in a profusion not found elsewhere in the county. Many of these have proved to be accurately calendared and there is a wealth of secondary sources supplied by three centuries of scholarship. Some of the most important evidence relates to the Corpus Christi Gild, which receives detailed consideration in the next chapter, although its place in the general picture of the City's gilds cannot be wholly ignored here.

Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show that both the numbers of York testators who made bequests to gilds and the numbers of bequests that they made to them increased dramatically from the beginning of the fifteenth century to a maximum between 1430 and 1450. The rise is distorted only by the absence of records for 1409-25 in the York Exchequer Court registers which creates an artificial dip in bequests at that period. The peak in the 1450s does not coincide with the point when most bequests were recorded from the sample taken from the rest of the county, in

¹Based on Eileen White's list in the BIHR, see Introduction, p.22 above.

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1504-08.² This latter period was the last decade in which bequests to York guilds were recorded in significant numbers. Thereafter the steady decline in bequests to guilds in the city, that had been taking place since the 1440s, accelerated sharply. Within the general decline, however, are a series of peaks and troughs which can be related to a variety of factors.

FIG. 4.1: NUMBERS OF YORK TESTATORS MAKING BEQUESTS TO GILDS AND OF THE BEQUESTS THEY MADE TO THEM

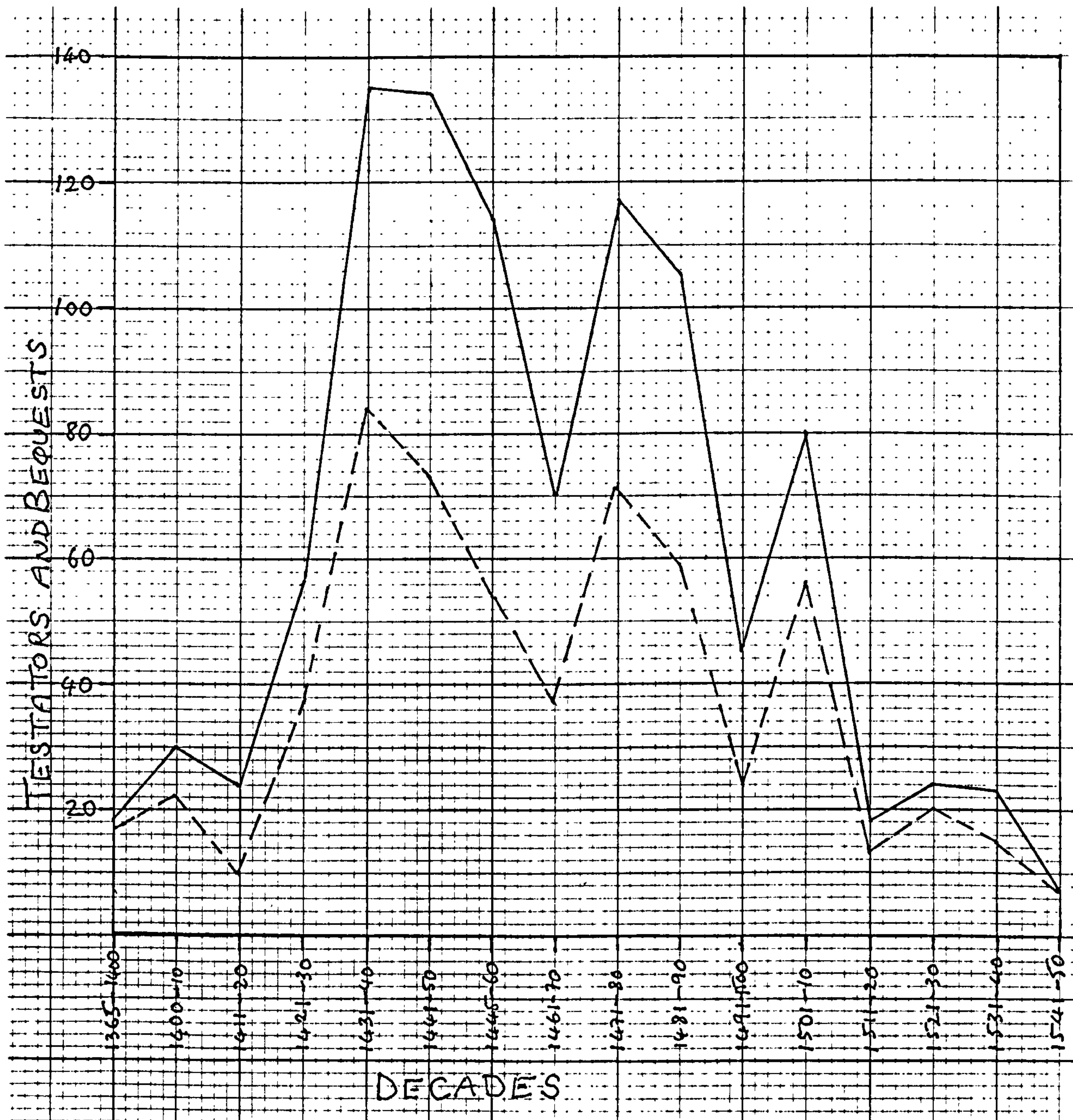
<u>Date</u>	<u>Testators</u>		<u>Bequests to Guilds</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Mean Variation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Mean Variation</u>
1365-1400	17	-20.4	18	-44.6
1401-1410	22	-15.4	30	-32.4
1411-1420	15	-23.4	24	-38.6
1421-1430	37	-0.7	57	-5.6
1431-1440	84	+43.6	135	+72.4
1441-1450	73	+32.6	134	+71.4
1451-1460	54	+15.6	114	+51.4
1461-1470	37	+0.4	70	+7.4
1471-1480	66	+28.6	117	+54.4
1481-1490	59	+21.6	105	+43.8
1491-1500	24	-14.4	45	-17.6
1501-1510	56	+18.6	80	+17.4
1511-1520	13	-24.4	18	-44.6
1521-1530	20	-17.4	24	-38.6
1531-1540	15	-22.4	23	-39.6
1541-1550	7	-30.4	7	-55.6
<u>Total</u>	<u>599</u>	<u>Mean 37.4</u>	<u>Total 1001</u>	<u>Mean 62.6</u>

One factor was undoubtedly economic. The comparatively slow decline in bequests to guilds, from the middle of the fifteenth century, accelerating sharply after the first decade of the sixteenth, roughly follows the pattern of the city's economic difficulties. York's mercantile decline from a high level of prosperity in the early fifteenth century to a

²See Figures 2.1 and 2.2.

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FIG. 4.2: YORK TESTATORS AND BEQUESTS : GRAPH



NOTES

The broken line shows the numbers of testators making bequests to guilds in the City of York. The solid line shows the number of bequests they made. The first point on the graph shows all such bequests made in the fourteenth century. Thereafter each point refers to totals per decade from 1400-1550.

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state of some urban decay in the mid-sixteenth has been long established.³ Whilst the causes of the decline have been hotly debated and its universality, beyond the textile industry, convincingly questioned, there is no doubt that the process, at least to some extent, took place.⁴ It is also clear that the city's economic fortunes fell during a period when those of some other areas in the county, notably the West Riding, were rising.⁵ This is reflected in the later peak in bequests to guilds elsewhere in the county. The largest occupational group in York that made bequests to guilds was mercantile.⁶ This was the group that was most affected by economic decline, and, whilst it continued to represent about a quarter of all testators to guilds, their number declined from the peak of 1431-40, suggesting a link between the prosperity of this particular group and the number of bequests it made to guilds. Furthermore, a general shrinkage of the city's population, associated with its economic decline, also led to decreasing numbers of testators, and bequests to guilds.⁷

Prosperity is not entirely a matter of wealth. It is also related to feelings of security and social harmony. In late medieval urban areas, these seem to have been focused on the concept of the "honour" of the city.⁸ Mervyn James discusses this in terms of the Corpus Christi cult, and,

³E.g. J.N. Bartlett, "The Expansion and Decline of York in the Later Middle Ages", *ECHR* (2nd Series, Vol. XII, No. 1, 1959). Palliser, *Tudor York*, pp. 111-45. J.I. Kermode, "Merchants, Overseas Trade, and Urban Decline: York, Beverley, and Hull c. 1380-1500", *Northern History XIII* (1987).

⁴P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life Cycle*, pp.76-7.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶See Figure 4.9 below.

⁷Palliser, *Tudor York*, pp.204-6. See Figure 5.4 below.

⁸M. James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body", pp12-13.

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indeed, the York Corpus Christi Gild, in its *Primo Constitutio*, proclaimed that its annual procession was *ad honorem Dei et civitatis Ebor*.⁹ From the decade 1411-20 up to its dissolution, the bequests made to it averaged 61.3 per cent of all those made to guilds in the city.¹⁰ This proportion indicates that it was a trend-setter amongst the city fraternities. Its contribution to the harmony of the city, through its rituals and ceremonials, and to York's place within the structures of the diocese, the county and beyond, through its wide membership, was a major factor in maintaining the city's public image and a symbol of its wealth, piety and security.¹¹ If guilds played a part in maintaining civic stability, then we would expect them to be affected by instability, whether its causes were local or national.

The trough in gild popularity, that took place in the 1460s, as reflected in the testamentary evidence, occurred at a time of insecurity and chaos, when the city was exposed to the hazards and divisions of civil war. In particular, the events surrounding the battle of Towton, and its aftermath, were viewed by the City as a time of great disruption and a root cause of subsequent economic decay.¹² Only three testators made bequests to guilds in 1461 and only one did so in 1462.¹³ Thereafter

⁹Lansdowne MS. 304 f.17v.

¹⁰See Figure 5.3.

¹¹See below pp.219-23.

¹²VCH York, pp.59-60. A. Goodman, *The Wars of the Roses: Military Activity and English Society, 1452-97* (London, 1981), p.52. Palliser, *Tudor York*, p.203.

¹³BIHR PR II 451v-452v 1461 Alderman Thomas Barton, spicer, to St. Christopher Gild, 446r-v 1461 Roger Lasselles Esquire, to St. Christopher Gild, YML DC I 298v-299r Agnes Marsshall wife of Alderman John Marsshall, Merchant of the Staple, to Corpus Christi Gild shrine, BIHR PR II 465v-466r 1462 Agnes Staneburn, widow of John Staneburn, to Corpus Christi and St. Christopher Gilds.

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some recovery took place, although the figures for the end of the decade are artificially depressed by a gap in the probate register in 1470.

The trough in bequests to guilds in the 1490s is less easy to explain in national terms. It was, however, a particularly violent decade during a longer period of unrest within the City itself.¹⁴ Annual enclosure riots over grazing rights claimed by the Vicars Choral, lasting from 1485 to 1495, eventually led to royal intervention.¹⁵ The violent and protracted dispute between the crafts of the cordwainers and the weavers over their precedence in the Corpus Christi procession, disrupted the city's ceremonials between 1490 and 1493.¹⁶ Internal political dissensions in the City's government, unsolved by royal revisions of the electoral regulations in 1464 and 1473, underlay these symptoms of malaise and continued until Henry VIII's intervention in 1517.¹⁷ Fiscal problems ran counterpoint to these difficulties which caused the City authorities to increase the number of City Chamberlains appointed to oversee and underwrite the City's finances between 1487 and 1499.¹⁸ Similar expedients were again adopted in the 1530s and 1540s, accompanied by a further decline in bequests to guilds, but by this time, the guilds themselves were under the reforming pressures that were to lead to their dissolution.¹⁹

¹⁴Palliser, *Tudor York*, p.45.

¹⁵YCR 2, p.123.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp.56-8, 70, 73-4, 90-1, 93-4, 96-100.

¹⁷VCH York pp.82-4. Palliser, *Tudor York*, p.68-9.

¹⁸J.I. Kermode, "Urban Decline? The Flight from Office in Late Medieval York", *ECHR* 2nd ser. 35 (1982), p.187. R.B. Dobson, *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls 1396-1500* (Surtees Society 192, Gateshead 1980) pp.212-3.

¹⁹FR, pp.250-69. See Chapter 7, below.

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A further explanation of the early sixteenth century decline in bequests might lie in general attitudes to piety. Heath has found general lack of religious enthusiasm in pre-Reformation Hull, and Tanner sees a similar trend in Norwich.²⁰ This does not, however, seem to have been a universal phenomenon. Burgess's account of contemporary Bristol churchwardens gives an entirely contrary impression.²¹ Although there was a decline in bequests to guilds in York, the content of the wills, especially with regard to their funereal provisions, suggests that pious concerns rooted in an acceptance of the doctrine of purgatory survived the trauma of the Pilgrimage of Grace.²²

So far we have been examining only the troughs in the general pattern of testators and bequests. Its peaks were probably enhanced by other factors, including demography. In years of pestilence, more wills were made and there was a higher probability of gild bequests being recorded. Jeremy Goldberg notes that there was particularly high mortality in the whole county, including York, in 1391, 1429, 1436, 1438, 1459, 1467, 1471-72, 1474, 1483, 1505-06 and 1508-9.²³ The high number of bequests to guilds, especially in the 1430s, the 1470s and in the first decade of the sixteenth century, may be viewed in the light of this. If the number of bequests to guilds in these decades increased for this reason, then the figures for the 1440s, most of the 1450s and the 1490s must have been correspondingly depressed during periods of apparently lower mortality. High mortality is, however, an

²⁰P. Heath, "Urban Piety", pp.228-9. N.P. Tanner, "The Reformation and Regionalism", p.140.

²¹C. Burgess, "'A fond thing vainly invented': an essay on Purgatory and pious motive in later medieval England", *Parish, Church and People: Local Studies in Lay Religion 1350-1750*, ed. S.J. Wright (London, 1988), pp.77-8.

²²See pp.231-4, below.

²³P.J.P. Goldberg, "Mortality and Economic Change", pp.41-2.

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insufficient explanation for the major peak in bequests between 1431 and 1450.

It seems certain that the promulgation, in 1436, of the statute of Henry VI, requiring local governments to approve all new gild ordinances was an important stage in the development of gilds.²⁴ It offered official recognition to fraternities that were not incorporated by royal charter. It also gave the city authorities direct control of all gilds and their ordinances. The measure was, in many cases, a recognition of current practice. The Corpus Christi Gild, for example, was founded in 1408, and included, in its early membership, numbers of the city elite.²⁵ Although there is no record of its formal recognition by the city authorities at that time, the agreement of 1431 makes it clear that there was a close relationship between the two, prior to the statute of 1436.²⁶ Unlike the St. Christopher Gild, incorporated in 1396, it was dependent on local recognition until the royal charter of 1458.²⁷

Royal approval of all fraternities, through the agency of the city, conferred a new status upon unchartered gilds. That this initiative took place in a decade that saw an explosion in bequests to York gilds is unlikely to be coincidental, although there was a general increase in will-making in the 1430s.²⁸ The members, and would-be members of the urban elite were presented with fraternities that, in addition to offering established spiritual benefits, now had an official connection with the City's government. That the measure had an immediate effect

²⁴*Statutes of the Realm II*, (London, 1816, repr. 1963), pp.298-9.

²⁵See Chapter 5, p.285.

²⁶YCA BY f.116Av-117v.

²⁷*Cal. Pat. Richard II* pp.711, 716. YCA G11.

²⁸Goldberg, "Mortality and Economic Change", p.42, Fig.1.

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in the principal centre of both lay and ecclesiastical administration in the North, is hardly surprising. It has already been shown that the response was less immediate further afield, in the remoter parts of the county, although, even there, the secular benefits of gild membership were eventually perceived.²⁹

The statute of 1436, however, was a manifestation of wider concerns. It can be seen as part of the royal policy of support for traditional doctrine and practices. This had been set in train by the Leicester parliament of 1414 by the introduction of legal sanctions against Lollard opinions and practices.³⁰ By controlling gilds through local government the Lancastrian monarchs were enlisting them as potential allies in their opposition to heresy and in the maintenance of conservative religious beliefs and ceremonials. Clearly the larger gilds, such as Corpus Christi in York were already unequivocally orthodox in their stance.³¹ The process of licensing probably ensured the compliance of lesser gilds containing less traditionally minded members. From this point, religious orthodoxy is a common thread running through the complex web of those gild institutions that we can identify, uniting them in their diversity. The weaker that thread was to become, the greater was the vulnerability of all gilds to the initiatives that eventually destroyed them. These processes, however, varied greatly from gild to gild and it is appropriate, at this point, to investigate the range of fraternities found in York, and to examine their different purposes and evolution.

²⁹See Chapter 2, p.82.

³⁰J. Catto, "Religious Change under Henry V", *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, ed. G.L. Harriss (Oxford, 1985), p.97.

³¹See Chapter 6. p.251.

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Parish Gilds

Like Norwich and Bristol, but unlike the urban centres in the rest of Yorkshire, York had a multiplicity of parishes. During most of this period there seem to have been about forty.³² Whilst Doncaster's single parish church of St. George sustained some 18 identified gilds, no York parish can be shown to have supported more than two.³³ Thus, whilst

FIGURE 4.3 : YORK BEQUESTS TO PARISH GILDS

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Gild</u>	<u>Beq1</u>	<u>BeqL</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Life</u>	<u>Notes</u>
All Saints Pavement	St. Mary	1485	1512	2	27	-
Chapel of St. Thomas	St. Nicholas	1430	1430	1	-	Hospital?
St. Andrew Fishergate	St. Mary	1428	1428	1	-	-
St. Crux	St. Crux	1440	1458	2	18	-
St. Crux	Jesus and St. Mary	1365	1365	1	-	Hospital
St. Denys Walmgate	St. John Baptist	1390	1390	1	-	-
St. Denys Walmgate	St. Katherine	1503	1506	2	3	-
St. John Hungate	St. John Baptist	1449	1449	1	-	-
St. Laurence Walmgate	St. Anne (or Agnes)	1404	1508	104	-	1548 CC
St. Laurence Walmgate	St. Mary	1404	1404	1	-	-
St. Michael le Belfrey	St. Thomas Martyr	1398	1399	2	2	16th C glass
St. Michael le Belfrey	St. Mary	1486	1509	4	23	-
St. Helen Stonegate	SS. Chris & Andrew	1399	1399	1	-	-
St. Helen Stonegate	St. Mary	1478	1478	1	-	-
St. Margaret Walmgate	St. Mary	-	-	-	-	BIHR Y/Marg 36
St. Mary Bishophill Sen	St. Mary	1453	1453	1	-	-
St. Nicholas Micklegate	St. Mary	1486	1486	1	-	-
St. Olave	St. Mary	1434	1434	1	-	St. Mary Abbey?
St. Saviour	Corpus Christi	1416	1416	1	-	Light
St. Saviour	St. Anne	1527	1527	1	-	-

NOTES

<u>Beq1:</u>	Date of first bequest.
<u>BeqL:</u>	Date of last bequest.
<u>Total:</u>	Total number of bequests.
<u>Life:</u>	Interval in years between first and last bequest.

³²The precise number is unclear. Some parishes, especially in the suburbs, were, at various times, assessed, for taxation purposes, jointly with others, suggesting that their churches may have become derelict. See Peacock, "York Subsidy Roll", *YAJ* 4, (1877) pp.172-91, and *YMB III B/Y*, pp.184-5. Furthermore, some testators referred to non-parochial chapels, such as Holy Trinity Fossgate, as if they were parishes: e.g. BIHR PR II 501v-502r 1426 John Clerk, fishmonger.

³³See Figures 4.3, 4.4 and Gazetteer.

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gilds were concentrated in one large parish church in Doncaster, Pontefract and Scarborough, in Hull in two and in Beverley in three, in York some 54 fraternities were distributed more thinly over a much larger number of churches and other institutions. This gives the impression that the specifically parish gild was a less highly regarded in the city than elsewhere. Only 13 of the parish churches of York and its immediate suburbs possessed, between them, some 19 identified gilds that attracted bequests, or which were otherwise recorded. These are listed in Figure 4.3. Gilds were generally found in the wealthier parishes, but their numbers were not great and they did not generally receive many bequests.³⁴

With such a small number of bequests and in the virtual absence of other information, the activities and functions of York parish gilds can only be deduced on the basis of evidence from elsewhere. 22 gilds associated with parish churches, excluding those with occupational connections, made returns in 1389, from Lynn in Norfolk.³⁵ They give a picture of some of the functions which were fulfilled by parish gilds in an urban area divided into a large number of parishes. Ordinances governing the maintenance of lights, the conduct of gild masses and funerals and the holding of feasts and processions indicate that they were organised along much the same lines as parish gilds elsewhere. It is clear, however, that the Great Gild of Holy Trinity dominated gild life in Lynn in much the same way as those of St. Christopher, Corpus Christi and St. Anthony did York.³⁶ The Trinity Gild in Lynn owned extensive properties, was involved in trade and lent money to the

³⁴Tax assessments of York parishes are shown in Figure 4.9.

³⁵Westlake, pp.192-200. Smith, pp.45-109.

³⁶D. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, pp.60-3.

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corporation. It employed 13 chaplains in three different churches and, like the York Corpus Christi Gild, conducted especially elaborate funerals. Whilst the smaller, parish gilds may have aspired to follow similar practices and to fulfil a variety of charitable functions, in imitation of the Trinity Gild, they operated on a much smaller scale and confined their activities to a single parish or cause, such as the maintenance of a hospital or almshouse.³⁷ It is likely that most York parish gilds also operated on this scale and, although the number of bequests to each was modest, this was also the case in the rest of the county.

Associated with parish gilds were a number of fraternities devoted to specific causes. There was, for example, considerable gild activity surrounding two York hospitals. The Gild of Jesus and St. Mary, that seems to have been connected with St. Crux parish, was founded in 1357 with the stated object of creating a hospital in Fossgate.³⁸ When this function had been fulfilled, the gild was probably dissolved in 1391.³⁹ Subsequently, altars were sustained by several gilds in the hospital chapel, one of which was the Gild of Holy Trinity that was later associated with the Mercers' mystery and which eventually administered the hospital.⁴⁰ The Gild of St. Nicholas in the Chapel of St. Thomas, which received a bequest in 1430, could have been a gild of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate.⁴¹ However, an alternative, and perhaps

³⁷*Ibid.*, p.61.

³⁸L. R. Wheatley, "The York Mercers' Guild, 1420-1502 - Origins, Organisation and Ordinances" (MA Dissertation, York 1993), pp.22-30.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p.75.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp.78-83. Also see below p.220.

⁴¹BIHR PR II 666v 1430 John Wilson of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate.

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more likely, explanation is that it sustained an altar in the chapel of the Hospital of St. Thomas which, at the time of the bequest, was run by Holy Trinity Priory, with which St. Nicholas parish church was associated. The hospital was sold to the Corpus Christi Gild by the Priory in 1478.⁴² The three bequests to an unspecified St. Nicholas Gild between 1491 and 1509 may also refer to this fraternity.⁴³ That all three testators also made bequests to the Corpus Christi Gild supports this theory. If this is correct we have the interesting situation of a gild flourishing, for over thirty years, within an institution owned by another much larger fraternity, underlining the general proposition that individuals were often members of several fraternities and that gilds were not necessarily competitive with one another.

Most of the other gilds shown in Figure 4.3 seem to have been parish fraternities that were not associated with any particular cause. The majority of them were situated in the wealthier parishes, whose inhabitants were, presumably, more able to make bequests to them. It is, however, clear, from a comparison of Figures 4.3 and 4.9, that even wealthy people, who lived in less affluent parishes, were more likely to make legacies to the larger gilds in the city. None of the five testators of the relatively poor parish of St. Margaret Walmgate made a bequest to the local parish gild of St. Mary.⁴⁴ Its existence is attested by a brief account for the year 1397, on a scrap of parchment preserved in the

⁴²YCA G13, 14.

⁴³BIHR PR V 391r-392r, 1491, Richard Wakefeilde, chaplain of All Saints Northstreet, 12d; 510r-v, 1497, John Robynson, butcher of Holy Trinity Kings Court, 12d; YML L2(5)a 82r-83v 1509, Alison Clark widow of St Michael le Belfrey, 6s 8sd.

⁴⁴BIHR PR 523r, 1427, John de Man, merchant, bequest to St George. III 408r-409r, 1435, William Barton, skinner, bequests to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher, Paternoster, St. Mary of the Skinners, St. John the Baptist. 156v, 1478, Richard More, yeoman, bequest to Corpus Christi. V 65r, 1482, Thomas Rede, bequest to Corpus Christi. VIII 62r-v, 1508, Ranald Home bequest to Corpus Christi.

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parish records.⁴⁵ Even in the richest city parishes, bequests to local parish gilds were rare. Of the 55 testators of St. Crux parish, who made bequests to gilds, only two did so to the Gild of St. Crux in the parish church.⁴⁶ In All Saints Pavement, just two out of 32 testators to gilds made bequests to the parochial gild of St. Mary.⁴⁷ Of the 47 testators of St. Michael le Belfrey, who made bequests to gilds, only three did so to the parish gild of St. Mary and two to that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which probably installed windows in the rebuilt church in the early sixteenth century, about 120 years later.⁴⁸

Other parish gilds also seem to have operated for long periods without receiving bequests. That of St. Anne, in the suburban church of St. Laurence, received bequests in 1404 and 1427 but was not mentioned again until 1493, then, in a sudden burst of popularity, it received six bequests between 1503 and 1508, and was finally recorded, as the Gild of St. Agnes, at its dissolution, in 1546.⁴⁹ It seems likely that the gild enjoyed an unbroken existence of at least 142 years, but the various intervals, such as the 66 years between 1427 and 1493, which included the period when bequests to all York gilds were at their zenith, shows how infrequent and random surviving legacies to parish gilds are. All the evidence suggests that there were numbers of unrecorded parish gilds in the City. Whilst it cannot be inferred that parochial fraternities must have existed in such wealthy parishes as St. John Micklegate,

⁴⁵BIHR Y/Marg 36.

⁴⁶BIHR PR III 600r-v, 1440, Thomas Carlile tailor. II 375r-376r 1458 Katherine Radclyff widow of John, mercer.

⁴⁷BIHR PR V 260v-261r, 1485, Thomas Kendale dyer VIII 117r, 1512, Ralph Close,

⁴⁸See Gazetteer. One window is still *in situ* and other panels are now in the York Minster Chapterhouse.

⁴⁹See Gazetteer.

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Holy Trinity King's Court or St. Martin Coney Street, where none have been recorded, it would be equally dangerous to assert that they did not.

They were, however, much less popular with testators than the larger gilds. 82.2 per cent of all bequests to York gilds were made to those of Corpus Christi, St. Christopher, St. Anthony and the smaller gilds that they absorbed, during the course of the fifteenth century. There are a number of possible reasons for this. A parish gild, in the context of York's plethora of small parishes, would have little political influence beyond its limited boundaries. Membership offered fraternity between close neighbours, who might already be friends, rather than powerful contacts city-wide or beyond. Low memberships, even in wealthy parishes, would often mean that parish gilds were modest economic units with correspondingly limited opportunities for charitable activities. It seems likely that they catered primarily for those who were not wealthy enough to make wills. The vestigial account of the St. Mary Gild in St. Margaret's parish indicates this.⁵⁰ Above all, however, their popularity was probably most affected by the circumstances of will-making. A large gild, employing chaplains, or, like the Corpus Christi Gild, run by them, offered much more powerful prayers, to help the soul through purgatory, than a small fraternity of parishioners. The larger gilds also provided lavish funerals which offered both spiritual advantages and a statement of the status, piety and wealth of the deceased.⁵¹ Such inducements were offered, not only by the largest gilds, with their civic connections, but also by medium-sized gilds, or confraternities, based in the religious houses of the city.

⁵⁰BIHR Y/Marg 36.

⁵¹See below pp.231-3.

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Monastic Gilds and Confraternities

The term "confraternity" does not seem to have been much used in late medieval York.⁵² It is employed here to describe a gild of laymen that was based in a religious institution, monastic, mendicant or episcopal, and that enjoyed an arrangement of mutual support with its inmates and governors. The religious house benefited economically from the confraternity, that gave it gifts and offerings for conducting religious services. The confraternity, in return, enjoyed the special religious and funerary advantages that association with a religious house might imply. In addition, the house could also attempt to prevent interference in the confraternity's affairs from secular authorities or from local parishes. This might be of particular significance in the complex political context of a city. Such confraternities were common throughout Europe and, it has been argued, weakened the authority of the parish.⁵³ Although the citizens of York did not usually call them confraternities, gilds based in religious houses were more popular with testators than were their parish fraternities. However, the relationships that monastically-based gilds enjoyed with their parent houses did not invariably imply conflict with parishes. It is the purpose of this section to investigate the range of relationships that existed between gilds and religious institutions.

Figure 4.4 shows bequests made to those recorded York gilds which had a direct link with monastic houses within the city, including a number where the connection is open to some doubt, or where

⁵²It is used in the preamble and ordinances of the Register of the Corpus Christi Gild, interchangeably with "fraternity", Lansdowne MS. 304 ff.15r-19v. Here it seems to describe the relationship between the clerical and lay members of the gild.

⁵³J. Henderson, "Confraternities and the Church in Late Medieval Florence", in *Voluntary Religion: Studies in Church History No. 23*, ed. W.J. Shiels and D. Wood (Blackwell, 1986), p.69.

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FIGURE 4.5 : YORK BEQUESTS TO CONFRATERNITIES

<u>Institution</u>	<u>Gild</u>	<u>Beq1</u>	<u>BeqL</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Life</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Minster	St. Christopher	1394	1543	241	149	Inc 1396, CC20
	SS. Christopher & George	1466	1535	36	80	CC20
Abbey of St. Mary	St. Mary at the Abbey	1420	1487	45	67	-
St. Giles Chapel	St. Mary (Skinners)	1435	1445	5	10	Occupational
?Holy Trinity Priory	Corpus Christi	1413	1550	379	137	F1408 I1458 CC546
	St. Nicholas	1491	1509	3	18	-
St. Andrew (Gilbertines)	St. Mary	1428	1428	1	1	-
Austin Friars	St. Katherine	1414	1537	10	123	-
	Holy Trinity	1438	1471	2	33	?Occupational
	St. Mary & St. Austin	1509	1509	1	1	-
	St. Augustine (Cordwainers)	1520	1520	1	1	Occupational
	Resurrection (Carpenters)	-	-	nil	1	Occupational
Dominican Friars	Holy Trinity	-	-	nil	1	-
Carmelite Friars	St. Mary (Cordwainers)	1402	1527	30	125	Occupational
Franciscan Friars	St. Francis	1428	1453	6	25	-
	St. Mary	1420	1420	1	1	-
	St. Mary & St. Francis	1429	1429	1	1	-

NOTES

Beq1: date of first bequest.

BeqL: date of last bequest.

Life: interval in years between first and last bequest.

individual gilds are discussed in other contexts elsewhere in the thesis. These include the two largest fraternities in the city.

The arguments for an association between Holy Trinity Priory and the Corpus Christi Gild will be pursued in the next chapter.⁵⁴ The second most popular gild with testators, that of St. Christopher, later St. Christopher and St. George, had a relationship with the Minster. Subsequent to its first bequest, in 1394, it was incorporated by letters patent from Richard II, during his visit to York, in 1396.⁵⁵ These provided that the gild was to be based in the Minster. This connection was confirmed in 1426 by the foundation of a chantry at the altar of St.

⁵⁴See Chapter 5, pp.257-66.

⁵⁵*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1391-96, p.711.

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Christopher that, in 1546, still employed two chaplains.⁵⁶ These were selected by the gild, but approved by the Dean and Chapter, underlining the former's status within the ambit of the latter.⁵⁷ Whether it ever had the full status of a confraternity within the Minster is unclear. Although it continued to pay oblations, given at the St. Christopher chantry, to the Minster, from about 1448 it worshipped in its own chapel in Coney Street, and feasted in the new Guildhall.⁵⁸ The chantry, however, was maintained and was later used as a kind of civic enclave.⁵⁹ The city was evidently able to use the gild to gain official entry to the Minster and to make its presence felt within its Liberty.

The only other fraternity that had a demonstrable connection with the Minster was that of Paternoster, whose 1389 return recorded that it maintained a candelabrum and a board, hanging against a pillar there, to explain the content and meaning of the Lord's Prayer.⁶⁰ It does not seem to have met in the Minster and the performances of the play, which was its principal function, took place in the city streets not in the cathedral precinct.⁶¹ Whilst the Dean and Chapter were prepared to accept the presence of gild chantries and shrines within the Minster, however, they did not promote confraternities as did the city's religious houses.

⁵⁶BIHR PR I 66r Richard Byrd, tanner of All Saints North Street. White, *"St. Christopher and St. George"*, p.2.

⁵⁷YCA G70 33. PRO E301/66 20, 21.

⁵⁸B. Dobson, *"Citizens and Chantries in Late Medieval York"*, pp.318-20.

⁵⁹White, *St. Christopher and St. George*, pp.8, 3-4.

⁶⁰BIHR PR III 520r, 560v-561r, 597v, PR V 27r-v, 35r, 211r, 286r-v. See Gazetteer.

⁶¹PRO C47/46/454.

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The Gild of St. Mary at the Abbey, which received 45 bequests between 1420 and 1487, making it the fourth most popular in the city, had its chapel in the gatehouse of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary's, outside the city walls.⁶² It was certainly sited there between 1438 and 1485, during which period seven testators described the gild as being next to the abbey gates.⁶³ Whilst 16 testators were of the parish of St. Olave, by the abbey walls, and two were from nearby Clifton, 23 were members of other parishes in York and its suburbs. It may be significant, however, that all but two of these bequests were made in the period up to 1444, when an acrimonious and expensive lawsuit over fishgarths between the abbot and the city began.⁶⁴ This strife might have affected the city-wide nature of the gild, which seems to have taken on a more parochial character thereafter. The gild appears to have been both a confraternity and a parish fraternity acting principally, at least after 1444, as a focus for the interests of a suburban neighbourhood. Its role here may have been similar to that of the Gild of St. Anne in St. Laurence, whose popularity may have reflected a similar feeling of community amongst the inhabitants of areas outside the walls of the city to the south.⁶⁵ The paucity of gild bequests from other suburban York churches, unconnected with monastic houses, and the presence of a probable confraternity of the Gilbertines, in St. Andrew Fishergate, however, supports the contention that the piety

⁶²A. Raine, *Medieval York* (London, 1955), pp.92-1, L.T. Smith, *York Mystery Plays* (Oxford, 1885), p.xxix.

⁶³See Gazetteer under St. Mary Gild at the Abbey and also St. Mary in St. Olave.

⁶⁴B. Dobson, *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls*, pp.37-58.

⁶⁵See p.201 above.

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connected with a religious institution was a major factor in the promotion of many gilds.⁶⁶ Unfortunately there is little evidence of suburban gilds, near the other major urban centres in the county, with which to make comparison.

Although they did not support gilds on the scale of the mendicant orders in Florence, it was clearly the policy of York's four friaries to support lay fraternities, and they did so to varying extents and with differing degrees of success.⁶⁷ Unlike Florentine confraternities none of them seem to have been regarded as Third Orders of their friary. It may be that the agreement drawn up between the Guild of the Resurrection, the carpenters' mystery and the Prior and Convent of the Austin Friars, in which the friary undertook to provide religious services for the gild in return for payment, indicates a typical arrangement.⁶⁸ A majority of friary confraternities were gilds sustained by specific crafts within the city, and this aspect of their functions will be discussed in the next section.

The Augustinians maintained three recorded gilds in addition to two that were definitely craft related. Their popularity with gilds might have been connected with the friary's central location in the city. The Guild of St. Katherine seems to have been its major confraternity. It attracted ten bequests, between 1414 and 1537, four testators describing it as being based in the friary, and two others referring to it as the Guild of St. Katherine and St. Mary Magdalene, inferring that it absorbed another

⁶⁶See Gazetteer.

⁶⁷J. Henderson, "Confraternities and the Church in Late Medieval Florence", *Studies in Church History* 23 (Oxford, 1986), pp.70-2.

⁶⁸YCA E20A B/Y f.207v. See below pp.217-8.

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gild before 1480.⁶⁹ The friary also supported a Holy Trinity Gild which received three bequests, between 1438 and 1471.⁷⁰ However, it may be no coincidence that all three testators were tailors. It seems likely that, although none of the wills confirm this, the gild was associated with this craft. The dedication of a possible St. Mary and St. Austin Gild, or of two separate gilds of St. Mary and St. Austin, recorded in 1509, might refer to a cordwainers' gild dedicated to St. Augustine in the friary or possibly to a separate amalgamated fraternity.⁷¹

Although the Dominicans do not seem to have been deeply involved with lay confraternities, the fate of their Holy Trinity Gild, wound up by the City authorities in the early fifteenth century, throws light on the relationships between the city, the gilds and the friaries.⁷² All but a minority of about 37 of its members wanted to amalgamate the gild with that of St. Anthony. Those who wished to secede had removed the long box, in which the gild kept its torches and other goods, from the friary. The Prior and Convent were threatening to excommunicate them if they did not return it. John de Moreton, and other trustworthy

⁶⁹Testators mentioning the Augustinian friary: BIHR PR II 128v-129r, 1446, William Gyslay; PR II 417r, 1459, Richard Wighton, dyer of St John Ousebridge; PR II 485r-v, 1463, William Touthorp, butcher of Holy Trinity Kings Court; PR IV 43r-44r, 1467, Alice Langwath widow of St Andrew. Testators to St. Katherine and St. Mary Magdalene: BIHR PR V 177r, 1480, William Broune, cooper; PR XI 249r, 1537, John of Burton gentleman and City Macebearer, of St Martin. Other testators to St. Katherine: YML L2(4) 172r, 1414, Robert Wakefeld, glazier of St Helen Stonegate; L2(4) 323v-324, 1470, Isabella Saxton widow of St Michael le Belfrey; BIHR PR VIII 62r-v, 1508, Ranald Home of St Margaret; YML L2(5)a 82r-83v, 1509, Alison Clark, widow of St Michael le Belfrey.

⁷⁰BIHR PR III 511r, 1438, Robert Dote, tailor of Coneystreet; PR II 405r, 1459, John Carter, tailor of All Saints Pavement; PR IV 162v 1471, Ralph Moyses, tailor of St Crux.

⁷¹BIHR PR VIII 26v-27r 1509, Richard Rawlyn of St John del Pike.

⁷²YCA E20 YMB AY II, ff.194v-195r, undated. A. Raine, *Medieval York*, p.92n, suggests 1418. Transcribed Sellars, *YMB AY II*, pp.70-2.

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men, had inquired into the case and found that the gild was unlicensed by the crown and should be suppressed. They ruled that the Prior and Convent should retain the image of Holy Trinity, which the gild had been founded to venerate, and its candelabrum. The long box, that figured so prominently in the dispute, was to be kept in the Chapel of St. William on Ouse Bridge and the torches, that were stored in it, should be burned at divine service there. The gild's funds were to be used by the Lord Mayor towards building the new Chapel of St. Anne, on Foss Bridge.

This dispute and its resolution raises a number of interesting points. Beyond the provision of religious services, the convent also provided space for the gild's principal image and for its material possessions. Although the confraternity afforded some protection, for gild assets, from the secular power of the city, and the parent house could use excommunication as a weapon, it was possible for the lay power to override friary opposition in special circumstances. In this case the desire of a majority of the gildspeople to leave the protection of the Priory was an important factor. The authorities also made great play with the unlicensed nature of the gild. Although this seems to have been a convenient excuse, it underlines the precarious status of unchartered gilds prior to the Statute of 1436. It is likely that only a small minority of York gilds had royal licences or charters; certainly, very few are extant or are known to have existed. The St. Anthony Gild itself did not receive its royal licence of incorporation until 1446, considerably later than this dispute.⁷³ The Holy Trinity Gild's assets were confiscated into the city coffers, but the friary's ability to

⁷³*Cal. Pat.* 1441-6, p.442.

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complain about this was diminished by their being put to pious uses, albeit to pious uses that were directly sponsored by the city. The Convent would find it difficult, physically, to recover the long box, as the gild had been abolished and the box was no longer in the convent church, but in a different consecrated place. The brothers and sisters of Holy Trinity who wished to join the St. Anthony Gild were obviously now free to do so, but their gild assets did not follow them. Basically, the city authorities could control gild affairs, and profit from them, even where the fraternity was based in a conventual church.

Only two confraternal gilds were recorded in the Franciscan Friary. In 1420, Thomas Rygton left 18d to the fraternity of St. Mary in the conventual church of the Friars Minor in York.⁷⁴ Six bequests to a Gild of St. Francis between 1428 and 1453 suggest an important, if shortlived, confraternity but, although one testator, Alice Pournfreyt, was buried in the friary, none actually identified the gild with the Franciscans, and the connection is largely based on its dedication.⁷⁵ A bequest in 1429 to a Gild of the Blessed Mary and St. Francis in York probably indicates a merger of the two gilds, although no connection with the friary is established by the will.⁷⁶

Although the Carmelite friary housed only one fraternity, it was, with 30 testators, the most popular, in testamentary terms, connected with any mendicant convent in the city.⁷⁷ The St. Mary Gild of the Carmelites was, however, sustained by the craft of the cordwainers, and it will be discussed in the following section.

⁷⁴YML L2(4) 194r-v, 1420, Thomas Rygton of St Andrew parish.

⁷⁵BIHR PR II 660r-v, 1429, Alice widow of Roger Pournfreyt skinner, see Gazetteer.

⁷⁶BIHR PR II 660r-v, 1429, Richard Vender, spicer of St Martin Coney Street.

⁷⁷See Gazetteer.

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The popularity of friaries as locations for guilds was probably related to their popularity with testators generally. Bequests to friaries, often in return for intercessory prayers, were common in late medieval wills generally and were certainly so in both York and Yorkshire.⁷⁸ The prayers of professional mendicants, who were also religious, were evidently seen as being particularly efficacious in ensuring the swift passage of souls through purgatory. Such power was clearly advantageous to the devotional and funerary aspects of guilds. There were also physical advantages in making use of large friary churches. When the Corpus Christi Guild outgrew its accommodation in Holy Trinity Priory, its master and stewards celebrated a general obit in the four friary churches every four years.⁷⁹ It is easy to overstate the importance of the siting of non-parochial guilds within institutions that can be seen as neutral, in terms of local politics, and comparatively free from civic influence. The fate of the Holy Trinity Guild of the Dominicans shows that the corporation could interfere in confraternities of mendicant houses, even before the Statute of 1436 increased its powers. Such considerations might, nevertheless, have encouraged the establishment of craft-related guilds within the city's friaries.

Gilds and Occupations

There is a widely-held misconception that York, in the early fifteenth century, supported a large number of "craft guilds". The problem is one of definition. The majority of the crafts and occupations of the city did

⁷⁸R. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in The Middle Ages* (London, 1970), p.290. E. Miller, "Medieval York", *VCH York*, p.110. Heath, "Urban Piety", p.220-1.

⁷⁹YCA G11A, Skaife, *Corpus Christi Guild*, p.267.

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not refer to themselves as guilds and were not described as such by their contemporaries. Membership of a craft, mystery, or art consisted of the masters who were franchised to it within the city. It was compulsory, when working or trading within the city's jurisdiction, to belong to it and, under penalty, to obey its ordinances. These were enforced by the craft's searchers, who have often been seen as the agents of the city authorities.⁸⁰ Most recorded regulations concerned the conduct of business. The principal socio-religious activity that they governed was their participation in the city's annual Corpus Christi cycle. This activity was closely regulated by the city.⁸¹ Individual crafts could only vary their contributions to the event only by formal consent of the mayor and council.⁸² It is difficult to reconcile such tightly circumscribed associations with the voluntary and devotional characteristics of late medieval religious guilds.

There were, however, exceptions. The Weavers' Guild of York was incorporated by royal charter, granted by Henry II, with the right of making coloured cloth for most of the county, in return for an annual tax of ten pounds.⁸³ Clearly this was the kind of craft guild that was instructed to produce copies of its charters and letters patent in the writs for the 1389 gild returns.⁸⁴ The weavers' ordinances, of 1400, referred to the craft as a gild, insisting that membership be exclusive to

⁸⁰H. Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, (Oxford, 1989), pp.107-26.

⁸¹H. Swanson, "The Illusion of Economic Structure", pp.29-48.

⁸²*E.g.* Permission was granted to the Painters and Stainers to combine their pageant with that of the Pinner and Latteners: 31/01/1422, YCA A/Y Memorandum Book, E20, ff.247r-v.

⁸³Sellars, *YMB A/Y I*, pp.xxvii-xxx.

⁸⁴See Chapter 1 p.31.

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weavers and that all female members be properly trained.⁸⁵ The question arises as to whether this was the same gild as that of St. Mary of the Weavers, which, as shown in Figure 4.6, received 12 bequests between 1406 and 1528.⁸⁶ A majority of these were, indeed, from weavers. In each case the connection between the craft and the gild is made clear. However, the list of testators contains individuals who were not weavers, although they all probably had a close connection with the craft. They were a dyer, a mercer, a merchant and Margaret Plumpton, of unknown occupation. Their presence seems irreconcilable with the exclusive nature of the weavers' ordinances. The last recorded bequest, that of William Robynson, in 1528, also made the only recorded bequest to a second weavers' gild, that of the Holy Ghost.⁸⁷

Item I yeve to the maister of the wevars to the stoke of our ladies Gilde iijs ivd Item I yeve to the holie gost gilde of the wevars ijs

The example of the weavers gives rise to several questions. These principally concern the relationship between gild and craft. Were the memberships of the two identical? Did they fulfil the same function? Was the relationship between them static? If the answer to such questions is in the affirmative, what was the function of a possibly new weavers' gild in the sixteenth century? If it were a rival organisation it is strange that Robynson made a bequest to both gilds. These problems arise from a craft that could legitimately claim to be a gild. Similar questions are posed by some of those which could not.

The Gild of St. Mary of the Skinners in St. Giles received only five bequests, but as one of these was made by a tailor, it was obviously

⁸⁵Sellars, *YMB A/Y I*, pp.242-3.

⁸⁶See Gazetteer

⁸⁷BIHR PR IX 394r.

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not exclusively a skimmers' gild.⁸⁸ The bequests to this fraternity were all made over a period of ten years, between 1435 and 1445. If this indicates that the gild was comparatively shortlived, then it also implies that it was, in some sense, separate from the craft, which continued to exist, and to collect pageant money, up to at least 1582.⁸⁹

FIGURE 4.6 : CITY OF YORK BEQUESTS TO OCCUPATIONAL GILDS

<u>Craft</u>	<u>Gild</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Beq1</u>	<u>BeqL</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Life</u>
Carpenters	Resurrection	Austin Friars	-	-	-	-
Chantry Chaplains	Chantry Chaplains	-	1399	1407	2	8
Cordwainers	St. Mary	Carmelite Friars	1402	1527	30	125
Cordwainers	St. Augustine	Austin Friars	1506	1520	2	16
Mercers/merchants	Holy Trinity Fossgate	Hall and Hospital	1410	1525	20	115
Skimmers	St. Mary	St. Giles	1435	1445	5	10
Tailors	St. John Baptist	Hall	1386	1546	44	161
Tailors?	Holy Trinity	Austin Friars	1438	1471	3	33
Weavers	St. Mary	-	1406	1528	12	122
Weavers	Holy Ghost	-	1528	1528	1	1

NOTES

Beq1: date of first bequest.

BeqL: date of last bequest.

Total: total number of bequests.

Life: interval in years between first and last bequest.

In the case of the cordwainers, there is a further series of difficulties. In 1391, William de Kirkby, *allutarius*, left 12d for the Corpus Christi light of his art.⁹⁰ Whether or not this light continued to be maintained by the cordwainers is not known, but, in 1408, William Byrgrefe, a cordwainer made the first of 30 bequests to the Gild of St. Mary of the Carmelites.⁹¹ This gild seems to have been the friary's principal

⁸⁸See Gazetteer.

⁸⁹REED York, pp.400-1

⁹⁰BIHR PR I 35r-v.

⁹¹See Gazetteer for a full list of all references of all bequests to this gild.

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confraternity. William Byrgrefe did not make any connection between the St. Mary Gild and his craft. Others, however, did. In 1444, John Marton, also a cordwainer, asked to be buried in the friary and left 3s.4d. to the St. Mary Gild sustained by the cordwainers there. Richard Paynot, who described himself as a shoemaker, also identified the gild as being of the cordwainers (*allutari*), in 1478. Two widows of uncertain occupation, Helen Hekke, in 1487, and Alice Clerk, in 1506, also mentioned the gild as being sustained by the cordwainers. Alice Clerk, however, simply referred to it as being St. Mary of the Cordwainers and did not connect it with the friary. She also made a bequest to the Gild of St. Augustine of the Cordwainers, which was still in operation in 1520, when Edward Wayde, shoemaker, asked for its torches to attend his funeral. The wills of Marton, Paynot and Hekke clearly identify the gild with both the friary and the craft, and those of Byrgrefe and Clerk support this. However, none of the other testators mentioned the cordwainers' role in sustaining the gild and, although most of their occupations are known, none were cordwainers. Furthermore, a significant number of them belonged to occupations totally unrelated to shoemaking. Ten of them belonged to the victualling trades, and whilst it might be argued that the four butchers had a connection with leather production, bequests to the gild from three bakers, a cook and a fishmonger are less easy to explain. It would be also difficult ascribe the presence, in the list in the Gazetteer, of a plumber, a plasterer, a spicer and an apothecary to Medieval fluidity of labour.

It is hard to see why, if it were a cordwainers' gild, so few of the craft made bequests to it. Three possible explanations present themselves. The gild was active for at least 125 years. It is possible that it was sustained by the craft for only part of its life. However, even if

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Byrgrefe's bequest is not included, the interval between the wills of Marton and Clerk is over 60 years and the bulk of the other wills falls within this period. An alternative explanation is that we are dealing with two separate gilds of St. Mary in the Carmelite Convent, one sustained by the cordwainers, the other a confraternity open to all. However, it has already been shown that gilds sustained by crafts received bequests from members whose occupations were unconnected with that craft. It also seems unlikely that two gilds with identical dedications would be competing for space in the same location on the same feast days. The most probable explanation is that the gild, sustained by the cordwainers, but open to all, including the families of cordwainers, attracted members from other occupations as a commercial or political forum where they could maintain contact with cordwainers. This might have eventually been seen as dilution by the cordwainers. It is possible that an increasing preponderance of members of other crafts, amongst the membership of the St. Mary Gild, led them to found a new, more exclusive, gild, probably, in view of its dedication, in the Augustinian Friary, which served cordwainers only. It could be that the appearance of the Holy Ghost Gild of the weavers, recorded in 1528, was in response to similar pressures in their St. Mary Gild.⁹² Parallel circumstances seem to have led to the foundation (or re-foundation) of the merchants' Gild of St. George in Holy Trinity in Hull, to the eventual detriment of that of St. Mary in Holy Trinity.⁹³

What we may be seeing is a general movement towards occupationally based gilds during the latter part of the fifteenth and early sixteenth

⁹²See p.213 above.

⁹³See Chapter 7, pp.345-8.

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centuries. This can be further illustrated by documentation relating to the carpenters of the city, whose ordinances were renewed by the mayor and council, in 1482, at the prayer of 24 masters of the craft.⁹⁴ The new ordinances formalised "a broderhode had and usyd emong the occupacion and craft", providing for an annual subscription of 6d., two meetings each year and the appointment of four Keepers to manage the accounts. The new fraternity would offer help to members fallen into poverty and provide elaborate funerals and prayers for the dead, including two trentals of masses, to be sung twice every year for the souls of former brothers and sisters, by the Augustinian friars. This latter intention was pursued in an indenture, drawn up in 1487, between the Prior and Convent of the Augustinian Friary, the two searchers "of the occupacion of the carpenters", and the four "Keepers of the holy fraternite of the Resurreccion of our Lord mayntened by the carpenters of the said citie".⁹⁵ One searcher, Richard Bysshop (Bischope), and one Keeper, James Whynsell (Wynfell), had been amongst the petitioners to the council in 1482. The indenture agreed an annual payment of 10s. to the friars in respect of the trentals that had figured in the 1482 ordinances, and additional payments of 5s. each for a further five trentals to be sung following the death of "every brother that truly doeth his dutye". The annual payments were partly to be discharged by granting the friars the farm of two properties beside St. Leonard's landing. Throughout the document, the keepers and searchers were mentioned together and seem to have had joint responsibility for the arrangements. By this date, the fraternity had

⁹⁴*YMB A/Y II*, 277-83.

⁹⁵*YCA E 20A B/Y f.207v*, see p.# above. Transcribed Sellars, *YMB A/Y II*, pp.xxxviii-xl and Percy, *YMB B/Y*, pp.254-5.

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adopted the dedication of The Resurrection of Our Lord, although this did not appear in the ordinances. The Resurrection was the theme of the craft's Corpus Christi pageant, and was therefore a natural dedication for the gild to adopt. Here the craft and the new gild were working very closely together, although they were still distinct entities, each being represented by its own officials. Here we see a gild being formed from an existing nucleus within a craft.

Other craft-related gilds showed different patterns of development. That of St. John the Baptist made no mention of the tailors' craft, with which it was later associated, in its 1389 gild return.⁹⁶ The earliest recorded ordinances of the tailors, in 1387, concerned the regulation of the craft, and its pageant, through the agency of its searchers.⁹⁷ In 1415, the Gild of St. John the Baptist leased land from the mayor and commonalty, in order to build a gild hall.⁹⁸ That four of the five Gild Masters representing the fraternity were tailors suggests that the craft had already secured some control over the affairs of the gild. This was not put on an official footing, however, until 1453, when it was incorporated by royal licence, sanctioning the tailors of York to found a Gild of St. John the Baptist.⁹⁹ In this case, then, an existing gild was adopted by a craft which eventually took it over and ran it.

However, the testamentary evidence shows that the St. John the Baptist Gild was, at no time, exclusive to the tailors. Only eleven testators, a quarter of the total, can be identified as such, and these are

⁹⁶PRO C47/46/455. The development of this gild is traced in the opening chapters and appendices of B. Johnson, *The Acts and Ordinances of the Company of Merchant Taylors in the City of York* (York, undated), on which this paragraph is partly based.

⁹⁷*YMB I*, pp.94-100.

⁹⁸YCA E20 A B/Y ff.39r-v.

⁹⁹PRO C 66/477, transcribed by Johnson, pp.121-2.

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by no means concentrated after the date of incorporation. Three of the eleven bequests occurring before that date were made by tailors, as were eight of the 33 recorded subsequently.¹⁰⁰ The testators included six drapers, but this allied occupation did not formally combine with the tailors' gild until 1552.¹⁰¹ By that time the religious function of the former St. John the Baptist Gild had disappeared prior to the formation of the Merchant Taylors' Company.

The gradual drawing together of craft and gild was by no means exclusive to York. Similar take-overs of existing religious gilds by groups of craftsmen have been noted in fourteenth century London.¹⁰² It has been shown that religious gilds and occupations combined earlier in the capital than the evidence suggests was the case in York. In London, as in York, there seems to have been an initial separation of the organisational elements of craft and gild but their gradual rapprochement culminated in the establishment of livery companies in the early sixteenth century.¹⁰³ The Society of Merchant Adventurers of York, by contrast, was not formed until 1581.¹⁰⁴

The Gild of Holy Trinity in Fossgate of the Mercers was probably the wealthiest of all the city's gilds, that were sustained by occupations, and it is certainly the best documented. The complex question of its foundation and early development has been the subject of a recent

¹⁰⁰See Gazetteer.

¹⁰¹B. Johnson, p.42.

¹⁰²C.M. Barron, "The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London", pp.14-16. E.M. Veale, "Craftsmen and the Economy of London in the Fourteenth Century", *The Medieval Town: a Reader in English Urban History 1200-1540*, ed. R.A. Holt and G. Rosser (London, 1990), pp.120-39, especially pp.125-9.

¹⁰³Veale, *op. cit.*, p.126.

¹⁰⁴Palliser, *Tudor York*, p.273.

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study, by Louise Wheatley, which discusses its relationship with the mercers' mystery and the Hospital of St. Mary and Jesus in Fossgate.¹⁰⁵ The fraternity's genesis lay in the establishment, in 1357, of a Gild of Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, connected with the parish church of St. Crux.¹⁰⁶ A principal object of the gild was the foundation of a hospital, which was completed in about 1371 and licensed by Edward III, who provided for the employment of a chaplain and for the formal changing of the gild into a hospital.¹⁰⁷ The hospital chapel contained five altars.¹⁰⁸ The Gild of St. John the Baptist ran a chantry of the same dedication at one of them, according to an agreement made in 1396, although what seems to have been an attempt by the gild to take over the running of the hospital must have been unsuccessful.¹⁰⁹ By 1397 a Holy Trinity Gild, probably based on the Holy Trinity altar in the hospital chapel, was the major fraternity supporting the hospital.¹¹⁰ The gild was associated with the mercers' craft and, in 1420, more than two thirds of the brethren supervising the hospital were mercers.¹¹¹ However, they do not, at this stage, seem to have had any formal connection with the mercers' mystery. The only attempt to establish a mercantile gild in the city had ended with the suppression of an

¹⁰⁵L.R. Wheatley, "The York Mercers' Guild, 1420-1502 - Origins and Ordinances" (MA dissertation, York 1993). This work and subsequent discussion with Louise Wheatley form the basis of much of this paragraph.

¹⁰⁶Sellars, *YMA*, pp.1-3. YML L2(4) 45v-46, 1365, Emma widow of William de Huntington apothecary of St. Wilfrid is the only testator.

¹⁰⁷*YMB III B/Y*, p.143.

¹⁰⁸Wheatley, p.56. Sellars *YMA*, p.96-7, in an undated sixteenth century inventory lists three surviving altars: Holy Trinity, St. Thomas the Martyr and St. John the Baptist.

¹⁰⁹*YMA*, Trinity Hospital Administration, 3.

¹¹⁰Wheatley, pp.92-3.

¹¹¹*ibid.*, pp.94-7.

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unlicensed Holy Trinity Gild by the crown in 1306.¹¹² The mercers seem to have had no organisation, beyond the supervision of their searchers, until they were incorporated by charter as a mystery in 1430.¹¹³ The charter made no mention of the Holy Trinity Gild, however, which probably remained a separate institution. At all events, the 20 recorded testators who made bequests to the Holy Trinity Gild in Fossgate were not exclusively mercantile. Although the majority consisted of mercers or merchants, they included a mason, a draper, a clerk and two bakers amongst their number.¹¹⁴ Once again, a highly prestigious occupational gild counted amongst its membership a number of individuals who did not belong to its mystery and whilst one of these, the mason, Hugh Grantham, made his bequest prior to the incorporation of the mercers, all the rest did so afterwards.

Occupational gilds and craft organisations, however closely they were associated, remained technically separate, allowing those who were not mercers, tailors, weavers or cordwainers, to join an occupational gild, for reasons of business, friendship or piety, and to contribute to it socially and financially. This arrangement seems to have generated popular fraternities, that, as Figure 4.6 shows, lasted well into the sixteenth century. However, the original gild sometimes proved too popular, especially with members of other crafts, and new, additional, exclusive gilds were formed which allowed craft members to associate in their devotional practices without outside interference.

¹¹²G.O. Sayles, "The Dissolution of of a Gild at York in 1306", *English Historical Review*, 55 (1940), pp.83-97.

¹¹³YMA, Royal Charters and Grants 1/1A-B.

¹¹⁴Eileen White's list is incomplete as regards this gild. With the addition of some randomly collected examples, the testators she recorded are listed in the Gazetteer, .

The Civic Gilds of York: Mergers, Drama and Ceremonial

Important as the craft-related gilds probably were to the groups that controlled them, the vast majority of all bequests to York gilds were made to the three largest, Corpus Christi, St. Christopher and St. Anthony, and to the gilds which they absorbed. Each had its own devotional character, fulfilled different functions and made its own distinctive contribution to the public life of the city, maintaining its relationship with civic government. Large numbers of testators saw fit to make bequests to all three.¹¹⁵ Although the Corpus Christi Gild is the subject of the next chapter, the way in which its public activities impinged on the city at large is relevant to this one, especially in respect of its annual procession and its role as a provider of funerals. The St. Christopher Gild, and its close relationship to the city government, has been thoroughly examined by Eileen White in a relatively recent Borthwick Paper, which includes accounts of its amalgamation with the St. George Gild, of its role in the building of the city's gildhall and of the scandals which tarnished its image in the 1530s.¹¹⁶ The character of the smallest of the three, the St. Anthony Gild, is less easy to define, especially since it absorbed, or merged with, a variety of other fraternities whose functions it then assumed. The process illustrates the way in which such amalgamations took place, showing how some gilds were dynamic, and even predatory, in their development over the period of the late middle ages.

¹¹⁵E.g. BIHR PR III 539r-v 1438 John Shirwodd, 515v 1438 Margaret Horneby, II 79v-80v 1444 Thomas Carr draper, 138v-139v Thomas Lyverton, 137v-138v William Revetour chaplain, *et al.*

¹¹⁶E. White, *The St. Christopher and St. George Gild*, pp.6, 14.

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FIGURE 4.7 : BEQUESTS TO PATERNOSTER, ST. ANTHONY AND ALLIED GILDS

<u>Gild</u>	<u>Beq1</u>	<u>BeqL</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Life</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Paternoster	1395	1439	21	50	gild return 1389
Paternoster & St. Anthony	1444	1487	4	43	St. Anthony absorbs Paternoster
St. Anthony	1428	1540	75	112	first recorded 1418
St. Martin & St. Anthony	1449	1475	2	26	-
St. Mary & St. Martin	1450	1494	21	48	-
St. Martin	1451	1451	1	1	founded 1446
St. Mary St. Martin & St. Anthony	1460	1467	2	7-	
St. Mary & St. Anthony	1473	1473	1	1	-

NOTES

Beq1: date of first bequest.

BeqL: date of last bequest.

Total: total number of bequests.

Life: interval in years between first and last bequest.

We have seen that the St. Anthony Gild was already so popular, in 1418, that a majority of the members of the Gild of Holy Trinity in the Dominican Friary demanded an amalgamation with it.¹¹⁷ At some point before 1444, it absorbed the Paternoster Gild whose play, in which sins were reprov'd and virtues commended, had been described in its return in 1389.¹¹⁸ Members in livery were to ride with the players through the streets and manage the procession. The properties used in the play were kept safe in a wooden chest. The text has been lost but its content and manner of presentation may have been related to episodes from the Corpus Christi cycle.¹¹⁹ According to Angelo Raine, an account roll of the gild for 1399, since lost, showed that the gild was based in a room in a hospice in Aldwark, belonging to the Priory of Bridlington, had

¹¹⁷See p.208.

¹¹⁸PRO C47/46/454.

¹¹⁹A.F. Johnston, "The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: The Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play", *Speculum* 50 (1975), pp. 55-90.

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a membership of 96 brothers and 57 sisters and contained details of expenditure on feasting and funerals.¹²⁰ A bequest to the Paternoster and St. Anthony Gild in 1444 shows that the merger with the St. Anthony Gild was completed by then.¹²¹ It was not, however, formalised until 1446, when the gild was incorporated by charter.¹²²

At this point it was also officially merged with the Gild of St. Mary and St. Martin, whose dedication suggests that it was itself the result of a previous amalgamation. The charter of incorporation stated that the new united fraternity would be known as the St. Martin Gild, and gave permission for a hall and hospital to be constructed on the site of St. Martin's Chapel in Peaseholme. The new name evidently caused some confusion amongst testators, as shown in Figure 4.6, although the dedication to St. Anthony eventually persisted, suggesting that it was the senior partner. Bequests to gilds dedicated to various combinations of St. Anthony, Paternoster, St. Martin and St. Mary were probably all manifestations of the St. Anthony Gild in various stages of metamorphosis.

The Paternoster play continued to be performed under the management of the St. Anthony Gild. In 1495 it was minuted in the city's House Book that the gild could not "conuenyently bryng furth þe play Called þe pater noster play".¹²³ It was subjected to an unrecorded fine and instructed to prepare it for the following year. The gild was still associated with the play in 1558, despite the Council's protestations, in

¹²⁰Medieval York, pp.91-2. See also L.T. Smith, *York Mystery Plays* (Oxford, 1885) p.xxix.

¹²¹BIHR PR II 79v-80v, 1444, Thomas Carr, draper of St Sampson.

¹²²*Cal. Pat.* 1441-6, 442.

¹²³YCA B7, f.135r.

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1548, that the fraternity no longer existed.¹²⁴ In this year the Paternoster Play was performed instead of the Corpus Christi cycle.

None of the city's religious guilds participated directly in the Corpus Christi plays. Its pageants were put forth by the misteries or crafts. All of the three large guilds, however, were responsible for dramatic events in the city. The Guild of St. George organised an annual "riding", which was maintained after its merger with the St. Christopher Guild and revived during the Marian period.¹²⁵ The City Chamberlains' Account Books for 1554 show that the event included a play upon a pageant with a cast that included a dragon, a king and queen and St. George himself, with his followers.¹²⁶ The procession and play were accompanied musically by the city waits. Perhaps the actor portraying the saint was wearing the fine sallet that Sir William Tode bequeathed in 1503 for use in the "riding".¹²⁷ The cast of characters and the use of a pageant suggests a higher level of dramatic content than the riding and joust performed by the St. George Guild in Norwich.¹²⁸ In 1446, the St. Christopher Guild itself was bequeathed a six-page play of St. James the Apostle, although there are no records of its performance.¹²⁹

The Corpus Christi Guild's Creed Play was another major contribution to the City's dramatic life. Although, once again, the script is lost, it seems to have been played on pageants and to have consisted of

¹²⁴YCA B22, f.125v. See Chapter 7 p.386.

¹²⁵REED *York*, pp.289, 326-7.

¹²⁶YCA CC4(2) p.162

¹²⁷BIHR PR VI 59r-v 1503 Sir William Tode.

¹²⁸B.R. McRee, "Unity or Division? The Social Meaning of Guild Ceremony in Urban Communities", pp.195-7.

¹²⁹BIHR PR II 137v-138v, 1446, William Revetour, chaplain of St John Micklegate.

¹³⁰Johnston, "The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York" pp.61-2

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biblical episodes related to text of the creed.¹³⁰ The play was bequeathed to the gild in 1446 and was first recorded as being performed in 1449.¹³¹ Its success led the corporation to commission a performance to be played before Richard III, in 1483, and to direct, in 1495, that it should replace the Corpus Christi cycle once every ten years.¹³²

The dramatic activities of the gilds provide a further example of their orthodoxy and of their opposition to the attitudes of the Lollards, who condemned such plays as frivolous and idolatrous.¹³³ Apologists for the plays saw them as living books and pictures which, to the honour of God, informed and entertained the people, providing examples of piety and offering them the opportunity of empathising with the sufferings of Christ and His saints. It is also clear, from the way in which such public performances were ordered, controlled and policed by the city authorities, that the latter regarded them as civic as well as gild events.

The principal ceremonial function of the Corpus Christi Gild, however, was not the Creed Play. It was to form the focus of the Corpus Christi procession, which, at the suggestion of Friar William Melton in 1426, was held on a different day from the performance of the Corpus Christi cycle.¹³⁴ By the period 1465 to 1476, it was taking place on the day following the feast.¹³⁵ Whilst the evolution of the procession is a matter for the next chapter, its significance in terms of the relationship

¹³¹BIHR PR II 137v-138v, 1446, William Revetour, chaplain of St John Micklegate.

¹³²Johnston, "The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York" pp.61-2.

¹³³R. Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1972), pp.84-6.

¹³⁴D.J.F. Crouch, "Paying to see the Play", *Medieval English Theatre 13* (Lancaster, 1991), pp.97-8.

¹³⁵R. Beadle, "The York Cycle", *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, ed. R. Beadle (Cambridge, 1994), p.90.

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between the gilds and the city must be addressed here. It reflected a complex web of overlapping interests and power-bases. It was, in essence, a civic occasion. In 1492, for example, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, members of the ruling council of 24, and the representatives of every "Gild fraternite art & ocupacion" took part, accompanied by their appropriate banners and torches, under pain of forfeit, as they had always done, by ancient custom, since the first mayoralty of Thomas Wrangwish, in 1476.¹³⁶ It seems likely that the householders along the route of the procession hung their best beds and coverlets outside their houses and strewed rushes and flowers outside their doorways, as the council directed in 1544.¹³⁷ In this way they identified with and adorned the occasion.

The climax of the procession was provided by the Corpus Christi Gild.¹³⁸ Following its cross, and led by its ten torchbearers, who were supervised by the gild beadle, with his silver-gilt badge of office, its clerical members, clad in surplices, with the best singers in the middle, directed by two suitable chaplains in silk copes, marched together, singing litanies and appropriate songs.¹³⁹ Four of the year's six elected wardens, wearing silk stoles and bearing white rods, marshalled the whole procession. The two most senior wardens, similarly equipped, guarded the shrine. The master for that year, in a silk cope, was flanked by two former masters of his choice. The shrine itself, housing the host, was an object of dazzling magnificence. Given to the gild, in

¹³⁶REED *York*, p.164.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, p.283.

¹³⁸YCA G11A *Approbatio Statutorum* 1477. For the route, see Crouch, "Paying to see the Play", pp.65-6.

¹³⁹YCA C99:3 m.2. The beadle's badge was valued at 41s.4d., BL Lansdowne MS. 304 f.3v.

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1449, by Thomas Spoford, then Bishop of Hereford, it was of silver-gilt, covered with images of saints and angels, in precious metal, and embellished with jewels, and other valuables, bequeathed by generations of members.¹⁴⁰ Although a large proportion of such bequests had been made in the middle part of the fifteenth century, when the new shrine was being refurbished, its power as an emblem of sanctity was still being demonstrated by testamentary evidence from as late as 1534.¹⁴¹ Under its canopy, carried by four deacons, and borne on its bier, it proclaimed the special status of the gild, binding together all its members, clerical and lay, from York and from the country at large, in the common pious objective of venerating the eucharist, and, at the same time, defining the relationship of the gild and its governing clerics to the city and its government.¹⁴²

Indeed, every group in the procession whilst confirming its devotion to the eucharist, was also re-establishing, on an annual basis, its place in the hierarchy of the city by honouring its representatives chosen for that year. It is hardly surprising that, within such a spectacle of urban solidarity, frictions arose between sectional interests, exemplified by the conflict between the weavers' and cordwainers' crafts, in the 1490s, over their precedence in the procession.¹⁴³ There was, however, a powerful factor at work that limited opportunities for sectional strife. Each participating individual combined a variety of interests by belonging, typically, to several interlocking groups: a mystery, a craft-related gild, a parish fraternity and a place in the governmental

¹⁴⁰BL Lansdowne MS. 304 ff.2r-3v.

¹⁴¹BIHR PR XI 85r 1534 Janet Sparke bequeathed her coral beads to the Corpus Christi shrine. See Gazetteer for York, Corpus Christi Gild.

¹⁴²YCA C99:3 m.2

¹⁴³See pp.184-5.

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hierarchy, for example. It was also common for a person to be a member of several guilds at the same time, the honour of each of which he, or she, would be obliged to uphold. A range of loyalties, and personal perceptions of their priorities, on the part of such individuals, led to occasional confusions. In 1533, for example, the city council tried to solve one problem of priority by prohibiting the wearing of the "ray gowns", which were the livery of the St. Christopher and St. George Guild, by members of the city council in processions.¹⁴⁴ However, the overlapping partisanship, of what was probably the bulk of the more influential, franchised citizens, ensured a web of unity that militated against factional violence. Those with political ambition, who were most likely to plot for their own advancement, would find it difficult to manipulate an event that displayed such a complex system of loyalties. It is, surely, significant that the only major, recorded, public order problems were presented by craftsmen who might have had guild affiliations and who were unlikely to achieve high civic office.¹⁴⁵

The procession represented a coming together of a variety of interests in which all the city shared, to a greater or lesser degree. Politically it made statements about the relationship between the city and its lesser clergy, about the civic dignity symbolised by the role of the Lord Mayor, and about its place in the world at large. Within this picture, the Corpus Christi Guild itself demonstrated a union between clerics and laity, focused on the shrine, that housed the eucharist, and which was venerated by the city, and by the world beyond its walls, in a rich display of public piety.

¹⁴⁴White, "The St. Christopher and St. George Guild", p.17.

¹⁴⁵See p.192.

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The procession, after walking through the more affluent streets of the city, demonstrated its relationship with the Archbishop and the Dean and Chapter, by hearing a sermon, preached in the chapterhouse of the Minster, and finally deposited the host in the Hospital of St. Leonard in a public act of charity.¹⁴⁶ The progress was concluded by a feast, provided, in the sixteenth century, by the city. In 1520 it was of lavish proportions.¹⁴⁷ In the mid-fifteenth century, however, the arrangements had been different. In 1449, the mayoral party, spent 49s.9½d. on bread, wine and fruit, but was also invited to the Corpus Christi Gild's own feast, which cost £4.18s.½d, including bread, meat, poultry, spices and beer.¹⁴⁸ The later practices suggest that identification between the gild and the city authorities had become closer.

Corpus Christi was clearly a very special occasion. However, lesser processions by smaller gilds must have been commonplace throughout the year. Although we lack detailed descriptions of the ceremonial of parish fraternities or friary gilds in York, the accounts of the processions of the gilds of St. Helen in the Franciscan friary and of the Purification of the Virgin in St. Mary's parish church, both in Beverley, that appear in their returns of 1389, probably provide a good impression of similar events in York.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶YCA A/Y Memorandum Book E20 ff.278r-v.

¹⁴⁷REED York p.221.

¹⁴⁸REED York, p.221-2.

¹⁴⁹YCA F:C 2:5 m.2v, C99:3 m.2.

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The Civic Gilds of York: Funerals

Another important function of the city's gilds, that contained elements of public ceremonial, was the funeral. This aspect of the gilds' services was one that grew in popularity, especially during the sixteenth century. Figure 4.7 shows that funerary bequests accounted for 33.8% of legacies to gilds, in 1501-1510, and rose steadily to 57.1% in 1541-1550, demonstrating an increasing demand on gilds as funeral providers. The most popular fraternities in this respect were those boasting large memberships: those of St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony, St. Christopher and St. George, and, above all, Corpus Christi. A typical series of bequests was made by John Bollyng, priest of the parish of St. Saviour.

Also I will that the maister and the kepers of Corpus Christi gilde be at my saide dyrige and beriall messe the Maister have viijd & every keper vjd And the bedell to haue for his torches as the custome is and the beadell of Saynte Christofors gild for his torches as the custom is¹⁵⁰

In addition he left a shilling to every priest of Corpus Christi who attended his funeral. In later wills, testators increasingly asked for the masters and keepers of Corpus Christi to be paid "as costume is", or "accordyng to the custome of the Citie", stressing the normality of the gild's role in this respect.¹⁵¹

The growing demand for elaborate funerals affirmed the presence of the righteous dead as a continuing part of the community, whose duty it was to ease their passage through purgatory to heavenly bliss, whilst

¹⁵⁰BIHR PR IX 33v, 1516.

¹⁵¹BIHR PR IX 313v, 1525, John Sympson, cardmaker of St Denys; BIHR PR XI 57v-58r, 1534, Jane widow of William Nelson, merchant of Holy Trinity Micklegate.

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FIGURE 4.8 : ANALYSIS OF BEQUESTS TO YORK GILDS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Money</u>	<u>Funerary</u>	<u>Land</u>	<u>Jewels</u>	<u>Household</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>All</u>
1365-1400	16(88.9%)	2(11.1%)	1 (0.6%)	-	-	1 (0.6%)	18
1401-1410	24(80.0%)	3(10.0%)	1 (3.3%)	2 (6.7%)	2 (3.3%)	1 (3.3%)	30
1411-1420	16(69.6%)	4(17.4%)	-	1 (4.3%)	4(17.4%)	2 (8.7%)	23
1421-1430	54(100.0%)	5 (9.3%)	-	-	-	-	54
1431-1440	122(92.4%)	8 (6.1%)	-	5 (3.8%)	2 (1.5%)	3 (2.4%)	132
1441-1450	116(88.5%)	3 (2.3%)	-	8 (6.1%)	4 (3.1%)	3 (2.3%)	131
1451-1460	103(91.2%)	5 (4.4%)	1 (0.9%)	6 (5.3%)	-	3 (2.7%)	113
1461-1470	62(88.6%)	-	-	4 (5.7%)	4 (0.7%)	-	70
1471-1480	103(88.0%)	12(10.3%)	-	12(10.3%)	1 (0.9%)	-	117
1481-1490	100(95.2%)	15(14.3%)	-	4 (3.8%)	1 (1.0%)	-	105
1491-1500	37(84.1%)	10(22.7%)	1 (2.3%)	4 (9.1%)	1 (2.3%)	1 (2.3%)	44
1501-1510	70(87.5%)	27(33.8%)	-	8(10.0%)	-	2 (2.6%)	80
1511-1520	15(83.3%)	8(44.4%)	1 (5.6%)	1 (5.6%)	1 (5.6%)	-	18
1521-1530	19(79.2%)	6(25.0%)	3(12.5%)	2 (8.3%)	-	-	24
1531-1540	20(87.0%)	11(47.8%)	1 (4.3%)	1 (4.3%)	1 (4.3%)	-	23
1541-1550	6(85.7%)	4(57.1%)	1(14.3%)	-	-	-	7
Total	883(89.3%)	123(12.4%)	10 (1.0%)	58 (5.9%)	21 (2.1%)	6 (0.6%)	989

NOTES

- Date:** decade.
- Money:** total number of money bequests.
- Funerary:** money bequests conditional on funerary services.
- Land:** all real estate.
- Jewels:** valuables including silverware, rings, girdles, beads, vestments, embroidery, armour.
- Household:** chests, furniture, clothes, plain utensils and plain fabric.
- Other:** other goods including foodstuffs, livestock, wax and non-funerary candles and torches.
- All:** total number of bequests to individual gilds (not the number of testators). This includes references to gilds and bequests where the amount is not specific. It does not take into account more than one item given to the same gild by a testator. Thus the sums of categorised bequests will not necessarily tally with the totals.

All percentages are related to the total number of bequests to gilds and are placed in brackets.

commemorating their earthly achievements.¹⁵² The funeral was a public celebration, marking the passage of a soul from one stage of its journey to another and assisting its progress through intercessory prayer. It

¹⁵²Duffy, p.303.

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also set in motion the charitable provisions of the deceased's will, fulfilling, for the last time, the testator's obligations towards the Acts of Corporal Mercy, so prompting the valuable prayers of the poor and needy in a process that was often repeated at set intervals, through obits, anniversaries and chantries.¹⁵³ Clive Burgess's account of a typical urban parish funeral, based on documentation from Bristol, is equally typical of York.¹⁵⁴ The obsequies of members of the urban elite, such as Richard Wartre, twice Lord Mayor and witness of the incorporation of the Corpus Christi Gild, were undoubtedly impressive occasions, as the detailed instructions for torchbearers, weepers and charitable largess demonstrate.¹⁵⁵

For the wealthier members of fraternities, especially of the Corpus Christi Gild, however, parish funerals were evidently not impressive enough. There were probably two reasons for testators asking for the added pomp of a Corpus Christi funeral. One lay in the nature of the gild. The prayers of its officers, being clerics, were probably regarded as being especially effective and the sheer size of the membership guaranteed a large quantity of fraternal intercessors. The other reason was probably related to the pretensions of the deceased. This large fraternity conducted particularly spectacular funerals in response to specific bequests. Such a funeral made a powerful statement about the mortal prestige, wealth and influence of the deceased and his, or her, family.

¹⁵³C. Burgess, "The Benefactions of Mortality: The Lay Response in the Late Medieval Urban Parish", *Studies in Clergy and Ministry in Medieval England* (Borthwick Studies in History 1, York, 1991) pp.70-2.

¹⁵⁴*ibid.*

¹⁵⁵BIHR PR IV 115 1458 (probate 1465).

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The Membership of York Gilds: Parishes

The quality of those testators who made bequests to York gilds is central to assertions that the fraternities of the city increasingly represented the interests of various sections of its elite classes. A brief analysis of what can be discovered of their wealth, status and occupations is essential to support or refute such arguments. One method of measuring an individual's wealth might be the parish in which he, or she, lived. Parishes formed units of taxation, and assessments, such as that carried out by the city in 1420 and the Lay Subsidy of 1524, are useful indicators of their relative prosperity.¹⁵⁶ It is possible to identify, with some certainty, the parishes of almost 90 per cent of testators, living in York, who made bequests to gilds. Many wills describe the testator as being of a particular parish. Others, by directing that they be buried in a particular church, probably implied that they were parochial members of it. Testators' parishes can also be identified where they specified the destination of their compulsory mortuary bequest, even when they preferred to be interred in one of York's friaries, or simply asked to be buried where God willed it. Table 4.8 shows the number of bequests to gilds made by parishioners of York parishes and the tax rating of each parish in 1420 and 1525.

The correlation between high numbers of parishioners making bequests to gilds and parishes with high tax assessments is very clear. Only the suburban parishes of All Saints Fishergate, St. Helen Fishergate and St. Mary Layerthorpe, and, within the city walls, that of St. Cuthbert Peaseholme, did not yield a testator. The vast majority dwelt in wealthy parishes within the city walls. There were two exceptions. The parish

¹⁵⁶*YMB III B/Y*, pp.184-5, Peacock, "York Subsidy Roll", pp.172-91.

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TABLE 4.9 : PARISHES OF TESTATORS MAKING BEQUESTS TO
YORK GILDS

<u>Parish</u>	<u>Testators</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Date Range</u>	<u>Tax 1420</u>	<u>Tax 1524</u>
1. St Crux	55	9.4	1390-1540	280	277
2. St Michael le Belfrey	47	8.0	1386-1546	236	736
3. St John Micklegate	37	6.3	1398-1528	200	202
4. All Saints Pavement	32	5.5	1395-1528	160	260
5. St Michael Spurriergate	31	5.3	1391-1535	260	446
6. Holy Trinity Kings Court	26	4.3	1399-1535	280	301
7. St Denys	22	3.7	1390-1527	100	133
St Martin Coney Street	22	3.7	1425-1537	160	180
St Olave	22	3.7	1404-1490	-	76
10. St Helen Stonegate	19	3.2	1399-1546	120	81
11. Minster	15	2.5	1422-1542	-	-
St Sampson	15	2.5	1405-1527	160	151
St Saviour	15	2.5	1416-1527	100	67
14. All Saints Northstreet	14	2.4	1394-1543	170	78
St Martin Micklegate	14	2.4	1427-1534	160	35
St Mary Bishophill Senior	14	2.4	1431-1550	150	23
St Mary Castlegate	14	2.4	1397-1492	130	110
18. St Laurence Suburbs	12	2.0	1404-1509	60	24
19. St Peter the Little	11	1.9	1402-1535	90	56
20. Holy Trinity Goodramgate	9	1.5	1436-1482	160	46
St Nicholas Micklegate	9	1.5	1402-1529	80	129
22. St Andrew	8	1.4	1420-1474	60	12
23. St Wilfrid	7	1.2	1365-1489	70	209
24. Holy Trinity Micklegate	6	1.0	1503-1537	-	-
St John del Pyke	6	1.0	1429-1509	-	45
26. All Saints Peaseholme	5	0.9	1442-1507	60	-
St Margaret	5	0.9	1435-1437	60	51
28. St Edward Suburbs	4	0.7	1398-1464	60	-
29. St Gregory	3	0.5	1448-1506	-	10
St John Baptist Hungate	3	0.5	1439-1449	60	-
St Maurice Monkgate	3	0.5	1440-1523	60	62
32. Holy Trinity Fossgate	2	0.4	1426-1434	-	-
St Clement	2	0.4	1475-1479	-	-
St George Fishergate	2	0.4	1435-1503	60	-
St Helen (unspecified)	2	0.4	1438-1482	-	-
St Mary (unspecified)	2	0.4	1434-1439	-	-
St Mary Bishophill Junior	2	0.4	1453-1501	25	39
St Peter le Willows	2	0.4	1479-1535	60	18
39. Holy Trinity (unspecified)	1	0.2	1433	-	-
St Andrew Suburbs	1	0.2	1428	-	-
St Helen on the Walls	1	0.2	1460	60	16

NOTES

Percentage: of members in each parish of all York testators making bequests to gilds.

Date Range: of first and last bequest to any York gild from a testator of that parish.

Tax 1420: from *YMB III B/Y*, pp.184-5, City tax assessment *circa* 1420, values to nearest shilling. Holy Trinity Goodramgate includes St. John del Pyke, St. Martin Micklegate includes St. Gregory, St. Nicholas Micklegate includes Holy Trinity Priory, St. Mary Bishophill Senior includes Clementhorpe.

Tax 1524: from Peacock, "York Subsidy Roll", *YAJ* 4 (1877), pp.172-91, values to nearest shilling. St. Laurence in the Suburbs includes St. Edward.

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of St. Olave, although suburban, was associated with the Abbey of St. Mary, as well as containing the important market in Bootham. All but six of its 22 testators made a bequest to the local Gild of St. Mary at the Abbey. The only other suburban parish to yield a significant number of testators was St. Laurence Walmgate, more than half of whom made bequests to its parochial gild of St. Anne.¹⁵⁷

The Membership of York Gilds : Occupation and Status

More personal details of testators, making bequests to gilds, can be sought in a variety of sources. York wills often give the franchised occupations of testators, or those of their husbands, and frequently mention the status of former mayors and aldermen. Their names can also be checked against the Freeman's Register, to establish their occupations and against its lists of city officials as well as in a number of other printed and manuscript sources.¹⁵⁸ These have been used, in addition to testamentary material, in the compilation of the tables in this section. In Figure 4.10, analysing the occupations of gild testators, the

¹⁵⁷See p.201 and Gazetteer.

¹⁵⁸Ed. F. Collins, *Register of the Freeman of the City of York Vol I 1272-1558* (Surtees Society No. 96, 1897), R.B. Dobson, *Chamberlains' Account Rolls*, F. Drake, *Eboracum* (W. Bowyer, 1736, reprinted EP Publishing Ltd., 1978), Archives of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of York, calendared by D.M. Smith, BIHR, 1990, now in Merchant Adventurers' Hall, York. M. Sellers, *The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917* (Surtees Society No. 129, 1918). W.R. Childs, *The Customs Accounts of Hull 1453-1490* (The Yorkshire Archaeological Society No. 144, 1986), Lansdowne MS. 304. R.H. Skaife, *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York* (Surtees Society 57, 1872). YCA YC/G C100: 1-6, C101: 1-4, C102: 1-3, C103: 1-2. Ed. A. Raine, *York Civic Records*, Vol I 1474-1487, Vol II 1487-1504, Vol III, 1504-1536, Vol IV, 1536-1538 (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Nos. 98 [1939], 103 [1941], 106 [1942], 108 [1945]). M. Sellers, *York Memorandum Book A/Y*, Vol I 1376-14, Vol II 1388-1493, (Surtees Society Nos. 120 [1912], 125 [1915]). J.W. Percy, *York Memorandum Book B/Y Vol III 1371-1596* (Surtees Society No. 186, 1969). P.J.P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 40-71, *passim*.

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FIGURE 4.10 : OCCUPATIONS OF LAY TESTATORS MAKING BEQUESTS TO YORK GILDS

<u>Date</u>	<u>01</u>	<u>02</u>	<u>03</u>	<u>04</u>	<u>05</u>	<u>06</u>	<u>07</u>	<u>08</u>	<u>09</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>All</u>
1365-1400	1	2	1	3	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	17
1401-1410	-	2	2	1	6	4	1	1	-	1	-	-	22
1411-1420	2	1	2	-	4	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	14
1421-1430	5	4	4	1	4	2	1	-	-	-	1	2	34
1431-1440	11	3	5	5	23	2	2	3	1	2	1	2	81
1441-1450	6	7	2	5	15	2	2	2	1	-	1	4	70
1451-1460	3	2	2	2	13	4	-	-	-	-	-	6	53
1461-1470	4	2	2	1	5	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	37
1471-1480	6	2	4	1	2	6	1	2	-	2	-	7	66
1481-1490	6	2	5	4	15	1	-	-	-	1	-	5	59
1491-1500	2	-	1	2	6	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	23
1501-1510	9	3	1	2	12	2	2	-	-	-	1	3	56
1511-1520	3	1	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
1521-1530	3	1	4	1	4	2	1	-	-	-	1	3	20
1531-1540	3	-	-	1	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	15
1541-1550	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
<u>Totals</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>118</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>36587</u>	

NOTES

<u>Category</u>	<u>Occupations Included</u>	<u>Occupations Excluded</u>
01. Victuals	hucksters, millers, grocers	chapmen
02. Leather	cordwainers, sutors, etc.	cappers, glovers
03. Textiles	spinsters	
04. Clothing	shepsters, cappers, glovers, pointers	merciers, drapers
05. Mercantile	merciers, drapers, chapmen	grocers
06. Metal	grinders, armourers, potters	
07. Building	glaziers, painters, stainers	wrights, sawyers
08. Wood	wrights, sawyers	
09. Transport	mariners, carters, porters, boatmen	
10. Armaments	bowyers, stringers, fletchers	armourers
11. Chandlers	soap-makers	
12. Others	barbers, clerks, doctors, gardeners	yeomen, gentlemen

The classifications are those used by P.J.P. Goldberg in *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 45, 46, 48, 60-1 in his analysis of poll tax returns and franchise admissions.

categories used are those employed by Jeremy Goldberg in his analysis of the occupational structure of the city.¹⁵⁹ This permits comparison to be made between movements in the total population of various crafts in the city, as shown by Goldberg, and variations in the total members of

¹⁵⁹Goldberg, *Women, Work and Life-cycle*, p.61. The categories are tabulated on p.45, and are based on those used by C. Phythian-Adams, *Desolation of a City*, pp.311-15.

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particular occupational groups making bequests to guilds. In particular, the portion of his Table 2.6, which applies to York, is especially apposite, as it is largely based on the franchise material that is also used here.

The most striking feature of Figure 4.10 is the large number of testators from the mercantile group that made bequests to guilds. Admittedly, the figures are too small to bear close statistical analysis, but they seem to show that members of this occupation were particularly likely to make such bequests. They comprise over twenty per cent of all testators making bequests to guilds, a proportion that remained substantially steady throughout the period. This is in contrast to the trend found by Jeremy Goldberg, who shows that the overall mercantile population of York decreased, as a proportion of all occupational populations, between 1350 and 1509.¹⁶⁰ Over this period, the mercantile group was, therefore, increasingly more likely to make bequests to guilds than its share of the overall population suggests. This phenomenon is directly related to mercantile involvement in the large guilds of Corpus Christi, St. Christopher and St. Anthony, all of which had a relationship with the city government, and with the Mercers' Guild of Holy Trinity in Fossgate, many of whose members were prominent in its ruling clique.

None of the other occupational groups made a proportion of bequests to guilds in excess of their share of the franchised population. Significant numbers of such bequests were made by members of the victualling trades, perhaps because they gained some advantage as suppliers of gild feasts.¹⁶¹ Members of some other crafts made comparatively large numbers of bequests to the guilds they sustained. Textile workers, for

¹⁶⁰*Women, Work and Life Cycle*, p.61.

¹⁶¹See Chapter 5, p.284.

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FIGURE 4.11 : STATUS OF LAY TESTATORS MAKING BEQUESTS TO YORK GILDS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Civic</u>	<u>Gentry</u>	<u>All Women</u>	<u>All</u>
1385-1400	1	1	4	17
1401-1410	2	-	4	22
1411-1420	2	-	5	14
1421-1430	1	-	8	34
1431-1440	15	3	18	81
1441-1450	12	3	10	70
1451-1460	10	3	11	53
1461-1470	7	2	8	37
1471-1480	7	4	10	66
1481-1490	16	1	7	59
1491-1500	4	-	1	23
1501-1510	17	4	14	56
1511-1520	3	-	1	13
1521-1530	10	1	-	21
1531-1540	3	1	4	15
1541-1550	4	-	2	7
<u>Total</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>107</u>	<u>587</u>

NOTES

- Civic: former mayors, sheriffs, chamberlains, common clerks and their wives and widows. Names of testators checked against York Freemen's Register, Merchant Adventurers' Records, City Chamberlains' Account Rolls etc.
- Gentry: lords, knights, ladies, esquires, gentlemen and their wives and widows, including those with recognised gentle names and whose wills indicate gentle status.
- Women: all female testators. Some may be also listed as civic or gentry.
- All: all testators making bequests to guilds.

instance, made bequests to St. Mary of the Weavers, leather workers to St. Mary of the Carmelites, and tailors to St. John the Baptist, although, as we have seen, these guilds were not exclusive to those crafts.¹⁶² Membership of such guilds may have had a commercial motive, or even have been a pathway to political advantage for those ambitious craftsmen who were competing for public office.¹⁶³

¹⁶²See p.212-9 above. See also Gazetteer.

¹⁶³H. Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, pp.123-5.

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There was a predictable correspondence between the numbers of mercantile testators who made bequests to guilds and those who had held civic office. It is not entirely coincidental that 116 merchants or mercers made such bequests and that, as Figure 4.11 shows, 114 of such testators had held the civic offices of chamberlain, sheriff or mayor. Whilst the two lists are not identical, in many cases the same individuals have been counted in both. Thus the mercantile elite, which dominated the government of the city throughout its economic and political vicissitudes, by maintaining its grip on the principal civic offices, also made bequests to the guilds of the city in more than average numbers.¹⁶⁴ As we have seen, their bequests especially favoured the large civic guilds that were becoming increasingly enmeshed with the city government. Membership, especially of the Corpus Christi and St. Christopher Guilds was very common amongst Lord Mayors and the most powerful merchants of York.¹⁶⁵

The number of gentle and titled laypersons making bequests to York guilds was low. This follows the pattern that we have seen in the county at large. Some of those that did so owned houses in the city. Lord John Scrope, for example, in his will of 1441, left 3s.4d. to the Guilds of Corpus Christi and St. Christopher, asking for their lights to attend his lavish funeral in the Scrope Chapel of the Minster. He described himself as being of the parish of St. Martin, Micklegate.¹⁶⁶ Other gentry made bequests to guilds in several places. Robert Roos Esquire, of

¹⁶⁴Kermode, "Urban decline", p.193-4.

¹⁶⁵Bequests to both guilds were made, amongst many others, by William Ormeshead BIHR PR III 503r-504v 1435, John Giliot PR V 237r-238r 1484, John Marshall PR V 311r-v 1487, John Tong PR V 398r-399r 1488, William Nelson PR IX 305r-v 1525, all former Lord Mayors and members of the mercantile group of occupations.

¹⁶⁶BIHR PR II 321v-234r.

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Ingmanthorpe, in his will, dated 1529 at York, asked to be buried in South Dighton, but made bequests to the Corpus Christi and St. Christopher Gilds of York, as well as to the Rood Gild of Ripon and the St. Mary Gild of Boston, Lincolnshire.¹⁶⁷ The numbers of the gentry who made bequests to gilds were swelled by the presence of knighted civic dignitaries such as Sir William Tode, who, as we have seen, left a helmet to the St. George Gild in 1503, and Sir John Gilliot, who made bequests to the Gilds of Corpus Christi, St. Christopher, St. Anthony, St. John the Baptist and Holy Trinity Fossgate.¹⁶⁸

Comparison between Figures 4.11 and 3.1 suggests that women were twice as likely to make gild bequests in York than in the rest of the county. This seems to be partly related to the high proportion of testators of mercantile occupation and civic rank that has been previously discussed. Many of the female testators were widows of aldermen or merchants. As such, they would be likely to have sufficient wealth to make wills and might wish to leave something to the gilds that they typically joined with their husbands. A case in point was Marion Kent, widow of John, merchant and former Lord Mayor, who, in 1488, left two shillings to the Corpus Christi Gild, which they had both entered in 1549.¹⁶⁹ She also made bequests to the gilds of St. Christopher and St. George, St. Anthony, St. John the Baptist and Holy Trinity Fossgate. After her husband's death in 1468 she became a merchant in her own right and, in 1475, was listed as one of the councillors of the mystery.¹⁷⁰ Other wealthy mercantile widows of city

¹⁶⁷BIHR PR XI 12r-v.

¹⁶⁸Sir William Tode BIHR PR VI 59r-v, Sir John Gilliot PR VIII 32v-34r 1509.

¹⁶⁹BIHR PR III 320r-321r, Lansdowne MS. 304 f.45v, Skaife, *Corpus Christi* p.49.

¹⁷⁰Sellers, *Merchant Adventurers*, p.64.

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officials included Margaret Kirkham and Joan Ince, who both made bequests to the Corpus Christi Gild, as had their spouses.¹⁷¹ Occasionally, wives who pre-deceased their husbands made bequests to gilds. Agnes Marsshall, in 1461, left her coral beads, with gaudes and a crucifix in silver-gilt, to be hung on the Corpus Christi Gild shrine.¹⁷² Her husband, John, a merchant of the staple, subsequently became Lord Mayor twice and left 20s. each to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher and St. George, and St. Anthony Gilds.¹⁷³ Although the widows and wives of affluent artisans and victuallers also made bequests to gilds, their wills generally suggest that they were also women of wealth and status.¹⁷⁴ Most female testators followed the general trend, of all persons of mercantile occupation or civic status, by belonging to the larger gilds. There is, however, a hint that some women's gild membership was of a different kind.

Although the numbers of bequests involved are very low, there is an indication that female testators supported parish gilds in proportionally greater numbers than their overall total might suggest. Of the 22 bequests made to parish gilds by all testators, ten were made by women. These included four of the ten bequests to the St. Anne Gild in St. Laurence in the Suburbs, and two of the four made bequests to the

¹⁷¹Margaret Kirkham, BIHR PR II 61r-v 1443, widow of Thomas, merchant, Lord Mayor 1435, died 1435, BIHR PR III 486v-487v, bequest to Corpus Christi Gild. Joan Ince, BIHR PR V362v-363r 1489, widow of John, Chamberlain 1448, Sheriff 1456, died 1483, BIHR PR V 308r-v, bequests to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher and St. Anthony Gilds.

¹⁷²YML L2(4) 298v-299r.

¹⁷³BIHR PR V 311r-v 1487. Lord Mayor 1467 and 1480, Dobson, *Chamberlains' Accounts*, pp.211-2.

¹⁷⁴For example Margaret North, widow of William tiler, chamberlain in 1497, BIHR PR VI 202v-203r 1505, and Maud Hancoke widow of alderman Robert grocer, BIHR PR VII 52r-53v 1508.

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St. Mary Gild in St. Michael le Belfrey. This points towards the proposition that women might have enjoyed a special status in some parish gilds, especially those with female patrons.¹⁷⁵ By contrast, there is no indication of such a status being conferred on women in the large civic gilds, none of which had female dedicatees.

The Membership of York Gilds : Clerical Members

In an ecclesiastical centre such as York it was only to be expected that there would be a large number of clerical testators.¹⁷⁶ Figure 4.12 shows that, with 106 bequests to gilds, they almost rivalled the mercantile group. This was a higher proportion of the whole than the 12.5% of clerical testators derived from the county will sample.¹⁷⁷ The small number of higher clergy in the city who made bequests to York gilds had connections either with the Minster or with St. Mary's Abbey and all made bequests to the clerically run Corpus Christi Gild and to no other City fraternity.¹⁷⁸ They reflected the trend, already seen in the

¹⁷⁵See Chapter 3, pp.141-4.

¹⁷⁶B. Dobson, "The Foundation of Perpetual Chantries by the Citizens of Medieval York", *The Province of York : Studies in Church History* 4 (Leiden, 1967), pp.37-8, has calculated that there were approximately 260 parish chaplains, excluding personal chaplains, in York in 1436.

¹⁷⁷See figure 4.3.

¹⁷⁸YML L2(4) 238-239, 1434, Canon William Pelleson. BIHR PR III 473v-474v, 1434, Canon John Carleton, prebend of Riccall. PR II 249r-v, 1452, John Affordeby, Master of the Hospital of Stillingfleet, former master of St Mary's Hospital in Bootham. BIHR PR II 305r, 1454 John Huet, Procurator General. PR V 252v-253v, 1480, William Lambert, Master of Staindrop College, who also left 13s 4d to Holy Trinity Gild, Staindrop, he was buried at St. Mary's Abbey, York. YML L2(4) 363v, 1485, William Lasynby, Vestry Clerk of the Minster. L2(5)a I 73r, 1508, John Rumpton, Sacristan of the Minster.

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FIGURE 4.12 : CLERICAL TESTATORS TO YORK GILDS

<u>Date</u>	<u>All Clerics</u>	<u>Higher</u>	<u>Rectors</u>	<u>Vicars</u>	<u>Chaplains</u>	<u>All</u>
1365-1400	1	-	-	-	1	17
1401-1410	1	-	-	-	1	22
1411-1420	-	-	-	-	-	14
1421-1430	4	-	-	1	3	34
1431-1440	9	2	-	-	7	81
1441-1450	12	-	2	1	9	70
1451-1460	11	2	-	1	8	53
1461-1470	11	-	2	2	7	37
1471-1480	17	1	1	2	13	66
1481-1490	14	1	2	2	9	59
1491-1500	8	-	1	1	6	23
1501-1510	11	1	-	2	8	56
1511-1520	3	-	-	-	3	13
1521-1530	-	-	-	-	-	21
1531-1540	1	-	-	-	1	15
1541-1550	3	-	-	1	2	7
<u>Total</u>	<u>106</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>587</u>

NOTES

- Date: date of will sample.
Clerics: all clerical testators making bequests to York gilds.
Higher all clerical testators above the rank of rector and holders of offices within the Minster.
Rectors: all rectors who made bequests.
Vicars: all vicars who made bequests.
Chaplains: unbeneficed clergy including gild priests.
All: all testators making bequests to gilds.

county, of members of this group making donations to gilds in their lifetimes rather than bequests.¹⁷⁹

Beneficed clergy formed a smaller proportion of the total in York than elsewhere. Indeed, it was even smaller than Figure 5.3 implies, as six Vicars Choral are listed with the parochial vicars.¹⁸⁰ Discounting these, as it is not clear whether they also acted as parish clergy, bequests

¹⁷⁹See Chapter 3, p.145-6.

¹⁸⁰YML L2(4) 263v-264r 1449, Thomas Northus, L2(4) I 20v, 1469, William Esyngwold, L2(4) 325r-v 1471 Robert Gillesland, L2(4) 350v, 1481, John Anstan, L2(4) 377v-378r 1492, John Tanfield, L2(5)B 206r-207r 1542, Thomas Robynson.

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from beneficed parochial clergy appeared only between 1441 and 1510. The first date coincided with a surge in the membership of the Corpus Christi Gild.¹⁸¹ All the York vicars and rectors, making bequests to gilds, included one to Corpus Christi, emphasising its unique position in the city, as a fraternity run by clerics.¹⁸² The lack of bequests from this group after 1510 may be related to economic factors. The value of benefices did not increase in a time of inflation and tithes in urban centres were difficult to collect.¹⁸³ Furthermore, by the 1530s, it was becoming increasingly obvious that the position of the gilds was becoming insecure.¹⁸⁴ The clerics of York, bearing in mind its political and ecclesiastical importance, might be expected to be particularly aware of the implications of changes in doctrine and practice following Henry VIII's break with Rome. Even if they could have afforded to make bequests to gilds, to do so might not have been politically wise. The bequests made to gilds by chaplains, who formed the vast majority of the clerical group, followed similar patterns, and probably for similar reasons. The stipends of chantry priests also remained static in a time of inflation, and there is no reason to believe that chaplains were less politically aware than rectors or vicars.

County Testators Making Bequests to York Gilds

Membership of York gilds was not confined to its inhabitants. Forty-six testators who made bequests to them came from outside the city and its suburbs. Their distribution, and that of their bequests to gilds in

¹⁸¹See Figure 5.1.

¹⁸²See Chapter 5, pp.254-6.

¹⁸³Palliser, *Tudor York*, p.229.

¹⁸⁴See Chapter 7, pp.367-73.

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FIGURE 4.13 : TESTATORS AND BEQUESTS TO YORK GILDS FROM
OUTSIDE THE CITY

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Zone 1</u>	<u>Zone 2</u>	<u>Zone 3</u>	<u>Zone 4</u>
<u>Numbers of testators:</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Numbers of bequests to guilds:</u>					
St. Christopher	27	1	4	21	2
Corpus Christi	25	3	8	13	1
St. Mary Abbey	5	2	2	1	-
St. Anthony	4	-	1	3	-
SS. Christopher and George	3	-	1	2	-
Paternoster	1	-	1	-	-
St. Anne in St. Laurence	1	1	-	-	-
SS. Mary and Martin	1	-	-	1	-
St. John the Baptist	1	-	-	1	-
<u>Total bequests to guilds:</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>3</u>

NOTES

- Zone 1 Within approximately three miles of the city centre.
 Zone 2 Beyond three miles but within approximately ten miles of the city centre.
 Zone 3 Beyond ten miles from York but within the ancient county boundary.
 Zone 4 Outside the county.

York, is shown in Figure 4.13. As they were largely identified from the one-third sample of county wills, they represent a minority of the probable total. Those who lived nearest to the city supported local guilds, testators from Clifton and Heslington making bequests to the Guilds of St. Mary at the Abbey and St. Anne in St. Laurence.¹⁸⁵ The two testators who made bequests from outside the county were special cases. William Lambert was buried in York and Robert Ormyshede came from a well-known family of city merchants.¹⁸⁶ A slightly larger group

¹⁸⁵BIHR PR II 197v 1449 Richard Thurkilby mason of Clifton, to St. Mary Abbey, YML L2(4) 353v-354r 1482 Thomas Kirkby of Clifton, to St. Mary Abbey; BIHR PR IV 175r 1471 Thomas Dalton of Fulford, Corpus Christi; YML L2(4) 301r-v 1462 John Haliday of Heslington, to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher; PR V 445v 1493 William Arthure of Heslington bequest to Corpus Christi, St Anne in St Laurence.

¹⁸⁶BIHR PR V 415v-417v 1490 William Lambert Master of Staindrop College in County Durham and vicar of Gayneford, to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher; YML L2(4) 61r-v, 1443 Robert Ormyshede advocate of Carlisle, to St. Christopher.

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dwelt within ten miles of York.¹⁸⁷ Their bequests, like those of the much larger group who lived more than a day's return journey from York, were generally made to the three largest guilds of the city and to those guilds that became associated with them.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷BIHR PR II 469v 1462 William Lassels chaplain of Bolton Percy, to Corpus Christi; PR V 415v-417v 1490 Mgr. Thomas Pereson Subdeacon of Minster and rector of Bolton Percy to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher; PR IV 211r-v 1474 Hugh Goodrich parson of Escrick, Corpus Christi, St. Christopher, St. Mary Abbey; PR IV 128r, 1474, William Wanton of Fangfoss, to St. Christopher; YML L2(5)A 198v-199r 1541 Brian Godson chantry priest of Newton upon Ouse, Corpus Christi; BIHR PR III 1438 Thomas Harrald vicar of Overton, to St. Mary Abbey; PR IX 359r 1526 John Smyth of Overton, to Corpus Christi; PR VI 162v 1506 John Richardson of Sheriff Hutton, bequest to St. Anthony; PR II 249r-v 1452 John Affordeby of Stillingfleet former Master of St. Mary's Hospital York, to Corpus Christi; PR VI 113v-114r 1504 William Cliveland vicar of Tadcaster, Corpus Christi, SS. Christopher and George.

¹⁸⁸YML L2(4) 330v 1473 John Marston chantry chaplain of Aldborough NR, bequest to Corpus Christi; BIHR PR IV 171 1471 William Hawk rector of Barwick in Elmet, to Corpus Christi; PR II 252r-v 1452 John Lokwood of Broughton Parva NR, to St. Christopher; PR II 336v 1456 Thomas Aleby of Broughton WR, to St. Christopher; PR II 298v-299r 1494 Thomas Kirkeham rector of Burnsall in Craven, to St. Christopher, St. Mary and St. Martin; PR III 292v 1463 Thomas Sprott rector of Denton, to Corpus Christi; PR II 195r 1449 Joan Schipwyth of Fryston, to St. Christopher; PR II 465v 1462 Helen Aleby of Guisborough, to St. Christopher; PR IX 65r 1517 Sir Robert Brown priest of Heptonstall, to SS. Christopher and George; PR XI 12r-v 1529 Robert Roos of Kirk Deighton, to Corpus Christi, SS. Christopher and George; PR II 18v-19r 1441 Robert Stanlay vicar of Kirkby Overblow, to Corpus Christi; PR V 372r-v 1490 John Smerte senior rector of Leconfield, to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher, St. John Baptist; PR II 466v 1462 Marion Stokeslay of New Malton, to St. Christopher, PR V 456r 1494 John Pape of New Malton, to St. Christopher; PR V 446r-v 1494 James Clapeham Master of Holy Trinity College Pontefract, to St. Christopher; PR IV 10v 1474 Thomas Ledys of Ripon, to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher, PR III 548r 1438 Adam Middleton tailor of Ripon, to St. Christopher; YML L2(4) 362r-363r 1485 Robert Fairbarne husbandman of Rockcliffe, to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher, St. Anthony, St. Mary Abbey; PR V 30r 1482 John Preston vicar of Rothwell, to St. Christopher; PR V 495r-v 1496 Thomas Sage, to St. Christopher, Corpus Christi; Scawton NR, PR II 24v-25r, 1441, Dom. Thomas Garton rector of Scarborough, to Corpus Christi; PR IV, 1472, Richard Lassells of Sowerby, to St. Christopher; PR II 484r 1461 Richard Wetwang rector of Stokesley, to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher, St. Anthony; PR II 483r-v 1463 Thomas Covell vicar of Topcliffe, to Corpus Christi, St. Christopher, St. Anthony; PR IX 38r-39r 1516 Richard Peke of Wakefield, to St. Christopher; PR III 553r-v William Pillyng of Yarm, to St. Christopher; PR II 65v, 1440, Thomas Blawfrontt of Yarm, to St. Christopher.

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Between them, the three large civic gilds, and the fraternities that they absorbed, attracted about 90 per cent of all bequests made to York gilds, from this sample of testators living outside the city. That the Gild of St. Christopher, with its connections with the city government, received slightly more bequests from county testators than the Corpus Christi gild, which received a larger proportion of city bequests, might reflect an interest in political or commercial contacts in the city on the part of some of these individuals. It also further emphasises the funerary role of the Corpus Christi Gild, which could not be discharged in the remoter parts of the county, for obvious practical reasons.

Conclusion

During the fifteenth century generally, the gilds of York were agents of public and official piety. The larger gilds, especially, were supported by the corporation, licensed by the king and promoted by the church hierarchy through indulgences.¹⁸⁹ However, they became, to some extent, victims of their own success. The initiatives of the crown towards the promotion of orthodox piety led the city to make use of basically pious institutions for political ends. The expansion of the St. Christopher and St. Anthony Gilds, by their absorption of smaller fraternities, had the effect of reducing the number of gilds in the city, concentrating their influence in fewer hands. Whilst the outward display of these great gilds grew ever more magnificent, there is an impression that their ethos was becoming gradually more secular. Other important gilds increasingly came under the control of occupations within the city. It seems certain that the foundation of a craft-related

¹⁸⁹Skaife, *Corpus Christi*, pp.253-5, J.A. Twemlow, *Papal Letters, 1404-15*, p.458.

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gild, or the take-over of an existing gild by a craft, represented a successful bid for power and influence within the city by the craftsmen concerned. In the cases where existing gilds were taken over, it seems probable that there would be a change in its ethos, perhaps at the expense of its devotional functions. Promotion of the craft might be afforded a higher priority than veneration of the dedication.

Testamentary evidence suggests that the popularity of gilds in York was in sharp decline after the end of the first decade of the sixteenth century. The circumstances of will-making, when the testator's mind was concentrated on the hereafter, could, however, indicate that a decline in bequests was not necessarily related to a decline either in membership of gilds, or in the general level of orthodox lay piety. It lay perhaps, rather, in a general perception of decline in the quality of gilds as devotional organisations. Parish gilds, with their limited objectives, had never attracted many bequests, in York, and only two were made to them after 1510.¹⁹⁰ Gilds related to occupations continued to be supported, but at a lower level than before. The increasingly close identification of the St. Christopher Gild with the city authorities emphasised its political nature, and its reputation was tarnished by financial scandal and riot in 1533.¹⁹¹ It is impossible to judge how far a noticeable diminution in bequests to it, after that date, was due to the scandal, and how much to the influence of national political events.

There is no doubt, however, that the St. Christopher and St. Anthony Gilds, whilst not maintaining the number of bequests they had been receiving in the late fifteenth century, continued to flourish as political,

¹⁹⁰St. Mary in All Saints Pavement (1512) and St. Anne in St. Saviour (1527), see Gazetteer.

¹⁹¹White, *St. Christopher and St. George Guild*, p.14.

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charitable and ceremonial institutions right up to their dissolution. For many of York's inhabitants they continued to represent traditional piety, as shown their continued support for ceremonial, elaborate gild funerals and obits. For others they had, perhaps, become too worldly, too big and the creatures of the richest and most ambitious elements in the city government. The continued popularity of the Corpus Christi Gild, however, especially as a provider of funerals, was a significant exception to the general decline. Its success proclaimed the importance that York testators placed upon the veneration of the eucharist, the doctrine of purgatory and the efficacy of the prayers of the priesthood.

CHAPTER FIVE : CASE STUDY ONE

THE CORPUS CHRISTI GILD OF YORK

The membership book of the York Confraternity of Corpus Christi is prefaced by a homily on the theme *Hoc est corpus meum*.¹ Quoting extensively from scripture, it emphasises the need for universal harmony, under the rule of God, denounces the evils of rebellion, symbolised by the fall of man, and discusses the importance of Christ's sacrifice in redeeming the sins of the world that ensued from that act of disobedience. It explains the power of the eucharist, not merely as a commemoration of His sacrifice but through its mystic transformation into the actual body of Christ. A concluding passage on the importance of fraternity proposes that the members be guided by the seven rules of charity, before the seven constitutions of the gild are laid down.² The fifth of these regulations prohibits lay members from participating in the council or government of the gild.³ Both the theological principles of the confraternity and its practical rules indicate that in its ceremonial purpose, that of bearing the host in solemn procession on Corpus Christi Day, and in its fraternal functions, the clerical membership was intended to form the senior and ruling partner. Although not unique, this structure was unusual. Only two other clerically governed Corpus Christi fraternities have been identified in England: in Beverley and in the collegiate church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, Norwich.⁴ How far the

¹BL Lansdowne MS. 304 f.15r-17v, St. Matthew 26, v.26.

²Lansdowne MS. 304 ff.17r-v, 2 Corinthians vv.4-6.

³BL Lansdowne MS. 304 f.18v: *Qui tamen seculares quamvis ad preces et ad fraternitatem recipientur ad nostra consilia nec ad gubernationem fraternitatis non admittantur.*

⁴M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.242.

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clerics of York actually controlled the gild, or wielded real power through it, and to what extent they became agents of the city government, and of other political groupings, will be one of the themes of this chapter.

This question is closely linked to the gild's membership. It is possible to investigate this in more detail here than in any other fraternity in the county, because the entire membership list is extant.⁵ Shifts in the patterns of membership can be shown to be part of the evolving relationship between York's gilds and government, that was discussed in the previous chapter. The gild's prosperity, its responsibilities and the way in which it governed itself all changed during the course of its history, from its genesis, in 1408, to its dissolution at the hands of the royal commissioners in 1547. This chapter will discuss the gild's development thematically, omitting detailed consideration of those aspects of its ceremonial and funerary functions, which were dealt with in the previous chapter. Prior to this, however, there will be a brief account of the gild's evolution, and a discussion of its ordinances, to provide a context for later discussion, followed by an attempt to reconstruct the background to its foundation, which will form a logical starting point for argument.

The gild's history can be traced through its Register, supplemented by the papers bound with it in Lansdowne MS. 304. These are all available in an elderly, but substantially accurate, printed edition, compiled by R.L. Skaife, who also included further documents, relevant to the gild's history, from local archive sources.⁶ He did not, however, consider the gild's extant account rolls in his edition, which add considerably to our

⁵BL Lansdowne MS. 304 ff.19v-27v, 32r-154v.

⁶R.L. Skaife, *Corpus Christi*.

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understanding of the gild's affairs.⁷ Although the sequence of accounts is far from complete, it provides snapshots of the fraternity, its members and its concerns, at various points in its development.

The Evolution of the Gild

The gild was founded in 1408, as a confraternity of chaplains and lay persons, with the encouragement of the city government, probably to form the focus of the civic Corpus Christi day procession. It was ruled by six chaplains, who were elected annually as masters.⁸ The new gild seems to have owned no land and to have had few possessions of intrinsic value at this stage. In 1431, the year following the construction of a wooden shrine for carrying the host, the gild made a formal agreement with the city concerning the ordering of the procession and the storage of the shrine in the civic chapel of St. William.⁹ In 1449 the wooden shrine was replaced by one in silver-gilt.¹⁰ In 1458, the gild was incorporated by royal charter.¹¹ This reorganised its governing body, which was henceforth ruled by a single master, who might be a chaplain, or a vicar or rector, to whom six chaplains were to

⁷YC/G C99:1-8, C100:1-6, C101:1-4, C:102:1-3, C:103:1-2. These account rolls have been accidentally omitted from the index of the Archive's *Catalogue* (York, 1908). Some extracts from them, relating to drama and ceremonial, have been edited and translated in *REED York*.

⁸BL Lansdowne MS. 304 f.17. Skaife p.10. The gild year as regards the entry of members seems to be the same as its financial year shown in its accounts, originally intended to be drawn up on the feast of St. Clement (23rd November) but which variably ran from dates ranging between late November and early December. I follow the register in referring to the year in which each annual list was begun, thus 1408 ran from November 1408 to November 1409.

⁹YCA E20A f.116Av-117v, A15. Lansdowne MS. 304 f.42v.

¹⁰The gift of Thomas Spofford, then Bishop of Hereford, Lansdowne MS. 304 f.2r.

¹¹YCA G11.

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be responsible as keepers (*custodes*). In 1477 a new set of ordinances were drawn up and approved by Laurence Booth, the Archbishop of York.¹² In the following year the gild acquired, from Holy Trinity Priory, the Hospital of St. Thomas, outside Micklegate Bar, which it continued to administer until the Dissolution.¹³ In 1483, it played its Creed Play before its distinguished member, King Richard III. In 1495, the city decreed that the play should replace the Corpus Christi cycle once in every ten years.¹⁴ By this time the gild was an important landowner in the City and beyond, was the possessor of much treasure and had a wide and prestigious membership which included noble and gentle families from throughout the whole of the North.¹⁵ In many ways it had become a national institution.¹⁶ In its later history, it survived the problems of The Pilgrimage of Grace, which caused a sharp decline in its membership, and was showing signs of a revival in its popularity on the eve of its dissolution in 1547.¹⁷

The Ordinances of 1408 and 1477

The gild's purposes and organisation were laid out in its ordinances.¹⁸ It is difficult, however, to be precise about their dating. Clearly they were first composed and written down at the same time as the homily and

¹²*Approbatio Statutorum*, YCA G11A.

¹³YCA G13,14.

¹⁴See Chapter 4 above, p.226.

¹⁵A.J. Pollard, *North Eastern England During the Wars of the Roses*, (Oxford, 1990) p.189.

¹⁶Swanson, *Church and Society*, p.281.

¹⁷See Figure 5.9.

¹⁸Lansdowne MS. 304 ff.17v-19v.

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the early membership lists, probably soon after 1408. However, large sections of them have been erased and overwritten.¹⁹ These passages represent various updatings of both doctrine and practice, but it is not possible to know when these occurred or what they replaced, although it seems likely that they pre-date the gild's incorporation, as an alteration to the sixth ordinance refers to masters in the plural. However, in the seventh ordinance, *sex magistri* has been struck out and *magistri et sex custodibus* interlined, showing that the ordinances were still being amended after 1458, but without erasing the original.²⁰

The first two ordinances lay down the regulations for the ordering of the gild's contribution to the Corpus Christi procession and the election of officers. The third provides for the admission of members through the gild officers, without oath, on payment of a fee that was left to the individual's discretion. The fourth and fifth deal with the duties of the chaplains in conducting masses and funerals and with those of lay members in attending them, although it is stressed that the laity should have no voice in the gild's councils and must all be of good character. The sixth ordinance makes provision for the annual obit and the seventh includes a variety of rules for the carrying of lights, the reception of legacies and gifts and the collection of subscriptions by the masters.

The *Approbatio* of 1477 deals with a similar range of topics in rather more detail, taking in various changes in practice and structure laid down in the charter.²¹ Although the new master is to be elected, from a short list of three, by all members who are parochial clergy of the city,

¹⁹Most, but not all of the erased and overwritten passages are indicated in Skaife's edition, pp.6-8. There is a section that he missed at the top of Lansdowne MS. 304 f.19r which is the conclusion of the sixth ordinance.

²⁰Lansdowne MS. 304 f.19r. This is not shown in Skaife.

²¹YCA G11A. Transcribed in Skaife pp.259-70.

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each of the six keepers is to nominate his own successor. There are elaborate regulations for safeguarding the gild's shrine and treasure chest. The arrangements for the procession, the anniversary for the souls of deceased members on the Saturday after Corpus Christi, the mass to be held on the next day and the *missa mortuorum* to be sung on the Monday of the Octave are all described. In addition it is laid down that there were to be four general obits held within the four friary churches once every four years. Provision is also made for the funerals of all priests who are members.

Both sets of ordinances are concerned with the duties, responsibilities and privileges of the gild's clerical members. The role of lay members is almost wholly ignored. If only these two documents had survived, we might easily assume that the York Corpus Christi Gild was entirely dominated by the City's parochial clergy and that its functions were exclusively pious. Lay interest in its business is, however, demonstrable even from its foundation.

The Origins and Foundation of the Gild.

The gild's membership register states, both in the preamble to the ordinances and in that to the list of its members, that it was founded in 1408 by chaplains and other honest persons.²² How this came about, however, is less obvious, and a number of theories have been advanced. Westlake suggests that the gild was formed to regulate the annual Corpus Christi procession, implying that the foundation was a result of a civic initiative.²³ The Corpus Christi procession and play

²²Lansdowne MS. 304 ff.15r,20r.

²³Westlake, p.55.

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cycle had been celebrated annually in York since the previous century. In 1366 Thomas de Bukton, the rector of Rudby, had bequeathed:

*...ad sustentacionem solemnitatis corporis Christi in Civitate Ebor singulis Annis celebrate centum solidos.*²⁴

By 1387 three crafts are known to have owned pageant waggons, for use in the Corpus Christi plays, and, in 1394, the City Memorandum Book was already referring to them as being performed *in locis antiquitatus assignatis*.²⁵ There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the Corpus Christi Gild ever controlled the plays in any way. From 1426, when the procession and plays began to take place on separate days, the gild clearly had no involvement in the cycle, which the authorities governed through the agency of the searchers of the city's crafts.²⁶ By the mid-fifteenth century, the gild's keepers had the duty of marshalling the procession, but this may not have been the case in 1408, prior to the construction of the first shrine.²⁷

Other factors may point to a parochial origin for the gild. At the time of dissolution it was referred to by the King's Commissioners as:

The gulde of the fraternyte of Corpus Christi in the Trynte parisshe in Mikelgate in the Cyte of Yorke.²⁸

Following the suppression of the Benedictine Priory of Holy Trinity, in 1538, the nave of its church was used as a parish church. Before this

²⁴YML L2(4) f.43r.

²⁵REED *York*, pp.4-5, YMB A/Y E20 f.17v.

²⁶For a recent interpretation of how this control might have been exercised see H. Swanson, "The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns, *Past and Present* 121 (1988) pp.29-48. For the separation of procession and plays see Chapter 4 above, p.219.

²⁷In Lansdowne MS. 304 f.17v the portion of the *Prima Constitutio* relating to the marshalling of the procession is written in over an erasure. See pp.247-8 above.

²⁸CC1 p.54.

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the parish was also known as that of St. Nicholas Micklegate. The relationship between the priory and St. Nicholas's church is unclear.²⁹ The church seems to have adjoined the conventual church and the priory appointed vicars, at various times, both to St. Nicholas and Holy Trinity.³⁰ That the new gild, in 1408, had a connection with Holy Trinity as a parish seems unlikely, although John Wyot, vicar of St. Nicholas, was one of the clerical members listed in the founding year of 1408 and in 1414 Prior John Castell, of Holy Trinity was admitted.³¹

There is, however, information from another source that links the early years of the gild's activities with the priory. The earliest of the surviving gild account rolls, of 1415, shows evidence of a special relationship between the two institutions and may suggest that the annual feast (*cena*) was held within the priory precincts or, at least, nearby.³² The account includes 5d. for a pottle of wine bought for the clerics of Holy Trinity Priory and an item of 5d. for beef for a breakfast (*iantaculum*) for them. These gifts imply that the gild was under an obligation to the priory, although a separate meal for the monks might suggest that they were not members. Earlier in the account, the men, who were paid 3s.4d. to carry the gild's ten torches in the Corpus Christi procession, were given a further 4d. to bring them from the Holy Trinity Hospital to the monastery of Holy Trinity, implying that they were stored there. The comparatively small sum suggests that the

²⁹P.M. Tillot, VCH CY pp.374-5. RCHM York III p.12.,

³⁰L. Solloway, *The Alien Benedictines of York* (Leeds, 1910) p.254.

³¹*Ibid.*, p.249. Lansdowne MS. 304 f.20r,22r. BIHR PR III 541r-v 1438 John Wyot vicar of St. Nicholas Micklegate.

³²YCA C99:1. m.2.

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torches were not being carried ceremonially on their return journey. The 4d. paid out for carrying water for the feast, from the Ouse, might also suggest that the site of the feast was, at least, some distance from the river.

At a later point in the history of the gild it may well have outgrown any accommodation that the priory could offer. Certainly by the *Approbatio* of 1477, the gild was making use of Holy Trinity Fossgate, the headquarters of the mercers' gild of Holy Trinity, for its general meetings, and it is recorded as paying a hire charge of 3s.4d. to the mercers for this privilege as early as 1459.³³ However, a relationship with Holy Trinity Priory was sustained. The gild's take-over, in 1478, of the priory's hospital of St. Thomas seems to have been amicable, to the extent that the priory granted the gild the alms and oblations associated with the hospital eight years later.³⁴ The gild's new base may have strengthened the link between priory and gild, which were now close neighbours, explaining the commissioners' perceptions of a parochial connection between the two.

It seems likely that, when the gild was founded, it was based in Holy Trinity Priory. This was the point from which the Corpus Christi civic procession set out, and where, later, the script of the Corpus Christi pageants was housed. The standards and banners for the procession, listed in the 1415-16 account, might also have been kept in the Priory.³⁵ There is however, no evidence to imply that the gild's foundation was

³³YCA G11A. Skaife p.260n.r.

³⁴YCA G13 and G14 are the two matching copies of the agreement. The text is identical. G13 is sealed with the seals of the Lord Mayor and the Corpus Christi gild. G14 has the seal of St. Thomas' Hospital affixed. The agreement over alms and oblations is inscribed into Lansdowne MS. 304 f.11.

³⁵YCA C100:1.

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the result of any initiative by either the parishioners of St. Nicholas, or of Holy Trinity, or by the Priory itself.

Jonathan Hughes has suggested two further influences that might have been brought to bear on the formation of the gild.³⁶ He speculates that Archbishop Arundel, formerly of York but, by 1408, of Canterbury, "may have encouraged the foundation" and cites a number of his circle who figured in the gild register. In particular he believes that the residentiary canons of the Minster were influential in the composition of the gild ordinances. Furthermore he notes that Nicholas Love's *Mirroure of the Blessed Lyfe of Jesu* was begun in 1408 and he argues that the work might have been composed for the gild. However, this textually based argument does not necessarily imply more than encouragement and consultation. There is no evidence to suggest an active involvement by the Minster clergy, as a group, in the foundation or the later affairs of the gild. Minster clergy were never more than a tiny minority in the clerical membership, although their presence is recorded in most years' admissions.

More persuasively, Hughes also links the gild to the developing cult of "Saint" Richard Scrope, who was executed in York just three years prior to the gild's foundation. He notes that many of the early members were figures connected with the Archbishop's family and cause.³⁷ He shows that the cult was attractive both to the city and to a web of supporters amongst some of the major county families. It was not rendered politically respectable until the executed archbishop's memory had been

³⁶J. Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Boydell Press, 1988) p.234.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p.213-4.

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rehabilitated by Henry V and the cult legalised.³⁸ A link between the gild and the Scrope cult can be found in the "The Bolton Book of Hours", which contains two miniatures of St. Richard and a prayer to him.³⁹ It also contains, amongst other Corpus Christi related iconography, a Trinity miniature that is similar in style to Corpus Christi Trinities found in contemporary York glass.⁴⁰ The names of John and Alice Bolton, who became members of the gild in 1430, and of Thomas Scauceby, who joined in 1439, are written into its calendar.⁴¹ A more detailed consideration of this tempting theory is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it certainly cannot be ruled out. At all events the gild quickly attracted numbers of wealthy and powerful people, both clerical and lay, from the city and beyond.

It seems likely that, whatever the various influences that combined to sponsor the foundation of the gild, there was already a structure in place to build upon. Two bequests that pre-date the foundation suggest the existence in York of another gild that may well have formed the nucleus of this movement. In 1399, Edmund de Balderstone, chaplain of the St. Michael chantry in St. Helen's Stonegate, left 6s.8d. to the Fraternity of the Chantries in York and, in 1407, Bernard de Everton, chantry chaplain in St. Mary Castlegate, probably of the chantry of St. Thomas of Canterbury, bequeathed a similar sum to the Fraternity Gild of Chantry Chaplains, York.⁴² The presence of a Chantry Chaplains' Gild

³⁸J.W. McKenna, "Popular Canonisation as Political Propaganda: the Cult of Archbishop Scrope", *Speculum XLV* (1970) p.618.

³⁹YML MS Add.2, Scrope: f.100, 202v, Trinity: f.33r.

⁴⁰This iconography is discussed in Chapter 3 above, pp.153-5, Figure 3.3..

⁴¹Lansdowne MS. 304 f.42v (Bolton), 34v (Scauceby). YML Add.2 ff.27r-32v.

⁴²Balderstone: BIHR PR III 16r-v, Everton: BIHR PR III 262v-263r.

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in the city at the turn of the fifteenth century points to a focal point for the formation of a new gild, controlled by chaplains. This theory is given added weight by a will of 1416, in which William Welton, former chantry chaplain of the altar of St. Michael, in St. Helen's, Stonegate, left 13s.4d. to the Gild of the Chaplains of Corpus Christi suggesting that the chaplains' gild had been superseded by the new confraternity.⁴³

Further evidence that York's chantry and stipendary priests formed an organised body prior to the foundation of the Corpus Christi Gild is provided by a case heard before the mayor in 1388.⁴⁴ The dispute concerned the right of rectors and vicars to exact mortuary bequests from chantry and stipendary priests in the city. Both groups, referred to as communities, were represented by delegates at the meeting. Although neither was actually described as a gild, both were able to behave in a corporate way. The mayor, and a committee of twelve citizens, found in favour of the chantry priests, arguing that chantries and stipends were funded by the citizens and nobility of York, and their heirs. The priests that were so employed were therefore entitled to their special protection. This indication of a relationship between the chantry chaplains, as a body, and the city authorities, is a further indication that the Chantry Chaplain's Gild might have formed the nucleus of the new Corpus Christi Gild, at the instigation of the city authorities.

A model for a chaplains' gild involved in a civic procession of Corpus Christi was not far to seek. The ordinances of the Corpus Christi Gild of Beverley make it clear that it too was a clerical gild that was formed for

⁴³YML L2(4) 175v-176r 1416 William Welton chaplain of St. John del Pyke. The bequest is in the codicil.

⁴⁴Sellers, *YMB AY II*, pp.17-24, lxiii-lxvi.

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this purpose. They are to be found in its return of 1389, nineteen years before the York gild was formed.⁴⁵ These ordinances are less detailed and complex than those of York. Whilst no date of foundation was given, its claim to reverence the feast that had been newly established by Popes Urban IV and John XXII, might suggest that it originated in the early fourteenth century. It is unlikely to be coincidental that two of three known clerically-run Corpus Christi gilds were to be found in the same county, although other gilds of this dedication were governed by laymen.⁴⁶ It is clear, for example, that the Corpus Christi gild of Holy Trinity in Hull was not run by clerics.⁴⁷ Unfortunately it is not possible to discover how the Corpus Christi Gild of Pontefract was organised; whilst there is much testamentary evidence suggesting wide popularity and a substantial clerical involvement, no other documentation relating to it has survived.⁴⁸ It is likely that the founding members of the York gild were aware of the one in Beverley and based their new fraternity upon it.

Who the founding members were, however, is far from certain. In two of his footnotes, Skaife points out what he regards as several inconsistencies in the early part of the membership register.⁴⁹ He notes that there is no list of "founders" and that the obituary, bound with it, contains over a hundred names that are not recorded in the list.⁵⁰ He

⁴⁵PRO C47/46/455.

⁴⁶See pp.127-8, 251 above.

⁴⁷PRO C47/56/449.

⁴⁸See Gazetteer.

⁴⁹Skaife, p.v note, p.10 notes.

⁵⁰The gild obit is bound into Lansdowne MS. 304 interrupting the sequence of the register at ff.28-31. The following folio has been misplaced to f.42 before the register continues in its proper sequence at f.32. The obit is printed in Skaife pp.238-49.

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implies, perhaps, that many of the distinguished names in the early part of the obit might have helped to promote the gild's foundation. Certainly a number of very influential York names appear there. The families of Aldestanemor, Blakburn, Bolton, Gare, Morton, Ormeshede and Wyman, leading merchants of the city, all provided individuals who rose to the rank of Lord Mayor of York during the early fifteenth century.⁵¹ It is also clear that the obituary, containing 457 names, does not include more than a fraction of the members listed in the register over the same period.

Skaife's assertion that a list of founding members is missing is not unreasonable. The register of the Holy Trinity and Saints Fabian and Sebastian Gild of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, in London, is prefaced with three names of whom it is said that "þes weren þe bygyrneres þer of".⁵² Several of the Yorkshire gilds which made returns in 1389 listed their founding members in their certificates, including Holy Cross Gild, Rotherham, the gild in Bedale, St. John the Baptist Gild, St. Mary Gild, and Corpus Christi Gild in Hull, St. Helen Gild and St. Mary Gild in Beverley besides the Holy Trinity Gild in Grimsby in neighbouring Lincolnshire.⁵³ Although all of these lists are much briefer than the obit of Corpus Christi in York, Skaife's suspicion that the latter may contain the names of "missing" founder members, as well as some of those who entered at a later date, is probably correct.

The obituary seems to have been a *bede* book, perhaps largely for the remembrance of Skaife's "founders", who were missing from the

⁵¹R.B. Dobson, *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls 1396-1500*. (Surtees Society 192, Gateshead 1980), pp.208-9.

⁵²P. Basing (ed.), *Parish Fraternity Register* (London Record Society, 1982), p.5.

⁵³PRO C47/46/453, 444, 450, 451, 449, 446, 448, C47/40/116.

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membership book, and for particularly generous or distinguished members. It was probably intended for use at the annual solemn obit on the Saturday evening after Corpus Christi and the mass that followed it on Sunday morning.⁵⁴ Such lists were common in late medieval gilds as well as in the parishes of the period.⁵⁵ The book was discontinued in 1437, perhaps because it was, by then, duplicating the information recorded in the register and the account rolls, but it was preserved with the register, and bound with it, probably in order that the "founder members" would continue to be remembered in the prayers of the gild.

If the obituary included the names of the founder members as well as those of subsequent members who had died before the list closed in 1437, then it is possible to compile a putative founders' list by selecting all the names in the obit that do not appear in the membership register. Such a list does not, of course, include founder members who died after 1437. This must have been the case with four of the six chaplains who were elected as keepers of the gild for 1408, and were therefore already members. Roger Bubwith, William Wyntryngam, William Swerde and John Cayle do not appear in the obituary although William Eston and Adam Wyntryngam do.⁵⁶ Even so, Skaife's estimate of "upwards of one hundred" proves to be conservative; there are just over two hundred names of possible founder members that can be discerned in the obituary.⁵⁷ Taking into consideration the numbers of individuals

⁵⁴Lansdowne MS 403 f.18v.

⁵⁵Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.334.

⁵⁶Lansdowne MS. 304 f.20r, 30v (Eston in 1429), f.29r (Adam Wyntryngam 1421).

⁵⁷Skaife, p.v. It is not possible to be totally accurate as wives are not always named in the register, and singly listed women in the obit list may not necessarily always be wives to men in the register with the same surname. The probable total of "founders" is 209.

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who might have survived beyond 1437, the actual number of founders was probably considerably larger than this. The results of the exercise, imperfect though it is, are interesting. The "founders'" list shows 61 clerics, about a third of the total, of whom the vast majority seem to have been chaplains. Six vicars, two rectors and two monks are included in this total. One of the vicars was from Leeds and one of the rectors from Richmond. Additionally there was a nun of Clementhorpe and at least six women who were the mothers of clerics or who were otherwise closely related to them.

Of the lay persons, 25 can be identified as being of mercantile families and 22 as craftsmen and their relatives. There were half a dozen county gentry, the best known being Lady Elizabeth Basy, widow of Richard Basy Esquire, of York and Bilborough, who founded a chantry in St. Mary Bishophill Senior in 1403.⁵⁸ The most significant lay group, however, was that connected with the civic government. The current Lord Mayor, Henry Wyman and his wife, Agnes, appear in the list which also includes John Northiby, a current Chamberlain, and the wife of Peter Bucky, one of his colleagues. In all, the "founders'" list contains 37 individuals who had held, or were to hold, civic office or who were members of their families.⁵⁹ It seems certain that, from its foundation, the Corpus Christi Gild, despite its ordinances, was already closely identified with the city's ruling families. At this early stage, however, the nucleus consisted of city chaplains, who formed the largest single group within the confraternity.

⁵⁷Lansdowne MS. 304 f.28r (1413). CC1 p.69.

⁵⁸Lansdowne MS. 304 f.28r Henry Wyman (1411), Agnes Wyman (1413), 31v John Northiby (1432), 31r Margaret Bucky (1430).

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This point is strongly reinforced by the admissions to the gild recorded in its first year.⁵⁹ Excluding the six founding keepers, 80 out of the 110 names listed in the register were chaplains, although, strictly speaking, the group also included three rectors, three vicars and the master of Holy Trinity Hospital in Fossgate. It is the only admission list in which clerics outnumber lay people. This suggests that over 120 chaplains had been admitted between 1408 and 1409. This is almost half the number of parish chaplains calculated to have been present in the city in 1436.⁶⁰ The 30 lay persons in the 1408 list included four members of the mercantile Gare family, including Thomas Gare, junior, a future Lord Mayor, John Penreth, a former bailiff, and his wife, and Robert Lokton, a future sheriff, and his wife.⁶¹ Also figuring in the list were Robert Sallay esquire of Saxton and his wife, Margaret, county gentry who, like the Basys, were connected with a chantry in the city.⁶² It is not surprising that families maintaining chantries should be involved in a gild that had such a high membership of chantry priests.

The available evidence suggests that the Corpus Christi Gild arose out of an agreement between an existing Chantry Chaplains' Gild and the ruling group in the city, led by its Lord Mayor, Henry Wyman, to form a confraternity governed by chaplains, but open to lay people, after the model of the gild in Beverley. This was based on a relationship between the two bodies that had already been established by the lawsuit of 1388. One effect of the agreement was to formalise the chaplains'

⁵⁹Lansdowne MS. 304 f.20r-v.

⁶⁰According to Dobson, see Chapter 4 p.243 n.176.

⁶¹Dobson, *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls*, p.210. There is no bequest to the Corpus Christi Gild in his will, BIHR PR III 610v.

⁶²BL Lansdowne 304 f.20v. Skaife p.12. CC1 p.51.

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ceremonial responsibilities towards the long-established Corpus Christi procession. It was, like all gilds, basically an expression of piety, as the ordinances and their preamble make clear. Whether, as Hughes suggests, the Minster clergy had a hand in composing these is not known.⁶³ If they did, they do not seem to have played any further part in the gild's genesis. Gentry involvement in the foundation was, in at least two cases, related to those who maintained chantries. Although the new gild subsequently attracted supporters of the cult of St. Richard Scrope, including gentry and nobility, as Hughes has shown, out of all the individuals he names, only the Wymans figured amongst the actual "founders".⁶⁴ Whatever hidden agendas there may have been, the promotion of Corpus Christi, which lay at the heart of orthodoxy, rebutting the Wycliffite challenge, attracted over 17,000 members to the gild during its life-span of 150 years.⁶⁵

Gild Membership Patterns: The Register and Bequests

After the entries recorded in its first year, the register shows little immediate sign of the gild's subsequent popularity, as figures 5.1 and 5.2 demonstrate. This suggests either that most potential members had already been involved in its foundation, or that there was a desire on the part of the founders to keep the gild's membership exclusive. Thereafter the patterns varied in a not dissimilar way to those of the city at large.⁶⁶ This is obviously because some of the factors, affecting

⁶³Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries* p.234.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp.313-4.

⁶⁵M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.350. Skaife, p.xii. estimates over 16,850, but this may not include "founders".

⁶⁶See Figures 4.1 and 4.2.

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FIGURE 5.1 SAMPLE OF CORPUS CHRISTI GILD ADMISSIONS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>		<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>		<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>
1408	106	(excluding "founders")	1455	382		1505	148
1410	30		1460	56		1510	243
1415	22		1464/5	40	(80 over 2 years)	1515	146
1420	22		1470	412		1520	175
1425	40		1475	219	(excluding Mount Grace)	1525	213
1430	81		1480	125		1530	124
1435	41		1485	229		1535	84
1440	148		1490	205		1540	39
1445	120		1495	227		1545	120
1450/1	84	(167 over 2 years)	1500	163		1546	137

NOTES

Figures are based on a count of the annual membership sampled one year in five, but also including the first and last years of the record. Joint membership by a married couple is counted as two persons. All the monks of Mount Grace Priory were admitted in 1475, but their numbers were not specified.

the fluctuations in the membership of this fraternity, are the same as those which have already been discussed in the context of all York gilds.⁶⁷ It is, however, important to bear in mind that whereas the evidence used in Chapter Four was testamentary, in the case of the Corpus Christi Gild, it is based on actual recorded admissions to the gild. Because Corpus Christi was such a large gild, accounting for a high proportion of bequests made to all gilds in York, correspondence between the two sets of data help to demonstrate how far the use of testamentary evidence is a reliable indicator of a gild's popularity.

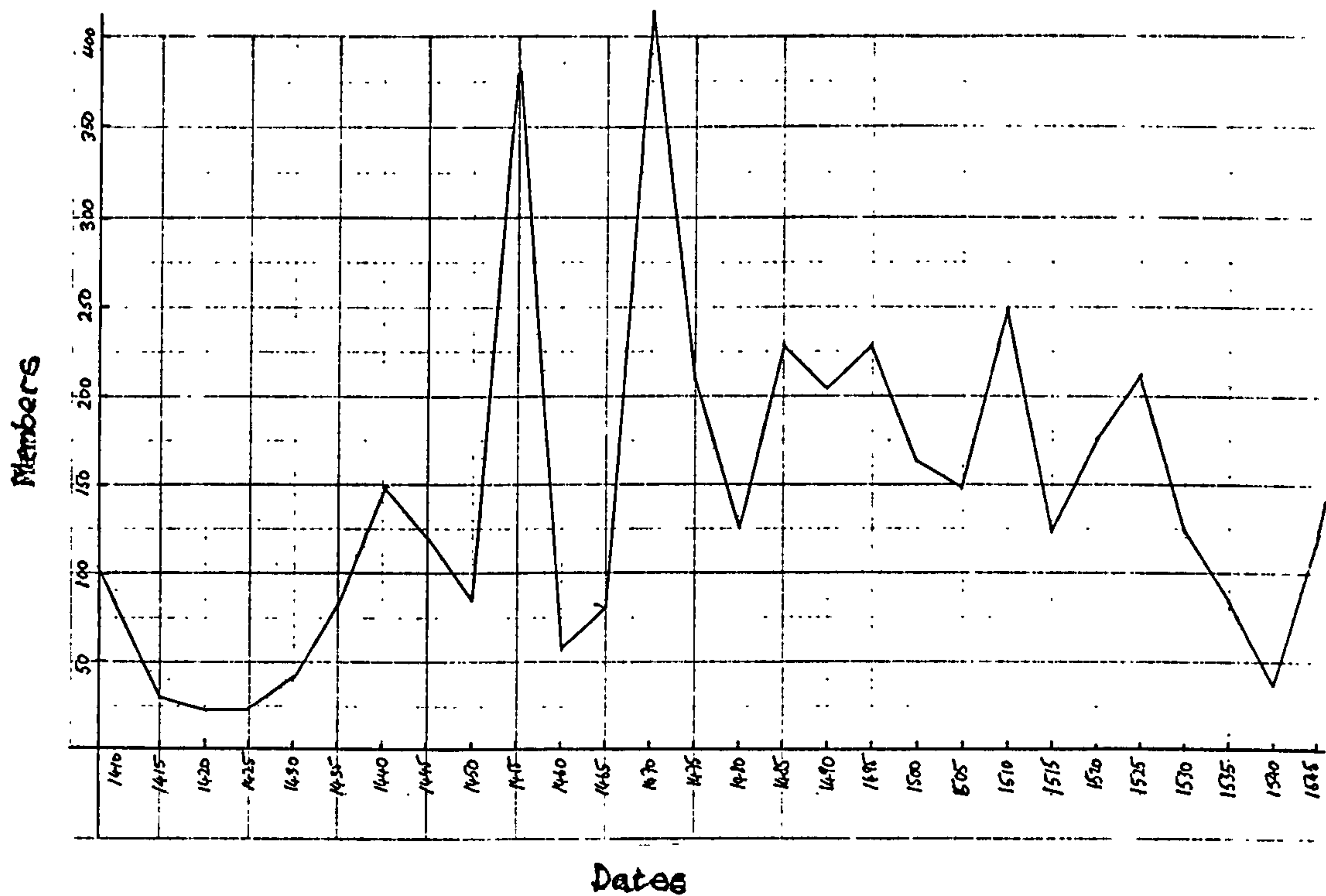
There is little doubt that, almost from its foundation, the Corpus Christi Gild was the York gild that was most highly regarded by testators. It appears that this popularity was related, at various times, to the refurbishment of the shrine and to the provision of funerals.⁶⁸ However,

⁶⁷See Chapter 4 p.188-95.

⁶⁸See Chapter 4 p.231-3.

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FIGURE 5.2 GILD ADMISSIONS SAMPLE : GRAPH



these enthusiasms were indicative of the gild's popularity as a whole. Figure 5.3 shows that, once the gild was established, it never received less than 35 per cent of all bequests made to gilds in the City, in each decade, and that for most of its life the proportion was much greater than this, never falling below 50 per cent from the 1520s. During the thirty years from 1470 to the end of the fifteenth century, when admissions were generally high, bequests remained at about 40 per cent

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or more of the York total. This shows a period of particular popularity in the gild's fortunes, when new members were joining it, in large numbers, at the same time as existing members were remembering it at the end of their lives. Although the numbers of bequests declined rapidly during the sixteenth century, the Corpus Christi Gild's share of the total continued to increase, indicating a continuing popularity in comparison with the rest.

FIGURE 5.3 : YORK BEQUESTS TO CORPUS CHRISTI GILD AS A PROPORTION OF ALL YORK GILD BEQUESTS

<u>Decade</u>	<u>All</u>	<u>Corpus Christi</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1401-1410	30	-	-
1411-1420	24	6	25.0
1421-1430	57	17	29.8
1431-1440	135	51	37.8
1441-1450	134	47	35.1
1451-1460	114	36	31.6
1461-1470	70	29	41.4
1471-1480	117	47	40.2
1481-1490	105	42	40.0
1491-1500	45	17	37.8
1501-1510	80	37	46.3
1511-1520	18	9	50.0
1521-1530	24	12	50.0
1531-1540	23	13	56.5
1541-1550	7	4	57.1
<u>Total</u>	<u>983</u>	<u>367</u>	<u>37.3</u>

NOTES

- All:** All recorded bequests to York gilds. This includes a few additional wills, not found by Eileen White, which were discovered from checking the Corpus Christi obituary and gild officers.
- Corpus Christi:** All recorded bequests to the Corpus Christi Gild by York residents.

There were, also, a number of specific events in the history of the gild itself which seem to have affected membership. Its growing popularity in the 1430s followed the official recognition by the City, implicit in the

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agreement relating to the new shrine.⁶⁹ The rise in membership in the 1450s might well have been stimulated by the Archiepiscopal indulgence granted to it in 1446, offering a hundred days' remission for contributing to its maintenance.⁷⁰ By this time too the gild was already performing the Creed Play, which is first mentioned in the account for 1449, and which must also have popularised it.⁷¹

Whilst these factors may help to explain the membership peak of the mid 1450s, they do not show why there was such a sharp decline thereafter. An examination of all the lists for the late 1450s and 1460s reveals that the returns for 1458 and 1459 are missing and that the recovery in membership did not really begin until 1467. It may be no coincidence that this gap, followed by much reduced admissions, took place at the same time as the most disruptive phase of the struggle between York and Lancaster. Although it has already been argued that this affected bequests to all York gilds, its effect on Corpus Christi membership may have been particularly deleterious.⁷² In such battles as Wakefield and Towton, some of the more powerful lay members of the gild were involved on either side.⁷³ Fraternal feelings may have been much distorted by this situation. The general political climate within the city, too, cannot have been unaffected. Even the incorporation of the fraternity in 1459 might have actually discouraged admissions. The gild already included a large number of members connected with power

⁶⁹YCA B/Y f.116Av-117v.

⁷⁰BIHR Reg. Kemp f.104v.

⁷¹YCA G C99:3.

⁷²See Chapter Four pp.191-2.

⁷³Pollard, *North-Eastern England During the Wars of the Roses*, pp.189-90, gives a brief survey of the members of noble houses and their affinities who were also York Corpus Christi Gild members. He notes that the Percy family was unusual in not belonging to the gild.

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bases all over the North of England, who were undoubtedly politically aware. It was, even at this juncture, showing signs of becoming, in A.J. Pollard's words, "something akin to a county club".⁷⁴ The gild charter was granted by Henry VI in December 1458. By March 1461, after two and a half years of violence and confusion, he had been deposed. Potential members might have needed some reassurance before joining an organisation that had been endorsed by a recently dethroned monarch.

Once the authority of the new king had been established, the rate of entries revived and the great and good of the realm were again admitted. In 1471 George Neville, Archbishop of York, was entered, followed, in 1473, by Thomas Booth, the mitred Abbot of St. Mary's.⁷⁵ The final seal of approval was the enrolment of Richard, Duke of Gloucester and future king, with his wife, in 1477.⁷⁶ This event, followed, in 1478, by the transfer of the St. Thomas Hospital from Holy Trinity Priory to the gild evidently attracted new members.⁷⁷

Entries between the late 1470s and 1530 remained relatively stable in numbers, although there were changes in the quality of membership over this period, which will be discussed later. The register's response to the events of the 1530s was dramatic. A steady decline in admissions from a minor peak, in 1525, reached a low point of 39, in

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p.189.

⁷⁵Lansdowne MS. 304 f.63r (Neville), 67r (Booth).

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, f.74v. Oddly, the scribes of the gild entered his wife as Elizabeth instead of Anne. They do not seem to have known her name, as it is left blank in the account roll (YC/G C99:5 mb 1). Furthermore Duke Richard is entered there as George Duke of Gloucester. Richard's brother, George, Duke of Clarence was imprisoned in the Tower in June 1477, to be murdered there in the following year. His wife was Isobel of Warwick. These factors indicate that the confusion is over Richard's first name rather than between Gloucester and Clarence.

⁷⁷YCA G13 and 14.

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1540. Indeed the situation in the years surrounding 1540, not shown in the sample, is very confused. There were no entries for 1538 or 1539. The year 1541 was entered twice, showing four entries on the first occasion followed by a blank folio 149v. A second entry for the same year, with different officials listed, records 33 admissions. This crisis in record-keeping might have reflected difficulties within the gild in the wake of the suppression of Holy Trinity Priory, amongst all the other indirect attacks on the gilds' functions and infrastructure.⁷⁸ The future of the gild could well have been felt to be in doubt. However, this nadir was followed by a modest revival, probably related to the fall of Cromwell and the more conservative policy of Henry VIII's later years. The final entry in the register does not indicate an awareness of the impending dissolution.

Gild Membership Patterns: The Account Rolls

The great importance of the register, as evidence of the gild's membership, lies in its completeness. A major disadvantage, however, is the absence, in many cases, of information beyond mere names. Detailed descriptions of individuals, that include their occupations or parishes, are only occasional. The sheer quantity of the listed names makes research into the backgrounds of a significant number of them a formidable task. Skaife's edition contains footnotes on particular individuals, usually county gentry or city dignitaries, but his information is not always entirely reliable and he admits that his index is highly selective. The York Freeman's Register offers information on members from the city, but, as we shall see, many of the later members came

⁷⁸See Chapter Seven pp.369-75.

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from elsewhere and only a few of the many clerical members from York were recorded as freemen. Fortunately, information on the towns and, the case of York, the parishes of members is, in some cases, available from the 23 surviving account rolls of the gild.⁷⁹ These vary greatly in quality. The first two are identical copies of the same account for 1415, which include a payment for a clerk to make a duplicate.⁸⁰ The next covers two years, from 1449-51. The following one, for 1459, is so badly water-damaged as to be almost completely illegible. That for 1476 is, by contrast, in excellent condition. That for the following year is atypical as it marks the acquisition by the gild of St. Thomas' Hospital and much of the material within it relates to this. Twelve account rolls remain within the period from 1495 to 1520. Most of this group is in good condition, apart from C102:1, for 1519, which is imperfect. Three consecutive accounts from 1532-34 survive, although only that for 1533 is in reasonably good state of preservation. The series ends with C103:2, for 1540, which is water-damaged.

Basically these are records of account through which the financial health of the gild can be charted and information gleaned about its property-holding, employees, feasts and ceremonial activities. The list of the gild's possessions, on the dorse of the earliest account, can be compared with similar lists set down in Lansdowne 304 and those noted by the commissioners in 1546. Whilst these records are an incomplete sequence and although some of them are in poor condition, it is fortunate that those that have survived represent a wide chronological

⁷⁹YC/G C99:1-8, C100:1-6, C101:1-4, C102:1-3, C103:1-2. Note that these documents have been accidentally omitted from the index of the *Archive's Catalogue* (York, 1908).

⁸⁰YCA C99:1 mem.2, 2 mem.2.

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spread from seven years after the gild's foundation to the decade of its suppression.

New members were listed in each year's accounts and their individual entry fees were recorded. These records were evidently the source for the membership register. Up to the 1530s, the names followed the same sequence as those in the *introits* of the rolls. After this point there seems to have been a new policy of promoting the names of dignitaries, especially high clerics, to the head of the list of each introduction, by a master or keeper, in the register. This may have led to some confusion, as there is an increase in the very few inconsistencies between the two lists from this period. Although the earlier account rolls yield little more information about the places of residence of new members, and their status, than the register, from the 1476 account onwards, most individuals have their parish recorded, if they lived in York, or their city, town, village or monastic house, if they came from elsewhere. This information permits analyses of the distribution of members to be made for the years where complete accounts are extant.

Gild Membership: York Clerics and the Governance of the Gild

Initially, the chaplains who founded the gild and governed it during its early years, continued to form a high proportion of its clerical membership. The large number that had been involved in the foundation, and in the initial year of the gild, meant that subsequent entries were on a more modest scale, but their numbers were probably sufficient at least to maintain their dominance. Until the gild's incorporation, the six keepers' posts were exclusively filled by them. Vicars and rectors did not achieve gild office until after that point. The

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sprinkling of beneficed clergy from York, and from neighbouring parishes during the early years, gradually increased however.⁸¹ Higher clergy and brothers and, to a lesser extent, sisters of religious orders were also increasingly admitted to membership. Among the nine clerical admissions in 1409, the gild's second year, were two rectors and two vicars.⁸² In 1441, a generation later, clerical admissions comprised five rectors, two vicars, three chaplains and the Archdeacon of Cleveland, with his entourage, consisting of a sixth rector, two deacons and two clerks.⁸³ Apart from considerations of piety, the popularity of the gild with vicars and rectors, both from the city and outside it, in these earlier years, does not appear to demonstrate a desire, on their part, to control the gild in any direct way. Their enthusiasm was more probably related to the contacts that it offered, with the possessors of advowsons and controllers of routes to promotion, within the church, in the shape of noble laymen and, particularly, of higher clergy.

In 1411, William Styrkeland, the Bishop of Carlisle, was the first dignitary of the church to join.⁸⁴ He was followed in 1412 by no less than five higher clergy.⁸⁵ Thomas Spoforth, then the Abbot of St. Mary's, was admitted along with his prior and sub-prior. Two canons of York Minster also joined in this year. In 1416, Stephen Scrope, Archdeacon of Richmond, joined with members of his family.⁸⁶ The new gild's ability to recruit leading figures from both the Minster and the Abbey, York's two greatest ecclesiastical institutions, goes some way

⁸¹See above p.266.

⁸²Lansdowne MS. 304 f.20v.

⁸³*Ibid.*, f.38r-39r.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, f.21r-v.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, f.21v.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, f.24r.

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towards explaining the increasing numbers of clerics of all kinds that formed a substantial part of its membership, at all points in its life. Following the admission of Minster canons in 1412, four vicars choral appeared in the *introit* of 1415 and a further group of six was admitted in 1422.⁸⁷ Monks and friars from the city and from further afield were also frequent entrants.

Entries were the responsibility of the keepers. That of 1435 was the earliest example of what became the standard method of recording such gild admissions.⁸⁸ Each keeper was given the responsibility of recruiting new members. On this occasion William Marshall probably had a particular responsibility for recruiting Minster clergy, as the entrants he introduced included Richard Morton, succentor, John Brigg, parson of the Minster, and John Ely, rector of the nearby St. John del Pyke, the advowson of which was held by the Minster Treasurer. The account of 1500 shows similar characteristics, when John Bekebane's entrants included the Chancellor of York Minster, one of the Vicars Choral, the sacristan, a deacon and three members of the Treasurer's staff.⁸⁹ One of the other keepers in this year was Robert Fern, who was the Corpus Christi Gild chaplain, at least between 1500 and 1502, when his salary is recorded in both account rolls. He introduced eight members from St. Nicholas Micklegate, which confirms a continuing link between the gild and Holy Trinity Priory at this period.

That recruitment was seen as a part of the gild officers' duties seems certain. The account rolls reveal that individual keepers often

⁸⁷YCA G C99:1 William Hunter, Richard Denton, Thomas Swanland and Thomas Northouse are identified as vicars choral in the account roll but not in the register at f.22v. Lansdowne MS. 304 f.24v.

⁸⁸Lansdowne MS. 304 f.33r.

⁸⁹YCA G C100:3

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introduced large groups of lay persons, from particular parishes or areas, suggesting that they used personal contacts to attract members.⁹⁰ Another feature of both the account rolls and membership register is that, once the custom had been fully established, the names of keepers who failed to recruit that year have "nihil" entered after their names in the *introit* of the account and in the book.⁹¹ Besides being good record keeping, it is hard to deny the sense that some degree of reproach is also intended by this. Recruitment of members from outside York might also have been a matter of contacts, including, perhaps, family connections. However, the process might not always have been direct. As the keepers provided the only route to membership, aspirant members might well have approached existing members, who, in turn, would seek out the appropriate officer. Until incorporation, this control over membership stayed in the hands of chaplains.

The charter of 1459, however, changed the structure of the gild's government by allowing the election of a priest as supreme master and the appointment of six chaplains as keepers.⁹² This had the effect of opening up gild office to beneficed clergy. In practice the post of keeper also became available to them. John Garnett, for example, became rector of St. Mary, Castlegate, in 1464, prior to his first term as keeper of the gild in 1473.⁹³ Figure 5.4, which lists all the masters of the gild, in chronological order, shows that approximately half of them were rectors or vicars. The reason for this change is not apparent from the documents, but it is possible to speculate that it was related to the

⁹⁰See pp.283, 287, 290-2. below.

⁹¹E.g. YC/G C103:2 and BL Lansdowne MS. 304 f.150r.

⁹²YCA AA24, G11A.

⁹³Skaife, p.130n, Lansdowne MS. 304 f.69v. He was master in 1482 and 1491, see Figure 5.4.

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growing prestige of the gild. Perhaps the three members of the civic elite, who were signatories to the charter, William Holbek, Richard Wartre and John Thrisk, felt that the fraternity was now too important to be left entirely in the hands of humble chaplains.⁹⁴ Alternatively the group of chaplains might have been perceived as an increasingly powerful clique and the rectors and vicars as a restraining influence upon it. Another possibility is that it might have been thought that those chaplains who later acquired benefices should not lose their eligibility for office thereby.

Examination of Figure 5.4, however, suggests another possible reason for the choice of particular masters. They were most frequently supplied from the parishes of All Saints Pavement and St. Saviour, whose clergy held office on eight occasions, followed by Holy Trinity King's Court whose clerics did so on seven. Some of the other wealthier parishes were, however, poorly represented.⁹⁵ The clergy of St. Crux and St. Helen Stonegate supplied only one master each, over the period of 85 years, and those of St. Denys, St. John Ousebridge, St. Michael Spurriergate, St. Martin Coneystreet and St. Michael le Belfrey none at all. Minster clergy appeared only twice, represented by Thomas Norman, chantry chaplain, and John Hert, Vicar Choral, but the latter was also vicar of St. Martin Micklegate and he was probably elected in the latter capacity. That the gild's highest office fell so often to clergy from the less wealthy, peripheral and suburban parishes, such as All Saints Peaseholme, St. George Fishergate, St. John Hungate, St.

⁹⁴Holbeck, admitted to the gild in 1429 was Lord Mayor in 1449 and 1472. Wartre, admitted in 1423, was Lord Mayor in 1436 and 1451. Thrisk was possibly a "founder" member and was Lord Mayor in 1442 and 1462.

⁹⁵See Figure 4.8 above, for taxable wealth of York parishes.

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FIGURE 5.4 YORK CORPUS CHRISTI GILD MASTERS 1461-1546

- 1460 William Outhwaite, chaplain (61).
- 1461 John Burton, rector: St. Martin Micklegate (62).
- 1462 William Laverok, rector: Holy Trinity (63).
- 1463 William Laverok, rector: Holy Trinity (64).
- 1464 William Caber, chaplain (64).
- 1465 William Caber, chaplain (64).
- 1466 Thomas Ouren, rector: All Saints North St. (66).
- 1467 John Burton, rector: St. Martin Micklegate (66).
- 1468 John Hert, vicar: St. Martin Micklegate and Vicar Choral (68).
- 1469 John Burton, rector: St. Martin Micklegate (70).
- 1470 John Wyntryngham, chantry chaplain: Wartre chantry in St. Saviour (74).
- 1471 John Fox, chaplain, master: Holy Trinity Gild Hosp.: Holy Trinity Fossgate (79).
- 1472 John Giliot, chaplain (82).
- 1473 John Wyntryngham, chantry chaplain: Wartre chantry in St. Saviour (84).
- 1474 John Bykker, vicar: Holy Trinity King's Court (84).
- 1475 Thomas Symson, rector: St. John Baptist Hungate (96).
- 1476 Roger Barton, rector: St. Saviour (99).
- 1477 William Grundale, rector: St. Mary Bishophill Senior (101).
- 1478 John Wynton, rector: St. Gregory (103).
- 1479 Thomas Hornby, chantry chaplain: Catton chantry in All Saints North St. (104).
- 1480 Roger Barton, rector: St. Saviour (107).
- 1481 William Barton, vicar: St. Laurence in the Suburbs (109).
- 1482 John Garnett, rector: St. Mary Castlegate (111).
- 1483 Henry Hudson, rector: All Saints North St. (113).
- 1484 William Eure, rector: All Saints Peaseholme (115).
- 1485 John Rudby, parochial chaplain: St. Olave (118).
- 1486 John Rudby, parochial chaplain: St. Olave (118).
- 1487 John Rudby, parochial chaplain: St. Olave (120).
- 1488 William Setton, chantry chaplain: St. Thomas Martyr in All Saints Pvt. (121).
- 1489 William Gillyng, chantry chaplain: SS. Katherine & John Baptist in All Saints Pavement. (124).
- 1490 John Rypley, vicar: St. Mary Bishophill (128).
- 1491 John Garnet, rector: St. Mary Castlegate (130).
- 1492 John Bollyng, chantry chaplain: St. Thomas Martyr in St. Saviour (132).
- 1493 Thomas Metcalf, vicar: Holy Trinity King's Court (135).
- 1494 William Brygham, gild chaplain: SS. Christopher and George Coney St. (137).
- 1495 Thomas Hannegegan, chantry chaplain St. John Baptist: St. Mary Castlegate. (138).
- 1496 John Rypley, vicar: St. Mary Bishophill (141).
- 1497 Christopher Wardman, chaplain (143).
- 1498 Thomas Topham, rector: St. Gregory (144).
- 1499 Thomas Topham, rector: St. Gregory (146).
- 1500 William Gudwyn, chantry chaplain: St. William chapel Ouse Bridge (149).
- 1501 John Jakson, chantry chaplain: St. John Baptist in Holy Trinity Hospital Fossgate (149).
- 1502 John Ranar, vicar: St. Helen Stonegate (154).
- 1503 William Clarkson, vicar: St. Laurence (157).
- 1504 William Seton (Setton), chantry chaplain: St. Thomas Martyr in All Saints Pavement (159).

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- 1505 Thomas Smyth, rector: Holy Trinity Goodramgate (161).
- 1506 Stephen Canon, chantry chaplain: St. Nicholas in St. Sampson (162).
- 1507 John Newton, chantry chaplain: St. Thomas Martyr in St. Saviour (164).
- 1508 William Snar, vicar: St. George (167).
- 1509 William Cokaa, chantry chaplain: St. Thomas Martyr in Holy Trinity Mkgd (168).
- 1510 John Kettlywell, rector: St. Wilfrid Blake St. (170).
- 1511 Henry Rayncok, rector: St. Peter the Little (173).
- 1512 William Folnetby, chantry chaplain: SS. Peter & Paul in Holy Tr King's Ct (175).
- 1513 William Sherburne, rector: St. Saviour (179).
- 1514 Robert Lelegrave, chaplain (182).
- 1515 William Cokaa, chantry chaplain: St. Thomas Martyr in Holy Trinity Mkgd (184).
- 1516 William Wyle, chaplain (186).
- 1517 John Hart, chaplain (189).
- 1518 John Newton, chantry chaplain: St. Thomas Martyr in St. Saviour (191).
- 1519 Robert Gomersal, chaplain (193).
- 1520 William Symson, chaplain (195).
- 1521 Thomas Smyth, rector: Holy Trinity Goodramgate (198).
- 1522 Thomas Orynton, chaplain (198).
- 1523 Thomas Orynton, chaplain (200).
- 1524 George Rychardson, rector: All Saints Pavement (204).
- 1525 Henry Cukson, chantry chaplain: St. William's chapel Ouse Bridge (204).
- 1526 John Chatburne, chantry chaplain: St Thomas Martyr in St. Peter Little (206).
- 1527 Thomas Marschall, chantry chaplain: St. Thomas Martyr in All Saints Pavement (208).
- 1528 Thomas Norman, chantry chaplain: St. Stephen Protomartyr in York Minster (208).
- 1529 Christopher Bossall, chantry chaplain: St. Peter in All Saints Pavement (213).
- 1530 James Symson, chantry chaplain: St. Mary in St. Sampson (215).
- 1531 William Phylpypson, rector: St. Wilfrid (217).
- 1532 James Barker, rector: St. Margaret (218).
- 1533 John Johnson, chantry chaplain: Holy Trinity King's Court (219).
- 1534 William Lyghtfuyt, chantry chaplain: St. Thomas Martyr in Holy Trinity King's Court (221).
- 1535 William Marton, rector: St. Crux (224).
- 1536 John Barnard, rector: All Saints Peaseholm (225).
- 1537 William Pynder, chantry chaplain: St. Mary in St. John Baptist Hungate (226).
- 1540? Robert Jakson, rector: St. Martin Micklegate (226).
- 1540? John Beyn, rector: St. Mary Bishophill Senior (227).
- 1541 George Cooke, rector: St. Margaret (227).
- 1542 John Sympson, chantry chaplain: St. Peter in All Saints Pavement (228).
- 1543 Christopher Paynter, chantry chaplain: St. Mary in All Saints Pavement (229).
- 1544 John Stapleton, vicar: Holy Trinity King's Court (230).
- 1545 John Wallcar, rector: St. Margaret (233).
- 1546 John Wyllson, chantry chaplain: SS. Peter & Paul in Holy Trinity King's Court (235).

NOTES

Derived from gild register, accounts and testamentary evidence. Page references are to Skaife's printed edition. Benefices of rectors and vicars are usually recorded in the register and accounts. It has been assumed that clerics who are not otherwise ascribed posts were chaplains.

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Laurence in the Suburbs and St. Margaret Walmgate might have meant that the post was particularly attractive to impoverished clerics. The post carried financial advantages, especially with regard to payment for funerals. This impression is reinforced by the fact that most of the masters drawn from rich parishes were chaplains but that those from poorer ones were generally vicars and rectors. However, that they were elected to this post by others might suggest a policy of promoting recruitment to the gild's membership in the less affluent parts of York, especially during the later part of this period, when the appointment of masters from poor parishes was most common.

Clearly the officers of the gild had control of recruitment to the gild. They also managed the day-to-day organisation of its affairs.⁹⁶ However, at crucial points in its development, the city government was instrumental in making large scale decisions. It laid down regulations for the carrying of the newly-built shrine in 1432, and maintained control of it within the civic chapel of St. William on Ouse Bridge, making provision that the Lord Mayor might retain a key, so that he could unlock its outer covering and show it to distinguished visitors, without question or delay.⁹⁷ The involvement of civic officials is also evident in the process of the gild's incorporation.⁹⁸ The strength of the influence brought to bear on the gild's affairs by laymen can be examined through an investigation of its lay membership. This is best done by concentrating on those years where information from the

⁹⁶See pp.293-8 below for discussion of the gild's income and expenditure.

⁹⁷YCA BY f.116Av-117v.

⁹⁸YCA AA24 Charter of incorporation names William Holbek, Richard Wartre and John Thrisk

membership register can be supplemented by evidence from the account rolls.

Gild Membership: The Laity and the City Elite

Even if it is accepted that lay membership was principally driven by piety, and by a veneration of the eucharist in particular, it is clear that, from the foundation of the gild, commercial advantage and political ambition played a part in the motivation of, at least, some entrants. The presence of members of the victualling trades in the earlier years of the register, for example, is significant. The first extant account rolls, those of 1415, give a detailed account of the expenditure on the annual feast. That year the gild bought mutton to the total value of 9s.8d. from William Hovyngham, of 3s.4d. from William Brandesby and of 2s. from William Tankyrlay. These three butchers, with their wives, were all admitted to the gild during this period.⁹⁹ Their membership was clearly of commercial benefit to them, and probably to the gild too. There was, however, also a political dimension. Hovyngham, the largest meat supplier to the gild, became city chamberlain in 1416. This step took rather longer for William Brandesby, who gained the same office in 1423.¹⁰⁰ It was particularly difficult for butchers to attain civic office, prior to 1500, and gild membership might well have been of material assistance to Brandesby and Hovyngham.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹YC/G C99:1. BL Lansdowne 304 f.21r, Brandesby, 1409-10 Hovyngham and Tankyrlay, 1410-11.

¹⁰⁰Dobson, *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls*, p.209.

¹⁰¹M. Wheeler, "The Butchers of York, 1500-50" (MA Dissertation, York 1989-90) p.83.

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Political advantage to gild members from these early years was not confined to its butchers. At least four of the entrants, in 1409, Ebchestre, bower, in 1426 and Richard Crokelyn, fletcher, in 1431.¹⁰² subsequently became city chamberlains: John Loftows merchant and vintner in 1411, John Waghen, chapman and mercer, in 1413, Robert If, initially, the new gild attracted men of ambition, who were likely to attain public office, it seems certain that membership soon became seen as a step to such office, or, at the very least, a means by which political contacts could easily be made. Although the gild was not admitting large numbers during these early years, it was increasingly attracting people of social standing and political weight. In 1415, for example, only 22 members were introduced, 14 of whom were lay persons.¹⁰³ There were five single women, who may or may not have lived in York, and a widow who certainly did. Four married couples included two merchants, a tailor and a goldsmith, all from the city. Thomas Kyrkham, one of the merchants, who lived, with his wife, Joan, in the parish of St. Crux, was city chamberlain in 1421. Richard Lowthe, mercer, who entered with his widowed mother, became city chamberlain in 1423.¹⁰⁴

By the middle of the century, however, there had been a marked increase in lay admissions. The *introit* for the account for 1449-50 yields the names of 137 individuals over a period of two years.¹⁰⁵ Of these 82 are identifiable as resident in York, although it is not possible to be more precise about the whereabouts within the city of more than a few of these. Amongst them was the female cook of St. Andrew's

¹⁰²BL. Lansdowne MS. 304 f.21.

¹⁰³YCA G C99:1/2.

¹⁰⁴Dobson, *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls*, p.209.

¹⁰⁵YCA G C99:3.

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Priory, a married couple from the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey and a group of six persons from St. Crux parish, including William Gyllott, mercer, who was city chamberlain in 1457, and his wife. A search of the *Freemen's Register* and the wills indices revealed the occupations of a further 65 persons, besides placing them as citizens of York. This group displayed a wider cross-section of trades than was found in earlier membership evidence. Besides mercers, tailors and victuallers the list included clerks, barbers, weavers, dyers, glovers, capmakers, cutlers, smiths, a pewterer and a female huckster. Two of the clerks were also described as gentlemen. The account shows that the increased numbers admitted by the gild had, by 1450, opened up membership to more of the master-craftsmen and artisans of the city. It also continued to attract merchants and aspirants to civic office, such as William Lamb and John Kent, both future Lord Mayors, and Robert Roos, gentleman, a future chamberlain. It was not, however, until after the reorganisation of the gild, following its incorporation in 1458, that the account rolls began to record entrants' parishes, showing the territorial spread of membership within the city.

The first extant account to yield this information is that of 1477.¹⁰⁶ In this year all but three of the 107 new members from the city had their parishes noted after their names. Of these, there were 17 persons from each of St. Michael le Belfrey and St. Olave, ten from All Saints Pavement, nine from St. Peter the Little, six each from St. Denys, St. Margaret and St Helen Stonegate, five from St. Crux, four each from St. Mary Bishophill Senior, and St. Sampson, three each from St. John Hungate, St. Laurence and St. Michael Spurriergate, two from St. Mary Castlegate and one each from All Saints Northstreet, St. Edward, St.

¹⁰⁶YC/G C99:5

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Nicholas Micklegate, St. Nicholas Walmgate, St. Sampson and the House of St. Katherine. There were also two entries from an unspecified parish of St. Michael. There were no entries from Holy Trinity King's Court, St. Martin Coneystreet, St. John Ousebridge or St. Martin Micklegate, all of which were comparatively wealthy and were sited, not only on principal thoroughfares of the city, where many of the civic elite owned houses, but also on the route of the Corpus Christi plays.¹⁰⁷ That some wealthy parishes provided members in this year and that others did not is related to the manner of recruitment that has been previously noted. As we have seen, members were introduced into the gild by the master or by individual keepers who often concentrated upon particular parishes and groups. For example, keeper Gawain Byrkheade introduced all but two of the new members from St. Olave and a monk of St. Mary's Abbey, John Digbe, introduced the majority of members from St. Michael le Belfrey and all from St. Michael Spurriergate and St. Sampson. William Barton's introductions included a majority from All Saints Pavement and all from St. Laurence and St. Edward in the suburbs. Subsequent accounts show blocs of new members from different ranges of parishes.

The lay recruits from the city continued to include increased numbers of both merchants and craftsmen. A new phenomenon, in this account roll, was the introduction of the servants of prominent citizens. Two of the household of William Snawsell, who had been Lord Mayor in 1468, and four from that of William Chymney, who had been chamberlain in 1470 and would be Lord Mayor in 1486, were all introduced by keeper John Digbe. As these servants were admitted by the payment of a single entry fee for each group, the implication is that both Snawsell

¹⁰⁷See figure 4.8 above, and Crouch, "Paying to see the Play", pp.66-7.

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city chamberlain, six joined after that, but before they became sheriff, and 19 between holding the latter office but before becoming mayor. Six became members after or during the time they were mayors, including John Northeby, mayor in 1416, who was admitted posthumously in 1432. It seems certain that a really close analysis of the entire membership would reveal it to have been, in the eyes of York's civic elite, part of a complex route to political power within the city's government. By the latter half the fifteenth century, however, its influence was spreading far beyond the ambit of the city.

Gild Membership: Members from Outside York

After its incorporation, the gild progressed rapidly towards a situation where it became identifiable as an institution of national importance.¹¹¹ Once again, this phenomenon can be seen most clearly through the account rolls. In 1449-51 a mere handful of the members were noted as living outside the city.¹¹² Two lay persons were entered as being of Ackworth and Selby. There were also six members of the Ingleby family who were (and still are) lords of Ripley. Up to its incorporation the gild seems to have been similar in scale and character to the exclusive fraternity of Corpus Christi in Boston, Lincolnshire, although the balance between lay and clerical members was different, reflecting the clerical government of the York gild.¹¹³ After incorporation it began to assume the characteristics of such nationally influential fraternities as the Holy Trinity gilds of Coventry, Warwickshire, and Luton,

¹¹¹R.N. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989) p.281.

¹¹²YCA G C99:3

¹¹³BL MS Harley 4795. H. Fenning, "The Guild of Corpus Christi", *The Guilds in Boston*, ed. W.M. Ormrod (Boston, 1993) pp.37-8.

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Bedfordshire, which attracted massive memberships from their respective towns, and from the surrounding areas, but also from much further afield, from noble and gentle families, prosperous merchants, religious houses and clerics.¹¹⁴

By 1477 the York Corpus Christi Gild was at the height of its popularity. It was in this year that the master, William Grundale, introduced, among others, the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester, with their entourage, that included groups from the Neville strongholds of Middleham and Sheriff Hutton.¹¹⁵ In all, 32 per cent of the new membership came from outside York. There were married couples from Beilby, Bristol, Bulmer, Howsom, Helmsley, Kendale, Riccall and Skelton. Among the single lay members were persons from Durham and Easingwold, John Roos, gentleman, of Ingmanthorpe, Ralph Beyston, esquire, of Leeds and Lady Elizabeth Scrope of Upsall, the wife of Lord Scrope. Clerical entries included the prior and four monks of Newburgh Abbey. Clearly, since 1449-51 the net of membership had become much wider geographically, and whilst the entry of both high and low clergy had continued unabated, there had been an increase in the admission of county gentry. By the turn of the century, entries from outside York had overtaken those from within the city, as Figure 5.5 demonstrates.

These patterns of recruitment continued into the next century as exemplified by the account of 1500.¹¹⁶ John Jakson, chantry chaplain

¹¹⁴Ed. M.D. Harris, *The Register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. John the Baptist and St. Katherine of Coventry* (London, 1935). J.Lunn, ed. *The Register of the Fraternity or Guild of the Holy and Undivided Trinity and Blessed Virgin Mary in the Parish Church of Luton in the County of Bedford from a.d. Mccccclxxv. to Mvclxvi* (Dunstable, 1984).

¹¹⁵YC/G C99:5

¹¹⁶*ibid.*

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at the altar of St. John the Baptist in the Hospital of Holy Trinity Fossgate and Gild Master in that year introduced several blocks of entrants including the prior, the rector, and ten canons of St. Oswald, Nostell, ten persons from the Wakefield area, two from Bedale, three from Gryton in Swaledale as well as a dozen from locations close to York including Fulford, Dringhouses and Hessay. He also introduced a married couple from St. Michael Crooked Lane and a stockfishmonger from St. Magnus, both London parishes.

**FIGURE 5.5 : PROVENANCE OF GILD MEMBERS DERIVED FROM
SELECTED ACCOUNT ROLLS**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Unknown</u>	<u>Outside Yorkshire</u>	<u>Yorkshire (ex-York)</u>	<u>York City</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>York* Percent</u>	<u>Reference YCA G/C</u>
1415-16	8	0	0	14	22	100.0	C99:1/2
1449-51	43	0	13	82	137	87.2	C99:3
1476-77	7	4	54	107	165	67.7	C99:4
1500-01	2	9	123	80	212	38.7	C100:3
1501-02	0	0	84	90	179	50.3	C100:4
1533-34	4	15	148	114	277	41.1	C102:3
1540-41	5	0	1	28	34	96.6	C103:2

*York entries expressed as a percentage of all entries where the location of entrants is known.

Over thirty years later, in 1533, similar recruiting patterns persisted.¹¹⁷ The gild master in this year was William Lyghtfuyt, chantry chaplain of the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr in Holy Trinity King's Court. He admitted the abbot and 14 monks of the Abbey of Cockersand in Lancashire. Furthermore he also introduced no less than 44 entrants from Bradford, representing 16 per cent of all new members that year. He introduced groups from Doncaster, Hull, Harewood, Kirkby Overblow

¹¹⁷YCA G C102:3. This is the best preserved of the three surviving rolls from the 1530s.

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and from the York parishes of All Saints Pavement, St. Nicholas and St. Sampson. This year also saw the introduction, mainly by keepers Robert Herdyng and Gregory Woddall, of a dozen new members from places in Holderness, including Hornsea, Swine, Rise and Moortown. This area was not represented in earlier sampled rolls. Clearly the recorded increase in local gilds in this part of the East Riding was mirrored by a new interest in gilds further afield, and particularly, perhaps, those with a national reputation that offered indulgences consequent on membership.¹¹⁸

Whilst some groups from a locality outside York might have been recruited at home, by gild officers with local contacts, there is every reason to suppose that others joined while visiting the city. The York Corpus Christi festivities were attended by many visitors to York who would have come to see both the plays and the procession. This may very well have been used as an occasion for the recruitment of new members. Other groups came on pilgrimages to the shrine of St. William and, particularly, to that of Richard Scrope.¹¹⁹ Furthermore the city, as an administrative, ecclesiastical and mercantile centre, was busy throughout the year. Official visitors to York who were persuaded to become members seem to have joined with their retinues. This was the case with the Duke of Gloucester in 1476-77 and also of ecclesiastical dignitaries such as Robert Myton, prior of Byland who joined with four brothers of the abbey in 1469-70.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸See Chapter 2 pp.104-11.

¹¹⁹B. Dobson, *The Later Middle Ages, 1215-1500, A History of York Minster*, ed. G.E. Aylmer and R. Cant (Oxford, 1977), p.108.

¹²⁰Lansdowne MS. 304 ff.74v, 59v.

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By the late fifteenth century the gild contained large numbers of nobles and gentry from all over the north of England. The families of Bigod, Clifford, Constable, Conyers, Darcy, Fairfax, Lovell, Neville, Palmes, Plumpton, Roos, Scrope, Stapleton, Strangeways, Vavasour and Wentworth are represented in profusion. A.J. Pollard has made a brief survey of the members of noble houses, and their affinities, who were also York Corpus Christi Gild members during the struggle between York and Lancaster.¹²¹ He notes that the Percy family was unusual in not belonging, which suggests that the gild might, at this time, have been identified with the Neville, Yorkist party. This view is supported by the Duke of Gloucester's admission and by the increase in membership during Edward IV'S reign. Clearly the gild had a political role of regional and national importance running parallel to its civic function. The outward demonstration of its status as an important power base, within the political structures of the city, region and nation, was its ability to mount appropriately lavish ceremonial. Its political, social and devotional roles had, therefore, to be underpinned by sound finances.

Gild Finance : Income from Membership

The membership patterns of the gild cannot adequately be considered in isolation from its prosperity. Its year-by-year financial health is a barometer of a material success that enabled it to discharge its obligations, thereby ensuring that it continued to attract new members. Its success can also be measured in terms of what its members paid to join it, of how they valued their membership in monetary terms at

¹²¹Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, pp.189-90.

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different points in its development. A third measure lies in its possessions, their kind, their value and their purposes.

FIGURE 5.6 : INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE GILD

<u>Year</u>	<u>Receipts</u>	<u>Expenses</u>	<u>Balance</u>	<u>Roll</u>
1415-16	921	181	740	G C99:1/2
1449-51	1241	908	333	G C99:3
1459-60	undecipherable			G C99:4
1476-77	603	202	401	G C99:5
1478-79	873	896	-23	G C99:6
1489-90	818	542	276	G C99:7
1495-96	581	335	246	G C99:8
1497-98	563	334	229	G C100:1
1498-99	640	250	390	G C100:2
1500-01	624	386	238	G C100:3
1501-02	377	356	21	G C100:4
1504-05	533	326	207	G C100:5
1505-06	506	433	73	G C100:6
1507-08	492	289	203	G C101:1
1510-11	568	289	279	G C101:2
1511-12	598	309	289	G C101:3
1515-16	575	253	322	G C101:4
1519-20	614	449	165	G C102:1
1532-33	476	432	44	G C102:2
1533-34	648	402	246	G C102:3
1534-35	478	365	113	G C103:1
1540-41	446	361	85	G C103:2

NOTES

Receipts: to the nearest shilling. Includes balance carried over from previous year.
 Expenses: to the nearest shilling.
 Balance: annual balance of income over expenditure to the nearest shilling.

There is little doubt that the gild was a successful institution, in financial terms, throughout its life, as Figure 5.6 demonstrates. The only extant roll to show a negative balance, that for 1478, is exceptional in that it deals almost exclusively with real estate, associated with the recent acquisition of St. Thomas' Hospital from Holy Trinity Priory.¹²² Although gild offerings are included in the "receipts" item of the account, there is no list of entries. The membership register shows that

¹²²YC/G 13, 14.

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a substantial number of new members were introduced that year, including Henry Vavasour, high sheriff of Yorkshire, the abbot of Meaux, the prioress of Thicket and members of the city's mercantile elite, including Nicholas Lancaster and Bartram Dawson.¹²³ In terms of both the quantity and the quality of new members, the income from entries in 1478 must have been considerable. Despite the complete appearance of the roll, it seems certain that a second account relating to this year is missing.

The largest positive balances occurred in the earlier years of the gild's history. Thereafter, whilst the balance fluctuated from time to time, an average of approximately £10 was carried over each year. This pattern appears to be at variance with that of the admissions to the gild. Generally speaking it appears to have been at its richest when it had the smallest number of members. This illusion is created by several factors. The entry fee for members fluctuated, declining sharply in the sixteenth century. Parallel to this was a gradual accumulation of real estate, the income from which provided an increasingly large proportion of the gild's income but which required a high level of expenditure in maintenance. Furthermore, much of its vast wealth was invested in its possessions, especially its treasure.

The gild's ordinances laid down that entrants should pay to the gild what their consciences dictated.¹²⁴ The account rolls show that this amount declined steadily throughout the gild's history, as Figure 5.7 shows. Thus, whilst the average payment was as much as 2s.7d. in

¹²³Lansdowne MS. 304 f.76v-78r. Lancaster was Lord Mayor in 1485 and 1493, Dawson in 1511.

¹²⁴Lansdowne MS. 304 f.18r: *onerantes tamen conscientias eorundem sic intrare volentium.*

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FIGURE 5.7 : GILD ENTRY FEES COMPARED WITH MEMBERSHIP

<u>Year</u>	<u>Receipts</u>	<u>Pence</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Average</u>	<u>Roll</u>
1415-16	57s.4d	688	22	31.3	G C99:1/2
1449-51	135s.0d	1620	137	11.8	G C99:3
1459-60		undecipherable			G C99:4
1476-77	106s.2d	1274	165	7.7	G C99:5
1478-79		no introit			G C99:6
1489-90	100s.8d	1208	201	6.0	G C99:7
1495-96	63s.7d	763	150	5.0	G C99:8
1497-98	59s.6d	714	119	6.0	G C100:1
1498-99	116s.9d	1401	240	5.8	G C100:2
1500-01	117s.10d	1414	212	6.7	G C100:3
1501-02	118s.4d	1420	179	7.9	G C100:4
1504-05	59s.9d	717	149	4.8	G C100:5
1505-06	51s.4d	616	133	4.6	G C100:6
1507-08	35s.4d	424	111	3.8	G C101:1
1510-11	53s.4d	640	185	3.5	G C101:2
1511-12	97s.11d	1175	336	3.5	G C101:3
1515-16	60s.13d	733	213	3.4	G C101:4
1519-20	43s.8d	524	176	3.0	G C102:1
1532-33	22s.10d	274	121	2.3	G C102:2
1533-34	47s.3d	567	277	2.0	G C102:3
1534-35	10s.10d	130	88	1.5	G C103:1
1540-41	6s.10d	82	34	2.4	G C103:2

Notes

- Year:** the years for which accounts survive.
- Receipts:** total of receipts in respect of membership appearing in each of the account rolls under the item of *Introit* given in shillings and pence. A small number of fees paid in kind are not taken into consideration.
- Pence:** the above totals converted to pence.
- Members:** the number of members for each year. Where the numbers shown in the introit of an account roll is uncertain, because of the condition of the document, the Members' Register (BL Lansdowne 304) has been used. Husbands and wives are counted as two persons although usually they paid only one membership fee.
- Average:** the average fee paid by a member in a given year arrived at by dividing the total fees by the number of members. The amount is in pence with fractions expressed in decimals to the nearest tenth of a penny.
- Roll:** the reference number of each account roll.

1415, it had declined, by 1500, to just over 6d. and, by 1540, to under 2½d. Although the amount was theoretically a matter of conscience, there seems to have been a recommended rate for different groups of people at different times. Whether this was a matter of advice by the introducing gild officer, or simply a tacit understanding between

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entrants is hard to establish. That all of the 44 members from Bradford, in 1533-34, for example, paid 2d. each is surely no coincidence. A brief survey of the payments made in individual years, by different categories of member, supports a view that the amount paid was more a matter of policy than conscience.

Married couples almost invariably paid a single fee for both partners throughout all the accounts. In 1415-16 the lower clergy generally paid either 2s. or 20d. for entry, whilst lay people paid either 3s.4d. or 6s.8d. By 1449 the customary fee for most members varied between one and two shillings, although two entries were paid in kind: John Plumar and his wife contributed a torch worth 3s.4d and Richard Bukler and his wife offered a silver crucifix worth 2s.¹²⁵ Some single women, however, paid only 6d. or 8d., and family memberships, where children were included, generally cost 3s.6d. Although the Duke and Duchess of Gloucester paid 6s.8d. in 1476, most entrance fees in that year were 12d., but servants and some single women, including widows, paid only 6d. By 1500 the introduction of a high proportion of outsiders had complicated the position. York chaplains generally paid 12d. but parochial clerics from elsewhere generally contributed 8d. or 6d. Lay people from the city paid sums varying from 12d. to 4d., with servants paying 4d. Most of those from outside York paid less than citizens, although three Londoners, in 1500, paid 2s. for a married couple and 12d. for a single man. By 1533 clerical fees were 4d., although some clerics from outside York paid only 2d., which was the most common fee for all lay persons, but some couples paid 4d. and some widows and single women paid only a penny. These levels were still maintained in 1540, in the legible portions of the roll. In every account in which they

¹²⁵YC/G C99:3.

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are represented, the higher clergy, and gentle and noble entrants, usually paid rather more than the average rate.

These figures reflect two broad trends. One was the decline in the prosperity of the city's mercantile and textile groups, which has been discussed elsewhere.¹²⁶ Less affluent entrants became less generous to the gild as times became harder. Only the wealthiest paid more, according to conscience, than the generality. Even in these cases the actual sums were lower in the sixteenth century. In 1476 the prior of Newburgh paid 2s.8d. and each monk 12d., but, in 1533, the abbot of Cockersand himself only contributed 12d. and his monks paid only 4d. each. The other trend was a broadening of the membership that took place, after the gild's incorporation. The recruitment of more members clearly meant that a higher proportion of them were less able to afford a large entrance fee. The entry of a greater number of new members from outside York, after the gild's incorporation, also seems to have affected the level of payments. A member who lived at some distance from the city might be less likely to benefit regularly from the social contacts that the gild provided, and would find it more difficult to attend its feasts and festivals or to take advantage of its funeral arrangements. Such members generally seem to have considered that a lower entrance fee than that paid by York residents was appropriate.

Gild Finance: Real Estate

Whilst the contributions of new members were a factor in ensuring a favourable balance of income over expenditure during the whole life of the gild, an important part of its annual income was, from at least 1478,

¹²⁶See Chapter 4, pp.188, 190.

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FIGURE 5.8 : INCOME FROM THE FARM OF TENEMENTS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Tenements</u>			<u>Income</u>			<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Reference</u>
	£	s	d	£	s	d		
1489-90	6	14	8	40	17	8½	17.1	G C99:7
1495-96	7	16	4	29	0	14	27.6	G C99:8
1497-98	9	4	8	28	2	6½	32.1	G C100:1
1498-99	8	18	10	31	19	10½	28.1	G C100:2
1500-01	9	8	0	31	4	5½	29.0	G C100:3
1501-02	9	8	0	30	17	2½	29.0	G C100:4
1504-05	9	7	0	26	12	6½	33.3	G C100:5
1505-06	9	7	0	25	6	0½	36.0	G C100:6
1507-08	9	7	0	24	11	8½	36.0	G C101:1
1510-11	9	6	10	28	8	3½	32.1	G C101:2
1511-12	9	7	1	29	18	5½	30.1	G C101:3
1515-16	9	8	1	28	15	0½	31.0	G C101:4
1519-20	10	2	9	30	14	3½	32.3	G C102:1
1532-33	12	16	1	23	16	(?)	54.2	G C102:2
1533-34	12	15	0	32	7	7½	40.6	G C102:3
1534-35	12	14	4	23	17	9½	54.2	G C103:1
1540-41	12	13	0	22	6	1½	59.1	G C103:2

NOTES

- Tenements: gross income derived from the fee farm of tenements.
Income: total income from all sources.
Percentage: income from the fee farm of tenements as a proportion of total income to the nearest pound.

derived from real estate.¹²⁷ The account roll for that year is the first that mentions property transactions. It records the purchase and refurbishment of buildings associated with the hospital outside Micklegate Bar, that had formerly belonged to Holy Trinity Priory. This involved the withdrawal of £40.3s.5½d from the gild's stock, for the purchase of seven tenements in Baggergate, and expenditure on constructions, including a barn and a new house at the Bar. From this date onwards, building repairs became an important element in the gild's expenditure. It also shows a gross income of 18s.6d. from rents at Micklegate Bar, and in Monkgate and Baggergate. Figure 5.8 shows

¹²⁷YCA G 99.6

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that from that date, receipts from the farm of tenements became an increasingly important element in the gild's income. By the 1530s they had become central to its financial success.

Although the actual receipts from property do not show such a dramatic rise as does their share of the gild's annual income, their values had almost doubled between 1489 and 1541, despite a general decline in rents in the city over this period.¹²⁸ If rents were falling at the same time as the gild's income from this source was growing, the gild must have continued to increase its real estate. In 1546, Henry VIII's commissioners identified substantial property holdings by the gild.¹²⁹ As well as the tenements in Baggergate, by Micklegate Bar and in Monkgate, that were previously noted, they recorded two in Thursday Market, two in Holgate, two in Buttercrambe, one in Naburn and one in Stamford Bridge, all to the annual value of £12.15s.4d. This sum tallies closely with the gild's income of £12.13s. from tenements in the account of 1540. These are, of course, rental, not capital values and they do not include any consideration of the actual value of gild houses and of the Hospital of St. Thomas. They also reported on goods to the value of £11.10s.5d. and plate worth £219.13s.6d.

Gild Finance: The Treasures

There is little doubt that much of the gild's real wealth lay in the goods that it accumulated and its growing prosperity can be charted through

¹²⁸S. Rees Jones, "Property Tenure and Rents: some Aspects of the Topography and Economy of Medieval York" (D.Phil thesis York, 1987) p.261. J.N. Bartlett, "The Expansion and Decline of York in the later Middle Ages", *ECHR* (2nd series XII, 1, 1959), pp.29-33.

¹²⁹*Comm. Cert. I*, pp.54-5, Skaife, *Corpus Christi*, pp.285-7.

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extant documentary evidence relating to them. An early list of its possessions was recorded on the dorse of the account for 1415.¹³⁰ This is an interesting collection of comparatively modest items, when compared with later lists. It includes pieces of equipment used in the Corpus Christi procession, such as torches, protective cloths, embroidered banners and, more mysteriously, ten painted castles (castella) with little canvas bags to cover them, and a set of three dozen wooden "roundletts" that were to be placed on "revetts", forty of which were newly bought and forty of which were old. The inventory goes on to list large quantities of table-linen, cups, plates, bowls and cooking utensils, for use at the gild feast. Significantly, the salt cellars were of pewter. The silverware comprised one piece, two spoons and a mazer. Two books of ordinances were listed, perhaps the register and the obituary, and two letters of indulgence, one from the Archbishop of York and one from the Bishop of Carlisle. This record indicates that, despite the absence of a shrine, the early gild was more concerned with the proper equipping of the procession, and the holding of an elaborate feast, than with a display of wealth.

There is little direct indication that the first shrine was being planned as early as this first extant account. However, at this time, the gild was keeping a large sum in its coffers.¹³¹ £35.10s.7d. had been carried over from the previous year and £37.0s.13½d. was passed on to the new officials at the end of this account. It seems likely that a sum of such magnitude was being saved for some specific purpose. There is no extant account relating to the 1430s but the agreement with the city,

¹³⁰YCA G C99:1.

¹³¹See Figure 5.6.

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over the shrine, makes it clear that it was built at the gild's expense and would continue to be embellished by it.¹³²

The inventory of 1465 is a remarkable contrast to that of 1415.¹³³ An account of the silver-gilt Spofford shrine, worth £256, is followed by a long list of jewels associated with it.¹³⁴ Despite its value, however, it was not a very large object, as two men were able to carry it in procession.¹³⁵ Many, but not all, of the jewels, are valued and, in some cases, the names of donors recorded. A few examples must suffice to give some impression of the range and value of this collection. A great monstrance of crystal, with silver angels, worth £40.6s.8d, was surmounted by an image of the Trinity. There were several tabernacles, including one of gold and pearls, with an image of the Virgin, a large number of crucifixes and crosses, in precious metals with jewels, and other images of the Virgin and of St. Laurence, St. Mary Magdalene, and Agnus Dei. Hung about the shrine were many rings, beads, girdles, spoons and cups, all of gold or silver, many set with stones. The gild's reliquaries contained a piece of the true cross, relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Francis and St. Thomas of Lancaster, and two precious stones from the tomb of St. Katherine. One of the chief treasures was the famous mazer that had belonged to Archbishop Richard Scrope and which had reached the gild through Agnes, the widow of the former mayor, Henry Wyman.¹³⁶

¹³²YCA A:15.

¹³³BL Lansdowne MS. 304 f.2r-5v

¹³⁴See p.228 above.

¹³⁵YCA G C100:1.

¹³⁶The mazer is now in the Minster treasury. See p.307-8 below.

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The account of the jewels is followed by an inventory of vestments and of a number of documents, including the charter, which was valued at £10, the membership book, copies of indulgences and the account rolls. The apparatus for carrying the shrine in the procession was embellished with images of the evangelists and of sixteen angels, with shields and scrolls in copper-gilt, a picture of the Trinity and a four-piece blue valance, decorated with gold chalices and stars. The gild's copy of the Creed Play is recorded along with the banners and theatrical properties used in its performance, including a mitre, a crown, a key of St. Peter and diadems for Christ and his apostles. Associated with the fourteen torches of the gild were the "castles", banners, napkins, "roundels" and "revettes" that appeared in the 1415 account. The inventory ends with items of cooking equipment.

Many of the gild's jewels were donated by its members, presumably in their lifetimes, but some were bequeathed to it. The first, wooden shrine received 33 bequests recorded in the probate registers between 1430 and 1449. Many of these were bequests of money, to pay for the shrine's construction, like that of Alice Upsall, the widow of a merchant in Coneystreet, who left 3s.4d. *ad fabricatorum feretri*.¹³⁷ Others left jewellery, to decorate it. Marion Marton, for example, the widow of a leatherworker of St Crux, in 1441, left a ring of gold that had a silver-gilt crucifix hanging from it.¹³⁸ Such bequests were also commonly made to the new shrine. As late as 1534 Janet Sparke bequeathed it her set of coral beads.¹³⁹

¹³⁷BIHR PR II 640r-v.

¹³⁸BIHR PR II 27r-28r

¹³⁹BIHR PR XI 85r.

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The magnificence of its treasure, as an adjunct to its ceremonial, was a further public demonstration of the gild's wealth and power. Those members who added to the decoration of the shrine participated in this, as well as in the sanctity of a cult object. Such a donation enhanced the prestige of the donor's family within the social context of the gild. It ensured that the gift would be recorded in the fraternity's archive, to the lasting prestige of the giver, and that he or she would be especially remembered in the gild's prayers for ever. The gift itself would remain to proclaim, publicly, the gild's growing pre-eminence.

Gild Finance: Employees

The importance of public demonstrations of the gild's status was further reflected in its paid servants. It was an employer of both permanent and temporary staff. It was already paying a salary to its beadle in 1449. In later accounts the beadles were named and this practice continued until the last extant account in 1540. His duties included the supervision of torches and torchbearers on gild occasions. His appearance was clearly important to the officers who provided him with a gown. When John Holme took over the post from John Dykson in 1496 the gild paid 13s. for a new one.¹⁴⁰ His badge of office was silver gilt and worth 41s.4d, enabling him to cut an impressive figure on ceremonial occasions.¹⁴¹

The 1476 account shows a salary of £4.13s.4d. paid to Gawain Byrkheade as gild chaplain. This post, too, continued to be sustained throughout the rest of the life of the gild, and the holders' names can

¹⁴⁰YCA C100:1.

¹⁴¹BL Lansdowne MS. 304 ff.2r-3v.

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be traced through the account rolls. It may be significant that the last named chaplain, William Watson, was recorded, uniquely, as being also chaplain of the gild hospital.¹⁴² That a governing body of chaplains needed to employ yet another chaplain to serve the gild might seem superfluous. It does not appear to have been necessary before the gild's incorporation. However, the increase in membership in the 1570s probably laid far too great a burden on the master and keepers, all of whom held other posts. The employment of the gild chaplain also might explain an inconsistency that surrounds Corpus Christi Gild funerals. If members were entitled to a funeral, why was it that so many testators made extra provision for one in their wills? The explanation might be that ordinary gild funerals were routinely conducted by the gild chaplain, but that the attendance of the master, keepers, beadle and torches was conditional on additional payment by those members who were sufficiently wealthy to demand this in their wills.

Payments for other duties seem to have been on the basis of occasional payments rather than a salary. The 1496 account, for example, shows fees for routine clerical tasks, such as maintaining the register and drawing up accounts.¹⁴³ It also details payments to clerics for duties in the annual procession. 2d. each was paid to the cross-bearer and to the four who carried the baldequin. The seven men who carried torches also received 2d. but the two who bore the shrine were each paid 3d. Such payments were also made in succeeding accounts. Gratuities were paid to officials employed by other bodies. The 1496 account records payments to the city bellman, for proclaiming obits, and those

¹⁴²YCA G C103:2.

¹⁴³YCA G C100:1.

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of 1505 and 1533 gratuities to the sacristan of Holy Trinity Priory and to the janitor of the Minster, *in rewardo*.¹⁴⁴

Throughout the entire sequence of its accounts the gild never seems to have encountered any difficulties in meeting such obligations. It was clearly a successful institution in financial terms. Even in the difficult days of the early 1540s, it maintained a small balance of income over expenditure and continued to pay its chaplain's salary.¹⁴⁵ By this time, however, other pressures were being brought to bear on the gild's successful survival. Under these circumstances, lavish demonstrations of economic success were probably a positive disadvantage.

Dissolution

Although the dissolution of the religious gilds will be discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter, it is appropriate, in concluding this one, to look briefly at the demise of the York Corpus Christi Gild. The entry of 277 new members in 1533 suggests no diminution in its popularity, but, as figure 5.9 shows, admissions over the following twelve years demonstrate an interesting pattern, especially when it is related to political events.

A decline in membership can be seen to have followed the appointment of Cranmer to the see of Canterbury and the rise of Cromwell in 1533. This decline accelerated during the suppression of the lesser monasteries in 1536, and no admissions at all were recorded between 1537 and 1539, in the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Obviously

¹⁴⁴YCA G C100:6, C102:3.

¹⁴⁵YCA G C103:2.

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the gild felt that its position was under threat, and not without cause. The forces of reform were already being felt within the city. The last recorded performance of the Creed play took place in 1535. Although a performance was proposed in 1545, it seems not to have been approved by the civic authorities.¹⁴⁶ However, following the confusion of 1540, where two membership lists were compiled, with different officials recorded, there was a marked upturn in admissions. This coincided with the fall and execution of Cromwell and the beginning of a period of religious conservatism which continued until the death of Henry VIII.

FIGURE 5.9 : MEMBERSHIP 1533-1546

<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>
1533-34	277	1540-41A	7
1534-35	89	1540-41B	39
1535-36	73	1541-42	80
1536-37	42	1542-43	80
1537-38	n/r	1543-44	178
1538-39	n/r	1544-45	119
1539-40	36	1545-46	137

The high number of entries during the gild's last years might not have been based entirely on a false sense of security. It seems possible that the act of joining the Corpus Christi Gild was seen as being, in some sense, a positive vote for the old order of society that was under attack by the forces of protestantism, which the king now rejected. It was felt, perhaps, that an organisation of such size, wealth and prestige might, against all the odds, be able to withstand future assaults by the reformers. If this was their hope, it was to be disappointed.

¹⁴⁶Johnson, "Plays of Religious Guilds", p.63-4.

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There is no account or membership list for 1546. In that year, the king's commissioners visited the city and reported on the gild. The city government made no official move to preserve it, as they attempted in the case of the Gild of St. Christopher and St. George.¹⁴⁷ The shrine and plate evidently disappeared into the royal coffers. There was, however, one notable exception to this. The mazer that had belonged to Archbishop Scrope found its way into the hands of the mystery of cordwainers, who later engraved it as belonging to them. This was clearly a way of concealing an object of great veneration from the commissioners. It was entrusted to the Dean and Chapter, when the cordwainers' company was dissolved, in the nineteenth century, and is now in the Minster treasury.¹⁴⁸

Although the gild itself was dissolved, its hospital of St. Thomas survived the commissioners' depredations and succeeded in retaining the gild's lands and tenements. How this was achieved is not clear, but the commissioners' certificate lays great emphasis on the gild's role in running the hospital. It has already been noted that the last known gild chaplain was also described as being chaplain of the hospital.¹⁴⁹ This may well have all been part of a carefully prepared device to ensure that at least some of the gild's wealth remained within the city. At all events, it was being run, in 1551, by its then master, William Pindar, who invited the current Mayor and aldermen to become brethren of the hospital.¹⁵⁰ The mayor was elected master *ex officio*. This was still the situation in 1557, when a Special Commission enquired into the links

¹⁴⁷*York Civic Records V*, p.8.

¹⁴⁸Skaife, p.291

¹⁴⁹See p.304 above.

¹⁵⁰Skaife, p.298.

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between the gild and the hospital, which was still in possession of its lands and rents, and was being officially run by each current Lord Mayor of the city as its master.¹⁵¹ The hospital survived on its original site until 1862, and remained a civic responsibility.¹⁵² That both the hospital and the precious mazer were preserved shows that whilst the city's governing body was less vocal in its support of the Corpus Christi Gild, than of St. Christopher and St. George, it was prepared to save what it could, of the gild's assets, in a more covert but, ultimately, a more effective way.

Conclusion

Despite the pious intentions of its founders, the gild, even in its relatively modest beginnings, seems to have had a political dimension. The early involvement of the city elite and the ability of some early members to gain commercial advantage from it prefigured later trends. The construction of the first shrine, and the city's involvement in its disposition, marked a point where the city and the gild drew even closer together. This identification was underpinned by the increasingly rich ceremonial that allowed its wealthier members to display themselves, with their families and retinues, to the enhancement of their prestige and social standing. At the same time, it allowed its poorer brothers and sisters to feel that they were part of a web of influence that might help their advancement. Basically the gild represented the established order in its doctrines, in its relationship with the city and, ultimately,

¹⁵¹*Ibid.*, pp.313-6.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*, p.xiv.

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with the national government. This was confirmed by its incorporation. This seminal event, however, altered both the constitution and, to some extent, the ethos of the gild. Its expansion during the 1470s transformed it into a quasi-national institution, that extended its influence over the whole of the North of England and beyond. It provided a web of contacts within which gentry and merchants might meet to talk finance or politics, where ambitious artisans might seek the social acceptance that could lead to public office, where clergy from all over the county could discuss benefices and career moves, and where powerful figures could manipulate their affinities and make political manoeuvres. It provided a focus for many disparate groups and interests, offering them a common fraternal bond within a framework of traditional piety. Its dissolution was only possible when its devotional practices ceased to coincide with the policies of the central government.

In describing the national and regional importance of the Corpus Christi Gild it is, however, important not to lose sight of the fact that it was not the only great gild in York. At the height of its influence it was only part of a network of at least three gilds of, at the very least, regional significance, that were themselves just part of the city's complicated web of fraternities. Eileen White's work has made it clear that the St. Christopher and St. George Gild was even more intimately involved with the civic government than Corpus Christi.¹⁵³ Furthermore, her pamphlet, which draws heavily on York wills, tends to underestimate its influence beyond the city. We have seen that bequests to it from outside the city exceeded those of Corpus Christi, and White herself emphasises the membership of Edward, Prince of Wales, in 1483, and the gild's

¹⁵³White, pp.2-4, 18.

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connections with the Scrope family.¹⁵⁴ Testators often made bequests to the fraternities of both Corpus Christi and St. Christopher, as well as to the only slightly less popular St. Anthony Gild.¹⁵⁵

There is no doubt, however, that the Corpus Christi Gild possessed a special character, which is underlined by the manner in which it continued to attract new members during the 1540s. It commended itself widely throughout the population of the North, not merely through its political and commercial contacts, which other gilds could also offer. Its uniqueness lay in its sanctity, in its support of a popular cult that attracted, for most of its life, official encouragement and, above all, by its status as a holy confraternity led by the City's priests.

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p.15. Figure 4.12 above.

¹⁵⁵See Chapter 4, p.202.

CHAPTER SIX : CASE STUDY TWO: THE GILD OF ST. MARY IN HOLY TRINITY, HULL.

The St. Mary Gild of Holy Trinity parish was closely involved with the mercantile and civic elite of Hull.¹ Lacking the national dimension of great civic gilds, such as Corpus Christi, York, it was a relatively modest institution, sited in a borough of comparatively recent foundation. The records of its ceremonial and feasts suggest that its devotional and social functions followed patterns that have been examined elsewhere, giving us some insight into their practical organisation.² Less typical, perhaps, was the gild's involvement in overseas trade.³ This activity illuminates the relationship between the gild and the merchant community and between it and more overtly mercantile organisations. It is also clear that the gild had a close relationship with the town government. Most mayors of the borough also held office in the gild.⁴ To what extent its disappearance from the record in 1536 was related to these factors will be examined.

The principal source of the gild's affairs is an account book, providing an unbroken record of the gild's economic fortunes between 1463 and 1536.⁵ Therefore, this case study will centre on the gild's financial fortunes, and its evolution will be seen largely in these terms. A note on the dorse of the rear endpaper of the account book, claims, in a medieval hand, that it was begun in 1458 by John Eland of Hull. Eland

¹Holy Trinity Church in Hull was technically a chapel of the parish of Hessle until 1661. *VCH YER I*, pp.287, 294.

²See Chapter 3 p.163.

³See pp.328-30 below.

⁴See Figure 6.2.

⁵KHRO BRA 87 (previously M11).

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was steward of the gild in the year ending 1464.⁶ The first surviving account is for the year ending 1463, suggesting that some initial pages have been lost. The earlier entries are well written and carefully kept, containing much detailed information. They are penned in clerkly hands with some elaborate capitals. Both the calligraphy and the content deteriorate markedly, however, in the sixteenth century, when most of the entries are very untidy and contain little detail. The last entry is undated but probably belongs to the year ending 1536.

The Evolution of the Gild

The St. Mary Gild in the Chapel of Holy Trinity was already in existence in 1391, when William Wyllyngham, a Hull craftsman of Holy Trinity parish, bequeathed it the sum of 6s.8d.⁷ It was an entirely separate fraternity from the Gild of St. Mary in St. Mary's Chapel. Both gilds were individually left £1 by Joan Gregg in 1438, demonstrating that they were distinct entities.⁸ The Gild of St. Mary in St. Mary made a return in 1389, in which it claimed foundation in 1357 and where its connection with the Chapel of St. Mary is clearly stated.⁹ The two gilds are, however, confused in the Hull volume of the Victoria County History and this error has since been perpetuated elsewhere.¹⁰ St. Mary's Gild in St. Mary was still active in 1451, but was not recorded

⁶See Figure 6.1.

⁷BIHR PR I 34r. He owned property in the town and bequeathed the tools of his unspecified trade.

⁸BIHR PR III 555v-556v.

⁹PRO C47/46/451.

¹⁰VCH YER I, p.84. E.g. H. Calvert, *A History of Hull*, (Phillimore, London and Chichester, 1978), p.96.

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subsequently.¹¹ The continued existence of the St. Mary Gild in Holy Trinity is shown by two wills from the early 1450s, pre-dating the account book.¹² It seems likely that the extant book was a continuation of a previous one, now lost.

Unlike the documentation of the Corpus Christi Gild in York, the account book does not show us the pattern of a gild's history from its foundation to its dissolution.¹³ It picks up the story in 1463, towards the middle of its recorded existence, and takes it through to a dozen years prior to the date of the national dissolution of religious gilds.¹⁴ It provides an unbroken list of the principal officers of the gild, an alderman and two stewards, each year, and a year-to-year account of the gild's cash-in-hand, as summarised in Figure 6.1. It does not, however, provide any indication of membership. The income for admissions, even in the most detailed of the accounts, is amalgamated with that from the gild's rental. William Haryngton was regularly paid a shilling every year for keeping the rental between 1475 and 1487, and admissions may well have been an item on it, but it has not survived.¹⁵

The information that the book provides, taken together with some other Hull sources, does, however, provide a picture of the changing fortunes and preoccupations of the gild. From relative affluence in 1463, partly

¹¹BIHR PR II 228v, will of Robert Birdsay.

¹²BIHR PR II 231r-v John Harpham. *Test. Ebor. II*, p.171, 1454 William Clederhow merchant.

¹³See Chapter Five above.

¹⁴All references to the year of individual entries are to the year in which the accounts are dated in the book. Thus, the account for 1463 is for the year ending 1463. The accounts were drawn up and dated on variable dates and days of the week in late April and early May, between Easter and Rogation Day.

¹⁵KHRO BRA 87, pp.31-71 *passim*.

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FIGURE 6.1 : GILD OFFICERS AND FINANCIAL STATE : 1463-1537

Date	Alderman	Stewards	Balance		
			£	s	d
1463	John Grene merchant	John Tyttelot merchant/drapier Roger Bussell merchant	8	6	1
1464	Roger Bussell merchant	John Eland merchant Richard Burdon als Bowe	16	16	0
1465	John Whytfeld merchant	Thomas Alcok merchant Peter Herryson merchant	19	19	10 ½
1466	Thomas Alcok merchant	Robert Spofford merchant Robert Fyssher merchant	19	0	7 ½
1467	Robert Fyssher merchant	Thomas Calthorne merchant John Hoggeson merchant	16	15	3 ½
1468	Robert Alcok merchant	William Goldyng merchant Robert Pellet merchant	18	8	10 ½
1469	Thomas Calthorn merchant	William Ratclyff merchant Thomas Knaresburgh ?	18	11	4
1470	John Day merchant	Thomas Berrige merchant John Ryddsdale merchant	17	2	4
1471	Robert Marschall merchant	Thomas Phelip merchant Thomas Butteler merchant	14	18	7
1472	Ralph Langton merchant	Burtyn Gilliot merchant John Typpyng merchant/mariner	5	2	4
1473	Richard Buller ?	William Davyll ? John Karler ?	2	6	8
1474	Richard Bower [als Burdon]	Henry Swattok? William Haryngton ?	2	0	10
1475	Peter Herryson merchant	John Hardy merchant Hugh Narham ?	0	7	4
1476	John Rydesale merchant	John Wylson merchant Thomas Wynflet ?	7	5	7
1477	John Hoggeson merchant	Robert Howlle merchant John Grynder ?	4	5	1 ½
1478	Bartram Gilliot merchant	Thomas Guseman ? Alexander Cardewell ?	-	NIL	-
1479	William Davyll ?	William White merchant John Hapsham merchant	-	6	9
1480	William White merchant	William Fyssher merchant William Doncaster ?	3	3	9
1481	John Hardy merchant	William Guseman barber/waxchandler William Goldsmyth merchant	3	15	3
1482	Thomas Guseman ?	Thomas Andrew merchant John Shipman ?	17	13	8
1483	Thomas Butteler merchant	Richard Myrwyn merchant John Oseller merchant	12	1	2 ½
1484	(No account. The 1485 account covers two years)				
1485	Thomas Berrige merchant	Henry Hobson ? Thomas Karre ?			
1486	William Fyssher merchant	William Palframan merchant John Baxter merchant	7	17	4 ½
1487	Robert Howle merchant	John Bulle merchant Adam Milner ?	22	5	6 ½
1488	Thomas Karre ? (No account - 4 blank pages)				
1489	John Richardson merchant	John Nycholson ? John Lawraunce ?	26	10	7
1490	Thomas Andrewe merchant	John Gylle merchant Walter Nicholson merchant	24	0	0
1491	John Catham ?	John Jespere merchant Richard Gybson merchant	26	0	0
1492	Adam Androwson ?	William Welesmee merchant John Staveley ?	28	12	7
1493	Henry Hobson ?	Thomas Jenknsen ? Robert Richman ?	30	4	10 ½

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<u>Date</u>	<u>Alderman</u>	<u>Stewards</u>	<u>Balance</u>			
			£	s	d	
1494	William Welesmee merchant	Thomas Burnette merchant				
		Thomas Smetheley ?	32	4	3	½
1495	Thomas Jenkynson ?	Harman Wabyll ?				
		Henry Paty bower	36	4	8	½
1496	John Gylle merchant	Roger Busshell?				
		Thomas Warner merchant	34	19	7	½
1497	John Nicholson ?	Edmund Stephenson merchant				
		Thomas Felton merchant	49	16	8	½
1498	Harman Wable ?	Thomas Gunere ?				
		Thomas Brompton merchant	29	6	8	½
1499	Thomas Burnett merchant	Robert Somerby ?				
		Robert Hapsham merchant	29	11	9	
1500	Edmund Stephenson merchant	William Tudenham ?				
		John Gyles merchant	22	12	0	½
1501*	Roger Busshell merchant	William Talyere ?				
		not known	26	1	1	†
1502*	William Bank merchant	William Johnson merchant				
		Robert Haryson ?	21	12	4½	†
1503	Thomas Powysse ?	John Langton merchant				
		Robert Cowling bower	25	0	9	
1504	Henry Pate bower	John Shipley ?				
		William Brice ?	26	13	4	
1505	Thomas Warne merchant	Richard Doughty merchant				
		John Harman ?	27	13	4	
1506	Thomas Felton merchant	Anthony Potter merchant				
		William Garnar ?	20	9	7	†
1507	John Gyles merchant	John Herryson goldsmith				
		John Taverner ?	20	0	0	
1508	John Stavelays ?	Robert Vergus ?				
		William Drax ?	20	0	1	†
1509	William Johnson merchant	John Metson ?				
		John Crouche ?	21	0	2	†
1510	Richard Doughty merchant	John Langton merchant				
		Robert Ethefeld ?	23	6	11	†
1511	Richard Doughty merchant	John Langton merchant				
		Robert Ethefeld ?	20	6	8	
1512	John Harman ?	John Wardell goldsmith				
		John Enderby ?	26	6	8	
1513	John Herryson goldsmith	John Dubbyng ?				
		John Rogerson spicer	22	6	8	†
1514	John Vergos ?	Stephen Clare ?				
		Thomas Necolson ?	23	18	8	†
1515	John Wardall goldsmith	Thomas Thomson ?				
		William Knowll ?	24	10	0	†
1516	John Metson ?	Robert Parker ?				
		Richard Deane ?	26	3	4	†
1517	John Enderby ?	William Rand mariner				
		Henry Holdernes cordwainer	26	0	0	†
1518	John Rogerson spicer	Alan Armstrang mariner				
		Richard Haburn ?	25	14	4	†
1519	Richard Deyne ?	William Roclyff ?				
		James Johnson merchant	27	7	8	†
1520	William Thow yeoman and John Garden ?	joint officers	23	0	0	†
1521*	Henry Holdernes cordwainer	Richard Millet ?				
		William Sevyer ?	21	0	0	†
1522	William Rande mariner	William Browne mariner				
		Thomas Smyth ?	23	0	0	†
1523*	Thomas Necolsone ?	Richard Meyklay merchant				
		James Johnson merchant	22	0	0	†
1524*	James Johnson merchant	John Danyell ?				
		William Thruscross ?	24	3	4	†
1525	Richard Meyklay merchant	Aird Juryanson ?				
		Leonard Yngylsone ?	27	3	4	†
1526	James Johnson merchant	Richard Oversall ?				
		John Harryson Jr oil miller	29	0	0	†

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<u>Date</u>	<u>Alderman</u>	<u>Stewards</u>	<u>Balance</u>		
			£	s	d
1527	Thomas Daniell ?	Hugh Oversall ? Edward Sheffeld merchant	31	0	0 †
1528	Thomas Smythe ?	Robert Walker merchant Ellis Stokdayll barber	32	6	8 †
1529	William Browyn mariner	William Robinson shipwright Thomas Wharton ?	30	13	4 †
1530	John Hereson goldsmith	William Yong mariner James Roger merchant	32	6	8 †
1531	William Thruscross ?	Robert Car ? Thomas Care ?	31	6	0 †
1532	William Clark ?	Thomas Halwyke ? Richard Colle ?	33	13	4 †
1533*	Edward Scheffeld merchant	William Caterall ? George Hull merchant	39	11	0 †
1534*	Robert Walker merchant	Henry Thruscross ? Thomas Wylliamson ?	29	13	4 †
1535	Hugh Oversall ?	John Thornton merchant Adam Huchonson ?	31	1	10 †
1536*	John Care ?	George Calland ? Henry Dynlaye ?	32	6	8 †
[1537]	James Huchison ?	Robert Thorpe ? James Clarke ?	-	-	-

*Undated. ?Occupation unknown †No properly itemised account.

based on commercial ventures, the gild descended into a period of financial crisis in the late 1470s, probably brought about by a combination of bad debts and declining trade.¹⁶ From then, until 1500, its fortunes underwent a gradual up-turn. This was related to increased landholding, arising especially from the profits accruing from the farm of a large property, that the gild had acquired, from John Haynson and his wife, to finance an obit.¹⁷ Thereafter it maintained a healthy financial surplus, from year to year, until the end of the record. However, many of the sixteenth century accounts were not rendered in a full form, and detailed, itemised entries ceased altogether after 1512. This change in the gild's accounting practices suggests a change in the

¹⁶See pp.329-30 below.

¹⁷See pp.334-8 below.

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attitude of its members towards it and possibly in its entire ethos. From 1513, assumptions concerning the gild's functions are somewhat speculative.

Gild Functions: Devotional and Ceremonial

The largest item of expenditure in all the itemised accounts was the salary of the gild chaplain. In 1463, William Hundersley was paid £5 and this remained the standard rate until 1496 when it was increased, but this seems to have been a result of consolidating the obit fee into the total.¹⁸ Entries after 1512 do not itemise the chaplain's salary. A bellman, possibly the town bellman, was paid 8d. for his services until 1467, when he received a sudden and unexplained cut in his remuneration. Thereafter he was paid 2d. until 1483 when the amount doubled.¹⁹ By 1500, it had reverted to 8d., although in this account he is said be lighting candles, presumably additionally to his duties of advertising the obits and feasts.²⁰

Also related to the gild's corporate devotional and ceremonial activities was the purchase of wax. The maintenance and renewal of torches and candlesticks and the carrying of lights were major items. The amounts were variable and were expressed in different ways from year to year. The totals for these payments in 1463 and in 1464 were under 10s. In 1465 the sum amounted to £1.4s.11½d., as two new torches and 11 lbs. of wax, an unusually large supply, were bought.²¹ This total was

¹⁸KRHO BRA 87, pp.2, 99.

¹⁹*ibid.*, p.60

²⁰*ibid.*, pp.44,109.

²¹*ibid.*, pp. 2, 4-6.

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exceptional, however. The account for 1499 makes it clear that torches were carried on Corpus Christi Day and on the gild day.²²

It is clear from payments made to the bearers, that the fraternity carried the Rood in procession on Holy Cross or Rogation Days, annually, between the first account in the book in 1463 and 1505. There were also entries recording the purchase of cords for guiding the Rood on these occasions.²³ From 1507 references to the Rood ceased and the carrying of a banner (*vexilla*) was substituted.²⁴ Whether this was a banner representing the Rood, whether the previous Rood was itself a banner, or whether this was a real change in practice is unclear. The cost of bearing it escalated from 1s. in 1464 to 2s. in 1477.

There were annual payments for an angel between 1463 and 1466.²⁵ It seems likely that the angel appeared in connection with the gild obit because in 1476 the gild paid 7s. for painting an angel for this service.²⁶ It seems likely that the gild decided to substitute an image for a live actor, perhaps in the interests of economy. No further payments were made either to actors or angels. Although the scale of the gild's ceremonial life was relatively unspectacular, it was evidently an active one, involving at least three annual processions on Corpus Christi, Rogation Day and the gild day.

The gild's treasure was entirely concerned with its ceremonial and devotional practices, and largely consisted of vestments and altarcloths.

²²*Ibid.*, 107.

²³*Ibid.*, pp.37, 99

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp.120, 124, 125.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp.2,4,6,8.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p.10.

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An inventory was added to the account of 1471. This was repeated in 1472, 1473, 1474, 1476, 1477, and 1479 and then annually up to 1482. On each occasion the list was substantially the same. It was not impressive, by comparison with that of Corpus Christi Gild, in York, for the same period. Its only plate was a chalice for use by the chaplain, its only book was his mass book. Its more valuable vestments included one of cloth-of-gold, with a matching corporax. One of its altar cloths was embroidered with the coronation of the Virgin and St. Katherine and St. Margaret, another was of damask with flowers of gold, with a matching frontal, and a third was white with crosses, for the lenten season. The gild also owned a privy chest that was bound with iron.²⁷

There was a cloth-of-gold "baldkyn" for the purchase of which the sum of 2s. was contributed, in 1470, by Henry Pacok, the master of the hospital attached to the Hull Charterhouse, as executor of the will of John Hedon, chaplain.²⁸ This cloth was to be placed on the tomb of the dead on the day of the gild obit. The account does not clarify whether the tomb in question was a symbolic one, to represent all gild members, or the actual tomb of John Hedon. The practice of covering coffins during individual anniversaries, which replicated funeral ceremonial, was common at this time.²⁹ Thomas Wodd, draper, who was mayor of Hull in 1480 and audited the accounts of the gild on three occasions, left his bed coverings, or hangings, to drape his grave during his annual obit and to be hung up with all the others on the feast of St. George.³⁰

²⁷*Ibid.*, p.27

²⁸*Ibid.*, p.15.

²⁹Burgess, "The Anniversary in Medieval Bristol", p.187.

³⁰BIHR PR V 402v-403v 1490. Throughout this chapter the years of office of Hull mayors and sheriffs have been taken from the lists in J.J. Sheahan, *History of the Town and Port of Kingston-upon-Hull* (Beverley, 1866), pp.296-7, 303-4.

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Such possessions as these were intrinsically valuable but required maintenance. From time to time, expenditure on the washing and repair of vestments and altar furnishings was necessary. In 1464, 8d. was expended on washing albs, amices and towels, and Robert Tapy was paid 6d. for mending altarcloths.³¹ Occasionally such items had to be renewed. In 1472, £1.16s.8d. was spent on a new set of white vestments for the use of the gild.³² Such a large outlay must have been worrying at a time when annual income was steadily outstripping annual expenditure. Repetitions of the gild's inventory ceased after 1482 although Peter Lyne, goldsmith, received 8s.4d. for ornamenting the gild chalice in 1483.³³

A particularly interesting outlay, in 1491, was 8d. for covering the copy of the gild's indulgence.³⁴ Unfortunately, no other record of this seems to have survived. The presence of an indulgence, whoever may have granted it, implied official ecclesiastical recognition of the gild and would be an important incentive for potential members. The indulgence may have been an old document at that time. If it were not, however, it might be related to other signs that the membership was increasing towards the end of the fifteenth century.

Once the gild's affluence was clearly established, in the 1490s, it made occasional large payments to devotional and worthy causes within its parish, and, subsequently, the town at large. In 1490, it contributed £5.7s.6½ towards building a new organ in Holy Trinity Church.³⁵ In

³¹KHRO BRA 87, p.4.

³²*ibid.*, p.21.

³³*ibid.*, p.60

³⁴*ibid.*, p.84.

³⁵*ibid.*, p.82.

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1498, £10 was paid towards the construction of the tower and, in 1500, a further £10 was given to make a shrine to carry the Corpus Christi.³⁶ It is not possible to say whether the shrine was intended for general use in the church, or was in response to an unrecorded initiative by the parish Corpus Christi Gild, although the latter is the more likely explanation.

During the early sixteenth century, the St. Mary Gild put its surplus funds to the service of the town on at least three occasions, when it consented to contribute substantial sums to the repair of the town walls.³⁷ Between 1520 and 1522 there were three payments, totalling £11.16s.8d, towards the purchase of a "pare of organs" for the gild chapel of St. Mary in Holy Trinity church, for use in Our Lady's mass.³⁸ In 1529 a further £2.16s.8d was paid to Barnard, the organmaker, for repairs.³⁹ During this period two payments were also made to the Church of St. Mary in Hull. In 1507 the gild contributed 9s.7d. to the church bell tower, and, in 1531, 26s.8d. to the St. Mary altar there.⁴⁰ In the latter case the payment was "agreyd concluyd and Decideyd by Mr mayr his Bredys and the holl Brederyn off our lady gylt", indicating that the mayor and town aldermen were present at the meeting and led the decision-making process.

These payments underline the gild's pious objectives in making contributions, like the chantries in Bristol described by Burgess, to the

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp.82,105,110.

³⁷In 1517, 1518 and 1520, KHRO BRA87 pp.127,128,130.

³⁸KHRO BRA87 pp.130-2.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p.137.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp.120,139.

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"increase of Divine Service".⁴¹ They also reveal a close relationship with the town government, whose needs and requests it was able to fulfil through its reliable yearly income. Despite its healthy finances, however, the gild's accounts ended in 1536. Prior to this, signs of actual neglect of the gild's devotional obligations by its officers occurred, from 1533, when they were enjoined to ensure that the torches and other gild lights be properly maintained.⁴² Despite this, it was further agreed, probably in 1534, that every alderman and steward should henceforth keep the four lights of the gild "sufficiently" and leave them "whole made" when they demitted office.⁴³ These strictures must have been ignored, for the following entry, for 1535, includes an instruction that the torches should be made in wax by the old alderman and stewards. Such problems might indicate a decline in enthusiasm for the fraternity's pious role.

Gild Functions: Feasting

The social functions that emerge most clearly from the account were the gild feasts. These events were held following the annual obit for the souls of former brothers and sisters and on gild election day, when the new officers were chosen and the accounts delivered.⁴⁴ The total for bread and other expenses, in 1463, was 6s.8d. By 1469, although there was no recorded purchase of bread, 11s.3d. was spent on seven and half a dozen of beer and 3s.10d. on cheese. In 1475, 11s.2d. was

⁴¹C. Burgess, "'For the Increase of Divine Service'", p.65.

⁴²KHRO BRA 87p.140.

⁴³*ibid.*, p.141.

⁴⁴KHRO BRA87/8 p.32.

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spent on bread, 3s.6d. on cheese and 16s.6d. on 11 dozen of beer.⁴⁵ The price of beer, at 18d. a dozen, was the same in 1469 and 1475. These expenses suggest that the membership of the gild was increasing over this period, as more people were clearly attending the feasts to consume the bread and beer. Cheese was quantified only once in this period. In 1466 six stones were bought at 8d. the stone.⁴⁶

A need to economise, during the financial crisis of the 1470s, might have led to the early disappearance of professional entertainment at these functions. 8d. was paid to players (*histrionibus*), for their services, in 1463, 1464 and 1466.⁴⁷ Whether this indicates that there was a play or a musical entertainment is unsure. Payments for performers were not made again until 1485, when a minstrel received 4d.⁴⁸ From 1464, there was an annual purchase of a garland, costing 8d. up to 1468, and 1s. thereafter, possibly to adorn the feast.

As the gild grew wealthier, towards the end of the fifteenth century, its feasts and meetings seem to have become grander occasions. The 1491 account records payment to a cook.⁴⁹ This was to become a regular annual outlay, although there is no record of any expenditure on meat or any food that was to be cooked. Payments were still made just for bread, beer and cheese. Meat certainly was cooked, however, as the 1500 account includes a fee to the spit-turners, suggesting that food was donated by members.⁵⁰

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp.2, 14, 32.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p.8.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, pp.2,4,8

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p.65

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p.84.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p.109.

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In 1492 a regular amount of 8d. began to be paid to minstrels.⁵¹ These were probably the town waits, who provided the music in 1503.⁵² By that date too it had become necessary to employ a doorkeeper, indicating a large attendance, requiring professional control, and a possible increase in ceremonial.

The gild did not own its own premises for these meetings and feasts, and where they were held originally is not known. In 1491, however, a payment of a shilling was first made as an easement, or hire charge, for the Hall Garth. This was the local name for the manor that had been confiscated from Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, in 1388.⁵³ It was within the town walls, occupying a large plot to the north-west. The building contained a great hall, sixty feet long by forty feet wide. Next to it was a great chamber with adjoining privies. At the other end of the hall was a buttery, a pantry and a large kitchen. It was obviously a highly suitable venue for gild feasts. Subsequently, this payment became a regular one. It is, of course, entirely possible that the gild had met there regularly in previous years, on a grace and favour basis, but that now it was regarded as wealthy enough to pay for its accommodation. A more likely explanation may lie in an expanding membership.

In 1507, the easement for the Hall Garth was still being paid.⁵⁴ The next full account, in 1511, recorded an easement paid simply for a hall, and the last full account, in the following year, recorded one made for

⁵¹Ibid., p.87.

⁵²Ibid., p.113.

⁵³R.E. Horrox, *The Changing Plan of Hull, 1290-1620* (Kingston upon Hull City Council, 1978), pp.62-3.

⁵⁴KHRO BRA87/8 , p.119.

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the brothers' hall.⁵⁵ No further easements were recorded. The account of 1528 includes the cryptic note "Item pyd to the frers of y's xxs".⁵⁶ The undated account, that seems to belong to 1534, records a payment of 13s.4d. to the Austin Friars.⁵⁷ The evidence is very slim, but might indicate that the friars were, by the second decade of the sixteenth century, providing accommodation for gild functions. A connection with the friary, shortly before the latter's dissolution, could well have been a factor in the gild's disappearance from the record in 1536.⁵⁸

In its employment of a full-time chaplain, in its devotional practices and its feasts and meetings, the gild had much in common with other parish gilds in the county. Indeed its practices seem to have been similar to many of those fraternities that responded to the gild survey of 1389.⁵⁹ Compared with the content of the returns from Beverley, its ceremonial was apparently on a modest scale, but this was typical of Hull gilds.⁶⁰ The St. Mary Gild was, however, unusual in one important respect. It was involved in international commerce.

Gild Functions: Commerce

Figure 6.1 shows that, throughout the life of the gild, the vast majority of its officers, with identifiable occupations, were merchants. Some of them, Robert Alcock and Robert Fyssher, for example, officers in 1466,

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, pp.124,126.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p.137.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p.140.

⁵⁸M.E. Dymond, *VCH YER I*, p.334.

⁵⁹See Chapter 1 pp.51-9

⁶⁰This point is pursued in greater detail in Chapter 3 pp.164-5.

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are shown to have been merchants from their wills.⁶¹ Most of them, however, including Alcok and Fyssher, are more readily identified from the Hull customs accounts of the period.⁶² Roger Bussell, for instance, steward in 1463 and alderman in 1464, appeared many times in these lists, importing and exporting a wide range of commodities between the 1450s and the 1480s, including cloth, stockfish, dried fruit, dyestuffs, oil, iron, lead, felt hats and kettles.⁶³ He became mayor in 1476. Thomas Calthorne, who held gild office in 1467 and 1469, was also an international trader on a large scale, whose cargoes included armour and cutlery as well as cloth, grain and metals.⁶⁴ Ralph Langton, alderman in 1472, a merchant on a similar scale, also leased a salthouse from the town and was mayor three times.⁶⁵ Most of the gild officers, of the late fifteenth century, shipped many cargoes through the port. There were a few exceptions. John Grene was less active in international trade but was the king's collector of customs in 1461 and 1463.⁶⁶ John Tyttelot had imported wine and stockfish in 1453, but died in 1484 describing himself as a draper, and John Typpyng, who invested in a single import of wine, was a mariner when he made his will in 1472.⁶⁷ Richard Burdon, steward in 1464, who does not appear in the customs accounts, gave "Bower" as his alias, which might

⁶¹BIHR PR V 8 (Fyssher), 229 (Alcok).

⁶²Ed. W.R. Childs, *The Customs Accounts of Hull 1453-1490* (YAS Rec Ser 144, Leeds 1986).

⁶³*Ibid.*, pp.13-179 *passim*.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, pp.32-124 *passim*.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, pp.33-218 *passim*. Ed. R. Horrox, *Selected Rentals and Accounts of Medieval Hull 1293-1528* (YAS Rec Ser 140, Leeds 1983) pp.122, 181.

⁶⁶Childs, *HCC*, appx.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, pp.7, 14 (Tyttelot), 98 (Typpyng). BIHR PR V 246v-247r (Tyttelot), IV 182v (Typpyng).

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suggest that that was his craft.⁶⁸ He is probably the Richard Bower who was alderman in 1474. This occupation, however, like that of drapers and mariners, often involved its practitioners in international trade, and he certainly died a wealthy man.⁶⁹

This group of rich entrepreneurs was united not only by bonds of common interest, but, in some cases, by ties of family and friendship, as their surviving wills demonstrate. The Alcoks were brothers. The Fysshers and Swattoks were related by marriage. A common obit was instituted for both Robert Fysher and John Whitfeld by the latter's foster son, Thomas Dalton.⁷⁰ Many of these men witnessed, supervised or executed each other's wills. Richard Myrwyn witnessed that of Roger Bussell. Bussell himself, with Thomas Phelip, supervised the will of John Ryddesdale of which Robert Pellet (or Pylate) was executor.⁷¹

The mercantile nature of the gild at this time is emphasised by the accounts themselves. The first account in the book, for 1463, shows loans being made to members for trading ventures: to Christopher Alenson and Robert Peton for Icelandic stockfish, to Robert Pellet for an import of wine and to others for unspecified purposes.⁷² The gild received interest or profits on these loans. In the following year the fraternity itself bought a pipe of wine through Robert Pellet.⁷³ The wine alone cost 4s., but the freight and the "lewage and stowage" added a

⁶⁸BIHR PR V 357r.

⁶⁹Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, 101-2.

⁷⁰BIHR PR V 229v-230r (Alcok), 410r-v (Swattok), VI 51r-v (Dalton).

⁷¹BIHR PR V 87v-88r (Bussell), 167v (Ryddesdale).

⁷²KHRO BRA87 p.1-2.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p.4.

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further 3s.11d. to the cost. It is not clear whether the wine was purchased as an investment or for use at the gild feast, as no profit from it was recorded, but beer was the usual drink for that occasion. The 1472 account gives details of further loans and payments to the gild.⁷⁴ In this year the fraternity invested a total of £14.18s.7d. in the ventures of various individuals. John Typpyng made a profit for the gild of 14s.9d. on an outlay of 11s.1d. from trading in Iceland, John Buller made 2s. from 14s.6d. trading in Zealand and John Nelesune made two profits trading wine in Bordeaux, both of 11s.1d., on two separate loans of 15s. Most other accounts do not give so much specific detail but simply provide a total of interest, or profit. Some investment seems to have been made in shipping as well as cargoes. In 1465 the gild received £1 from Robert Spofforth and the four masters of a ship called *The Lord Duvvys Barge*, although there is no record of any outlay on the vessel.⁷⁵

Loans to some members proved difficult to recover. John Tyttelot repaid £2.2s.4d. in 1463, part of a previous loan from the gild, and made a further part payment in 1464, but an outstanding 3s.4d. was carried in the accounts until the debt was finally discharged in 1470.⁷⁶ Thomas Alcok owed the gild the large sum of £8 in 1470 and paid only £1 of this in the following year. By 1472 the outstanding £7 loan appears to have been transferred to Henry Acclom.⁷⁷ This seems to have been a disastrous move for the gild. In 1472 Acclom was

⁷⁴*ibid.*, p.20.

⁷⁵*ibid.*, p.5.

⁷⁶*ibid.*, p.15.

⁷⁷*ibid.*, pp.18, 20.

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instructed to pay the sum within seven days. In the following year he was told to pay it by the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. In 1474 he was given until Pentecost. Finally, in 1475, he was ordered to repay within 20 days or forfeit his (unspecified) pledge.⁷⁸ This note of desperation was understandable; the gild's cash balance that year was only 7s.4d., the rest of its assets being in the form of unpaid debts. Acclom paid up, as was recorded in the 1476 account, and financial crisis was averted for a couple of years.

Although mercantile profits never represented a large proportion of the gild's income, they seem to have provided the vital difference between an annual profit and loss. From over £6 in 1463, this source of income had fallen to £2.16s.8d. by 1474 and to 1s.8d. in 1478. These figures mirror a general decline in Hull's trading activities between 1467 and 1487, as compared with activity earlier in the century, and is related to a fall in wool exports and in imports of wine, following the loss of Gascony.⁷⁹ The drop in the value of profits from trade was probably a more serious problem to the gild than Henry Acclom's bad debt, which was, after all, eventually repaid. Gild profits began to recover in the late 1480s and continued to be recorded in the accounts, until 1512, although, at this period, they were seldom ascribed to individuals and no details of ventures were given.⁸⁰

Even in the sixteenth century, most of the gild's office-bearers are identifiable as merchants. Whilst the Hull Customs Accounts do not

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, pp.22, 26, 29, 32, 33.

⁷⁹Kermode, "Merchants, Overseas Trade, and Urban Decline: York, Beverley and Hull c.1380-1500", p.57.

⁸⁰BIHR PR XIII B 572r-v.

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cover the working lives of many of the later officials, listed in Figure 6.1, a higher proportion of them had wills recorded in the probate registers. Of the gild aldermen holding office over this period, most can be identified as merchants but there a few of other professions: mariners, a goldsmith, a spicer, a cordwainer and a yeoman.⁸¹ In addition, those stewards who did not rise to the rank of alderman included a few who were not merchants.⁸² Merchants, however, still represented by far the largest single group, especially amongst those who became gild aldermen. A few of these individuals were even of the stature of the wealthy merchants who had held office in the 1460s. James Johnson, who uniquely served as steward twice, in 1519 and 1523, and alderman twice, in 1524 and 1526, was not only a merchant but was a substantial property owner in the town and was elected mayor in the years ending 1534 and 1546.⁸³ The same might be said of Roger Busshell, junior, who also died wealthy, having been mayor twice, in 1509 and 1517.⁸⁴

⁸¹BIHR PR VI 128 1504 Henry Paty bower, 214 1505 William Bank merchant and mariner, 173 1506 Thomas Warne, IX 24 1515 William Johnson merchant and capper, 144 1520 John Wardell goldsmith, 213 1521 John Rogerson spicer, 268 1523 William Rand mariner, 382 1527 Thomas Huntington merchant, 440 1528 Thomas Smyth unknown, X 67 1530 Robert Vergus unknown, 62 Adm 1530 William Browne mariner, Edmund Sheffeld 1534 merchant, XIA 352 1538 Roger Busshelle merchant, 381 and 383 1539 Robert Walker merchant, XIB 418 John Care unknown, 455 1540 Henry Holdernes cordwainer, 483 1540 Richard Meyklay merchant, XIIIB 1549 James Johnson merchant, 614 1549 William Thow yeoman.

⁸²BIHR PR VIII 13 1509 John Shipley unknown, 62 1510 William Drax unknown, IX 240 1520 Geoffrey Thrusscross merchant, 220 1522 Allan Armstrong mariner, 187 1522 robert Hapsham merchant, 163 William Roclyff unknown, 448 1529 John Baxter merchant, XIA 51 Robert Parker unknown, XIB 430 1539 Henry Dynlaye merchant, 456 1540 Thomas Thomson merchant, 487 1540 John Thornton, merchant, 611 1541 William Robinson shipwright, XIII A 103 1545 James Roger merchant, XVC 145 1558 George Hull merchant.

⁸³KHRO BRA87 p.125.

⁸⁴BIHR PR XIA 352r-v.

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Its heavy involvement in overseas trade, and the high incidence of merchants amongst its officers, begs the question as to whether the fraternity was, in reality, an occupational gild. There is, however, no indication, in any of its documentation, that it was in any way exclusive, or any suggestion of mercantile regulations being enforced by it. It must be borne in mind that the only members that can be identified were the officers, who were among the wealthiest inhabitants of a busy seaport, in which wealth and trade were almost synonymous. Other factors also suggest that, whilst this gild was a fraternity dominated by merchants, it was not a merchant gild.⁸⁵

The Gild's Real Estate: The Rental

Important as the income from commercial ventures was to the gild's prosperity, the rents from its properties were probably a more reliable source of funds. The amounts derived from its landholdings in Hull fluctuated from just over £4 to just over £5 each year. It seems likely that the variations were caused by the amalgamation of the rental with income from admissions. We have seen that the St. Mary Gild rental accounts were made but have not survived. However, it is possible to estimate the extent of the gild's holdings by extrapolation from another Hull source.

A book containing the rental of the Corpus Christi Gild of Hull from Martinmas 1523 to Martinmas 1525 is in existence.⁸⁶ The annual income from its properties in Corpus Christi Lane, Blackfriargate,

⁸⁵See below pp.345-8.

⁸⁶KHRO BRA88. A stitched paper book with leaves folded vertically. It is unpaginated. The rental receipts cover four pages and the payments a further four.

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Mytongate, Whitefriargate and Vicar Lane amounted to £4.17s.6d., and approximately this amount was collected in half-yearly instalments. The last recorded annual total for the St. Mary Gild was £4.4s.6d. in 1512. This does not include the Haynson tenement. This suggests that, excluding large farmed properties, the two gilds may have held real estate of a similar value.⁸⁷

The four lists of rental receipts, in the Corpus Christi document, are followed by four pages of itemised expenditure. It is not clear whether these pages cover one year or four. The first page is headed 1522 but subsequent pages are undated. Embedded in lists of expenditures on building materials and labour, are a few items that one might expect to find in a different kind of account. The first page includes two payments for the bearing of torches at Easter, two for the purchase of wax, one for the making of torches and one for the bearing of the shrine. The latter was a major item of 6s.2d. On the third page appears a payment of 23s.4d. to the priest. The fourth page records payments of 3s.4d. to John Cowtham for mending the shrine, 2d. for bearing torches at Easter, 6s.2d. for bearing the shrine, and other costs, and 6d "for makyng of xij Wex". It seems reasonable to suppose that the lost St. Mary rental might have taken a similar form.

The inclusion of statements of expenditure in rental books is not unique to Hull at this time. The rental book of the Trinity Gild in Coventry, of 1532-33, includes much more detailed accounts of expenditure on specific occasions.⁸⁸ It has been suggested that these are rough

⁸⁷R. Horrox, in *Changing Plan*, (p.7) suggests that Corpus Christi was "the major landowner" among Hull gilds. The reason for this impression may be the loss of the St. Mary rental accounts.

⁸⁸C. Phythian Adams, *Desolation of a City* (Cambridge, 1979), pp.118-27.

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jottings which might have later been incorporated into the accounts. If this were the case with the St. Mary Gild, it may be that a more detailed account of expenditures was also made, in the lost rental book, and that when the book-keeping deteriorated in the sixteenth century, it ceased to be transcribed into the account book by the officials, who now took less interest in the gild's affairs.

The Gild's Real Estate: The Haynson Obit

In 1476, during the gild's period of financial crisis, it received a windfall, partly at the hands of the mayor and aldermen of the borough, which ultimately contributed to its economic stability. When John Haynson died in 1458, he left a messuage near the King's Staithe in Hull, with the income from the property's own staithe, to his wife, Margaret, for the rest of her life, under certain conditions.⁸⁹ The messuage was at that time held by Thomas Etton for the duration of his life. The will provided that, after the death of Margaret, it should be held in trust by the mayor and burgesses of the town in order that they might provide an honest chaplain to say mass perpetually for the souls of John and Margaret Haynson, in the Chapel of St. Anne in Holy Trinity, in return for an annual salary of £5. They were also to ensure that an annual obit was held. It was to be announced by the bellman and be attended by the vicar of the church, and by twelve Priests of the Table, with due ceremony and the burning of candles. This kind of arrangement was not uncommon at this time. Roger Bussell senior, merchant, former mayor and gild alderman in 1476, also left a tenement in trust to the mayor and burgesses, to found an obit, in 1483, and

⁸⁹BIHR PR II 393r-v

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Thomas Dalton left a house in trust jointly to the commons of Hull and the Priests of the Table, to found an obit for the souls of Robert Fyssher and his grandfather Whitfeld, in 1502.⁹⁰

The Haynson property may not have been in a particularly good condition. The town had told John to repair it in 1456, and, as we shall see, it was in a poor state ten years later, but it was clearly extremely valuable in the light of its position.⁹¹ It was a long, narrow plot on a corner site. It ran from Hull Street to the river, where it had its own staithe, and a room above the staithe. To the south, along one of the long sides of the plot, ran Kirk Lane, that connected Marketgate and Hull Street to the River Hull and the staithe. To the north was a complex of tenements, which included town land, a salthouse that was held by Ralph Langton in 1472, and buildings that had belonged to the de la Poles.⁹² Valuable as the property was, however, it did not yield enough income to carry out Haynson's wishes.

In 1476 an indenture was drawn up, "to fulfill the godly purpose of the said John Haynson", between the mayor and burgesses of the town, Margaret Haynson and Robert Stavelay, a chaplain, who was one of the witnesses of John's will, and the Gild of St. Mary in Holy Trinity.⁹³ The document acknowledges that the income from the property assigned to the chantry was insufficient to pay the priest's salary. It was agreed that half of the income from the messuage should be paid to the aldermen and stewards of the gild during Margaret's lifetime.

⁹⁰BIHR PR V 87v-88r (Busshell), 51r-v (Dalton). The chantry chaplains of Holy Trinity were collectively known as the Priests of the Table and had a corporate identity. Documents referring them can be found in KHRO box BRA87.

⁹¹R. Horrox, *The Changing Plan of Hull*, pp.45-6, 185.

⁹²*ibid.*, pp.43-5.

⁹³KHRO BRA8/4.

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Thereafter the gild officers should receive the whole profit, and, in return, the gild priest and his successors would pray for the souls of John and Margaret Haynson, their parents, relatives and for all Christian souls. They also undertook to see that an annual obit was conducted on St. Vincent's Day (22nd January). The property was to be administered by the gild officers, and kept in good repair, under the supervision of the mayor and his successors.

Clearly, John Haynson himself had not intended that the St. Mary Gild should be responsible for his obit. He did not mention the fraternity in his will. All charitable donations had been left to the discretion of his wife. This solution to the problems posed by the Haynson bequest may well have been an initiative on the part of the town government, who were aware of the state of the gild's finances at this time. Roger Bussell, as that year's mayor, was also an auditor of the gild's accounts.⁹⁴ The appointment of the current mayor to this post had been common practice since 1471, indicating close financial supervision of the gild by the government of the borough. Similar arrangements for the administration of chantries by the mayor and commonalty were also common in York at this period.⁹⁵

The immediate effect of this acquisition on the gild's finances was, however, disastrous. It was a major contributor to the negative balance of 1479. The account for 1477 shows no income from the new property and an expenditure of £3.16s.1d. for repairs to it.⁹⁶ In 1478 the tenement was farmed out to William White, who was gild steward in

⁹⁴KHRO BRA87 pp.34-5.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, p.18. S. Rees Jones, "Property, Tenure and Rents : Some Aspects of the Topography and Economy of Medieval York" (D.Phil. thesis, York, 1987) pp.194-7.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, p.37.

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the following year. He paid repair bills to the amount of £3.12s.1½d.⁹⁷ Further repairs relating to the previous year cost an additional 5s.10d. The tenement was subject to tax and a regular sum of £1 per annum was, thereafter, paid to the sheriff of Hull, by the gild. The obit of John Haynson was celebrated at a cost of 4s., and Margaret Haynson was paid 13s.4d. The only income, in 1478, seems to have been a half-year's rent of 7s. from William Haddeson, a cordwainer, who lived in a cottage on the property. However, in 1479, when the gild received no monies carried over from the previous year, White contributed a modest profit of 2s.3d. and, after this date, the tenement yielded the gild a regular net income of £5.13s.4d., until 1495.⁹⁸ This amount was reduced by the regular outgoings, of the tax and the obit fee, and by frequent repair bills. By 1495, these had become so onerous that the farm was reduced to £4.⁹⁹ Major repairs were undertaken at the gild's expense in 1496.¹⁰⁰ Although the current holder of the farm, Richard Gybson, paid 2s. for glazing, the gild itself contributed £5.16s.4d. to what was clearly ongoing work. Building materials still remained at the site.

iij Bawes A panne A lode of lyme And Sande A pere of Webbe
leede And a dogge of yerenne And alle the glasse in every
wyndow belongeth to the hows That is to saye...[unfinished]

Similar materials were still there in 1501 and 1502, in the possession of Robert Vergus, the new farmer, and the account for 1502 records gild expenditure of over £9.3s.1½d on repairing the tenement.¹⁰¹ Clearly, by

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, pp.39-41.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, pp.45-94 *passim*.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p.97.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, p.100.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, p.101, 110-11.

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this time, the decaying property was becoming a declining asset. In 1504, the current mayor of Hull, Robert Garner, took over the farm, for a yearly fee of 66s.8d., from which he undertook to pay the tax, and to repair the building at his own cost, handing it over in good condition after seven years.¹⁰² The situation remained stable until the tenure of John Car, which began in 1530.¹⁰³ The final entry relating to the tenement is for 1531, when the deeds of the property and an inventory were produced before the masters and brethren.¹⁰⁴ It also records the payment of arrears of £6 in tax. This suggests some difficulty with the tenure of the farm during the last few years of the the gild's recorded life.

The Haynson tenement was evidently very important to the gild. The net income from it was roughly similar to that from the rest of the rental, combined with entry fees. It is also clear that the responsibilities connected with it were taken very seriously. The Haynson obit appears as an expense in all the fully itemised accounts from 1478.¹⁰⁵ The care taken over its administration is evident from its history. Such responsibilities were, however, overseen by the town government, rendering even closer a relationship which was already in existence. Indeed, without a close connection between town and gild, the tenement would not have been placed in the latter's hands in the first place.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p.116.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p.138.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p.139.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p.40 et seq.

The Gild Accounts and the Town Government

Even before the agreement over the Haynson obit, there were close links between the officers of the gild and the mayor and burgesses of the town, which can be seen throughout the account. Not only did thirteen future mayors of the town hold the office of gild alderman, and 22 that of steward, almost all of the rest were involved with it as auditors, as Figure 6.2 shows. Auditors were not listed in every account, and not at all after 1527, but it seems likely that they were all gild members. After 1489 the mayor appears to have audited the accounts almost *ex-officio*, during his year of office. The frequency with which some of them performed this duty links them with the fraternity, even when they had not held executive office in it. Service in the administration of the gild may well have been regarded as suitable preparation for civic office at this time, although there was clearly no connection as formal as that which obtained in late medieval Coventry.¹⁰⁶

In such circumstances it is not surprising that the mayor and burgesses were quick to act when the gild encountered financial difficulty. The account for 1479, when the alderman received no sum carried over from the preceding year, shows a rallying of the members to assist the gild.¹⁰⁷ Foremost amongst them were former mayor Roger Bussell who lent 10s. and future mayor Ralph Langton, who had been town sheriff in 1474, and who lent 6s 8d. As we have seen, the mayor and burgesses had already taken steps to place the gild on a sounder financial footing by drawing up the agreement over the Haynson obit.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶Phythian Adams, *Desolation of a City*, pp.118-27.

¹⁰⁷KHRO BRA87, pp.43-46.

¹⁰⁸See pp.334-6 above.

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FIGURE 6.2 : HULL MAYORS WHO WERE ALSO GILD OFFICERS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Mayor</u>	<u>Steward</u>	<u>Alderman</u>	<u>Auditor</u>
Nicholas Elys	1456 1465	-	-	1473 1474 1475
John Barker	1463	-	-	-
John Grene	1464	-	1463	-
John Swanned	1466 1475	-	-	1464 1465
John Day	1467 1470	-	1470	1466 1467
John Hadilsey	1471	-	-	1471 1472
Robert Benyngton	1472	-	-	1465 1467 1472
John Whytfield	1473	-	1465	1470 1473
William Brompton	1474	-	-	1474 1479 1480 1485
Roger Bussell	1476	1463	1464	1465 1466 1467 1468 1470 1471 1473 1474 1477 1478 1479 1480 1482
John Ricard	1477	-	-	1468 1470
Thomas Alcok	1479	1465	1466	1472 1477 1478
Thomas Wadd	1480	-	-	1473 1482 1486
Robert Alcok	1481	-	1468	1479 1480
Henry Swattok	1481	1474	-	-
Ralph Langton	1482 1486 1495	-	1472	1468 1474 1480 1482 1483-4 1485 1487 1489 1491 1492 1494 1495 1496 1498
William Baron	1483	-	-	1483-4
Thomas Phelip	1484 1492	1471	-	1481 1482 1485 1486 1487 1489 1490 1491 1492 1493 1494 1495 1496
Richard Burdon	1485	1464	-	1475 1483-4 1486 1487
John Chapman	1487	-	-	-
John Dalton	1488	-	-	1486 1489 1490 1492
Thomas Elton	1489	-	-	1486 1487
Laurence Swattok	1490	-	-	1489 1490 1491
Thomas Dalton	1491 1500	-	-	1490 1491 1492 1493 1494 1497 1498
Robert Chapman	1493	-	-	1481 1483-4 1485 1487 1489 1490 1491 1592 1493 1494 1495
William Welesmee	1494	1492	1494	1495 1498
Henry Myndram	1497 1507 1507	-	-	1497 1505
William Gudnape	1498	-	-	1497 1498
Robert Howle	1499	1477	1487	1494 1496 1497 1498
Thomas Guseman	1501	1478	1482	-
Edward Baron	1502 1510	-	-	1497 1498 1505 1509
Robert Garner	1504	-	-	1504
John Gylle	1505	1490	1496	1505
Thomas Wilkynson	1508 1521 1528	-	-	1509 1519 1520 1521
Roger Busshelle	1509 1517	1496	1501	1509 1519 1520 1525 1527
Sir John Eland	1511 1518 1525	1464	-	1518 1519 1520 1525 1527
Robert Haryson	1512	1502	-	1509 1519
George Matthewson	1514 1529	-	-	1518 1519 1520
Thomas Huntington	1516	-	-	1518 1519 1520 1521 1525 1527
Robert Hapsham	1519	-	-	1518 1519
Edward Madeson	1520	-	-	1520 1525 1527
John Langton	1522	1503 1510	-	1518 1519 1521 1525
Thomas Thomson	1524 1532	1515	-	1525 1527
William Knowll	1526 1535	1515	-	1527
Robert Parker	1527	1516	-	1527
Stephen Clare	1531	1514	-	1525
James Johnson	1534 1546	1519 1523	1524 1526	-
John Harryson	1538 1549	1526	-	-
William Caterall	1540	1533	-	-
Henry Thruscross	1541 1554	1534	-	-

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This crisis was followed by a period of stability when the gild, controlled by officials, most of whom are identifiable as merchants, and audited by the current mayor and other Hull dignitaries, was financially secure. Despite this growth in the gild's fortunes, the smooth annual recording of accounts and the succession of officials was interrupted twice during this period. Alderman Thomas Butteler and his stewards, Richard Myrwyn and John Oseller, exceptionally held office for two successive years and rendered an account for both years together in spring 1485.¹⁰⁹ The double account is followed by a blank page, perhaps for an inventory that was not recorded.¹¹⁰ This hiatus may well have been a result of political uncertainty in the town, covering as it did the minority of Edward V and the brief, turbulent reign of Richard III. It is, of course, also possible that the reasons were internal to the workings of the gild and are unknown. The account for 1488 is missing and was never recorded. Blank pages were left to supply the information at a later date. The account for 1489 is in a new hand, and William Haryngton, who had been steward in 1474, was no longer being paid for writing the account and the rental, as he had been from 1475. Perhaps he died unexpectedly and could not be easily replaced as record-keeper. No will is extant. The name of Thomas Karre, who was alderman in 1488, is known from the 1487 account, and the amount he handed over to his successor was recorded in 1489. The names of the two stewards for 1488 are not known.

Although it was able to finance more lavish feasts and was prepared to make donations to pious causes, in the late fifteenth century, the gild

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, p.60.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, pp.59-61.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, pp.73-76 are blank.

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does not seem to have numbered as many future mayors amongst its major office holders as it had in 1460s. Most of these were, however, still members of the merchant community and several figured in the customs' accounts.¹¹² An exception was Thomas Guseman, who was probably a relative of the John Guseman who had supplied wax to the gild from 1467 to 1471 and of William Guseman who was steward in 1581.¹¹³ Thomas Guseman does not appear as a gild auditor, but he almost certainly served as such during his mayoral year of 1501. Auditors were not listed in that particular account.¹¹⁴

Although fewer future mayors held high office in the gild, during the sixteenth century, there was no decrease in the town's involvement in the gild's affairs in respect of financial supervision. Even after the accounts ceased to be itemised, the mayor continued to head the list of auditors in most years. The apparent decrease in mayoral auditors at the very end of the period, seen in Figure 6.2, is caused by the gild's failure to record auditors at all, as the quality of the account continued to deteriorate. The custom of the mayor auditing the accounts, as a matter of course, probably continued: the gaps in the mayoral list coincide generally with years when auditors were not recorded.

Mayors who were never gild officials also continued to serve as auditors after their mayoral year, including George Matthewson, Robert Hapsham, Edward Madeson and Thomas Wilkynson, three times mayor, who was wealthy enough to found his own perpetual obit.¹¹⁵ There is

¹¹²*E.g.* Childs, *Customs Accounts*, pp.214 (Welesmee), p.209 (Howle als. Oule etc.), 46, 140, 142 and BIHR PR VI 175 (Gylle).

¹¹³KHRO BRA87 pp.10,11,13,16 (John), 51 (William).

¹¹⁴*ibid.*, p.110.

¹¹⁵BIHR PR XIA 259-2r.

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no doubt that many of the gild office-holders and auditors were still members of a group that was intimately connected with the town government. Their wills, extant in greater numbers in the sixteenth century, show family and friendship connections even more clearly than was the case in earlier periods. James Johnson, for example, supervised or witnessed the wills of Robert Parker, John Thornton and James Roger.¹¹⁶ Thomas Wilkynson's daughters were married to William Knowll and Thomas Dalton.¹¹⁷ Roger Busshell bequeathed jewelled rings to his friends, Masters Johnson and Langton.¹¹⁸

It is, however, noteworthy that several merchants, whose wills display considerable wealth, held office as stewards but not aldermen. These included Thomas Thomson (1520), James Roger (1530), Henry Dynlaye (1535) and John Thornton (1535).¹¹⁹ It may have been that whilst some involvement in the St. Mary Gild was a desirable step, or even a duty, for men at the brink of a mercantile or a political career, the post of alderman was no longer a necessary one. This can be seen in Figure 6.2. Only two gild aldermen became mayors of Hull between 1501 and 1536, but ten of the stewards rose to that rank. These included such luminaries as Sir John Eland, who was mayor three times, and Thomas Thomson, William Knowll, John Harryson and Henry Thruscross, who held the office twice.

The relationship between the gild and the town government was so close that it provokes the question as to whether the former was simply

¹¹⁶BIHR PR XIA 51, XIB 487v, XIII A130v.

¹¹⁷BIHR PR XIA 359-2r, Dalton was a gild auditor, see Figure 7.2.

¹¹⁸BIHR PR XIA 352r-v.

¹¹⁹BIHR PR XIB 456r (Thomson), XIII B 572r-v (Roger), XIB 430v-431r (Dynlaye), XIB 487v (Thornton).

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a creature of the latter; whether the gild was simply an arm of the town council. This suggestion, however, might be to lend the gild more prominence than it actually enjoyed. The St. Mary Gild in Holy Trinity was only one of at least 17 Hull Gilds, and there are indications that members of the ruling group in the borough were equally involved with some of the others.¹²⁰ Bequests by former mayors suggest this. John Swanne, in 1476, left 6s.8d. to every gild in Hull that had a priest and John Whytfeld, in 1479, bequeathed 2s. to each gild in the town.¹²¹ Roger Bussell, despite being gild alderman 1476, left nothing to the St. Mary Gild, but bequeathed 6s. to the St. John the Baptist Gild and £8 to buy a canopy for the Corpus Christi shrine.¹²² It seems more likely that the St. Mary Gild was part of a web of fraternities, many of which enjoyed a relationship with the mayor and burgesses. Interconnections between gilds can be shown through wills such as that of John Nicholson, alderman of St. Mary's Gild, who bequeathed a shilling each to Corpus Christi, Resurrection, St. Mary, St. George, and all the other gilds in Holy Trinity Church.¹²³ We have also seen that the gild made contributions to the Corpus Christi shrine and to the St. Mary Gild in St. Mary's Church.¹²⁴ Furthermore, Robert Spofford, gild steward in 1466, was also, between 1465 and 1469, supervising the accounts of Trinity House, as alderman of Holy Trinity Gild.¹²⁵ If the religious gilds of Hull formed such a web of interlocking pious institutions, representing the

¹²⁰See Gazetteer.

¹²¹BIHR PR V 7r-v (Swanne), 148v-149r (Whytfeld).

¹²²BIHR PR V 87v-88r 1483.

¹²³BIHR PR IX 51 1517.

¹²⁴See p.322.

¹²⁵Woodward, "The Accounts of the Building of Trinity House, Hull, 1465-1476", pp.157-161.

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commercial and political interests of the ruling elite, there are signs that this role was at least modified during the 1490s. The deterioration in the St. Mary Gild accounts in the early sixteenth century might well have been a symptom of a shift in interest, on the part of the mercantile and, by extension, the governing group to a gild of a newer kind.

St. Mary Gild and Other Fraternities in Hull

In the 1490s a series of new ordinances governing crafts and occupations in Hull were drawn up.¹²⁶ The weavers' ordinances of 1490 included a provision that a proportion of the fines levied on members should finance a light of St. Peter. In 1498, the walkers and shearmen similarly provided for a light before the image of St. Christopher in Holy Trinity and for bearing torches at members' funerals. This was to be carried out without charge if the member died in poverty. Similar provisions were laid down by the glovers in 1499 who were to maintain a light before Our Lady of Pylo in Holy Trinity. All three fraternities were clearly intended to be craft guilds, but also to fulfil pious purposes. This might suggest that the usurpation of the function of religious fraternities by craft guilds, that David Lamburn suggests might have taken place in Beverley, was occurring in Hull at a later date.¹²⁷

In 1499, a new merchant gild was established in Hull.¹²⁸ Its organisation and purposes seem to have had much in common with those of the St. Mary Gild, and it seems probable that it was set up in direct competition

¹²⁶KHRO BRE5/1 (weavers), BRE5/2 (walkers and shearmen), BRE5/3 (glovers).

¹²⁷D.A. Lamburn, "Politics and Religion in Sixteenth Century Beverley", pp.295-6, 305-6. See Chapter 3 pp.160-1 above.

¹²⁸KHRO BRE5/4

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to it. The gild regulations were agreed at a meeting in the gild hall of Hull, before Mayor Robert Houll who was himself a merchant, and who had served the St. Mary Gild as steward in 1477 and as alderman in 1487.¹²⁹ The meeting was held "principally for the lawde honour and worship of allmyghty god and of the holy martyr Seynt George". The new gild was to meet annually, on the Thursday following St. George's Day, to elect an alderman and two stewards and collect a levy of 12d. from "every man merchant of the same town and brother of the sayd gild". A levy of 3s.4d. was also sought from each member, as an initial payment,

With the which contynowelly an able and a vertuous preste and oon of the prestes of the table shall be founden dayly to say or cause to be sayd at the Altar of Seynt John Baptist and of Seynt George betwixt v and vj of the clokke in the mornyng a masse called the mary masse...

This "new" Gild of St. George, in employing its own chaplain, evidently saw itself as a religious fraternity. Whether it was really new is, however, doubtful. There had been a Gild of St. George in Holy Trinity in Hull since at least 1398, when it received 3s.4d. in the will of John Hornsee, burgess and merchant. Thereafter it received further bequests in 1438, 1451, 1480 and 1493.¹³⁰ It is likely that this was either the re-foundation of a gild, that can only have failed within the previous six years, or that the existing Gild of St. George had been taken over by a group of influential merchants for their own purposes. There were precedents in Hull for such a take-over. The shipmen had annexed the Holy Trinity Gild to their craft, in 1456, in much the same way.¹³¹ The

¹²⁹Childs, *Hull Customs Accounts*, p.209. Robert Owll [sic] imported madder, oil and brushes in 1489.

¹³⁰BIHR PR III 11r (John Hornsee), 555v-556v (Joan Gregg), II 233r-v (Richard Bille), V 402v-403v (Thomas Wodd), 436v (Thomas Tateham).

¹³¹F.W. Brooks, *VCH ERI* p.398.

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ordinances of 1499 make it clear that St. George's Gild was, thenceforth, to be no ordinary religious fraternity.

There was provision for the employment of a priest. Following this was a complaint that the merchants of Hull had been "hyndered and preiudicially wronged" by men of other crafts and occupations, including tailors and shoemakers, who bought, sold and displayed goods that were not appropriate to their crafts. The ordinance laid down regulations designed to ensure that only merchants should engage in mercantile activities and that foreigners and persons of other occupations be excluded from doing so. The new Gild of St. George was to be an exclusive association of merchants. Every Hull merchant was expected to be a member. This kind of movement was not unique to Hull, or even Yorkshire. The international merchants of Bristol, for example, also attempted to found a gild at about this time that was distinct from other occupations.¹³²

From this action it can be inferred that the St. Mary Gild in Holy Trinity no longer served the commercial needs of the Hull merchants. Too many of its members were evidently not only not merchants, some of them were even encroaching on what the mercantile community regarded as its own legitimate business territory. It cannot be assumed that the St. Mary Gild was the only fraternity in the town that was dominated by a mercantile group. There is little hard evidence for the occupations of the office-bearers of other gilds. The re-foundation of the St. George Gild may have been in competition with other fraternities too. The new one seems to have survived. It was incorporated in 1523 and was

¹³²D.H. Sacks, "The Demise of the Martyrs: the Feasts of St. Clement and St. Katherine in Bristol, 1400-1600", *Social History II 2* (University of Hull, 1986), pp.157-8.

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probably dissolved in 1547.¹³³ It seems likely that the controlling merchant group of the St. Mary Gild had, to some extent, lost interest in it, no longer insisting on detailed accounting, and had turned its attention to the new Gild of St. George, which both fulfilled its devotional needs and supported its commercial advantage.

If some of the energies of this mercantile clique had been diverted into the organisation and maintenance of the St. George Gild, which now represented their commercial interests more exclusively, and at the same time fulfilled their devotional needs, it is not surprising that less time and money was expended on the accounts of the St. Mary Gild, which represented the kind of ethos which the former gild had been established to combat. The increasing presence of mariners and craftsmen among the office-holders suggests that the threat they represented to the merchant interest, in the St. Mary Gild, was a real one. Continued involvement with the gild was, however, essential to this ruling group. The Haynson tenement, and the obit which it financed, were in the hands of the gild but were also under the supervision of the town, under the terms of the agreement of 1476. The continuity of the account, even in an unsatisfactory form, shows the borough's ruling group protecting its investment.

The End of the Gild

The final entry in the account shows a cash balance of £32.6s.8d. to be handed on to the next group of office-holders, although there was some doubt in the scribe's mind as to who was to hold which office.¹³⁴

¹³³G.C.F. Forster, *VCH YER I*, pp.90, 145.

¹³⁴KHRO BRA87 p.142

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Robert Thorpe's name was deleted, as alderman, and that of James Huchison substituted. Instead, Thorpe took over Huchison's original post as steward. This page, and those that precede it, are ill-written and untidy, in stark contrast to the elegant calligraphy and careful accounting of earlier entries. It can be argued that these signs show a lack of interest in a moribund institution. However, by this date (1535), other, exterior forces were already at work. News of attacks on images, in the early 1530s, in East Anglia, for example, must have been heard in Hull, and although the Ten Articles agreed at Convocation in 1536 did not abolish lights and images, they were clearly under attack by radical elements within the Church.¹³⁵ The reluctance of the gild's officers to maintain its lights between 1533 and 1535 might suggest doctrinal objection on the part of individuals, rather than simple neglect, although this did not reflect the position of the majority who censured them.¹³⁶ Furthermore, the dissolution of the lesser monasteries signalled a threat, to the astute merchants of Hull, that the funds of their fraternities were not safe from royal sequestration. It was rumoured in Grimsby, in 1536, that the people of Hull had sold their church plate and jewels and paved the town with the proceeds, to keep them out of the king's hands.¹³⁷ Even though it was probably untrue, this story suggests an atmosphere in which the concealment of gild funds, or their covert annexation by the town, was a likely strategy. An official gild account book had become an unsafe document in which to record a current balance.

¹³⁵E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.381-4.

¹³⁶See p.323 above.

¹³⁷M.H. and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy*, 2 vols. (London, 1915 repr. 1971) Vol I, p.79.

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The episode of the Pilgrimage of Grace, and its aftermath, was a highly confused one in Hull.¹³⁸ Two former gild Stewards, John Eland and William Knowll, personally treated with the rebels on behalf of the town, although Eland was later thanked by the king for his hand in capturing John Hallam.¹³⁹ It is not surprising that, following these traumatic events, the account ceased to be kept. The end of the gild is, however, shrouded in mystery. It does not appear in the commissioners' certificates in 1546 or 1548, but, as late as the fiscal year 1540-41, the gild aldermen [*sic*] were still paying 20s. tax to the town for the Haynson tenement.¹⁴⁰ It seems certain that the gild disappeared at some point between these dates, along with the images in the church and the lights that burned before them.

Conclusion

The Gild of St. Mary in Holy Trinity, Hull, was a major gild in an important commercial centre. This is evident from the nature of the men who held office and controlled its affairs. From its possessions and activities, however, it was poor and relatively inactive when compared with fraternities in other towns of comparable size. Any comparison with gilds such as St. Christopher and Corpus Christi, in York, or with the major gilds of Norwich or Lincoln is not valid. These were all fraternities in established cities. It is fairer, perhaps, to measure it against those in seaport towns such as Boston or country towns such

¹³⁸Forster, *VCH YER I*, pp.91-2. See Chapter 7 below pp.377-9.

¹³⁹A.G. Dickens, "New Records of the Pilgrimage of Grace", *YAJ* 33 (Leeds, 1936-38) pp.305-6.

¹⁴⁰Horrox, *Changing Plan*, p.46.

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as Louth. The Gild of St. Mary in Boston was employing ten chaplains and a choir by the end of the fifteenth century. The Corpus Christi Gild in the same town had nine chaplains and even the St. Mary and Holy Trinity Gilds in Louth had two each.¹⁴¹ These figures put the Hull St. Mary Gild's efforts to maintain the salary of a single chaplain into perspective. Both the St. Mary and Corpus Christi Gilds of Boston commissioned plays, employed jewel-keepers and sacrists to look after their treasure and provided education for their choristers.¹⁴²

The Hull gild's wealth and activities were not on this scale. It owned property for rent, but did not own its own premises, having to hire accommodation for its meetings and feasts. The accounts suggest that its ceremonials were both modest and orthodox. Its pious obligations to the Haynsons seem to have been conscientiously discharged. The inventory shows decent but not spectacular provision. The annual procession, when the Rood was carried, and the bearing of torches at Easter and Corpus Christi, appears to have been their limit, at least after the financial crisis in the 1470s. If there was more, then money was not expended on it. The feasts do not seem to have been lavish. Only bread, cheese and beer were paid for by the gild, although meat was also being consumed by the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Entertainment was, at this time, confined to music by the town waits. Its charitable donations showed some generosity, but they were clearly made at the instance of the borough officials.

The status of many of its officers suggests that it was closely connected with the governing group of the borough, and it is clear that

¹⁴¹D.M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire : History of Lincolnshire V*, p.129.

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, pp.130-1.

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it was closely supervised, in its financial affairs, through its auditors, who usually included the current mayor. It was also linked, in various ways, to other gilds in the town. Unfortunately, beyond its ruling body, we know almost nothing of the quality of its general membership, although we can guess that it included numbers of merchants as well as members of other occupations. Its principal worldly preoccupations were mercantile. It was in receipt of a low level of trading profits at least until 1512. The lack of full accounts, after that date, might indicate that the mercantile element had become less important. If, from that time onwards, the purely devotional activities of the gild became its principal preoccupation, then it would be particularly vulnerable to official attacks on "superstitious" practices. In the politico-religious climate of the 1530s and early 1540s, a gild that had lost the full support of a craft or merchant organisation, in a town dominated by mercantile concerns, might find it difficult to survive. It is hardly surprising that it was allowed to disappear quietly by a town government that was beset by far more urgent problems.

CHAPTER SEVEN : THE REFORMATION AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GILDS

William Page, writing in 1894, in the Preface to his edition of the 1546 Commissioners' Certificates, for the County of York, expressed surprise that they reported on only five gilds in the whole of Yorkshire.¹ This implies a cataclysmic decline in gild numbers prior to the survey. There are, of course, factors which conspire to make this a particularly low figure. Neither of the surveys, which Page edited, have survived complete, the most obvious omission being the entire rural East Riding. Furthermore, he did not recognise that many of the West Riding services were, in effect, gilds and, as we shall see, he may have failed to identify a number of other fraternities which had not been recorded in the certificates in a straightforward way.² Even so, it appears that, by 1546, the vast majority of Yorkshire gilds, known to us through testamentary and other evidence, had either disappeared or not been recorded by the commissioners. It is the purpose of this chapter to investigate the reasons for this apparent decline.

The dissolution of the gilds was simply one strand in the complex web of the Reformation. Various debates about the causes and nature of the Reformation itself may be relevant to their disappearance and a number of pertinent questions will be addressed. For example, how far was the lay population dissatisfied with the late medieval church in terms of its rituals, its beliefs and the conduct of its hierarchy? To what extent did the doctrines of the continental reformers represent a groundswell of latent Lollardy? How far did political events drive religious changes and

¹CC1, p. ix.

²See Chapter 2 p.115-20, p.389-95 above.

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what was the extent of public support for them?³ The following study of the disappearance of the county's religious guilds will allow these problems to be addressed in the context of the large and highly diverse county of Yorkshire where local events and regional attitudes had their own particular flavour and emphasis.

The Question of Gild Decline

That the religious guilds were doomed long before their dissolution in 1547 is clear. Where and when the process of decline began is more contentious, but there is some unanimity concerning urban centres in the country at large. In London, recruitment to fraternities waned after the 1520s.⁴ Large urban guilds in Boston, Coventry and Sleaford showed signs of decline at the same time.⁵ We have seen that, in York, the testamentary evidence shows peaks, where the numbers of bequests to guilds exceeded 50 per decade, between 1421 and 1490, and again in the decade 1501-10, but that there was a dramatic decline thereafter.⁶ In Pontefract and Doncaster there was a particularly sharp downturn, after 1530, in bequests made to guilds, recorded in the county will sample, although a similar decline began considerably earlier in Hull, after the 1490s, and earlier still in Beverley and Scarborough, in the 1470s.⁷

³Tanner, "The Reformation and Regionalism", pp.130-41, provides a useful brief approach to these questions in general terms.

⁴Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.172

⁵Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, pp.34-5.

⁶See Figure 4.1.

⁷See Figure 2.6.

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In Beverley, and perhaps in Hull, this decline in bequests to religious guilds was coupled with an increase in the devotional activities offered by occupational guilds, and it has been suggested that the latter, to some extent, replaced the functions of the former in these towns.⁸ There is evidence to suggest that this process was also taking place, to some degree, in York itself.⁹ That pious laypersons in these places were encouraging this change does not, however, indicate a decline in their support for traditional religion. The ordinances of the occupational guilds in Hull in the 1490s, for example, show an enthusiasm for lights, images, processions and funerals.¹⁰ Rather, it indicates a need to economise, to combine the commercial protection offered by the occupational guild with the spiritual advantages of the religious fraternity under one head of expenditure. This phenomenon was, apparently, just one further aspect of the link between the decline of guilds and commercial decay, in particular urban areas, that has previously been discussed.¹¹ There is little indication, in Yorkshire, of the attitudes which led the Bristol authorities, in 1530, to compel guilds to take part in religious processions, although it has been argued that, in York itself, the craft associations were, to some degree, unwilling participants in the annual Corpus Christi play cycle.¹² This particular lack of enthusiasm, however, seems to have been on economic rather than doctrinal grounds.

⁸See Chapter 3 pp.168-9.

⁹See Chapter 4 pp.211-21.

¹⁰KHRO BRE5/1-4, see Chapter 6 pp.338-9.

¹¹See Chapter 2 pp.123-9, Chapter 4 pp.188-90.

¹²D.H. Sacks, "The Demise of the Martyrs: the Feasts of St. Clement and St. Katherine in Bristol, 1400-1600", *Social History II 2* (University of Hull, 1986) p.168. Swanson, "The Illusion of Economic Structure", pp.29-48, especially p.44.

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Outside the major centres of population there was every indication that guilds were flourishing in the country at large. Whilst few fraternities were recorded in Exeter on the eve of the Reformation, they were found in profusion in the rural West Country.¹³ Somerset guilds, for example, continued to receive bequests right up to the Dissolution, and a guild in Cornwall was still attracting recruits as late as 1547.¹⁴ In Lincolnshire, the major centres of Lincoln and Boston had accounted for 83.3 per cent of all bequests to guilds in the county between 1506 and 1510.¹⁵ By the period 1526-30 their share had fallen to 25.4 per cent of a much higher total of bequests. The following two years saw a further drop to 10.4 per cent. There was a corresponding rise in the number of bequests to rural guilds. We have seen that there was a similar increase in bequests to guilds and services, in the rural areas of Yorkshire, over the same period, especially in the increasingly prosperous area of Holderness and in the dales of the West Riding.¹⁶ Whilst it seems likely that this increase in bequests was due more to a change in the status and occupation of testators than an actual proliferation of guilds, it shows that a large number of religious fraternities was present in the county in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁷ Even in the countryside, however, the total number of bequests to guilds declined after 1530, although a few were made as late as 1547.¹⁸

¹³R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People* (Cambridge, 1989) p.107.

¹⁴Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.36.

¹⁵Based on statistics derived from Foster, *Lincoln Wills*, 3 Vols.

¹⁶See Chapter 2 p.104.

¹⁷See Figure 2.4 (map).

¹⁸See Figure 2.5., e.g. BIHR PR XIII A 359v Thomas Beverley of Hornsea, 12d to every guild in the town "over and beside there wagies", 344r-v Hugh Anderson of Swine, 12d to St. Mary Guild.

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It seems likely that a major indicator of the fluctuating fortunes of recorded guilds prior to the 1530s was the wealth of the communities in which they operated, as reflected in the numbers of members who were affluent enough to make bequests to them. Subsequently, whatever the local effects of economic factors might have been, however intimately the guilds were bound up with urban governing elites, or with the power-bases of local magnates, no matter how central they were to the ceremonial and social activities of their members, by the 1530s events and movements, on a national scale, were beginning to affect guild activity. These factors were doctrinal, liturgical and, ultimately, political. The guilds became enmeshed in the English Reformation.

Lollards and Conservatives

Before examining the actual process of the Reformation and its effects upon the guilds, it is essential to look at its intellectual background. As the guilds themselves were closely involved in governmental structures, especially at a local level, it is important to judge how far local opinion had been conditioned to accept the ideas of the reformers. One important aspect of this is the possibility that reformist ideas had been fermenting throughout the county since the Lancastrian persecution of the Lollards in the early years of the fifteenth century. How far the influence of Wycliff and his followers remained in the social consciousness, providing a seed-bed for reformist ideas, that were eventually translated into protestantism, is a matter of debate.

The Lollard threat to guilds, in the early fifteenth century, can be seen as an indirect one, attacking their spiritual assumptions rather than their fraternal purposes. There is little doubt that a number of Wycliff's ideas were hostile to some of the basic premises that underlay guild

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membership. For example, he attacked, as idolatry, the veneration of images, including that version of the Trinity which was symbolic of Corpus Christi.¹⁹

And thus laymen depict the Trinity unfaithfully, as if God the Father was an aged *paterfamilias*, having God the Son crucified on his knees and God the Holy Spirit descending on both as a dove.²⁰

He held that images represented an error in faith on the part of both lay persons and the ecclesiastical authorities who might think the "Father or Holy Spirit or angels to be corporeal".²¹ Such attitudes were developed by his followers. The Lollard "Twelve Conclusions" of 1395 also attacked images and transubstantiation, and, from a gild point view, even more sinisterly, prayers for the dead.²²

It is a matter of debate how far, and where, the heresy survived to lend an impetus to the Reformation. It has been suggested that the movement created an intellectual climate for the reception of reformist ideas and, at the same time, caused a reaction in the church hierarchy, which became increasingly hostile to all criticism.²³ This view has since been both modified and attacked. Lollard influence has since been described as principally literary, providing the reformers with a series of works which they could re-interpret in the light of continental ideas and experiences.²⁴ It has also been argued that fifteenth century Lollards

¹⁹See Chapter 3 p.153-5, Figure 3.3.

²⁰*De Mandatis Divinis*, quoted in M. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion* (London, 1984), p.139. See Chapter 4 p.153-5 above.

²¹*Ibid.*.

²²A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964), p.24.

²³*Ibid.*, pp.36-7.

²⁴Aston, *Lollards and Reformers*, passim..

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represented not so much a movement as a number of small, self-sufficient kinship groupings, coming largely from the lower orders of society, geographically separated, but sited largely in southern counties, and holding a variety of views.²⁵ The few, notable individuals who suffered publicly for their heresies were often atypical.²⁶ Even in Essex, where Lollardy was particularly rife, its beliefs were confined to particular communities and did not affect those of most ordinary people.²⁷ Further north, Lollard influence was even weaker. There is, for example, little evidence of any tradition linking medieval heretical views with the Reformation in Lancashire.²⁸ The view, that the importance of Lollardy has been given undue emphasis by Reformation historians, is particularly apposite in the context of the North.²⁹

The question of continuity between Lollardy and the Reformation in Yorkshire has been studied in great detail by A.G. Dickens but all his examples are drawn from the sixteenth century, and only the case of Roger Garfield of Wakefield, who, in 1512, admitted repeating heresies he had heard from a Lincolnshire cleric, pre-dated Luther's influence.³⁰ The "Dutchmen", whose careers, in the late 1520s and 1530s, that he outlines, were all subject to continental influences.³¹ The later Yorkshire Lollards he examines, including those involved in the Pilgrimage of

²⁵R.G. Davies, "Lollardy and Locality", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 6th Series 1* (London, 1991) pp.191-212, especially p.200.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p.211.

²⁷L.R. Poos, *A Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex 1350-1525* (Cambridge, 1991) p.279.

²⁸C. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1975).p.76.

²⁹*The Stripping of the Altars*, p.6.

³⁰A.G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1555* (2nd Edition, London, 1982) pp.16-17.

³¹*Ibid.*, pp.17-29.

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Grace, such as Francis Bigod, seem to have been influenced more by literary Wycliffite sources and by continental ideas than by any vast groundswell of public opinion.³²

The general view of many commentators is that Yorkshire was, on the whole, pious in a conservative rather than a reformist manner.³³ York itself remained predominantly traditionalist throughout the whole process of the Reformation.³⁴ Indeed, extreme Puritanism had no influence in the City before 1603.³⁵ Palliser's analysis of "Will Formulae" in the City, despite its admitted shortcomings, shows that York testators still bequeathed their souls in traditional form in overwhelming numbers between 1538 and 1547.³⁶ A similar exercise, conducted within the two last sample periods in testamentary evidence for the county, excluding York, yields very similar results. It shows that, in the period March, 1537, to March, 1541, 98.6 per cent of all testators bequeathed their souls in traditional form, but that this number had fallen to 76.2 per cent by the period from March, 1547, to March, 1548. Even this latter percentage is high, considering the religio-political climate of the first year of Edward VI's reign. Whether the employment of these formulae in wills was related to the wishes of the testator or to the predilections of the scribe, it is, nevertheless, indicative of a climate of opinion.

³²*ibid.*, pp.29-137, *passim*.

³³P. Heath, "Urban Piety", p.228, C. Cross, "Parochial Structure and the Dissemination of Protestantism in Sixteenth Century England: A Tale of Two Cities", p.272.

³⁴Palliser, *The Reformation in York*, pp.30-32.

³⁵A.G. Dickens, "Tudor York", *VCH York*, p.151.

³⁶Palliser, *The Reformation in York*, pp.18-21, table on p.32 and Note to Reprint.

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The actual contents of wills indicate no diminution of traditional piety. The general impression given, both by the York wills containing gild bequests and the county will sample, is similar. Even in the minority of cases where a testator bequeathed his or her soul to God alone, suggesting an awareness of reformist doctrines, some testators, in a contradictory fashion, proceeded to make traditional pious bequests. In 1540, Jennet Etherington of Holme in Spaldingmoor, left money for torches for the parish church, William Barker of Wistow, made a bequest to the rood light there, and Christopher Nayler, of Chidwell, in Dewsbury parish, wished to found an obit.³⁷ Even as late as 1547, testators continued to leave money for such forbidden purposes as the purchase or maintenance of church lights, suggesting that they were still in use.³⁸ Also in 1547, Henry Wedall of Nafferton asked for a priest to "sing for his soul" and expected the churchwardens to arrange his obit.³⁹ In the same year, however, Richard Royse, a gentleman of Knottingley, who left a substantial sum, for the curate of St. Giles Chapel in Pontefract, to sing for the repose of his soul, was clearly more aware of the political realities of the time.

Item yf the lawe wyll not suffre a preste to syng for me then I
wyll that the sayd viij li shall be gyven to poor folkes...⁴⁰

This clause indicates clear support for traditional religious practices on the part of a well-informed member of the gentry with urban connections.

³⁷BIHR PR XI 552 1547 George Wallas for a rood lamp at Brandesburton, BIHR PR XI 556 1547 William Gedney to the Sepulchre light at Welwick, BIHR PR XI 496 1547 Robert Mayson to the Lady Light at Guisborough.

³⁸BIHR PR XIII 343, 338, 364.

³⁹BIHR PR XIII 356.

⁴⁰BIHR PR XIA 18.

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Even the Lollards' economic attitudes, shown in their attacks upon an over-wealthy church, do not seem to have been a major factor in forming public opinion. In the population at large, there was clearly the same resentment, over such traditional church levies as tithes and mortuaries, as over any form of taxation.⁴¹ However, this did not give rise to armed revolt. Indeed, the Pilgrimage of Grace was, at least in part, an indignant response to royal depredations practised upon the Church.⁴² It was believed by the rebels that the new parish registers were being introduced to enable the government to levy taxes on baptisms, weddings and funerals.⁴³ Such economic factors as there were seem to have been anti-government rather than anti-clerical.

If the ideas of the old Lollard heresies had little effect on the religious conservatism of sixteenth century Yorkshire, those of the new reformers undoubtedly did so. Their influence, however, seems to have been a matter of imposition rather than persuasion.

Purgatory, Intercession and the Eucharist

Like the Lollards, the reformers do not seem to have regarded the guilds, initially, as a target for their attacks. Here again, the danger to fraternities was, at least to begin with, an indirect one. Even Henry VIII's move against them, in the Act of 1545, was motivated by a need to raise funds for his wars in France and Scotland.⁴⁴ This was, of

⁴¹Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England*, pp.212-17.

⁴²See below p.377-9.

⁴³Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace I*, p.77., Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.151.

⁴⁴*The Statutes of the Realm Vol III* (London, 1817 repr. 1963) 37 Henry VIII c.4, pp.988-93.

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ecourse, the same excuse that had prompted the legislation that had instituted the 1389 gild returns. It was not until 1547 that they were fatally attacked by Somerset's regime on doctrinal grounds.⁴⁶ Even then the assault was not aimed at all fraternities. Occupational gilds were exempt. Thus, it was not the principle of fraternity to which the reformers objected so strongly, it was to certain of their practices and their doctrinal and liturgical bases.

Theologically, the continental reformers were attacking the assumptions of the medieval church over the means of salvation and, in particular, they denied the elaborate structure of the penitential "cycle" on which so much of the medieval church's practices and beliefs depended.⁴⁶ This inevitably affected many of the devotional activities of the gilds. The images of the saints, the lights that burned before them and the rituals and processions performed in their names were useless. The dedications and many of the ceremonials of the gilds were not merely ineffectual, they were idolatrous, and contrary to the tenets of the second commandment, prohibiting the worship of graven images. Symbolic of such worship were not only the images that the fraternities maintained with such care, but also the votive lights, that figured so large in the 1389 gild returns and in the accounts of gilds such as St. Mary in Holy Trinity, Hull.⁴⁷ Even the Virgin Mary, the most popular of all gild saints, was not regarded as capable of intercession, and the apocryphal events surrounding her life and death, such as her dormition, assumption and coronation, were denied.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, Vol IV Pt 1, (London, 1819 repr. 1963) 1 Edward VI c.14, pp.24-33.

⁴⁶E. Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp.80 (Fig. 1), 111-35 *passim.*, 154, 192.

⁴⁷See Chapters 1 p.52 and 6 pp.318-9 above.

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As crucial to gild survival as the attack on saints and their images was the whole question of intercession for the dead. In denying the efficacy of the penitential cycle, and the concept of a state of grace, in this world, the reformers called into question the importance of the deathbed confession, extreme unction and the whole panoply of the medieval way of death. Indeed, if the soul of the departed proceeded directly to God alone for judgement, then the whole concept of purgatory, for which there was no biblical authority, was challenged. If there were no purgatory, then gild obits, funerals and most bequests to gilds, which were made in the expectation of fraternal prayers, no longer had any function. We have seen that both of these elements, especially obits, were major elements, not only in gild devotional practices, but also in their economic health.⁴⁸ The chantries, which a number of gilds, including some of the largest, maintained, were also vulnerable for similar reasons. Papal and episcopal indulgences, too, Luther's first target, which played a part in recruitment to some of the larger gilds, would no longer have been regarded as valid. Here the denial of purgatory, coupled with a repudiation of the powers of the Church to offer absolution, especially in return for payments, such as entrance fees, formed a potent threat to gild survival.

The new theories also affected the charitable functions of fraternities. If salvation were to be granted, by faith, to those whom God had selected, then it could not be earned by those who discharged the Acts of Corporal Mercy in the hope of turning away God's wrath. To maintain a *maison dieu*, for example, would not ease the way to heaven. An individual act of charity might be a sign that the giver was one of the righteous, but this was a matter between him, or her, and the deity.

⁴⁸See Chapters 5 and 6 above.

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Such corporate charity could ultimately be of little spiritual value and might merely display pride. Justification was by faith, not works.⁴⁹

Another debate, that threatened a number of guilds, concerned the nature of the eucharist. Individual reformers might disagree as to the nature of Christ's presence at the mass, but, ultimately, belief in transubstantiation was generally rejected in favour of a communion that was basically commemorative or symbolic. Such a belief reinforced the view that an ordained priest could no longer be regarded as possessing special powers that enabled him to perform the miracle of the eucharist. This called into question the purpose of employing a gild or service priest especially to serve the intercessory needs of a fraternity. Furthermore, the host itself was no longer to be regarded as a holy substance to be worshipped and glorified. Latimer, in a sermon in 1548, claimed that all the rituals of the mass were a diminution of the passion and an insult to Christ.⁵⁰ In the light of such attitudes to eucharistic ritual, the cult of Corpus Christi, and the processions and ceremonials that were connected with it, were unacceptable and the guilds that promoted them were clearly open to attack.⁵¹

Clearly, neither the average gild member nor the average Yorkshire man or woman subscribed to these reformist beliefs. As we have seen, they attracted little support within the county, even in 1547. Those ordinary people who were not directly exposed to reformist preaching would be aware of disturbing rumours but would be little affected, in their daily lives, by the intellectual arguments of reformation. It is hard to say how far most people were even aware of them. Far more potent must have

⁴⁹Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 121-5.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p.120 and note.

⁵¹Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp.354-5.

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been the physical effects of the new ideas: the changes that took place in the furnishings of their churches, in the conduct of once-familiar rituals and in the disappearance of local institutions. The denial of purgatory might have destroyed a major intellectual justification for gild membership, but the gradual removal of its ritual focus was probably even more destructive. The impetus for this process was imposed by reformers and influences in both state and church hierarchies and seems to have been a combination of reformist zeal and political expediency.

Images, Lights and Ceremonial

In 1532, four Suffolk men entered the church of Dovercourt, in Essex, at night, and burned the miracle-working rood there, perhaps with the connivance of a local curate of reformist views.⁵² How far this particular action was an echo of Lollard tendencies and how far a response to recent continental events it is hard to say, but there is little doubt that the latter were a major factor. The violent outbreak of iconoclasm in Wittenberg led by Gabriel Zwilling in 1521-22, the breaking of images in Zurich in 1523, followed by their wholesale removal by the city authorities in 1524, and subsequent similar events in numbers of cities, in Switzerland and Germany, throughout the 1520s, could not have passed unnoticed in England.⁵³ Nearer home, the mutilation of a statue of the Virgin in Paris, in 1528, was drawn to the attention of an indignant Henry VIII.⁵⁴ The Dovercourt incident was simply one of the more widely-recorded of a number of such happenings

⁵²Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, p.133.

⁵³Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp.249-51.

⁵⁴Aston, *England's Iconoclasts*, pp.210-11.

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in England. Whilst most of these seem to have taken place in Essex, Suffolk and London, images were defaced in Worcester and altar-furnishings broken in Louth.⁵⁵ Iconoclasm, at this point, was an extremist gesture against the established church and contrary to law. The three Dovercourt offenders, who were captured, were executed. Luther's writings were already being exported to England by 1519 and were, reportedly, being widely read.⁵⁶ Reformist ideas, however, were not encouraged by the establishment prior to the fall of Wolsey. In 1520, the Cambridge authorities held a public burning of Lutheran books and, in 1521, the Cardinal presided over a larger, similar ceremony at St. Paul's in London.⁵⁷ A few months later the king himself published his *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, an anti-Lutheran treatise, which earned him the title *Fidei Defensor* from Leo X, who granted an indulgence to all who read it.⁵⁸ It was not until the matter of the royal divorce and the consequent collapse of his foreign policy, that it became clear that Henry's matrimonial difficulties could only be solved by removing the English church from papal authority.⁵⁹ This provoked an abrupt change in royal policy. The clergy were rendered submissive to the crown by a revival of the Act of Praemunire, and to Parliament, through the Supplication against the Ordinaries, making it impossible for them to mount concerted opposition to change.⁶⁰ Henry's appointment of Thomas Cromwell as his principal adviser, in 1530, and Cranmer's

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p.212, Duffy, p. 381.

⁵⁶Dickens, *The English Reformation*, p.68.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*

⁵⁸E. Doernberg, *Henry VIII and Luther: an account of their personal relations* (London, 1961).

⁵⁹W.J. Sheils, *The English Reformation 1530-1570* (Longman, London and New York 1989) p.17.

⁶⁰Haigh, *English Reformations*, pp.106-16.

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elevation to the province of Canterbury, in 1533, ensured the presence of reformers in positions of power and influence, opening the way to the introduction of measures that would undermine the devotional functions of guilds.

In June, 1536, Hugh Latimer, recently promoted to the diocese of Worcester, preached a sermon before Convocation, in which he attacked images, relics, indulgences and "purgatory pick-purse", all of which were papal devices to take money.⁶¹ Images should not be dressed or lit, and the ceremonies surrounding them should be suppressed:

...if ye purpose to do anything, what should ye sooner do, than to take utterly away these deceitful and juggling images...?⁶²

This sermon was the prelude to the adoption by Convocation of the Act of Ten Articles. Although the articles did not go as far as Latimer in seeking the abolition of images, they represented the first steps of authority against them. Images might still stand in the churches, to inspire the faith of the laity, but they might not be worshipped with kneeling or incense, nor should people believe that "any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same".⁶³ The latter provision, although this was not its overt intention, in effect removed the whole point of the dedication of guilds to specific saints.

It was followed eight days later by the removal of the occasion for many guilds to celebrate their patron saints at all. In an act "for the abrogation of certain holydays", Convocation ruled that the feasts of

⁶¹Aston, *English Iconoclasts*, I, p.222. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, pp.390-1.

⁶²Quoted in Duffy, *Ibid.*.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p.393.

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the patronal saints of churches and all feasts falling in harvest-time and during Westminster term-times, should be celebrated with a simple mass only, and that they should be ordinary workdays.⁶⁴ Only a few major festivals, including those of the Virgin Mary and the Apostles, were excepted. Among those abolished were a number of feasts of the more popular gild dedications. Examples are those of St. Katherine, St. Mary Magdalene, Holy Cross, The Holy Name of Jesus, St. Anne, St. Martin, St. Margaret, St. Laurence, St. John of Beverley and the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Effectively, the act prohibited ceremonial gild masses on these days, and rendered processions impossible. Trouble in Beverley, over a priest's failure to announce St. Wilfrid's Day, was subsumed in the general chaos surrounding the Pilgrimage of Grace but the act was also unpopular elsewhere.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, in August, 1536, Cromwell had issued injunctions to beneficed clergy, reinforcing the Ten Articles and forbidding them to "set forth or extol any images".⁶⁶ In the following year the *Bishops' Book* took the reformist cause against images a stage further, forbidding the making or possession of them with the intent to worship them. By this time, words were being translated into actions and iconoclasm was occurring on an official basis. Cromwell's officials were already dismantling pilgrimage shrines and stripping or removing miracle-working images in some parish churches, as well as in the dissolved religious houses.⁶⁷ A further set of injunctions, in 1538, instructed parish clergy to assist in the process.

⁶⁴*ibid.*, pp.394-5.

⁶⁵*ibid.*, pp.395-8.

⁶⁶Quoted more fully in Aston, *English Iconoclasts, I*, p.224.

⁶⁷Aston, *English Iconoclasts I*, p.225, Duffy, pp. 402-3.

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That such feigned images as ye know of in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of anything made thereunto, ye shall, for avoiding that most detestable sin of idolatry, forthwith take down and delay, and shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax to be set before any image or picture...⁶⁸

The instruction goes on to except the lights on the altar, rood-screen and Easter sepulchre. This was a further savage blow to gild practice. The maintenance of lights was, as we have seen, an important function of many gilds, and was a major item of expenditure in their accounts.⁶⁹

A clue as to how some gilds reacted to this measure may be found in one of the very rare examples of Pre-reformation Yorkshire parish records.⁷⁰ A light of St. Sitha was maintained in St. Michael Spurriergate in York. The records do not indicate whether there was an actual Gild of St. Sitha but there was, at least, an organisation that was referred to as "the keepers of saynt Syth lyght".⁷¹ In the year ending 1537, the keepers were clearly trying to reduce the size of the stock. There are two entries in that year of the church paying substantial sums to the city chamberlain's office "to helpe to bryng ytt owt of det". In both cases the money was taken out of the St. Sitha stock.⁷² These payments were made prior to the 1538 injunctions, but it seems likely that the parochial authorities feared that the light was in danger of abolition and that the fund that financed it might be liable to sequestration. What better way could there have been of using the money than by purchasing the good will of the city authorities? In the

⁶⁸Quoted in Aston, *English Iconoclasts I*, p.227.

⁶⁹See above p.363.

⁷⁰BIHR PRY/MS4.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, f.134v.

⁷²*Ibid.*, f.134v, 137r.

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following year the parish decided not to renew the stock's supply of wax, although the light may still have been burning at this date. Under the heading "legaseys" is the following item.

Rasayved of Saynt Sythe Stok what tyme that we shuld have
bowght wax wyth itt to have mayd Seynt Sythe lyght & fyve
dossen wax compleyt xiijs iiijd.⁷³

However, under "the expences a bowytt the Churche" is this entry.

Item for ij dore bandes wher Seynt Syths torches doyth stand
jd ob.⁷⁴

Once the parish had made provision for securing the funds and purchases of the St. Sitha light, the records show that, in the year ending 1539, the light itself was removed, in accordance with the injunctions, and at parochial expense.

Item for takyng downe of seynt sythe candylstyke and other
candylstyks mo iiijd.⁷⁵

Some of the reasons for this apparently tame surrender will be examined later, but it may well have been typical of the attitude of many of the guilds and services in York at this time.⁷⁶

Cromwell's 1538 injunctions contained other provisions that affected the guilds less directly but which further diminished the reverence for the saints, which underpinned so much of their ceremonial, such as the removal of supplications to the saints in the litany.⁷⁷ The abolition of the angelus bell and of the use of the rosary, too, were both aimed at the cult of the Virgin Mary, by reducing the occasions when the recitation of the Ave Maria was obligatory. Cromwell's commissioners

⁷³*Ibid.*, f.142v.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, f.143v.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, f.154v.

⁷⁷Duffy, p. 408.

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continued to remove and destroy shrines and images from monastic institutions, including those of Our Lady at Walsingham (Norfolk), of the Rood at Boxley (Kent) and of St. Thomas of Canterbury.⁷⁸ However, the injunctions still permitted the retention of images that were not worshipped or "abused with offerings". In the diocese of York, the moderate Archbishop Lee, in a series of injunctions, interpreting those of Cromwell, whilst forbidding lights before saints, allowed that:

images be suffered only as books, by which our hearts may be kindled to follow the holy steps and examples of the saints represented by the same.⁷⁹

Thus, whilst the St. Sitha light in St. Michael Spurriergate was removed, there is no record, at this stage, of the image itself being taken down.

Henry VIII's proclamation of 16th November, 1538, a prelude to the Act of Six Articles in the following year, has been seen as the beginning of a period of official reaction to the process of reformation.⁸⁰ It was becoming clear that the Vicar General and his supporters were taking reform beyond the point that his master, as Supreme Head of the Church in England, would accept. However, the Six Articles contained no provision to halt the dismantling of shrines, or the destruction of images, and the dissolution of the greater monasteries proceeded apace. Indeed, the 1538 proclamation officially suppressed the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury, denying his sainthood, expunging his name from the liturgy and commanding the destruction of all his images.⁸¹ Thus another popular gild dedication lost its validity, this time for overtly

⁷⁸Aston, *English Iconoclasts I*, p.234.

⁷⁹Duffy, p.413.

⁸⁰Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.152.

⁸¹P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations I The Early Tudors 1485-1553* (Yale, 1964), 275-6.

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political reasons, the saint having been a rebel against his king. At Ashburton (Devon) the Gild of St. Thomas Becket responded by becoming the Gild of St. Thomas Apostle.⁸² After Cromwell's fall in 1540, the progress of reform was, in most respects, halted. It was not, however, reversed as regards those matters that indirectly affected guilds. As we shall see, Henry personally initiated measures to enforce the policy towards images, enshrined in the 1389 injunctions, during his visit to Yorkshire in 1541.⁸³ In the same year, although he restored three saints' days, he abolished others, including the boy-bishops' and misrule festivities connected with such feasts as St. Nicholas and Holy Innocents.⁸⁴ On the other hand, the King's Book of 1543 represented a slight softening of the official view on images, whereas the *King's Primer* of 1545 omitted traditional prayers for the dead, to the Virgin, to saints and to the Eucharist.⁸⁵ Despite these ambiguous statements, at least one Yorkshire gild showed signs of revival during this period. We have seen how the recruitment of new members to the Corpus Christi Gild in York recovered from no new members, in 1537-39, to an annual figure of 178, in 1543-4, a higher total than had been achieved in any year since 1534.⁸⁶

It was not until after Henry's death that the final blow fell. The injunctions of 1547, issued by the Edwardian government, abolished all religious processions and required the removal of all lights, except those at the altar, and the destruction of all shrines and "misused" images,

⁸²Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.158.

⁸³Aston, *English Iconoclasts I*, p.238. Duffy, p.431-2. See below p.381.

⁸⁴Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p.430-1.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, pp.429, 446-7.

⁸⁶See Figure 6.9.

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including paintings and stained glass.⁸⁷ The parish of St. Michael Spurriergate complied:

Item to two smythes for takyng done of candylstykes in the
churche ij d.
... Item to a laborar ffor beryng moke owt of þe church and
þe churche yerd what tyme the seyntes was takyn Down ij d.⁸⁸

The statue of St. Sitha was not specified, but was probably a part of the destruction. That the account refers to them as "seyntes" and not as images, or idols, suggests that they were still regarded with reverence and that their removal was a matter of regret. There does not seem to have been a wholesale destruction of glass. Medieval windows still survive in the church, and in York generally.⁸⁹ Even despite the 1538 injunction attacking St. Thomas of Canterbury, a series of windows celebrating his cult, probably connected with the gild, survive in St. Michael le Belfrey.⁹⁰ Whilst an image could be relatively cheaply removed, the replacement of windows would be both expensive and essential. With the loss of the images the ceremonial focus of the gilds had disappeared.

By 1547, of course, they were already under direct attack. Before the actual circumstances of their dissolution are discussed, however, another question needs to be addressed. If gilds were as popular and vital, in early sixteenth century Yorkshire, as most of the evidence seems to suggest they were, why was there so little protest at their

⁸⁷Aston, *English Iconoclasts*, p.256-7. Duffy, p.451.

⁸⁸BIHR PRY/MS4 f.213v.

⁸⁹J.A. Knowles, *Essays in the History of the York School of Glass-Painting* .

⁹⁰Window nV. Part of the sequence of Becket panels are now in the Minster, window CH1. See J. Toy, *A Guide and Index to the Windows of York Minster* (York, 1985), p.41.

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demise? One answer to this question lies, not in the events of 1547 but in those of a decade earlier, in 1536-7.

The Pilgrimage of Grace and its Aftermath 1536-41

There has been considerable debate over the causes of the Pilgrimage of Grace. That there were economic and political dimensions to the struggle is apparent. It has been seen as a protest against taxation and enclosure by agricultural workers, as a plot hatched by the local gentry, as a bid for power by the Percy family and as an attempt by the religious to stave off dissolution.⁹¹ Other commentators have, however, emphasised its basically religious nature.⁹² It has been pointed out that when the commons took action during the uprising, what they did was related to their religious, not their economic, grievances.⁹³ There seems little doubt that, whatever the motives of their leaders, and whether or not they manipulated the actions and emotions of their followers, the majority of the pilgrims acted as they did for reasons which included piety. They were opposed to the religious changes, of which the dissolution of the lesser monasteries was the latest unpopular manifestation. They pinned on their badges of the Five Wounds of Christ and followed their leaders in the hope of persuading their king to

⁹¹Both A.G. Dickens, "Secular and Religious Motivation in the Pilgrimage of Grace", *The Province of York, Studies in Church History* 4 (Leiden, 1967), pp.39-64 and G.R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England 1509-1558* (Arnold, London, 1977) pp.264-9, emphasise the secular causes of the Pilgrimage. Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, p.135, implies that the monks, at least in Lancashire, were implicated in fomenting the rebellion.

⁹²C.S.L. Davies, "The Pilgrimage of Grace Reconsidered" *Past and Present* 41 (Dec. 1968) pp.72-4, M.L. Bush, "The Richmondshire Uprising of October 1536 and the Pilgrimage of Grace", *Northern History* 29 (Leeds, 1993), p.95.

⁹³C. Haigh, *English Reformations*, p.148

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halt the process, dismiss his advisers and allow them to return to the religious practices of their forefathers. Robert Aske's message to the mayor and council of York, when he called for "the preservacyon of crystes church" and "the punnyshement of herytykes and subverters of the lawes", probably represented the feeling of the vast majority of the pilgrims.⁹⁴ His entry into York, on 16th October, 1536, was to popular acclaim.⁹⁵ The common people had already declared their support for the pilgrims on 11th October, and there seems to have been little opposition from the mayor and council. Mayor Harrington endorsed the rebels' articles in his own hand, although there was a prudent failure to minute any of the incidents of the rebellion in the House Book.⁹⁶ The atmosphere in the city seems to have been euphoric. The nuns of Clementhorpe and the monks of Holy Trinity were reinstated in their dissolved houses.⁹⁷ Gentry in the countryside around took the rebels' oath, albeit under some duress, and there was some plundering of the houses of those opposed to the rising.⁹⁸ The main body of rebels stayed in York only for a few days, but other elements of the force, including Sir Thomas Percy and his entourage, rode through later, to the delight of the populace.⁹⁹ Later still, from 21st to 25th November, York was chosen by the rebels as the venue for its Great Council.¹⁰⁰ Its citizens appear to have given the pilgrims widespread support.

⁹⁴Quoted in Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, p.176.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, Palliser, *The Reformation in York*, p.7-8, A. Raine, *YCR IV*, p.v.

⁹⁷Palliser, *The Reformation in York*, pp.8-9.

⁹⁸Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, p.183.

⁹⁹*VCH York*, p.145.

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In Beverley, before the failure of the Lincolnshire rising was fully known, the town held a public meeting, followed by an armed muster, on 8th October.¹⁰¹ Beverley and Howden were early focuses of the rebellion, before the forces from both areas combined to march on York. Hull, however, was reluctant to become involved and, after a parley with a detachment of the rebels, the mayor and alderman would only agree to allow those of the town who wished to join the rebels to do so without equipment or provisions.¹⁰² The pilgrims besieged the town, which surrendered to them on 20th October.¹⁰³ Before Lord Darcy's open involvement with the rebellion, he was besieged by the townsfolk of Pontefract who had risen and declared for the pilgrims on 17th October.¹⁰⁴ Although the Doncaster men also sympathised with the pilgrims, their army avoided the town because of plague, but camped nearby.¹⁰⁵ At the northern end of the county, Scarborough Castle withstood a rebel siege throughout the rising. There is no doubt that all the major population centres of the county were closely involved in the Pilgrimage. Everyday life was widely disrupted, and, with the possible exception of Hull, the inhabitants generally supported the pilgrims.

The immediate religious impetus for the rising was twofold. The dissolution of the lesser monasteries had begun in May and the commissioners' actions were unpopular.¹⁰⁶ The Act of Ten Articles and the injunctions that supported them were also being promulgated. The

¹⁰⁰Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp.311-8.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, pp.144-6.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p.159.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, p.166.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p.184.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p.251.

¹⁰⁶*Ibid.*, p.74.

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suppression of feast days led, as we have seen, to trouble in Beverley.¹⁰⁷ It seems certain that it caused protest elsewhere in the county. Outrage was magnified by rumour. In October, 1536, at the height of the rebellion, the king issued a proclamation against the spreaders of malicious rumour, complaining that:

... divers devilish and slanderous persons have sown, bruited and spread abroad that we should pretend to have ... brought to our tower to be touched ... the chalices, goods and ornaments of parish churches, and fines for christening, wedding and burying; and for license to eat wheat, bread, pig, goose or capon with many other slanderous, false, and detestable rumours, tales and lies...¹⁰⁸

Such rumours were rife throughout the country and, whether they were deliberate political propaganda, as the king believed and as some historians agree, or whether they were simply the product of panic, is, when assessing the state of mind of the majority of the pilgrims, largely immaterial.¹⁰⁹ The story that the burgers of Hull had sold their church treasures and used the money for paving the town, so that the king's commissioners should not take them, has no known foundation in truth, but the people of Grimsby gave it credence.¹¹⁰ Such tales simply served to deepen the anger of the people at what was seen as the oppression of the king's bad advisers, "the herytykes and subverters of the lawes" of Aske's letter to York. Recent research suggests that the central core of the uprising was the fear that there would be a wholesale attack on the ceremonials and trappings of parish worship.¹¹¹ The pilgrims were

¹⁰⁷See p.369 above.

¹⁰⁸Tudor Royal Proclamations I: The Early Tudors 1485-1553, p.244.

¹⁰⁹Dodds, p.76.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p.79.

¹¹¹C.S.L. Davies, "Popular Religion and the Pilgrimage of Grace", *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, eds. A. Fletcher and J. Stevenson (Cambridge 1985), pp.79-80.

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concerned about their investment, in the sense of a local pride in their churches and of their roles within them, rather than in purely financial terms. Furthermore, their parochial activities, as churchwardens and as gildsmen, gave them a particular stake in their parish churches, which led them to protest, in this extreme fashion, at the threatened spoliation.

The end of the pilgrimage, in frustration and confusion, produced by Norfolk's mendacious promises and the king's masterly inaction, saw the rebel army disperse, in the belief that the protest would lead to a favourable review of its grievances by the promised parliament. The king's pardon in December, 1436, however, offered no concessions and ascribed the rebellion to ignorance and false rumours "most craftily, untruly and spitefully set abroad ... by certain malicious and seditious persons".¹¹² The later rising, of January, 1537, headed by Francis Bigod and John Hallam, which involved unsuccessful attempts to take Scarborough and Hull, offered the king an opportunity to take revenge for both risings from what was now a position of strength. Norfolk was dispatched to Yorkshire to administer oaths of loyalty and pacify the North. There were hangings in York, Hull, Scarborough, Watton, on Yersley Moor and on Richmond Moor.¹¹³ The subsequent North-Western insurrection led to Norfolk's assize in Carlisle where 74 Cumberland insurgents were executed.¹¹⁴ On his return to Yorkshire, several of the original leaders of the pilgrimage were sent to London where they were arraigned for high treason.

¹¹²*Tudor Royal Proclamations I*, p.246.

¹¹³Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace*, II, pp.82, 110.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*, p.226.

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The total number of executions resulting from the Pilgrimage has been calculated at 216.¹¹⁵ Of these, 185 took place in the North, and two of these, in particular, were carried out to maximum effect in Yorkshire. Sir Robert Constable was executed in Hull and his body hung over Beverley Gate.¹¹⁶ Robert Aske was hanged in York, from Clifford's Tower.¹¹⁷ Most of the rebels of noble birth, or high ecclesiastical status, including Lord Darcy, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis Bigod, the Priors of Guisborough and Bridlington and the Abbots of Fountains and Jervaulx, were executed in London.¹¹⁸ The effect on the morale of the population of the county must have been devastating. Although the numbers of the dead were not spectacular, they contained men of respected family and of high status.

An atmosphere of fear and guilt still pervaded York as late as 1541, when Henry VIII made a state visit to the city in October. From July the House Book entries were dominated by the preparations.¹¹⁹ It is hardly surprising that a royal entry should be planned with such care, the city cleaned, festivities planned, pageants brought forth and gifts prepared. What is striking is the Recorder's address to the monarch, delivered kneeling, on behalf of the Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, also kneeling, at Fulford Cross.

... we your humble subjects ... have agaynst our naturall allegyaunce disobedyntly and contrary your Grace ys lawes for the common welth provyded grevously and traitoryously offendyd your high invyncible and moste royall majesty ... in the most odyous offence of traterous rebellyon, whereby your Grace ... graunttid to us wretches, beyng desparat of any

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*, p.82.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, p.220.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp.223-5.

¹¹⁸Elton, *Reform and Reformation*, p.262.

¹¹⁹YCR pp.54-70.

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maner hope or releyff, your most gracyous and charytable remissyon, frank and free pardon, whos bountyfull hart and liberall graunte we of our selfs ar in no wise able to recompence or satisfye but contynually have been from the bothoms of our stomaks repentaunt, wo and sorrowfull for our said unnaturall and haynous offencs ... we promyse and vow ... frome thys time forwards ... to serve, obey, love and dreyd your Majestie Royall ...¹²⁰

This fulsome effusion demonstrates the anxieties of the city authorities. They had obviously been badly frightened by the executions. Perhaps they also feared the withdrawal of their charter. A few days after the visit, on the King's orders, the shrine of St. William in the Minster was despoiled, part of the profits being used to buy Bibles for local parish churches.¹²¹ There appears to have been no protest.

The whole region seems to have been cowed by the events of four years earlier. The king's visit simply reinforced its lessons. In the light of the failure of the rebellion and its bloody aftermath, it is scarcely surprising that later reformist measures were accepted, and largely complied with, without overt opposition. The slow erosion of the spiritual and ceremonial functions of the guilds was allowed to continue and, by the time they were attacked directly, as part of the process for dissolving the chantries and colleges, the capacity for resistance, from within the county, had already been destroyed.

The Process of Dissolution

The dissolution of the chantries, guilds and colleges was not a swift and tidy process. Begun by Henry VIII, with the Act of 1545 and the survey of 1546, it was not completed until after his death, by the regime of

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, p.69.

¹²¹Aston, *English Iconoclasts I*, p.239.

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Protector Somerset, through a further Act in 1547 and two more surveys in 1548.¹²² The commissioners in the 1546 survey were instructed to search out and identify all the "chauntries hospitalls colleges free chappells fraternyties brotherheadds guyldes and stypendarye prestes" in the county and to investigate:

to what intentes purposes and dedes of charity ... [they] were founded ... in what manner the revenews and profitts ... be used expended and imployed ... to thintent we may know whiche shallbe mete to stond and remayne as they nowe be or to be dissolvdyd altered or reformyd making to us a perfyte certyficatt of every particuler poynte therof accordingle.¹²³

They were to make inventories of all lands, goods and possessions and were given powers to examine all the king's subjects to complete their enquiries. All local officials were ordered to cooperate with them. In Yorkshire, the commission was headed by Robert Holgate, the Archbishop of York, but the other commissioners were all gentry, comprising Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Leonard Beckwith, four esquires and three gentlemen. This survey was organised by deaneries. Unfortunately it does not survive complete. The four deaneries of Buckrose, Dickering, Harthill and Holderness, in the Archdeaconry of the East Riding, are missing. So too is the portion of the deanery of Lonsdale that lay within the county, although the other Yorkshire deaneries of the Archdeaconry of Richmond are extant. Alone of the East Riding certificates, that from Hull has survived, although it has become separated from the other Yorkshire material.¹²⁴

¹²²*Statutes of the Realm III* (London 1817, repr. 1963), 37 Henry VIII c4 pp.988-93, IV Pt 1, (London, 1819, repr. 1963), 1 Edward VI c14 pp.24-33. PRO E301 63-72, 102-3, 105-6, 119, DL38 11-13.

¹²³PRO E301 66.

¹²⁴KHRO BRA 87

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In accordance with the king's detailed instructions, the information in the certificates was presented in columns, generally under a number of headings.¹²⁵ The first comprised the name and number of the institution. The next contained the name of the incumbent, the foundation of the institution, and its purpose, and the quality, degree and function of the incumbent. The distance of the institution from its parish church, and its function, were then required, in order to assess whether it contributed usefully to the parish. The last three columns were devoted to an examination of the institution's assets. An enquiry as to any lands sold or acquired by it since 2nd February, 1536, usually elicited a negative response. Finally there was an inventory of its goods, plate and jewels and a survey of its lands, tenements and revenues. This set of certificates presents a valuable account of the various institutions they assessed.

The record of the commission set up by Edward VI's government, as a result of the 1547 Act, and making its return in February, 1548, is much less informative.¹²⁴ The new commissioners were again headed by the Archbishop of York and contained two names that survived from the preceding one, William Babthorpe, now a knight, and Robert Chaloner, esquire. It also contained John Bellow, a Lincolnshire lawyer and businessman, who, with Sir Michael Stanhope, later figured in the purchase of gild lands in the East Riding.¹²⁵ The purpose of this survey was not to examine what institutions might be dissolved, it was to assess the property that used to belong to them and which was now, under the Act, the property of the crown. In effect, these

¹²⁵PRO E301 66.

¹²⁴CC2, pp.371-2.

¹²⁵PRO E315/67 Part II f.612.

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commissioners were implementing the sequestration of the assets of the chantries, gilds, colleges and hospitals. Although the instructions given to the commissioners were less explicit than those of 1546, the same format was used for the certificates and they are penned in a similar hand. Most of the individual returns were, however, much briefer. This time the survey was made not by deaneries but by Ridings and Wapentakes. It was a clear signal that the property was no longer in church hands. Once again the certificates for the East Riding are missing, with the exception of the City of Hull, and Hullshire, and the Bailiwick of Beverley.

An additional survey was set up in July, 1548, to assess the pensions of those priests whose chantries had been dissolved. Once again the same format was employed, but this time the numbers of commissioners were fewer and the information given was even more terse. Like the commission in February, the survey was conducted by Ridings and Wapentakes. This survey is important in that it does include a certificate for most of the East Riding, although Holderness is represented only by its middle bailiwick. The East Riding certificate was drawn up by John Bellow alone.¹²⁶ It has been analysed, although not transcribed, along with other relevant material, in a most useful article by C.J. Kitching.¹²⁷

Although the response to this phase of the Reformation was somewhat muted in most of the county, there was at least one incident of extreme violence. On 25th July, 1549, the parish clerk of Seamer, Thomas Dale, and a local yeoman, William Ambler, led an armed revolt which

¹²⁶PRO E301/119 m.1.

¹²⁷C.J. Kitching, "The Chantries of the East Riding of Yorkshire at the Dissolution", pp. 178-194.

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culminated in the death of Matthew White, one of the Yorkshire commissioners in February of the previous year, his wife, a servant of Walter Mildmay, who was one of the July 1548 commissioners, and Richard Savage, former Lord Mayor of York, at the hands of the mob.¹²⁸ The reasons given for the riot were related to the religious changes and the support of local gentry for them. That three of the victims were directly connected with the Dissolution can have been no coincidence.

Elsewhere in Yorkshire argument and concealment were more usual responses. The Corporation of the City of York, for instance, was still making representations to the central government "for the preservacon of the guyldes of Seynt George and Seynt Crystofer in York" as late as 1549.¹²⁹ In the light of the events of the previous twelve years, it seems certain that any politically-aware gild official in the whole country would have understood the intention, and have anticipated the consequences, of the establishment of the first survey in 1546. Those gilds that persisted, despite the undermining of their doctrinal and ceremonial purposes, must have been concerned to salvage what they could of their economic assets.

Those urban gilds with occupational connections survived as craft gilds, shedding their devotional trappings. Occupational gilds had been exempted from the Act of 1547 due to the parliamentary influence of the London livery companies.¹³⁰ Thus the tailors' Guild of St. John the Baptist and the mercers' Holy Trinity Guild, in York, and the shipmen's Holy Trinity Guild, in Hull, all survived as secular institutions. Others

¹²⁸Duffy, p.459.

¹²⁹YCR V The Stripping of the Altars, p.8.

¹³⁰Scarbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, p.36.

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preserved elements of their identity, such as the Corpus Christi Guild of York, which continued in the guise of St. Thomas' Hospital.¹³¹ Most, however, seem to have disappeared, as guilds, before the dissolution process was complete. A case in point was the St. Anthony Guild of York, the third largest, in terms of testamentary evidence, in the city. The Corporation, far from seeking its preservation, as it had with the St. Christopher and St. George Guild, chose to deny its existence.

Item Maister White beyng one of the King's resayvours in thes Northe parties dyd dyrecte his lettres unto John Wylson of the Citie of York, baker, the cobby whereof the said Henry Mason haith up with hym to shewe for somuche as ther is no gyld of Saynt Antony founded within the said Citie as is supposed by the said lettres.¹³²

Despite this protestation, the guild's hall was in the possession of the Mayor and Aldermen, in 1551, and was already being used, in 1554, to house the meetings of those trade guilds in the city that had no building of their own.¹³³

The seizure and subsequent concealment of guild and chantry property by town authorities was by no means confined to York. In Richmond the bailiffs and burgesses anticipated the visit of the commissioners by taking over and selling, to private individuals, most of the chantries and obits in the borough.¹³⁴ The only exceptions were two chantries, previously held by now dissolved monasteries, and a hospital that was administered by the crown. These institutions would be well known to the commissioners. The concealed property included the endowment of

¹³¹See Chapter 5 p.308-9.

¹³²YCR V p.4

¹³³*ibid.*, pp.64, 106.

¹³⁴L.P. Wenham, "The Chantries, Guilds, Obits and Lights of Richmond, Yorkshire", *YAJ XXXVIII* (1952-55), p.97.

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an obit for Thomas Stevinson and the brethren of St. John the Baptist's Gild in the town. Chantries dedicated to St. Mary, St. Thomas the Apostle and St. John the Baptist also figured amongst the property sold.¹³⁵ The three gilds in Richmond, identified from testamentary sources, also had these dedications.¹³⁶ The case for concealment was not pressed home until Elizabeth's reign, and, even then, was resolved in favour of the town.¹³⁷ Similar concealment took place in Ripon, where the property of the Holy Cross Gild was used by the town to found a school, and where the town government's actions were investigated by the crown in 1577.¹³⁸ If the authorities in a remote township like Richmond could receive prior warning of the commission and successfully conceal so much property, it seems certain that more southerly parts of the county were in an even better position to do so.

Concealment may also have been aided by the way in which the commission was appointed, and the way in which it carried out its duties. The 1389 gild survey had been discharged by obliging gilds to make returns themselves, supervised by sheriff's officers, local men, who, presumably, were each familiar with the area in which they proclaimed the writ.¹³⁹ The certificates of 1546-8 were produced by royal commissioners, directly appointed by the king, who, although they were mostly northerners and knew the county, might have been unfamiliar with many of the individual locations in the wide areas that they covered. They were sequestering local assets to the crown in the

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, p.101.

¹³⁶BIHR PR V 248r-v 1484, William and Margaret Walker.

¹³⁷Wenham "The Chantries, Guilds, Obits and Lights of Richmond", pp.110-1.

¹³⁸Ed. A.F. Leach, *Early Yorkshire Schools I*, YAS Record Series 27 (1898), pp.201-15.

¹³⁹See Chapter 1 pp.38-9.

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name of new beliefs which were not widely accepted. Furthermore, it may well have been noticed that at least some of the commissioners, like Stanhope and Bellow, were in the process of making personal fortunes by buying and re-selling confiscated lands.¹⁴⁰ It is hardly surprising that when they began their survey they found very few gilds in the county.

It seems certain that the majority of fraternities took measures to ensure that their physical assets were hidden from the commissioners. Most of their devotional functions had already been stripped away. Gild officials, in the face of the new threat, clearly decided that the best course was to dissolve their fraternities, before the commissioners arrived, and return all the liquid assets to the membership. Most gild possessions were easier to dispose of in this way than those of institutions such as colleges, hospitals and chantries. Profits from commercial undertakings, entrance fees and livestock could be readily concealed. The mysterious "decay" of four-score sheep of the stock of Pockley Chapel was noted by the commissioners, but it seems likely that in many unrecorded cases both gild money and chattels disappeared into the community.¹⁴¹ Income from real estate, used to pay for priestly stipends, obits and chantries could not be so readily hidden, although towns, such as Richmond and Ripon, evidently succeeded in doing so. Where such lands had been willed, certificates in mortmain had to be purchased and tax paid to the crown, as was the case with the Haynson obit of the St. Mary in Holy Trinity, Hull.¹⁴² In York, the city government

¹⁴⁰PRO E315/67 Part II f.612. *Cal. Pat.* 2EdVI 1548 pp.27-9.

¹⁴¹See Chapter 2 p.105 above.

¹⁴²See Chapter 7, p.337 above.

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had itself been administering a number of chantries subsequent to a charter of 1393.¹⁴³ This probably aided concealment. Where there was a recent crown record of assets, however, they were more easily detectable. These factors, especially with regard to chantries might lead us to view the survival of guilds in the county, at a point just prior to their formal dissolution, in a new light.

Gild Survival

In assessing how many fraternities survived to the eve of the Dissolution, it is necessary to examine all the guilds and services that have been identified and to quantify those that were mentioned in the documents relating to the process. By far the largest body of evidence for guilds in Yorkshire prior to the Dissolution is, of course, testamentary. The Gazetteer contains a complete list of all guilds and services identified as existing in the county between 1300 and 1550. Figure 7.1 lists all guilds that appear to have survived up to the eve of the Dissolution. Of the total of 376 identified guilds and services listed in the Gazetteer, 71 (18.9%) are directly mentioned in the certificates. Of these, 16 (4.6%) were referred to, at least once during, or just after, the process, as guilds and 55 (14.6%) as services. That more services were found by the commissioners than guilds was probably due to the nature of the service as an institution.¹⁴⁴ As its primary function was to maintain a priest, and as he was frequently funded by revenue from lands, services were difficult for their members to conceal. There is, however, evidence to suggest that this argument can be taken a stage further.

¹⁴³S. Rees Jones, "Property, Tenure and Rents", pp.193-6, *Cal. Charter Rolls* p.333.

¹⁴⁴See Chapter 2 p.113ff.

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The commissioners were far from consistent in their terminology. For example, Figure 7.1 shows that the Holy Trinity Gild in Bawtry, called a gild in the testamentary evidence, was referred to in February, 1548, as a chantry or gild, and in July, 1548, as a chantry or service.¹⁴⁵ The St. Mary Gild of Rotherham was called a service in 1546, a gild or service in February, 1548, and a chantry in July, 1548. Such confusions may provide a clue to the small number of gilds recorded, as such, by the commissioners. When the dedications of previously identified gilds and services are compared with those of the chantries found in the survey in the same locations, there is a high correlation between the two. Among the most famous gilds missing from the certificates was the Corpus Christi Gild in Pontefract, where a chantry with the same dedication was described as being "put in by the mayr and his bretherne". There is no entry for the St. Christopher and St. George Gild of York, either, yet the two St. Christopher chantries in York Minster are entered as being of the foundation of the gild in the 1546 certificates. In a large number of cases a chantry was either found, by the commissioners, in the same location as a gild or service, identified by other evidence, and was of the same dedication, or, occasionally, was the only chantry in a location where a gild or service was identified but where the dedication was not given. It is reasonable to suppose that the existence of these chantries in 1546, or in 1548, or later, indicates that the gild in question was probably still active shortly before the dissolution process began. Whilst a gild might have dissolved itself, distributing the assets that were not easily traceable by the crown, the chantry belonging to it would remain. It seems certain

¹⁴⁵Bawtry Holy Trinity Gild: BIHR PR III 553v 1438, II 29r-v 1441. For all references to the commissioners' certificates, see Fig. 7.1 and the Gazetteer.

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that many of the chantries noted by the commissioners, especially, but not exclusively, those that they described as being "without foundation", were gild chantries. In all, of 376 previously identified gilds and services, 78 (20.7%) appear to be referred to as chantries at, at least, one point in the dissolution evidence.

It also seems highly probable that a large number of chantries, again especially those without recorded founders, that were noted by the commissioners, might well have been maintained by gilds that cannot be otherwise identified. In the absence of corroborative evidence, however, their number cannot be quantified with any accuracy and they have not been included in either Figure 7.1 or the Gazetteer.

The commissioners' certificates do not yield the only gild evidence relating to dissolution. 29 (07.7%) gilds were identified from post-Dissolution land records taken from a number of primary sources including an Office of Augmentations account book, the Calendar of Patent Rolls, and a variety of secondary sources.¹⁴⁶ It seems probable that all the gilds found in these sources were also active shortly prior to dissolution. To these has been added, in Figure 7.1, a handful of gilds with bequests, or other references, in wills of 1546 and 1547.¹⁴⁷ All these groups of gilds and services overlap one another but, taken together, they total some 160 that probably survived until the eve of the dissolution process and that were sufficiently wealthy to maintain a

¹⁴⁶PRO E315/67/Part II ff.612v, 613r, 657r. Secondary sources include previously cited works by Kitching, Wenham and Leach and the *VCH ER*.

¹⁴⁷YML L2(5)b 16r-v 1546 Agnes Thomson to St. John (Baptist?) Gild York, BIHR PR XIII A 1546 Jennet Brery to Corpus Christi Gild York, 313r 1547 Edmund Kendall to St. Nicholas Gild Guisborough, 352v 1547 Thomas Beverlay to the Gilds of Hornsea, 401v-402r 1547 Thomas Hodgeson to Corpus Christi Gild Hornsea, 389v-380r Edward Saltmarshe to the Gild of Thorganby, 344r-v 1547 Hugh Anderson to St. Mary Gild Swine.

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FIGURE 7.1 : YORK AND COUNTY GILDS AND SERVICES SURVIVING
TO THE DISSOLUTION

<u>Location</u>	<u>Gild</u>	<u>Beq</u>	<u>1546</u>	<u>Feb 1548</u>	<u>Jul 1548 etc.</u>
Badsworth WR	Trinity Sv	-	67/26 Sv	-	-
Bawtry WR	Trinity	1441	-	64/71 Ch/G	103m4d Ch/Sv
Bedale NR	St Mary	1506	66/130 Ch	63/88 Ch	-
Bempton ER	Corpus Christi	-	-	-	-
Bempton ER	St Mary & St Helen	-	-	-	119m6d Ch
Bempton ER	St Michael	-	-	-	Ch K185
Bessingby ER	St Mary Magdalene	-	-	-	CP EdVI 148 1549
Beverley Blakfrs ER	St Peter of Milan	-	-	72/Bev Ch HT	119m3 Ch HT
Beverley Holmkirk ER	St Mary	1396	-	72/Bev Ch	119m3 Ch
Beverley St John ER	Corpus Christi	1463	-	72/Bev Ch	119m3 Ch
Beverley St John ER	St John Beverley	1506	-	72/Bev Ch	119m3 Ch
Beverley St John ER	St John Baptist	-	-	72/Bev Ch/Md	119m3 Ch/Md
Beverley St Mary ER	St Mary	1484	-	-	-
Birstall WR	Jesus Sv	-	E65/41 Sv	-	-
Birstall WR	St Mary Sv	-	E65/41 Sv	-	-
Bramham WR	unnamed	-	-	64/33 G/Sv	103m2d G/Sv
Bridlington ER	Trinity	1507	-	-	E315/67/II 612v G
Broughton Craven ER	unnamed Sv	-	-	-	103m3
Burniston NR	St Mary	-	-	63/121 G	-
Burstwick ER	St Mary	-	-	-	VCH V 19
Burton Agnes ER	St Mary	1505	-	-	119m7d Ch
Campsall	St Mary Sv	-	67/66 Ch/Sv	-	-
Carnaby ER	St John Baptist	1526	-	-	CP Eliz 237 1569
Catterick Bolton NR	St Mary Sv	-	66/129 Ch/Sv	63/95 Ch/Sv	-
Cottingham ER	Holy Trinity	-	-	-	119m6 Ch
Cottingham ER	St Saviour	-	-	-	119m6 Ch
Crofton WR	St Mary Sv	1529	E65/72 Ch/Sv	-	-
Danby NR	St Mary	1538	-	-	-
Darfield WR	St Mary Sv	-	67/55 Ch/Sv	-	-
Darton WR	St Mary Sv	-	67/17 Sv	-	-
Doncaster WR	Holy Cross	1505	-	64/25-6 Ch/Sv	103m2 Ch
Doncaster WR	Trinity	1482	67/39 Ch	64/25-6 Ch	103m2 Ch
Doncaster WR	St James & St Sitha	1482	-	64/25-6 Cpl	103m2 Chpl
Doncaster WR	St Katherine	1482	67/37 Ch	64/25-6 Ch	103m2 Ch
Doncaster WR	St Mary	1482	67/38 Ch	64/25-6 Ch	103m2 Ch
Doncaster WR	St Mary Magdalene	1482	67/41 Chapel	64/25-6 Ch	103m2 Ch
Doncaster WR	St Thomas Cant	1505	-	-	-
Easington ER	St Mary	-	-	-	VCH 5 29
Fishlake WR	Trinity Sv	1528	67/65 Ch	64/20 Sv	103m1d Sv
Fishlake WR	St Mary Sv	1529	67/63 Ch	64/20 Sv/Sp	103m1d Sv
Flamborough ER	Trinity	1504	-	-	E310/32/192 54
Foston Wolds ER	Trinity	1538	-	-	119m7d Ch
Fraisthorpe ER	unnamed	-	-	-	VCH II 207 1556
Garton Wolds ER	St Mary	1430	-	-	-
Giggleswick WR	St Mary	1528	-	64/50 Ch	103m3 Ch
Great Driffield ER	Trinity	1528	-	-	Gild K185
Great Driffield ER	St Mary	1528	-	-	119m6 Ch
Guisborough NR	St Mary	1547	-	-	-
Hackness NR	St Hilda	1539	-	-	Whitby Cartulary
Halifax WR	Holy Cross Sv	-	65/31 Sp/Sv	64/66-8 Sv/Sp	103m4 Sv
Halifax WR	Morrow Mass Sv	1526	65/36 Sv	-	-
Halifax WR	St Nicholas Sv	-	-	-	103m4 Sv
Halifax WR	St Mary Sv	1538	-	64/66-8 Ch/Sv	103m4 Sv/Ch
Halifax Hep'stall WR	unnamed	-	65/34 Sv	64/66-8 Sp	-
Halsham ER	unnamed	-	-	-	VCH V 38
Hampsthwaite WR	unnamed	-	69/35 Ch/G	-	-
Hatfield WR	St Katherine Sv	-	67/4 Sv	64/22 Ch/Sv	103m2 Ch/Sv

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<u>Location</u>	<u>Gild</u>	<u>Beq</u>	<u>1546</u>	<u>Feb 1548</u>	<u>Jul 1548 etc.</u>
Hatfield WR	St Mary Sv	-	67/3 Sv	64/22 Sv	103m2 Sv
Hatfield Stanford WR	St Mary Sv	-	67/5 Sv	64/22 Sv	103m2 Sv
Hatfield Thorne WR	St Mary Sv	-	67/6 Sv	64/18 Ch	-
Helmesley NR	Trinity	1506	66/143 Ch	-	-
Helmesley NR	St Mary	1506	-	63/122 Ch	-
Hollym ER	St Mary	1529	-	-	E315/67/II 613r G
Hornsea ER	Corpus Christi	1547	-	-	K187 G
Hornsea ER	Trinity	1539	-	-	K187 G
Howden ER	Trinity	-	-	-	CP 3&7 Ed VI
Huddersfield WR	St Mary Sv	-	65/14 Sp/Sv	64/62 Ch	103m4 Ch
Hull Trinity ER	Corpus Christi	1517	BRA87 Sp/Sv	63/Hull Sp/Sv	119m4 Sp
Hull Trinity ER	St Anne	1418	BRA87 Sa/Sv	63/Hull Sp/Sv	119m4 Sp
Hull Trinity ER	St James Sv	-	BRA87 Sv/Sa	63/Hull Sp	119m4 Ch
Hull Trinity ER	St Laurence	-	BRA87 Sa/Sp	-	-
Hull St Mary ER	St James	1418	BRA87 Sp/Sa	63/Hull Sp/Sv	-
Hull St Mary ER	St Anne	-	BRA87 Sp/Sa	-	119m4 Sp
Keighley WR	unnamed Sv	-	-	64/56 Ch/Sv	103m3d Ch/Sv
Keyningham ER	St Mary	-	-	-	VCH V 63
Kilham ER	St Laurence	1493	66/156 Ch	-	119m8 Ch
Kilnsea ER	All Saints	1504	-	-	E315/67/II 613r G
Kirkburton WR	St Mary Sv	-	65/43 Sv/Sp	64/69 Sp/Sv	-
Kirkburton WR	St Nicholas Sv	-	65/44 Sp	64/69 Sv	-
Kirkby Overblow WR	St Mary Sv	1540	-	64/34 Sv/Sp	103m2d Sv/Sp
Kirkheaton WR	St Mary Sv	1537	65/58 Sv	-	-
Leconfield ER	Unnamed	-	-	-	E315/67/II 613r G
Loversall WR	unnamed Sv	-	-	64/24 Ch/Sv	103m2 Ch/Sv
Malton NR	St John Baptist	1450	66/149 Ch	-	-
Malton St Michael NR	St Mary	1407	66/150 Sp/Sv	63/134 Sp/Sv	-
Middleton Pick'ng NR	St Mary	1528	66/117 Ch	-	-
Normanton WR	St Mary Sv	-	65/62-4 Ch	64/63 Ch/Sv	103m4 Ch/Sch
Northallerton NR	unnamed Sv	-	-	63/61 Sv	-
Otley WR	St Katherine	1518	-	64/32 Dn/Sv	103m2 Dn/Sv
Otley Fernley WR	unnamed Sv	-	-	64/32 Sv	-
Ottringham ER	St Mary	1529	-	-	119m5d G
Patrington ER	Holy Trinity	1540	-	-	Gild K188
Patrington ER	St Mary	1486	-	-	119m5 G
Pickering NR	St Mary	1496	66/68 Sv	-	-
Pocklington ER	St Mary	1494	66/108 Ch	-	119m6 Ch/Sch
Pontefract WR	Corpus Christi	1529	65/2 Ch	-	-
Pontefract WR	St Roch	1507	65/4 Ch	-	-
Pontefract WR	St Mary Sv	1540	65/3 Sv	-	-
Pontefract St Gls WR	St Mary	1529	65/5 Ch	-	-
Preston ER	St Mary Virgin	1537	-	-	119m5 Ch/Sp
Richmond NR	St John Baptist	1484	-	-	Wenham
Richmond NR	St Mary	1484	-	-	Wenham
Richmond NR	St Thomas	1484	-	-	Wenham
Ripley WR	St John Baptist Sv	-	71/7 Sv	-	-
Ripley WR	St Mary	-	71/6 Sv	-	E315/67/II 613r G
Ripon WR	Holy Cross	1529	-	-	Leach - Sch
Ripon WR	St Mary	1529	68/4 Ch	-	-
Ripon WR	SS Mary Wilfrid & AS	-	68/9 Ch	-	-
Rotherham WR	Holy Cross Sv	-	67/69 Ch	-	-
Rotherham WR	St Katherine	1391	67/71 Sv	64/8-9 Sv/G	103m1d Sv/G
Rotherham WR	St Mary	-	67/70 Sv	64/8-9 Sv/G	103m1d Ch
Rudston ER	Trinity	1540	-	-	E315/67/II 613r G
Sandall Magna WR	St Mary Sv	-	65/62 Ch	64/64 Ch/Sv	103m4 Ch
Sandall Parva WR	St Nicholas Sv	-	67/33 Ch	64/23 Sv	103m2 Sv
Scarborough NR	St James	-	66/154 Ch	63/140 Ch	-
Scarborough NR	St Mary Assumption	-	66/153 Ch	63/138 Ch	-
Sedburgh WR	Holy Cross	-	-	64/59 Ch/Sch	103m3d Ch/Sch
Selby WR	St Mary Assumption	1441	-	-	103m2d Sv/Ch
Sheffield WR	Sv of 3 Priests	-	-	64/37 Sv/Sp	103m2d Sv/Sp
Sheriff Hutton NR	Holy Cross	1540	66/114 Ch	-	-
Silkeston WR	St. Mary Sv	1528	6/58 Ch	-	-

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<u>Location</u>	<u>Gild</u>	<u>Beq</u>	<u>1546</u>	<u>Feb 1548</u>	<u>Jul 1548 etc.</u>
Skeffling ER	Unnamed	-	-	-	CP Ph&M 1558
Snaith WR	Trinity	-	65/17 Sv/G	-	-
Snaith WR	St Mary	-	65/16 Sp/Sv	-	-
Spennythorne NR	unnamed Sv	-	-	63/111 Sv/Sp	-
Spofforth WR	St Mary	1428	69/34 Ch	64/35 Ch	103m2d Ch
Spofforth WR	St Mary Magdalene	1428	-	-	-
Sutton-Forest NR	St Mary	1529	-	64/35 Money	-
Swine ER	St Mary	1547	-	-	119m5 G
Tadcaster WR	St Katherine	1438	69/19 Ch	64/1 Ch	-
Thirsk NR	St Mary	1485	66/111 Ch/Sv	63/51 Ch/Sv	-
Thorganby ER	St Helen	1547	-	-	VCH III 119 1566
Thorne WR	St Mary	-	67/6	-	-
Thorne WR	St Michael	-	67/7	-	-
Tickhill WR	Holy Cross	1430	67/47 G/Sv	-	-
Topcliffe NR	St Mary	1540	66/107 Sv/G	63/40 Ch/G	102/m4 G
Wakefield WR	Trinity	-	-	64/61 Ch	103m3d Ch
Wakefield WR	Morrow Mass Sv	-	65/62 Sv	64/61 Sv	103m3d Sv
Wakefield WR	St Mary	-	65/51 Ch	64/61 Ch/Sv	103m3d Ch
Wakefield St Jn WR	St Mary	-	65/55 Ch	64/61 Ch/Sv	103m3d Ch
Wath-u-Dearne WR	St Mary Sv	1538	67/19 Ch	-	-
Wath-u-Dearne WR	St Nicholas Sv	1538	67/20 Ch	-	-
Welwick ER	St Mary	1504	-	-	E315/67/II 613r G
Whitgift WR	Trinity	1474	65/21 G/Sv	-	-
Winestead ER	Unnamed	-	-	-	CP EdVI 1548
Worsebrough WR	St Mary Sv	-	67/58 Ch/Sv	-	-
Wragby WR	St Katherine Sv	-	65/45 Perp Sp	-	-
Wragby WR	St Mary Sv	1527	65/46 Ch/Sv	-	-
York	Corpus Christi	1550	66/64 G	-	-
York	Trinity Fossegate	1525	-	63/2 Sp	-
York	SS Chris & George	1543	66/20 Ch	63/1 Ch	-
York	St John Bapt Tailors	1546	-	-	-
York All Saints Pvt	St Mary	1512	66/72 Ch	63/7 Ch	-
York Trinity Priory	Trinity	1459	-	63/15 Ch	-
York St Denys	St John the Baptist	1390	66/73 Ch	-	-
York St Denys	St Katherine	1503	66/73 Ch	-	-
York St Helen Stgt	SS Chris & Andrew	1399	-	-	-
York St Helen Stgt	St Mary	1478	66/86 Ch	63/3 Ch	-
York St Laurence	St Agnes	-	-	63/11 G Stock	-
York St Laurence	St Mary	1404	66/49 Ch	-	-
York St Michael Bel	St Mary	1486	66/84 Ch	-	-
York St Saviour	St Anne	1527	66/80 Ch	63/25 Ch	-

NOTES

<u>Location:</u>	Name of location. Second name is of chapel or, in large towns, of parish or religious house.
<u>Gild:</u>	Name of gild or service.
<u>Beq:</u>	Date of last known bequest.
<u>1546:</u>	Reference following PRO 301 (except in the case of Hull) and nomenclature of institution in 1546 Commissioners' Certificates.
<u>Feb 1548:</u>	Reference following PRO 301 and nomenclature of institution in February 1548 Commissioners' Certificates.
<u>Jul 1548:</u>	Reference following PRO 301 and nomenclature of institution in July 1548 Commissioners' Certificates (Pensions). Also includes information from Kitching "The Chantries of the East Riding of Yorkshire", from PRO 315/67 II, from <i>Cal. Pat. Rolls</i> , <i>VCH</i> and some other sources.
<u>Abbreviations:</u>	G = Gild, Ch = Chantry, Sv = Service, Sp = Stipend, Sa = Salary, Sch = School, Md = Maisondieu, K = Kitching. CP = Calendar of Patent Rolls, VCH = Victoria County History.

N.B. References other than testamentary and dissolution records are not included. For more detailed referencing see the appropriate entry in the Gazetteer.

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gild chantry, or to own lands, or were too prominent to conceal their assets. They represent 42.6 per cent of all identified Yorkshire gilds and services. This is a remarkably high percentage, taking into consideration that the list of all identified gilds includes a number that were absorbed into others in the previous century, especially in York, or that may have disappeared for other reasons before the 1530s.¹⁴⁸

Conclusion

That at least 160 Yorkshire fraternities survived the pressures of the Cromwellian stage of the Reformation, and persisted, despite the disruption and bloodshed of the Pilgrimage of Grace and its aftermath, is undoubted proof of their continuing popularity. That they chose to dissolve themselves in face of inevitable government action was simply an act of economic common sense. The events of the previous 25 years had shown that resistance to religious change was not merely ineffective; it was extremely dangerous. All the evidence suggests that the concealment of their assets was undertaken with the collusion, and, in some cases, with the active assistance of local authority. This highlights the growing identification of interest between religious fraternities and local secular powers that had become increasingly evident throughout the previous century. Whilst the national government and the powerful local figures that often controlled gilds, through membership and influence, both supported the orthodox beliefs and structures which the gilds represented, the religious fraternities were a conduit of secular power, as well as a focus for public piety.

¹⁴⁸See Chapter 4 above.

THE REFORMATION AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GILDS

When national and local government opinion diverged on doctrinal questions, *force majeure* was triumphant. If the early tribulations of the guilds were an indirect result of theological ideas and liturgical reform, their final downfall was also due to governmental cupidity, and, perhaps, to a realisation that they might become focuses for local unrest. Thus, Protector Somerset carried out the abortive initiative of the Cambridge Parliament, possibly for parallel reasons. The result was permanent. Had the guilds been abolished in 1389, there is little doubt that, like the frequently suppressed confraternities of contemporary Florence, they would have reappeared almost at once.¹⁴⁹ The early stages of the English Reformation, however, had destroyed the context within which they could operate so completely that attempts to resurrect them, during the brief period of Mary's regime, such as the revival of the St. George's Day pageant in York, were ultimately doomed to failure.¹⁵⁰

There is nothing to suggest that the suppression of the guilds was, in any sense, a popular measure in Yorkshire but it had become inevitable. Whatever their personal beliefs, and there is every reason to suppose that the majority of guildsmen and women were opposed to the new doctrines and their ritual and physical consequences, the religious ethos of their fraternities had been so far eroded as to be no longer worth preserving. The 1547 injunctions stripped away the last of their devotional and ceremonial functions. They had been reduced to economic entities. Whilst those fraternities with a vital economic function, the craft and trade guilds, survived and metamorphosed, most

¹⁴⁹R.F.E. Weissman, *Ritual Brotherhood in Renaissance Florence*, (New York, 1982) pp.164-9.

¹⁵⁰Palliser, *Tudor York*, p.242.

THE REFORMATION AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GILDS

religious gilds were left with no alternative but to salvage what assets they could from the wreckage. Their efficiency in carrying out this operation rendered it difficult not only for the commissioners to record their number accurately. William Page's assertion that only five gilds were recorded in the first volume of his edition is a measure of their success.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹See p.353, above.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

These gilds after the Reformation, were defam'd for having been Structures of Superstition, and Places where the State then thought that Conspiracies were, or might be, form'd against them: and Tradition informs us, there were two sorts of Gilds, viz. Religious, and Civil: The former, for settling Matters spiritual; the latter, temporal: The first consisted of both Clergy and Laity, whose intent was to see Religion, and the Rules of the Church perform'd more strictly; for which End, they contributed to erect a Chapel, and Hall, wherewith to pray and keep an *Agapæ*, or Love-Feast, by which Revenues accrued to them, as tho' they might be reckoned a kind of Lay-Monasteries. But those Gilds, that were purely for particular Trades, were managed by the Professors of such Occupations, who often built Hospitals to maintain their Poor.¹

Thomas Gent's assessment of gilds, was expressed less than two hundred years after their dissolution. His views on how they were perceived by their contemporaries accord, in some respects, not only with those of Somerset's regime in 1547, but also with those of the petitioners to the Cambridge Parliament in 1388. Whilst gilds were clearly seen by the Protestants as "Structures of Superstition", the fear that they might form focuses for conspiracy was expressed by the fourteenth century petition.² Both groups made distinction between "Religious" and "Civil" gilds, although they did not use those terms, and excepted the latter from their attacks. Furthermore, they both intended to confiscate the sources of the gilds' "Revenues".³ The period between these two assaults, the first ineffective and desultory, the second persistent and ultimately decisive, saw the gilds attain the height of their power and influence.

¹T.Gent, *History of Hull* (York, 1735. Facsimile: Hull, 1869), p.80.

²Chapter 1, pp.27-8.

³Chapter 7, pp.362-3.

CONCLUSION

Their importance has, however, often been underestimated. This is the direct result of the nature of the surviving evidence. The 1389 returns, which historians have, perforce, relied upon for much of their material were compiled under conditions which led guilds to maximise their devotional, and minimise their processional, fraternal and economic activities. The commissioners' certificates of 1546 and 1548 were drawn up at a time when guilds were attempting to conceal their assets and, in some cases, denying their existence.⁴ This has influenced many commentators, from Westlake onwards. Testamentary evidence tends unduly to emphasise their funereal role. For example, Scarisbrick's view, that:

In their most modest form ... fraternities were simply poor men's chantries.⁵

does not bear close examination in the context of Yorkshire. Their functions were far more complex than this. It has been shown that even in places of low population guilds were landowners.⁶ In rural areas we have seen that they were connected with powerful local and, in some cases, national political figures.⁷ Their activities in urban areas were closely bound up with both the personalities and the mechanisms of borough and civic government.⁸

A principal reason for their success as institutions lies in the politico-religious policies of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century

⁴See pp.385-9.

⁵Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, p.20.

⁶E.g. Bessingby, Burstwick, Fraisthorpe, Winestead. See Figure 2.6 and Gazetteer.

⁷E.g. Sheriff Hutton, Spofforth, Swine, pp.99-101 and Gazetteer.

⁸See Chapters 3 pp.135-6; 4 pp.238-40.

CONCLUSION

monarchy. It was national government that wished to see "Religion, and the Rules of the Church perform'd more strictly", in terms of orthodox piety.⁹ In this they had gained the support of the church hierarchy and of the lay political establishment. The crusade against heresy was pursued through strategies that reinforced the importance of the sacrament of confession, the doctrine of purgatory, the value of intercession and the validity of transubstantiation, all of which had been challenged by Lollards.¹⁰ The guilds proved to be allies in this initiative. Individual examples of Lollardy within guild memberships generally pre-date Henry V's initiatives of 1414.¹¹ Guilds became public manifestations of orthodox lay piety, contrasting with the contemporary increase in private devotion which, associated with a growth in literacy and the invention of printing, might lead to dissent. Guild membership was an open statement of devotion to a particular cult that was demonstrated publicly by ritual and display. The cult figures adopted by guilds as dedications were overwhelmingly Christo-centric and traditional.¹²

The ceremonial and social activities of the religious guilds were organised on a fraternal, and usually sororal, basis. They required a strong sense of loyalty, discipline and honour from their members, as many of the returns they made in 1389 make clear.¹³ Encouragement by the crown, symbolised by the Statute of 1436 and the membership of guilds, including at least two in York, by members of the blood royal and by

⁹Chapters 1, p.71; 2, p.82.

¹⁰Chapter 7, pp.357-8.

¹¹Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p.243. Catto, "Religious Change under Henry V", p.106.

¹²Chapter 3, pp.153-7.

¹³Chapter 1, p.54.

CONCLUSION

other establishment figures from the nobility and the church, helped the fraternities to flourish throughout the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century.¹⁴ The ecclesiastical authorities further boosted memberships by granting indulgences to those who supported favoured fraternities.¹⁵ The success of the gilds was manifest in that the largest of them continued to increase in size and smaller fraternities proliferated throughout the land to the extent that they were present in most parishes.

In fifteenth century Yorkshire they were most frequently identified in wealthy, commercially active communities, favourably placed on the county's communications network.¹⁶ Whilst affluent towns and villages stimulated the foundation of successful gilds and created conditions in which it was likely that they would receive bequests, it is equally the case that the gilds themselves produced wealth within the communities they served. In order to fulfil their pious, ceremonial, social and charitable functions, it was necessary that they were financially stable. Wealth was accrued through subscription and bequest and was typically invested in real estate which provided an income.¹⁷ Many gilds also raised funds through other commercial means, including corporate trading ventures and agricultural projects.¹⁸ As landowners, traders, employers and consumers, the more successful fraternities became important economic entities within their communities.

¹⁴Chapters 1, p.28-9, 41-2, 4, p.272-3, White, *St. Christopher and St. George Guild*, p.15.

¹⁵E.g. see Gazetteer under Guisborough, St. Mary Gild, and York, Corpus Christi Gild.

¹⁶Chapter 2, pp.91-4.

¹⁷Chapters 5, pp.298-300; 6, pp.332-8.

¹⁸Chapters 3, pp.179-81; 6, pp.326-9.

CONCLUSION

Inevitably a proportion of a gild's income was spent on administering its possessions, including the repair and development of its real estate, on record keeping and on the expenses of its officers. Where chaplains were employed, their salaries were generally a major item.¹⁹ Many gilds also invested heavily in the ceremonial associated with their cults, or to aid their rituals and liturgies. Payments to torchbearers, beadles and bellmen were common and the maintenance and the renewal of vestments was a continuing expense.²⁰ Both accounts and bequests show that the provision of wax for candles and torches was another major item. A gild's wealth was further displayed in the intrinsic value of its ceremonial objects. The massive treasure revealed in the inventories of the Corpus Christi Gild of York was exceptional, in both its quantity and quality, but it has been shown that other gilds constructed shrines and received rich gifts from testators.²¹

If a gild's public piety was demonstrated through its rituals, its sense of fraternity was cemented by its feasting. Gent's definition of an "*Agapæ*, or Love-Feast", is substantially accurate. Rules for the regulation of feasts were usually designed to prevent quarrels and arguments, emphasising accord and harmony.²² Fraternal meals differed in scale from gild to gild, from the provision of simple bread, beer and cheese to the elaborate collations of the York Corpus Christi Gild, but they all not only symbolised the function of the gild as a kind of extended family but also reminded members of the sacred meals of Christ's ministry: of the Feeding of the Five Thousand and, above all, of

¹⁹E.g. Chapter 6, p.318.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp.318-21,

²¹Chapters 6, pp.300-4; 5, p.319-20; 3, pp.170-1.

²²Chapter 1, p.46.

CONCLUSION

the Last Supper and the miracle of the Eucharist. Whilst the gild's pious rituals were conducted fraternally, it is also true to say that its fraternal celebrations were, in essence, pious.²³

This applies equally to their funeral practices and their role as intercessors for their dead brothers and sisters. Clearly a gild funeral was special. The wills commissioning them, especially in York, show that they were distinguished by a high level of ceremony.²⁴ Attendance at gild obsequies was the duty of all members, whose fraternal prayers would ease the passage of the deceased through Purgatory. The annual general obit displayed the concept that the complete fraternity included both living and dead. Both enjoyed the succour of the gild. Whilst impoverished members might accept charitable assistance from the fraternity when alive, the dead received prayers from the gild priest, whether salaried or *feed* for the occasion, and from the living membership. Public piety was, in some cases, extended into the community at large. Some of the larger religious gilds supported hospitals and *maisonsdieu* (*pace* Gent) whilst others ran schools.²⁵ Parish gilds contributed to the maintenance of the parish church, of a chapel or in answer to an appeal by other institutions or by the community at large.²⁶ There is little evidence, in Yorkshire, of Rosser's contention that there was inherent conflict between parish and gild.²⁷

²³Chapters 4, p. 230; 6, pp.323-6; 1, p.57.

²⁴Chapter 4, p.233.

²⁵In York, Corpus Christi, St. Anthony and Holy Trinity Fossgate all ran hospitals. Schools were run by gilds in Topcliffe and probably Sedburgh. See Gazetteer.

²⁶Chapter 6, p.322.

²⁷Rosser, "Communities of Parish and Gild", pp. 4-5. See Chapter 3, pp.147-8.

CONCLUSION

The activity that defined the relationship of the fraternity with the community at large was the procession. In their examination of Corpus Christi festivities, James sees an event that symbolises the creation of a central harmony within the social body but Rubin argues that it combined a whole range of, spiritual, doctrinal and symbolic values, in which disparate groups sought to establish their identities.²⁸ I find Rubin's argument the more persuasive, but believe that underlying most gild ceremonial, by the latter half of the fifteenth century, was a political agenda laid down by local government. It was inevitable that successful, wealthy institutions, based on a piety that coincided with the thrust of national government, should be attractive to local authorities. We have seen that, in Yorkshire, gilds were associated with local government at all levels. In rural areas, relationships between gilds and local lords can be discerned.²⁹ In towns and in York itself the connection is much more obvious.³⁰ Bequests to gilds are common from members of the ruling elites of all the larger towns, and we have observed that the St. Mary Gild in Holy Trinity, Hull, was closely supervised by the mayors of the borough.³¹ The material from the Corpus Christi Gild of York shows us a gild that threw its net even wider, and covered in its membership lay and ecclesiastical powers throughout the North of England and beyond.³²

Most of those gilds that were rich enough to be recorded were those that were of use to the establishment in its drive against heresy. The

²⁸James, "Ritual, Drama and the Social Body", pp.8-12. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp.237-43, 269-71.

²⁹Chapter 1, pp.99-101.

³⁰Chapter 4, p.240.

³¹Chapter 6, p.339

³²Chapter 5, pp.289-93.

CONCLUSION

religious orthodoxy of the larger gilds appears through all the extant evidence. There are, however, hints that some of the less powerful gilds took a slightly different line. The Plough Gilds in Holderness were a manifestation of pre-Christian popular superstition which might also have been present in the fraternities of the Young Men in Beverley and the Children in Seamer.³³ Perhaps more significant is the impression that some parish fraternities accorded women a special place in their ceremonies. However, whilst we might speculate that a host of unrecorded gilds did not follow orthodox practices, it is clear that most of those that can be identified did and that this was a major reason for their success.

This assessment, however, does not take into account the ways in which Yorkshire gilds changed between 1389 and 1547. Nor does it explain their decline in the latter part of the period. There are strong indications that rural gilds continued to proliferate at least until the 1530s and the local trauma of the Pilgrimage of Grace. This was particularly so in the south of the county. In East Dickering, Holderness and the Humberhead Levels this seems have been related to a growing agrarian prosperity consequent on the marsh drainage of the previous century.³⁴ In the West Riding the foundation of services was probably associated with the success of the growing local textile trade.³⁵ The basis of this impression is partly derived from testamentary evidence. It can be argued that, because these areas were becoming wealthier, more wills were made and there is, therefore, a higher probability of bequests to gilds and services emerging from the sample. However, it seems

³³Chapter 3, p.162.

³⁴Chapter 2, pp.104-11.

³⁵Chapter 2, pp.111-3.

CONCLUSION

certain that the richer the area, the greater was the likelihood of successful guilds being maintained, and it is the successful guilds that attracted bequests. That they did so in large numbers suggests proliferation and is a certain indicator of their growing popularity. This argument is reinforced by the evidence of the commissioners' certificates and of post-Reformation land transactions which show the survival of large numbers of guilds that were wealthy enough to employ priests or own land, on the eve of their dissolution.³⁶

The larger urban areas of the county show similar patterns of testamentary evidence to those in rural areas, in that they were related to fluctuations in prosperity, but the timing of peaks and troughs was different in each case.³⁷ The recording of bequests to guilds declined as prosperity decreased at different times and at different rates in Beverley, Scarborough and Hull. Increasing affluence in Pontefract and Doncaster led to a larger number of bequests being made there at later dates. In York, where the evidence is more plentiful, the general trend also followed that of the city's economic decline, although here it is possible to see that lesser variations in the general rate of decline were related to other factors, including political events, both local and national, and demography.³⁸

The general decline in bequests, especially to urban guilds, prior to the government intervention of the 1530s that began the long process of dissolution, was also affected by changes within the guilds themselves. In some respects the great urban fraternities were victims of their own success. They became larger in size and fewer in numbers through

³⁶Chapter 7, pp.395.

³⁷Chapter 2, pp.121-9.

³⁸Chapter 4, pp.187-95.

CONCLUSION

amalgamations and take-overs, as exemplified by the expansion of the St. Anthony Guild of York.³⁹ As their ceremonial and social events became more lavish, they became massively involved in economic activity. They became landlords on a large scale and involved themselves in a variety of commercial ventures. They were becoming more worldly.

At the same time, merchant and craft associations were involving themselves directly in gild affairs. In York, there are examples of particular trades taking over and sustaining gilds that already existed, as well as founding new fraternities for the members of their misteries, throughout the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ The occupation and the gild, however, generally remained separate organisations. The gild was not necessarily exclusive to members of the craft. This led, in the early sixteenth century, to the foundation of other craft gilds, that probably were exclusive. This was the case in Hull, where there are indications that the success of the St. Mary Guild in Holy Trinity was compromised by the re-foundation of the St. George Guild as a exclusively merchant fraternity in 1499.⁴¹ In Beverley, trade gilds probably fulfilled most of the functions of the religious gilds during the fifteenth century.⁴² The blurring of the distinction between religious gilds and occupational organisations probably brought gilds closer to the urban secular authorities in terms of political control, but might have made members less likely to make bequests to them. It may be significant that Hull

³⁹Chapter 4, pp.222-5.

⁴⁰Chapter 4, pp.213-21.

⁴¹Chapter 6, pp.345-8.

⁴²Chapters 2, p.125; 3, 168.

CONCLUSION

testators in the sixteenth century tended to make bequests to the maisonsdieu of the town's gilds rather than the gilds themselves.⁴³

That the Corpus Christi Gild of York was, to some extent, an exception to the general decline in bequests to gilds reinforces arguments that the county remained doctrinally conservative throughout the upheavals of the Reformation. Large numbers of the sixteenth century bequests made to it asked for gild funerals and the ceremonial associated with them.⁴⁴ In particular, the presence and the prayers of the gild's clerical officers were specified. These testators were clearly still convinced of the validity of the doctrine of purgatory and the efficacy of intercession.

That the gilds were dissolved in 1547 with apparently little local protest was due to three factors, none of which was directly connected with a wholesale, willing acceptance of the new beliefs adopted by the regimes of Thomas Cromwell and Protector Somerset. In the first place, the earlier interventions of government were gradual, piecemeal and indirect. Attacks on images, lights and processions and the suppression of saints' feasts whittled away the ritual basis of the gilds' public demonstrations of piety.⁴⁵ Their intercessory role was abolished with the denial of purgatory and their ceremonials further diminished by the substitution of commemoration for transubstantiation.⁴⁶ Although not attacked directly by the government until the late 1540s, their traditional practices, and the doctrines that underpinned them, no longer reflected the policies of central government. Whilst this process applied to all the gilds in the country, the second factor was more particularly

⁴³Chapter 2, p.123.

⁴⁴Chapter 4, pp.231-3.

⁴⁵Chapter 7, pp.366-75.

⁴⁶Chapter 7, pp.364-6.

CONCLUSION

northern. The failure of the Pilgrimage of Grace and its bloody aftermath had shown the futility of protest.⁴⁷ All the large urban centres of the county had been involved, and York had, in many ways, been its epicentre. Overt opposition was impossible from a cowed society. The third factor was, in some respects, a protest but a very muted one. The concealment of gild possessions and what seems to have been a wholesale and covert self-dissolution of fraternities, in advance of the arrival of the commissioners, was largely an attempt to ensure that their assets disappeared into the community, rather than into the king's coffers.⁴⁸ This seems to have been aided by the exception made of craft gilds. Local authorities were often able, sometimes at a price, to retain gild properties for communal use.

Concealment, however, was not entirely a matter of lands and assets. When the Corpus Christi Gild of York chose to preserve, by subtle subterfuge, St. Richard Scrope's mazer, rather than any of its more spectacular treasures, it was not a valuable cup but a pious object that was entrusted to the cordwainers.⁴⁹ Old attitudes to piety and fraternity lingered when all power had been stripped away. In 1550, Christopher Paynter, formerly chantry chaplain of the gild altar of St. Mary, in All Saints Pavement, York, and master of the Corpus Christi Gild in 1543, made the following bequest.

Item I gif to euere on of my brother of Corpus Christi hospitall
vij d. and they to be at my beriall⁵⁰

Aware that a full gild funeral was no longer possible, Paynter was

⁴⁷Chapter 7, pp.379-81.

⁴⁸Chapter 7, pp.385-9.

⁴⁹Chapter 5, p.308.

⁵⁰BIHR PR PR XIII 703r.

CONCLUSION

attempting to reconstruct something approximate to it under the new rules.

In dismantling the guilds as "Structures of Superstition", the Tudor governments of the mid-sixteenth century swept away one of the pillars of late medieval traditional lay piety. The new church in England demanded less ceremony and simpler rituals. The splendid processions and fraternal feasts were no more. The prayers and perpetual obits that transcended the grave were discontinued. The relationships between parishes and their guilds, between town governments and the fraternities they controlled, between members of different callings and classes within and between guilds, all disappeared. The complex webs of influence vanished as economic assets were hastily concealed or lost to the government. Their unique mixture of pious unanimity, fraternal concord, economic success and political interdependence was irreplaceable. The power of the religious guilds had departed, leaving a vacuum which could never be completely filled. Laymen would seek other ways of expressing piety and fraternity. They had to do so within a society that was embarking on a process of fragmentation that would end, within a century, in a civil war, involving the abolition of the monarchy itself.

GAZETTEER

*This gazetteer is arranged in alphabetical order by location. Within each location, gilds and services also appear in alphabetical order. General bequests, where gilds and services are not specified, are placed at the beginning, and unnamed gilds and services at the end, of each entry. Within sections, referring to individual gilds and services, references appear in chronological order. Dates have been modernised. Place names and forenames are in modern spelling but surnames are in original spelling. Testamentary evidence is based on the will sample for the county and on Eileen White's list in the BIHR for York. Other sources, not individually cited, include the following works. T. Langdale, *A Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire* (Northallerton, 1822) supplied basic information on boundaries. Lay subsidy figures are from Glasscock, (*British Academy*, 1975) and Peacock, (*YAJ IV*, 1877). Poll tax population figures are by courtesy of Richard Smith. Market information is taken from McCutcheon (*YFM TS*, 39), and Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, Vol. IV 1500-1640, market list, p.469 (full references appear in the bibliography).*

Aldborough

West Riding liberty of Knaresborough and the deanery of Boroughbridge, peculiar of diocese of Chester, part in the liberty of St. Peter, parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.13s.4d. : Tenth (Liberty of Knaresborough). 1377 poll tax population: 78. Fair 1332. Market 1332 grantee: James de Roos. Fair saint's day: St. Michael.

St. Lazarus Gild

YML L2(4) 336v 1474 John Marston, chantry priest of St. Mary in the parish of Aldborough: 6d. Also to fraternities in Bethlehem Rome and York.

St. Robert Gild

YML L2(4) 336v 1474 John Marston, chantry priest. of St. Mary in the parish of Aldborough: 6d. Also to fraternities in Bethlehem Rome and York.

Aldbrough

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Bartholomew. 1334 lay subsidy: £2.10s. 1377 poll tax population: 177.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR VI 103v 1504 James Newton of the parish of Aldbrough in Holderness: 20d. for repairing the light.

BIHR PR VI 157r 1506 Alexander Pudsey of the parish of Aldbrough 3s. 4d.

BIHR PR IX 10r 1516 John Jenkenson husbandman of the parish of Aldbrough in Holderness: a measure of wheat.

BIHR PR IX 42r 1517 Anthony Clerke of Great Coldome in the parish of St. Bartholomew: a measure of wheat.

BIHR PR IX 85r 1517 Margaret Garthom widow of the parish of Aldbrough Holderness: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 439r 1528 Robert Garthome husbandman of the parish of St. Bartholomew: a measure of wheat.

BIHR PR IX 428v 1528 William Dumler of the parish of St. Bartholomew: a measure of wheat.

BIHR PR IX 483r 1529 William Jenkynson of the parish of St. Bartholomew: a bushel of barley.

St. Peter Gild:

BIHR PR VI 103v 1504 James Newton of the parish of Aldbrough in Holderness: 2 measures of grain.

GAZETTEER

Aldbrough (contd.)

St. Peter Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR VI 157 1506 Alexander Pudsey of Great Coldome in the parish of Aldbrough: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 42r 1517 Anthony Clerke husbandman of the parish of St. Bartholomew: a quarter of wheat.

BIHR PR IX 85r 1517 Margaret Garthom widow of the parish of Aldbrough Holderness: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 432r 1528 Ralph Marshall carpenter of the parish of Aldbrough: a measure of wheat.

BIHR PR IX 439r 1528 Robert Garthome husbandman of the parish of St. Bartholomew: a quarter of malt.

BIHR PR IX 428v 1428 William Dumler of the parish of St. Bartholomew: a quarter of barley.

BIHR PR IX 483r 1529 William Jenkynson of the parish of St. Bartholomew: a bushel of barley.

Almondbury

West Riding in the wapentake of Agbrigg and deanery of Pontefact parish of All Saints. 1377 Poll Tax: 59. 1334 Lay Subsidy: 16s.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR XI 372 1527 John Armatage: 4s. divided between the service and the high altar in the parish church.

BIHR PR XI 345 1538 John Woodde gentleman of Longley: 8d.

St. Nicholas Service

BIHR PR XI 345 1538 John Woodde gentleman of Longley: 8d.

Aine

North Riding peculiar in the liberty of St. Peter parish of St. Mary. 1334 lay subsidy: 18s. 1377 poll tax population: 84.

St. Mary Gild

Test. Ebor II p179 Dom John Alott 'Lego Gildae B. Mar. de Awne iijjs'

BIHR PR V 40v 1487 Agnes Ragett widow of the parish of Coxwold: a silver belt.

YML L2(5)a 79v 1507 Richard Shipton of the parish of St. Mary: 2d.

BIHR Reg 29 73 1540 Robert Ketland ?gild priest of the parish of St. Mary: 6s.8d., a mass book of parchment, a vestment with a corporax, 2 altar cloths.

Badsworth

West Riding in the wapentake of Osgoldcross and deanery of Doncaster parish of St. Mary. 1377 poll tax: 66. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.

Holy Trinity Service

CC1 168 1546 No incumbent for 3 years in 1546. Income from lands used for church maintenance.

Barmby on the Marsh

Also known as Barmby on Derwent. East Riding in the parish of Howden in the Liberty of Howdenshire and the deanery of Howden. Chapel of St. Helen. 1334 lay subsidy: £3.3s. 1377 poll tax population: no record.

GAZETTEER

Barmby on the Marsh (contd.)

Holy Trinity and St. Mary Guild

Cal Pat Henry VI Vol 6 p.482: 1459 Licence to found a gild of Holy Trinity and St. Mary in the chapel of St. Helen in Barneby by Howden with four wardens and other members of either sex.

Bawtry

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth and the deanery of Retford (Notts.), parish of St. Nicholas (under Blyth).

Comments: Partly in Nottinghamshire - partly in Yorkshire. 1334 lay subsidy: £3. 1377 poll tax population: 156. Fair: Whitsun. Market Wednesday moved to Friday 1293 grantee: Roger de Hegham. Cornmarket.

Holy Trinity Guild

BIHR PR III 553v 1438 John Juste of the parish of St. Nicholas: 13s.4d.
BIHR PR II 29r-v 1441 Thomas Wath of the parish of St. Nicholas: 40s.

Bedale

North Riding in the wapentake of Hang and the deanery of Catterick, parish of St. Gregory. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: no record. Fair: Whitsun p.71. Market: Wednesday moved to Friday 1293 grantee: Roger de Hegham.

Holy Trinity Guild

PRO C47/46/444 1389 Daily mass by chaplain. Founded by 'le s^r Nevill' and others.

Jesus Guild

BIHR PR VI 195v-196r 1506 Thomas Ayscoght gentleman of the parish of Ingleby Greenhow: 3s.4d. for funeral.

St. Mary Guild:

BIHR PR VI 195v-196r 1506 Thomas Ayscoght gentleman of the parish of Ingleby Greenhow: 3s.4d. for funeral.

CC1 115 1546 Chantry of Our Lady of Three Priests.

CC2 495 1548 Chantry of Our Lady of Two Priests.

Bempton

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Michael. 1334 lay subsidy: £2.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: no record (187)

Corpus Christi Guild

VCH YER Vol 2 p.14 quotes BIHR PR II 474,

Cal Pat 1569 72, 38: Gild house 1569 to Robert Sharp and gild lands to Hugh Counsell and Robert Pistor:

St. Mary and St. Helen Guild

VCH YER Vol 2 p.14 quotes BIHR PR II 474

Cal Pat 1569 72, 38: Gild house 1569 to Robert Sharp and gild lands to Hugh Counsell and Robert Pistor.

St. Michael Guild

VCH YER Vol 2 p.14 quotes BIHR PR II 474.

GAZETTEER

Bempton (contd.)

St. Michael Gild (contd.)

Cal Pat 1569 72, 38: Gild house 1569 to Robert Sharp and gild lands to Hugh Counsell and Robert Pistor.

Unnamed Gild:

BIHR PR IX 421v 1528 Thomas Smyth of the parish of Flamborough St. Oswald: a measure of barley.

Bessingby

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Magnus. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.16s. 1377 poll tax population: 65.

St. Mary Magdelene

VCH YER Vol 2 p.20 quotes Test Eb V 133-4.

Cal Pat 3 Ed VI 1549 p148 1549 Gild house croft and land to Edward Pese & William Wynlove.

Cal Pat 1569-72, 38. 1570 former gild lands to Hugh Counsell and Robert Pistor.

Beswick

East Riding in the the parish of All Saints Kilnwick, wapentake of Harthill and the deanery of Harthill. 1334 lay subsidy: £2.10s. 1377 poll tax population: 76.

Unnamed Gild

BIHR PR VI 138r 1505 Robert Thomson of the parish of Lockington: a quarter of barley.

Beverley

East Riding, liberty of Beverley. Borough. Three Parishes: St. John Minster Collegiate Church, St. Mary Parish Church, St. Nicholas Holmkirk. Dominican, Franciscan Friaries. Preceptory of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John (supressed 1540). 1334 lay subsidy: incomplete, 1377 poll tax population: 2,663. Fair saints' days: Nativity of St. John Baptist. Cornmarket.

Corpus Christi Gild

PRO C47/46/445 1389 daily mass, obits by 1352, poor relief, organisation of annual Corpus Christi procession.

Leach Bev. Town Docs. Selden Soc Vol 14 (1900) pp35-62: Participation in Corpus Christi procession.

VCH ER VI p47: Primarily a gild for the lesser clergy of Beverley.

BIHR PR III 4r 1398 William Scoforth walker of the parish of St. Mary: 6s.8d. for prayers of his brothers.

BIHR Reg 18 344r-v 1408 John Mayer mercer of Beverley: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 595r-v 1463 Edmund Portyngton of the parish of St. John: the reversion of two houses in Kelgate.

Holy Trinity Gild in St. Mary

VCH YER VI p.48 A parish Gild of St. Mary. Later became craft gild of merchants, mercers and drapers replacing the St. John of Beverley gild which by the 15th century had become gild of town elite.

BIHR PR 243v-244r 1452 Richard Patryngton merchant of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d. to the gild chaplain for making an annual obit during the life of Helen, his wife. The obit to be paid by his wife from rents of a messuage in Laythsgate.

GAZETTEER

Beverley (contd.)

Paternoster Guild

Leach Bev. Town Docs. Selden Soc Vol 14 (1900) pp35-6.

VCH ER VI p491. Participation in Corpus Christi procession. Founded pre 1431.

Produced Paternoster play cycle of 8 plays presented by crafts.

St. Helen (and St. Mary) Guild

PRO C47/46/446 1389 Founded 1378. Men and women. Based on chapel of St. Helen in Franciscan Friary (chapel may pre-date Friary). Annual dramatic procession on discovery of True Cross. Lights, poor relief.

Leach Bev. Town Docs. Selden Soc Vol 14 (1900) pp35-6 Participation in Corpus Christi procession.

VCH ER VI pp. 48-9.

St. John in May Guild

Leach Bev. Town Docs. Selden Soc Vol 14 (1900) pp35-62. Participation in Corpus Christi procession.

VCH ER VI p491. May have organised Rogationtide procession.

St. John of Beverley, Great Guild

PRO C47/46/447 Inspeximus of Rich II mentions charter of Henry I. Copies of charters as gild merchant.

Leach Bev. Town Docs. Selden Soc Vol 14 (1900) pp35-6 Participation in Corpus Christi procession.

VCH ER VI p48 Originally the gild merchant (recognised early 12th century) but this function was replaced by the Trinity Guild in 15th century.

BIHR PR III 270r 1407 Reginald Gerrard of the parish of Scarborough St. Mary: 6s.8d.

BIHR Reg 18 344r-v2 1408 John Mayer mercer of Beverley refers to it as merchants' gild: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 539v-540r 1428 Thomas Beauchamp chaplain of the parish of Holy Trinity Hull: 40d.

YML L2(4) 301r-v 1462 John Haliday gentleman of the parish of St. Paul Heslington: 12d.

BIHR Reg 25 168r-v 1506 Robert Dunler vicar of the parish of St. Nicholas, Garton: 2 measures of grain.

St. John the Baptist Guild

Leach Bev. Town Docs. Selden Soc Vol 14 (1900) pp35-6 Participation in Corpus Christi procession.

VCH ER VI p49: Probably managed the St. John Baptist Hospital (by 1440).

St. Mary Guild called the Red Ark Guild

A musicians gild.

BIHR PR XIA 365r-v 1538 George Wilson luter living in York: all his goods to the alderman and brothers who are to be executors unless he should marry.

St. Mary Guild in St. Mary

PRO C47/46/448 1389 Founded in 1355 as gild of the Purification of the Virgin. Chaplain. Annual dramatic procession. Poor relief. Refounded in late 14th century as St. Mary. Hospital and almshouses.

Leach Bev. Town Docs. Selden Soc Vol 14 (1900) pp.35-6 Participation in Corpus Christi procession.

GAZETTEER

Beverley (contd.)

St. Mary Gild in St. Mary (contd.)

BIHR PR III 4r 1398 William Scoforth walker of the parish of St. Mary: 5s. and 1lb. of wax.

BIHR PR II 629r-v 1430 John Gower of the parish of Hoton Grauncewyck: 10s. for funeral.

BIHR PR V 212r 1484 John Stabalar: 4s.

St. Mary Gild in St. Nicholas Holmkirk

VCH ER VI pp 240-411. VCH mentions a chantry in this parish but not the gild.

BIHR PR I 98r 1396 John Jakson burgess of the parish of St. Nicholas: 5s.

St. Peter of Milan Gild

Leach Bev. Town Docs. Selden Soc. Vol 14 (1900) pp.35-6 Participation in Corpus Christi procession.

VCH ER VI p.49 Probably connected with the Dominican Friars.

Youngmen's Gild Called the Four Yeomen in St. Mary Parish

Ordinances in "The Great Guild Book of Beverley" HCRO BC II 3 f.47r. founded 1503.

Youngmen's Gild Called the Four Yeomen in the Minster Parish

Ordinances in "The Great Guild Book of Beverley" HCRO BC II 3 f.47r. founded 1508.

Bingley

West Riding in the wapentake of Skyrack and the deanery of Craven, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £2.15s. 1377 poll tax population: 180.

St. Laurence Gild

BIHR PR IX 377r 1427 Jennet Holyngraik of the parish of Barnby Moor (Notts): 10s. Also a bequest to a local (Notts.) gild.

Birstall

West Riding in Gomersall wapentake of Morley and deanery of Pontefract parish of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy: 17s. (for Gomersall). 1377 poll tax population: 79 (for Gomersall).

Jesus Service

CC2 302 1546 Reported together with Jesus. Funded by well-disposed persons.

St. Mary Service

CC2 302 1546 Reported together with St. Mary. Funded by well-disposed persons.

Bishopthorpe

West Riding in the wapentake of Ainsty parish of St. Andrew. Seat of Archbishop of York. 1334 lay subsidy: 13s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 93. 1524 lay subsidy: 7s.10d.

Unnamed Service

CC2 376 1548 Chantry or Service. Parish priest has income from chantry.

GAZETTEER

Bolton Percy

West Riding in the wapentake of Ainsty and the deanery of Ainsty, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 90. 1524 lay subsidy: £3.19s.6d.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR IV 157v-158r 1471 William Jakson of the parish of Bolton Percy: 12d.

Bossall

North Riding in the wapentake of Bulmer and the deanery of Bulmer, parish of St. Botolph. Peculiar of the Bishop of Durham. In township of Buttercrambe. Castle: Constable. 1334 lay subsidy: 18s. (with Barmby). 1377 poll tax population: 33. Fair (Buttercrambe): 1343 June 1 day November 1 day from 1353 June 3 days. Market (Buttercrambe): 1343 Monday, from 1352 also Wednesday grantees: Thomas Wake of Lydell and Thomas de Holland and wife. Fair saints' days: St. Botolph, St. Leonard.

St. Botolph Gild

BIHR PR IX 378r 1527 Christopher Frere of Sand Hutton in the parish of Bossall: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 397 1528 Brian Hodgeson of Herton in the parish of Bossall: 8d and 4d to Sir Robert White gild priest of Bossall.

BIHR PR IX 459r 1529 Richard Wright of Herton in the parish of Bossall: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 442v 1529 Edward Gradon of Claxton in the parish of Bossall: 12d.

Bramham

West Riding in the wapentake of Barkston Ash and the deanery of Ainsty, peculiar of the liberty of St. Peter, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.5s. (with Oglethorpe). 1377 poll tax population: 125.

Unnamed Gild

CC2 397 1548 'The Guylde or Service in the paryshe church there'. Freehold value: 22s.4d.

Brandesburton

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, part in the liberty of the provost of Beverley, parish of St. Mary. 1334 lay subsidy: £3.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 271. Fair 1286 May 3 days. Market 1286 Tuesday grantee Herbert de St. Quentin. Fairs saint's day: Invention of the Holy Cross.

Plough Gild

BIHR PR IX 45v 1517 John Grenshawe of the parish of St. Mary: part of the price of an animal (stott) towards lights of various saints and to that of the Plough (Aratri) Gild.

Bridlington

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Mary. Priory of Austin Canons. 1334 lay subsidy: £6.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 379. Fair 1446 October 3 days, May 3 days, grantees Prior of St. Mary Bridlington. Fair saints' days: St. John of Bridlington, Nativity and Assumption of St. Mary. Cornmarket.

General Gild References

BIHR PR II 483r-v 1464 Thomas Covell Vicar of the parish of St. Columba Topcliff: 3s.4d. to each fraternity.

GAZETTEER

Bridlington (contd.)

General Gild References (contd.)

VCH YER Vol 2 p.711 & 2. Quotes BIHR PR IV 218. Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp.27-9
Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp27-9 Gild houses to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow
esquire.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR PR V 5r 1473 William Somerby of the parish of St. Mary: 6s.8d.
BIHR PR IV 218r 1474 William Lowthorpe of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR V 71v 1482 Robert Croser of the parish of St. Mary: a quarter of barley.
BIHR PR VI 121v-122r 1504 Agnes Somerby widow of the parish of St. Mary: 10s.
to say mass and dirige.
BIHR PR VIII 40v 1507 John Smyth mercer of the parish of Bridlington: 12d.
BIHR PR VII 12r 1507 Thomas Trowlop of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.
VCH YER Vol 2 p.71 Quotes BIHR PR IV 236 & Cal Pat 1548-9 38. 5 bovates Holy
Trinity land. Subject to many land deals up to 1919.

St. John the Baptist

BIHR PR V 5r 1473 William Somerby of the parish of St. Mary: 6s.8d.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR V 5r 1473 William Somerby of the parish of St. Mary: 6s.8d.
BIHR PR IV 218r 1474 William Lowthorpe of the parish of St. Mary: 20d.
BIHR PR V 71v 1482 Robert Croser of the parish of St. Mary: a quarter of barley.
BIHR PR VI 121v-122r 1504 Agnes Somerby widow of the parish of St. Mary: 10s.
to say mass and dirige.
BIHR PR VIII 40v 1507 John Smyth mercer of the parish of Bridlington: 12d.
BIHR PR VII 12r 1507 Thomas Trowlop of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

Broughton in Craven

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincliffe, liberty of Clifford's Fee and deanery of
Craven, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy £1.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 84.

Unnamed Service

CC2 406 1548 Founded by Roger Tempest and others. Land.

Burn

West Riding in the Parish of St. Wilfrid, Brayton in the wapentake of Barkston Ash and
the deanery of Ainsty, liberty of Pontefract. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 5s. 0d. 1377 poll
tax population: 129.

St. Katherine Gild

BIHR PR V 86r 1482 Robert Williamson of the parish of St. Mary: 2 measures of
barley.
BIHR PR V 79r 1483 John Hill of the parish of Burn: 6s.8d.
BIHR PR V 86r 1483 Agnes Williamson widow of the parish of St. Mary: 2 measures
of barley.

Burneston

North Riding in the Liberty of St. Mary and St. Leonard and the deanery of Dickering.
1334 lay subsidy: £1.16s. 1377 poll tax population: 105. Fair (Leeming) 1300 June 3
days. Market 1300 Friday. Grantees: Bishop of Coventry & Lichfield, St. Leonard's
Hospital. Fair saint's day: Nativity of St. John Baptist.

GAZETTEER

Burneston (contd.)

St. Mary Gild

CC2 507 1548 'The Guylde of Our Ladie in the Paryshe of Burneston aforesaid'.
One tenement and an oxgang of land in Murton value 13s.4d. p.a.

Burnsall

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincliffe and the deanery of Craven, liberty of Clifford's Fee, parish of St. Wilfrid. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 1377 poll tax population: 39.

St. Anthony Gild

BIHR PR IV 174r 1472 William Vavasour cleric of the parish of Burnsall: 12d.

St. Robert Gild

BIHR PR IV 174r 1472 William Vavasour cleric of the parish of Burnsall: 2s.

Burstwick

East Riding in the parish of All Saints Skeckling-cum-Burstwick, wapentake of Holderness South and the deanery of Holderness. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.14s. 1377 poll tax population: 97.

St. Mary Gild

VCH YER Vol 5 p19: former gild house and land, obit and light.

Burton Agnes

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Martin. 1334 lay subsidy: £3.6.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 182. Fair 1257 November 8 days. Market 1257 Tuesday grantee Roger de Merlay. Fair saint's day: St. Martin.

St. Mary Gild

06/05/1505 BIHR PR VI 194v 1505 Stephen Goodailhous of the parish of St. Martin: a quarter wheat.
VCH YER Vol 2 p.115

Campsall

West Riding in the wapentake of Osgoldcross, liberty of Pontefract and deanery of Doncaster parish of St. Mary Magdalen. 1334 lay subsidy: £7.2s. 1377 poll tax population: 200.

St. Mary Service

CC1 200 1546 No foundation. Lands and goods given by parishioners.

Carnaby

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. John Baptist. 1334 lay subsidy: £4.15s. 1377 poll tax population: 173. 2 Fairs 1299. Market 1299 grantee Robert de Percy. Fair saints' days: Nativity and Decollation of St. John Baptist.

St. John Baptist

BIHR PR IX 348r 1526 Richard Capilman of the parish of St. John Baptist: a quarter of barley.

GAZETTEER

Carnaby (contd.)

St. John Baptist (contd.)

VCH YER Vol 2 p.129 quotes BIHR PR IX 205 and gildhouse in crown grant Cal Pat 1569-71, 237.

Cottingham

East Riding in the wapentake of Hunsley Beacon and the deanery of Harthill. Peculiar of the diocese of Chester, parish of St. Mary. Castle: Neville. 1334 lay subsidy: £22. 1377 poll tax population: 767. Fair 1318 July 3 days November 3 days. Market 1318 Tuesday, grantee Thomas Wake. Fair saints' days: St. James, St. Martin.

General Gild Bequests:

BIHR PR VI 169v 1506 Thomas Seman of the parish of St. Mary: 2 sheep to the eight gilds of Cottingham.

BIHR PR IX 41v 1517 William Sheffelde of the parish of St. Mary: 12d. to each gild.

BIHR PR IX 379 1538 William Jenkynson of the parish of St. Mary: 8d. to every gild.

Corpus Christi Gild

BIHR PR VI 123v-124r 1504 John Smyth Cottingham of the parish of St. Mary: £16.13s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 206r 1505 Alice Stakhouse widow of the parish of Cottingham: 20d. for the decoration of the shrine.

BIHR PR IX 41v 1517 William Sheffelde of the parish of St. Mary: 2s.

Plough Gild

BIHR PR IX 41v 1517 William Sheffelde of the parish of St. Mary: 2s.

St. George, Corpus Christi and Saviour Gild

BIHR PR IX 41v 1517 William Sheffelde of the parish of St. Mary: 2s.

VCH YER Vol 4 p80. House which had belonged to gild granted to Francis Aslaby in 1552. An amalgamation of gilds: Corpus Christi and St. George separately recorded in 1516.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR IX 41v 1517 William Sheffelde of the parish of St. Mary: 2s.

Coxwold

North Riding in the wapentake of Birdforth and the deanery of Bulmer, parish of St. Michael. 1344 lay subsidy: £1.10s. 1377 poll tax population: no record. Fair 1304 August 2 days. Market 1304 Wednesday grantee Thomas de Coleville. Fairs saint's day: Assumption of St. Mary.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR XIA 261r 1537 John Bell of the parish of St. Michael: his best 'wedder' (sheep).

BIHR PR XIA 348r-v 1538 George Davell gentleman of the parish of Coxwold: 20s. to Sir Thomas Swane the gild priest for prayers and 6s.8d. to the gild.

BIHR PR XIA 322r 1538 Robert Orgraver of the parish of St. Michael: 12d.

BIHR PR XIB 405r 1539 Thomas Webster of the parish of St. Michael: 12d.

GAZETTEER

Danby

North Riding in the wapentake of Langbargh and the deanery of Cleveland. 1344 lay subsidy: £3.18. 8d. 1377 poll tax population: not recorded.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR XIA 364r 1438 John Roger of the parish of Danby: a ewe.

Darton

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincross and deanery of Doncaster parish of All Saints. 1334 Lay Subsidy: £1.10s. 1377 poll tax population: 41.

St. Mary Service

CC1 161 1546 No foundation. Lands given by well-disposed persons.

Doncaster

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth and Tickhill and the deanery of Doncaster, parish of St. George. 1344 lay subsidy: £17. 1377 poll tax population: 800. Fair 1199 King John extended fair from 2 days to 3 days, 1467 3 days. Market 1310 grantees Robert de Turnham and the burgesses of the town. Fairs saints' days: St. James, St. Mary, St. Ann. Cattle, wool and yarn, leather markets. "PJPG" indicates references to P.J.P. Goldberg, "From Conquest to Corporation" from B.J. Barber, ed., *Doncaster: a Borough and its Charters* (The Waterdale Press, Doncaster, 1994) pp.47-5, which fall outside the sample periods.

General Gild Bequests:

BIHR PR VI 194v 1505 Joan Pereson widow of the parish of St. George: 4d. to each of the town's fraternities.

BIHR PR VI 203r 1505 William Multyclyffe of the parish of St. George: 4d. to each of the gilds he is in.

BIHR PR VI 209r-v 1505 Thomas Dey of the parish of St. George: 4d. to every gild he is in.

BIHR PR VI 195v 1505 William Wod of the parish of Doncaster: 2d. to each of the gilds that carries torches and lights at his funeral.

BIHR PR VI 212 1505 Thomas Vance ?merchant of the parish of St. George: 4d. to each of the gilds he is brother of.

BIHR PR VI 221r 1506 Thomas Rawson of the parish of St. George: 4d. to each of the gilds he is brother of.

Cordwainers' Gild

BIHR PR VI 149r-v 1505 Thomas Cook cordwainer of the parish of St. George: 24 lbs. of rosin.

Corpus Christi Gild

BIHR PR II 9r 1398 William Millott of the parish of St. George: 40d.

BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse of the parish of St. George: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 191v 1505 John Breknoke of the parish of St. George: 6d.

BIHR PR VI 197v 1505 Christopher Leiston alderman of the parish of St. George: 5s.4d.

Holy Cross Gild or Service

BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse of the parish of St. George: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 191v 1505 John Breknoke of the parish of St. George: 6d.

CC2 393 1548 Land.

GAZETTEER

Doncaster (contd.)

Holy Cross Gild or Service (contd.)

Cal Pat 3 Ed VI 1548 p1971. Granted to Sir Thomas Gargrave of North Elmshall: 4 acres of meadow in tenure of Francis Frobisher in the meadow of Bentley, Yorks., which belonged to the late gild or service commonly called "the Rood Service" in the parish church of Doncaster.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR PR IV 25r 1471 Thomas Tynlay gild chaplain of the parish of St. George: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse of the parish of St. George: 12d.

Paternoster Gild

BIHR PR II 9r 1398 William Millott of the parish of St. George: 6s.8d.

St. Anne Gild

BIHR PR IV 25r 1471 Thomas Tynlay gild chaplain of the parish of St. George: 8d.
PJPG: inscription on fifteenth century glass recorded by Hunter.

St. Anthony and St. Sitha

PJPG BIHR PR II 183r 1480 Boswell.

St. Barbara Gild

BIHR PR VI 149r-v 1505 Thomas Cook cordwainer of the parish of St. George: 12d.

St. Bega

PJPG: BIHR PR IV 40v 1467 William Bramwith.

St. Christopher Gild

BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse of the parish of St. George: 12d.

BIHR PR V 256r 1484 John Cryche baker of the parish of St. George: 20d. and a helmet.

BIHR PR V 507r 1497 John Hill of the parish of St. George: 3s.4d p.a. for ever from rent of a messuage in Francis Lane - tenant Robert Wynheld.

BIHR PR VII 10v-11r 1507 John Mwldecliffe alderman: 4d.

BIHR PR IX 70r 1518 John Turton of the parish of St. George: 6s.8d.

St. Erasmus

PJPG: inscription on fifteenth century glass recorded by Hunter (uncertain).

St. George Gild

BIHR PR IV 25r 1471 Thomas Tynlay gild chaplain of the parish of St. George: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IV 231r 1474 Elias Butroid of the parish of St. George: 2s.

BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse of the parish of St. George: 12d.

BIHR PR V 266r 1485 Robert Hill baker of the parish of St. George: 6d.

BIHR PR VI 132v 1505 John Grene of the parish of St. George: 12d. p.a. from the rent of a tenement in Fishergate.

BIHR PR VI 191v 1505 John Breknocke of the parish of St. George: 6d. and reversion of a tenement called "the Dragon" to St. George gild on the death of his son without issue in return for annual dirige and mass on St. Wilfrid's feast day.

BIHR PR VI 148r 1505 William Mesyn of the parish of St. George: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 203r 1505 William Multyclyffe of the parish of St. George: 12d.

GAZETTEER

Doncaster (contd.)

St. George Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR VI 149r-v 1505 Thomas Cook cordwainer of the parish of St. George: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 206v 1505 Agnes Poost widow of the parish of St. George: a lamp with a case.

BIHR PR VI 221r 1506 Thomas Rawson of the parish of St. George: 4d.

BIHR PR VIII 10r 1508 Robert Jenkynson of Tills Hall in the parish of St. George: a quarter of barley between Micklemas and Martinmas following his decease.

BIHR PR 10v-11r 1507 John Mwldecliffe alderman: 6d.

BIHR PR XI 80r-v 1529 Richard Marshall alderman of the parish of St. George: 12d.

St. Giles

PJPG BIHR PR VI 27r Wilton.

St. James & St. Sitha Gild

BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse of the parish of St. George: 12d.

St. John Baptist Gild in the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene

PJPG p.60 BIHR PR III f.337v John Midleton.

St. Katherine Gild

BIHR PR II 9r 1398 William Millott of the parish of St. George: 40d.

BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse of the parish of St. George: 12d.

St. Laurence Gild

BIHR PR VI 206r-v 1505 Alice Nicholson widow of the parish of St. George: 4d.

St. Leonard Gild

BIHR PR IV 25r 1471 Thomas Tynlay gild chaplain of the parish of St. St. George: 5s.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse of the parish of St. George: 20d.

PJPG: inscription on fifteenth century glass recorded by Hunter.

St. Mary Coronation Gild

May be the same gild as St. Mary.

BIHR PR VI 191v 1505 John Breknoke of the parish of St. George: 6d.

St. Mary Magdelene Gild

BIHR PR IV 25r 1471 Thomas Tynlay gild chaplain of the parish of St. St. George: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 31r 1482 William Bakehouse of the parish of St. George: 20d.

St. Sebastian Gild

BIHR PR VI 149r-v 1505 Thomas Cook cordwainer of the parish of St. George: 12d.

St. Sondag Gild

BIHR PR VII 10v-11r 1507 John Mwldecliffe alderman: 4d.

St. Thomas of Canterbury Gild

BIHR PR VI 191v 1505 John Breknoke of the parish of St. George: 6d.

BIHR PR VI 212r 1505 Thomas Vance ?merchant of the parish of St. George: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

Doncaster (contd.)

St. Thomas of Canterbury Gild (contd.)

CC1 181-2 Within the parish church of Doncaster. Endowed with lands and tenements by Margaret Myddelton widow. Gild maintained a priest and kept obits.

Drax

West Riding in the wapentake of Barkston Ash and the deanery of Ainsty, parish of St. Peter. Priory of Austin canons. 1344 lay subsidy: £2.18s.8s. 1377 poll tax population: 260.

Holy Sepulchre Gild

BIHR PR II 580r 1464 John Wettewang of the parish of Drax: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 129r 1474 William Warde of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul: 3s.4d.

Easington

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of All Saints. 1344 lay subsidy: £5. 1377 poll tax population: 262.

Apostles Gild

BIHR PR VI 104r 1504 Henry Gibson of the parish of All Saints: 2s.

BIHR PR VI 104v 1504 Henry Swyft of the parish of Easington: wheat.

BIHR PR IX 428v 1528 John Swift of the parish of All Saints: 2s.

St. Mary Gild

VCH YER Vol 5 p29: Mention of gild house called St. Mary House.

Easingwold

North Riding, ancient demesne, in the wapentake of Bulmer and the archdeaconary of Richmond, parish of All Saints. 1344 lay subsidy: £4.13s.4d. Tenth (ancient demesne). 1377 poll tax population: 206. Fair 1291 September 3 days. Market grantee: Edmund Earl of Lancaster. Fair saint's day: Nativity of St. Mary.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR II 666r 1430 William Dowse of the parish of All Saints: a field plot called Scalyland.

BIHR PR III 520r 1438 Thomas Judson of the parish of St. Olave York: 12d.

BIHR PR III 549 1438 William Janyson of the chapel of Raskell: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 247r 1451 Thomas Rawson cleric gild chaplain of the parish of Easingwold: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IV 220r 1474 John Preston of the parish of St. Wilfrid York: 2s.

BIHR PR V 40v 1482 Agnes Ragett of the parish of Coxwold: a quarter of barley.

BIHR PR VI 244r 1506 William Robynson chaplain of the parish of All Saints: 10s to repair the gild chalice, 13s 2d. for the gild's works and cooking utensils already in the hands of the wardens.

BIHR PR XIB 426-1r 1540 Thomas Driffeld of the parish of Easingwold: 2s.

Ecclesfield

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth, liberty of Hallamshire and deanery of Doncaster parish of St. John. 1334 lay subsidy: £2.6s. 1377 Poll Tax: 301.

St. Mary Service

CC2 382 1548 Assessed together with St. John Baptist Service.

GAZETTEER

Ecclesfield (contd.)

St. John Baptist Service

CC2 382 1548 Assessed together with St. Mary Service.

Egton

North Riding in the wapentake of Langbargh and the deanery of Cleveland, parish of St. Hilda. 1344 lay subsidy: £2.15s. 1377 poll tax population: no record.

Unnamed Gild

BIHR PR II 482r-v 1463 Thomas Bigging of the parish of St. Hilda Chapel Egton: 3s.4d.

Elland

West Riding in the parish of Halifax wapentake of Agbrigg, liberty of Pontefract chapel of St. Mary. 1334 lay subsidy: no record. 1377 poll tax population: 47 (Halifax).

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR VI 154v 1505 Miles Wodhed: 8s.

Ellerby

North Riding in the wapentake of Bulmer and the deanery of Bulmer, parish of All Saints. 1344 lay subsidy: £1.3s. 1377 poll tax population: 110.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR XIB 484-2r 1540 John Wall of the parish of Ellerby: a bushel of wheat.

Featherstone

West Riding in the wapentake of Osgoldcross, liberty of Pontefract and deanery of Pontefract parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 1377 poll tax population: 46.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR IX 437 1528 Nicholas Rodes of Preston Jackling: 3s 4d.

BIHR PR IX 421 1528 Richard Symson of Preston Jackling: 3s 4d.

BIHR PR XI 242r 1537 Thomas Shelytoo of Whitwod: 3s.4d. for prayers.

BIHR PR XI 541v 1539 William Shelito husbandman: a hive.

Felkirk West

In parish of Heindley West Riding in the wapentake of Staincross, liberty of Pontefract and deanery of Doncaster, parish of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy: no record. 1377 poll tax population: 77 (Heindley).

St. Peter Service

CC1 154 1546 No foundation. Lands and tenements given by divers persons.

Fishlake

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth, peculiar of the prior and convent of Durham, parish of St. Cuthbert. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.12s. 1377 poll tax population: no record.

Holy Trinity Service

BIHR Reg 25 164r 1505 Richard Marshall vicar of Fishlake: 2s.

BIHR PR IX 430 1528 Laurence Williamson husbandman: 4s. towards purchase of land by executors.

GAZETTEER

Fishlake (contd.)

Holy Trinity Service (contd.)

CC1 199 1546/CC2 387 1548 Listed by CC1 as a Chantry but as a Service in CC2.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR IX 456 1529 William Hudson of Hastynghorpe: reference to land to the use of Our Lady Service.

CC1 197 1546/CC2 386 1548 Listed by CC1 as a Chantry but by CC2 as Service or Stipend.

Flamborough

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Oswald. Castle of Constable of Flamborough. 1344 lay subsidy: £3. 6. 8d. 1377 poll tax population: 278.

Holy Trinity Guild

BIHR PR VI 121v-122r 1504 Agnes Somerby widow of the parish of Bridlington St. Mary: 13s.4d. for membership of gild post mortem.

St. Margaret Guild

VCH YER Vol 2 p.161 quotes let of former property to Stephen Leckenby in 1566 including a cottage called the gild house PRO E 310/32/192 no 54. Guild also owned property in Bempton. Further references in 1576 and 1633.

Folkton

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. John Evangelist. 1344 lay subsidy: £1.13.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 71.

St. John Baptist Guild

BIHR PR IX 392v 1527 John Morwyn Folkton of the parish of St. John Apostle and Evangelist: 3s.4d.

Foston

North Riding in the wapentake of Bulmer and the deanery of Bulmer, parish of All Saints. 1344 lay subsidy: 12s. 1377 poll tax population: 42.

Holy Trinity Guild

BIHR PR XIA 243r 1437 Sir Thomas Ladestoke chaplain of the parish of Foston: 3s.4d.

Foston on the Wolds

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Andrew. 1344 lay subsidy: £1.5s. 1377 poll tax population: 118.

Holy Trinity Guild

VCH YER Vol 2 p.1871 and Cal Pat 1563-6 p.475 kitchen owned by gild granted to Francis Barker and Thomas Blackway in 1566.

BIHR PR XIA 320v 1538 William Talior of the parish of St. Andrew: 12d.

Fraisthorpe

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. John Baptist Carnaby. 1344 lay subsidy: £1.4s. 1377 poll tax population: 60.

GAZETTEER

Fraisthorpe (contd.)

Unnamed Gild

VCH YER Vol 2 p.207 quoting HCRO DDCC/193/65: reference to gild house in 1556. However, the gild house may have belonged to St. John Baptist Gild of Carnaby.

Garton

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Michael. 1344 lay subsidy: £2. 1377 poll tax population: no record.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR PR IX 13r 1516 Elizabeth Grimeston widow of the parish of Garton: 12d.

Garton on the Wolds

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Michael. Part in liberty of St. Peter. 1344 lay subsidy: £4.10s. 1377 poll tax population: 202.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR II 652v 1430 Richard Collom of the parish of St. Michael: a quarter of barley.

Giggleswick

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincliffe and the deanery of Craven, parish of St. Alkelda. 1344 lay subsidy: £1.9s. 1377 poll tax population: no record (53).

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR IX 385r 1427 Hugh Lawkeland of the parish of Giggleswick: 'Item I bequeathe to sancte Sondaye chauntre xs And to the Gilde of oure ladie if it procede and go forwarde and if it procede not then the said xs be yevyn to Sancte Sunday' 10s.

BIHR PR IX 404r 1528 James Car of the parish of St. Alkelda: 'also I bequeath to oure ladie gilde if it go forwarde vjs viijd' 6s.8d.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR XI 495r 1538 Sir John Malton chantry priest: £33.6.8 to found the service. If there is no support then money goes to the chaplain.

Goathland

North Riding in the parish of St. Peter, Pickering, wapentake of Pickering Lythe and the deanery of Rydale. Chapel of ease with hermitage under control of Whitby Abbey which later became a house owned by the abbot (VCH YIII 107). 1344 lay subsidy: £6. 1377 poll tax population: 62

Unnamed Gild

BIHR PR II 570r-v 1429 John Thomson of Shorttwait in the parish of Egton: 40d.

Great Driffield

East Riding, ancient demesne in the wapentake of Harthill and the deanery of Harthill, parish of All Saints. Prebendary of the precentor of York Minster. 1344 lay subsidy: £10. tenth (ancient demesne). 1377 poll tax population: 348. Easter fair.

GAZETTEER

Great Driffield (contd.)

Holy Trinity Guild

YML L2(4) 305v 1463 Thomas Waplyngton chantry priest of the St. Nicholas altar in the parish of the prebendial church of Great Driffield: 5s.

YML L2(5)a 124r-v 1528 Thomas Milner of the parish of Cottom: a measure of barley.

St. Mary Guild

YML L2(4) 305v 1463 Thomas Waplyngton chantry priest of the St. Nicholas altar in the parish of the prebendial church of Great Driffield: 5s.

BIHR PR V 226r-v 1484 Thomas Smyth of the parish of St. Mary Chapel Sledmere: a quarter of barley.

YML L2(5)a 124r-v 1528 Thomas Milner of the parish of Cottom: a measure of barley.

Unnamed Guild

Cal Pat 7 Ed VI 1548 256: 'to Christopher Estoft of Ellerker and Thomas Dowman of Pocklington 2 cottages and 3 roods of arable land in Great Dryffeld Yorks in tenure of Christopher Mason which belonged to the late gild there.'

Grimston by York

East Riding in the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent and the deanery of Ainsty. Part in liberty of St. Peter. Extra-parochial. 1344 lay subsidy: 12s. 1377 poll tax population: lib 41.

St. Helen Guild

BIHR PR II 238r-v 1451 Alice Shirwod widow of Richard alderman of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate, York: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 342r 1451 Richard Wright chapman of the parish of St. Denys, York: 6d. for torches of the gild at his funeral.

BIHR PR V 177v-178r 1478 Agnes Dykson widow of the parish of St. Edward ex Walmgate York: 6d.

BIHR PR V 156v 1478 Richard More yeoman of the parish of St. Margaret Walmgate York: 12d.

BIHR PR V 50r-v 1481 John Towthorpe butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate York: 12d.

BIHR PR V 445v 1494 William Arthure of the parish of Heslington: no sum specified.

Guisborough

North Riding in the wapentake of Langbargh and the deanery of Cleveland, parish of St. Nicholas. Priory of Austin canons. 1344 lay subsidy: £4. 1377 poll tax population: no record. Fair 3 days granted: 1268, Market weekly grantee Priory of Guisborough. Fairs saints' days: Nativity and Assumption of St. Mary.

St. Mary Guild

Cart. Prior. de Gyseburne Vol II (SS No 89) 409-10 1498 Indulgence of 40 days granted by Archbishop Lawrence Booth to all contributing to the gild of the BVM at Guisbrough.

BIHR PR XIII A 313r 1547 Edmund Kendall goldsmith: 'Also I give unto the fynding of oure ladie preste and for the light a goode kendall Jackett'.

GAZETTEER

Guisborough (contd.)

St. Mary Gild (contd)

Cal Pat Rolls Philip and Mary Vol 4 pp391-3 (5 & 6 P&M Pt II) and VCH YNR II pp 355, 364, 1478 16/07/1558 Refs to a) "a tenement called Gyltes" b) "a house called Le Guylde and a croft" c) "a house called Le Gylde and a croft belonging thereunto" all "in the township of Gisburn alias Gisborough late of the priory there". All these properties are distinct, with different tenants.

Hackness

North Riding in the wapentake of Whitby Strand and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Peter. Cell or outpost of Whitby Priory (VCH III p.107). 1344 lay subsidy: £2. 1377 poll tax population: 142.

St. Hilda Gild

BIHR PR III 601v-602r 1440 John Langdale of the parish of Hackness: two ewes with two lambs.

BIHR PR V 73v 1472 John Hodgeson of the parish of Scalby: 5s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 77v 1518 Thomas Poskytt of the parish of Hackness: 12d.

BIHR PR XIB 415r1539 Richard Hymners of the parish of Hackness: a lamb.

VCH YNR Vol 2, 528.

Ed J.C. Atkinson, The Whitby Chartulary Vol II (SS 72, 1879) 746 1540-47 'et de Gardiano Gildae S. Hildae pro i mes. sive ten. voc. le Gilde House scituat. infra villam ib. [Manerium de Hakness] videl. prati et pasturae eid. pertin. (liis iiiid)...'.

Halifax

West Riding in the wapentake of Morley, liberty of Wakefield and deanery of Pontefract parish of St. John. 1334 lay subsidy: 11s. 1377 poll tax population: 47.

Holy Cross Service

CC1 295 1546/CC2 421 1548 Stipend or Service. Copyhold land to maintain Service.

Morrow Mass Service

BIHR PR IX 349 1526 Richard Ambler: 20s. to be divided between services of St. Mary, St. George, Morrow priest.

CC1 299 1546 Inhabitants of town purchased lands. Rents to pay for priest to say daily mass at 5 a.m.

St. George Service

BIHR PR IX 349 1526 Richard Ambler: 20s. to be divided between services of St. Mary, St. George, Morrow priest.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR IX 349 1526 Richard Ambler: 20s. to be divided between services of St. Mary, St. George, Morrow priest.

BIHR PR XI 333 1538 Robert Thomson clothier.

Halsham

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness south and the deanery of Holderness, parish of All Saints. 1344 lay subsidy: £2.17s. 1377 poll tax population: 164.

Unnamed Gild

VCH YER Vol 5 p38: House called a gildhall.

GAZETTEER

Hamsthwaite

West Riding in the wapentake of Claro and the deanery of Ainsty, liberty of Knaresborough parish of St. Thomas of Canterbury. 1344 lay subsidy: no record. 1377 poll tax population: no record. Fair 1304 July 4 days. Market 1304 Friday.

Unnamed Gild

CC2 237 1546 Chantry or Gild: maintains a priest to help the curate with services and poor relief. Goods value 6s 11d, lands.

Hatfield

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth and deanery of Doncaster parish of St. Laurence. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.16s. 1377 poll tax population: 241.

St. Katherine Service

CC1 150 1546 Founded by well disposed people with lands and tenements.
CC2 388 1548 calls it Chantry or Service.

St. Mary Service

CC1 149 1546 Founded by well disposed people with lands and tenements.
CC2 388 1548 Copyhold lands 110s.½d.

St. Mary Service in the Chapel of Stanford

CC1 151 1546 Sustained by copyhold land from well-disposed parishioners.

Hawnby

North Riding in the wapentake of Birdforth and the deanery of Cleveland, parish of All Saints. 1344 lay subsidy: 18s. 1377 poll tax population: 120.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR XIA 929v 1538 William Harte yeoman of the parish of All Saints: a sheep.

Hedon

East Riding, borough, in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Augustine. 1344 lay subsidy: £10.13s.4d. tenth (borough). 1377 poll tax population: 482. Fair 1272 May 8 days grantee Edmund Earl of Lancaster and wife. Fairs saints' days: St. Mary Magdalene, St. Augustine.

Holy Cross Gild

VCH YER Vol 5 p183: a room in parish church of St. Augustine. Owned much property including a toft given by Burton and Maupas in 1392. Cal Pat 16 Richard II Vol 5 p.113 1392 : Licence in mortmain for alienation of a toft by John de Burton and Hugh Maupas to master and bretheren of Holy Cross Gild in Hedon for finding a taper to burn before altar of St. Augustine in Hedon.

BIHR PR IV 84r-v 1472 Joan Elwyn widow of the parish of St. Augustine: 3s.4d. Also 6s.8d. for painting the rood.

BIHR PR IV 179 1472 John Sturmy of the parish of St. Augustine: 3s.4d. and the reversion of a house and land on death of wife and son to Alderman and Senechals of Gild in return for obit.

YML L2(4) 330v 1475 William Paynter chantry priest of the parish of Preston: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 235r 1484 William Smyth of the hospital of Newton in Holderness buried in the parish of St. Mary Paull: 12d. and 6s.4d. to Holy Cross chapel.

BIHR PR V 435Ar 1494 Thomas Kynwarton of the parish of St. Augustine: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

Hedon (contd.)

Holy Cross Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR VI 121r-v 1508 John Croft of the parish of St. Augustine: two rooms in Hedon and a garden or orchard in Haywell on condition that the two rooms be retained by the gild aldermen for two paupers.

BIHR PR VI 104r 1504 John Grave of the parish of Swine: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 114v 1504 Robert Down of the parish of Preston All Saints: a field in Hedon after the death of Alexander Knolle in return for annual obit for self and wife to the value of 16s. p.a.

BIHR PR VI 120v 1504 John Kynwerdby of the parish of St. Augustine: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 151r 1505 Christopher Haryson of the parish of St. Augustine: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 217r 1506 William Bernard of the parish of St. Augustine: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 63r 1517 Peter Carwell of the parish of Thorgumbold in Paull: 2s.

Helmsley

North Riding in the wapentake of Rydale and the deanery of Rydale, parish of All Saints. Castle: Roos. 1344 lay subsidy: £3.16s. 1377 poll tax population: 282 lib 66. Fair 1352. Market 1352 grantee William Roos.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR PR VI 162r 1506 Robert Symondson of the parish of Helmsley: 2s.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR II 459r 1461 Thomas Barker of the parish of All Saints: 4 ewes on condition they they are not sold but are kept for the use of the gild.

BIHR PR VI 162r 1506 Robert Symondson of the parish of Helmsley: 4 ewes.

Hemsworth

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincross, liberty of Pontefract and deanery of Doncaster parish of St. Helen. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.11s. 1377 poll tax population: 182.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR XI 461 1540 Sir Robert Buttle service priest: no bequest.

Heptonstall

West Riding in the parish of Halifax wapentake of Morley and liberty of Wakefield. 1334 lay subsidy: 11s. (Halifax). 1377 poll tax population: 47 (Halifax).

St. Mary Service

CC2 297/423 1546 1548 Chapel in Halifax parish. Maintained by rents from lands given by well-disposed parishioners to help the curate.

Hollym

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Nicholas. 1344 lay subsidy: £2.16s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 116.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR IX 1529 James Shipwright of the parish of St. Katherine: half a quarter of barley.

BIHR PR IX 469r 1529 Robert Andrewe of the parish of St. Katherine: a measure of wheat and a measure of barley.

VCH YER Vol 5 p39 : Land supporting gild lights.

GAZETTEER

Hollym (contd.)

St. Mary Gild (contd.)

Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp27-9 : Cottage called a "gilde house" granted to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow.

Hornsea

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Michael. 1344 lay subsidy: £3.6.8d. 1377 poll tax population: lib 271, Hornsea Beck 264. Fair 1358 July-August 3 days grantee Abbot of St. Mary York. Fairs saint's day St. Peter ad Vincula. Poulson, *History of Holderness* (Hull, 1841) Vol I pp.314-4: Church in possession of St. Mary's Abbey York. Nearby Hornseabeck (since eroded) in possession of Meaux Abbey. (p.319) Dispute over ownership of Hornsea Mere settled by combat in 1260 in favour of St. Mary's. (pp.327-8) Anthony St. Quentin prebend of Milton, Lincoln Minster, will dated 10/07/1430 probate 11/08/1430: 10s. each to four fraternities of Corpus Christi, Holy Trinity, St. Mary, St. Katherine. All "founded at an early period". BIHR PR IX 389r 1528 John Gerves of the parish of Hornsea St Nicholas asked for 100 masses to be said in Hornsea by authority of Scala Coeli Gild of St. Mary at Boston Lincs. 1604 22 march 2 James Anne Taylor: reference to Gild oxgang. 1675 William and Mary: reference to gild houses and gild house garth.

General Bequests to the Four Gilds of Hornsea

BIHR PR VI 193r-v 1505 Joan Jakson of the parish of St. Nicholas: 2s.8d. to the four gilds.

BIHR PR VI 241r 1506 Richard Parkour of the parish of St. Nicholas: 4s. to be divided equal portions.

BIHR PR IX 388r 1428 Robert Meteham gentleman of the parish of St. Nicholas: half a quarter of barley to each gild.

BIHR PR IX 412v 1528 Thomas Smyth of the parish of St. Nicholas: 10s. to the four gilds.

BIHR PR IX 422r 1528 John Bowman of the parish of Skerne St. Leonard: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IX 454v 1529 Agnes Don of the parish of St. Nicholas: 12d. to each gild.

BIHR PR XIA 309v 1538 Jennet Smarte of the parish of St. Nicholas 12d: to each gild and a towel to each altar.

BIHR PR XIA 356v-357r 1539 William Tyndale of the parish of St. Nicholas: a bushel of barley to each gild.

BIHR PR XIB 426-2r-v 1539 John Beverlay of the parish of Hornsea: 12d. to each gild.

BIHR PR XIB 484-1v 1540 Richard Birde of the parish of St. Nicholas: a bushel of wheat to each gild 'and I wit to my wif a cowe and my take in the gilde lande'.

BIHR PR XIII A 352v 1547 Thomas Beverlay of the parish of St. Nicholas: 12d. to each gild 'over and beside there wagies'.

Corpus Christi Gild

BIHR PR IX 361r 1526 Thomas Hall of the parish of St. Nicholas: 2 measures of barley and and one of wheat.

BIHR PR IX 391v 1528 John Barker of the parish of Catwick St. Michael: 12d.

BIHR PR XIA 275r & 398r 1537 Richard Atkynson of the parish of St. Nicholas: 12d.

BIHR PR XIA 356v 1539 Robert Stage of the parish of St. Nicholas: a measure of wheat and a measure of barley.

BIHR PR XIB 412r 1539 John Hubbilday of the parish of St. Nicholas: half a quarter of wheat.

GAZETTEER

Hornsea (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR XIII A 401v-402r 1547 Thomas Hodgeson gild priest of the parish of St. Nicholas: to be buried near the aisle of Corpus Christi.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR PR VI 110v 1504 James Bagley of the parish of St. Nicholas: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 196v-197r 1505 David Cockburne of the parish of St. Nicholas: a house in Northgate of annual value of 5s.8d.

BIHR PR IX 19v 1515 Thomas Kirkby husbandman of the parish of St. Nicholas: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 56r 1517 Thomas Teyll husbandman of the parish of St. Nicholas: a measure of barley.

BIHR PR IX 361r 1526 Thomas Hall of the parish of St. Nicholas: two measures of barley and one of wheat.

BIHR PR IX 479 1529 John Dumbler husbandman of the parish of Sigglesthorne: two bushels of wheat.

BIHR PR XIA 275r and 398r 1537 Richard Atkynson of the parish of St. Nicholas: 12d.

BIHR PR XIA 356v 1539 Robert Stage of the parish of St. Nicholas: a measure of wheat and a measure of barley.

BIHR PR XIB 412r 1539 John Hubbilday of the parish of St. Nicholas: half a quarter of wheat.

St. Katherine Gild

BIHR PR VI 110v 1504 James Bagley of the parish of St. Nicholas: 6d.

BIHR PR IX 56r 1517 Thomas Teyll of the parish of St. Nicholas: a measure of barley, two ewes and two hoggets (sheep).

BIHR PR IX 361r 1526 Thomas Hall of the parish of St. Nicholas: 2 measures of barley.

BIHR PR IX 479 1529 John Dumbler husbandman of the parish of Sigglesthorne: a bushel of barley.

BIHR PR XIA 275r and 398r 1537 Richard Atkynson of the parish of St. Nicholas: 6d.

BIHR PR XIB 412r 1539 John Hubbilday of the parish of St. Nicholas: half a quarter of barley.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR VI 110v 1504 James Bagley of the parish of St. Nicholas: 6d.

BIHR PR IX 361r 1526 Thomas Hall of the parish of St. Nicholas: 2 measures of barley.

BIHR PR IX 479v 1529 John Dumbler husbandman of the parish of Sigglesthorne: a bushel of barley.

BIHR PR XIA 275r and 398r 1537 Richard Atkynson of the parish of St. Nicholas: 6d.

BIHR PR XIB 412r 1539 John Hubbilday of the parish of St. Nicholas: half a quarter of barley.

Howden

East Riding in the wapentake of Howdenshire and the deanery of Howden, peculiar of the Bishop of Durham, parish of St. Peter and Paul collegiate church. 1344 lay subsidy: £8. 1377 poll tax population: no record. Horsefair grantee Bishop of Durham. Cattlemarket.

GAZETTEER

Howden (contd.)

Holy Trinity Gild

Cal Pat 3 Ed VI 1549 34: to Walter Wolfele of Howden and Robert Wright of Grimsby, yeomen, fields and a cottage in tenure of John Preston, belonging to the late gild of Holy Trinity within "le Charnell" of the collegiate church of Howden.

Cal Pat 7 Ed VI 1551 21-23: to Sir John Wytheryngton and Cuthbert Musgrave (both of Northumberland) land in tenure of Thomas Webster in Barnby Yorkshire which belonged to the late gild of Holy Trinity in the collegiate church of Howden: yearly value 3s.4d.

Cal Pat 7 Ed VI 1551 p258 : to Christopher Estoft of Ellerker and Thomas Dowman of Pocklington the messuage in Howden Yorkshire in tenure of Thomas Davye which belonged to the late gild of Holy Trinity in the collegiate church of Howden.

Huddersfield

West Riding in the wapentake of Agbrigg, liberty of Wakefield and deanery of Pontefract, parish of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy: 13s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 48.

St. Mary Service

CC2 282 1546 Stipend or Service. To help curate. Goods lands.

St. Nicholas Service

BIHR PR XI 310v 1537 Robert Walker: a 'stoke' of 9s.

Hull, Kingston-upon

East Riding, Borough, parishes of Holy Trinity and St. Mary: both parishes were technically chapels of ease of the parishes of Hessle and North Ferriby respectively. 1344 lay subsidy: £33. 6s. 8d. tenth (borough). 1377 poll tax population: 1,557. Fair 1279 September 4 days 1299. Markets 1279 Thursday 1299 Tuesday and Friday grantees: Abbot of Meaux and the burgesses. Fairs saints' days: Holy Trinity, St. Augustine. Cornmarket.

General Gild Bequests

BIHR PR II 231r-v 1451 John Harpham of the parish of Holy Trinity: 3s. 4d. for repairing (maintaining) the lights of each gild he is member of up to a total of 40s. This infers that he subscribed to 12 gild lights in Hull. Note that he made a separate bequest to St. Mary Gild in St. Mary Virgin.

BIHR PR II 467v 1461 Robert Stowt barker of the parish of Holy Trinity: his wife Emmot to sustain the gilds in Holy Trinity that he was member of.

BIHR PR V 250v 1484 William Barron draper of the parish of St. Mary: 12d. each to every gild in Hull.

BIHR PR IX 51r 1571P Thomas Burnett of the parish of Holy Trinity: 12d. to every gild in Holy Trinity church.

Corpus Christi Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

PRO C47/46/449 Founded 1358. Mass on feast of Corpus Christi. Attended members' funerals. To assist unfortunate members. Normally only open to children of members.

VCH ER 1 p295 : Parish gild of Holy Trinity

KHRO D 81 1349 Will of Nicholas Stut: *inter alia*, all his tenements in Monkgate to the brothers of the Gild of Corpus Christi after the death of his wife Joan and his children.

GAZETTEER

Hull (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild in Holy Trinity Parish (contd.)

KHRO BRA 81 1382 Plot 112: Inquisition held before Robert Passelewe, the king's escheator, concerning the grant by Adam de Tutbury and John de Denton of five messuages and 20s. rent to found a chantry at the altar of Corpus Christi for the souls of their ancestors and for the benefactors of the Gild of Corpus Christi.

BIHR PR I 62r-v 1394 Thomas de Stylyngflete burgess of the parish of Holy Trinity: 3s.4d. for lights at his funeral and reference to a gild messuage in Vicar Lane.

BIHR PR 96r 1396 Nicholas Waghen of the parish of Holy Trinity: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 39v-40r 1398 Adam de Tuttebery of the parish of Holy Trinity: a messuage and garden for annual prayers.

KHRO BRA 81 1404 John Wodehouse, chaplain, to Lawrence, son of Adam de Tutbury: one tenement and an adjoining garden in a street anciently called Beverley Street. Monkgate Street to the south, land of the earl of Suffolk to the north, Beverley Street to the east, town ditch to the west, paying 20s. p.a.

BIHR PR III 273r 1407 John Dandson of the parish of Holy Trinity: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 608r-609r 1418 John Saundryrson of the parish of Holy Trinity 3s.4d.: to the poor in gild maisonndieu.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s. and a silver-gilt belt for the shrine.

KHRO BRA 87/52-55 : 4 deeds of grants of land to the gild 1448-1501.

KHRO BRA 87 1463 John Scales, alderman of the Gild of Corpus Christi: to Thomas Alcock and Richard Burdon, stewards of the said gild, to William Hoton of Hull, walker, lease of a garden lying in Lillestreet for 60 years at 4s. p.a.

BIHR PR IV 9dv 1474 Elizabeth Harwod widow of Robert of the parish of Holy Trinity: a silver *agnus dei* for the shrine.

BIHR PR IX 51r 1517P Thomas Burnett of the parish of Holy Trinity: 12d.

KHRO BRA 88 10 : Rental book of the gild for 1522-25: rents and payments in respect of gild properties 20 pages.

CC2 343 1546/522 1548 Corpus Christi Service: for maintenance of divine service. Incumbent appointed by mayor and commons of Hull. He is "called Corpus Christi priest". Lands.

CC2 344 1546/521 1548 Stipend or Service founded by Adam Tutburie who gave house to mayor and commons to maintain priest. In 1546 the sum has decayed. By 1548 mayor etc. pay it themselves.

These two references to Corpus Christi Services relate to the gild in dissolution.

Holy Trinity Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

VCH ER 1 289, 397-400 : parish gild of Holy Trinity. Later a shipmen's gild. Ancestor of Trinity House.

Ed. D. Woodward, "The Accounts of the Building of Trinity House, Hull, 1465-1476 YAJ 42 (1990) 153-70.

A.J Mill, "The Hull Noah Play", *Modern Language Review* 33 (1938) 489-505.

BIHR PR II 575v 1408 Alan Wilcok burgess merchant of the parish of St. Mary: 40d.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s.

BIHR PR II 26r-v 1441 Richard Pounfrett glover of the parish of Holy Trinity: Margaret his wife to pay 7d. per week to the maisonndieu.

KHRO BRA 87/45 1468 Richard Flynton: a bed to the master of the gild in Beverley Gate.

KHRO BRA 87 1522 John Armstrong mariner of the parish of Holy Trinity: 10s. and 13 bedefolk of the maisonndieu to attend obit.

GAZETTEER

Hull (contd.)

Holy Trinity Gild in Holy Trinity Parish (contd.)

BIHR PR XIB 480v-481r 1540 Elizabeth Fenwell widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 6s.8d for repairs to the house and 1d. to each poor person therein.

Jesus Gild in St. Mary Parish

VCH ER 1 p.295: Parish gild of St. Mary the Virgin

Resurrection Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

VCH ER 1 p.289: Parish gild of Holy Trinity

BIHR PR I 3v-4r 1389 Alice Sax widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR I 62r-v 1394 Thomas de Stylyngflete burgess of the parish of Holy Trinity: 13s.4d. for lights at funeral.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s.

BIHR PR II 467r 1460 Katherine Hall widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 51r 1517P Thomas Burnett of the parish of Holy Trinity: 12d.

St. Anne Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

VCH ER 1 p.289 : Parish gild of Holy Trinity.

BIHR PR III 608r-609r 1418 John Saundyrson of the parish of Holy Trinity: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s.

CC2 345 1546 Salary or Stipend salary paid by King's Receiver from possessions of Guisborough. 1548 Stipendary or Service.

St. Anne Service in St. Mary Parish

CC2 523 1548 Stipendary or Service. Salary at hands of mayor and commons.

St. Christopher Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

BIHR PR III 11r 1398 John Hornsee burgess merchant of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

St. George Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

VCH ER 1 p.289 : Parish gild of Holy Trinity

BIHR PR III 11r 1398 John Hornsee burgess merchant of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s.

BIHR PR 233r-v 1451 Richard Bille merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 436v 1493 Thomas Tateham of the parish of Holy Trinity: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 51r 1517P Thomas Burnett of the parish of Holy Trinity: 12d.

St. Gregory Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

VCH ER 1 p.289 : Parish gild of Holy Trinity

BIHR PR II 482v 1461 Robert Baxter mariner of the parish of Holy Trinity: 16d.

St. Helen Gild in St. Mary Parish

VCH ER 1 p.295 : Parish gild of St. Mary the Virgin

St. James Service in Holy Trinity Parish

CC2 344 1546/520 1548 Service or Salary founded by John Bedford. Salary paid by mayor and commons from rent. In 1548 called a Chantry. Probably a gild.

GAZETTEER

Hull (contd.)

St. James Gild in St. Mary Parish

VCH ER 1 p.295 : Parish gild of St. Mary the Virgin.

BIHR PR III 608r-609r 1418 John Saundyrson of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20d. to poor in gild maisondieu.

St. John Baptist Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

PRO C47/46/450 Meet on feast of Nativity of St. John Baptist. Mass, funerals, poor relief.

VCH ER 1 p.295 : Parish gild of Holy Trinity

BIHR PR III 252v-253r 1406 John Hyndlay of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s. and a press for vestments.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s.

BIHR PR V 87v 1483 George Busshell merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 436v 1493 Thomas Tateham of the parish of Holy Trinity: 12d.

BIHR PR XIA 324r-v 1538 Henry Lamley draper: 12d.

St. Katherine Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

VCH ER 1 p289 : Parish gild of Holy Trinity

BIHR PR III 240v 1405 Agnes Stylyngflete widow burgess of the parish of Holy Trinity: a coverlet to cover her tomb on her anniversary.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s.

BIHR PR II 203v-204r 1499 Barnard Gerardson cook of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20d.

BIHR PR II 233r-v 1451 Richard Bille merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity: 3s.4d.

St. Loy Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

VCH ER 1 p289 : Parish gild of Holy Trinity

BIHR PR III 29r 1399 Matilda Couper widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 2s.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s.

St. Mary Gild in Holy Trinity Parish

VCH ER 1 p.295 Parish gild of Holy Trinity

Westlake p.234 mistakenly ascribes PRO C47/46/451 to this gild.

BIHR PR I 34r 1391 William Wylyngham of the parish of Holy Trinity: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s.

BIHR PR II 231r-v 1451 John Harpham of the parish of Holy Trinity: 6s.8d.

Test Ebor II p171 : William Clederhow merchant 1454: "To ovr Lady gyld vjs viijd".

KHRO BRA 87/8 : Account book of the Gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Chapel of Holy Trinity: 1463-1539. Record of officers and audited accounts. Quality of records deteriorates in the 16th century.

KHRO BRA 8 1476 Mayor and burgesses, Robert Staveley, Margaret Haynson and the Gild of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Holy Trinity: the foundation of the chantry of John Haynson in Holy Trinity endowed with the above property.

BIHR PR IX 51r 1517P Thomas Burnett of the parish of Holy Trinity: 12d.

GAZETTEER

Hull (contd.)

St. Mary Guild in St. Mary Parish

PRO C47/46/451 Founded 1357. Mass and offerings on Feast of the Assumption. Relief of poor members. Pilgrims to the Holy Land exempt from subscriptions when away.

VCH ER 1 p295 : Parish gild of St. Mary the Virgin.

BIHR PR II 575v 1408 Alan Wilcok burgess merchant of the parish of St. Mary: 40d.

BIHR PR 569v 1429 John Martyn ?dyer of the parish of St. Mary: 5s.

BIHR PR III 555v-556v 1438 Johanna Gregg widow of the parish of Holy Trinity: 20s.

BIHR PR II 228v 1451 Robert Birdsday of the parish of St. Mary: 16d.

St. Nicholas Bishop Guild in Holy Trinity Parish

BIHR PR V 274r 1485 Richard Harwod chaplain of the parish of Holy Trinity: 3s.4d.

St. Ninian Guild in the Carmelite Friary.

P. Heath, "Urban Piety", *The Church Politics and Piety* ed. Dobson (Gloucester 1984) 222-3.

St. Saviour Guild in St. Mary Parish

VCH ER 1 p.289 : Parish gild of St. Mary the Virgin.

Unnamed Service (name missing) in Holy Trinity Parish

CC2 342 1546/522 1548 Stipend or Service. Also called a chantry. Founded by John Elland in parish church. Goods plate and extensive lands. Stipend unable to be paid in 1548.

Humbleton

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of SS. Peter and Paul. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 6s. 1377 poll tax population: 97.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR V 272r 1486 Nicholas Grymston of the parish of St. Peter formerly Rector of Gudmadame (?Goodmanham): 6s.8d.

BIHR PR VI 109r 1504 William Drew of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 104v 1504 John Tod of Fytlyng in the parish of SS. Peter and Paul: a bullock and two bushels of wheat for the light.

BIHR Reg 25 162v 1505 Robert Benyngworth vicar of the parish of Humbleton: 20s.8d.

BIHR PR VI 134v 1505 Agnes Drew of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul: £4.

BIHR PR VI 197v 1506 Richard Garthom of Fiting in the parish of SS. Peter and Paul: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 176r 1506 John Wheilpedall of the parish of Humbleton: a half quarter of wheat to gild and light.

BIHR PR IX 58v 1517 John Garthom of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul: 10d.

Hunmanby

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £6.16s. 1377 poll tax population: 293. Fair October 1 day. Market.

Jesus Guild

BIHR PR IX 78v 1519 Robert Pardowe of the parish of Hunmanby: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

Hunmanby (contd.)

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR II 476v 1462 William Ramige chaplain of the parish of Hunmanby: 3s.4d.
VCH YER Vol 2 p.242: Ref 1483: BIHR PR V 78 - gild may have maintained light and image of Our Lady of Pity in All Saints Church.

BIHR PR V 40v 1483 William Gare of the parish of Hunmanby: 4 measures of barley.

BIHR PR V 78v 1483 William Squyer of Northburton: 8d.

BIHR PR V 230v 1484 Robert Thirnum: 20d.

BIHR PR V 215r 1485 John Burton of Burton Fleming buried in Hunmanby: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 33r 1517 John Warde of the parish of Hunmanby: 4 measures of wheat.

BIHR PR IX 78v 1519 Robert Pardowe of the parish of Hunmanby: 2s.

BIHR PR IX 37v 1527 Richard Wynter of the parish of Filey: 2s.

BIHR PR IX 402r 1528 George Kechyn of the parish of Hunmanby: 6d.

BIHR Reg 27 164r 1528 Dom. Henry Smythson vicar of the parish of Hunmanby: a quarter of barley.

BIHR PR IX 438 1529 Robert Jordan of the parish of Hunmanby: a measure of barley next year.

BIHR PR XIA 330r 1538 William Martson husbandman of the parish of All Saints: a measure of barley.

BIHR PR XIB 416v-417r 1539 William Farron of the parish of All Saints: 12d.

Ingleby Greenhow

North Riding in the wapentake of Langbargh west and the deanery of Cleveland, parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: no record.

Jesus Gild

BIHR PR VI 195v-196r 1506 Thomas Ayscoght gentleman of the parish of Ingleby Greenhow: 3s.4d. This bequest is ambiguous. The gild may belong to Bedale.

Keighley

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincliffe, liberty of Clifford's Fee and deanery of Craven parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: 15s. 1377 poll tax population: 150.

Unnamed Service

CC2 412 1548 Maintains priest to serve cure, say mass and teach children, the parson being not resident.

Keyingham

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Nicholas. 1334 lay subsidy: £4. 1377 poll tax population: 204.

St. Mary Gild

VCH YER5 63: Gild house, obits endowed with rents.

Kildwick in Craven

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincliffe, liberty of Clifford's Fee and deanery of Craven parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: 13s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 22.

St. Mary Service

CC2 407 1548 Chantry or Service: maintains schoolmaster of free school in Skipton.

GAZETTEER

Kilham

East Riding, ancient demesne, in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, part in liberty of St. Peter, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £10.15s. tenth (ancient demesne). 1377 poll tax population: 363. Fair 1227 August 2 days, 1334 August 3 days October 6 days. Market 1227 Tuesday, 1334 Saturday grantees dean and chapter of St. Mary of Rouen and Archbishop of York. Fair saints day: All Saints.

St. Laurence Gild

YML L2(5)a 5v 1493 William Dern shepherd and farmer of the parish of All Saints: a quarter of barley and a belt to the St. Laurence shrine.

Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp27-9: Owned cottage granted to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow in 1548.

VCH YER Vol 2 p.260: Ref to "Gild hall" in 1563 property grants: Cal Pat 1563-6, 52. St. Laurence was a chantry chapel near All Saints parish church.

Kilnsea

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Helen. 1334 lay subsidy: £5.6s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 164. Near to vanished port of Ravenspur.

All Saints Gild

BIHR PR VI 113v-114r 1504 Leonard Byrd of the parish of St. Elmo: two measures of wheat.

VCH YER Vol 5 p73: House worth 2s.6d. p.a.

Kirby Grindalyth

East Riding in the wapentake of Buckrose and the deanery of Buckrose, parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.18s. 1377 poll tax population: 82.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR V 226r-v 1484 Thomas Smyth of the parish of St. Mary chapel Sledmere: a quarter of barley.

Kirby Misperton

North Riding in the wapentake of Rydale and the deanery of Rydale, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: 13s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 64.

St. Katherine Gild

BIHR PR V 249v-250r 1484 Christopher Midelwod vicar of the parish of Willerby: 3s.4d.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR IX 54v 1517 Ralph Nesse of Ryton: 6s.8d.

Kirkburn

East Riding in the wapentake of Harthill and the deanery of Harthill, parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: £3. 1377 poll tax population: 138. Fairs saints' days Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Peter ad Vincula.

St. Katherine Gild

BIHR PR V 91r 1483 Robert Chow husbandman of Estburn in the parish of Kirkburn: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

Kirkburton

West Riding in the wapentake of Agbrigg, liberty of Wakefield and deanery of Pontefract, parish of Holy Trinity. 1334 lay subsidy: 12s. 1377 poll tax population: 66.

St. Nicholas Service

CC2 425 1548 Of no foundation but of the parishioners' devotion at their pleasure. Copyhold land goods plate.

St. Mary Service

CC2 304 1546/424 1548 Maintained by lands given by well-disposed persons. CC2 does not give the dedication.

Kirkby Malzeard

West Riding in the wapentake of Claro and the deanery of Catterick, prebendary of Masham, liberty of St. Peter, parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: £3.6s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 198. Fair 1307 September 3 days. Market: 1307 Monday, grantees John de Moubray. Fairs saints' days: Nativity of St. Mary, St. Michael.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR V 31v 1482 George Wod chaplain of the parish of Kirkby Malzeard: 40s to make a chalice for the gild in return for prayers for his soul and those of his parents.

Kirkby Overblow

West Riding in the wapentake of Claro and deanery of Ainsty parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: 10s. 1377 poll tax population: 102.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR XI 504 1540 Robert Redman of Kerebie: 2s. if there be a priest.

Kirkheaton

West Riding in the wapentake of Agbrigg, liberty of Pontefract and deanery of Pontefract, parish of St. John Baptist. 1334 lay subsidy: 16s. 1377 poll tax population: 52.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR V 464v-465r 1495 Thomas Beaumont of Wytlay in the parish of Heaton: a cow worth 8s.

BIHR PR XI 385r 1537 Richard Langley gentleman of Dalton: 8d.

CC2 317 1546 No incumbent or foundation but one house rent paid to maintain Service. No goods.

Knaresborough

West Riding in the wapentake of Claro. Liberties of St. Peter and Knaresborough.

St. Robert Gild

P.J.P. Goldberg, "From Conquest to Corporation", from B.J. Barber, ed., *Doncaster: A Borough and its Charters* (The Waterdale Press, Doncaster, 1994), p.61, BIHR PR V 183r 1480 Katherine Travers.

Ed. C.W. Foster, *Lincoln Wills III*, (Lincoln Record Society 24, London 1930), 118 testament of Robert Brown of the parish of All Saints Welby, Lincolnshire, 17 March 1531. 'To the gyld of st Robert of Knavesborow iiijd'. Brief will also includes bequests to the work of Our Lady of Lincoln and to the friars of Grantham.

GAZETTEER

Langtoft

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, peculiar, parish of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy: £2. 1377 poll tax population: 100.

St. Katherine Guild

YML L2(5)a 124r-v 1528 Thomas Milner of the parish of Cottam: a measure of barley.

VCH YER Vol 2 p.269: Ref 1528: Test Eb V 132-3.

Lastingham

North Riding in the wapentake of Rydale and the deanery of Rydale, parish of St. Mary. 1334 lay subsidy: no record. 1377 poll tax population: 88.

Holy Trinity Guild

BIHR PR IV 118v 1475 Thomas Crispyn rector of the parish of Lastingham: a calf.

BIHR PR V 78v 1485 Nicholas Horrow of the parish of Lastingham: 6d.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR IV 118v 1475 Thomas Crispyn rector of the parish of Lastingham: a calf.

BIHR PR V 78v 1485 Nicholas Horrow of the parish of Lastingham: 6d.

Leconfield

East Riding in the wapentake of Harthill and the deanery of Harthill, parish of St. Katherine. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 3s. 1377 poll tax population: 192. Castle: Percy. Fair 1383 September 9 days Market 1383 Tuesday grantee Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland. Fair saint's day: Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

Unnamed Guild

VCH YER Vol 4 p130, Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp27-9 : Guild house granted to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow in 1548.

Leeds

West Riding in the wapentake of Skyrack and the deanery of Ainsty, liberty of Pontefract, parish of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy: £3.13s. 1377 poll tax population: 160. Cornmarket, cloth market.

Jesus Guild

Although the Jesus Guild is not specifically named in the first three of the following bequests it seems likely that they relate to it.

BIHR PR IX 24v 1515 William Musgrave of the parish of Leeds: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 35v 1516 Nicholas Best of the parish of St. Peter: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 70v 1517 Brian Baynes ?merchant of the parish of Leeds: the proceeds of a bargain worth 46s.8d. or if it fails 13s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 61r 1517 Robert Batty of the parish of St. Peter: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 366v 1527 William Atkynson butcher of the parish of St. Peter: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR XIA 264v 1537 Robert Mores of the parish of St. Peter: 4d.

St. George Guild

BIHR PR IX 61r 1517 Robert Batty of the parish of St. Peter: 12d.

Levisham

North Riding in the wapentake of Pickering Lythe and the deanery of Rydale. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.8s. 1377 poll tax population: 37.

GAZETTEER

Levisham (contd.)

Holy Trinity Guild

BIHR PR IV 118v 1475 Thomas Crispyn rector of the parish of Lastingham: a calf.
BIHR PR V 78v 1483 Nicholas Horrow of the parish of Lastingham: 6d.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR IV 118v 1475 Thomas Crispyn rector of the parish of Lastingham: a calf.
BIHR PR V 78v 1483 Nicholas Horrow of the parish of Lastingham: 6d.

Loversall

West Riding in the parish of Doncaster wapentake of Strafforth and deanery of Doncaster. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 1377 poll tax population: 800 (Doncaster)

Unnamed Service

CC2 390 1548 Freehold land worth 100s.2d.

Malton, New

North Riding in the wapentake of Rydale and the deanery of Rydale, part in liberty of St. Peter. Chapels of St. Michael and St. Leonard, parish of St. Mary. Castle. 1334 lay subsidy: £3. 6. 8. 1377 poll tax population: 354

St. John the Baptist Guild

BIHR PR II 217r-v 1450 Ralph Hulande: 12d.

N A Hudleston, History of Malton and Norton (Scarborough 1962) p.721 : "Thomas Stokeslay of New Malton and others received licence in 1444 to acquire lands to the value of £10 yearly for establishing a corporate guild of St. John the Baptist at New Malton under two wardens elected yearly for the maintenance of the roads, causways and bridge." May be connected with chantry of St. John the Baptist founded in 1478 by John Butterwick 1478 to pray for souls of Henry V, Thomas Stokeslay et al (see *ibid.*, p.80).

St. Mary Guild in the Chapel of St. Michael

BIHR PR III 275v-276r 1407 John Stevenson of the parish of St. Mary Old Malton: 10s.

Malton, Old

North Riding in the wapentake of Rydale and the deanery of Rydale, part in liberty of St. Peter, parish of St. Mary. Priory of Gilbertine canons. 1334 lay subsidy: £2. 3s. 1377 poll tax population: 180. Cattlefair 1295, Horsefair September 1 day.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR III 28v-29r 1399 William Langley of the parish of Malton 40d.

Unnamed Service in the Chapel of St. Leonard Old Malton

CC2 511 1548 Stipendary or Service in chapel of ease. Incumbent also has another "chantry" in Pickering castle.

Unnamed Service in the Chapel of St. Michael Old Malton

CC2 512 1548 Stipendary or Service in chapel of ease. May be identical with St. Mary Guild New Malton.

GAZETTEER

Middlesborough

North Riding in the wapentake of Langbargh and the deanery of Cleveland, parish of Chapel of St. Hilda in parish of Acklam. Cell or priory of Whitby Abbey. Priory impoverished in 15th century when prior also acted as parish priest (VCH III pp105-6). 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 1377 poll tax population: 56.

St. Thomas of Canterbury Guild

BIHR PR III 987v-988r 1439 Robert Thomson clothier of the parish of Middlesborough: 12s.

Middleton by Pickering

North Riding in the wapentake of Pickering Lythe and the deanery of Rydale. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.10s. 1377 poll tax population: 69.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR Reg 27 142r 1516 Robert Page vicar of the parish of Middleton by Pickering: 20d.

BIHR PR IX 436r 1528 William Marshall lawyer of the parish of Middleton: rents of a croft and toft in Aslaby to the gild masters' use for 99 years after his death.

Newton upon Ouse

North Riding in the wapentake of Bulmer and the deanery of Bulmer. 1334 lay subsidy: £3.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 107. Fair 1282, June 3 day, Holy Trinity 3 day. Market 1282, Tuesday, grantee: St. Leonard's Hospital York. Fairs saints' days: Nativity of St. John Baptist, All Saints.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR IXB 632r 1540 Edmund Talior husbandman of Benningborough, parish of All Saints, Newton: 8d.

Normanton

West Riding in the wapentake of Agbrigg, liberty of Wakefield and deanery of Pontefract parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 1377 poll tax population: 73

St. Mary Service

CC2 419 1548 Assists the vicar. Land goods plate.

Northallerton

North Riding in the wapentake of Allertonshire and the deanery of Cleveland, peculiar of diocese of Durham, parish of All Saints. Carmelite Friary. 1334 lay subsidy: £4. 1377 poll tax population: 312. Fair 1200 February 30 days, September 2 days, grantee: the bishop of Durham. Fairs saints' days: Candlemas, St. Bartholomew. Cattle market, horse market.

Holy Trinity Guild

BIHR PR V 268v 1485 John Lightlope mercer of the parish of St. Crux, York: 2s.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR V 268v 1485 John Lightlope mercer of the parish of St. Crux, York: 2s.

North Cave

East Riding in the wapentake of Harthill and the deanery of Harthill, part in liberty of St. Peter, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £4. 1377 poll tax population: 133.

GAZETTEER

North Cave (contd.)

St. Mary Guild

VCH YER Vol 4 p.33 gild mentioned 1468

North Frodingham

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Elgin in patronage of Convent of Thornton Lincs. 1334 lay subsidy: £4. 1377 poll tax population: 196. Fair September, 1 day.

St. Helen Guild

BIHR PR XIA 262r 1537 Thomas Stevynson of Emote in the parish of North Frodingham: a bushel of barley.

St. Thomas Guild

BIHR PR XIA 262r 1537 Thomas Stevynson of Emote in the parish of North Frodingham: a bushel of barley.

Otley

West Riding in the wapentake of Skyrack and the deanery of Ainsty, liberty of Cawood, Wistow and Otley, peculiar of Archbishop of York, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.10s. 1377 poll tax population: no record (68). Fairs 1227, 1239 July, 2 days, 1320, July 6 days. Market 1227, 1239 Monday, grantee: the Archbishop of York. Fair saint's day St. Mary Magdalene.

St. Katherine Guild or Service

BIHR PR IX 81r 1518 James Sted of Sted in the parish of Otley: 6s.8d.
CC2 396 1548 St. Katherine Donative or Service. Lands.

Ottringham

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Wilfrid. 1334 lay subsidy: £5.7s. 1377 poll tax population: 337.

Corpus Christi Guild

VCH YER 5 p.83: light mentioned 1499 and 1540.
BIHR PR VI 223v 1505 Margaret Veell of the parish of Ottringham: 6d.
BIHR PR VI 147r 1506 William Veel of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 20d.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR II 273v 1452 Edmund Sothbye of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR VI 136r-v 1505 Isabell Rither: two sheep.
BIHR PR VI 223v 1505 Margaret Veell of the parish of Ottringham: 6d.
BIHR PR VI 147r 1506 William Veel of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 20d.
BIHR PR IX 48v 1517 William Girstroft husbandman of the parish of St. Mary: a measure of wheat.
BIHR PR IX 413v 1529 Richard Wadsworth of the parish of Ottringham: 4d.
Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp27-9: Cottage called Guyld House granted to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow.
VCH YER Vol 5 p83: Guild worth £1 p.a. in 1548 also mentioned 1452.
PRO E301/119 m5 chantry of Our Lady.

Owthorne

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness South and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.8s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 95.

GAZETTEER

Owthorne (contd.)

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR IX 457v 1529 William Fairbarne of the parish of St. Peter: 4d.

Patrington

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Patrick. 1334 lay subsidy: £7. 1377 poll tax population: 372. Fair 1310, July, 2 days. Market: 1310, Monday: grantee Archbishop of York. Fair saint's day: Translation of St. Thomas Canterbury.

Corpus Christi Gild

VCH YER Vol 5 p107: Gild mentioned 1544-5.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR PR IX 54v 1518 Hamlet Lee of the parish of Patrington: two sheep.
BIHR PR XIB 458v 1540 Robert Goodebor of the parish of St. Patrick: 12d.
VCH YER Vol 5 p107: Gild worth 15s.5d. in 1548.

St. Christopher Gild

BIHR PR IX 54v 1518 Hamlet Lee of the parish of Patrington: two sheep.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR V 282v 1485 William Barchard of the parish of Patrington: 6s.8d.
BIHR PR V 280r-v 1486 Thomas Raynes of the parish of Patrington: 40s. if he dies after his wife, Agnes.
VCH YER Vol 5 p107: Gild worth £3.15s. in 1548
PRO E301/119 m5 priest paid 75s. p.a. in 1548.

Paull

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Andrew and St. Mary. 1334 lay subsidy: £2. 1377 poll tax population: 28, Paull Fleet: 140, Paull Home: 61.

Holy Cross Gild

VCH YER Vol 5 p125

St. Andrew Gild

BIHR PR XIA 278v 1537 John Warner of the parish of St. Mary: 4d.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR V 445r 1493 Thomas Croftes of the parish of St. Mary: 2s.
BIHR PR XIA 278v 1537 John Warner of the parish of St. Mary: 4d.
VCH YER Vol 5 p125: Light at altar.

Penistone

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincross, liberty of Pontefract and deanery of Doncaster parish of St. John Baptist. 1334 lay subsidy: 14s. 1377 poll tax population: 20.

St. Erasmus Service

BIHR PR XI 483v-484r 1539 William Wordesworthe: 4s.

GAZETTEER

Penistone (contd.)

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR XI 483v 484r 1539 William Wordesworthe: 8s.

Pickering

North Riding in the wapentake of Pickering Lythe and the deanery of Rydale, peculiar of the Dean of York, parish of St. Peter. Castle: Duke of Lancaster/Crown. 1334 lay subsidy: £6. Soke of Pickering £1. 9s. 1377 poll tax population: 420. Fair: 1291, September, 3 days: grantee Edmund Earl of Lancaster. Fair saints' days: Nativity of St. Mary, Exaltation of Holy Cross.

St. Mary Guild

YML L2(5)a 14r 1496 William Wardell of the parish of Pickering: bequest missing (imperfect folio).

Pocklington

East Riding, ancient demesne, in the wapentake of Harthill and the deanery of Harthill, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £8.12s. tenth (ancient demesne). 1377 poll tax population: lib 341. Fairs: 1245, July, 4 days, 1272, October, 8 days, 1299, March, 3 days, 1303, July 2, days. Markets 1299, Wednesday, 1303, Saturday, grantees Count of Aumale, Earl of Lancaster, Henry de Percy. Fair saints' days: Aununciacion, All Saints, St. Margaret.

Apostles Guild

YML L2(5)a 6r and 10r 1494 Robert Asshe of the parish of All Saints: a quarter of malt.

Holy Cross Guild

YML L2(4) 118r 1396 John Skynner of the parish of Pocklington: 18d.

YML L2(4) 117v 1397 Thomas Chaluner of the parish of Pocklington: 2s.

St. Mary Guild

YML L2(4) 118r 1396 John Skynner of the parish of Pocklington: 40d.

YML L2(4) 117v 1397 Thomas Chaluner of the parish of Pocklington: 40d.

YML L2(5)a 6r and 10r 1494 Robert Asshe of the parish of All Saints: a quarter of malt.

Pontefract

West Riding in the wapentake of Osgoldcross and the deanery of Pontefract, liberty of Pontefract, parish of All Saints. Castle: Duchy of Lancaster. Cluniac priory. Dominican and Carmelite friaries. 1334 lay subsidy: £18. 1377 poll tax population: 1,085. Fair, 1294, Palm Sunday, 5 days. Market, 1294, Wednesday, grantee Henry de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln. Fairs saints' days: St. Giles, Palm Sunday. Cattlemarket.

Corpus Christi Guild

BIHR PR I 8v 1387 John de Gayton of the parish of All Saints: 40d.

BIHR PR I 22v 1390 Robert de Beghall of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 516 1428 Richard de Stubbes of the parish of All Saints: 40d.

BIHR PR III 668v 1430 John Perott chaplain of the parish of All Saints: a blue cloak with a hood.

BIHR PR II 633v 1430 Elene Grene widow of the parish of All Saints: a fur cloak and 13d.

BIHR PR III 518v-519r 1438 John Thorneton vicar of the parish of All Saints: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

Pontefract (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

- BIHR PR III 539v 1438 John Brigg smith of the parish of All Saints: 20d.
BIHR PR III 549r 1438 Thomas Wrote clothier of the parish of All Saints: 2s.2d.
BIHR PR III 555r-v 1438 John Flynt of the parish of All Saints: 2s.2d.
BIHR PR II 266r 1453 Richard More of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR II 447r 1461 John Graunt of the parish of All Saints: a book called the Acts of Egelomys.
BIHR PR II 460v 1462 Robert Roper of the parish of All Saints: 4s.
BIHR PR II 466r 1462 Johanna Roper widow of the parish of All Saints: 2s. p.a. for 20 years.
BIHR PR II 471r 1462 John Medlay of the parish of All Saints: to brothers or wardens of the gild, a tenement in Pontefract where William Candy lives.
BIHR PR II 477r 1462 Agnes Jakson widow of the parish of All Saints: 12d.
BIHR PR III 291r-v 1464 John Balne of the parish of All Saints: a tenement in Pontefract in Celigate.
BIHR PR IV 33r 1471 Robert Newall chaplain of the parish of All Saints: a beehive.
BIHR PR IV 107v 1473 Cecilia Rawston of the parish of St. Andrew Fryston: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR IV 219r 1473 William Cubberd of the parish of Pontefract: 6s.8d.
BIHR PR IV 3r 1473 Thomas Wylkynson of the parish of All Saints: an acre of land in 'longdail' and two acres leading towards 'le greve'.
BIHR PR IV 9r-v 1474 Robert Smaleshorpe alias Ostler of the parish of All Saints: two gild chaplains to attend funeral for 4d. each and the reversion of a tenement in Bondgate to master and wardens on death of wife and sons.
BIHR PR IV 216v 1474 Thomas Spencer of the parish of All Saints: 2s.
BIHR PR V 83v 1482 Thomas Chaloner chaplain of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR V 25v 1482 John Austewick dyer of the parish of All Saints: 12d.
BIHR PR V 69v 1482 John Potter als Elles of the parish of All Saints: 12d.
BIHR PR V 70v 1482 John Olyver mercenary of the parish of All Saints: a light.
BIHR PR V 238r-v 1482 Thomas Butteler of the parish of All Saints: 10s.
BIHR PR V 73r 1482 John York of the parish of All Saints: 6d.
BIHR PR V 211r 1482 William Foster chaplain of the parish of All Saints: 2s.
BIHR PR V 41r 1483 William Marton of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR V 206v 1483 John llyngworth draper of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR V 211v 1484 Thomas Rawson chaplain of the parish of All Saints: 20d.
BIHR PR V 263v-264r 1484 Joan Coberd widow of the parish of All Saints: 6s.8d.
BIHR PR V 273r-v 1485 Robert Smyth of the parish of All Saints: 12d.
BIHR PR V 261r 1485 William Fyxbe of Notton in the parish of Ruston: 20d.
BIHR PR V 446r-v 1594 James Clapeham Master of the College of Holy Trinity in the parish of Pontefract: 20s.
BIHR PR VI 102v 1504 John Bolton of the parish of Ledesham All Saints: 13s.4d.
BIHR PR VI 132r-v 1505 Thomas Harrope chaplain of the parish of All Saints: 20d.
BIHR PR VI 223v 1505 John Clay of Hardwick in the parish of All Saints: 4d.
BIHR PR VI 163v 1506 Katherine Austwyk widow of the parish of All Saints: 6d.
BIHR PR VI 122r 15-07 John Bule of the Hospital of St. Michael in the parish of All Saints: 12d.
BIHR PR IX 22r 1515 Thomas Cooke burgess of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR IX 355v 1526 Robert Hunttyngdon of the parish of All Saints: 8d.
BIHR PR IX 391 1527 John Hawley of the parish of All Saints: to be buried in All Saints near the gild quire where his wife lies.
BIHR PR IX 442v 1529 Thomas Hodgeson burgess and merchant of the parish of All Saints: 20d.

GAZETTEER

Pontefract (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR IX 430r 1529 Roger Chapman alderman of the parish of All Saints: 12d. to the gild priest.

BIHR PR XIB 523r-v 1540 Joan Roo widow of the parish of All Saints: 8d.

CC2 273 1546 Chantry of Corpus Christi.

Bequests probably relating to Corpus Christi Gild

BIHR PR II 556 1428 Robert Brantyngham of the parish of All Saints to the altar gild: 40d.

BIHR PR VI 202r 1505 Robert Astwyk of the parish of All Saints: 4d. to the service gild (and to the Jesus chantry and the service of the Blessed Virgin).

BIHR PR IX 446v-447r 1529 James Illingworth of the parish of Friston Biwater St. Andrew: 8d to the gild of Pontefract.

BIHR PR IX 472r-v 1529 William Mures als Purser, alderman of the parish of All Saints: to be buried in the gild quire, 4d. to the gild priest.

Jesus Gild

BIHR PR VI 122r-v 1507 John Bule of the parish of All Saints: half an acre of land abutting on the close of William Wakefeld for maintaining the gild for evermore.

BIHR PR IX 40r-v 1515 Hugh Awstwyk mercer of the parish of All Saints: a room to 'be devised to the use of' the gild. 4d. of free rent for prayers.

BIHR PR IX 430r 1529 Peter Chapman alderman of the parish of All Saints: 12d. to the gild priest.

BIHR PR IX 472r-v 1529 William Mures als Purser alderman of the parish of All Saints: 12d a year for obit and soul mass and 4d. to the gild priest.

Jesus and St. Roch Gild

The following bequest suggests that the St. Roch Gild was absorbed by the Jesus Gild prior to 1515.

BIHR PR IX 22r 1515 Thomas Cooke burgess of the parish of All Saints 2s.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR XI 247 1437 John Bray: 16d.

BIHR PR III 518v-519r 1438 John Thornton vicar of All Saints: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 460v 1462 Robert Roper of All Saints parish: 4s.

BIHR PR IV 9r-v 1474 Robert Smaleshorpe als Ostler of All Saints parish: asks for 2 service chaplains at funeral.

BIHR PR V 69v 1482 John Potter alias Elles of All Saints parish: 12d.

BIHR PR V 73r 1482 John York of All Saints parish: 6d.

BIHR PR V 41r 1483 William Marton of All Saints parish: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 84 1483 John Sharp smith.

BIHR PR IX 472r-v 1529 William Mures alias Purser alderman of All Saints parish: 4d. to service priest for obit and soul mass.

BIHR PR IX 430 1529 Roger Chapman alderman of All Saints parish: 12d.

BIHR PR XI 429v 1540 Thomas Dryvell: 2d.

St. Mary Gild or Service in St. Giles Chapel

BIHR PR II 1462 460v Robert Roper of All Saints parish: 4s.

BIHR PR V 69v 1482 John Potter als Elles of All Saints parish: 12d.

BIHR PR V 41r 1483 William Marton of All Saints parish: 3s.4d..

BIHR PR IX 472r-v 1529 William Mures als Purser, alderman of the parish of All Saints: 4d. to the gild priest for attending mass and dirige.

BIHR PR XI 429v 1540 Thomas Dryvell: 2d.

GAZETTEER

Pontefract (contd.)

St. Roch Guild

BIHR PR 226v-227r 1507 Thomas Waldyng of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.

St. Thomas of Lancaster Guild

St. Thomas of Lancaster was buried in the chapel of the Cluniac Priory where his shrine worked miraculous cures. VCH Y III 271-2.

BIHR PR II 537v-538r 1428 John Stele litster of the parish of St. John Ousebridgeend in York: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IX 430r 1529 Roger Chapman, alderman of the parish of All Saints 12d. to the gild priest.

BIHR PR IX 472r-v 1529 William Mures alias Purser alderman of the parish of All Saints: 6d. to the gild altar for annual obit and soul mass.

Preston

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, part in the liberty of St. Peter, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £10.10s. 1377 poll tax population: 371.

Plough Guild

The gild seems to have maintained a plough light. Agnes Arrard of Preston made a bequest to the light in 1506, as did John Buller in 1507.

BIHR PR V 282v 1485 William Barchard of the parish of Patrington: 20d.

BIHR PR VI 233v 1507 John Smyth of the parish of All Saints: a quarter of barley.

St. Katherine Guild

BIHR PR IX 443v 1529 Jennet Fox of the parish of Skeckling All Saints: 12d.

BIHR PR XIA 275v 1537 Peter Asy husbandman of the parish of All Saints: a bushel of barley.

St. Mary the Virgin Guild

BIHR PR IV 177r 1472 Peter Sawcer: a torch valued at 3s.4d.

BIHR PR 221 1474 Thomas Smyth of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 104r 1504 John Grave of the parish of Swine: 3s.4d

BIHR PR VI 129r 1504 Katherine Moscroft of the parish of All Saints: a quarter of malt.

BIHR PR VI 114v 1504 Robert Down of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 152r 1505 Margaret Down of the parish of Preston: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 233v 1507 John Smyth of the parish of All Saints: two measures of barley.

BIHR PR VI 231v 1507 John Buller of the parish of All Saints: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 33v-34r 1516 Robert Kirkby of Lelly in the parish of All Saints: a quarter acre of wheat.

BIHR PR XIA 275v 1537 Peter Asy husbandman of the parish of All Saints: a bushel of barley.

VCH YER Vol 5 p199: Had gild hall and a rood of land in 1474 shared with "The Mother" gild.

St. Mary of Pity Guild

BIHR PR IV 177r 1472 Peter Sawcer of the parish of Preston a torch valued at: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 221r 1474 Thomas Smyth of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 114v 1504 Robert of the parish of All Saints: half a quarter of grain.

GAZETTEER

Preston (contd.)

St. Mary of Pity Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR VI 152r 1505 Margaret Down of the parish of Preston: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 233v 1507 John Smyth of the parish of All Saints: 2 measures of barley.

VCH YER Vol 5 p199: In 1474 shared gild hall and rood of land with St. Mary the Virgin. Referred to here as "The Mother Gild" and is so named in most bequests, but it seems certain that this is the same gild as St. Mary of Pity recorded in 1509.

Richmond

North Riding in the wapentake of Gilling and the deanery of Richmond in the diocese of Chester, parish of St. Mary. Castle: Earl of Richmond. Franciscan Friary. Nunnery. 1334 lay subsidy: £5. 1377 poll tax population: 370. Fair: 1240, 1279, September, 4 days. Market: Saturday, grantees: Peter of Savoy, Earl of Richmond. Fairs saints' days: Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Cattlemarket.

General Gild Bequest

Raine: Richmondshire Wills (SS No 26 1853 p24) Henry Waller of Richmond 1541: 'Item I wyll have messe and Deryg song for my sol on my beryall day and for that doying I gyf to every gyld prest of thys town vjd yt ar at my beryall'.

St. John the Baptist Gild

C. Clarkson, The History and Antiquities of Richmond in the County of York (Richmond, 1821) pp135, 225-6

L.P. Wenham, "The Chantries, Guilds, Obits and Lights of Richmond, Yorks" YAJ No 38 1952-55 pp 96-111,185-214,310-2

R. Fieldhouse & B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale (Phillimore 1978) p70

BIHR PR V 248r 1484 John Walker of the parish of Richmond: 3s.4d.

St. Mary Gild

C. Clarkson, The History and Antiquities of Richmond in the County of York (Richmond, 1821) pp.148-9.

L.P. Wenham, "The Chantries, Guilds, Obits and Lights of Richmond, Yorks" YAJ No 38 1952-55 pp.96-111,185-214,310-2.

R. Fieldhouse & B. Jennings, A History of Richmond and Swaledale (Phillimore 1978) p70

Test Ebor II 114 1446 Roger Eston: 'Item lego domino Thomae Lodryngton capellano gildae Sanctae Mariae ecclesiae parochialis de Richmond [for prayers etc].. vjs viijd vel unam togam'.

BIHR PR V 248r 1484 William Walker of the parish of Richmond: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 248r-v 1484 Margaret Walker of the parish of Richmond: 3s.4d.

St. Thomas Gild

BIHR PR V 248r-v 1484 Margaret Walker of the parish of Richmond: 20d.

Ripley

West Riding in the wapentake of Claro and the deanery of Boroughbridge. Collegiate and parish church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid. Castle: Ingleby. 1334 lay subsidy: 15s. 1377 poll tax population: 101. Fair: 1357, August, 3 days. Market: 1357, Monday, grantee: Thomas de Ingilby. Fair saint's day Assumption of St. Mary. Cattlemarket.

GAZETTEER

Ripley (contd.)

St. John Baptist Service

CC2 268 1546 Put in by parishioners. Employed by churchwardens to assist curate. Lands assigned for stipend.

St. Mary Gild or Service

CC2 1546 Service of Our Lady. Put in by parishioners to help curate in big parish divided by Nidd. Vast lands.

Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp70-72: To Thomas Brende of London scrivener: the late gild or fraternity of St. Mary within the parish church and lands in Ripley, Studley in Knaresborough Forest, Hampsthwaite, Mileby and elsewhere. Cal Pat 3 Ed VI 1548: To Sir Michel Stanhope and John Bellow esq. Two messuages in tenure of John Preston in Milbye which belonged to the late St. Mary gild in the parish church of Ripley and other lands in Milbye.

Ripon

West Riding in the wapentake of Claro, liberty of Ripon, parish of the Abbey of St. Peter and St. Wilfrid. 1334 lay subsidy: £11. 6s. 8d. 1377 poll tax population: no record (280). Fair 1108 Tolls £40 p.a. including markets. Market: Thursday, grantees: Archbishop of York, Ripon Minster. Fair saint's day: Translation of St. Wilfrid. Cattlemarket, wool and yarn market.

Holy Cross Gild

PRO C47/46/452 May refer: 'another fraternity'. Daily mass in 'high church'.

BIHR PR II 262r-v 1452 William Wrampayne senior of the parish of St. Peter: 10s.

BIHR PR IV 8v 1474 Thomas Cartar of the parish of St. Wilfrid collegiate church: 2s.

BIHR PR IV 10v 1474 Thomas Ledys of the parish of St. Wilfrid collegiate church: 1lb. of wax.

BIHR PR IV 219 1474 William Fawell chaplain of the parish of St. Wilfrid collegiate church: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 46r 1483 John Gibson of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 2s.

BIHR PR V 65r 1482 William Yeresley esquire of Bisshopton in the parish of St. Wilfrid: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 275r 1485 Richard Ellington butcher of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 76r 1518 Henry Sigeswyk of the parish of the collegiate church: 12d.

BIHR PR XI 12r-v 1529 Robert Roos esquire of the parish of Ingmanthorpe near South Dighton: 3s.4d.

A.F. Leach, Yorkshire Schools Vol I (YAS rs No 27, 1899) p201-215 transcription of Commission Articles and Depositions as to School lands being Gild Lands Concealed (PRO QR Mem Roll Trin et Mich 19Eliz m156 No375), 215-228 various court documents re dispute over former Rood Gild land.

St. Mary, St. Wilfrid and All Saints Gild

PRO C47/46/452 Founded c1379. To maintain chapel of St. Mary of the time of St. Wilfrid and daily mass.

BIHR PR I 18v 1390 John de Stowe: to be buried before the St. Mary Gild altar.

A.F. Leach, Yorkshire Schools Vol I (YAS rs No 27, 1899) 143-4.

Roos

East Riding in wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £2. 1377 poll tax population: 149.

GAZETTEER

Roos (contd.)

Unnamed Gild

Inscriptions on glass fragments in church clerestory. G. Poulson, *History and Antiquities of the Seignory of Holderness*, II (London, 1841) p.97. In the centre pane of a window in the north aisle of All Saints church, inscription: "Orate pro animabus Fratrem et sororum Gildae beati facerunt hoc fieri in" Stained glass in the window on the left hand, within the North aisle, inscription: "Orate pro animabus omnium uxorum parochia de Rosse quae fecerunt fieri in A.D. M" may also suggest a wives' gild. Reference supplied by Richard Marks.

Rossington

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth and the deanery of Doncaster, parish of St. Michael. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 1377 poll tax population: 45.

Holy Cross and St. Mary Gild

BIHR Reg 23 259v-260r 1493 Robert Wright rector of the parish of Rossington: 8 sheep.

Rotherham

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth and the deanery of Doncaster, parish of St. Anne. Jesus College. 1334 lay subsidy: £4. 1377 poll tax population: 321. Fair, 1307, June, 3 days, 1309, 1316, November, 8 days. Market 1307, 1309, Friday, 1316, Monday, grantees: Robert de Waddesly, Edmund de Dacre, Abbot of Rufford. Fairs saints' days: Nativity of St. John Baptist, Nativity of St. Edmund. Cattlemarket.

Holy Cross Gild

PRO C47/46/453 Founded 1356. Annual mass. Procession with lights on Feast of Exaltation. Funerals.

St. Katherine Gild or Service

BIHR PR I 40 1391 John Norys: 13s.4d. to St. Katherine Gild.
BIHR PR IV 182v-183r 1472 Robert Hill: 3s.4d. to St. Katherine Service.
CC1 207 1546 Service. No foundation. Of ordinance of well-disposed persons. Lands.
CC2 379 1548 The Service or Guylde of Saynt Katheryne in the sayd parish church. Goods 7s 5½d. Plate 13oz 1 quarter parcel gilt. Freehold £6.18d.

St. Mary Gild or Service

BIHR PR IV 182v 183r 1472 Robert Hill: 3s 4d. to St. Mary Service.
CC1 206 1546 Service at the altar of St. Mary. Of ordinance of well-disposed persons of the town. Lands houses goods.
CC2 379 1548 Service or gild of Our Lady in the sayde Parishe Church of Rotherham. Goods 8s.3d. Freehold £6.11s.8d.

St. Laurence Service in the Chapel of Tymslake

CC1 209 1546 Chapel of ease. Goods plate lands.

Rudston

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £3.12s. 1377 poll tax population: 198.

GAZETTEER

Rudston (contd.)

Holy Trinity Guild

BIHR PR IXB 447r 1540 Robert Ledelely yeoman of the parish of Rudston: a quarter of barley.

BIHR PR XIB 469v 1540 Richard Almonde of the parish of Rudston: a quarter of barley.

Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp27-9 a cottage called Guldehouse granted to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow. VCH YER Vol 2 p.318 : Also later grants of same house. May refer to St. Mary Guild.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR IXB 447r 1540 Robert Ledelely yeoman of the parish of Rudston: half a quarter of barley.

BIHR PR XIB 469v 1540 Richard Almonde of the parish of Rudston: half a quarter of barley.

Possible reference to a guild house. See Holy Trinity Guild.

Sandall Magna

West Riding in the wapentake of Agbrigg, liberty of Wakefield and deanery of Pontefract, parish of St. Helen. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 1377 poll tax 1377 population: 72.

St. Mary Service

CC2 420 1548 To help vicar as need hath required. Land goods.

Sandall Parva

West Riding in the wapentake of Agbrigg, liberty of Wakefield and Deanery of Pontefract chapel. 1334 lay subsidy: not recorded. 1377 poll tax population: not recorded.

St. Nicholas Service

CC2 389 1548 Vacant. Incumbent died 1546. Lands.

Scarborough

North Riding in the wapentake of Pickering Lythe and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Mary. Royal Castle. Dominican, Carmelite and Franciscan friaries. 1334 lay subsidy: £33. 6. 8d. tenth (ancient demesne). 1377 poll tax population: 1,480. Fair: September-October, 48 days. Market.

All Saints Guild

VCH YNR II p558, 1426.

Corpus Christi Guild

VCH YNR II p558, 1426.

Holy Trinity Guild

VCH YNR II p558, 1426.

St. Clement Guild

BIHR PR III 42v 1400 William Carter of the parish of St. Mary formerly of Flamborough: 6s.8d. and a chest.

BIHR PR III 276r-v 1407 Simon Qwaynte of the parish of St. Mary: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

Scarborough (contd.)

St. Clement Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR IX 80v 1518 Richard Smyth burgess merchant of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

VCH YNR II p558, 1426.

St. George Gild

BIHR Reg 10 346r-v 1349 Alan de Snayton cleric of the parish of St. Mary Scarborough: 6s.8d.

VCH YNR II p558, 1426.

St. James Gild

VCH YNR II p55, 1426.

St. John Baptist Gild

VCH YNR II p558, 1425.

BIHR PR II 229r-v 1451 Alice Burton widow of Robert burgess of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

St. John Baptist Gild in St. Sepulchre Chapel

May be the same gild as St. John Baptist.

BIHR PR II 470r 1462 Peter Provest burgess of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

St. Katherine Gild

BIHR PR III 42v 1400 William Carter of the parish of St. Mary: 6s.4d. and a chest.

St. Mary Assumption Gild

VCH YNR II p558, 1426.

St. Mary in Jerusalem Gild

BIHR PR I 13r 1390 John Rottese of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d. to the light. This may be a bequest to a gild in the Holy Land.

St. Nicholas Gild

BIHR Reg 18 12v-13r 1408 John Norman of the parish of St. Mary 6s.8d.

VCH YNR II p558.

St. Sitha Gild

BIHR PR II 470r 1462 Peter Provest burgess of the parish of St. Mary 20d.

VCH YNR II p558.

Seamer

North Riding in the wapentake of Pickering Lythe and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Martin. Castle: Percy. 1334 lay subsidy: £4.6s.7d. 1377 poll tax population: 221. Fair: 1382, July, 9 days. Market: 1382, Monday, grantee: Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland. Fair saint's day: Translation of St. Martin. Cornmarket.

Puerorum Gild

?Gild of Young Boys, ?Children, ?Holy Innocents.

BIHR PR IV 190r 1473 Alice Fewler of the parish of Seamer: 12d.

GAZETTEER

Seamer (contd.)

Unnamed Gild

BIHR PR XIB 413v 1539 George Dale of the parish of St. Martin: 3s.4d. to the gild hall.

BIHR PR XIB 414r-v 1539 Margaret Dale widow of the parish of St. Martin: 3s.4d. to the gild hall.

Sedburgh

West Riding in the wapentake of Ewcross and the deanery of Kirby Lonsdale, parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: £1. 2s. 1377 poll tax population: no record. Fair: 1251, September, 3 days. Market: 1251, Tuesday, grantee: Alice de Staveley. Fair saint's day: Nativity of St. Mary.

Holy Cross Gild

Cal Pat 5 Ed VI 1551 pp.97-8: Grant of a Grammar School to Sedburgh: '...the messuage called Depmyre in tenure of Brian Huddelston within the parish of Mellyng Lancashire which belonged to the late gild called the Rood Gild in Sedburgh and all other possessions of that gild...'

Selby

West Riding in the wapentake of Barkston Ash and the deanery of Ainsty, parish of St. Mary and St. German. Benedictine Abbey. Mitred Abbot. 1334 lay subsidy: £8. 1377 poll tax population: 586. Fair: 1227, June, 4 days. Market: 1227, Wednesday, grantees: Brian de Insula and wife. Fair saints' days: St. Mary Magdalene, St. Margaret.

St. Mary Assumption Gild

BIHR PR II 38v 1441 William Mascald of the parish of St. Wilfrid Brayton: 3s.4d.

Sheffield

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth, liberty of Hallamshire and deanery of Doncaster parish of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy: £7.3s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 585

St. Crux Service

BIHR PR IV 124v 1474 William Hull: 6s.8d. and a house.

CC2 400 1548 Service or Perpetual Stipend of 3 priests in parish church. Land in occupation of burgesses.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR IV 124v 1474 William Hull 6s.8d. and a house.

CC2 400 1548 Service or Perpetual Stipend of 3 priests in parish church. Land in occupation of burgesses.

Sherburn in Hartford Lye

East Riding in the wapentake of Buckrose and the deanery of Buckrose, parish of St. Hilda. 1334 lay subsidy: £2.16s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 133.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR Reg 25 161v-162r 1505 John Holme vicar of the parish of Ganton: 8d.

GAZETTEER

Sherburn-in-Elmet

West Riding in the wapentake of Barkston Ash and the deanery of Ainsty, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £6. 1377 poll tax population: 170. Fair: 1239, September, 2 days. Market: 1239, Friday, grantee: Archbishop of York. Fair saint's day: Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

St. Christopher Gild

BIHR PR V 245-246r-v 1484 John Cayton chaplain of the parish of Sherburn-in-Elmet: 12d.

Sheriff Hutton

North Riding in the wapentake of Bulmer and the deanery of Bulmer, parish of St. Helen. Castle: Neville of Middleton. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.2d. 1377 poll tax population: 110. Fair: 1378, September, 4 days. Market: 1378, Monday, grantee: John de Nevill of Raby. Fair saint's day: Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

Holy Cross Gild

BIHR PR IV 171v 1472 Robert Percy of the parish of Sheriff Hutton: £4 to the gild chaplain at 13s.4d. p.a. if there is no gild chaplain then the money to be spent on daily masses for a year in the parish church.

BIHR PR IX 35v 1516 Peter Letheley of the parish of Sheriff Hutton: 6s.8d. for his burial.

BIHR Reg 27 143 1517 William Nelson vicar of the parish of Sheriff Hutton: 8d.

BIHR PR X 72r 1529 Dom. Henry Toplady chaplain of the parish of Sheriff Hutton: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR XIA 377v 1540 Richard Bruke husbandman: 12d.

Silkeston

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincross, liberty of Pontefract and deanery of Doncaster parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.5s. 1377 poll tax population: 41.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR II 529v 1427 Richard del Turton of Holandswayne in Silkston: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IX 426v 1428 John Holme: 12d.

Skeffling

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness South and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Helen. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.13s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 215.

Unnamed Gild

Cal Pat Rolls Philip & Mary Vol IV pp 411-414: 9 July 1558 6Ph & Mary Pt III : Grant in fee on consideration of his service to George Howarde, knight, of the lands following viz... (p413 YORKSHIRE) "... a cottage called le Gildehouse in Skefflinge, sometime of the gild there ..."

Skelton

North Riding in the wapentake of Langbargh and the deanery of Cleveland, parish of All Saints. Castle: Neville, Conyers. 1334 lay subsidy: £2. 1377 poll tax population: 70.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR IX 361r 1527 Robert Westland husbandman of the parish of All Saints: 13s.4d.

GAZETTEER

Skipsea

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £2. 1377 poll tax population: 95. Fair: 1338, November, 4 days, December, 4 days. Market: 1272, Wednesday, 1338, Thursday, grantees: Edmund Earl of Lancaster and wife, the men of the town. Fairs saints' days: All Saints, Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Unnamed Gild

BIHR PR XIA 371r 1537 John Mewdie husbandman of the parish of All Saints: a measure of barley.

BIHR PR XIA 357v 1538 Peter Garton husbandman of the parish of Skipsea: two butts of wheat lying near Nowlawgait.

Skipton

West Riding in the wapentake of Staincliffe, liberty of Clifford's Fee and Deanery of Craven parish of Holy Trinity. Castle: Clifford. 1334 lay subsidy: 8s. 1377 poll tax population 1377: 176.

St. Mary Service

CC2 404 1548 Founded by Thos Garthe for 80 years of which 49 have expired.

Snaitth

West Riding in the wapentake of Osgoldcross and the deanery of Pontefract, parish of St. Mary. Castle: Lancaster. Benedictine Abbey. 1334 lay subsidy: £6. 1377 poll tax population: 309. Market.

Holy Trinity Gild or Service

CC2 284 1546 Service called the Trinity Gild. Maintenance of God's service in parish church. Goods valued at 24s.4d. Plate valued at 38s. Extensive lands.

St. Mary Service

CC2 282 1546 Stipend or Service. Lands purchased to maintain priest to pray for living and dead and to help curate.

Spofforth

West Riding in the Wapentake of Claro Upper and the Deanery of Ainsty. The Parish of All Saints. Castle: Percy. 1334 lay subsidy: 11s. 1377 poll tax population: 111.

Holy Cross Gild

BIHR PR II 576v 1408 Ralph Kylstern gild chaplain of the parish of Spofforth: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 540v 541r 1428 Richard Sudbery rector of the parish of Crofton: 20d.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR II 576v 1408 Ralph Kylstern cleric gild chaplain of the parish of Spofforth: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 540v 541r 1428 Richard Sudbery rector of the parish of Crofton: 6s.8d.

St. Mary Magdalene Gild

BIHR PR II 576v 1408 Ralph Kylstern cleric gild chaplain of the parish of Spofforth: 40s.

BIHR PR II 540v 541r 1428 Richard Sudbery rector of the parish of Crofton: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

Stainburn

West Riding in the parish of Kirkby Overblow, wapentake of Claro. 1334 lay subsidy 1334: 16s. 1377 poll tax: 46

Unnamed Service

CC2 398 1548 Service or Perpetual Stipend to serve Stainburn Chapel of ease in parish of Kirkby Overblow.

Stainforth

West Riding parish of Hatfield part in the wapentake of Strafforth part in liberty of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy 1334: £1.4s. 1377 Poll Tax: 122.

St. Mary Service 1548

CC2 389 1548 Chapel of parish of Hatfield. Lands goods plate.

Staveley

West Riding in the Liberty of Knaresborough, Wapentake of Claro Lower peculiar of the diocese of Chester, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.7s. tenth (Knaresborough Liberty). 1377 poll tax population: 48.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR II 576v 1408 Ralph Kylstern gild chaplain of the parish of Spofforth: 20s. for prayers for mother and father.

Stirton

West Riding in the Wapentake of Staincliffe East and the Deanery of Craven, chapel of ease in the parish of Holy Trinity Skipton. 1334 lay subsidy: 12s. 1377 poll tax population: 38.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR VI 237v 1505 Richard Stirton of the parish of Stirton: either a sheep or a calf or 2s.

Sutton in the Forest

Also known as Sutton in Galtres. North Riding in the wapentake of Bulmer and the deanery of Bulmer, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.10s. 1377 poll tax population: 105.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR III 549r 1438 William Janyson of Raskell: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 295v 1463 John Faceby husbandman of the parish of Sutton in Galtres: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 220r 1474 John Preston of the parish of St. Wilfrid York: 20d.

BIHR PR V 126r 1478 Robert Plumpton of the parish of St. Olave York: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 452r 1494 John Hessay of the parish of Sutton in Galtres: 12d.

BIHR PR V 508v 1494 Thomas Faceby of the parish of Sutton in Galtres: 2s.

BIHR PR IX 35v 1516 Peter Letheley of the parish of Sheriff Hutton: 6s.8d and rents of 20d p.a. from a house in Huby.

BIHR PR IX 43r 1517 Margaret Alanson widow of the parish of All Saints: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 372r 1527 Robert Condall of Huby: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 394r 1527 William Tairte of Huby: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IX 413v 1528 Margaret Tairte widow of the parish of All Saints: 12d.

BIHR PR X 72r 1529 Dom. Henry Toplady chaplain of Farlington in the parish of Sheriff Hutton: 3s.4d.

GAZETTEER

Swine

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Mary, priory of Cistercian nuns. G. Poulson, *The History and Antiquities of the Seignior of Holderness* (Hull, 1841) pp.209-10. Lords were Hiltons from before 1208 (tombs in church), passed to Meltons by marriage in 1472 and to Darcys by marriage in 1539. 1334 lay subsidy: £4. 1377 poll tax population: 240.

St. Mary Guild

John Melton gifted land to gild in 1480 (Poulson p.210).

BIHR PR V 212r 1484 John Stabalar of the parish of St. Mary: 4d.

BIHR PR VI 102v 1504 John Grave of the parish of Swine: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 118r 1504 William Paryn of the parish of Swine: a field for twenty years.

BIHR PR VI 138r 1505 William Baron of the parish of St. Mary: 2s.

BIHR PR VI 150r 1505 Thomas Newell of Southskirlagh in the parish of Swine Abbey: 6d.

BIHR PR VI 183v-184r 1506 Richard Bower of the Westbenyngholme in the parish of Swine: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 1506 Robert Byllope of the parish of Swine: 6s.4d. and 4d. p.a. for seven years to help maintain the gild altar light.

BIHR PR VII 22v 1508 John Martyn of the parish of Swine: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 53r 1517 John Whistler of Benyngham in the parish of Swine: half a quarter of barley.

BIHR PR IX 389r 1528 John Gerves of the parish of Hornsea St. Nicholas: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 443v 1529 Richard Hull husbandman of Coniston in the parish of St. Mary: a bushel of barley.

BIHR PR IX 445v 1529 Robert Balke of Thorkilby in the parish of St. Mary: 6d.

BIHR PR II 564r 1429 Isabelle Salvayne of the parish of Swine: as her executors shall dispose.

BIHR PR IX 483 1529 John Pryston of Coniston in the parish of St. Mary: a bushel of barley.

BIHR PR XIA 335v 1537 William Hedon gentleman of Marton in the parish of Swine: 12d.

BIHR PR XIB 465r-v 1540 John Ableston woodworker of the parish of St. Mary: 4d.

BIHR PR XIII 344r-v 1547 Hugh Andersone of the parish of St. Mary: 12d.

St. Peter Guild

Poulson pp.209-10 quotes will of Nicholas Elston 10/03/1520 who left 6s.8d. each to St. Peter and St. Mary Guilds.

Swinefleet

West Riding in the wapentake of Osgoldcross and the deanery of Pontefract, chapel of ease in the Parish of St. Mary Magdalene Whitgift. 1334 lay subsidy: no record. 1377 poll tax population: no record. Fair: 1305, September, 4 days. Market: 1305, Thursday, grantee: Henry de Lacy Earl of Lincoln. Fair saint's day: Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

St. John Guild

BIHR PR 247v-248r 1452 John Grynder vicar of the parish of Swinefleet: 3s.4d.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR 247v-248r 1452 John Grynder vicar of the parish of Swinefleet: 3s.4d.

GAZETTEER

Tadcaster

West Riding in the wapentakes of Barskton Ash and Ainsty and the deanery of Ainsty, part in liberty of St. Peter, parish of St. Mary. 1334 lay subsidy: £2. 1377 poll tax population: 180. Fair: 1271, August, 4 days. Market: 1271, Tuesday, grantees: Henry de Percy. Fair saint's day: Assumption of St. Mary.

St. Christopher Guild

BIHR PR III 608r 1418 Dom. Henry Tornour chaplain of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

St. Katherine Guild

BIHR PR II 576r 1408 John Gower of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

BIHR Reg 18 14v-15r 1408 John Normanville senior of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 608r 1418 Dom. Henry Tornour chaplain of the parish of St. Mary: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 537 1438 Henry Askham of the parish of St. Mary: 12d.

Thirsk

North Riding in the wapentake of Birdforth and the deanery of Bulmer, parish of St. Mary. Castle: Mowbray. 1334 lay subsidy: £6. 1377 poll tax population: no record. Fair 1310. Market: 1310, grantees: John of Brittany, Earl of Richmond.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR II 611v-612r 1431 Alan Robynson of Sowerby: 6s.8d. and two torches.

BIHR PR V 250v 1485 Henry Lokwod of the parish of St. Mary: two cottages in Eastharlsay and a silver horn.

CC1 92 1546 Chantry or Service. Founded by Norton and Lasselles with lands to sustain priest for prayers and teaching.

Thorganby

East Riding in the wapentake of Ouse and Derwent and the deanery of Bulmer, parish of St. Helen. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.10s. 1377 poll tax population: no record (88).

St. Helen Guild

VCH YER Vol 3 p119: Lands formerly owned granted to Francis Baker and Thomas Blackway in 1566.

BIHR PR XIII A 389v-390r 1547 Edward Saltmarshe esquire of the parish of

Thorganby a bequest to John Skelton for tending various fields including the 'gilde ynge'.

Thorne

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth and Deanery of Doncaster parish of St. Nicholas. 1334 lay subsidy: 18s. 1377 poll tax population: not recorded.

St. Michael Service

CC1 153 1546 In chapel used as parish church. Sustained by copyhold land from well-disposed parishioners.

St. Mary Service

CC1 152 1546 In chapel used as parish church. Sustained by copyhold land from well-disposed parishioners.

GAZETTEER

Thwing

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: £4.3s. 1377 poll tax population: 134. Fair: 1257, July, 3 days. Market: 1257, Wednesday, grantee: Marmaduke de Twenge. Fair saints' days: Assumption of St. Mary, St. James, Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR Reg 14 16r 1378 Thomas de Wyverthorpe chaplain of the parish of Thwing: 6s.8d.

VCH YER Vol 2 p.329

Tickhill

West Riding in the liberty Tickhill and the deanery of Doncaster, parish of St. Mary. Castle: Duke of Lancaster. Austin Friary. 1334 lay subsidy: £12.10s. 1377 poll tax population: 680.

Holy Cross Gild

BIHR PR III 241r 1405 Simon Auty of the parish of Tickhill: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR II 563v 1429 John Sandford: his best girdle decorated with a pair of amber beads.

BIHR PR II 671r 1430 John Denby of Wollethwaite in the parish of St. Mary: 6s. for prayers.

CC1 186 1546 Gild or Service of the Rood. No foundation. Incumbent admitted to Service for masses and obits. Goods and land.

St. Christopher Gild

BIHR PR II 563v 1429 John Sandford: another girdle decorated with an S and a ring of gold with a diamond.

St. Mary Assumption Gild

BIHR PR I 93v-94r 1395 John de Derfeld vicar of the parish of Derfeld: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR III 241r 1405 Simon Auty of the parish of Tickhill: 13s.4d.

Tollerton

North Riding in the wapentake of Bulmer and the deanery of Bulmer, parish of St. Mary Alne, ?chapel of ease. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.10s. 1377 poll tax population: 123. Fair: 1291, August, 3 days, 1358, June, 3 days, September, 3 days. Market: 1291, 1358, Wednesday, grantees: Treasurer of York Minster, John de Wynwyk. Fairs saints' days: Assumption of St. Mary, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Nativity of St. John the Baptist.

St. Michael Gild

Test Ebor II p180 Dom John Alott: [lego] Gildae S. Michalis de Tollerton iiijs

BIHR PR V 40v 1482 Agnes Ragett widow of the parish of Coxwold: 2s.

Topcliffe

North Riding in the wapentake of Birdforth and the deanery of Bulmer, part in the liberty of St. Peter, parish of St. Columba. Castle: Percy. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.4s.10d. 1377 poll tax population: no record. Fair: 1327, July, 3 days. Market: 1327, Wednesday, grantee: Henry Percy. Fair saint's day: Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

GAZETTEER

Topcliffe (contd.)

St. Mary Guild

YML L2(4) 364r 1483 Henry Wright chantry chaplain of the parish of St. Columba: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 63v 1517 Richard Bell of the parish of St. Columba: 40d.

BIHR PR IX 427v 1528 John Dakitt of the parish of Topcliffe: 6d.

BIHR PR XIA 337v 1538 Thomas Newsome husbandman of the parish of St. Columba: a bushel of barley and 6 priests including lady priest and 6 lady children at his dirige.

BIHR PR XIB 516r 1540 Thomas Dagget of the parish of St. Columba: 4d.

YML L2(5)a 186v 1540 William Carbot chaplain of the parish of Topcliffe: 8d.

BIHR PR XIB 517v 1540 Thomas Newsome of Gricethwatte in the parish of St. Columba: two bushels of barley.

BIHR PR XII 6 1540 Thomas Bell of the parish of St. Columba: pardons a loan of 4s. that the masters owe him and 12d. of his own goods. He enfeoffs Richard Norton esquire of the gild lands in his possession.

CC1 88-9 1546 Unfounded. In parish church, maintaining choir school for 6 singers and prayers for dead and parishioners.

CC2 480 1548 The Service or Gilde of Our Lady in the said Parish of Topcliffe. Yearly value £4 17s. No plate. Lands laid in mortgage to value of £12 p.a.

Waddington

West Riding in the parish of Mitton in the wapentake of Staincliffe and deanery of Craven. 1334 lay subsidy: £1 2s. 1377 Poll Tax: 40.

St. Mary Service

CC2 406 1548 Chapel in parish of Mitton. Service or Chantry. Freehold and copyhold land. Goods given to King's Commissioners for Lancashire.

Wakefield

West Riding in the wapentake of Agbrigg and Morley and the deanery of Pontefract, parish church of All Saints. Also church of St John and bridge chapel. 1334 lay subsidy: £6. 1377 poll tax population: 482. Fairs: 1258, June, 3 days, 1331, August, 3 days, grantee: John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey. Fairs saints' days: St. James, All Saints, St. Oswald. Cornmarket, wool and yarn market, clothmarket.

Corpus Christi Guild

J.W. Walker, *Wakefield its History and People*, (Wakefield, 1939) p.149:

01/10/1521 Thomas Cote bequeathed land to Corpus Christi, Holy Trinity and St. George gilds.

Holy Cross Service

BIHR PR II 261v 1452 John Leyke of Wakefield: 12d.

Holy Trinity Guild

J.W. Walker, *Wakefield its History and People*, (Wakefield, 1939) p.149:

01/10/1521 Thomas Cote bequeathed land to Corpus Christi, Holy Trinity and St. George gilds.

Morrow Mass Service

CC2 311 1546/416 1548 Ordained by parishioners to say daily mass at 5 a.m. and keep the choir. Land goods plate.

GAZETTEER

Wakefield (contd.)

St. Christopher Gild

J.W. Walker, *Wakefield its History and People*, (Wakefield, 1939) p.149: Gild mentioned in 1529: Manor Court Rolls: William Richardson surrendered a tenement to William Altofts for use of the gild in Wakefield parish church.

St. George Gild

J.W. Walker, *Wakefield its History and People*, (Wakefield, 1939) p.149: 01/10/1521 Thomas Cote beq land to Corpus Christi, Holy Trinity and St. George gilds.

St. John's Chapel Service

CC2 417 1548 A furlong distant from parish church. Land goods plate.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR II 261v 1452 John Leyke of Wakefield: 12d.

Walkingham

West Riding in the Wapentake of Claro Lower and the Deanery of Boroughbridge, liberty of Knaresborough. 1334 lay subsidy: no record. 1377 poll tax population: no record.

General Gild Bequest

BIHR PR IX 396v 1528 Giles Williamson of the parish of Walkingham: a measure of barley or malt to every gild.

Wath upon Dearne

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth, liberty of Tickhill and Deanery of Doncaster parish of All Saints. 1334 lay subsidy: 16s. 1377 poll tax population: 103.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR XI 315r 1538 Richard Abson of Swinton: 12d. to service priest.

St. Nicholas Service

BIHR PR XI 315r 1538 Richard Abson of Swinton: 12d. to service priest.

Wawne

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness. Peculiar in the liberty of St. Peter, parish of SS. Peter and Paul. 1334 lay subsidy £2.6.8d. 1377 poll tax population: no record.

Plough Gild

BIHR PR VI 102r-v 1504 William Paynter of the parish of Wawne: two measures of barley.

YML DC II 42r-v 1505 William Wilkynson vicar of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul: 3s.4d.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR VI 102r-v 1504 William Paynter of the parish of Wawne: 20d.

BIHR PR II 17r-v 1440 Alice Martyn widow of John of the parish of St. Peter formerly of Hull: 3s.4d.

YML L2(5)a 42r-v 1505 William Wilkynson vicar of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul: 3s.4.

GAZETTEER

Wawne (contd.)

St. Mary Gild (contd.)

YML L2(5)a 50r 1505 Robert Gedlyng cleric of the parish of SS. Peter and Paul: 3s.4d.

YML L2(5)a 115v-116r 1518 Henry Knotton vicar of the parish of St. Peter: 3s.4d. also to St. Mary Gild of Bolsover, Notts.

BIHR PR IX 415r 1528 John Walker of the parish of Wawne: a quarter of barley.

BIHR PR IX 413 1529 John Elson of the parish of Wawne: 20d.

BIHR PR XIA 261r 1537 John Moryson of the parish of Wawne: two bushels of peas.

BIHR PR XIA 309r 1537 William Baxter of the parish of Wawne: 2s.

Weaverthorpe

East Riding in the wapentake of Buckrose and the deanery of Buckrose, parish of St. Andrew. 1334 lay subsidy: £3.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 118.

Corpus Christi Gild

BIHR Reg 14 16r 1378 Thomas de Wyverthorpe chaplain of the parish of Thwing: 6s.8d. to gild works.

St. Mary Gild

YML L2(5)a 109r 1516 John Nicholson chaplain of the chapels of East and West Lutton in the parish of Weaverthorpe: a quarter of barley.

BIHR PR IX 482v 1529 Thomas Kyrbie of the parish of Weaverthorpe: a quarter of barley.

Unnamed Gild

May be identical with Corpus Christi or St. Mary Gild although dating favours the latter.

BIHR PR XIB 688v 1539 Robert Harlande of the parish of St. Andrew: a quarter of barley if the gild 'go forwarde'.

BIHR PR XIB 441v-442r 1540 John Rosedale of the parish of St. Andrew: two bushels of barley.

Welwick

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. Mary. 1334 lay subsidy: £2.13s.4d. 1377 poll tax population: 185.

St. Mary Gild

BIHR PR VI 146r 1504 John Parcur of the parish of St. Mary: 3s.4d.

Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp27-91. VCH YER Vol 5 p147 owned a cottage worth 3s.4d. p.a. in 1548 granted to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow.

Wheatley

West Riding in the wapentake of Strafforth and the deanery of Doncaster, chapel of ease in the parish of St. George Doncaster. 1334 lay subsidy: no record. 1377 poll tax population: 56.

Unnamed Gild

BIHR PR IX 77v 1517 Thomas Blomele of Wheatley in the parish of Doncaster: a sheep.

GAZETTEER

Whitby

North Riding in the wapentake of Whitby Strand and the deanery of Cleveland, parish of St. Mary. Benedictine Abbey (mitred abbot). 1334 lay subsidy: £13. 1377 poll tax population: 640. Fair: August, 1 day, November, 1 day. Market: grantee: Whitby Abbey. Fair saint's day: St. Hilda. Cheese and butter market, poultry and wildfowl market.

Holy Cross Gild

BIHR PR II 2r 1397 John Tup of the parish of Whitby: 6s.8d.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR PR I 92r-v 1396 William Barker barker of the parish of St. Mary: 13s.4d.

St. Christopher Gild

BIHR PR II 558r-v 1429 Isabelle Tolle of the parish of St. Mary: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR II 570r-v 1429 John Thomson of the parish of Egton: 6s.8d.

Whitgift

West Riding in the wapentake of Osgoldcross and the deanery of Pontefract, parish of St. Mary Magdalene. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.12s. 1377 poll tax population: 53. Fair: 1232, July, 2 days. Market: 1232, Thursday, grantee: Abbot of St. Mary's, York. Fair saint's day: St. Mary Magdalene.

Holy Trinity Gild

BIHR PR III 276v 1407 Lord Thomas Redness knight of the parish of St. Mary Magdalene: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 247v-248r 1452 John Grynder vicar of the parish of Swinefleet buried in Whitgift: 16s.

BIHR PR II 471v 1462 Thomas Aunger of the parish of Redness in the parish of Whitgift: 20d.

BIHR PR IV 11r 1474 Hugh Crosby of the parish of St. Mary Magedelene: 2s.

CC2 288-9 1546 Lord Thomas Redness knight of St. Mary Magdalene parish church 1407: The gild (unnamed in this source) had made a service of a "Gyylde Preyst" to pray for prosperity and souls of parishioners. Goods 59s 6d. Some lands.

Wilberfoss

East Riding in the wapentake of Hartill and the deanery of Harthill, parish of St. John Baptist. Benedictine nunnery. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.6s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 105.

St. Mary Gild

VCH YER Vol 3 p. Quotes Test Ebor 1 p302

Willerby

East Riding in the wapentake of Dickering and the deanery of Dickering, parish of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.8s. 1377 poll tax population: lib. 114.

St. Lazarus Gild

BIHR PR V 249v-250r 1484 Christopher Midelwod vicar of the parish of Willerby: 12d.

Winestead

East Riding in the wapentake of Holderness and the deanery of Holderness, parish of St. German. 1334 lay subsidy: £2.5s. 1377 poll tax population: 95.

GAZETTEER

Winestead (contd.)

Unnamed Guild

Cal Pat 2 Ed VI 1548 pp27-9: Cottage called 'gilde house' granted to Sir Michael Stanhope and John Bellow.

VCH YER Vol 5 p154: Owned cottage which changed hands in 1548 and 1571

Wintringham

East Riding in the wapentake of Buckrose and the deanery of Buckrose owned by Malton Priory, parish of St. Peter. 1334 lay subsidy: £1.16s.8d. 1377 poll tax population: 138.

St. Mary Guild

BIHR PR IX 18v-19r 1515 Agnes Hunter widow of Robert husbandman of the parish of Rillington: 3s.4d.

Worsbrough

West Riding in the parish of Darfield wapentake of Staincross, liberty of Pontefract and Deanery of Doncaster. 1334 lay subsidy: £2.10s. 1377 Poll Tax: 139.

St. Mary Service

CC1 193 1546 Chantry or Service. No foundation. Lands and tenements. No goods.

Wragby

West Riding in the wapentake of Osgoldcross and Deanery of Pontefract parish of St. Michael. 1334 lay subsidy: not recorded. 1377 Poll Tax: not recorded.

St. Mary Service

BIHR PR IV 25 1471 Margaret Marshall of Ryhll in the parish of Wragby: a cow.

BIHR PR IX 392 1527 Robert Jub of West Hardwick: a cow.

CC1 305 1546 Maintained by lands purchased by parishioners.

York, City of

City and county. 1334 lay subsidy: £162 (10th). 1377 poll tax population: 7248. Friaries: Augustinian, Dominican, Carmelite, Franciscan. Royal castle. St. Mary's Abbey, Holy Trinity Priory, Gilbertine Priory etc. St. Leonard's Hospital and others. Markets.

General Guild Bequest:

YML L2(4) 330v 1473 John Marston cleric chantry chaplain of the parish of Aldborough: 12d. to every confraternity in York.

Chantry Chaplains' Guild

Possible precursor of Corpus Christi Guild.

BIHR PR III 16r-v 1399 Edmund de Balderstone chantry priest of the parish of St.

Helen Stonegate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 262v-263r 1407 Bernard de Euerton chaplain of the parish of St. Mary

Castlegate: 6s.8d.

Cordwainers' Corpus Christi light

BIHR PR I 35r-v 1391 William de Kirkby allutarius of the parish of St. Michael

Ousebridge: 12d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild:

Precursor: YML L2(4) 43v-44v: Thos de Buckton (Rector of Ruddeby, Preb of Wyghton 1366: 100s. per annum to sustain festival of Corpus Christi.

Lansdowne MS. 304. ordinances, membership book from 1408 to 1546 and obituary to 1438. All edited by Skaife, *Corpus Christi Gild* (SS No 57, 1892): Short but useful introduction. Contents also include 1431 agreement on the carrying of the shrine in procession between city and gild p.251-2, indulgence of 100 days by Archbishop Kempe 1446, p.253, and of 40 days by Archbishop Booth, grant of incorporation from Henry VI 1458, pp.255-6, Transfer of Hospital of St Thomas to Gild 1478, pp.271-3, Grant of alms and oblations of Hospital by Holy Trinity Priory in 1486 to Gild pp.273-6, various inventories of Gild and Shrine etc.

Cal Pat Henry VI (Vol 6 p. 464) 1458 Licence to found gild. Provision for livery. To pray for soul of King, Queen Margaret, Prince Edward.

Page, Com. Cert. Vol I (SS No 91, 1894) p54-5.: Commissioners' report including list of lands and assets in 1546.

Calendar of Papal Registers - Papal Letters Vol X - Lost bill of 7 Paul II on subject of York Corpus Christi Gild refers to bull (also untraced) of Eugenius IV 1431-1439 erecting an altar to the Holy Sacrament in St. Augustine Church [sic] York. A possible link to Austin Friars?

Account rolls: YCA YC/G C99:1-8, C100:1-6, C101:1-4, C102:1-3, C103:1-2.

YML L2(4) 167v-168r 1413 Alice Selby wife of Robert: 20s.

YML L2(4) 175v 1416 Margaret Soureby wife of Thomas founder of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 6s.8d. and a bowl.

YML L2(4) 175v-176r 1416 William Welton chaplain of parish of St. John del Pyke: to chaplains of Corpus Christi 13s.4d. bequest in codicil (not in White).

BIHR PR III 605r-v 1416 Emma Eston widow of John mercer of the parish of St. Saviour: 3s.4d. to maintain the light.

BIHR PR 605v-606v 1418 William Muston fishmonger of the parish of St. Denys: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 200v-201v 1420 John Bouche apothecary of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: a torch to burnt on the day of the feast.

YML L2(4) 204v-205r 1421 Alice Popilton widow of Robert girdler: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 207v-208r 1422 Nicholas Holme parson at St. William's chantry in the Minster: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 82r-v Robert Bilburgh chaplain of All Saints North Street: 20d. (not in White).

YML L2(4) 222r-v 1425 Robert Appilton vicar of St. Martin Coney Street: 20s.

BIHR PR II 501v-502r 1426 John Clerk fishmonger of the parish of Holy Trinity Fossegate: 5s.

BIHR PR II 497r 1426 William Heseham clerk of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 2s.

BIHR PR II 604 1426 Isabella de Langwath widow of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings' Court: 6d to the gild chaplains.

BIHR PR II 507v-508r 1427 William Kidlam tapiter of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 20d.

BIHR PR II 527 1427 John Dulkan chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 533r 1428 John Botton chaplain of St. John Ousebridge: 6s.8d. (not in White).

BIHR PR II 568r-v 1429 Margaret Heseham widow of William of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 2s.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR II 572v-572Ar 1429 Avicia Welles widow of Richard chandler of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 230r-v 1429 Agnes de Wod of the parish of St. John del Pyke: 12d.

BIHR PR II 661v 1429 Robert Horney tanner of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 660r-v 1429 Richard Vender spicer of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 485v-486r 1429 Robert (H)ebchestre bower of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 3s.4d. (not in White).

BIHR PR II 640r-v 1430 Alice Upstall widow of Peter merchant of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 3s.4d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 625v 1430 William Rudstane chantry chaplain of St. Michael Spurriergate to confraternity of Corpus Christi for chaplains newly founded in York: 6s.8d. (not in White).

BIHR PR II 656v 1431 Robert Maddeson baker of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 12d.

BIHR PR II 655r-v 1432 John Tollerton chaplain: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 605r-606v 1432 Nicholas Blakburn Senior merchant of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 4 torches for the procession.

BIHR PR III 347r 1432 John Clifford cook of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 12d.

BIHR PR II 618r-v 1432 Katerina Rigton widow of Henry dyer of the parish of St. John Micklegate: amber beads.

BIHR PR II 618v-619r 1432 Beatrice Forester of the parish of St. Sampson: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 352v-353r 1433 Thomas Wederby of the parish of St. Martin Coney Street: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 364 Robert Boltby chaplain of St. Mary altar of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 6s.8d. to shrine (not in White).

BIHR PR III 363v-364r 1433 Alice Davy widow of Thomas draper of the parish of St. Peter the Little: a circlet for the shrine.

BIHR PR III 359r-v John Layburn chaplain of All Saints Peasholm: 12d. to the shrine and 12d to the chaplains (not in White).

BIHR PR III 1434 Marjory Horneby of the parish of Holy Trinity Fossegate: 3s.4d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR III 413v-414r 1434 Thomas Aldstarnmore merchant of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 3s.4d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR III 397r 1434 John Sclatere Cook of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 40d. for the shrine.

YML L2(4) 238-239 1434 William Pelleson canon of the Minster: 20d.

BIHR PR III 409r-v 1434 Celia Wymondswald widow (esquire) of the parish of St. Sampson: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 406r-408r 1435 John Aldstanmore merchant of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 20s. for prayers

BIHR PR III 437v 1435 Joanna Burghbrig widow of Richard of the parish of St. Sampson: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 408r-409r 1435 William Barton skinner of the parish of St. Margaret: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 428v 1435 Robert Fauconer merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 6s.8d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR III 431r-432r 1435 Richard Knyght chandler of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

- BIHR PR III 445r-v 1435 Thomas Pynchebek chaplain of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 6s.8d.
- BIHR PR III 486v-487v 1435 Thomas Kyrkeham alderman merchant of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.
- BIHR PR III 503r-504v 1435 William Ormeshede alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 13s.4d. for the shrine.
- BIHR PR III 450r-451r 1436 Joanna Louth widow of Robert merchant of the parish of St. Andrew the Apostle: 13s.4d.
- BIHR PR III 449r-450r 1436 John Malton clerk of the parish of St. Crux: 13s.4d. for the shrine.
- BIHR PR III 473v-474v 1436 John Carleton canon of the Minster prebend of Riccall: 20s.
- BIHR PR III 598v-599r 1436 William Ebbreston chaplain of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR III 442v-443r 1436 William Ottelay chaplain and master of the Hospital of Jesus and St. Mary Fossgate: 12d. to the shrine (not in White).
- BIHR PR III 484r-v 1437 John Coke brazier of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.
- BIHR PR III 493v-494r 1437 Thomas Dautree alias Alta Ripa clerk : 6s.8d.
- BIHR PR III 570r-v 1437 John Segefild chaplain of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 6s.8d.
- BIHR PR III 511r 1437 Roger Bubwith chaplain of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 3s.4d. for the shrine (not in White).
- BIHR PR III 396r 1437 Richard Crokelyn fletcher of the parish St. John Ousebridge 6s.8d. (not in White).
- BIHR PR III 522r-v 1438 Margaret Hoveden widow of William of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 6s.8d. for the shrine.
- BIHR PR III 539r-v 1438 John Shirwodd of the parish of St. Helen: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR III 523v-524r 1438 Robert Gray draper of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 6s.4d.
- BIHR PR III 515v 1438 Margaret Horneby widow of the parish of St. Olave: 2d.
- BIHR PR III 516v 1438 William Whallesgrave glover of the parish of St. Crux: 20d.
- BIHR PR III 533v 1438 William Freman mercer of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR 535v 1438 William Thwaites chaplain of the parish of All Saints Pavement: a silver belt worth 3s. for the shrine and three 12d. in three good groats for prayers.
- BIHR PR III 540v-541r 1438 Alan del Hill merchant of the parish of St. Martin Coney Street: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR III 541v-542r 1438 Hugh Grymmesby mariner of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 12d.
- BIHR PR III 1438 Agnes Shirwod widow of John butcher of the parish of St. Olave: crystal beads with jewels for the shrine.
- BIHR PR III 549v-550r 1438 Simon Sekkers of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 2s.
- BIHR PR III 552r 1438 Joanna Sharrow alias Freman widow of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.
- BIHR PR III 451r-v 1438 John Wyot vicar of St. Nicholas Micklegate: wax for a torch (not in White).
- BIHR PR III 554r 1438 Margaret Aldstanemore widow of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 2s.
- BIHR PR III 558r 1439 Agnes Kylburn of the parish of St. Mary: 12d.
- BIHR PR III 575r-v 1439 Robert Bolton of the parish of All Saints Pavement: large funeral light for the procession.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

- BIHR PR III 575v-576r 1439 Dom. Walter Buttirwych chaplain of the parish of St. John Baptist Hungate: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR III 586v 1439 Henry Moreton of the parish of St. Saviour: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR III 591r-v 1439 William Hovyngham butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 20d.
- BIHR PR III 1440 Thomas Skynner chaplain of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 20d for the shrine.
- BIHR PR III 600r-v 1440 Thomas Carlile tailor of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d. for the shrine.
- BIHR PR II 23r 1441 John Whitgift saucemaker of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR II 18v-19r 1441 Robert Stanlay vicar of the parish of Kirkby Overblow: 6s.8d.
- BIHR PR II 17v-18r 1441 Alice Grymmesby widow of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: a silver spoon for the shrine.
- BIHR PR II 1441 Lord John Scrope of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 3s.4d. for funeral lights
- BIHR PR II 24v-25r 1441 Dom. Thomas Garton rector of the parish of St. Mary Scawton: 2s.
- BIHR PR II 35v-36r 1441 Alice Brereton wife of Thomas merchant of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR II 27r-28r 1441 Marion Marton widow of John leatherworker of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d. a gold ring, a silver-gilt crucifix, all for the shrine.
- BIHR PR II 34r-35r 1442 Thomas Kirke mercer of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 6s.8d.
- BIHR PR II 82r-v 1442 Robert Bilburgh chaplain of the parish of All Sainst Northstreet: 20d.
- BIHR PR II 78r 1442 Thomas Turlose fisher: 8d.
- BIHR PR II 41r-v 1442 Richard Staynton chaplain and rector of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR II 71v 1442 John Stede chaplain of the parish of All Saints Peasholme: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR II 103r 1442 John Grymesby chaplain of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 6s.8d and 8s. for gild chaplains at funeral.
- BIHR PR II 71v-72v 1443 John Newton of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR II 61r-v 1443 Margaret Kirkham widow of the parish of St. John Baptist in Hungate: 20s.
- BIHR PR II 57r-v 1443 William Duffeld chantry chaplain of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 2s.
- BIHR PR II 58r 1443 Margaret Coke widow of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.
- BIHR PR II 149v-150v 1443 Robert Esyngwald clerk of the parish of St. Michael le Belfry: 20s.
- BIHR PR II 65v-66r 1443 Dom Peter Trusbut cleric chantry chaplain of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR II 69v-70r 1443 Henry Markett merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 6s.8d.
- YML L2(4) 255v 1444 Agnes Kirkeby widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfry: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR II 79v-80v 1444 Thomas Carr draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 10s. for the shrine.
- BIHR PR II 80v 1444 John Symond plasterer: 12s.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR II 90v-91r 1444 John Radclyff merchant of the parish of St. Crux: 10s. for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 138v-139v 1444 Thomas Lyverton draper of the parish of St. Denys: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 93v-94v 1444 John Marton cordwainer of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 104v-105r 1445 Robert Kirketon merchant: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 107v 1445 John Bolton alderman merchant of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 20s.

BIHR PR II 127r-v 1446 William Kyam merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 128v-129r 1446 William Gyslay: 3s.4d. for the shrine.

YML L2(4) 259r-v 1446 Richard Ulleskelfe parson of the parish of St. John del Pyke: 3s.

BIHR PR II 133v-134r 1446 Roger Eston rector of the parish of St. Mary Richmond: 3s.4d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 133v-134r 1446 Thomas Gryssyngham dyer of the parish of St. Denys: 8d.

BIHR PR II 137v-138v 1446 William Revetour chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: a silver cup for the shrine. The book of the Creed Play.

BIHR PR II 152r 1446 William Hert tailor: 6d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 140r-v 1446 John Loncaster tailor of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 148v-149r 1446 William Bellamy cordwainer of the parish of St. Crux: 12d for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 150v 1446 William Birkhede merchant of the parish of St. Crux: 12d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 268v-269r 1447 Nicholas Watrer rector of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 261 1447 John Been senior, carpenter of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 168r-v 1448 Robert Lede tailor of the parish of St. Gregory: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 167r-v 1448 John Roger glover of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 12d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 177r-v 1448 John Prynce butcher: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 262r-v 1448 Joanna Kyrkeby widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 6 silver spoons of second quality.

BIHR PR II 183r 1448 Roger del Hay of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 20d.

BIHR PR II 192r-193r 1449 John Preston ironmonger of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 2s.

YML L2(4) 263v-264r 1449 Thomas Northus vicar choral in the Minster: 3s.4d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 235r-v 1449 John Witton chaplain of the parish of St. John Hungate?: 12d.

BIHR PR II 238r-v 1451 Alice Shirwod widow of Richard aldeman of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 232r-v 1451 John Galby fisherman of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR II 234r 1451 William Sokeburn of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR II 342r 1451 Richard Wright chapman of the parish of St. Denys: 6d for the gild torches.

YML L2(4) 270r-v 1452 Robert Buktrout parson in the Minster: 3s.4d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

- YML L2(4) 274v-275r 1452 John Helperby chaplain of York 6s.8d. (not in White).
BIHR PR II 315v-316r 1452 Robert Belton apothecary of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 12d.
BIHR PR II 249r-v 1452 John Affordeby Master of Hospital of the parish of Stillingfleet: 12d.
BIHR PR II 251v-252r 1452 Master John Bernyngam Bachelor at Law of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 2s.
YML L2(4) 271v-272r 1453 Thomas Dyghton vicar of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Junior: 3s.4d.
YML L2(4) 274v-275r 1453 John Helperby chaplain: 6s.8d.
BIHR PR II 272r-v 1453 Richard Spencer of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 12d.
BIHR PR II 296v-297v 1453 Alice Tubbat widow of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 20d.
YML L2(4) 275r-v 1453 Cecilia Overdo widow of Thomas of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: gold beads for the shrine.
BIHR PR II 290v-291r 1454 Joanna Topcliff widow of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.
BIHR PR II 305r 1454 John Huet procurator general of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR II 308r-v 1454 Sibilla Closse widow of John of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: silver and coral beads.
BIHR PR II 342Av-343r 1455 Robert Lasynby parish clerk of the parish of St. Denys: 6d.
BIHR PR II 329r 1455 Roger Stele chaplain: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR II 343v-344r 1456 Robert Helperby of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.
BIHR PR II 355r 1457 William Salley esquire of the parish of Saxton 6s.7d.
BIHR PR II 363v 1458 John Chaloner chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.
BIHR PR II 413r-414r 1458 John Dautre of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 2s.
BIHR PR II 375r-376r 1458 Katherine Radclyff widow of John mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.
YML L2(4) 288r-v 1458 William Banks gentleman of the parish of St. John del Pyke: 20d. annually for 6 years. Gild torches at his funeral.
BIHR PR II 381r-v 1458 William Rok plumber of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.
BIHR PR II 443r 1458 William Houson of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR II 396v-397v 1459 John Asseby merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.
BIHR PR II 402r-403v 1459 John Bell of the parish of St. Denys: 6d.
BIHR PR II 406r-v 1459 John Ardeslaw chantry chaplain of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d.
BIHR PR II 414v-415r 1459 Richard Kepas chaplain of the parish of St. Saviour: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR II 417r 1459 Richard Wighton dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR II 426v-427r 1460 Robert Ecop of the parish of St. Helen on the Walls: 20d.
BIHR PR II 431v - 432r 1460 Richard Croull merchant of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: a gold ring for the shrine.
BIHR PR II 438r 1460 John Cawton chaplain of the parish of St. Denys: 3s.4d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

YML L2(4) 293 1460 William Burne chaplain of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 438v-439v 1460 Thomas Curtas mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 20d.

BIHR PR II 484r and YML L2(4) 302r-v 1461 Master Richard Wetwang rector of the parish of Stokesley in Cleveland: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 298v-299r 1461 Agnes Marsshall of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: coral beads with silver-gild gauds and a silver-gilt crucifix for the shrine.

BIHR PR II 469v 1462 William Lassels chaplain of the parish of Bolton Percy: 10d.

BIHR PR II 465v-466r 1462 Agnes Staneburn widow of John of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 301r-v 1462 John Haliday gentleman of the parish of St. Paul Heslington: 1s.

BIHR PR II 478r-479r 1463 John Adamson dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 2s.

BIHR PR III 292v 1463 Thomas Sprott rector of the parish of Derton: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 483r-v 1463 Thomas Covell vicar of the parish of St. Columba Topcliff: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 485r-v 1463 William Touthorp butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 594v-595r 1464 Thomas Thorp chaplain of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 487r 487v-480r 1464 William Downham chantry chaplain of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 20d.

YML L2(4) 307v-308r 1464 William Haxby tanner of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IV 247r-v 1464 John Dykson of the parish of St. Edward Walmgate in the Suburbs: 12d.

YML L2(4) 311r-v 1464 Robert Haukesworth vicar of the parish of St. Laurence in the Suburbs: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 263v-266r 1464 William Langton presbyter of the parish of St. Michael: 40s.

BIHR PR II 491v III 300r 1465 Richard Hamerton rector of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 109r-v 1465 John Porter mason of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d.

BIHR PR IV 251v 1466 James Kexby weaver of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 20d.

BIHR PR IV 264r-v 1466 Margaret Horton widow of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 265r 1466 Robert Lound chaplain: 20d.

BIHR PR IV 72r-v 1466 Alice Chellow widow of John of the parish of St. Crux: 2s.

BIHR PR IV 241r-v 1467 Robert Duffeld tailor of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 240r-v 1467 Agnes Foster widow of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 28r-v 1467 John York chaplain of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: a missal and a vestment of blue worsted.

YML L2(4) 316r-v 1467 Peter Makhay chaplain in the Minster: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 153r 1468 William Wybsay gentleman of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 20d.

BIHR PR IV 143v-144r 1468 Laurencia Hebson widow of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 2s.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

- BIHR PR IV 149v-150r 1468 Thomas Spawde chaplain of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d.
- YML L2(5)A 20v 1469 William Esyngwold vicar choral in the Minster: a torch with the image of the Virgin in precious stone and 12d.
- BIHR PR IV 131v 1469 John Rudd butcher of the parish of St. Crux: 4d.
- BIHR PR IV 141v 1469 Henry Mone rector of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 12d.
- YML L2(4) 323v-324r 1470 Isabella Saxton widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: a jewel to hang on the shrine and 12d.
- BIHR PR IV 171 1471 Master William Hawk professor of theology rector of the parish of All Saints Barwick in Elmet: 3s.
- BIHR PR IV 175r 1471 Thomas Dalton of the parish of St. Oswald Fulford: 12d.
- BIHR PR IV 157v 1471 Thomas Blysse rector of the parish of St. Gregory: red and silver cloth.
- BIHR PR IV 95r 1471 William Clyvland draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 20d.
- BIHR PR 159v-160r 1471 John Sclater chaplain of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 6d.
- BIHR PR 27r-v 1471 William Hynd baker of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 20d.
- YML L2(4) 325r-v 1471 Robert Gillesland vicar choral in the Minster: 12d.
- YML L2(4) 325v-326r 1471P Richard Bows chaplain of the parish of Minster: 6d. to gild master and 3d. to keepers attending funeral.
- BIHR PR 175v 1472 Thomas Browne cooper of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 2s
- BIHR PR IV 174v 1472 Joan Thurkylby of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.
- BIHR PR IV 211r-v 1473 Hugh Goodrich parson of the parish of Escrick: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR IV 200r 1473 William Marson generosus of the paris of Hemsworth 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR IV 196v-197r 1473 John Newall girdler of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.
- BIHR PR IV 203v 1474 Robert Powlyn of the parish of St. Andrew: 12d. to gild master and 4d. to keepers attending funeral.
- BIHR PR IV 210r 1474 John Swaith of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 4d. each to gild master and keepers attending funeral.
- YML L2(4) 337 1474 Alice Freman widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.
- BIHR PR IV 107v 1474 William Ouresby brewer of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.
- BIHR PR IV 211r-v 1474 Hugh Goodrich parson of the parish of Escrick: 3s.4d.
- YML L2(4) 330v 1474 John Marston chantry chaplain of the parish of Aldborough: 6d.
- BIHR PR IV 10v 1474 Thomas Ledys of the parish of St. Wilfrid Collegiate Church Ripon: 20d.
- BIHR PR IV 10r 1474 Joan Newall widow of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.
- BIHR PR IV 214v 1474 William Skynner vintner: 4d. each to gild master and keepers attending funeral.
- BIHR PR IV 220r 1474 John Preston of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 12d.
- BIHR PR IV 223r 1474 Robert Harwod fletcher of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 3s.
- BIHR PR IV 119v-120r 1475 William Marshall vicar of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 6d. to gild master and 3d. to 6 keepers attending funeral 8d. to beadle for carrying 4 torches.
- BIHR PR IV 96r 1475 William Jakeson chaplain of the parish of St. Clement: agate beads with silver pendant and 12d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR V 12v-22r 1476 John Norton baker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d.

BIHR PR V 12r 1476 Cecilia Broune widow of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 2s.

BIHR PR V 189v-190r 1477 Richard Lewlyn tanner of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.

BIHR PR V 16r 1477 John Benyngton chaplain of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 13s.4d. shared with St. Christopher Gild.

BIHR PR V 17v 1477 Isabella Bruce widow: black cloth with silver and a gold ring with a stone for the shrine.

BIHR PR V 15v 1477P William Barbor chaplain of the parish of All Saints Peaseholm: 12d.

BIHR PR V 120r-v 1478 Roger Akworth gentleman of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 20d. and 6d. for all who keep his obit.

BIHR PR V 177v-178r 1478 Agnes Dykson widow of the parish of St. .Edward extra Walmgate: 6d.

YML L2(4) 338r-v 1478 William Colyer chaplain of the parish of St. Michael [le Belfrey]: 4d. each to gild master and 6 keepers attending funeral. Coral beads with silver gauds for the shrine.

BIHR PR V 126v-127r 1478 Alice Haxby widow tapiter of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 20d.

BIHR PR 156v 1478 Richard More yeoman of the parish of St. Margaret Walmgate: 12d.

BIHR PR V 142v 1479 John Baxter shearman of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 113v-114r 1479 Alice Shirwod widow of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 142r 1479 James Troghton of the parish of St. Saviour: 6 chaplains of gild for attending his funeral 4d. each.

BIHR PR V 162r-v 1479 Thomas Beleby of the parish of St. Peter le Willows: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 151r-v 1479 Margaret Plumpton widow of the parish of St. Olave: 2s.

BIHR PR V 151r 1479 Joan Halifield widow of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: a silver-gilt mazer in return for prayers.

BIHR PR V 155v/YML L2(4) 343 1479 Thomas Pynchebeck parson in the Minster: master and 6 keepers to attend his funeral, 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 163v 1479 William Walles chaplain of the parish of St. Clement: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 345v 1480 John Burn chaplain and parson in the Minster: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 177r 1480 Richard Parke fishmonger of the parish of St. Denys: 2s.

BIHR PR V 252v-253v 1480 Master William Lambert vicar of the parish of Gayneforth and master of Staindrop College in Co. Durham: 10s. (also bequest to Holy Trinity Gild Staindrop: 13s.4d.).

BIHR PR V 71r-v 1480 Richard Warsdale barber of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.

YML L2(4) 347v-348r 1480 Thomas Helton Senior parson in the: 2s. for funeral lights.

BIHR PR 94v 1480 Christopher Doble chaplain of the parish of All Saints North Street: 12d.

BIHR PR V 221v-222r 1480 Robert Wystow chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR 108r-v 1481 John Walker rector of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 12d.

YML L2(4) 350v 1481 John Anstan vicar choral in the Minster: jewels and rings for the shrine.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR V 50r-v 1481 John Towthorp butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 2s.

BIHR PR V 53r 1481 John Hemmyngburgh chaplain of the parish of St. Laurence: 5s.

BIHR PR V 72v 1482 John Byker vicar of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 65r 1482 Thomas Rede of the parish of St. Margaret Walmgate: 2s. between 6 chaplains for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR V 68v 1482 William Rudby of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.

BIHR PR V 73v-74r 1482 Agnes Mannell widow of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: a silver gilt belt decorated with Ss for the shrine.

BIHR PR V 27v-18r 1482 Robert Thixendale clerk of the parish of St. Helen: 3s.4d. also 12d. to master, 6d. each to 6 keepers and 1d. to each member for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR 38v-39v 1482 Joan Gillyot widow of the parish of St. Crux: 8d.

BIHR PR V 44r 1483 Margaret Clerk widow of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: jewelled silver-gilt belt for the shrine..

BIHR PR V 308r-v 1483 John Ince merchant of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 275v-276v 1483 William Warde draper of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral 5s. to be divided.

YML L2(4) 358r 1483 Richard Robert janitor of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: master and 6 keepers to attend his funeral.

BIHR PR V 219r-v 1484 George Bailye clerk of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 5s.4d.

BIHR PR V 259r-v 1484 Agnes Croft widow of William of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 237r-238r 1484 John Giliot Senior merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 298v-199r 1485 John Skelton merchant: 3s.4d. for the shrine.

BIHR PR V 381r 1485 Thomas Judson mustardmaker of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR V 277v-278r 1485 John Hotoste weaver of the parish of St. Saviour: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral in their stoles 4d. each.

YML L2(4) 363v 1485 William Lasynby vestry clerk : 3s.4d. for 6 torches at his funeral.

YML L2(4) 361v-362r 1485 John Danby parson in the Minster: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 362r-363r 1485 Robert Fairbarne husbandman of the parish of St. Michael Rockcliffe: 20d.

BIHR PR V 268v 1485 John Lightlope mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR V 269v-270 1486 Richard Kirketon chaplain of the parish of St. Saviour: 12d to the 6 chaplains to carry his body and 12d. to the gild if the beadle attends funeral.

BIHR PR V 281r-v 1486 Thomas Horneby chaplain of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill [?Senior]: 10s.

BIHR PR V 277r-v 1486 John Otter of the parish of St. Crux: 12d. and 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR V 298v 1487 John Grenefeld chaplain of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 319v-320r 1487 Hugh Lincoln tailor of the parish of St. Crux: for forgotton fees 16d.

YML L2(4) 370v-371r 1487 Lambert Tymeson hardwareman of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR V 303r-v 1487 Alice Hall widow of Reginald pewterer of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 2s.4d. for gild chaplains attending funeral.

BIHR PR V 311r-v 1487 John Marshall alderman merchant of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 20d.

BIHR PR V 325 1487 William Lounesdale tanner of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 12d.

BIHR PR V 318 1487 Nicholas Fyssher merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR III 320r-321r 1488 Marion Kent widow of John merchant of the parish of All Saint Pavement: 2s.

BIHR PR V 398r-399r 1488 John Tongue alderman of the parish of St. Peter the Little: a silver-gilt image of St. Christopher.

BIHR PR V 255v-356r 1489 Nicholas Vicars grocer of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 20s.

BIHR PR V 362v-363r 1489 Joan Ince widow of John merchant of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 368r-v 1489 William Robynson weaver of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 2s.4d.

BIHR PR V 372r-v 1490 John Smerte Senior rector of the parish of Leconfield: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 376r-v 1490 John Barton tailor of the parish of St. Olave: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and to poor men carrying torches.

BIHR PR V 384v-385r 1490 Thomas Wasselyn gentleman of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

YML L2(4) 376v 1490 Helen Marshall widow of the parish of St. Michael [le Belfrey]: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR V 415v-417v 1490 Master Thomas Pereson subdeacon of the Minster and rector of the parish of Bolton Percy: 6s.8d. for torches at his funeral.

BIHR PR V 387v-388r 1490 Thomas Gylis chaplain of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill [?Senior]: 6s.8d. and 6d. each to master and 6 keepers and other priests for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR V 386v-387r 1491 John Warde chaplain of St. William's chapel on Ouse Bridge: 12d.

BIHR PR V 391r-392r 1491 Richard Wakefeilde chaplain of the parish of All Saints North Street: a silver muskball for the shrine and 8d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass.

BIHR PR V 417v-418v 1491 John Feriby merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 2s.

YML L2(4) 375v-376r 1491 Thomas Symson parson of the parish of St. John del Pyke: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 402r 1491 William Elwyn of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 3s.4d.

YML L2(5)A 11r-v 1492 William Podyngton archbishop's bailiff of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 377v-378r 1492 John Tanfield vicar choral in the Minster: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 411r-v 1492 John Garnet rector of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: an old noble (coin) for the shrine.

BIHR PR V 445v 1493 William Arthure of the parish of Heslington: 12d.

BIHR PR V 472 1494 John Colby chaplain of Corpus Christi Gild of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: a silver pyx, a gold ring and a coin for the shrine and 3s.4d. to master and 10s. to 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR V 454 1494 John Blakell baker of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 12d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR V 478r-v 1495 John Harper alderman mercer of the parish of All Saints Pavement: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 495r-v 1496 Thomas Sage of the parish of St. Mary Scarborough: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 500v-501r 1497 Richard Scot merchant of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 2s.4d.

BIHR PR V 510r-v 1497 Richard Robynson butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

BIHR PR III 307 1498 John Hag of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 8d. to master and 4d. each to 6 keepers for attending his funeral. 12d. for funeral torches.

BIHR PR VI 44r 1500 Elizabeth Troghton of the parish of St. Saviour: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending her funeral.

BIHR PR VI 19r 1501 William Gylling chaplain of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d. and 12d to master and 4d. each to 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

YML L2(5)A 31v 1501 Richard Allerton parson of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Junior: 13s.6d. for funeral torches.

YML L2(5)A 31v-32r 1502 William Barton parson in the Minster: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 53r 1502 Robert Hancock of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 2s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 60v-61r 1503 Thomas Scotton merchant of the parish of : 4d. for each gild presbyter attending his funeral.

BIHR PR VI 64v 1503 Joan Chefton of the parish of St. Mary?: 4d. to master and 2s.4d. between 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR VI 56r 1503 John Kirkby vicar of the parish of St. George Fishergate: 8d to master and 4d each to 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR VI 59v-60r 1503 Henry Monkton brewer: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 2s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 70Ar-v 1503 Isabella Stokton widow of the parish of All Saints North Street: to master and 6 keepers for attending her funeral and mass 2s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 71r-v 1503 Robert Preston glazier of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR VI 71v 1503 Robert Feyrne cleric chaplain of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: an old gold coin for the shrine.

BIHR PR VI 131r-v 1504 Thomas Roclyfe gentleman: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR VI 113v-114r 1504 William Cliveland vicar of the parish of Tadcaster: 2s.

YML L2(5)A 47v 1505 Thomas Hagas chaplain of the parish of St. John Ouse Bridge: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 2s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 206v-207r 1505 Emmotte Storme widow of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending her funeral and a little silver-gilt crucifix for the shrine.

BIHR PR VI 166r 1506 William Mason hosser of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 2s.6d. 10d to the beadle for 6 torches.

BIHR PR VI 179v 1506 Margaret Fonyby widow of the parish of St. Crux: a gold ring for the shrine.

YML L2(5)A 68r 1506 Thomas Bateman of the parish of St. John del Pyke: the gild torches to be at his funeral - no sum.

BIHR PR VI 175r 1506 Stephen Canon cleric of the parish of All Saints Peaseholm: 12d. to master and 12d. to 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR VI 182v-183r 1506 Katherine Watson widow of the parish of St. Gregory: to master and 6 keepers to attend her funeral and mass - no sum.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR VI 187r 1507 William Brigham chaplain of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 20d. to gild and 20d. to master, 20d. to each gild counsellor and 6d. to each keeper for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR VI 227r-228r 1507 Helen Stokdail widow of alderman John of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 4d. each to every priest attending her funeral.

BIHR PR VII 60v-61r 1507 Agnes Polyngton widow of the parish of St. Crux: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 2s.4d. 10d. for torches at funeral.

BIHR PR VI 235r-v 1507 Margaret Bettes widow of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: a gold royal (coin) for the shrine.

YML L2(5)A 69v-70r 1507 William Roch wax chandler of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 4d. gild to presbyter attending his funeral.

YML L2(5)A 73r 1508 John Rumpton sacristan in the Minster of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 2s.4d. To the beadle for 6 torches 10d.

BIHR PR VIII 3r-v 1508 William Chymney Alderman draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 6s.8d. for funeral and mass.

BIHR PR VIII 62r-v 1508 Ranald Home of the parish of St. Margaret: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral. Torches to be at funeral.

BIHR PR VIII 6r-v 1509 Richard Borell dyer: a silver belt for the shrine.

BIHR PR VIII 13v 1509 Isabell Gossep widow of the parish of St. Sampson: gild priests to attend funeral - no sum.

YML L2(5)A 82r-83v 1509 Alison Clark widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: her best beads of coral with silver gauds for the shrine.

BIHR PR VIII 63r 1509 Humphrey Maners gentleman: 6d. to master and 4d. each to 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

YML L2(5)A 89r-90r 1509 William Clarkson vicar of the parish of St. Laurence Walmgate: 12d. to master and 12d. each to keepers and 8d. to present keepers for attending his funeral. 7s

BIHR PR VIII 32v-34r 1509 Sir John Gilliot knight and alderman of the parish of St. Saviour: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR VIII 30r 1510 John Pounderson butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 6d. to master and 3s.4d. to keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR VIII 52v-53r 1510 Robert Wylson smith of the parish of St. Peter le Willows: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR VIII 65v-66v 1510 William Barker baker of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral..

BIHR PR VIII 51r-v 1510 George Eseks alderman former mayor: 4d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR VIII 88v 1511 Gilbert Legerdown chaplain of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 39v 1515 Bartram Dawson alderman: 6d. to master and 4d. each to 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR IX 17v-18r 1515 Isabell Blythe widow of Andrew: 6d. to master and 4d. each to 6 keepers for attending her funeral.

BIHR PR IX 26r 1516 John Shaw: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 2s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 33v 1516 Sir John Bollyng priest of the parish of St. Saviour: 8d. to master and 6d. each to 6 keepers for attending his funeral. To the beadle for torches as the custom is.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR IX 68v-69r 1517 George Wright cook of the parish of St. Crux: a squared spit

YML L2(5)A 128v 1518 Dom. William Rooch cleric: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 93v 1519 Richard Tebbe butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass - no sum.

YML L2(5)A 122r 1520 John Baker cordwainer: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass as the custom is.

YML L2(5)A 134v-135r 1523 William Wright Senior notary of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 6d. each to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral.

BIHR PR IX 262r 1523 William Meltonby woolman of the parish of St. Maurice Monkgate: reversion of a garth in Bootham to finance an annual obit for Sir John Ronard, himself and his wife Isabelle.

BIHR PR IX 305r-v 1525 William Nelson alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: 20d.

BIHR PR IX 313v 1525 John Sympson of the parish of St. Denys: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass as the custom is.

BIHR PR XI 99r 1525 William Goldsmyth alias Harman vintner of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 2s.6d.

BIHR PR IX 355r-v 1525 Alice Blakey widow capper of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: her best girdle for the shrine.

BIHR PR IX 359r 1526 John Smyth of the parish of Overton: 4s.

BIHR PR IX 394r-v 1527 Thomas Constance goldsmith: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass as the custom is.

BIHR PR IX 420r 1527 Robert Petie Alderman tapiter of the parish of St. Denys: a silver spoon.

BIHR PR IX 392r 1528 Bryan Bradley waxchandler of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass as the custom is.

BIHR PR IX 448r 1529 Thomas Drawswerde alderman of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: reversion of two tenements in Jubbergate and Feasgate on death of wife in return for annual perpetual obit. Initially a bequest to St. Christopher Gild, but to revert to Corpus Christi in case of failure.

BIHR PR XI 12r-v 1529 Robert Roos esquire of the parish of South Dighton dated at York: 6s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 479r-v 1530 John Newbye barker of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: to have priests and torches at funeral - no sum.

YML L2(5)a 156r-v 1530 John Fewlare clerk: 8d. to master and 6d. each to 6 keepers for attending his funeral. 4d. to beadle, 6d. for torches, 2d. to torchbearers.

BIHR PR XI 155v-156r 1532 John Lamaman of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 3s. Torches to attend.

BIHR PR XI 278v-279r 1532 Maud Shaw widow of the parish of St. Crux: to master and 6 keepers for attending her funeral and mass 3s.4d.

BIHR PR XI 85r 1534 Janet Sparke: a pair of coral beads for the shrine.

BIHR PR XI 57v-58r 1534 Jane Nelson widow of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: to master and 6 keepers for attending her funeral and mass as the custom is.

BIHR PR XI 151r 1534 Elizabeth Goldsmyth als Harman widow of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: to master and 6 keepers for attending her funeral and mass 2s.4d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Corpus Christi Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR XI 158v 1535 Thomas Brax baker of the parish of St. Peter the Little: the master and 6 keepers to attending his funeral with torches - no sum.

BIHR PR XI 142Ar-v 1535 Richard Hutchonson butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 3s.4d.

BIHR PR XI 147r 1535 John Beisbey alderman of the parish of St. Michael: 20d.

BIHR PR XI 185r 1536 Thomas Lame tailor: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 3s.4d.

YML L2(5)a 174v-175v 1536 Robert Fons of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: torches to be carried at funeral - payment as the custom is.

BIHR PR XI 225r-v 1537 William Coca chantry priest of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: 20d.

BIHR PR XI 249r 1537 John of Burton gentleman and city macebearer of the parish of St. Martin: to master and 6 keepers for attending his funeral and mass 3s.4d.

Torches to attend.

BIHR Reg 28 182r-v 1540 William Merton priest of the parish of St. Crux: 12d. to master and 8d. each to keepers for attending his funeral.

YML L2(5)a 198v-199r 1541 Brian Godson chantry priest of the parish of All Saints Newton upon Ouse: 8d. to master and 4d. each to keepers for attending his funeral in Newton. 12d. for torches if provided.

YML L2(5)a 206r-207r 1542 Thomas Robynson vicar choral in the Minster: gild to attend funeral and be paid as custom is.

BIHR PR XIII 304v 1546 Jennet Brerey widow of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 5s. to be disposed to master, keepers and other gild priests as for as it will extend.

BIHR PR XIII 703 1550 Christopher Paynter priest of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 8d. to each brother of Corpus Christi Hospital attending funeral.

Corpus Christi Light in St. Saviour

Possible parish gild.

BIHR PR III 605r-v 1416 Emma Eston widow of John mercer of St. Saviour: to sustain the light of Corpus Christi to its honour.

Holy Cross Gild in St. Crux

Parish gild.

BIHR PR III 600r-v 1440 Thomas Carlile tailor of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR II 375r-376r 1458 Katherine Radclyff widow of John mercer of the parish of St Crux: 3s.4d.

Holy Ghost Gild of the Weavers

BIHR PR IX 394r 1528 William Robynson weaver of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 2s.

Holy Trinity Gild (illegal)

G.O. Sayles "The Dissolution of a Gild at York in 1306" EHR Vol 55 (1940) [includes transcription of Assize Roll No. 1107 (33-35 EdI) m19]: An account of the supression by kings' justices of an oligarchical gild based on Ousebridge at the petition of "the commons".

Holy Trinity Gild Fossgate of the Mercers

D.M. Smith (ed.), *A Guide to the Archives of the Company of Merchant of Adventurers of York* (Borthwick Texts and Calendars 16, York, 1990) lists gild records which are housed in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, York.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Holy Trinity Gild Fossgate of the Mercers (contd.)

M Sellers, The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917 (SS No. 129 1918): Edition of some of the gild records.

N.b. E. White may not have recorded all York bequests.

YML L2(4) 154v 1410 Hugh Grantham mason: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 69v-70r 1443 Henry Markett merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 127r-v 1446 William Kyam merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 330v-331r 1455 Margaret Kirketon widow of the parish of St. Crux: provision of food for poor of Holy Trinity hospital.

BIHR PR II 375r-376r 1458 Katherine Radclyff widow of John mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 396v-397v 1459 John Asseby merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

BIHR PR II 438v-439v 1460 Thomas Curtas mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 2s.6d.

BIHR PR V 259r-v 1484 Agnes Croft widow of William of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 237r-238r 1484 John Giliot Senior merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 268v 1485 John Lightlope mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR V 311r-v 1487 John Marshall alderman merchant of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 20d.

BIHR PR III 320r-321r 1488 Marion Kent widow of John merchant of the parish of All Saint Pavement: 20d.

BIHR PR V 417v-418v 1491 John Feriby merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 20s.

BIHR PR III 307 1498 John Hag of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: gild torches at his funeral 2d. to each torchbearer. 6d. to the poor of the Trinity Hospital.

BIHR PR VII 60v-61r 1507 Agnes Polyngton widow of the parish of St. Crux: 10d for 6 torches at her funeral.

BIHR PR VIII 3r-v 1508 William Chymney Alderman draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 20s. for an annual obit.

BIHR PR VIII 32v-34r 1509 Sir John Gilliot alderman and knight of the parish of St. Saviour: 40s. for repairs.

BIHR PR VIII 65v-66v 1510 William Barker baker of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d to the poor of the fraternity.

BIHR PR IX 26r 1516 John Shaw alderman merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 6s.4d. to buy a vestment.

BIHR PR IX 305r-v 1525 William Nelson alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: 3s.4d.

Holy Trinity Gild of the Augustine Friars

BIHR PR III 511r 1438 Robert Dote tailor of the parish of Coneystreet: 6s.

BIHR PR II 405r 1459 John Carter tailor of the parish of All Saints Pavement: no sum.

BIHR PR IV 162v 1471P Ralph Moyses tailor of the parish of St. Crux: 6d.

Holy Trinity Gild of the Dominican Friars

YMB II 70-2, Raine Med Yk p68-9, 92: Gild of the Church of the Dominican Friars. Wound up in 1418 following dispute, most members defected to St Antony's Gild.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Paternoster Gild:

PRO C47/46/454, 1389 gild return. To maintain the play. Mutual prayer, funerals and relief. Tablet with prayer. No property.

Raine YCR 2 (YAS rs103, 1940) p118 note : Merged with St Antony Gild, which took over the play. See Paternoster and St Anthony Gild: 1st joint beq: BIHR PR II 79v-80v Thomas Carr draper of St Sampson 1444. Last joint beq: BIHR PR V 327v-329r John Carre formerly Lord Mayor 1487.

BIHR PR I 88r 1395 John de Chestre tailor: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 3r-v 1397 William Lyly of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 26r-v 1399 Johanne Laton wife of John butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 10s.

BIHR PR III 88r-v 1402 Thomas Fox draper of the parish of St. Peter the Little: a gilt mazer after death of wife Alice.

YML L2(4) 136v-137r 1405 John Wenslawe Skinner of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 141v-142r 1406 William Stokton pinner of the parish of St. Michael le Belfry: 6s.8d. and 12d. to each chaplain attending funeral.

YML L2(4) 166v-167v 1411 Robert Popilton merchant of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: cup of wood, gold and silver (mazer).

YML L2(4) 160r-v 1411 John de Wilton cutler of the parish of St. Michael le Belfry: his second best pot and third best sheepskin and 4d. to each chaplain of the gild attending his funeral.

YML L2(4) 200r-v 1420 Roger Burton skinner: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 200v-201v 1420 John Bouche apothecary of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 6s.8d. for torches.

BIHR PR II 604 1426 Isabella de Langwath widow of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings' Court: 6d.

BIHR PR II 660r-v 1429 Alice Poumfreyt widow Roger skinner of the parish of : 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 625r William Rudstane chantry chaplain of St. Michael Spurriergate: 6s.4d. (not in White).

BIHR PR II 658 1431 John Walker of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 6s.

BIHR PR III 1433 Thomas Wederby of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 1434 Marjory Horneby of the parish of Holy Trinity Fossegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 408r-409r 1435 William Barton skinner of the parish of St. Margaret: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 503r-504v 1435 William Ormeshede Alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 10s.

BIHR PR III 473v-474v 1436 John Carleton canon of the Minster prebendary of the parish of Riccall: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR III 487v-490r 1436 Thomas Bracebrigg merchant of the parish of St. Saviour: 20s.

BIHR PR III 575v-576r 1439 Dom. Walter Buttirwyth chaplain of the parish of St. John Baptist in the Market: 3s.

BIHR PR III 591r-v 1439 William Hovyngnam butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 20d.

Paternoster and St. Anthony Gild

Combined Gild - see entries for Paternoster Gild and St. Anthony Gild.

BIHR PR II 79v-80v 1444 Thomas Carr draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 10s.

BIHR PR II 153r-v 1447 William Marshall merchant of the parish of All Saints North Street: 3s.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

Paternoster and St. Anthony Guild (contd.)

BIHR PR II 167r-v 1448 John Roger glover of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 327v-329r 1487 John Carre former mayor of the parish of St. Sampson: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 172r 1480 John Slater chaplain of the parish of St. Laurence: 12d.

Resurrection Guild of the Austin Friars

Sustained by the carpenters' craft. YMB II pp 277-283: ordinances of carpenters 1482: participation in Corpus Christi procession. Trentals at Austin Friary for souls of departed bretheren. YMB III pp 254-255: Agreement between Friary, carpenters' searchers and keepers of Resurrection Guild sustained by carpenters. Prior to sing two trentalls annually in return for farm of two messuages of 10s. per year. Raine *Medieval York* p.132.

St. Anne Guild in St. Laurence in the Suburbs

Also known as St. Agnes in St Lawrence. CC II 1548 461: "That there is xjs vjd ob. in stoke for the maintennce of a gild, called Sainct Agnes Gilde, in the said parishe, remaining in thandes of this personnes foloing..... [11 names]".

BIHR PR III 111r 1404 Thomas Telar of the parish of St. Laurence: 18d.

BIHR PR II 527 1427 John Dulkan chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 445v 1493 William Arthure of the parish of Heslington: 6d.

BIHR PR VI 34v 1503 Thomas Hemyngburgh clerk of the parish of St. Laurence: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 201v-202r 1505 Thomas Freman tanner of the parish of St. Laurence: 3s.4d. for torches.

BIHR PR VI 202v-203r 1505 Margaret North widow of William of the parish of St. Laurence ex Walmgate: 20d.

BIHR PR VI 174r 1506 John Gudryk of the parish of St. Laurence extra Walmgate: 12d.

BIHR PR VII 51v-52r 1508 Margaret Campynott of the parish of St. Laurence: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR VII 62r-v 1508 Agnes Leys widow of the parish of St. Laurence extra Walmgate: 12d.

St. Anne Guild in St. Saviour

Parish gild.

BIHR PR XI 28v-29r 1527 Thomas Addyson husbandman of Heworth in the parish of St Saviour (detached) 4d.

St. Anthony Guild

Sellars YMB II p70-2, Raine, *Medieval York* pp.68-9, 92 : When the Holy Trinity gild in the Dominican Friary was wound up in 1415 most members defected to St.

Anthony gild.

Merged with Paternoster 1st joint beq: BIHR PR II 79v-80v Thomas Carr draper of St. Sampson 1444.

Raine YCR 2 (YAS rs103, 1940) p118, House Bk VII f135: 1495 St. Anthony Guild assumed responsibility for Paternoster play.

Merged with St Mary and St Martin: 1st joint beq: PR II 431v-432r John Cawton chaplain of St Denys 1460.

Also joint bequests with Paternoster from 1444 with St Mary and St Martin Guild from 1460.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Anthony Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR II 530v 1428 John Arkenden tiler of the parish of St. Edward in Suburbs: 12d.

BIHR PR II 537v-538r 1428 John Stele litster of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 546 1429 Robert Mowbray: 10d.

BIHR PR II 566r 1429 Richard Dunsford baker of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 656v 1431 Robert Maddeson baker of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 20d.

BIHR PR III 350v 1433 John Wyman gentleman of the parish of Holy Trinity (unspec): 36d.

BIHR PR III 493v-494r 1437 Thomas Dautree alias Alta Ripa clerk: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 539r-v 1438 John Shirwodd of the parish of St. Helen (unspec.): 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 515v 1438 Margaret Horneby widow of the parish of St. Olave: 6d.

BIHR PR II 138v-139v 1444 Thomas Lyverton draper of the parish of St. Denys: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 154r-v 1444 John Sharpe tilemaker of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 121v 1445 William Leeston skinner of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR II 133v-134r 1446 Thomas Gryssyngham dyer of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR II 137v-138v 1446 William Revetour cleric chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 139v-140r 1446 William Lideyate cooper of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 261 1447 John Been senior carpenter of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d.

BIHR PR II 177r-v 1448 John Prynne butcher: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 213v-214r 1450 William Burgh of the parish of St. Andrew: 20s.

BIHR PR II 230v-231r 1451 Isabella Burgh widow of William of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: a bowl.

BIHR PR II 256 1452 William Wryght girdler of the parish of St. Michael (unspec.): 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 251r-352r 1453 Sir Alexander Nevile knight of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR II 342Av-343r 1455 Robert Lasynby parish clerk of the parish of St. Denys: 6d.

BIHR PR II 330v 1456 Thomas Sergeantson of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 20d.

BIHR PR II 363v 1458 John Chaloner chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 8d.

BIHR PR II 364r-v 1458 Thomas Danby alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 396v-397v 1459 John Asseby merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

BIHR PR II 417r 1459 Richard Wighton dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR II 484r 1461 Richard Wetwang rector of the parish of Stokesley in Cleveland: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 483r-v 1463 Thomas Covell vicar of the parish of St. Columba, Topcliff: 20d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Anthony Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR II 487r 487v-480r 1464 William Downham chantry chaplain of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 20d.

BIHR PR IV 265v 264r-1466 William Foxholes saddler of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 4d.

BIHR PR IV 70r-71r 1466 William Crosseby dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 43r-44r 1467 Alice Langwath of the parish of St. Andrew: a towel.

BIHR PR IV 86r 1472 John Croft pewterer of the parish of St. Sampson: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 204r-v 1473 William Rukshaw apothecary of the parish of St. Crux: 4d.

YML L2(4) 337r 1474 Alice Freman widow of the parish of : 12d.

BIHR PR IV 91r 1475 Robert Shirwyn pewterer of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 6d.

BIHR PR V 21v-22r 1476 John Norton baker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d.

BIHR PR V 189v-190r 1477 Richard Lewlyn tanner of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.

YML L2(4) 228r-v 1478 William Colyer chaplain of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.

YML L2(4) 339r 1478 William Rasebek stringer of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 8d.

BIHR PR V 126v-127r 1478 Alice Haxby widow tapiter of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 20d.

BIHR PR V 177r 1480 William Broune cooper: 8d.

BIHR PR V 50r-v 1481 John Towthorp butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 2s.

BIHR PR 72v 1482 John Byker vicar of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

BIHR PR V 68v 1482 William Rudby of the parish of St. Olave: 8d.

BIHR PR V 27v-28r 1482 Robert Thixendale clerk of the parish of St. Helen: 20d.

BIHR PR V 45r-v 1483 William Bukler tapiter of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 12d.

BIHR PR V 308r-v 01483 John Ince merchant of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 362r-363r 1485 Robert Fairbarne husbandman of the parish of Rockcliffe St. Michael: 12d.

YML L2(4) 369r 1486 Roger Barton parson in the Minster: 2s.

BIHR PR V 309v-310r 1487 John Cotes of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 320r-321r 1488 Marion Kent widow of John merchant of the parish of All Saint Pavement: 12d.

BIHR PR V 398r-399r 1488 John Tongue alderman of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 20d.

BIHR PR V 255v-356r 1489 Nicholas Vicars grocer of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 20d.

BIHR PR V 360v 1489 Richard Crocklyn fletcher of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 391r-392r 1491 Richard Wakefeilde chaplain of the parish of All Saints North Street: 2s.

BIHR PR V 425r-v 1493 John Broune founderer of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: a brass pot.

BIHR PR V 510r-v 1497 Richard Robynson butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

BIHR PR III 307 1498 John Hag of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 2d. each to gild torchbearers at his funeral and 6d. to the poor of the gild.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Anthony Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR VI 100r 1499 Richard Wyghtman of the parish of St. Sampson: 3s.4d. for the gild torches.

BIHR PR VI 56r 1503 John Kirkby vicar of the parish of St. George Fishergate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 71r-v 1503 Robert Preston glazier of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 4d.

YML L2(5)a 43r-v 1505 John Elward alderman of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 162v 1506 John Richardson of the parish of Sheriff Hutton: 6d.

YML L2(5)a 68r 1506 Thomas Bateman of the parish of St. John del Pyke: for gild torches at his funeral - no sum.

BIHR PR VI 170v-172r 1506 Richard Thornton alderman of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d. to St Anthony maison Dieu in Peaseholme 6s.4d. for the use of the Master and 20d. for St Anthony maison Dieu at Horsefair.

YML L2(5)a 92v 1507 John Laine organmaker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: gild torches at his funeral - no sum.

BIHR PR VIII 3r-v 1508 William Chymney Alderman draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 6s.8d.

YML L2(5)a 82r-83v 1509 Alison Clark widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VIII 32v-34r 1509 Sir John Gilliot alderman and knight of the parish of St. Saviour: 10s.

BIHR PR VIII 65v-66v 1510 William Barker baker of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d. to the gild poorfolk.

BIHR PR IX 158 1521 William Cook founderer of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 2s.

YML L2(5)a 151v-153r 1527 Thomas Mason baker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: torches to be carried at his funeral - no sum.

BIHR PR XI 147r 1535 John Beisbey alderman of the parish of St. Michael (unspec.): 20d.

BIHR PR XI 529r-v 1540 Rauf Pullay alderman goldsmith of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d to the beadfolk in the chapel of St. Anthony.

St. Augustine Gild of the Cordwainers

Probable friary gild sustained by cordwainers.

BIHR PR VI 221r 1506 Alice Clerk of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 121r 1520 Edward Wayde shoemaker of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 4d for the 4 torches of the keepers.

St. Christopher and St. Andrew Gild [?in St. Helen Stonegate]

This puzzling bequest might suggest a combined parish gild in St Helen. However the St. Christopher and St. Andrew dedication may record an early and otherwise unrecorded absorption of a St. Andrew Gild by the St. Christopher gild of York.

BIHR PR III 1399 16r-v Edmund de Balderstone chantry priest of the chantry of St. Michael in the parish church of St Helen Stonegate: 13s.4d. to the above gild in York.

GAZETTEER

St. Christopher and St. George Gild

Merger of gilds prior to 1466. Separate beqs to St George end 1490. Raine YCR 2 (YAS rs103, 1940) p.148, Hse Bk VIII f76: Master of St. Christopher and St. George to follow City Chamberlains in precedence. E White, "The St Christopher and St George Gild of York" Borthwick Paper No 72, 1987 : Essential history of the gild and its predecessors. Bequests to St. George end in 1490 but to St. Christopher in 1546. St. Christopher seems to have been the senior partner. For further details see separate entries.

BIHR PR IV 70r-71r 1466 William Crosseby dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IV 11r-v 1471 Thomas Astell chaplain of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: A 7tiltyard or fold between the door of St. George chapel Castlemills and the Ouse river on condition that the gild masters repair the river bank within three months of his decease.

BIHR PR IV 220r 1474 John Preston of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 12d.

BIHR PR V 157r 1476 William del Hill of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 40s.

BIHR PR V 113v-114r 1479 Alice Shirwod widow of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 2s.

BIHR PR V 151r 1479 Joan Halifield widow of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 2 silver spoons.

BIHR PR V 163v 1479 William Walles chaplain of the parish of St. Clement: 2s.

BIHR PR V 91v-92v 1479 John Semper dyer of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR V 221v-222r 1480 Robert Wystow chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s4d

BIHR PR 108r-v 1481 John Walker rector of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 12d.

BIHR PR V 237r-238r 1484 John Giliot Senior merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR 279v 1485 Thomas Baxter gild clerk of St. Christopher and St. George of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: no bequest.

BIHR PR V 311r-v 1487 John Marshall alderman merchant of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 20d.

BIHR PR V 327v-329r 1487 John Carre former mayor of the parish of St. Sampson: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 320r-321r 1488 Marion Kent widow of John merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 20d.

BIHR PR V 398r-399r 1488 John Tongue alderman of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 20d.

BIHR PR V 255v-356r 1489 Nicholas Vicars grocer of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 387v-388r 1490 Thomas Gylis chaplain of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill: 2s.

BIHR PR V 391r-392r 1491 Richard Wakefeilde chaplain of the parish of All Saints North Street: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR V 417v-418v 1491 John Feriby merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 20s.

BIHR PR III 307 1498 John Hag of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 2d. to each gild torchbearer at funeral and 6d. for the poor of the gild.

BIHR PR VI 59r-v 1503 Sir William Tode knight of the parish of St. Peter the Little: his fine "Salett" (helmet) to be used every St. George riding in the city.

BIHR PR VI 113v-114r 1504 William Cliveland vicar of the parish of Tadcaster: 2s.

BIHR PR VI 182v 1507 John Williamson chaplain of the parish of All Saints Peaseholme: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Christopher and St. George Gild (contd.)

YML L2(5)a 92v 1507 John Laine organmaker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: gild torches at his funeral - no sum.

BIHR PR VIII 32v-34r 1509 Sir John Gilliot alderman and knight of the parish of St. Saviour: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR VIII 65v-66v 1510 William Barker baker of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d. to the poor of the gild.

BIHR PR IX 65r 1517 Sir Robert Brown cleric priest of the parish of Heptonstall: 6s.8d.

YML L2(5)a 123v 1520 John Thomson merchant of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 3s.4d. to the gild chapel.

BIHR PR IX 305r-v 1525 William Nelson alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IX 435r 1529 Thomas Mason alderman of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR XI 12r-v 1529 Robert Roos esquire of the parish of South Dighton dated at York: 6s.4d.

BIHR PR XI 10v-11r 1532 Leonard Shaw merchant of the parish of St. Crux: 2 houses and ground to the gild to pay for annual obit and funeral expenses. In case of failure they revert to St. Crux steeple repairs. Bequest to St. Christopher maison dieu.

BIHR PR XI 147r 1535 John Beisbey alderman of the parish of St. Michael (unspec.): 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 269v-270 1486 Richard Kirketon chaplain of the parish of St. Saviour: 3s.4d. if the beadle attends his funeral.

BIHR PR IX 479r-v 1530 John Newbye baker of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 10s. for torches and priests at his funeral.

St. Christopher Gild

Cal Pat 19 Richard II Vol 5 p.716 1396 Licence founding gild. Cal Pat 19 Richard II Vol 5 p.711 1396 Licence to master or warden of St Christopher Gild to acquire land up to £20 p a for finding two chaplains for an annual obit for Queen Anne and for King after his death. Also to pray daily for King, Thomas Archbishop of York, Henry Earl of Northumberland while living and for souls after death.

CC1 1546 p.20-1, 82. : founded 12th March 19 RII (1396). Sustained a chantry in the Minster to pray for Richard II and Queen Anne, Thomas sometime Archbishop of York, Henry Earl of Northumberland and all Christian souls. Maintained common gildhall and various stone bridges and roadways in and around the city. Poor relief. First bequest however is earlier than foundation date : BIHR PR I 66r Richard Byrd tanner of AS Northstreet, 1394: Itē lego ffribš meis Gilde Sčī Xřofori Eboř iiijš. Cal of Papal Registers - Papal Letters Vol X 2 Nicholas V. 1448 At petition of St Christopher Gild York members who will not share burdens of membership, having means to do so, may not share privileges immunities, indulgences and grants from past popes.

BIHR PR I 66r 1394 Richard Byrd tanner of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 3s.

BIHR PR III 1398 Robert Marchall of the parish of St. Edward: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR III 41v-42r 1400 John de Stokton gentleman of the parish of St. Denys: 2s.

BIHR PR III 98v-99 1403 Thomas Copgrave tapiter of the parish of St. Denys: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 135 1403 William de Wygynton cutler: 2s.

BIHR PR III 106r-v 1404 Robert del Hoy of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.

BIHR PR III 219v 1404 Thomas Copyn smith of the parish of St. Denys: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Christopher Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR III 239v-240r 1405 William Henrison smith of the parish of St. Sampson: 3s.6d.

BIHR PR III 243r-v 1405 Juliana Hoy of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.

YML L2(4) 144r-v 1407 Agnes de Barneby wife of William carpenter of the parish of St. Michael le Belfry: 2s. and 12d. to each chaplain attending funeral.

BIHR PR III 277r-v 1407 Nicholas Chaloner of the parish of All Saints North Street: 2s. to master and brothers and reversion of a tenement in North Street for charitable purposes.

BIHR PR PR II 575r 1408 Alice de Whagen widow of William mercer of the parish of St. Crux: a large cup of maplewood and silver and 1lb. wax for obit.

BIHR PR II 583r 1408 William Thornton bower of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 148 1408 Robert Cotys of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 40d.

YML L2(4) 150v-151r 1409 William de Barneby of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 2s.

YML L2(4) 154v 1410 Hugh Grantham mason: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 166v-167v 1411 Robert Popilton merchant of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 167v 1414 Agnes Kelynkale widow Robert: her best bowl.

YML L2(4) 175v 1416 Margaret Soureby wife of Thomas founderer of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR 605v-606v 1418 William Muston fishmonger of the parish of St. Denys: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 199v-200r 1420 Elene Pykkall wife of Thomas: a napkin.

YML L2(4) 200r-v 1420 Roger Burton skinner: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 544r 1425 Peter Spofford skinner of the parish of St. Denys: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 505v 1426 Maria Lethely of the parish of St. Andrew: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 497 1426 William Semer saddler of the parish of St. Martin Coney Street: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 501v-502r 1426 John Clerk fishmonger of the parish of Holy Trinity Fossgate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 497r 1426 William Heseham clerk of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 2s.

BIHR PR II 604 1426 Isabella de Langwath widow of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings' Court: 6d.

BIHR PR II 505r 1427 Robert Hoton weaver of the parish of St. Andrew: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 515v 1427 John Baynbrigg potter of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 504r 1427 Agnes Newton fisher of the parish of St. Denys: 2s.

BIHR PR 518v-519r 1427 William Denby merchant of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 6s.8d. if torches are carried at his funeral.

BIHR PR II 568r-v 1429 Margaret Heseham widow of William of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 2s.

BIHR PR II 566r 1429 Richard Dunsford baker of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 660r-v 1429 Alice Poumfreyt widow of Roger skinner: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 640r-v 1430 Alice Upstall widow of Peter merchant of the parish of St. Martin Coney Street: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 605r-606v 1432 Nicholas Blakburn Senior merchant of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 2 torches to be carried at his funeral.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Christopher Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR II 601v-602r 1432 William Scoreburgh merchant of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 614v-615r 1432 Richard Hudson woolman of the parish of St. Sampson: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 350v 1433 John Wyman gentleman of the parish of Holy Trinity (unspec.): 20d. to his gildbrothers and sisters, 4d. to the beadle, a green hooded gown, a sword, a bowl and a ewer.

BIHR PR III 1433 Thomas Wederby of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 430v-431r 1434 Avicia Scorburch widow of William of the parish of St. Mary: 2s.4d.

YML L2(4) 238-239 1434 William Pelleson canon of the Minster: 20d. for prayers.

BIHR PR III 408r-409r 1435 William Barton skinner of the parish of St. Margaret: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 434r 1435 William Coupland plasterer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 5s.

BIHR PR III 428v 1435 Robert Fauconer merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 431r-432r 1435 Richard Knyght chandler of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 436r-v 1435 Robert Fereby of the parish of St. George: an uncovered silver piece.

BIHR PR III 503r-504v 1435 William Ormeshede alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 10s.

BIHR PR III 437r 1435 William Shipley draper of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 81v-82r 1436 Helen Dorham widow: 2s.

BIHR PR III 477v 1436 John Holgill cooper of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 489r 1437 Alice Cartwright widow of John of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 484r-v 1437 John Coke brazier of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 502r 1437 John Gascoigne merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 499r 1437 Agnes Drax widow of William of the parish of St. Crux: 2s.

BIHR PR III 517v-518r 1438 William Musseham draper of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 539r-v 1438 John Shirwodd of the parish of St. Helen (unspec.): 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 523v-524r 1438 Robert Gray draper of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 515v 1438 Margaret Horneby widow of the parish of St. Olave: 6d.

BIHR PR III 525v-526 1438 John Staynburn draper of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 5s.

BIHR PR III 530v-531r 1438 Thomas Cliffe merchant of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 2s.

BIHR PR III 533v 1438 William Freman mercer of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 1438 William Holgill of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 10s.

BIHR PR III 540v-541r 1438 Alan del Hill merchant of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 541v-542r 1438 Hugh Grymmesby mariner of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 12d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Christopher Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR III 548r 1438 Adam Middleton tailor of the parish of St. Peter Ripon: 12d.

BIHR PR III 552r 1438 Joanna Sharrow alias Freman widow of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR III 553r-v 1438 William Pillyng of the parish of Yarm: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 558r 1439 Agnes Kylburn of the parish of St. Mary (unspec.): 12d.

BIHR PR III 575r-v 1439 Robert Bolton of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 575v-576r 1439 Dom. Walter Buttirwych chaplain of the parish of St. John Baptist in the Market: 20d.

BIHR PR III 583v-584r 1439 Richard Torald esquire of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 10s.

BIHR PR III 586r 1439 Thomas Midelton of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR III 598r 1440 Thomas Spenser saddler of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 3s.4d. if torches are carried at his funeral and 12d. to the gild maisonndieu.

BIHR PR II 65v 1440 Thomas Blawfrontt of the parish of Yarm: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 23r 1441 John Whitgift saucemaker of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 17v-18r 1441 Alice Grymmesby widow of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: a silver spoon.

BIHR PR II 48v/49r 1441 Alice Samoure widow of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: a red ark (chest).

BIHR PR II 1441 Lord John Scrope of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 3s.4d. for carrying lights at his funeral.

BIHR PR II 34r-35r 1442 Thomas Kirke mercer of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 45v 1442 John Close goldsmith of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d. to the gild maisonndieu.

BIHR PR II 82r-v 1442 Robert Bilburgh chaplain of the parish of All Sainst North Street: 20d.

BIHR PR II 78r 1442 Thomas Turlose fisher: 8d.

BIHR PR II 41r-v 1442 Richard Staynton rector and chaplain of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 47v-48r 1442 Alexander Blenkinsop esquire: 20s.

BIHR PR II 71v-72v 1443 John Newton of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 61r-v 1443 Robert Ormyshede advocate of the parish of St. Michael in Carlisle: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 113r 1443 Henry Doncastre skinner of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 65v-66r 1443 Dom. Peter Trusbut chantry chaplain of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 69v-70r 1443 Henry Markett merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 78r 1444 John Bempton tanner of the parish of All Saints Pavement: bequeathed to his son a hood of the gild livery.

BIHR PR II 79v-80v 1444 Thomas Carr draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 10s.

BIHR PR II 90v-91r 1444 John Radclyff merchant of the parish of St. Crux: 7s.

BIHR PR II 138v-139v 1444 Thomas Lyverton draper of the parish of St. Denys: 3s.4d. and a dorsal of stained canvas, to be hung up when brothers and sisters gather on feast days to pray for the souls of testator and all faithful departed. To be shared equally with the Gild of St. Mary at the Abbey.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Christopher Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR II 121v 1445 William Leeston skinner of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR II 104v-105r 1445 Robert Kirketon merchant: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 126r 1446 John Turpyn Alderman dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 127r-v 1446 William Kyam merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 128v-129r 1446 William Gyslay: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 259r-v 1446 Richard Ulleskelfe parson of the parish of St. John del Pyke: 3s.

BIHR PR II 133v-134r 1446 Thomas Gryssyngham dyer of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR II 137v-138v 1446 William Revetour chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d. and a book of the play of St. James of six pageants.

BIHR PR II 152r 1446 William Hert tailor: 6d.

BIHR PR II 161r 1446 William Scuttard fishmonger of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 268v-269r 1447 Nicholas Watrer rector of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 153r-v 1447 William Marshall merchant of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 156v-157r 1447 Thomas Warde parish clerk of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 12d.

YML L2(4) 261 1447 John Been senior carpenter of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d.

BIHR PR II 163c 1447 Thomas Kendale draper of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 172v-173r 1448 Robert Strangeways esquire: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 177r-v 1448 John Prynse butcher: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 183r 1448 Roger del Hay of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 192r-193r 1449 John Preston ironmonger of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 195r 1449 Joanna Schipwyth widow of the parish of Friston: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 263r-v 1449 John Snawsell of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.

BIHR PR II 234r 1451 William Sokeburn of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR II 251v-252r 1452 Master John Bernyngham bachelor at law of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d.

BIHR PR II 252r-v 1452 John Lokwood of the parish of Broughton Parva in Cleveland: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 1453 Alice Midelton widow of the parish of St. Crux: 12d. to the fabric of the gild chapel.

BIHR PR II 296v-297v 1453 Alice Tubbat widow of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR II 251r-352r 1453 Sir Alexander Nevile knight of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 40s.

YML L2(4) 275r-v 1453 Cecilia Overdo widow of Thomas of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 2 silver spoons.

BIHR PR II 307v-308r 1454 John Estrik brasier of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 6d.

BIHR PR II 305r 1454 John Huet procurator general of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 3s.4d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Christopher Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR II 330v-331r 1455 Margaret Kirketon widow of the parish of St. Crux: poor men and women of gild house to be fed on day of funeral.

BIHR PR II 342Av-343r 1455 Robert Lasynby parish clerk of the parish of St. Denys: 6d.

BIHR PR II 336v 1456 Thomas Aleby gentleman of the parish of St. Augustine, Broghton: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 364r-v 1458 Thomas Danby alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IV 115v-116Bv 1458 Richard Wartre alderman and merchant of the parish of St. Saviour: £20 to mayor, city and St. Christopher Gild for building the Common Hall, if not complete at his death, otherwise to the city and the gild for best use on condition that the gild chaplain prays for his soul.

BIHR PR II 375r-376r 1458 Katherine Radclyff widow of John mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 381r-v 1458 William Rok plumber of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR II 443r 1458 William Houson of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 396v-397v 1459 John Asseby merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

BIHR PR II 402r-403v 1459 John Bell of the parish of St. Denys: 6d and after his wife's death his tenement in the cemetery of St. Denys church will revert to the gild which will pay 4d. annually to sustain a light in St Denys and pray for his soul.

BIHR PR II 595v-596r 1459 Matilda Danby wife of Thomas alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 414v-415r 1459 Richard Kepas chaplain of the parish of St. Saviour: 2s.

BIHR PR II 417r 1459 Richard Wighton dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 426v-427r 1460 Robert Ecop of the parish of St. Helen on the Walls: 20d.

YML L2(4) 293 1460 William Burne chaplain of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d.

BIHR PR II 438v-439v 1460 Thomas Curtas mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 451v-452v 1461 Thomas Barton alderman spicer of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 10s.

BIHR PR II 446r-v 1461 Roger Lasselles esquire: 12d.

BIHR PR II 484r 1461 and YML L2(4) 302r-v 1461 Richard Wetwang rector of the parish of Stokesley in Cleveland: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 465v 1462 Ellen Aleby widow of the parish of St. Mary in Guisborough: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 466v 1462 Marion Stokeslay of the parish of New Malton: 20d.

BIHR PR II 465v-466r 1462 Agnes Staneburn widow of John of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 301r-v 1462 John Haliday gentleman of the parish of St. Paul Heslington: 1s.

BIHR PR II 478r-479r 1463 John Adamson dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR II 483r-v 1463 Thomas Covell vicar of the parish of St. Columba, Topcliff: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 589r-v 1463 John Marton alderman of the parish of St. Andrew: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 485r-v 1463 William Touthorp butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 592v 1463 Thomas Hundmanby spicer of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Christopher Gild (contd.)

YML L2(4) 307v-308r 1464 William Haxby tanner of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IV 247r-v 1464 John Dykson of the parish of St. Edward Walmgate in the Suburbs: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 263v-266r 1464 William Langton presbyter of the parish of St. Michael (unspec.): 40s.

BIHR PR II 491v III 300r 1465 Richard Hamerton rector of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 100v 1467 Robert Est of the parish of All Saints Peasholme: a vestment of red worsted having in its orphrey a crucifixion etc.

BIHR PR IV 28r-v 1467 John York cleric chaplain of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 153r 1468 William Wybsay gentleman of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 20s.

BIHR PR IV 149v-150r 1468 Thomas Spawde chaplain of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 131v 1469 John Rudd butcher of the parish of St. Crux: 4d.

BIHR PR IV 141v 1469 Henry Mone rector of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 156r 1469 William Croft pinner of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

YML L2(4) 323v-324 1470 Isabella Saxton widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 156v 1471 Richard Langton clerk: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IV 95r 1471 William Clyvland draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 20d.

BIHR PR 159v-160r 1471 John Sclater chaplain of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 6d.

YML L2(4) 325r-v 1471 Robert Gillesland vicar choral in the Minster: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 1472 Richard Lassells gentleman of the parish of Sowerby: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IV 86r 1472 John Croft pewterer of the parish of St. Sampson: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 118r-v 1473 John Shirwod town clerk: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR 196v-197r 1473 John Newall girdler of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 128r 1474 William Wanton of the parish of Fangfoss: 12d.

BIHR PR 107v 1474 William Ouresby brewer of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 211r-v 1474 Hugh Goodrich parson of the parish of Escrick: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 10v 1474 Thomas Ledys of the parish of St. Wilfrid collegiate church Ripon: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 223r 1474 Robert Harwod fletcher of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: his best bowl.

BIHR PR 96r 1475 William Jakson chaplain of the parish of St. Clement: 12d.

BIHR PR V 189v-180r 1477 Richard Lewlyn tanner of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.

BIHR PR V 16r 1477 John Benyngton cleric chaplain of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR V 177v-178r 1478 Agnes Dykson widow of the parish of St. Edward extra Walmgate: 6d.

YML L2(4) 338r-v 1478 William Colyer chaplain of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.

YML L2(4) 339r 1478 William Rasebek stringer of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.

BIHR PR V 126v-127r 1478 Alice Haxby widow tapiter of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 20d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Christopher Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR V 155v/YML L2(4) 243r 1479 Thomas Pynchebeck parson in the Minster: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 345v 1480 John Burn chaplain and parson in Minster: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 177r 1480 Richard Parke fishmonger of the parish of St. Denys: 3s.

BIHR PR V 252v-253v 1480 Master William Lambert vicar of the parish of Gayneford and master of Staindrop College: 10s.

BIHR PR V 63r 1482 John Tesedale tapiter of the parish of St. Saviour: 12d.

BIHR PR V 27v-28r 1482 Robert Thixendale clerk of the parish of St. Helen: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 30r 1482 John Preston vicar of the parish of Rothewell: 2s.

BIHR PR V 38v-39v 1482 Joan Gillyot widow of the parish of St. Crux: 8d.

BIHR PR V 308r-v 1483 John Ince merchant of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR 275v-276v 1483 William Warde draper of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 12d.

YML L2(4) 362r-363r 1485 Robert Fairbarne husbandman of the parish of St. Michael Rockcliffe: 20d.

YML L2(4) 369r 1486 Roger Barton parson in the Minster: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 298v 1487 John Grenefeld chaplain of the parish of St. Crux: 6d.

BIHR PR V 309v-310r 1487 John Cotes of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 360v 1489 Richard Crocklyn fletcher of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 2s.

BIHR PR V 372r-v 1490 John Smerte Senior rector of the parish of Leconfield: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 415v-417v 1490 Master Thomas Pereson subdeacon of the Minster and rector of the parish of Bolton Percy: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 375v-376r 1491 Thomas Symson parson of the parish of St. John del Pyke: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 377v-378r 1492 John Tanfield vicar choral in the Minster: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 298v-299r 1494 Thomas Kirkeham rector of the parish of Burnsall in Craven: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 446r-v 1494 James Clapeham Master of the College of Holy Trinity in the parish of Pontefract: 20s.

YML L2(5)a 7v 1494 Thomas Eston chaplain of St. Christopher chantry in the Minster: to the St. Christopher altar a missal worth 100s. and a green vestment worth 30s.4d.

BIHR PR V 456r 1494 John Pape of the parish of New Malton: 12d.

BIHR PR V 495r-v 1496 Thomas Sage of the parish of St. Mary Scarborough: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 509r 1497 Robert Kirke of the parish of St. Maurice: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 19r 1501 William Gylling chaplain of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 20d.

BIHR PR VI 71r-v 1503 Robert Preston glazier of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 131r-v 1504 Thomas Roclyfe gentleman: 6s.8d.

YML L2(5)a 43r-v 1505 John Elward alderman of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR VI 229v 1506 John Sanderson fishmonger of the parish of St. Denys: 20d for torches at his funeral.

BIHR PR VI 187r 1507 William Brigham chaplain of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR VII 26v-28v 1507 John Jameson alderman and merchant of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 13s.4d. for the images of St. Christopher and St. George.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Christopher Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR VIII 3r-v 1508 William Chymney alderman draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR VIII 88v 1511 Gilbert Legerdown chaplain of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 38r-39r 1516 Richard Peke gentleman of the parish of All Saints Wakefield: 20d for a mass.

BIHR PR IX 33v 1516 Sir John Bollyng priest of the parish of St. Saviour: to the gild beadle for his torches as the custom is.

BIHR PR IX 138v-139r 1521 John Butterfeld innholder of the parish of St. Crux: reversion of a garth in Fossgate after wife's death for prayers.

BIHR PR IX 383r-v 1527 John Rasing Alderman merchant of the parish of St. Sampson: will witnessed by Ralph Sympson master of St. Christopher.

BIHR PR IX 448r 1529 Thomas Drawswerde alderman of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: reversion after wife's death of 2 tenements in Jubbergate and Feasgate for ever for an annual obit. In case of failure they revert to Corpus Christi Gild.

BIHR PR XI 155v-156r 1532 John Lamaman of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: 8 torches of the gild to be born before him at funeral.

BIHR PR XI 529r-v 1540 Rauf Pullay alderman goldsmith of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d. to bedefolk in gild chapel.

BIHR PR XI 656r 1543 Adam Atkinson tanner of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 4d. to the poor folk of the gild.

BIHR PR III 591r-v 1439 William Hovyngham butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 20d.

BIHR PR II 342r 1451 Richard Wright chapman of the parish of St. Denys: 8d.

St. Francis Gild

This is probably a gild of the Franciscan Friary which may have absorbed the St. Mary Gild in the same friary: see St. Mary and St. Francis Gild, St. Mary Gild in the Franciscan Friary.

BIHR PR II 537v-538r 1428 John Stele litster of the parish of St. John Ousebridgeend: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 546 1429 Robert Mowbray: 5s.

BIHR PR II 1429 Anicia Welles widow of Richard chandler of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 2s.

BIHR PR II 660r-v 1429 Alice Poumfreyt widow of Roger skinner: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 575v-576r 1439 Dom Walter Buttirwych chaplain of the parish of St. John Baptist in the Market: 12d.

BIHR PR II 272r-v 1453 Richard Spencer of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 12d.

St. George Gild

Cal Pat Henry VI Vol 6 p.80-81 1447: Licence to found the St George Gild of York with a master and eight wardens. May also "collate" a chaplain in chapel of St George by the castle which has been "long desolate".

CC1 1546 p.82.: Founded by letters patent of Henry VI on 29th May, 1447. The first bequest is much earlier than this, in 1394.

E White, "The St Christopher and St George Gild of York" Borthwick Paper No 72, 1987: Essential history of both gilds. Based in chapel of St George next the castle. Annual procession and drama of St George and the Dragon.

Absorbed by St Christopher Gild: First joint bequest: BIHR PR IV 70r-71r 1466

William Crosseby dyer of St John Ousebridge. Last separate bequest to St George:

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. George Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR II 478r-479r 1463 John Adamson dyer of St John Ousebridge. Last joint bequest 1535.

BIHR PR I 74v 1394 Agnes de Neuland widow of John furbisher of the parish of St. John Micklegate: reversion of tenement in Fishergate to the newly-founded Gild for the brothers to make an annual obit.

BIHR PR I 81v 1395 Isolda de Acaster widow John de Mercer of the parish of All Saints Ousegate: 20s.

BIHR PR IIa 3v 1397 Richard de Shyrburn mason: 20s.

BIHR PR III 1404 Walter Berghe: a leather hanging written with the name of Jesus and a blue altar cloth.

BIHR PR III 262v-263r 1407 Bernard de Euerton chaplain of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 5s.

BIHR PR II 501v-502r 1426 John Clerk fishmonger of the parish of Holy Trinity Fossegate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR 523r 1427 John de Man of the parish of St. Margaret Walmgate: 20d.

BIHR PR II 504r 1427 Agnes Newton fisher of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR II 527 1427 John Dulkan chaplain of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 530v 1428 John Arkenden tiler of the parish of St. Edward in Suburbs: 12d.

BIHR PR II 609v 1432 John Hauslyn baker of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 40d.

BIHR PR III 350v 1433 John Wyman gentleman of the parish of Holy Trinity (unspec.): 20d. to the brothers and sisters and 2d. to the beadle.

BIHR PR III 431r-432r 1435 Richard Knyght chandler of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 484r-v 1437 John Coke brazier of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 78r 1442 Thomas Turlose fisher: 8d.

BIHR PR II 138v-139v 1444 Thomas Lyverton draper of the parish of St. Denys: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 127r-v 1446 William Kyam merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 133v-134r 1446 Thomas Gryssyngham dyer of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR II 167r-v 1448 John Roger glover of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 232v-233r 1451 Richard Penreth of the parish of St. Crux: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR II 234r 1451 William Sokeburn of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR II 342r 1451 Richard Wright chapman of the parish of St. Denys: 6d.

BIHR PR II 272r-v 1453 Richard Spencer of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 12d.

BIHR PR II 342Av-343r 1455 Robert Lasynby parish clerk of the parish of St. Denys: 4d.

BIHR PR II 443r 1458 William Houson of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 417r 1459 Richard Wighton dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR II 478r-479r 1463 John Adamson dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

St. John the Baptist Gild in St. Denys

Parish gild.

BIHR PR I 6v 1390 Cecile Marshall Widow of the parish of St. Denys: 6s.8d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. John the Baptist Gild in St. John Hungate

Parish gild.

BIHR PR II 235r-v 1449 John Witton chaplain of the parish of St. John Hungate: 12d.

St. John the Baptist Gild of the Tailors

PRO C47/46/455: 1389 gild return: to cherish brotherly love. Yearly mass for living and dead. 7d. per week for members in poverty. No property. Ordinance re settlement of disputes. Not identified at this point as a tailors' gild.

However, John de Suenhaus, tailor, 1386: Itm lego Fratribus Gilde sissor Sancti Johannis xs. Whilst associated with tailors not all members were concerned with textile trades.

Cal Pat Henry VI Vol 6 p.105 1453: Licence to 15 tailors of York to incorporate a gild of St John the Baptist replacing that of the mystery which has existed for 300 year past which maintained a chaplain and poor persons of the mystery but can no longer do so. New incorporation of master and four wardens with brothers and sisters. Can own land of up to 100s. per annum for a chaplain who is to pray for King and Queen Margaret and to maintain poor. Livery allowed. All tailors to obey officials of new gild.

YCA L2(4) 84v 1386 John de Seuenhaus tailor of the parish of St. Michael le Belfry: 10s.

BIHR PR III 244v-245r 1406 Alan de Hamerton mercer of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 20s.

BIHR PR II 525r-v 1425 William Newland draper of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 660r-v 1429 Richard Vender spicer of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 408r-409r 1435 William Barton skinner of the parish of St. Margaret: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 503r-504v 1435 William Ormeshede alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 10s.

BIHR PR II 79v-80v 1444 Thomas Carr draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 10s.

BIHR PR II 116r-v 1445 John Hull tailor of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 140r-v 1446 John Loncaster tailor of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 192r-193r 1449 John Preston ironmonger of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 315v-316r 1452 Robert Belton apothecary of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 12d.

BIHR PR II 402r-403v 1459 John Bell of the parish of St. Denys: 4d.

BIHR PR II 426v-427r 1460 Robert Ecop of the parish of St. Helen on the Walls: 20d.

BIHR PR II 478r-479r 1463 John Adamson dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 2s.

BIHR PR II 592v 1463 Thomas Hundmanby spicer of the parish of St. Crux: 6d.

BIHR PR IV 70r-71r 1466 William Crosseby dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 43r-44r 1467 Alice Langwath unmarried of the parish of St. Andrew (unspec.): a basin.

BIHR PR IV 241r-v 1467 Robert Duffeld tailor of the parish of St. Denys: 20d.

BIHR PR IV 153r 1468 William Wybsay gentleman of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 20d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. John the Baptist Guild of the Tailors (contd.)

BIHR PR IV 149v-150r 1468 Thomas Spawde chaplain of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d.

YML L2(4) 323v-324 1470 Isabella Saxton widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 86r 1472 John Croft pewterer of the parish of St. Sampson: 12d.

BIHR PR V 91v-92v 1479 John Semper dyer of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR V 71v 1482 Thomas Thirske tailor of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 38v-39v 1482 Joan Gillyot widow of the parish of St. Crux: 6d.

BIHR PR V 46r-v 1483 William Letwyn tailor of the parish of St. Denys Walmgate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 309v-310r 1487 John Cotes of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 327v-329r 1487 John Carre former mayor of the parish of St. Sampson: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR III 320r-321r 1488 Marion Kent widow of John merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 20d.

BIHR PR V 372r-v 1490 John Smerte Senior rector of the parish of Leconfield: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR V 391r-392r 1491 Richard Wakefeilde chaplain of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR V 438v 1493 William Akers of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 12d.

BIHR PR V 463v-464r 1494 James Lannesdale tailor: a tenement with a croft outside Micklegate in the suburbs on condition that the gild presbyter says masses etc. for his soul.

BIHR PR VI 15v 1501 Edward Foster draper of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

YML L2(5)a 45v 1505 William Beene tailor of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 2s.

BIHR PR VI 206v-207r 1505 Emmotte Storme widow of the parish of All Saints Pavement: her best cushion but one.

BIHR PR VIII 3r-v 1508 William Chymney alderman draper of the parish of St. Sampson: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR VIII 32v-34r 1509 Sir John Gilliot alderman and knight of the parish of St. Saviour: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IX 195v 1521 Thomas Bankus former mayor draper of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 3s.6d.

BIHR PR IX 479r-v 1530 John Newbye barker of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: gild priests and torches to attend funeral.

BIHR PR XI 185r 1536 Thomas Lame tailor: a brass pot.

YML L2(5)a 184v 1539 William Thompson glazier of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 3s.4d.

YML L2(5)a 199r-200r 1541 John Litster draper of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: reversion of 3 tenements in All Saints Pavement parish to the master and 4 wardens of the gild worth 20s. per annum to pay for an annual obit. Any surplus to go to the gild.

YML DC III 16r-v 1546 Agnes Thomson widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d. and 1d. to each torchbearer at her funeral.

St. Katherine Guild in St. Denys

Parish gild.

BIHR PR VI 89v 1503 Alice Blewett widow of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 229v 1506 John Sanderson fishmonger of the parish of St. Denys: 20d.

York (contd.)

St. Katherine Guild of the Austin Friars

This friary gild is probably identical with St. Katherine Guild (unspec.) and the two are listed together. The following wills make reference to the unspecified St. Katherine Guild: Wakefeld, Saxton, Broune, Home, Burton.

YML L2(4) 172r 1414 Robert Wakefeld glazier of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 12s.

BIHR PR II 128v-129r 1446 William Gyslay: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 417r 1459 Richard Wighton dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR II 485r-v 1463 William Touthorp butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 43r-44r 1467 Alice Langwath of the parish of St. Andrew: a bowl.

YML L2(4) 323v-324 1470 Isabella Saxton widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 8d.

BIHR PR V 177r 1480 William Broune cooper: 4d.

BIHR PR VIII 62r-v 1508 Ranald Home of the parish of St. Margaret: 12d.

YML L2(5)a 82r-83v 1509 Alison Clark widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR XI 249r 1537 John of Burton gentleman and city macebearer of the parish of St. Martin (unspec.): torches

St. Martin and St. Anthony Guild

This may represent a stage in the absorption of the St. Mary and St. Martin Guild by that of St. Anthony.

BIHR PR II 192r-193r 1449 John Preston ironmonger of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR IV 96r 1475 William Jakson chaplain of the parish of St. Clement: 6d.

St. Martin Guild

CC2 p.560. Cal Pat 24 Henry VI, 1446. Foundation of Guild of St Martin or St Mary and St Martin. To build chapel at messuage called Hiknas or Haknas in city. To pray for souls of King and Queen. Forbidden to venerate St. Anthony without permission of the London gild. Raine *Medieval York* p.93-4: united gild of St Anthony and St. Mary to be styled St Martin in 1446 - but the name of St Anthony was retained in practice. See the entry for St. Mary and St. Martin. Testamentary evidence suggests the actual merger was later than 1446, the date that Raine suggests.

BIHR PR II 342r 1451 Richard Wright chapman of the parish of St. Denys: 2s.

St. Mary and St. Anthony Guild

Probably a stage in the absorption of the Guild of St. Mary and St. Martin by that of St. Anthony, see entries for St. Anthony, St. Martin Gilds.

BIHR PR VI 206v-207r 1473 Roger Wright smith of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d.

St. Mary and St. Austin Guild

The dedication suggests a connection with the friary, although this could be a parish gild of St John del Pike.

BIHR PR VIII 26v-27r 1509 Richard Rawlyn of the parish of St. John del Pike: 16d. to the 16 men bearing gild torches at his funeral and 4d. to the beadle.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Mary and St. Francis Guild

This may be an amalgamation of the Gilds of St. Mary of the Minorites and St. Francis. The will regards it as one gild. However there is a bequest to St. Francis Gild alone as late as 1453.

BIHR PR II 660r-v 1429 Richard Vender spicer of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 3s.4d.

St. Mary and St. Martin Guild

Absorbed by St Anthony Gild between 1460 and 1494 - see entries for St. Anthony, St. Martin Gilds.

BIHR PR II 266v-267r 1450 Adam Chandler alias Terbuk chandler of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 236r-v 1451 John Wery skinner of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR II 314 1452 Joanna Ripon widow: a gilded and decorated mazer.

BIHR PR II 315v-316r 1452 Robert Belton apothecary of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 12d.

BIHR PR II 251v-252r 1452 Master John Bernyngam bachelor at law of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 20d.

BIHR PR II 272r-v 1453 Richard Spencer of the parish of St. Mary Castlegate: 12d.

BIHR PR II 290v-291r 1454 Joanna Topcliff widow of the parish of St. Crux: 6d.

BIHR PR II 307v-308r 1454 John Estrik brasier of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 12d.

BIHR PR II 305r 1454 John Huet archbishop's procurator general of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 312r-v 1455 John Watton weaver of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 20d.

BIHR PR II 328v 1455 Alice Clubruk widow of Richard of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 12d. for the building of the gild house.

BIHR PR II 343v-344r 1456 Robert Helperby of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 381r-v 1458 William Rok plumber of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR II 595v-596r 1459 Matilda Danby wife of Thomas alderman of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 442r-v 1460 John Gudale mercer of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

BIHR PR II 438v-439v 1460 Thomas Curtas mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 485r-v 1463 William Touthorp butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 141v 1469 Henry Mone rector of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 12d.

BIHR PR 323v-324r 1470 Isabella Saxton widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 107v 1474 William Ouresby brewer of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 298v-299r 1494 Thomas Kirkeham rector of the parish of Burnsall in Craven: 3s.4d.

St. Mary Gild

Unspecified.

YML L2(4) 325r-v 1471 Robert Gillesland vicar choral of the Minster: 12d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Mary Gild at the Abbey

Associated with the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary's. Possibly identical with St Mary Gild in St Olave. Raine, *Medieval York* pp.266-7 : Gild sited in chapel by the Abbey gate in Marygate near St Olave.

YML L2(4) 200r-v 1420 Roger Burton skinner: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 530v 1428 John Arkenden tiler of the parish of St. Edward in Suburbs: 12d.

BIHR PR II 537v-538r 1428 John Stele litster of the parish of St. John Ousebridgeend: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 229v 1429 William Tollerston spicer of the parish of St. Sepulcre: 2s.6d.

BIHR PR II 666v 1430 William Kychyn: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 642v 1431 Wiliam Grenehude bower of Marygate: 2s.6d.

BIHR PR III 1436 John Dobson haresterr of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 12d.

BIHR PR III 539r-v 1438 John Shirwodd of the parish of St. Helen (unspec.): 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 515v 1438 Margaret Horneby widow of the parish of St. Olave: 6d.

BIHR PR III 1438 Thomas Harrald vicar of the parish of Overton: 6s.8d. a portable breviary in 2 volumes for the use of the chapel and a chalice.

BIHR PR III 520r 1438 Thomas Judson of the parish of St. Olave: 12s.

BIHR PR III 558r 1439 Agnes Kylburn of the parish of St. Mary (unspec.): 4d.

BIHR PR III 560v-561r 1439 John Lenge saucemaker of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR III 575v-576r 1439 Dom. Walter Buttirwych chaplain of the parish of St. John Baptist Hungate: 12d.

BIHR PR III 591r-v 1439 William Hovyngnam butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 20d.

BIHR PR III 597v 1440 Isabella Melton of the parish of St. Maurice: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 26v 1440 Joanna Hovyngnam widow of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 48v-49r 1441 Alice Samoure widow of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: silverware - 6 dishes, platters and a salter.

BIHR PR II 58v-59v 1443 Nicholas Usflete alderman merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 255v 1444 Agnes Kirkeby widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 2s.

BIHR PR II 91v-92r 1444 Alice Chaffer widow of the parish of St. Sampson: her best plate.

BIHR PR II 138v-139v 1444 Thomas Lyverton draper of the parish of St. Denys: a dorsal of stained canvas, to be hung up when brothers and sisters gather on feast days to pray for soul of testator and all faithful departed, to be shared equally with St. Christopher Gild.

YML L2(4) 259r-v 1446 Richard Ulleskelfe parson of the parish of St. John del Pyke: 3s.

BIHR PR II 140r 1446 Nicholas Kirkby of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.

BIHR PR II 197v 1449 Richard Thurkilby mason of the parish of Clifton: a torch to the value of 5s.

BIHR PR II 266v-267r 1450 Adam Chandler alias Terbuk Chandler of the parish of St. Crux: 20d. for the fabric of the chapel.

BIHR PR II 417r 1459 Richard Wighton dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d. for the light of St. Mary in the chapel.

BIHR PR II 485r-v 1463 William Touthorp butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 2s.6d.

BIHR PR IV 10r 1474 Hugh Goodrich parson of the parish of Escrick: 3s.4d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Mary Gild at the Abbey (contd.)

- BIHR PR V 126r 1478 Robert Plumpton of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.4d.
YML L2(4) 341v-342r 1479 John Haxby of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d.
BIHR PR V 151r-v 1479 Margaret Plumpton of the parish of St. Olave: 20d.
BIHR PR 71r-v 1480 Richard Warsdale barber of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.
YML L2(4) 353v-354r 1482 Thomas Kirkby of the parish of Clifton St. Mary Magdelene Chapel: 2s.
BIHR PR V 68v 1482 William Rudby of the parish of St. Olave: 2s.
BIHR PR V 27r-v 1482 Ralph Stag servant to the Abbot of St. Mary's of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.
BIHR PR V35r 1482 Isabella Lewlyn widow of the parish of St. Olave: 6s.8d. and silver beads.
BIHR PR V 211r 1483 Robert Medilton of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.4d.
BIHR PR V 259v 1485 William Bank of the parish of St. Olave: his best copper bowl.
BIHR PR V 273 1485 Laurence Yole mason of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.
BIHR PR V 286r-v 1485 Thomas Tate husbandman of the parish of St. Olave: 12d.
YML L2(4) 362r-363r 1485 Robert Fairbarne husbandman of the parish of Rockcliffe St. Michael: 20d.
BIHR PR V 309v-310r 1487 John Cotes of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.4d.

St. Mary Gild in All Saints Pavement

Parish gild.

- BIHR PR V 260v-261r 1485 Thomas Kendale of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d.
BIHR PR VIII 117r 1512 Ralph Close merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 12d. to the master and prefect of the gild.

St. Mary Gild in Fossgate (also known as Jesus and St. Mary)

- Cal Pat 31 Edward III Vol 10 pp.518-9: 1357 Foundation by 14 names of a gild of Jesus and St Mary in York. To elect a master. Allowed property of up to £40 annual rental. To find chaplains to celebrate mass at St. Crux and at other places in the city for King, Queen Phillipa and Prince Edward. To perform acts of piety.
Cal Pat 32 Edward III Vol 11 pp.227-8: 1358: licence for alienation in mortmain of messuage worth 10s. in rent to gild and 1359: similar licence for 2 messuages and a toft worth 6s.8d.
Built what is now known as Merchant Adventurers' Hall c1360 as a hospital. Feast on Assumption day. Hall in possession of Mercers by 1420. Some connection with St. Crux. See entry for Holy Trinity Fossgate.
YCA L2(4) 45-45v 1365 Emma Huntington widow of William de apothecary of the parish of St. Wilfrid: 20s.

St. Mary Gild in St Andrew Fishergate

Parish gild which was probably connected with the Gilbertine Priory.

- BIHR PR II 529r 1428 William Gaynesby of the parish of St. Andrew outside the walls: 6s.8d.

St. Mary Gild in St. Helen Stonegate

Parish gild.

- BIHR PR V 117r 1478 Emmot Barbor of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 2s.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Mary Gild in St. Laurence

Parish gild.

BIHR PR III 111r 1404 Thomas Telar of the parish of St. Laurence: 18d.

St. Mary Gild in St. Margaret

Parish gild: BIHR Y/Marg 36: Parish Records of St Margaret, Walmgate. Account Roll of the Wardens (Custodes) of the Gild of St. Mary, 1397: from 21st August. Scrap of parchment with account on both r and v.

St. Mary Gild in St. Mary Bishophill Senior

Possible parish gild or alternatively a reference to St. Mary at the Abbey.

BIHR PR II 251r-352r 1453 Sir Alexander Nevile knight of the parish of St. Mary Bishophill Senior: 13s.4d. to St. Mary Gild.

St. Mary Gild in St. Michael le Belfrey

Parish gild.

YML L2(4) 367v 1486 Thomas Rowson baker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 12d.

YML L2(5)a 43r-v 1505 John Elward alderman of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR VII 52r-53v 1508 Maude Hancoke widow alderman Robert grocer of the parish of St. Michael Spurriergate: 6s.8d.

YML L2(5)a 82r-83v 1509 Alison Clark widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 6s.8d.

St. Mary Gild in St. Nicholas Micklegate

Parish gild of church adjoining Holy Trinity Priory (alien Benedictines).

BIHR PR V 285r 1486 John Pattan of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 12d.

St. Mary Gild in St. Olave

Probably identical with St. Mary at the Abbey. If not, the gild would be sited in the church rather than the abbey gatehouse.

BIHR PR III 409r-v 1434 Celia Wymondswald widow of William esquire of the parish of St. Sampson: 3s.

St. Mary Gild in the Carmelite Friary sustained by the Cordwainers

Friary gild sustained by shoemakers at least by 1444 (see bequest of John Marton), who maintained a gild lamp (see bequest of Helen Hekke 1487).

BIHR PR III 88r-v 1402 William Byrgrefe Cordwainer of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR PR II 575r 1408 Alice de Whagen widow William mercer of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.8d.

YML L2(4) 166v-167v 1411 Robert Popilton merchant of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 428 1435 Thomas Pudesay fishmonger of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR III 1438 Thomas Roucliffe cook of the parish of St. Michael Belfrey: 6d.

BIHR PR III 544r 1438 John Skynner brewer of the parish of St. Crux: 8d.

BIHR PR III 600r-v 1440 Thomas Carlile tailor of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d. for an altar cloth in the chapel.

BIHR PR II 80v 1444 John Symond plasterer: 8d.

BIHR PR II 212v-213r 1444 John Brokett butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 10d.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Mary Gild in the Carmelite Friary sustained by the Cordwainers (contd.)

BIHR PR II 93v-94v 1444 John Marton cordwainer of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d. to the gild of St. Mary sustained by cordwainers.

BIHR PR II 127r-v 1446 William Kyam merchant of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

YML L2(4) 259r-v 1446 Richard Ulleskelfe parson of the parish of St. John del Pyke: 3s.

BIHR PR II 183r 1448 Roger del Hay of the parish of St. Helen Stonegate: 20d.

BIHR PR II 266v-267r 1450 Adam Chandler alias Terbuk chandler of the parish of St. Crux: 6d.

BIHR PR II 381r-v 1458 William Rok plumber of the parish of St. Crux: 12d.

BIHR PR II 485r-v 1463 William Touthorp butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 3s.

BIHR PR II 592v 1463 Thomas Hundmanby spicer of the parish of St. Crux: 6s.

BIHR PR IV 70r-71r 1466 William Crosseby dyer of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 204r 1473 William Rukshaw apothecary of the parish of St. Crux: 6d.

BIHR PR V 21v-22r 1476 John Norton baker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d.

YML L2(4) 339r 1478 William Rasebek stringer of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 4d.

YML L2(4) 339r-v 1478 William Paynot shoemaker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 20d.

BIHR PR V 50r 1481 John Towthorp butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Goodramgate: 2s.

BIHR PR V 38v-39v 1482 Joan Gillyot widow of the parish of St. Crux: 6d.

YML L2(4) 367v 1486 Thomas Rowson baker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 2s.

BIHR PR V 325 1487 William Lounesdale tanner of the parish of All Saints North Street: 6d.

YML L2(4) 368v-369r 1487 Helen Hekke of the parish of St. Martin Coney Street: 20d. to the gild light of the cordwainers in the friary.

BIHR PR V 510r-v 1497 Richard Robynson butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

BIHR PR VI 221r 1506 Alice Clerk widow? of the parish of Holy Trinity Micklegate: 3s.4d.

YML L2(5)a 151v-153r 1527 Thomas Mason baker of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: the torches to be carried at his funeral.

St. Mary Gild of the Friars Minors

A gild of the Franciscan Friary.

YML L2(4) 194r-v 1420 Thomas Rygton of the parish of St. Andrew: 18d. to the fraternity of St. Mary in the conventual church.

St. Mary Gild of the Skinners in St. Giles

A craft related gild sustained in the chapel of St. Giles in Gillygate owned by St. Mary's Abbey.

BIHR PR III 408r-409r 1435 William Barton skinner of the parish of St. Margaret: 3s.4d. to the gild light.

BIHR PR II 81v-82r 1436 Helen Dorham widow: 20d.

BIHR PR III 511r 1438 Robert Dote tailor of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: 2s.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Mary Gild of the Skinners in St. Giles (contd.)

BIHR PR II 45r 1442 John Northfolk skinner of the parish of St. Martin Coneystreet: the remainder of the torches that the gild should carry at his funeral.

BIHR PR II 121v 1445 William Leeston skinner of the parish of St. Crux: 20d.

St. Mary Gild of the Weavers

A craft related gild, possibly that incorporated by charter in 1346 YCA YMB A/Y f.142. Ordinances of 1400, *ibid.*, ff.143, have few religious provisions. Location of chapel, if any, is unknown - but see bequest of William Percy, 1429.

BIHR PR III 228v-30r 1406 Agnes Hulott widow of Thomas litster of the parish of St. John Ousebridge: 10s.

BIHR PR III 244v-245r 1406 Alan de Hamerton mercer of the parish of St. Peter the Little: 20s.

YML L2(4) 165v 1412 William Hull weaver: 20s.

YML L2(4) 164v 1413 Thomas Catton weaver of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 6s.8d.

BIHR PR II 586v 1429 William Percy weaver of the parish of St. Saviour: 3s.4d. for a trenal as use and custom provides.

BIHR PR III 487v-490r 1436 Thomas Bracebrigg merchant of the parish of St. Saviour: 20s.

BIHR PR III 483r-v 1437 William Beverley weaver of the parish of St. Crux: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR II 312r-v 1455 John Watton weaver of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d.

BIHR PR IV 256r 1475 William Holme weaver of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 13s.4d.

BIHR PR V 151r-v 1479 Margaret Plumpton of the parish of St. Olave: 3s.

BIHR PR V 424r 1492 John Kendale weaver of the parish of St. Sampson: 12d.

BIHR PR IX 394r 1528 William Robynson weaver of the parish of All Saints Pavement: 3s.4d. to the master of the weavers and the gild stock.

St. Mary Magdalene Gild

Little can be discovered of this gild. Both bequests are coupled with similar bequests to the St. Katherine Gild which might have absorbed the gild.

BIHR PR V 177r 1480 William Broune cooper: 4d.

BIHR PR XI 249r 1537 John of Burton gentleman and city macebearer of the parish of St. Martin (unspec.): the gild torches to go before him.

St. Mary, St. Martin and St. Anthony Gild

A stage in the merger of the St. Mary and St. Martin Gild with that of St. Anthony. See entries for St. Anthony, St. Martin, St. Mary and St. Anthony, St. Martin and St. Anthony Gilds.

BIHR PR II 438r 1460 John Cawton chaplain of the parish of St. Denys: 12d.

BIHR PR IV 28r-v 1467 John York chaplain of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 20d.

St. Nicholas Gild

Little has been discovered of this gild unless it is identical with St. Nicholas in St. Thomas Chapel. If it is, and it refers to a chapel of the St. Thomas Hospital outside Micklegate Bar, this gild is associated with the Corpus Christi Gild that owned the hospital during the period of these bequests. All three testators also made bequests to Corpus Christi Gild. See entry for St. Nicholas Gild in St. Thomas' Chapel.

GAZETTEER

York (contd.)

St. Nicholas Gild (contd.)

BIHR PR V 391r-392r 1491 Richard Wakefeilde chaplain of the parish of All Saints Northstreet: 12d.

BIHR PR V 510r-v 1497 John Robynson butcher of the parish of Holy Trinity Kings Court: 12d.

YML L2(5)a 82r-83v 1509 Alison Clark widow of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: 6s.8d.

St. Nicholas Gild in St. Thomas Chapel

White believes the chapel to be in St. Nicholas Micklegate. It might alternatively be a chapel in the hospital at Micklegate Bar which was owned by Holy Trinity Priory, associated with St. Nicholas parish church, at the time of this bequest. See entry for St. Nicholas Gild.

BIHR PR II 666v 1430 John Wilson of the parish of St. Nicholas Micklegate: 6d

St. Sitha Light in St. Michael Spurriergate

References to the keepers of the light of St. Sitha appear in BIHR PRY/MS4, ff.134v, 137r, 142v, 143v, 154v, 213v. The keepers managed a stock for maintaining lights (dismantled in 1549) before the image of the saint which was taken down 1547.

St. Thomas of Canterbury Gild in St. Michael le Belfrey

Parish gild. Parish church has important early sixteenth century St. Thomas of Canterbury window still *in situ*. Related panels are now in York Minster Chapter House.

BIHR PR III 6 1398 Robert de Gaynesford bower of the parish of St. Michael Ousebridge: 20s.

YML L2(4) 121 1399 Simon de Lastyngham of the parish of St. Michael le Belfrey: a missal and 26s.8d. for his brothers' prayers.

St. Thomas the Martyr Gild in St. Martin Micklegate

Parish gild.

BIHR PR II 307v-308r 1454 John Estrik brasier of the parish of St. Martin Micklegate: 6d.

ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library.
BIHR	Borthwick Institute of Historical Research.
<i>Cal. Pat.</i>	Calendar of Patent Rolls.
<i>Cal. Close</i>	Calendar of Close Rolls.
CC1, 2	W. Page ed., <i>The Certificates of the Commissioners Appointed to Survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals etc in the County of York</i> (Surtees Society 91 and 92, 1894 and 1895).
ECHR	Economic History Review.
EHR	English Historical Review.
FR	F. Collins ed., <i>Register of the Freemen of the City of York I 1272-1558</i> (Surtees Society No. 96, 1897).
HCRO	Humberside County Record Office, Beverley.
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History.
KHRO	Kingston upon Hull Record Office.
PRO	Public Record Office, Chancery Lane.
REED York	A.F. Johnston and M. Rogerson, <i>Records of Early English Drama: York</i> (Manchester University Press, 1979).
SS	Surtees Society.
Sellers YMA	M. Sellers, ed., <i>The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356-1917</i> (SS 129, 1918).
VCH	<i>The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of York. York: City of York. III: III Religious Houses. ER: East Riding, 6 vols. NR: North Riding, 2 vols.</i>
YAJ	Yorkshire Archaeological Journal.
YAS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series.
YCA	York City Archive.
YCR	A. Raine, <i>York Civic Records</i> vols 1-5. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 98, 1939; 103, 1941; 106, 1942; 108, 1945).
YMA	Archives of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of York.
YMB	York Memorandum Books, 3 vols. M. Sellers, ed., A/Y, Vol I 1376-14 (SS 120, 1912), Vol II 1388-1493 (SS 125, 1915), J.W. Percy, ed. B/Y Vol III 1371-1596 (SS 186, 1969).
YML	York Minster Library.

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BC II 3, DDHE 31.

Kingston upon Hull Record Office:

BRA 8/4, 87, 87/8, 87/39, 87/45, 87/54, 87/53, 87/55, 87/52, 88, BRE 5/1, 5/2, 5/3, 5/4, D142, M39, D149, D452A, D151.

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C47/46/444-55, /116, /482:28-30. E301 63-73, 102-119, 131. E315/67/part II. DL38 11-13

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AA24, A15, A/Y, B/Y Memorandum Books E20, E20A. Corpus Christi accounts G C99:1-8, C100:1-6, C101:1-4, C102:1-3, C:103:1-2. G11A, G13, G14, G70 33.

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