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The Parish Records of All Saints Bristol

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ON THE PARISH RECORDS OF THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, BRISTOL.

By E. G. CUTHBERT F. ATCHLEY...

NEAR the centre of the old town of Bristol, not far from where once the high cross stood, is the parish church of All Hallowen or All Saints. On the north side it is bounded by Corn Street; on the west by Venny Lane, now called All Saints' Lane; on the south and part of the east (chancel and south aisle) by another lane, but formerly by the cemetery; while against the tower, which adjoins the east end of the north aisle, is and was a house. In 1464 it is recorded in the churchwardens' accounts that two houses next the steeple were burnt¹ by a drunken point-maker.

Leland states that in the time of Henry II, Robert, Earl of Gloucester (a bastard son of Henry I), and Robert Hardinge translated the Fraternity of Kalendars from the church of the Holy Trinity (commonly called Christ Church) unto the church of All Hallowen. And after Hardinge had founded the monastery of St. Austin by Bristol, in 1148—a house of Victorine black canons—to it was appropriated the church of All Hallowen,² and with them and their successors, the Dean and Chapter of Bristol, the rectory has ever since remained. This appears to be the earliest notice of the church. When the tithes were granted to King Edward I for six years by Pope Nicholas IV, in 1290, towards the expenses of the Crusades, the portion of the Abbot of

¹ There has been some confusion between this fire and that which destroyed the Kalendar's Library in *Journal Brit. Arch. Sec.*, 1875; xxxj, 264.

² John Leland, Itinerary, Oxford, 1769; vij, 94.

St. Austin in this benefice was assessed at £1 10s. od. and the tithe at 3s. od.

The present building has been repaired and rebuilt in the eighteenth century, and suffered from "restoration" in the nineteenth, with the consequence that the medieval tombstones mentioned by Barrett² have disappeared. As it now stands, the church consists of a nave and two aisles, and a chancel more or less modern. The nave has five bays, two Norman, three Gothic. Resting upon the Norman pillars at the west end of the nave, and so filling up the western ends of each aisle above, intrude two buildings; below, they only diminish the width of the aisles by about half. That on the north was the house of the Kalendars, while on the south was the vicar's manse, built by Sir Thomas Marshall, who died in 1434. Of the original buildings the doorway of the vicarage remains. At the east end of the north aisle is a square tower, which terminates in a cupola of eighteenthcentury date; William Worcester³ mentions this square tower for bells (turrim quadratam pro campanis pulsantibus), and gives the length of the church as 23 rods, and the width as 20 rods or 34 steps.

In the vestry of this church is preserved a large bound volume entitled on the back, "Minutes of All Saints' Parish In the Reign of Edward IIII." It is manuscript, written on paper 21 centimetres across and 29 centimetres high. The leaves have been paginated in a modern hand. The watermark is a cow's head eared and horned; between the horns arises a line crossed near its upper end by an X. The chief part of the book is written in a bold hand, clear and wellformed, which ceases after page 551, on which the accounts for the year March 27th, 8 Edward IV (1468), to March 26th, 9 Edward IV (1469), end. This handwriting has been

¹ Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, Record Commission, 1802; p. 220.

² W. Barrett, History and Antiquities of Bristol, Bristol, 1789; pp. 442, 446.

³ Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre, ed. J. Nasmith, Cantabrigiac, 1778; pp. 216, 227-8.

ascribed to Robert Ricart, town clerk of Bristol in the second half of the fifteenth century; but on comparing it side by side with the Kalendar preserved at the Council House—a large portion of which has been written by Ricart. and which is known by his name-it became clear that there is a marked dissimilarity between the two hands. For instance, Ricart makes his small h's with one stroke of the pen, but the All Saints' writer uses two; Ricart's h is rounded, and approximates towards the modern German cursive h, but the All Saints' writer makes his with sharp angles. He also uses the jugum (3) freely, which Ricart does not. On the other hand, on page 83 of the All Saints' MS itself, and in the above-mentioned hand, we read, in the list of Maurice Hardwick's benefactions, that "he laboured to compile and make this book, for to be a memorial and a remembrance for ever, for the Curates and the Churchwardens that shall be for the time, that every man to put in yearly his account for an evidence of the livelihood of the church; and for to put in names of the Good-doers, and the names of the wardens of the church, and what good they doeth in their days, that now they might yearly be prayed for." To which is added in a later hand, "And Sir John Thomas helped too, and wrote this Book." At first sight this reads as though Thomas had written the whole of the book in the original hand, while Hardwick had got together and arranged the materials.

Maurice Hardwick died in 1472 or 1473, and John Thomas did not become vicar until some years after.

But there are a good many additions to the contents of

I The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar, Camden Society, 1872; p. iv. It has been a popular opinion amongst Bristol historians that Ricart was a member of the Fraternity of Kalendars, and many silly remarks have been made concerning "his monkish mind" and so forth. There does not appear to be the very least foundation for the notion, or for the kindred idea that he was in some way connected with All Saints. I have read every one of the numerous deeds preserved in that church, and his name never once occurs. The late Mr. Latimer told me that he had never been able to find any connection between All Saints and Ricart.

this volume which are in the same hand as the note about Sir John Thomas; so that it is most probable that Hardwick wrote the original hand, which ceases some two years or more before his death, while Thomas wrote a large portion of the additions.

There are 551 original leaves in the MS, but the first four have not been paginated; consequently the last page is only numbered 1094.

The binding is comparatively modern, about the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century.

The contents of this volume are, briefly, (1) some ordinances by the parish, (2) a list of benefactors and their gifts, (3) inventories of church goods, and (4) churchwardens' accounts.

The first regulation is a common one—against letting any of the books be taken out of the church. It is followed by an arrangement for providing the clerk's board and wages. The proctors or wardens were to appoint seven parishioners every year, going through the whole parish in turn, whose duty it was to provide the clerk's board. There was an assessment committee appointed for determining how much each parishioner had to pay towards the clerk's wages, composed of three persons, elected by the parish—"one of the worshipful, and two of the mean of the said parish." From its composition we may presume that the poorer parishioners were not unduly rated; and if any parishioner refused to pay he was compelled to abstain from Husel on the following Easter. If he were still contumacious, the abstinence from Husel was to be prolonged until the dues had been paid.

Then ensues a short set of rules for governing the clerk's behaviour and determining his duties. It is much shorter than the similar regulations drawn up by the vestry of the neighbouring church of St. Nicholas, or the Office of the Deacons of Coventry, or the Duties of the Clerks and Sexton of Faversham, and other similar documents.¹ In the first

¹ Dr. J. Wickham Legg has printed these in the Appendices to his edition of *The Clerk's Book of 1549* (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1903), with many learned notes.

place, the clerk of All Saints, Bristol, had to be "true and profitable unto the church unto his power," in taking care of the vestments, books, jewels, and all other ornaments, in opening and shutting the church doors at the appointed times, and duly searching the church to see that no one was hiding therein with intent to obtain a night's lodging gratis or other even less desirable purpose. He might perform the latter duty by deputy if he could find one "of true and sad disposition." The usual injunction to obey the vicar in all things lawful follows. He was to be "lovingly attendant" on him both during divine service and in visiting the sick. and to give up all oblations to the vicar, as well as everything lost in the church, in order that inquiry might be made as to whom it belonged. The medieval clerks seem to have been under considerable suspicion of gossiping, and the rules that have come down to us sometimes make special point of their not making mischief between the vicar and his parishioners. We find this in the Faversham rules and those of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, and we find it here at All Saints, where the clerk was forbidden to bear "tales between the vicar and his brethren, nor between him and his parishioners, nor between neighbour and neighbour whereby any occasion of strife or debate" should arise. Further, he had to see that the church was kept clean, both in its "roofs, windows, pillars, walls, and the ground, stalls, seges, and specially the altars."

In the year 1488 (probably the spring of 1488-9), Sir John Thomas being vicar, and Richard Stevyns and Thomas Pernant being churchwardens, the parishioners found it needful to ordain that anyone who failed to turn up on the day announced by the vicar on the preceding Sunday for the audit of accounts, after the great bell had been tolled thrice, should be fined. If he belonged to the parish council, the fine was one pound of wax, if not, six pounds, unless the culprit had some reasonable excuse to offer. At the same time, apparently, there was some difficulty experienced in getting men to serve as cliurchwardens; for it was enacted

that whosoever was "chosen proctor by the most voice of the parishioners, if he refuse it that is so chosen, shall pay unto this said church of All Hallowen, to be put into the Treasure Coffer in money, without pardon or release of the whole or of part, 6s. 8d." And should he be chosen again in after years the same penalty was to be enforced as often as he refused, "unless his excuse by the parish may be found the more reasonable." And if any man refused to be "proctor of Jhc," i.e. warden of the service or gild of Jesus, he had to pay to the treasury thereof 3s. 4d.

At the same time it was determined that "the advice and consent of the Substance of the parishioners" should be obtained before the churchwardens let any house belonging to the church for a term of years, or abated any rent from any house, under a penalty of £20. Another abuse that had grown up towards the end of the fifteenth century was the increasing expense of the General Mind for the good doers to the church. In the earlier part of the century it varied considerably. Thus in 1408 it was 4s. 10\(\frac{1}{2}d\), in 1428 it was 2s. 6d., in 1429 3s. 10d., in 1433 only 2s., while in 1437 it was as low as 9d. In 1450 it was 2s. 4d., but in 1473 as much as 11s. 10d. was spent, which five years later was increased to 13s. 3d., and went on increasing still further until the parishioners at last objected. And here it may be mentioned that this was not a Protestant disapprobation of the affair, for the increased expenses were caused by extras for the dinner in connection with the General Mind, and not with the ecclesiastical part of it. Let us first see what the parish settled: "Henceforward the costs of the General Mind exceed not the sum of 13s. 4d., and if they do the residue that cometh over shall be at the charge of the elder proctor in office, and not at the charge of the church." The costs of the General Mind in the year in which this economical resolution was passed (i.e. Christmas, 1487, to Christmas, 1488) were 20s. 7d., made up as follows: In primis, 2 bushells of flower, 2s. 6d.; $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz. of saffron, 14d.; cloves and maces, 2d.; balm, 1d.; for bread to poor people, 6d.; for baking of the

cakes, 8d.; for a potell of wine to the cakes, 5d.; for a lb. sugar to the cakes, 4d.; for oil to the cakes, 2d.; for 2 dozen ale, 3s.; for spices to the same ale, 6d.; for 2 gallons Roscolye, 16d.; for a quart claret wine to the mayor, 2d.; for a gallon Roscolye, 8d.; for 4 gallons and 1d. pot of osey, 3s. 5d.; for 4 gallons of claret wine, 2s. 8d.; to the vicar for his Dirge, 4d.; to 5 priests for their Dirge, 15d.; to the clerk for his Dirge and bells, 14d.; for offering at the mass, 1d. Next year the effect of the above rule is seen in the reduction of the expenses to 13s. 9d. As Richard Stevyns and Thomas Pernaunt were the wardens who presented the accounts for the year, Christmas, 1488, to Christmas, 1489, the rule would seem to have been passed shortly before Lent of 1488-9. The following year the General Mind cost 13s. 3d., and in 1491 they only spent 11s. 7d.

Another matter in connection with the same was altered on the same occasion. Previously the General Mind had been held on Ash Wednesday, but in future it was determined to keep it on the Thursday following, when the Dirge was sung, and the mass, as usual, on the morrow, on Friday.

Further economy was effected by abolishing the *Corpus Christi* Dinner and substituting a payment in cash to the priests and clerks taking part in the procession.

From page 7 to page 67 there are only headings to the blank leaves. Space is provided for "the names of the Conducts that hath books, vestments, and Chalices of the said Church." Conducts, sacerdotes conducti, were priests hired by the year to sing masses for souls. Then follows space for the "Debtors that oweth good to the said Church," and for the names of those who held the "Keys of the Treasury." To this succeeds the list of the "Names of Good Doers" or benefactors, with their benefactions, given "to the church of All Hallowen in Bristol, unto the honour and worship of Almighty God, and increasing of Divine Service, to be showed

¹ Gul. Lindewode, Provinciale, Lib. III; Tit. De celebratione missarum: Cap. Sacerdotes caueant: Verb. Pro defuncto: Antwerpie, 1525; fol. clxv verso.

and declared unto the parishioners on the Sunday before Ash Wednesday, at High Mass, and yearly to be continued, as followeth: -Whereas it hath been of a laudable custom, and of long continuance used, that on this day-that is to say, the Sunday before Ash Wednesday—the names of good-doers and wellwillers by whom livelihood, tenements, buildings, jewels, books, chalices, vestments, with divers other ornaments and goods as followeth, hath been given unto this church, unto the honour and worship of Almighty God, and increasing of Divine service, to be reliearsed and showed yearly unto you by name, both man and woman, and what benefits they did for themselves and for their friends and for others by their lifetimes, and what they left for them to be done after their days; that they shall not be forgotten, but be had in remembrance and be prayed for of all this parish that be now, and of all them that be to come; and also for an example to all you that be now living, that ye may likewise do for yourself and for your friends while ye be in this world, that after this transitory life ye may be had in the number of good-doers rehearsed by name, and in special prayers of Christian people in time coming, that by the infinite mercy of Almighty God, by the intercession of our blessed Lady and of all blessed saints of heaven, in whose honour and worship this church is dedicate, ye may come to the everlasting bliss and joy that our blessed Lord hath redeemed you unto. Amen."

Pages 69 to 74 are taken up with the names of those who have given "livelihood and tenements" to the church. In many cases the original deeds from which the catalogue was compiled are still in existence, either in All Saints or elsewhere. In other cases they have vanished, or at least, I have not been able to find them. Such deeds as remain, however, show that the compiler, who endorsed all the deeds which he entered in this book, noted the use to which the benefaction was put in the fifteenth century instead of that for which it was originally designated. For instance, John de Yate, draper, bequeathed some land to the service of

St. Mary of All Saints, which was leased in 1286 or 1290 to one John Kyft, who had to pay 8s. silver to the Fraternity of Kalendars, 12d. to the support of a lamp burning before the altar of St. Margaret in All Saints' Church (the only mention of an altar therein with that dedication), and 3s. to the service of St. Mary. The compiler, Sir Maurice Hardwick, or whoever he may have been, sets it down as "to find 5 tapers before our Lady Altar," to which information a later compiler adds "at Jesus anthem." Therefore the statement of the compiler that Martin Draper gave 12d. out of a house in Lewin's Mead to find a lamp before the altar of the Holy Rood cannot be taken as evidence that there was an altar with that dedication about the middle of the thirteenth century, when Martin Draper lived. But on this see below.

One quaint remark in this part of the volume deserves notice. No rent had been paid for a house in Marsh Street belonging to the church since the second year of Edward IV by the tenant, John Shipward the elder. "God amend him!" adds the compiler. In 1484, however, his son delivered them their old possession again. Another matter of interest is a mistake which shows that the handwriting of 150 years before was not easily read by the men of 1450. It is recorded on page 74 that Harry Muellard gave a house in Wynch Street (now Wine Street) to Sir William Mooche, vicar of the church. But the original deed is preserved at All Saints, endorsed in the same hand as the entry in the book of records, "yn Wynchestrete, xijd." On inspecting this it became obvious that Hardwick, or whoever wrote the record, mistook the old-fashioned S for an M, and the names really are Henry Snellard and William Scoche. The mistake is the more curious in that four words ahead the S of Sanctorum is formed in the same manner, and should have given the clue. The grant mentions the name of a rector of the church of St. Lawrence, Bristol, now destroyed, one William Mannig. The date of the MS is either 1290, 1286, or 1285. The last gift recorded

¹ This document is printed at length in Archaeological Journal, 1901; lviij, 167.

is that of a tenement in High Street, called "the Roze" (according to the sixteenth century endorsement of Agnes Fylour's will), given by (Thomas and) Agnes Fylour in 1467, on condition that the vicar and churchwardens of All Saints kept her obit year on 20th November, "after the tenor of her testament." The vicar on that occasion received in all 2s., half "for his wax at Dirge and mass brennyng," half for overseeing the obit, and ut habeat me recommendatam dominicatim inter alios dicte ecclesie benefactores, as it is expressed in her will, which is preserved at All Saints.

The next section of the book is occupied with the "names of Vicars and priests that hath been good-doers unto the said church." The names are not all in strict chronological order, as the earliest comes second. Sir William Selk bequeathed in 1270 a number of interesting objects to the church. His will is now in the possession of Mr. Francis F. Fox, and has been printed in facsimile in the Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society for 1890-1 (plate xxxv, opposite page 314). The gifts comprised a mass-book, de usu Sarum¹; a grail, well bound, having a processioner and ordinal, a troper for the whole year, together with one for our Lady's masses, and many other very useful matters, all in one volume; and another grail unbound, having a processioner and ordinal, and troper for the whole year, in one volume; a volume of Constitutions and Penitentiary, a good psalter, and a manual, with a hymner and other useful matters. Besides these books there was a number of other things of varying value, chief of which were a little brass candlestick that formerly belonged to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and some powder of that saint's headpan. The entry of these is duly struck out in later ink, no doubt in obedience to Henry VIII's orders. Mentioned in the will, but not in the book of records, are several minor gifts, such as "a painted wooden cup for the Eucharist," and

¹ The use of Sarum was observed at the chapel of the Holy Spirit in Redcliffe Churchyard in 1254 (Hist. MSS Commission, Refort on Wells Cathedral MSS, Affx., 1885; vol. 10, pt. iij, p. 173). The Rectory of Bedminster and Redcliff formed the endowment of a Prebend at Salisbury Cathedral, so that Sarum influence would have been strong in Redcliff.

"a large chest to keep the Corpus Christi and the vestments in." The custom of hanging the pix over the high altar had evidently not been introduced at this date into All Saints. Other gifts were an unpainted wooden eagle, two processional crosses and their staves, his censer, his processional Dragon (banner for Rogations), a painted tray or salver for holy bread, three pair of corporasses and their cases, two surplices and two rochets. Selk also gave 2s. rent assize out of some land in Skate-pulle, afterwards Marsh Street, to sustain a lamp, burning in All Saints by night, for the souls of John Selk his father and Isabel his mother, as well as his predecessors and successors at All Saints.

Sir Walter Isgar, vicar of All Saints, died December 1st, 1321. He gave half a breviary and an ordinal, and obtained the confirmation of all the indulgences pertaining to the house of the Kalendars.

Sir Thomas Marshall² died June³ 7th, 1434. According to Barrett, there was in the eighteenth century (?), in the middle aisle of the church a stone with this inscription: "Hic iacet Thomas Marshall, vir bonae memoriae, quondam vicarius huius ecclesiae, qui obiit 17 die Junii A.D. 1434 cuius animae propitietur Deus, Amen." The stone is gone now, as the church has been "thoroughly restored," so that one cannot verify the date. There was once a document concerning the foundation of the vicarage and his obit in the church, but that too is gone. Marshall's "good deeds" comprise the gift of a large mass-book, an antiphoner and psalter, a processioner and two pair of vestments. He also paid for

- ¹ "Ad Lampadem per noctem in eadem ecclesia ardentem." MS. deeds 24, 79, 160, 168, at Bristol Museum Library. In the early part of the nineteenth century all these deeds were at All Saints.
- ² A deed entitled Fundatio Mansi Vicarii Omnium Sanctorum is in the registers of the cathedral church of Worcester (Morgan, vol. i., fol. 70), according to William Barrett, History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol, Bristol, 1789; p. 438. The obit was to be kept January 7th. The list of medieval tombstones is on p. 446.
- ³ On p. 78 of the MS the date is given as "Anno domini M° CCCC". xxxiiij" vij die Junij"; Barrett, however, stated that on his grave the date was June 17th.

the glazing of two windows in the south or Rood Aisle, one depicting the seven corporal works of mercy, and the other the seven sacraments. Moreover he put in a gable window in the quire "for ease of light, on the south side thereof, over the presbytery" or sedilia. Finally he built a vicarage, about 1422 A.D., for himself and his successors to dwell in.

Sir Richard Parkhouse, another vicar, gave a pair of light green cloth of gold vestments and two torches to the church in 1436.

After the good deeds of Sir William Rodberd in 1453of which the most important was £6 13s. 4d. for the ceiling of the back of the church—and a small gift from Sir Harry Colas, fellow of the Kalendars, come the benefactions of Sir John Gyllarde, prior of that fraternity, who died June 28th, 1451. His own individual gifts were a paxbred, a processioner and four seats in the Rood Aisle. conjunction with one Richard Haddon he "let make" a tabernacle of gold and silver to set on the high altar on high festivals, with a figure of "Saint Saviour" and two figures of John Haddon and Christiana his wife, with angels, which was valued at £20. They also "let made of their own freewill" the chapel of our Lady on the north side of the church, commonly called Jesus Aisle, and "worshipfully glazed it with the story of Te Deum laudamus," on behalf of the souls of the said John Haddon and Christian his wife, who had bequeathed twenty marks for the repair of the chapel; but the aforesaid Gyllarde and Haddon "built of the new out of the ground the said chapel," at the cost of £227. They also lent froo to the vicar and parish to rebuild a house in High Street belonging to the church, called "the Green Lattice." Over the new aisle they built a room for the Kalendars' Library, which was open to the public on festivals in 1464, when the prior was at hand to explain obscure and doubtful

¹ Dr. John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester, gave these rules in 1464 (W. Barrett, *History and Antiquities of Bristol*, Bristol, 1789; pp. 453-4). Barrett says "at two hours before nine and for two hours after." Should it not have been "two hours before and after *Nons*"? that is, from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m.

passages to all who asked him, to the best of his ability; and every week he was required to read a public lecture in the same library.

The chauntry founded at the Lady Altar by John and Christian Haddon came to an untimely end, as one John Hawkys embezzled the deeds, and so "the chauntry is destroyed. God amend him!"

Sir Maurice Hardwick's greatest benefaction, to posterity, if not to his contemporaries, was undoubtedly the volume which is under consideration, and which we have discussed above. He seems to have been fairly wealthy, judging by the numbers of gifts and the period over which their donation extends. Besides a number of vestments and hangings, he gave an image of St. Ursula, made of wood, "to excite people to devotion," and gilded "the image of All Hallowen in burnished gold" and the "Crucifix with the Sun." His orderly instincts, which appeared in the compilation of this book of records, were further seen in his gift of a coffer, with a lock and key, to hold the church deeds, "where before they lay abroad, likely to be embezzled and myschesed," Hardwick also "procured, moved, and stirred" Agnes Fylour to give "her said house, in the which she dwelt in, in the High Street in the south side of the Green Lattice"; at her death however, her son Thomas wished to break the will and aliene the house to his own use, even going so far as to promise "the said Sir Maurice great good to assist him." But Hardwick was not to be bribed, and with the churchwardens "by plea withstood him."

Hardwick added four quires of vellum to the antiphoner lying before the vicar, and had all the chapters and collects for the year—temporale, sanctorale, and common—written thereon, and at the end of the said quires the benisons throughout the year.

Chained to a pillar on the south side of the church, within the enterclose before the Rood Altar, was a porthors or breviary given by Sir William Warens, some time priest of Halleway's Chauntry, "to the ease of all manner priests

to say their service when they have not their own books with them."

Another benefactor in a small way was Sir Thomas Haxby, a brother of the Kalendars, who died in 1484. At one time he held the office of parish clerk, and the following excellent testimonial is recorded of him: "He was a well-willed man in all his days, and a profitable unto this church, and specially when he was common servant in this parish, that is to say parish clerk; and that 28 years together no clerk in this town [was] like unto him in cleanness and in attending in those days: and as profitable he was unto the Kalendars."

Master John Herlowe, sometime prior of the Kalendars, and parson of St. Stephen's, Bristol, gave seventy-five flowers of gold that cost 53s. 4d. for the lighting and garnishing of the high altar of All Saints' Church, as well as a book for the organ for use at matins and evensong.

The ceiling of the roof of the quire was paid for "of his own goods" by Sir John Thomas during his vicariate, though properly that should have been done by the rectors, the abbot and convent of St. Austin.

After forty-six blank pages comes another section devoted to lay benefactors, headed: "These be the names of all the good-doers and benefactors unto the said church, viz. parishioners et de aliis parochibus." In the forefront of these comes a magnificent gift from one Roger the Gurdeler of a pix to hold the reserved Eucharist at the high altar and to carry the Husel to the sick. The original deed is still at All Saints, beautifully written on parchment, and dated December 24th, 1303: It is endorsed in the same hand as the entry in the book of records. The full text may be seen in Archaeological Journal, 1901; lviij, 170 sq. It is described as "a Coope of

¹ Herlowe died on December 6th, 1486. He was rector of St. Stephen's in 1473, but I do not know that he held the two benefices concurrently (Wadley's Notes, 160).

² In the endorsement of the original deed these two vessels are called "the Cowpe and the Cuppe." Cowfe, O. Fr. Coufe, means a large bowl, originally a tub or barrel.

silver, gilt within and without, with a cover and a crucifix on the head, with precious stones worshipfully endued" ("unam Cuppam, cum Coopertorio, de argento deauratam infra et extra, cum una Cruce et ymagine argenteis similiter deauratis supra existentibus, cum longo pede, lapidibus ornato, similiter deaurato, ponderis sexaginta et septem solidorum argenti,") "and a little cuppe . . . ygilt" ("et infra sanctem Cuppam quoddam vas argenteum, ad modum Cyphi fabricatum, ponderis duorum solidorum et sex denariorum argenti"). At some later period a spoon was added, but there is nothing about it in the original grant. And for the better ward of the same a solemn curse was appended against any and all who aliened, sold, or broke the said Coope and Cuppe, pronounced pulsatis campanis et candelis accensis, by the then vicar, Sir William Scoche.

The goldsmiths of Bristol, who lived in the High Street, gave a tabernacle in the middle of the high altar of silvergilt, adorned with precious stones, containing a representation of the Coronation of our Lady, "with a ruby imperial over the head," valued at \pounds 20. This stone is described as a sapphire in the Latin inventory of 1395.

Dr. John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester (1444-76), in which diocese Bristol then was, granted forty days' indulgence on every principal feast when a chalice and paten presented by one Julian Papnam (Papenham?) was "sung with."

A gift on which a great many historians of Bristol have exercised their imaginative faculties is the following. William Wytteney, who appears to have been a cordwainer and to have died about 1448, made a painting on canvas (or some other such stuff) of the Dance of Pauls, at a cost of \pounds_{43} , "that every man should remember his own death." A similar adornment belonged to the church of the Holy Trinity, Long Melford, in 1529, when there were "three long cloths hanging before the Roodloft, stained or painted, with the Dawnce of Powlis." There are payments annually

¹ J. P. Neale, Views of . . . Collegiate and Parochial Churches, London, 1825; ij. 20.

at All Saints for unrolling it, hanging it up, and rolling it up again. It was hung on a "battlement" before the south door in the church (accounts for 18 Edward IV).

Imagination has run riot in guessing what the Dance of Pauls could be. One writer read it "Dance of Souls"; another, in correction, rightly reads Dance of "Powlys," but explains the word as "polls" or heads, and is sure it means a puppet dance. There can be no question, however, that it really was a painting of the Dance of Death, copied from, or after the style of, that in St. Paul's Churchyard. "There was also," says Stow, "one great Cloyster on the north side of" St. Paul's Cathedral Church, "of old time called Pardon Churchyard. . . . About this Cloyster was artificially and richly painted the Dance of Machabray, or Dance of Death, commonly called the Dance of Pauls."

William Wytteney also gave a Primer⁴ to the church, "which stood in the grate under Saint Christopher's foot. And the said book was stolen, and found at St. James' in Calais, and brought home and newly y-grated. And since [is] y-stolen again." So that even in that blessed period, when everybody was holy, &c., there were persons capable of stealing a Prayer-book out of a church.

The name of Thomas Halleway was associated with the church for a long time. He was several times churchwarden, and was "most well-willed to all good works of the church, to oversee the reparations of the church, four times a year coming in his coat [as] mayor, and after he was mayor." He founded a chauntry at the altar of SS. John Baptist, John

- 1 H. Rogers, The Calendars of All Hallowen, Brystowe, Bristol, 1846; p. 193.
 - ² Journal of the British Archivological Association, 1875; xxxj 264.
 - 3 John Stow, The Survey of London, London, 1633; p. 354.
- * Mr. Rogers has written quite a pleasing novelette on the adventures of this Primer in his book on the Kalendars, pp. 1935q. He reads "Seynt Jamys yn Galeys" into St. James at Compostella. But I cannot think that he is right in so doing.
- ⁵ I have given some account of this chauntry, with as many of the original documents as could be found, in the *Transactions of the Bristel and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol. xxiv, pp. 74 sq.

the Evangelist, and Dunstan, and made the seats or pews before that altar at a cost of £3. Besides his gifts to the chauntry he endowed the light before the Eucharist in the quire with 8s. a year, and gave to the church "a worshipful jewel with two angels, and two stones of crystal, called a monstrant, to bear the precious sacrament, with divers relics closed in the same," of gold and silver, which weighed 57½ oz. One notice of it says that it was "to bear the blessed Sacrament in on Corpus Christi Day."

The next benefactions of importance were given by one Harry Chestyr and Alson his wife, ancestors of several wellknown families of the present day. He died in 1471 and his wife in 1486. The entry tells us that "in the worship of Jesus, to the foundation of a mass of Jesus by note to be kept and continued every Friday in this church, likewise an anthem, the said Harry and Alice have given to this church a tenement in Broad Street, where that sometime William Rowe, brewer, dwelt in; to this intent, that they be prayed for every Friday at the mass by name, and also an obit to be kept for them yearly for ever on every St. Valentine's Day, on the which day the said Harry deceased, the year of our Lord $14\frac{70}{2}$." At some time the thirteenth-century bequest of John de Yate towards a lamp at St. Margaret's Altar, and to the service of St. Mary, was diverted "to find 5 tapers before our Lady Altar at Jesus Anthem." At the end of the fifteenth century Dame Maud Spicer "provided 3 tapers of wax before the image of Jesus, then to burn at Jesus Mass on the Friday and at the anthem at night."

Jesus Mass was, as I have elsewhere shown, the Sarum Mass de nomine Jesu: and the anthem an imitation of the famous Salve Regina, which is found in some Primers of the sixteenth century.¹

In the book of records the accounts of the Fraternity of Jesus are entered for 1490 and 1491, but there is little of interest in them. In 1500 the churchwardens' accounts show

¹ Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, vol. v, pt. iij, pp. 163 sq.

that the singers of Jesus Mass received 20s. for the half-year, and in 1539 there are payments to the clerk, sexton, and the vicar for the same service. Mention is made of the Jesus Light in 1538.

Let us continue the account of benefactions. Alice Chester enriched the church with much carving and valuable presents of hangings, ornaments, &c., amongst which may be named the great latten bason to wash relics in on Relic Sunday, a cross of silver-gilt enamelled with Mary and John, and a horse-cloth. And "being in good prosperity and health of body [in 1483], considering the roodloft of this church was but single, and nothing beauty according to the parish intent, she, taking to her counsel the worshipful of the parish, with others having best understanding and sights in carving, to the honour and worship of Almighty God and his saints, and of her special devotion unto this church, hath let to be made a new roodloft in carved work, fulfilled with 22 images, on her own proper cost; of the which images be 3 principal, a Trinity in the middle, a Christopher in the north side, and a Michael in the south side: and besides this, the 2 pillars bearing up the loft, every one having 4 houses set on in carved work, and within every house an image."

Costly too were the gifts of John Leynell and his wife Katherin, who seems to have been a draper in High Street. Amongst other ornaments must be named the "great pair of latten candlesticks, called Standards, for the quire, where afore we had but two, and now we have four: and also where we were wont to borrow in time of necessity, and now, blessed be God and them, we have no need as for such stuff; the which candlesticks weigh 94 lbs., and cost 4 marks."

And as the second best suit of vestments was of bawdkin and nothing like so fine as the best, Katharin Leynell gave the church a finer suit of blue velvet, adorned with flowers and branches of gold, and orphreys of red velvet with golden eagles thereon. Her dirge was kept for the whole month,

¹ T. P. Wadley, Notes . . . of the Wills . . . at Bristol, for Bristol and Glouc. Arch. Soc., 1886; p. 159.

"and that by note, as other worshipful folk hath used before times, and likewise since her departing." Her husband died in 1474.

Clement Wylschyr, Mayor of Bristol, was three times churchwarden of All Saints, and died in January, 1492-3, in his year of office as Mayor. He desired to be buried in the Lady Chapel, or if there were no convenient place there, in any other place at the discretion of the parish and his executors. Actually he was buried before the altar of SS. John Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Dunstan. His wife Joan also was numbered among the good doers.

Among the gifts of John Jenkyns, otherwise Steyner, innholder, to the church, was "a standing Note with a cover well gilt, with a black shell, weighing 37 oz., which the donor desired should never be alienated nor sold, but to remain in the treasure coffer to the behoof and pleasure of the parishioners in the day of the General Mind of Good-Doers."

Dame Maude Spicer, otherwise Baker, was a "singular benefactress" to the church, both in plate and vestments. Amongst other things, "she gave an eagle of latten for the Gospel to be read upon," and "two latten candlesticks to stand continually upon Saint Thomas' Altar."

Such are the chief items in the record of benefactions.

¹ His will, abstracted by Mr. Wadley in his Notes on . . . the Wills . . . at Bristol, Bristol, 1886; p. 167, is dated June 30th, 1488, and proved January 7th, 1492-3. See also The Maire of Bristow ys Kalendar, Camden Society, 1872; p. 48.

² In The Great Orphan Book and Book of Wills at the Council House, Bristol, are the following references to "Notes":—Fol. 12 verso: Lego Matilde Couele i Note apparatum cum argento; Walter Tedistille, 1385. Fol. 25 verso: Unum Cphum meum vocatum Note; Simon Haleway, 1389. Fol. 47: i Ciphum nuncupatum le Note; Walter Frompton, 1395. Fol. 133: unum Ciphum cum argento ligatum vocatum Note; Robert Lodelow, 1418. Fol. 240 verso: unum Noote harnisatum cum argento et deauratum; Edward Kyte, 1487. Fol. 241: unum Note cum cooperculo; Agnes Kyte, 1487. Fol. 243 verso: unum Note, harnisatum argento cum cooperculo argenti et deaurato; Edmund Newe, 1491. Fol. 254: The Nutte; Thomas Elyot, 1505. J. O. Halliwell (Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words) defines Nut as a kind of small urn, and refers to Testamenta Vetusta, p. 365, for an example.

After this list comes a second list of the same, but often with more information, and frequently with less. Then follows a memorandum that the Lord Abbot of St. Austin repaired the roof of the chancel about All-Hallow-tide, to Hen. VIII.

The next matter is an English inventory, dated March 5th, 1395-6, followed by another dated March 1st, 1469. Both are (mainly) in the same handwriting, the original hand of the book. The earlier inventory is not very long, and the Latin original, which still exists, as a pair of indentures, is not always followed in the later English version.

In 1305 there were but two mass-books—one bound in red, evidently that given by William Selk in 1270 de usu Sarum; and a second unbound, described as old. Of grails there were four-one bound with bosses, another in white, and a third old; the two given by Selk in 1270 may be among those. Besides these, there was a "little grail to serve our Lady mass," and another little one, "abridged." For the occasional services there was a manual, perhaps that one which Selk bequeathed; and a martiloge, or martyrology. For divine service there were two porthoses or breviaries, and two half-porthoses - one with, the other without a psalter (according to the Latin version; the English has both with), of which the old one was probably given by Walter Isgar, vicar of All Saints, in 1321; two antiphoners, both old; an ordinal or pie, probably that given by Isgar; four psalters, one given by a Thomas Norton, which the prior of the Kalendars had in keeping; a legend for the temporale, and another for the sanctorale; and, in the English version, a processional. A later hand adds also two antiphoners.

We next come to the vestments, which are very few for a church in so wealthy a town as Bristol. But the living of All Saints was a poor one, and in 1363 William de Lench, the then vicar, petitioned the pope for a license to hold a

¹ It is printed in full in Archaeological Journal, 1901; lviij, 173 sq. In every case I have expanded p'c' by error into frice instead of frecio.

benefice in the Bishop of Lichfield's gift as well as that of All Saints, which was only worth five marks, or for a similar one in the gift of the Bishop of Hereford.

There were but two complete suits—the best, of green and blue ciclatouns, with orphreys of ray velvet; another of blue ciclatouns and plunket.

TABLE OF VESTMENTS AT ALL SAINTS IN 1395.

SUITS. SINGLE VESTMENTS. COPES. 1. Green and blue I. A chasuble, unde-1. One of blue, striped ciclatouns. with scribed. 2. One of ciclatouns orphreys of ray 2. (English with birds. version velvet (cope, chaonly.) 3. One, old, of cloth suble, 2 tunicles). 3. A white vestment. of gold, with two 2. Blue ciclatouns and 4. Chasuble of cloth tunicles of old plunket (cope, of gold with birds cloth of gold. chasuble, 2 tuniin circles. 4. Two copes and two cles). 5. Vestment of red albs for boys. 3. Cloth of gold (chacloth of gold with suble, 2 tunicles. griffins. 3 albs, 3 amices, 6. A red vestment. 3 fanons). 7. A red ray satin vestment. 8. A black vestment. q. A red satin chasuble with gold cocks. 10. A yellow chasuble with a blue stripe. 11. A silk chasuble of black and white diaper.

It will be noticed that some of the single vestments in the above table are described as "vestment" and others as "chasuble" in the inventory, whether in the English or Latin version. The former term seems to include alb, amice, stole, and fanon, with the chasuble, as in Edward's first prayer book. It can hardly be meant for a whole suit, considering the small values of the different items.

¹ Calendar of Entries in the Paral Registers, Petitions, Rolls Series, 1896; vol. i, p. 429.

The proportion of colours is very curious also, red predominating. In no case is the occasion for the use of the colour indicated, the only attempt in that direction being the term "best" applied to one of the suits, suggesting, of course, that it was used on the highest festivals.

The altar hangings comprise but one over-front, with the Coronation of our Lady painted on it, and a nether front, "with the figure of the Trinity"; two riddells with angels painted on them, held up by iron rods at the altar's ends. No other front is mentioned; but there were four white cloths, with red crosses, of buckram, perhaps the same as the "three Lent Clothes for the altars," of the English version. There were seven (twelve in the English) towels or linen altar cloths, of which two had frontlets attached, to lay upon the altars.

The Lent veil hanging in the quire before the altar was of white and blue, paly (Latin version).

There was a veil of black velvet with a red fringe, which served as a pix-veil, according to the English version.

For images there were several mantles: two of red satin (with four gilt buttons) for the statue of our Lady and her Child in the chapel, and two more for a similar statue "in the pillar," as well as one of chequer velvet for the latter Child. There was also a red satin mantle for St. Anne's image "in the pillar."

The plate was more numerous and valuable. At the head of the list comes Roger le Gurdeler's Cowpe and Cuppe of silver-gilt, a silver oilvat, and the silver-gilt tabernacle of the Coronation of our Lady given by the goldsmiths. There were five chalices, besides one belonging to the Fraternity of the Carpenters'; two silver crewets, an ivory pix bound with silver, a censer and two ships (for incense) of latten, and a crop of silver-gilt. The candlesticks were of little value, only pewter or wooden, except an old iron one.

¹ I cannot find any further information about this gild and its connection with All Saints.

The inventory of 1469 is incomplete; it is divided up into sections, many of which have only the headings. It opens with a miscellaneous list of ornaments, often of considerable interest-lich bells, wooden candlesticks, a chequer for the holy loaf, and then "Clappers all Judas bells." The accounts for 1413-14 record the payment of 2d, for mending these. At Wells Cathedral Church¹ they paid 4d, for mending the "Judas bell" in 1414-15. At St. Margaret's, Westminster,2 they paid 10d. in 1486 "for making a new clapper to Judas bell," and at St. Nicholas, Bristol, is the following item:-"1555, Paid ffor a claper [for good fryday in another hand], viijd." In the Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie, written during the first half of the sixteenth century,4 "to jingle Judas bells" is spoken of. Judas bells seem to have been rattles or clappers of wood, used during the last three days of Passion Week, before Easter Day, instead of the ordinary bells. Mr. Tyack⁵ mentions some existing examples of wooden bells. next item is "a Judas for the candles the three nights before Easter," for use at tenebræ, the anticipated matins of the Thursday, Friday and Saturday. For the Easter Sepulchre, beside the thing itself, were five gilt "battlements." two gilt crucifixes for the ends, and four bolts of iron with two red "battlements."

There was "a crown with four angels of tree painted," which is presumably the same as unum Castellum cum iiij angelis pro cruce of the additions to the Latin version of the 1395 inventory; a "reredos to set Jewels on at the high

- · ¹ Historical MSS Commission, Report on the MSS of Wells Cathedral, 1885; p. 277.
 - ² Quoted Notes and Queries, 1850; vol. i, series i., p. 195.
- ³ Churchwardens' Accounts, in the custody of the vicar of St. Nicholas Parish Church, Bristol.
 - 4 Notes and Queries, 1850; i, i, 235.
- ⁵ G. S. Tyack, A Book about Bells, London, 1893; pp. 25, 177. Clappers are used instead of bells in all Catholic countries on the last three days before Easter, both in churches and in houses, from the Gloria in excelsis of Maundy Thursday to the same on Easter Even.

⁶ Archaeological Journal, lviij, 178, note 4.

altar," which definitely shows the object of that ornament; three chairs for the quire; a little stool and desk for the organs; desks for the high Altar, Lady Altar, St. Thomas's Altar, and the singers at our Lady Altar. The high altar front was hung from an iron bar, and the curtains there were on rods terminating in fleurs-de-lys. There were iron rods for curtains at each of the low altars as well. The rods are called "iron riddells," a rather unusual use of the term, which usually signifies the curtains, and not the rods wherefrom they depended.

For the pascall there was a bowl of tree (wood) and from the accounts we further find that it was hung by a cord over a pulley; before (? with) the bowl they used a large wheel of wood for the purpose of holding this candle. The Judas or tree (i.e. the wooden core to stiffen it) weighted 28½ lbs. in 1479. In 1445 they made four pensels or small banners of paper to adorn the pascall; and in 1523 four spears with bells for the same purpose.

The "inventory of coffers and aumbries for Conducts," or stipendiary priests, has not been filled in. It is followed by one "of Lent cloths." They are either "stained," i.e. painted, with some mournful picture, such as "our Lady of Pity," "the signs of the Passion," a crucifix, or are of blue and white. But two were of ray silk, one of black silk, another stained with dolphins, and the last a Vernacle wrought on silk.

The "inventory of Altar cloths" contains the description of twelve of varying dimensions. Three were of diaper, the longest $5\frac{3}{5}$ yds. long and just over a yard broad, the shortest $3\frac{5}{5}$ yds. by $\frac{3}{4}$ yd., with crosses worked upon it. Of twill there were four, varying from $4\frac{1}{2}$ yds. by $1\frac{7}{5}$ yds. to $2\frac{5}{5}$ yds. by $1\frac{7}{5}$ yds. The rest were of plain linen, i.e. without diapering, varying from $4\frac{1}{2}$ yds. by 1 yd. to $2\frac{1}{2}$ yds. by 1 yd.

1" The clothes that are hanged up this time of Lent in the church have painted in them nothing else but the pains, torments, passion, blood-shedding and death of Christ, that now we should only have our minds fixed on the Passion of Christ, by whom only we were redeemed." (Thomas Becon, Early Works, Parker Society, 1843; p. 111)

One of these had crosses worked upon it. Besides these, there was a covering of canvas for the high altar ($3\frac{3}{8}$ yds. by 1 yd.) and another for the Lady Altar ($3\frac{3}{8}$ yds. by 1 yd.) to protect the linen cloths left on the altars out of mass time.

Besides these, there were three "towels" or great linen cloths, either to lay uppermost on the altar at mass time, or perhaps for huselling cloths. That of diaper measured $9\frac{3}{8}$ yds. by $\frac{1}{2}$ yd., the twill cloth $3\frac{3}{4}$ yds. by $\frac{3}{8}$ yd., and a plain one $8\frac{3}{8}$ yds. by $\frac{1}{2}$ yd. The "inventory of Bankers and coverlets for the high altar" was never filled in.

The "inventory of Candlesticks and Bowls of latten and pewter" does not contain any very valuable items. There were two great candlesticks of latten, besides the two great standards given by the Leynells, two others "for the high altar," two more for processions, and two iron ones standing at the Cross Altar. In the roodloft were thirteen bowls for the rood-lights. The list includes two ships of latten (for incense), and a bell of the same metal "for the high altar."

This bell for the high altar is that known as the "sacring" or "saunts" bell. During the thirteenth century the practice of ringing a bell before the elevation or sacring became increasingly common all over Western Christendom. In 1228 William, Bishop of Paris, ordered one to be rung "at the elevation or a little before" to stir the faithful to prayer; Alexander, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, in 1237, to announce the advent of the Saviour; and William de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, in 1240, to stir up the devotion of the sluggish and increase their affection. Friar John Peckham, in 1281, ordered the church bells to be struck at least on one side at the elevation, so that those who were absent might kneel on hearing the sound. Lindewode 4 says that this did not mean that more than one bell need be rung in

i Summa omnium Conciliorum, collecta per F. Barth., Carranzum, Parisijs, 1678; p. 800. Perhaps the Tenth Canon of Winchester in 1076 is aimed at the practice (Wilkins, Conciliu, i, 365).

² D. Wilkins, Concilia, j, 641. ³ D. Wilkins, Concilia, j, 668.

^{*} W. Lindewode, Provinciale, Lib. III: Tit. De celebratione missarum: Cap. Altissimus: Verb. Campane.

each church, and also that that one should be rung which could be heard at the greatest distance. The Synod of Exeter, in 1287, required each church in the diocese to have a sacring bell, and a Legatine Constitution of about the same date makes a similar direction for Lombardy. John, Bishop of Lüttich, ordered one to be rung three times at the sacring, so that the people might adore.

The earlier versions of the poem known as the "Lay-Folk's Mass-Book" are acquainted with the custom, but it is not yet general. When "time is near of sackering, a little bell men use to ring." But in the later texts it is, "A little bell men is to ring," or "he will to us ring." In the "Treatise of the Manner and Mede of the Mass" it is the signal for attention:—

"Yet shall ye pray for anything

Between the Sanctus and the sacring

Till that the bell knell." 5

While Lidgate instructs the layman-

"When he ringeth the cross bell
Pray then for another skill,
That thou be worthy to see that sight,
That shall be in his hands light," 6

And the custom of ringing this bell as a warning before the sacring is further illustrated by a poem 7 on the death of the Duke of Suffolk, written c. 1450:—

"I pray some man do ring the bell
That these foresaid may come to the sacring."

As is often the case, customs that are quite innocent in themselves give rise to abuses, and from this custom of ringing a bell just before the sacring there soon arose another less desirable practice. At the sound of this bell clergy and

- 1 Wilkins, Concilia, ij, 140.
- ² L. A. Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, Milan, 1726; t. viij, p. 1067.
- ³ Martèn and Durand, Thesaurus Nove. Ancedotorum, Lut. Parisiorum, 1717; t. iv, p. 337.
 - 4 T. F. Simmons, The Lay-Folk's Mass-Book, E.E.T.S., 1879; pp. 36-39.
 - ⁵ Ibid., 144. ⁶ Ibid., 150.
 - 7 Political Poems and Songs, Rolls Series, 1859-61; vol. ij, p. 234.

lay folk alike forsook their devotions and rushed off to gaze at the elevated host. Grandisson of Exeter introduced some corrective rules (§ 27) aimed at this practice into the code of Statutes, which he drew up for his college of St. Mary Ottery in 1339, forbidding the ringing of the sacring bell at any masses while quire services were in saying, lest any should "go out or turn to gaze at the sacrament." But whatever may have been the effect of this prohibition at St. Mary Ottery, elsewhere the practice spread unchecked.

The "inventory of stained cloths for the altars and the Sepulchre" is more interesting. It begins with the cloth painted with the Coronation of our Lady, which figured in the inventory of 1395; but the companion one of the Trinity has disappeared. The other fronts, which presumably belonged to the high altar, were a cloth "with popinjays and scriptures" and two sets given by Sir Maurice Hardwick, the compiler of the book. One of these was of red damaskwork, with a crucifix and Mary and John, and the other of white, with the Coronation of our Lady and other imagery-work. The "pair of altar cloths of St. Ursula" mentioned in the list of his benefactions do not appear in the inventory. For the Lady Altar were a pair of blue damask-work and one with popinjays and scriptures. Cloths of blue damask-work belonged also to the rood altar and St. Thomas' Altar, as well as a cloth with popinjays and scriptures. St. John's Altar similarly had a cloth with popinjays and scriptures, and probably the second set of blue cloths is mistakenly attributed to the Cross Altar, and should belong to the former. It also had a set painted with the Nativity and Passion of Christ, and a single white cloth with the image of St. John the Baptist.

For the Easter Sepulchre there was a cloth painted with "St. Mary Magdalen, and four knights," and another powdered with flowers of gold.

¹ George Oliver, Monasticon Diacesio Exoniensis, Exeter and London, 1846, p. 270: "Quo casu prohibemus ne campanelle ad elevacionem sacramenti pulsentur, quod qui canentes in choro non exeant nec se divertant ad videndum sacramentum, sed devote officio suo intendant."

To adorn the quire at every high feast Sir Maurice Hardwick gave four stained cloths of red and yellow, on which were wreaths and "the Arms of the Passion," and in the middle of the arms the words, **DULCIS EST JHESU**AMOR MEUS. These cloths were of some considerable size, measuring 13³ yards long by 1¹ yards broad.

For obits there was "a black cloth of stained work," with a white crucifix and a "scripture of Jhc"; and this seems by rights to have belonged to Halleway's Chauntry, and only been lent to the church. Alice Chester, finding that it was the only one worth anything, gave the church another, made of black worsted, on which were the letters H.C. and A.C. (i.e. Harry Chester and Alice Chester) and the "scripture" in gold letters, ORATE PRO ANIMABUS HENRICI CHESTER ET ALYCE UXORIS EIUS, and over it a stained cloth crosswise with a crucifix.

Only one of the riddells stained with an angel remained in 1469 of those in the inventory of 1395; but the high altar was provided with a pair of white and purple silk, another of stained work powdered with gold, and a third pair of stained work with popinjays. The nether altars were not so well off. Our Lady's Altar had a pair of blue and green silk, and a stained pair of blue damask. Of like stuff were those at St. Thomas' Altar and the Cross Altar, while those at St. John's Altar were stained with the Passion.

We now come to the books, and with these the church was well provided. Three antiphoners, one large one lying before the vicar in the quire heading the list; two porthoses and two psalters; three legends, six processioners (and two abreviated ones added later), and six grails (another added later) represent the books for the quire. Two ordinals, two manuals, and a martiloge, a hymner added later, and a collectar containing anthems noted, and all the epistles and gospels, given in 1496 by Sir John Thomas; four massbooks, besides that belonging to Halleway's Chauntry, and one (abreviated) given later by William Tornowe complete the list, which should have been continued with "all other

books not occupied." The details about the books in the earlier inventory are hardly sufficient to enable us to identify them in the later one.

In ornaments for the ministers the church was still only fairly well off—nine vestments and three suits. The following table gives their description:—

TABLE OF VESTMENTS AT ALL SAINTS IN 1469.

WHOLE SUITS.'

- Cloth of gold of tissue (2 copes, chasuble, 2 tunicles, with albs, apparels and stoles).
- Blue velvet with branches of gold, given by J. & K. Leynell, orphreys of red velvet with splayed eagles (2 copes, chasuble, 2 tunicles, with albs, apparels and stoles.
- Black bawdkin with orphreys of green (cope, chasuble, 2 tunicles), given by John Pers in 1431, but not in the inventory.

SINGLE VESTMENTS.

- A pair of light green cloth of gold, orphreys of purple bawdkin, given by Sir Richard Parkhouse, 1436.
- 2. A pair of sad green, orphreys of red cloth of gold, given by Sir Thomas Marshall, 1434.
- 3. A pair of sad blue, with garters, orplineys red, given by the same.
- 4. A pair of black with gold stars, orphreys white powdered with lilies bought in 1406.
- 5. A pair of red dimity, orphreys of yellow dimity.
- 6. A pair of sad purple, orplineys old, of cloth of gold.
- 7. A pair of old cloth of gold, orplireys of yellow ribbon.
- 8. A pair of old cloth of gold, orphreys of fustian naples.
- 9. A pair of white for Lent.
- 10. A pair of green tartaron with red orphreys and peacock feathers, given by Thomas Cogan.
- II. A pair of black with boars, orphreys of green oak leaves.

The remaining vestments—a white damask suit given in 1496, a suit of blue bawdkin and another of black worsted entered in the book c. 1494, a blue satin vestment given in or after 1493, a pair of green dornick given c. 1491, and an incomplete suit of blue of about the same date—are all additions.

The proportion of colours is as follows in the two inventories, eliminating additions:—

TABLE	OF	COLOUR	S IN	THE	TWO	INVENTORIES
		OF	1395	AND	1469.	

		1395.	1469.		
	suits.	SINGLES.	cores.	suits.	SINGLES.
Cloth of Gold	I	2	2	1	2
Blue	I	О	I	I	ľ
Black	O	2	0	I	2
Green	I	0	o	O	3
Red (purple, &c.)	O	3	o	O	2
White	0	1	0	o	О
White for Lent	o	0	0	o	1
Yellow	o	ı	o	О	I
Unnamed	O	1	2	0	I
Total	3	10	5	3	13

The "inventory of Fringes and Banners" consists of three "frontells" or frontlets, *i.e.* the apparel to the altar cloth which hangs down to conceal the attachment of the frontal or nether-front; two more for adorning the Easter sepulchre; another for hanging over the head of the image of All Hallowen¹ at every principal feast, and a cloth to hang

i.e. of the Holy Trinity, as an old man holding a crucifix between his knees and a dove before his breast. In 1511 Warham found that at Lydd in the deanery of Lymme "they lack a principal image of Alhallowen," and enjoined them "to provide an image of the Holy Trinity, to whose honour the church was dedicated" by a certain date (British Magazine, 1846; vol. xxx, p. 264, § 404).

behind at the same times, given by Sir Maurice Hardwick in 1471.

There are two banners of stained work of All Hallowen and the Ascension, and another of cloth of silver; one of blue silk with a figure of All Hallowen of gold for the cross, and at a later date (c. 1500) another of blue sarsenet with gold flowers, the image of All Hallowen and the letters T. P. given by Thomas Pernaunt.

The jewels are many and costly. There is a silver-gilt cross weighing 220 oz., the tabernacle of the Coronation of our Lady already described, another (also at the high altar) of silver-gilt with a figure of St. Saviour, and two figures of John and Christian Haddon, and angels; both of these are valued at £20. The monstrant of silver-gilt given by Thomas and Joan Halleway, weighing 57½ oz., has been referred to above. To Roger Gurdeler's pix has now been added a spoon to match, the total weight being 45 oz. There is a pair of silver censers and a ship of the same metal, and a pair of silver candlesticks weighing 75 oz.

The chalices and patens are enumerated separately: five silver-gilt, one parcel-gilt, another all gilt given by the Leynells, and two belonging to Halleway's Chauntry. These are followed by a list of the corporas-cases, seven in number—one blue (another of the same colour given later by Katharin Leynell), one black, two green, one yellow, and one "old case with a lap-over." All but one contained a corporas-cloth. Besides these there is "i black corporas with a crown of gold," which may be a corporas-case, but seems to be an example of the rich corporasses which were coming into use in defiance of the canon law during the fifteenth century, and which developed into the modern chalice-veil. To hold the paten and bring in the sacred vessels are two pateners of needlework.

The "inventory of pillows," inventory of paxbreds and crewets," and "inventory of linen cloths for the best vestments" are not filled in. To these follow six inventories of deeds.

A list of the churchwardens and the good deeds done in their days is the next entry in the book, and followed by the churchwardens' accounts for the year 1407 (?) to 1482, with a few omissions. There is preserved in the church another series of accounts of 1446, 1449 to 1601 (also not quite complete), besides others of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These are in loose quires, indifferently cared for. The items are usually much fuller in the original than in the copy entered in the bound volume, and obscure places are often considerably illumined.

It will be convenient now to describe the church and its adornments as depicted in scattered items in the accounts.

There are certain payments and receipts in them which are annual items. Such are receipts for seats or pews, for burials or graves, and for "the crown and the cross." The former explain themselves. The crown and the cross seems to be the best cross, and the payment was for its use in the funeral processions. The Latin inventory of 1395 has an addition, "Item unum castellum cum iiij angelis pro cruce," and in the inventory of 1469 is the item, "i Crown with iiij Angels of tree painted," which seems to be the same thing, as we saw before.

There seem to have been special collections made on Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Easter Day every year, and generally on Shere (or Maundy) Thursday and Easter Even as well. On Palm Sunday it was usually for the suffragan's wages, and later for the sexton's. On Good Friday at first it is said to have been at the cross, i.e. at cross-creeping, when it was customary to offer small gifts of money and kind; and later these were devoted "to the reparation of the Jewells." For the other days the object varied: sometimes it is said to be for wax, sometimes for the pascall; and frequently to be "the duties of them that were huselled" in the case of all the gatherings (except those on Good Friday), and specially those of Easter Even and Easter Day.

Of annual payments, there is the usual contribution to the

cathedral church, entered as either "to the mother church" or "to our Lady of Worcester"; payments to the raker for cleaning away the church dust, for besoms and brushes, for the church wax (i.e. candles), for rushes and straw to cover the church floor, and for washing the church linen and scouring the candlesticks, &c. Keeping or watching the sepulchre, coals, bread, and ale for the watchers, bearing the banners in the Rogation processions, and a number of items for that on Corpus Christi Day are also yearly entered, until King Edward VI's time.

Upon the high altar on principal feasts would be the two silver-gilt tabernacles already described, with the rest of the "jewels," standing upon the reredos. After 1486 it was further adorned with Prior Herlowe's seventy-five gold flowers for holding tapers. The candlesticks set upon the altar were of latten on ordinary days, but they had also a pair of silver, which probably served for great feasts.

In 1411 two angels were painted "at the high altar" (perhaps those on the riddells already referred to), and there was a front, to the gilding of which one John Lord gave 10s. (died in 1514) and "the man of Lichfield that died at the New Inn" in 1515 also a small sum.

Some of the altar hangings were very magnificent, as, for instance, the set given by Dame Maud Spicer sometime between 1492 and 1496, containing apparel both for the over-part and the lower-part, made of Bruges satin, with flowers and a crucifix of gold set out on the same, with two "frontells" or frontlets of black velvet, with M's of gold crowned and "JHC" on them, fringed below with silk of changeable colours, and two curtains of blue satin for the altar ends with silk fringes of divers colours, which cost in all £7 185. 7d.

The Eucharist was reserved over the high altar in the fourteenth and following centuries, as was the common (though not universal) custom in England 1 and the north

¹ William Lindewode, Provinciale, Lib. III: Tit. De custodia eucharistie: Cap. Dignissimum: Verb. Cum clausura: Antwerpie, 1525; fol. claxix.

of France at this period. The pix given by Roger Gurdeler in 1305 has already been described. In 1520 the chain by which it was suspended was of silver. The lamp that hung in a bason before the Eucharist in the quire was endowed in 1397 by one Philip Excestre, Thomas de Wyndesore being vicar. The royal license for the same is still at All Saints, and is printed in the Archaeological Journal, 1901; lvii 179. It was further endowed by Thomas Halleway in founding his chauntry.

It was customary in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries for the lowermost cloth on the altar to be woven of hair,² to serve as a protection to the finer linen cloths laid over it. Such a cloth was bought in 1450 for the high altar, and again on the restoration under Queen Mary in 1554.

Four standard candlesticks stood in the quire before the altar, as at the neighbouring church of St. Nicholas and many others. The candles for the standards weighed 4 lbs. in 1480 and 5 lbs. in 1492. In 1495 were purchased a dozen tan skins to make cases for the standards and the gospeleagle. The latter, of latten, weighing 2 cwt. 1 qr., cost £8, and was given by Dame Maud Spicer. The standards required bars of iron to stay them in 1527.

By the high altar was a buffet, to hold the jewels, in 1542. In 1560 the stone altars were for the second time pulled down, a "communion table" replacing that in the quire in 1562. The Decalogue had been set up at the east end in the previous year.

In the chancel, by Winchelsey's orders, the parishioners had to provide the principal image, "to wit, that of the saint to which the church was dedicated: provided that," says Lindewode, "such image is imaginable.³ For when the

¹ For further information on the subject of the ceremonial use of lights in the Anglican Church, see Some Principles and Services of the Prayer Book Historically Considered, edited by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, Rivingtons, 1899; pp. 1 sq.

² See Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, 1900; vol. iv, pp.152 sq.

³ Lindewode, Provinciale, Lib. III: Tit. De ecclesiis edificandis: Cap. Ut farrochiani: Verb. Imaginem frincipalem.

church is dedicated in worship of All Hallowen, I do not think that an image representing all the saints could possibly be made, but either many ought to be made or none." At All Saints, Bristol, they had an image of All Hallowen (i.e. of the Trinity, I presume) instead, as appears from an entry in the accounts for 19-20 Edward IV: "These be the costs of the aumbries in the quire afore All Hallowen, and for ceiling of the arch, and for ceiling of the wall before the Rood Altar as it followeth." The image of the saint of the place was usually on the north side of the high altar, and one of our Lady often on the south.

There are frequent references to an image of "our Lady in the pillar," to irons about it, robes for it, &c. The Latin inventory of 1395 distinguishes between the image of our Lady and her Child "in the chapel" and that "in the pillar." There was also an image of St. Anne "in the pillar," but where these were does not appear. There was a bason with a light in it hanging before one of the images of our Lady in 1478.

On the south side of the quire was the presbytery, under a gable-window made by Sir Thomas Marshall. (On page 79 of the MS. the window is said to have been "at his own cost," but in 1407 (?) there is recorded the receipt of £6 from two persons for the same.) In the same year the accounts record the making of the presbytery, and in the following were bought "four cushions of stained work with eagles" for the same and the two chairs for the quire bought at the same time. It is evidently the same thing as the seats for the priest and his assistants, now more commonly known as the sedilia.

The year 1407 saw also the setting of children's seats in the quire, and the making of a pulpit. In 1520 two new forms were made for children in the quire.

A Dr. Harper presented the church with a great press for copes and vestments, which stood in the quire in the sixteenth century.

The north aisle was the Lady Chapel, called in the latter

half of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries more often by the name of Jesus Aisle, and the altar therein Jesus Altar. In the middle of the thirteenth century it would appear that there was no Lady Chapel,1 as the mass of St. Mary was said at the high altar. In 1333, on Friday after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul (i.e. June 30th), John [Snowe], Abbot2 of St. Austin's (and the other parties concerned) granted permission to build domum supra murum plage seu partis borialis eiusdem Ecclesie ab hostio . videlicet partis eiusdem et columpna eadem obiecta deorsum protensam triginta pedes in longitudine et versus vicum qui dicitur Corn strete ex transverso columpne predicte viginti et tres pedes in latitudine continentem, provided that prefata Ecclesia subtus domum predictum was not made strictior, brevior, aut angustior. About a century later, on November 14th, 1443, a conference was held in the chapter-house of the Greyfriars of Bristol between thirty-two parishioners of All Saints, including the wardens, and the prior and brethren of the Kalendars,3 concerning constructionem et fabricam domus cuiusdam modo ut speratur de novo construende et levande, supra quamdam Capellam beate marie situatam in ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum antedictam, in parte boriali eiusdem, in se extendendam a Campanili ecclesie illius ex parte Orientali . usque Domum Kalendarum ex parte Occidentali. After some "altercation" between the parties as to the division of the repairs and up-keep, it was settled to the satisfaction of all persons concerned, and on November 16th, the feast of St. Edmund Abp., 1443, a tripartite agreement4 was drawn up granting the permission from Walter [Newbury], Abbot of St. Austin's, with the assent

- ¹ Item lego domum meam . . . ad perpetuum iuvamen luminaris in eadem ecclesia ad missam beate virginis Marie ante summum altare (Will of Alice Halye, 1261 A.D. See Archaeological Journal, 1901; lviij, 163).
- ² MS. deed 233 at Bristol Museum Library, endorsed, "Inter Nos st fratres Kalendarum Bristollie de domo situata sufer Muros ecclesie omnium Sanctorum," and sealed with the Kalendars' seal on green wax. Indented.
- ³ From a MS, at All Saints, a "public instrument" drawn up by one Richard Morgan, clark, of the diocese of Worcester, and public notary.
- ⁴ One of the indentures is at the Bristol Museum Library, MS. 235, sealed with the Kalendars' seal on red wax, endorsed in the hand in which

and consent of his convent and the parishioners of All Saints. After reciting the charter of his predecessor, John [Snowe], it sets forth that the now prior and one Richard Haddon, executors of the will of John Haddon and Christina his wife, eandem Domum prosternere intendentes, et quasdam fenestras vitreas, ad lumen ecclesie predicte amplificandum, in dicto muro ubi eadem Domus de antiquo constructa existit, de novo construere et levare profonunt. Sic quod eadem ecclesia ad honorem Dei maiores pulcritudinem et decorem poterat adipisci. The Kalendars on their part undertake to pray uberius et libencius for the souls of the aforesaid, and all faithful departed. Permission is then granted to them to rebuild the house supra quandam Capellam beate Marie in ecclesia predicta in dicta parte Boriali, in se extendendam a Campanili Ecclesie illius ex parte Orientali, usque Domum predictam prioris et confratrum ex parte occidentali; after which the arrangements agreed on about repairs, &c., follow.

These proceedings show that the north aisle was the Lady Chapel, and that over it Sir John Gillard (then prior) and Richard Haddon built a room for the Kalendars, as is related in the book of records under the benefactions of those two "good-doers." This room is referred to in the same book as their "library." "The Library" is also mentioned in the accounts for 1586-7. The windows were glazed with the story of Te Deum Landamus by them; a new window had been put in in 1407.

There seems to have been a cupboard under the altar, or in the wall at the end of it. In 1407 hinges were bought for this altar, and in 1477 the lock of the little mister door at our Lady Altar's end was mended. In 1434 the riddells for this altar are mentioned, and again in the inventory of 1469.

On the south side of the Lady Altar was an image of Jesus, over which Alice Chester "let made in carved work a tabernacle with a Trinity in the middle," about 1470. She

the chief part of the records has been entered, "Evydenc' of be Kalendare for be Repacyon of be Gutter' nexte be Strete." Another copy is preserved at All Saints, with the remains of several seals.

also "let gild on her own cost our Lady Altar joining to the said image of Jesus." On the north side of the same altar she set up a tabernacle with three stories of our Lady, one of our Lady of Pity, the second of the Salutation of our Lady, and the third of the Assumption of our Lady. All were gilt.

In 1474 the hoop before our Lady's Pity was mended. This held up a curtain run on rings (1481), and painted with three stories of our Lady. In 1511 they set a hoop of iron over the carving of the Assumption. There was a candlestick before it, which was mended in 1523. The rope for the Salve bell in the tower ran by this image (1480). This bell was to call the people to the singing of the famous anthem Salve Regina every night after Complin.

There was an image of our Lady and her Child in the chapel, but its position is not indicated (1395). Mantles were provided for it, and a lamp hung in a bason before it, or that "in the pillar," it is not clear which (1437, 1474).

Near the south end of the altar, under the image of Jesus, was a door leading to the vestry, presumably in the same position as the present vestry under the tower (1521, 1541). There was a loft or gallery somewhere there called Jesus Loft (1539), perhaps across the first bay of the nave next to the roodloft, or else on a screen before the altar.

Before the altar hung a lamp in a bason (1450, 1500), and there was a coffer in 1437 to hold tapers and torches standing near it. In 1474 mention is made of "one of the misters afore Jhesu."

The most noteworthy altar-cloths were a set given by Alice Chester, the overfront representing our Lord rising out

¹ A fair image of our Blessed Lady, having the afflicted body of her dear son, as he was taken down off the cross, lying along in her lapp, the tears, as it were, running down pitifully upon her cheeks, as it seemed, bedewing the said sweet body of her son, and therefore named *The Image of our Lady of Pitty* (J. P. Neale, *Views of . . . Collegiate and Parochial Churches*, London, 1825; vol. ij, *The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford*, p. 13). Cf. the shorter description of a similar image in the *Description of all the Rites of Durham*, Surtees Society, 1842; p. 33.

of the Sepulchre, sometimes called our Lord's Pity, with a netherfront and two curtains all "of one work."

In the 8 Edward IV there was a large expenditure for "the stuff and the handiwork of your new seges in our Lady chapel afore Jhesus." The items cover nearly three pages in the original quire. It would appear that the work was hurried on as quickly as possible, since they provided "tallow candles for to give light to the carpenters on evenings and a mornings to work by." On Saturday, October 8th, John Hill, the carpenter, received 3s. 4d. for six days' work, and his man 6d. for three days. On Saturday, October 15th, he received 2s. 83d. for five days' work, and his man 10d. for the same time. On the following Saturday he had another 2s. 81d. for the same amount of work, and his man 10d.; John Gryffethe, another carpenter, receiving 2s. 8 d. "for 5 days work in the week of St. Luke." On the 29th Hill only had 2s. 5d., as he had only worked four and a half days, and his man 9d. John Griffethe had the same as Hill. On the 5th, 12th, and 19th of November similar payments were made. The pews seem to have had doors, as hinges (jemmews) and locks were bought; also "3 clamps of iron, the which bindeth the seges unto the church wall." The mason was called in at the same time to make "the stapp afore Jhc." Yet it seems a long time to take to make but "3 segys." The cost was 56s.

In 1474 2d. was paid "for the mending of a sege underneath the Kalendars beneath in the church," perhaps one of these; and in 1477 another sum of 8d. "for the mending of the seges next to the Kalendars' door in the nether end of the church," which also may refer to these. On the other hand, there may have been many pews in the aisle and in the nave.

In 1480 the wall of the north aisle before the image of Jesus was ceiled. When the altars were restored under Mary, Jesus Altar was set up with the others.

It was a custom every year to provide a breakfast for the priests and clerks that sang our Lady Mass in Lent.

In 1430 there was made a long desk in this chapel,

probably the same as the "desk for the singers at our Lady Altar" of the inventory of 1469.

The altar of the holy rood was situate in the south aisle, where now is the monument to Edward Colston, the great philanthropist and good churchman. The south aisle is commonly called the Cross or Rood Aisle. A deed endorsed "the Alms house 12d. 2 Evidences" mentions that one Hugh Kict left 12d. rent assize to support a lamp burning daily before the altar of the holy rood in All Saints. The deed was drawn up in the mayoralty of Simon Clerk, i.e. 1268 a.d. according to Ricart's Kalendar. Martin Draper also contributed to the same, about the middle of the thirteenth century, if we can trust the statement in this present book.

During the fourteenth century we hear nothing of the Rood Aisle, but in the early part of the fifteenth it was rebuilt. William Worcester' records that his uncle, Sir Thomas Botoner, Fellow of the Kalendars, who died when he (William) was about six years old, was buried in the eastern part of the south porch, but that he believed his bones were removed at the time of the building of the new aisle. As William Worcester was born in 1415, this would show that the south aisle was rebuilt about 1421.

To the building of this aisle one John Forges, cook, subscribed £5 6s. 8d., John Pers in 1431 the sum of twenty marks. Thomas Halleway and his wife Joan subscribed £20 to it. Thomas Fyler (died in 1425?) and his wife Agnes (died in 1467) gave the roof. Sir Thomas Marshall in 1434 paid for the glazing of two windows in the aisle, one of the seven works of Mercy and the other of the seven sacraments. The window over the altar was glazed in 1437.

Chained to a pillar inside the enterclose of the altar was a breviary given by Sir William Warrens in 1482.

After the death of her husband in 1471 Alice Chestyr erected a new front (probably a reredos) for the Rood Altar

¹ Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre, Cantabrigiae, 1778; p. 190.

in the south aisle. It had five principal images—one of St. Anne, the second of St. Mary Magdalen, the third of St. Giles, the fourth of St. Erasmus, and the fifth of St. Anthony. It was all gilded "full worshipfully." She also gave a cloth of the Passion of our Lord to be drawn before the altar at certain times, after the pleasure of the vicar and the parishioners. In 1478 there was put up an iron rod or wire for the cloth to hang by before the altar, and from which it was suspended by forty-two rings. It would seem to have hung in front of the reredos, and not to be the netherfront, as 3d. was paid "for setting in of the irons in the wall." Four staples of iron were bought at the same time for holding up the riddells at the altar ends.

Under the end of the Rood Altar was a little mister or cupboard, for the door of which a new key was bought in 1477.

There was a lamp in a bason hanging before this altar; in fact the earliest allusion to the altar is in an endowment of the light before it.

In 1474 mention is made of "the little vestry door at the Rood Altar end." This little door is still to be seen at the north end of the Colston monument. Over it Alice Chestyr had set "a crucifix with Mary and John."

Sir John Gyllarde, Prior of the Kalendars, who died in 1451, presented the church with four seats in the Cross Aisle, which cost him £3; and John Haddon, whose executor he was, made the Story of the Doom, a very favourite subject in the later Middle Ages, in the same aisle. A good example of this may be seen over the chancel arch at St. Thomas's, Salisbury.

There remain two more altars which were still in existence in the sixteenth century, and a third of which we know no more than that one John Kyft, in the latter part of the thirteenth century, left a rent to sustain a lamp burning before it. All further traces of it have disappeared. The other two—dedicated the one to St. Thomas, and the other

to SS. John Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Dunstan—were most probably situate one on either side of the quire door under the roodloft. In the accounts for March 25th, 1549—March 25th, 1550, is a payment of 4s. 4d. "for white liming where the roodloft stood, and for stopping the holes, and for breaking down the two altars, and for paving where they stood." And in an inventory of the goods of Halleway's Chauntry (which was founded at the second of the two altars), dated March 27th, 1457, is mentioned "a little tye that standeth between the vicar and the said altar." This would place St. John's Altar on the south and St. Thomas's on the north side of the quire door. An arrangement of this sort was very common; at the church of St. Mary, Guilden Morden, Cambridgeshire, the entercloses of the altars in this position may still be seen.

There was also an altar in the vestry in 1524.

In 1430 a new table (reredos) was carved and painted for St. Thomas's Altar, and fifty years later, at the cost of 43s, 4d., they made "a new front otherwise called a reredos, with three houses (for three images)" at the same altar.

Dame Maud Spicer gave a pair of latten candlesticks, "to stand continually upon St. Thomas's Altar," in the last decade of the fifteenth century. They bought a canvas cloth in 1521 to cover the linen altar-cloths out of mass time, and a hair cloth 2 yards long to lay on the altar underneath them. The inventory of 1469 mentions two cloths of blue damask-work, and one with popinjays and "scriptures," as belonging to this altar. In 1526 they bought a desk for it.

On the vicar's side of the quire, under the roodloft, stood the altar of SS. John Baptist, John the Evangelist, and Dunstan, as it is termed in the official documents relating to the foundation of the Chauntry of Thomas and Joan Halleway¹ thereat. It was the morrow-mass altar,

¹ For some account of this chauntry, and a nearly complete set of original documents concerning it, see the *Transactions of Bristol and Glowcestershire Archaeological Society* for 1902; vol. xxiv, pp. 74 sq.

and one Thomas ap Howell gave the table of alabaster (or reredos) that stood upon it. The morrow-mass bell and its apparatus were given by Thomas Halleway, who also paid for all the pews before it. In 1457 belonging to the chauntry at this altar were "two stained cloths for the altar, performed, one of the Passion above, and another beneath of the three Kings of Cologne; with two riddells, one on one side of the Passion, and another in the other side, with two false cloths in the back side of them. Also another stained cloth beneath for the said altar of St. John Baptist." In the inventory of of 1469 the former are described as "of the Nativity and the Passion of Christ," and the latter "of white, with an image of St. John the Baptist." Besides these, there was a cloth with popinjays and scriptures, and probably a set of blue cloths for the same altar.

To lie upon it was "an hair to the said altar," and a double set of altar linen: "two altar-cloths of canvas for to lie next the altar, two altar-cloths of crest cloth to lie upon the canvas, and two altar-cloths of Brabant [linen] for to lie above": and to save the trouble of putting the cloths away out of mass time, "a canvas to the said altar to hele him withal."

In 1436 they made entercloses about all the nether altars, for which purpose they bought, amongst other things, a load of freestone.

We first meet with the enterclose in the accounts of 1407, and in those of 1430 the rood screen and loft were put up at considerable cost. Twelve dishes or bowls of latten were brought from London to hold the rood lights. There are payments besides to the painter, the plasterer, and the glazier. In 1473 they put up a new loft and enterclose for 55s. 8d., and put the organ in it. Ten years later Alice Chestyr presented the church with a magnificent one, which has been already described. In 1549-50 the loft was pulled down, to be re-erected under Mary, and again pulled down after her death.

There are the usual payments for rood lights, and for

candles in the loft on Christmas morning. No description of the images and of the rood have survived, but there are payments for the cloth before the rood on Palm Sunday and its cord. "At the end of the procession on this day," when the people are once again entered into the church, then doth all the people kneel down, and the priest plucking up the cloth wherewith the crucifix was covered, and making it open to all that are there present, singeth a certain song [Ave Rex noster. And so endeth the procession." On this day also the roodloft was used for the chanting of the Passion by a body of priests and clerks. It does not appear that the gospeller was up there, but he read the words of our Lord. while the chorus of high voices chanted those of the Jews or the disciples, and others sang the words of the Evangelist. But at Long Melford the priest who read the Passion on Good Friday stood in the roodloft.

The chief use of the roodloft was, however, to hold the organs and the singers, at any rate in the later Middle Ages. In 1454 there were several payments for the organs, but whether these were in the roodloft is not stated. In 1472, however, they bought new organs and set them up in the roodloft, at a cost of over £14, and a desk was set up there at the same time. It seems that they did not pay the whole sum down, as three years later there is the record of a payment of 135. 4d. to Robert Bonnoke, "in part payment of the said organs"; and the wardens continue: "We could not have deliverance of our organs till the time that Bonnok was paid, the which we ask allowance for." In the accounts presented in 1519 there is mention of "a book at the organs," and in the following year of "the window in the organ loft." Whether this was identical with the roodloft does not appear.

¹ Thomas Becon, Early Works, Parker Society, 1843; p. 116.

² J. P. Neale, Views of . . . Collegiate and Parechial Churches, London, 1825; vol. ij, Melford, p. . . And the gospel was undoubtedly read from the roodloft on Corpus Christi Day at Wingham Collegiate Church, at the end of Henry VIII.'s reign or thereabouts, and a cross was carried before the reader (Sacristy, 1871; vol. i, p. 376).

In 1520 they bought new organs, and a plank and stool for the same, which perhaps were "the organs in the quire" which were mended in 1523, and the little organs of 1531. Three years after the organs were re-formed. That the organs were not destroyed in the Puritan triumph of Edward VI's reign is evident from these items:—

"1549—1550. For making 2 peyses (weights) for the organs, 2d."

"1550—1551. For a cord for the organs, amount 2d."

Occasionally we find payments to the organist, e.g. in 1479, 1561, and 1562; and to the organ-blower, e.g. in 1556 and 1557.

Among the numerous good deeds of the Spicers in the last quarter of the fifteenth century may here be mentioned their decoration of the lower part of the nave. They spent 30s. "for the painting of two stories on two pillars of the lower part of the church, the one story over the font of the Baptising of our Lord Jesus Christ, and on that other pillar of the other part of the church a figure otherwise an image of St. Christopher."

It is now generally recognised that pews or seats in churches are not an innovation of the sixteenth century, so that no surprise is felt at the receipt of 2s. for two seges in the earliest of the churchwardens' accounts, those for 1407, that have survived at All Saints. From that time seats form a source of revenue of varying amount. In those for 1455 the sum realised was 11s. 2d. It would seem that the sums paid were usually not annual rents, but for life tenancy, for the names do not reappear as a rule, and persons are mentioned as owning seats for which no sum appears in the receipts of that year. For instance, compare the following lists of those who paid for seats from six consecutive years, the 3rd to the 9th of the reign of Edward IV:—

¹ William Lindewode, Provinciale, Lib. III: Tit. De ecclesijs edificandis: Cap. Ut farrochiani: Verb. Interius: Antwerpie, 1525; fol. clxxxiij. The repair of the nave of the church within was understood by him to include whitewashing the walls and making seats.

3.4 EDWARD IV.

Howell ap rysse (for changing his seat and his wife's), 8d.

William Bennett, 7d.

Thomas Abyngton (for his wife's seat), 8d.

John Lemsstyr, cook (for his and his wife's), 16d. [sabell Skey, 6d.

Thomas Golde, 4d.

5-6 EDWARD IV.

The harpmaker, for his and his wife's, 8d.

Jsabell of the "almosse hows," 4d.

Thomas Denne for his and his wife's, 12d.

Katherine Hardware, 4d.

John Myllan, one for him and his wife, 8d.

John Aleyn, one for him and his wife, 12d.

Jsabell Payne, 4d.

7-8 EDWARD IV.

Kateryn Hardewarewoman for a year's rent for a sege, 3s. 4d.

Giles Hardewareman and his wife, 16d.

Thomas Welsche's wife, 8d. (?)

Walter Trevet and his wife, 2s.

Thomas Nores, 8d.

Richard Aleyne and his wife, 16d.

Davy hosteler for his wife's, 12d.

4-5 EDWARD IV.

Thomas Abyngton, for his. seat, 8d.

Jennett Barbur, 6d.

Jennett Bennett, 6d.

Davy Ostelar, for his wife's, 8d.

Davy Ostelar, for his own, 12d.

6-7 EDWARD IV. Mariore Mony, 7d. Jenet Roberdes, 8d.

8-9 EDWARD IV. John Pynner, 2s. 8d. Jhon Chestyr, 16d.

And in the accounts for the year 3-4 Edward IV we find these items:—

- "Payde for a borde of elm to mende thomas taylors modours seeg and Jennett golde seeg, iijd."
- "Payde for the mendinge of Kateryne Cynell seeg, jd." Again in those for 6-7 Edward IV:-
 - "Payde for the mendynge in thomas Denne seeg, ijd."

In the accounts for 1496-7 there are payments for the new pews and

"pd for takyng hop of the hold puys, 6d."

In those for 1529-30 there is a payment to the sexton for making clean "the new pews." In 1532-3 they bought for 4s. "four bundles of mats to dress the steps before the high altar and the rest that was left set by the pews side in the church." In 1534 there was one called "the Almshouse pew." Others were: "The blind woman's pew" in 1518, "the Poor Womens' pew" (1569), and "the Shriving pew" (1590). The last appears to be an example of an Elizabethan confessional box.

Besides the images already mentioned, one comes across that of St. Nicholas (1448) and of St. George (1521). In Michaelmas quarter, 1538, they set up "the Five Wounds" and took down "the images."

Besides the vestments mentioned in the inventories, others are mentioned in the accounts and elsewhere. Dame Maud Spicer, for instance, gave a single vestment of red cloth of gold that cost her £6 6s. 8d., and another of light blue damask, with the Five Wounds on the cross. The second best suit was but of bawdkin, until Katharin Leynell gave a finer suit of blue velvet, with branches of gold, and orphreys of red velvet having gold eagles displayed on them. When vestments got dirty it would seem that they could be washed, as was the second suit in 1475.

In 1495 they spent 33s. 2d. on repairing the church vestments: the items are numerous, and include ribbon, fringe, tuke, lockram, black say, copper-gold, silk, buckram,

red Cyprus of "borgens," blue satin of Cyprus, bread to scour the boars, &c. A cering candle for waxing purposes is also mentioned.

In the accounts presented in 1501 are mentioned the blue copes, a blue vestment, the black vestments, the white copes, and items for making the black vestments; and in the expenses of Corpus Christi Day: "To 2 young men for bearing of the two white tunicles, 2d." Lenten vestments were made that year, of white fustian. The blue vestments and the black cope are again mentioned in 1531.

In 1524 they bought a new press for copes and set it in the vestry, as well as a new frame with misters for vestments.

With the accession of Queen Mary came the revival of decency in public worship, and we read of the purchase of "a cope to wear the Sundays," "two vestments for the week," and "the copes and vestments of cloth of tissue." In 1555 they bought "a cope of red velvet embroidered with gold" and "a blue vestment" with the same adornment. One item further deserves notice, apropos of the modern custom of wearing a square Italian cap on the head with the mass vestments:—

"1555-56. Paid for satin to make a parell for the amice to put on the priest's head, and for mending the copes, 4s. 4d."

Of the surplices, rochets, &c., little need be said. That the former were not of the indecent and scanty proportions at present popular in high church circles is evident, as the vicar's took ten ells of linen in 1445, the clerk's eight ells of Normandy linen in 1487, and of dowlas in 1527, and the suffragan's or second clerk's five ells in 1518. The clerk's only took three ells of lockram¹ in 1500. In 1467 one surplice took nine ells of holland, and in 1477 the same. A rochet took four ells in 1487.

We read of a surplice without sleeves in 1474, and

¹ Probably a surplice without sleeves.

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surplices for children; and for priests, men, sexton, and children in 1542.

In 1557-8 was made a damask alb; it was against this sort of thing that the rubric in the book of 1549 requiring a white alb plain was directed.

There are numerous allusions to the books in the accounts. Amongst them we may notice the five carol books and five song books of square note in 1525, two five-part masses in 1526, and five pricksong books of eight masses in 1527, when they also had four books of masses and anthems of trebles and means for children. The song for St. Nicholas night was the prose Sospitati dedit egros, sung after the ninth respond at St. Nicholas matins, December 6th. At St. Nicholas Church, the next parish, the clerk used to have the avails or tips "on St. Nicholas night going with Sospitati." -

The following obits were kept in All Saints' Church in the sixteenth century:—

Thomas Fylour and Agnes his wife, November 20th.

Henry and Alice Chester and Humphrey Hervy, February 14th (1st obit).

Thomas Spicer and Dame Maud his wife, February 15th. Good Doers (Thursday after Ash Wednesday).

Henry Chester and Humphrey Hervy, March 3rd (2nd obit).

William Newbury, May 10th.

Dame Joan Pernaunt, May 26th (first in 1535-1536).

Thomas Hallewey and Joan his wife (special chauntry).

There was also a chauntry founded early in the fourteenth century by one Roger Turtle; but only one document exists now at All Saints connected with it, the directions for its foundation, and that, with the record of the licence, is all that remains. In this document Roger Tortle confirms to God, the church of All Saints, and to Sir Henry de Faireford, chaplain, and brother of the Kalendars, and to his successors a certain messuage, &c., in Corn Street, to the foundation

¹ Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1327-1330, Record Series, 1891; p. 310.

of a chauntry in the said church about the third hour, i.e. 9.0 a.m.

There were many other obits kept only for a short term of years; John Lord's priest, who owned a buffet in 1518, belonged to one of these. In Queen Mary's days they kept up the obits of Spicer and Pernaunt, and three in 1559-60.

The bells numbered two in 1470, the great bell and the second bell; but by 1533 they had four, which were then recast and a fifth added. The old great bell weighed 15 cwt., but in the new set the heaviest was only 13 cwt. 1 qr. 25 lbs.

Public dinners were as much in vogue in medieval England as now, and all business of importance seems to have required drinks or a banquet. Thus when in 1475 they "paid to Horn for the deed of Margery Mony's place that Amy Howell dwells in—for we should not else have had it out of his hands—6s. 8d.," they also "paid for wine unto him to please him with, 8d." The recorder, about the same time, brought and delivered to them two deeds from Thomas Fylour of London, and was consequently given a gallon of wine. Two Londoners left the church bequests in 1479, and 3s. 4d. was spent on a dinner to receive them.

Those priests and clerks who took part in the Lenten Lady Mass had an annual dinner. Judging by the bill of costs in 1503 4-1504/5 they fed fairly well:—

For a Dinner to the priests & Clerks for our Lady Mass

Jn primis for 2 pigs		•••		•••	I 2d.
Jtem for 2 ribs of be	af			• • •	iod.
Jtem for 2 "costs"	of mu	ton			5d.
Jtem for bread		•••			6d.
Jtem for ale	••		•••		6d.
Jtem for wine .					12d.
Jtem for fire and spi	ce				3d.
-			Summ	ia, 48	. 6d.

On the day of account from 1499 onwards there was a

supper for the parishioners. In 1539 they provided the following:—

For 5 shoulders of mutton for the supper						
For 2 "lownds"	of veal	•••			iod.	
For a lamb	•••				20d.	
Paid for a dozen	of chicl	kens			20d.	
Jtem for a coupl	e of cap	ons	•••		25.	
Jtem for bread	•••		•••		8d.	
For a dozen of a	le				13d.	
Jtem for spices					9d.	

During the Corpus Christi procession there was a station or halt for wine, in the Marsh, during the sixteenth century; and after it was over, a dinner or a breakfast (it is called both) was provided. With the dinner at the time of the General Mind we have already dealt.

Occasionally we read of special collections for some specific object, as for instance in 1430 the receipt of £5 8s. 6d. "given of divers people of the parish for the great candlesticks" is acknowledged. On Palm Sundays a collection was made for the suffragan's wages, and later on for the sexton's. The suffragan was the name given in Bristol to the second or assistant clerk, and at All Saints he gradually took on the name of the sexton. But at other churches they seem to have been distinct persons. In 1477 the old suffragan became beadman by command of "the goodmen of the parish." In the later obits' accounts the beadman becomes the bellman. It was his duty to cry the obits, and ask for the bedes (or prayers) of his hearers on behalf of the deceased.

On All Saints' Day the Mayor and Sheriff¹ of Bristol were used "after dinner to assemble with all the whole council at the Tolsey, with many other Gentles and worshipful commoners, such as appeareth there at that time; and from thence to go into All Hallowen Church, there to offer, and from thence to walk all in fere unto the Mayor's place, there to have their fire and their drinkings with spiced cake bread

¹ The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar, Camden Society, 1872; p. 79.

and sundry wines: the cups merily serving about the house: and then from thence every man departing unto his parish church to evensong."

The accounts for 1437 mention the procession on Sunday before St. Lawrence's Day (i.e. August 5th) "for breaking of the siege of Calais" on June 26th preceding. Amongst other events referred to are the ringing at the death of Henry VII (February 22nd, 1509), ringing at the procession for the capture of the French King on February 24th, 1525, and for the birth of Edward VI in October, 1537. According to Seyer, there was a general procession in Bristol of joy on the St. Luke's Day following, which is evidently referred to in the payment to children for bearing up the copes included in the item for ringing. In 1539 the relics were sent to the bishop.

In the summer of 1574 Elizabeth visited Bristol, and the accounts record a payment for ringing for her. In 1578 the local ship *Swallow* was captured by the Turks, and the payment to the man of Plymouth who was captured by the same seems to refer to this. In 1596 they contributed to John Claudius' ransom in Candia.

Several large fires occurred in Elizabeth's reign, and All Saints' parish helped with their contributions. In 1595 three towns were burnt in Cornwall, Wolverhampton on May 3rd, 1596, and Stratford-on-Avon on May 24th.

The following list of vicars has been compiled from the various notices in wills, deeds, and churchwardens' account, which I have had occasion to examine in getting up this paper:—

Stephan de Gnohussale was there in 1254 (see Archaeological Journal, 1901, lviij, p. 159).

William Selk was there in 1261 (Will of Alice Halye, see *ibid.*, p. 164). Made his will in 1270 (see *Trans. Br. and Glo. Arch. Soc.*, 1890-1, plate xxxv).

¹ The whole Order howe our Soveraigne Ladye Queene Elizabeth was received into the Citic of Bristone in 1574 is printed in the first volume of J. Nichols' Progresses . . . of Queen Elizabeth, London, 1788.

William Scoche was there c. 1290 (? 1285) (see Archaeological Journal, 1901; Iviij, 170: in 1303 ibid.).

Walter Isgar died as vicar in 1321 (MS. Records, p. 78).

William Lenche was there in 1363 (Calendar of entries in Papal Registers, Rolls Series, 1896; vol. i, p. 429); in 1366 (Lease of a tenement in High Street, at All Saints); in 1385 (Will of Walter Derby in Great Orphan Book, fol. 15). The statement on page 315 of the Records that he was vicar at the time of the earlier inventory, 1395-6, must be a mistake. The original Latin version does not mention him.

Robert Amfray, presented on December 4th, 1388 (Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1385—1389, Record Series, 1900; p. 537).

Thomas Marchall, vicar, and Reginald Knap and Thomas Haleway, proctors, with the consent of several comparishioners, grant to Philip Excestre 16s. silver annual rent from a tenement in High Street, the Green Lattice, September 16th, 16 Richard II, 1392. The official witnesses are Thomas Knap, mayor, John Bannebury, sheriff, John Burton and Richard Hantefford, bailiffs and chamberlains. There are two other documents dealing with this money, dated October 17th, 13 Richard II, and September 20th, 16 Richard II.

Thomas de Wyndesore was there January 16th, 1396/7 (Archaeological Journal, 1901; lviij, 178).

Thomas Marchall was there in 1407 (perhaps earlier) according to the churchwardens' accounts attributed to that year, and died June 7th (? 17th), 1434 (Records, p. 78). He witnessed two deeds at All Saints on Christmas Eve, 1421, and August 10th, 1422, respectively.

Richard Parkhouse, who followed Marshall, died August 8th, 1436 (Records, 79).

William Rodberd, his successor, died June 6th, 1453 (Records, 80).

William Were, his successor, died or left in 1454 or 1455. (judging by the headings of the accounts).

Maurice Hardwyk, his successor, came in 1455, and died

in 1472 or 1473 (Records, 82. He gave several things to the church on April 4th, 1471, recorded on p. 84).

William Howe (1474 was the second year of his coming, Records, 85) was present at the accounts-audit in 1479.

John Thomas was the vicar when the accounts were presented in 1480. He was vicar in 1492 (Will of Thomas Baker), and in 1494 (Records, 1094).

Richard Bromefeld, or Bremefeld, was there in 1507 (Records, 614).

John Flook was there in 1525 and in 1530 according to three deeds at All Saints.

Humphrey Hyman was there in 1543 and 1544 according to two deeds at All Saints.

William Hastlen was there in 1569 and 1590 according to the accounts.

John Knyght was vicar in 1591 and 1596 according to the accounts.

Francis Arnold was vicar in 1597 and 1600 according to the accounts.

Such are the chief matters of interest in these valuable records of the parish of All Saints from the fourteenth century on to the seventeenth, and one may conclude with the quaint remark at the end of the accounts for the year 19-20 Edward IV, 1480:—

"Paid forthwith, & so discharged every man pleased."