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The Guild of Kalendars, Bristol

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By NICHOLAS ORME

FEW INSTITUTIONS of the medieval church were more popular and widespread than religious guilds. The term denotes a voluntary society founded in order to carry out religious devotions or works of charity. The very fact that they were voluntary gives us an excellent guide to the kinds of religious activities popular in medieval times and the kinds of people who took an active part in church life. There were religious guilds at almost all times and in nearly all places in medieval England. They already existed before the Conquest and continued to do so until their suppression in 1548 by the government of Edward VI. They were to be found in all the English cities and towns, in many of the villages, and even in some of the scattered communities of the moors and hills. They drew their members from the whole social order, from the king himself down to the poorest labourers and artisans. There were guilds of clergy, guilds of laymen, guilds of women, and guilds combining more than one of these groups. There were guilds attached to cathedrals and religious houses, serving some of the purposes carried out by 'leagues of friends' today. There were poor guilds, dedicated to the maintenance of a single lamp before the image of their patron saint, and there were wealthy institutions with lands and rents, chapels and guildhalls, employing their own priests and supporting schools and public works. Nor was this all that the guilds did. They also specialized in the organization of pilgrimages, the saying of intercessions for the living and the dead, the giving of charity to the sick and poor, the pacification of quarrels, and the promotion of friendship and fellowship among their own members.

The guild of Kalendars in medieval Bristol belonged to one particular group within the class of religious guilds in general. It was a rare group as far as England was concerned. There were guilds of Kalendars at Exeter and Winchester during the later middle ages, and possibly in one or two other towns, but they do not seem to have been common.¹ They were more widespread in northern Germany and Denmark, where they were founded in large numbers during the 13th and 14th centuries.² Whether the English and German guilds originated from a single source or grew up independently is not yet clear, but they certainly shared some of the same features. They were all associations of clergy and laity, the clergy being seculars—rectors, vicars and chaplains—rather than monks or friars, while the laity usually included both men and women. The clergy were the senior partners in the association, and the president of the Kalendars' guilds was almost invariably a cleric. Their most distinctive activity, from which their name arose, was to meet in church on or near the kalends, that is to say the first day of the month. There they celebrated mass and interceded for the good estate of their living brethren and for the repose of the souls of those who were dead. Apart

In the footnotes the following abbreviations are used: B.R.O. (Bristol Record Office); B.R.U.O., I-III (A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500* (3 vols., 1957-9)); B.R.U.O., IV (Ibid., 1501-40 (1974)); H.W.R.O. (Hereford & Worcester Record Office, Worcester).

1. On the Exeter guild see N. Orme, 'The Kalendar Brethren of the City of Exeter', *Reports & Trans. Devon Assn.*, CIX (1977), 153-69, and on that of Winchester, A. W. Goodman, ed., *Registrum Henrici Woodlock Episcopi Wintoniensis* (Canterbury & York Soc., XLIII-IV, 1940-1), 635-9.

2. For a brief sketch of the German guilds and a bibliography see *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (New York, 1967), VIII, 114-15.

from this they shared in the activities common to other kinds of religious guilds. They collected money and paid out benefits to those of their members who were old or sick, they pacified their members' quarrels, and when any of them died the others arranged his funeral. They accompanied his body to the grave, organized prayers for his soul, and commemorated his death at regular intervals.

The early history of the Bristol guild is a fugitive subject. In the virtual absence of other documents we are largely dependent on a single source: an inquisition held in 1318 by the rural dean of Bristol, Robert Hasele, at the command of the bishop of Worcester.³ The inquisition was ordered because certain people had recently infringed the rights and liberties of the guild. The dean, after some hesitation, heard evidence on the matter from various interested parties including the canons of St Augustine's Abbey, the mayor and burgesses, and several local rectors and vicars. On this basis he sent to the bishop an account of the origin and history of the guild down to his own time. The account is not free from errors. The witnesses were over-anxious to link the history of the guild with the great figures of Bristol's past. They confused Robert Fitzhamon (d. 1107) with his son-in-law Robert earl of Gloucester (d. 1147), and they dated the death of earl Robert in the reign of Henry II instead of that of Stephen. They credited the papal legate Gualo with holding a council in Bristol before the coronation of Henry III in 1216 instead of afterwards, and assumed that William of Blois was bishop of Worcester at the same time, whereas he only came to this office two years later. Setting aside these obvious inaccuracies, we are left with a residue of assertions which call for serious consideration. The first of these concerns the origin of the guild. The witnesses did not claim to have an exact knowledge of this matter, which they said surpassed the memory of man. They believed, however, that the guild went back to late Saxon times at least, and that its meetings were first held in the city church of the Holy Trinity (now Christ Church) 'in the time of Aylward Mean and Bristricus his son', lords of Bristol before the Conquest. This need not have been wholly fanciful. Towards the end of the 15th century when William Worcester was making his survey of Bristol, he saw and read what he called 'letters certificatory [written] in an ancient hand of the time of Saint Wulstan, bishop', which seemed to date the origin of the guild to about the year 700.⁴ The same letters (Wulstan was bishop of Worcester from 1062 to 1095) may well have been available at the inquisition of 1318. None of this evidence, unfortunately, is capable of proof today. The date 700 anticipates by two or three centuries what is at present thought to be the origin of Bristol as a settlement, and Wulstan's letters may have been forged or misinformed. Nevertheless, if there is no contemporary evidence in favour of the theory, there is equally nothing against it. Several religious guilds of clergy and laity are known to have existed elsewhere in England on the eve of the Conquest.⁵ The guild of Kalendars in Exeter also claimed to possess Saxon origins. Bristol was important enough by the early 11th century to have supported such a guild, and the site of Holy Trinity in the very centre of the town suggests that the church itself dates back to the early years of the settlement. It certainly existed by 1147.⁶ The truth of it all may never be known, but a strong possibility, at any rate, attaches to the assertion that the guild of Kalendars already functioned in late Saxon times.

After the Conquest, says the account of 1318, the guild continued to meet in Holy Trinity church until the reign of Henry II (1154-89) when Robert Harding, with the king's consent and that of earl Robert of Gloucester, moved the meeting place to the nearby church of All Saints. Once again the evidence is uncorroborated, but there is nothing against it except for the inclusion of Robert of Gloucester who had died in 1147. Robert Harding or Fitzharding was the most famous Bristolian of the 12th century and founder of the Berkeley family. He died in 1171. The translation of the guild to All Saints, if it were his responsibility, probably resulted from his foundation of the abbey of St Augustine's during the 1140s (it was dedicated in 1148).⁷ At some time between 1154 and 1189

3. F. B. Bickley, ed., *The Little Red Book of Bristol* (2 vols., 1900), I, 206-9.

4. J. Nasmith, ed., *Itineraria Simonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre* (1778), 190, 253.

5. Dorothy Whitelock, ed., *English Historical Documents*, c. 500-1042 (1955), 557-60.

6. Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley and others (1817-30), II, 70-1.

7. *V.C.H. Gloucs.*, II, 75.

the abbey acquired the patronage of All Saints, whereas Holy Trinity fell into the hands of Tewkesbury Abbey to which it already belonged by 1147.⁸ It would have been natural for Robert to seek an association between the guild, of which he was likely a member, and the abbey which he had just founded nearby. The brethren of the guild may also have preferred to link themselves with their own new local abbey, rather than with Tewkesbury at the other end of the county. The translation was certainly not to the guild's disadvantage. It continued to meet in All Saints until the Reformation without any let or hindrance from the abbey, as far as we know. On the contrary, as we shall see, the abbey freely allowed the guild to erect its buildings against the walls of the church without exacting any rents or charges in return.

As well as transferring the guild, the inquisition of 1318 asserted that Robert Harding 'established the schools of Bristol for the Jews and for the teaching of other children under the government of the guild and the protection of the mayor of Bristol for the time being'. 'Schools for the Jews' is a puzzle. John Leland, the Tudor antiquary, who reproduced the inquisition in his *Itinerary* of about 1540, glossed it as 'schools for the conversion of the Jews',⁹ but although Bristol had a Jewish community during the 12th and 13th centuries, it is highly improbable that any Christian organization existed either for schooling or converting them. No such school is mentioned in any other English town during the middle ages, and even London did not possess a house for Jewish converts until the middle of the 13th century.¹⁰ It seems more likely that a misunderstanding has arisen of the Latin words *scola Judeorum* which mean a synagogue, not a school.¹¹ It is quite possible that the Kalendars possessed a tenement in Bristol which had once been used as a synagogue, and that a tradition to this effect survived in a garbled form. A former Jewish synagogue in Wine Street is mentioned in the 13th century, and this was a street in which the Kalendars later held property.¹² The reference to them being given control of a school for the teaching of other, that is Christian, children has little more value. True, public schools were coming to be organized in most of the major English towns by the second half of the 12th century, and this usually involved the designation of a 'patron' or authority responsible for their supervision.¹³ The patrons, generally religious houses, did not undertake the actual teaching; they merely appointed the masters who did. But if the Kalendars ever exercised any patronage over schools in Bristol, it does not seem to have lasted very long. We never hear of it in later times, and Leland records a tradition that 'William earl of Gloucester, founder of the monastery of Keynsham gave the prefecture and mastership of the school in Bristol to Keynsham, and took it from the Kalendars'.¹⁴ This would have to be dated between the foundation of the abbey in about 1169 and earl William's death in 1183. In short, the whole subject of the 'schools for the Jews and the teaching of other children' must be judged a doubtful one, of little or no importance in the long-term history of the guild.

The other major episode recorded in the inquisition of 1318 relates to the early 13th century. It tells how Gualo, the papal legate, held a council in Bristol at which he and the king 'approved and confirmed the aforesaid guild and brotherhood because of the good and ancient qualities they found in it'. Like most of the other assertions of 1318 it is unsupported yet not incredible. Gualo crowned the young Henry III at Gloucester on 28 October 1216, and they were both in Bristol by 11 November when Gualo held a council of the clergy there, attended by eleven bishops. It would not be surprising if the guild took advantage of the legate's presence to elicit a confirmation of its customs and privileges. The account goes on to say that Gualo ordered William of Blois, bishop of Worcester, and his successors to protect the guild, and that 'he'—either Gualo or William—procured a further confirmation from the pope of all its rights and possessions. William of Blois was not in truth an

8. All Saints does not seem to have belonged to St Augustine's in 1154 (H. A. Cronne & R. H. C. Davis, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154*, III (1968), 48), but did so in 1189 (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI, 366).

9. Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *The Itinerary of John Leland*, v (1910), 91-2.

10. On the London 'House of Converts' founded in 1232 see *V.C.H. London*, I, 551-4.

11. H. G. Richardson, *The English Jewry under Angevin Kings* (1960), 31-2.

12. E. W. W. Veale, ed., *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, Text: Part I (Bristol Record Soc., IV, 1933), 75.

13. N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (1973), 142-50.

14. *The Itinerary of John Leland*, v, 91-2.

exact contemporary of Gualo and did not become bishop of Worcester until 1218. His interest in the guild, however, is confirmed by the other main source which we now possess for its early history: its 'rule' or code of religious observances. The rule survives in a 15th-century copy enrolled among the corporation records in the Little Red Book, with a preface explaining that it was issued by William himself.¹⁵ The document bears the appearance of a 13th-century origin and there is no reason to doubt the attribution. It may have been drawn up at any point during his episcopate, which lasted from 1218 until 1236, but in view of the events of 1216 an early date may well be more probable than a later one.

The rule of 1218-1236 is concerned with the regulation of the guild's worship rather than with its constitutional basis, but a little can be gathered about its general organization at this time. The rule does not address the guild by its familiar later appellation of 'the guild of Kalendars' but calls it simply 'the confraternity of Bristol, both of priests and laymen'. This suggests that the Kalendar brethren were originally Bristol's chief religious guild, and doubtless for a long time the only one. The name of Kalendars, which had come into general use by the 14th century, probably arose only after other religious guilds made their appearance and caused some differentiation to become necessary. The rule mentions three functionaries of the guild: the prior or presiding officer, the steward (*procurator*) responsible for administering the funds, and the clerk employed to summon the brethren to meetings. Similar officers are found in many other of the medieval English guilds. The rest of the members were priests, laymen and lay women, the priests being the most important. The prior seems always to have been a priest and it was before the priests alone, rather than the whole guild, that the steward had to render his annual account. The dominance of the clergy is confirmed by the guild seal, of which examples survive on documents of the 15th and 16th centuries. It bears the legend SIGILLVM CAPELLANORVM DE BRISTOLLO, 'the seal of the chaplains of Bristol', indicating that legal power also lay with the clergy alone.¹⁶ Some of the priests, and possibly all of them in the early days, were the incumbents or chaplains of the local churches, and there is no mention in the rule of any chantry priests employed by the guild itself as was to be the case in the 14th century. How many priests there were, and how many lay members, is quite unknown. Some of the German guilds of Kalendars were limited to twelve members or to twelve priests and twelve laymen, but it seems unlikely that the Bristol guild was as small as this since room was found not only for laymen but for some of their wives or widows. We are told merely that members were admitted with the common consent of the brethren, and there may have been no absolute restriction of numbers.

The guild existed to promote the worship of God and to provide for the well-being of its members, both in body and soul. Each of them, priest or layman, was required to say the Paternoster and the Ave Mary thirteen times every day for the souls of the brethren and sisters of the guild, both living and dead. The priests were also bound to pray for the brethren and sisters every Sunday, presumably in the course of their masses. The chief devotion, however, was the mass of the kalends which was held on the first Monday of the month, or on some other suitable day appointed by the guild steward. Everyone was expected to attend, the appointment being notified to the brethren by the clerk on the previous day. The members assembled in All Saints church immediately after the bells had rung for prime, and when the commendation¹⁷ had been said, a mass of requiem was celebrated by one of the priests, who did the duty in turn. The requiem mass may have included a general intercession for the dead of the guild, or the names of those who had died in that month may have been specially commemorated, as seems to have been the case at Exeter. The brethren were warned not to walk about the church while mass was in progress, but to stand or kneel in the chancel so that the laity might be stimulated by their example to do likewise. Each of them was also expected to make an offering of money at the mass, and this was important since it provided the only regular source of income in the early days.

15. *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, I, 202-6.

16. There are several (imperfect) impressions of the seal among B.R.O., Deeds, 12966 (36-8), 004711 (1), 00859 (5).

17. The Commendation is Psalm 119 (Vulgate 118).

There is no sign that the monthly meeting was followed by eating or drinking, as sometimes took place in other guilds, but doubtless the opportunity was taken to transact necessary business. New brethren were probably admitted at the kalendar mass and an oath for this purpose is set out in the rule. It was also the prior's duty at the kalends to reconcile any of the brethren who were known to be at variance with one another. Those who refused to submit to the peace and arbitration of the guild faced the penalty of expulsion from it. The money offered at the kalendar mass was kept by the steward in the common chest of the guild. If any of the brethren fell sick, he was entitled to support from the chest for up to a year, or else the guild had to find him a place in a hospital. Money could also be given to other works of charity if the guild were so inclined. Finally there were elaborate arrangements for members' funerals. As soon as any of the brethren died his comrades had to attend his obsequies, beginning with the commendations and prayers which were said around the deathbed. If the dead man was a priest his fellow clergy came in surplices bringing with them candles weighing half-a-pound apiece to burn about the body. On the following day all the brethren had to follow the dead man to whichever church he had chosen for his funeral, the corpse of a priest being again accompanied by his fellow clergy in surplices with candles. At the funeral mass each brother had to make an offering, and when a priest was to be buried, a second mass was celebrated if possible. The body was then conducted to the grave. The interment was followed by a series of intercessions and prayers, of a more elaborate kind if the dead man were a priest but less so in the case of a layman. If a priest, the other priests were each to say for thirty days the commendation, the vespers of the dead (*Placebo*) and the mattins of the dead (*Dirige*). This was apparently to be done after the daily vespers. They were also to insert into their daily masses a special collect, secret and post-communion prayer for the soul of the dead man. Arrangements were made for postponing these devotions if they chanced to clash with a major liturgical feast. The lay members of the guild were to say the Paternoster and the Ave Mary fifteen times each day for the same period of thirty days. When a layman died, on the other hand, the priests were not bound to make the same elaborate series of intercessions. They merely said fifteen Paternosters and Aves, like the laity.

It is easy to see from the rule why the guild of Kalendars came into existence and what its brethren gained from their membership. It enabled each of them to join in regular corporate acts of worship by which he could do his duty to God and to his neighbours on a far greater scale than was possible on his own. Each member gained valuable spiritual benefits during his life, since each enjoyed the daily prayers and intercessions of his comrades. The guild also provided fellowship, monetary help in trouble or sickness, a dignified funeral such as everyone in the middle ages thought to be proper, and regular intercessions after death. The laity benefited from the regular masses and prayers said by the clergy, at a time when few professional chantry priests existed to sing masses for money and when the friars were only just on the point of appearing to do the same thing. The clergy on their part needed the laity to provide the regular donations of money necessary to finance the system of benefits and charitable work. The co-operation of the clergy and the laity in this way helped to strengthen the bonds between them and moderated the anticlericalism which clerical powers and privileges often produced in towns.

Hitherto we have been dependent on the testimony of two documents alone. In the 14th century, on the other hand, the documentary sources improve considerably. The Kalendars' own archives have not indeed survived. They were burned 'by mischance' at an unknown date prior to the 1540s, possibly in the Corn Street fire of 1463-4 but probably later.¹⁸ In their absence two main sources remain. The registers of the bishops of Worcester list the institutions of chaplains to the guild, and a number of deeds and other references survive among the records of the corporation of Bristol and some of the city churches. The picture of the guild in the 14th and early 15th centuries, which these records show us, differs in some respects from that of the 13th-century rule. In the first place it is evident by the reign of Edward III that the Kalendars had become a wealthy organization. The monthly offerings of its members were now supplemented from at least two other sources: in-

18. *The Itinerary of John Leland*, v, 91-2; P.R.O., E 318/1845, f. 13.

dulgences and real property. We are told that Walter Isgar, vicar of All Saints who died in 1321, 'laboured the confirmation of all the indulgences of the house of the Kalendars'.¹⁹ They were probably analogous to those possessed by the Kalendars of Winchester, which were issued by the local bishop not the pope and gave forty days remission of penance to those who made donations to the guild.²⁰ More important, the Bristol Kalendars had acquired a good deal of real property, doubtless through the bequests of their members over a long period. At the dissolution of the guild in 1548 its property consisted of twenty-three messuages, five gardens and two enclosures of land in Bristol and its suburbs, worth about £26 9s. gross per annum, and fifteen rent charges upon other property worth £5 5s. The net value, after the deduction of outgoings, amounted to £29 7s. 8½d.²¹

The acquisition of endowments enabled the guild, by at least the 1370s and probably earlier, to support four permanent chantry priests of its own. The fourth chantry appears to have been suspended in 1453; the others survived until the Reformation. A fifth and a sixth chantry sometimes mentioned in the records refer to the chantry of Richard White in the church of St Stephen. The two priests of this foundation were associate members of the Kalendars' guild, but had no share in its government.²² The endowment of perpetual chantries seems to have affected the guild's constitution. The office of prior, by the 1370s, became permanently vested in the occupant of the first chantry. The power to elect the prior and the other three priests, to grant leases of the guild's property and to take other important decisions became confined to the four priests alone, rather than to the brethren of the Kalendars as a whole. From this time onwards the appointment of the prior and his fellow chantry priests took place in the following manner.²³ The surviving priests agreed on a candidate for the vacancy, apparently by themselves. No mention is made of consultation with the rest of the guild. A letter of nomination was then sent to the mayor of Bristol, who had come to be recognized as the patron of the foundation. His oath by the 15th century included a promise to maintain the guild and defend its property.²⁴ The mayor was then expected to present the guild's nominee to the bishop for institution to the vacant benefice. At least two mayors in the later middle ages tried to by-pass the guild and presented candidates to the bishop on their own initiative. The guild resisted strongly on each occasion. When Thomas Knappe presented a chaplain named John Hereford in 1392, the prior and brethren appealed to Rome and got the archbishop of Canterbury to prohibit Hereford's institution in the meanwhile. They seem to have been successful, since Hereford never again appears as one of the guild chaplains.²⁵ In 1427 Robert Russell attempted to make a similar presentation of one Thomas Mew to the vacant office of prior. The chantry priests again protested and the bishop of Worcester ordered an enquiry into their rights of nomination. These were evidently vindicated, and Mew's intrusion came to nothing.²⁶ Other mayors may have exerted a practical influence over the appointments but by law, until the very dissolution of the guild, their power was limited to presenting the elected choice of the chantry priests. This fact is often, though not always, noted in the bishops' registers.

The prior and his three fellows lived together in a house at the north-west corner of All Saints church—a site still occupied, but by a later building. On 2 July 1333 the canons of St Augustine's Abbey, with the agreement of the parishioners of All Saints, gave their permission to the guild to erect a house 'against the aforesaid church and superimposed upon its walls'. No fees or rents were charged for the privilege.²⁷ Like the present building on the site, the ground floor of the Kalendars'

19. B.R.O., All Saints City, Church Book, p. 78.

20. *Registrum Henrici Woodlock Episcopi Wintoniensis*, 638–9.

21. P.R.O., E 318/1845. ff. 12–13.

22. *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, I, 210–11.

23. The process is best illustrated in the documents relating to the appointment of John Hemming as prior in 1451 (H.W.R.O., Reg. John Carpenter, I, f. 103v).

24. Robert Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith (Camden Soc., new series, v, 1872), 73.

25. Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. William Courtenay, f. 225.

26. H.W.R.O., Reg. Thomas Polton, f. 18v.

27. B.R.O., Deeds, 5139 (233); All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 3.

dwelling occupied a tiny area between the church and Corn Street, and also projected into the north aisle of All Saints itself. The upper stories encroached still further into the church and rested upon the piers of the aisle. The deed permitted the guild to raise its house 'upon the wall of the aisle or north part of the church' and defined the site as stretching 'thirty feet in length from the church porch, that is to say from the doors and the pillar attached to the same, and twenty-three feet in width from the traverse of the aforesaid pillars towards Corn Street'. The site can best be visualized by standing within the doors of All Saints at the west end of the church and facing eastwards. The north aisle in the 14th century must have been divided from the nave by a series of drum-shaped piers similar to the two which remain. The upper storey of the Kalendars' house would have rested on these piers, like that of the present building, but stretching further eastwards to a pier on about the same spot as the westernmost of the 15th-century piers. The house continued in use for over a hundred years until it was rebuilt, partly with money from the estate of John and Christine Haddon and partly with a gift of 100 marks from John and Edith Chancellor of Keynsham. Permission for the rebuilding was granted by the abbey, with the parishioners' consent, in a fresh deed of 16 November 1443. The deed explains that the Haddons' executors, who included John Gyllard, the prior of the Kalendars, wished to rebuild the old house and to improve the north aisle of the church by raising the roof and putting in glass windows. It therefore allowed the guild and the executors to erect a new building over the whole of the north aisle, at a higher elevation than before, from the bell-tower on the east to the main part of the Kalendars' house on the west.²⁸ This rebuilding probably left the north aisle much as it is today. The Kalendars' house appears to have been reduced in size so that it occupied only two bays of the north aisle in the manner of the present building. The rest of the aisle was increased in height and the round piers were replaced by convoluted ones. The new wing of the Kalendars' house must have been built high above the top of the aisle windows, its floor providing the aisle with a flat ceiling. In view of the height and the slender proportions of the new piers, a wooden structure is indicated. The guild remained in these premises until the Reformation.

The names of more than sixty of the priors and chantry priests of the guild have been preserved between 1329 and 1548.²⁹ Except for the twelve priors of the reformed foundation after 1451 whom we shall consider presently, they were almost all non-graduates and, in view of their local surnames, mostly from local families. Some, after entering, served the guild until they died. Long terms of service were achieved by William Deane (21), William Kene (25), and Henry Derlaston (at least 32). Thomas Merryfield managed about 37 years in two instalments. Others left to become the priests of other chantries in the city and a very few succeeded in getting themselves cures of souls as rectors and vicars of parish churches. One of the priors, John Forster, was deprived by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1440 and another, Henry Derlaston, seems to have come near to a similar fate in 1387. The offence in each case appears to have been the unauthorized possession of a parochial benefice along with the office of prior. The other chantry priests gave cause for dissatisfaction in 1374 when the bishop's official complained that they were failing to sing the divine office and absenting themselves from the town without permission. John Langadok and John Davy were probably those involved.³⁰ On the whole, however, the Kalendar priests in their faults and virtues seem to have been typical members of the lower ranks of the secular clergy. So little survives of their careers that it is hard to think of them as men of flesh and blood with human gifts and weaknesses. Only once is the darkness broken, in the case of Thomas Haxby, priest of the third chantry, who died in 1484, a eulogy of whom survives in the church book of All Saints. The writer of the book, after noting that he gave 20s. to the church and 6s. 8d. to the high altar, was moved to continue:

'and bysydys he was a well-wyllyd man yn all hys dayes and a profetabyll unto thys chyrche and specyally when he was comyn servant yn the parysche, that is to sey parysche clerk, and that

28. *Ibid.*, Deeds, 5139 (235); All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 5 a,b,c (205, 208).

29. For the list of names and references see below, Appendix I.

30. *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, I, 209-10.

xxviii yer togedyr—no clerke yn the town lyke unto hym yn clenys [i.e. purity] and yn attendyng yn that dayes, and as profytabyll he was un to the Kalendars for hys tyme ther beyng, and full worshypfully lefte to that place at hys departyng to be prayed for'.

The author concluded fervently, 'God have mercy on hys soule. Amen!'³¹

No lists remain of the other members of the guild, and here conjecture alone is possible. If we possessed an obit book, such as survives from the Kalendars' guild at Exeter or the guild of the Trinity at Coventry, it would probably show a wide range of members. Besides the clergy and citizens of Bristol itself, there may well have been merchants of other towns whose business involved them in Bristol and its affairs, clergy and knights of the neighbouring countryside, and some of the diocesan bishops. Even monarchs and members of the great baronial families were enrolled in the Coventry guild, albeit in an honorary rather than an active capacity.³² Yet although we have no actual evidence of membership in Bristol, we do possess the names of several men who patronized the guild and if not brethren themselves represented the kind of people who were. There are two bishops of Worcester: William of Blois, who is directly stated to have been a member, and John Carpenter who, as we shall see, made major alterations to the guild in the 15th century. There are two local clergymen: Walter Isgar, already mentioned, and Robert Hasele who conducted the inquisition of 1318 and bequeathed 12*d.* to each of the guild chaplains in his will of 1347.³³ There is a Gloucestershire knight, Sir John Tracy, lord of the manors of Toddington and Doynton, who was licensed to grant messuages, shops and rents in Bristol to the Kalendars in 1369–70.³⁴ The citizenry include John Hakiston, who gave a messuage worth 15*s.* per annum in 1360, together with rents of 23*s.* 4*d.* to endow the guild with an extra chantry priest.³⁵ Smaller bequests from the same quarter are recorded in the wills of Thomas de la Grave in 1330 (12*d.*), Robert Gernevyle in 1346 (4*s.*) and William Milton in 1386 (6*s.* 8*d.*).³⁶ The 15th-century benefactions of John and Christina Haddon and John and Edith Chancellor have already been noted. By the early Tudor period the guild does not seem to have attracted large gifts but small ones continued to be made. Richard Stevens, a tailor and one of the guild tenants, surrendered the remainder of his lease in 1506 from motives of charity; his widow Joan left money for one of the guild chaplains to say masses for a year in 1509; and a merchant named Roger Dawys bequeathed a pipe of iron as late as 1529.³⁷ After the 13th century the Kalendars must have faced competition from rival religious organisations such as friars, chantry priests and other guilds, but the bequests they received show that some local people, at any rate, went on supporting them.

The guild's activities in the later middle ages remained largely liturgical. The continuing use of the rule is indicated by the 15th-century copy in the corporation records. In 1466 the bishop of Worcester specifically described the duty of the guild priests as saying the offices of *Placebo* and *Dirige* on the last day of the month, and celebrating a solemn requiem mass on the first or principal day for the souls of the founders, brothers, sisters and benefactors of the guild.³⁸ The four chantry priests were also bound to say the eight regular daily services, or canonical hours. There is no sign that their own building contained a chapel, and they probably joined the other clergy of All Saints for the purpose in the chancel of the church. This is suggested by the presence of John Prince, the priest of the second chantry, at vespers in the church in 1457 when a brawl took place between the clergy and a bailiff and his officers in search of a thief.³⁹ As well as saying the liturgy, the guild engaged in a variety of other activities. Most of these, however, were less distinctive and romantic

31. B.R.O., All Saints City, Church Brook, p. 85.

32. M. D. Harris, ed., *The Register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, Coventry* (Dugdale Soc., XIII, 1935), passim.

33. B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, NA 5 (55).

34. P.R.O., C 143/370/8.

35. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1358–61*, 464–5; P.R.O., C 143/327/11.

36. *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the P.R.O.*, VI (1915), C5912; B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, LM A 4 a,b,c (49, 50, 52); *The Great Orphan Book*, f. 14v.

37. P.R.O., Prob 11/15 (P.C.C. 23 Adeane); 11/16 (P.C.C. 18 Bennett); 11/23 (P.C.C. 25 Jankyn).

38. H.W.R.O., Reg. John Carpenter, I, ff. 206v–7v; B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 6 (5139 (234)).

39. *Ibid.*, NA 46 (229).

than historians of Bristol have supposed. One of the tasks with which its members have been credited, the keeping or supervision of schools, has already been discounted. Another assumption, that they kept the city muniments and did secretarial work for the corporation, is equally ill-founded.⁴⁰ It seems to be based on a misunderstanding of their name, together with an ignorance of the city's practice of employing its own clerks for this purpose. There is absolutely no evidence of the Kalendars' involvement in this work. They did act, on the other hand, as the patrons of seven private chantries founded by wealthy Bristol citizens.⁴¹ The principal duty involved was to appoint the chantry priests when vacancies occurred. The chantries were those of William Pollard in the church of St Laurence, founded by his widow Cecilia in about the 1240s;⁴² Thomas Marshfield, a priest who may have lived in the 13th century, in St Werburgh; Roger Turtle in All Saints, founded in 1328;⁴³ Thomas Belcher in St Stephen, founded in 1329;⁴⁴ Richard White in St Stephen, a chantry of two priests founded in 1334;⁴⁵ Robert Gyen in All Saints, founded in 1335;⁴⁶ and Robert Horhurst in St Nicholas, founded in 1339.⁴⁷ As well as possessing ecclesiastical patronage, the guild occasionally gave its backing to candidates for ordination by granting them 'titles', the guarantee of support which every candidate for holy orders had to produce. At least three deacons were ordained to titles provided by the Kalendars between 1342 and 1377.⁴⁸

It was in the middle of the 15th century that the Kalendars acquired the last and most famous of their duties, the keeping of a public library. The motive for this did not originate with the guild itself nor even from within Bristol as a whole, but from elsewhere. The credit belongs to John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester from 1444 to 1476. Carpenter, by the standards of his age, was a conscientious and diligent prelate, who spent most of his reign in his diocese attempting to solve its problems.⁴⁹ The city of Bristol was one of these. Its wealth and population, the second or third largest after London, gave it a great potentiality for good or evil in religious terms. In Carpenter's time it offered cause for disquiet. The city had long been a centre of Lollard heresy, several cases of which had come to light under the bishop's immediate predecessors.⁵⁰ In 1448, not long after Carpenter's arrival in the diocese, the prosecution of a Gloucester Lollard, William Fuer, revealed yet another group of heretics in Bristol. Most of them dwelt in the suburbs south of the river, which lay within the see of Bath and Wells, but one of the leaders, William Smith, who was later burnt for his opinions, lived outside Lawford's Gate in Worcester diocese itself.⁵¹ Bristol, in Carpenter's view, was in need of good spiritual direction and this he consistently sought to provide. In the city itself he singled out the guild of Kalendars to be turned into an evangelical centre of orthodox study and preaching. Three miles away at Westbury-on-Trym he reorganized the old collegiate church, made it an episcopal residence, gave it a staff of resident clergy, and established a free grammar school for the locality.⁵² In his care for the spiritual welfare of the city he anticipated what was done under Henry VIII in the following century.

Carpenter's reorganization of the Kalendars' guild was formally carried out in 1464, but the

40. e.g. William Barrett, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol* (1789), 449.

41. For a contemporary list see *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, Text: Part IV (Bristol Record Soc., xviii, 1953), 127-30.

42. The patronage was shared with the rector of St Laurence (B.R.O., St Peter's City, Deeds, 11). For the floruit of Cecilia Pollard see *ibid.*, J. Latimer, MS Calendar of Ancient Deeds in the Archives of the Corporation, 43-4, and St John Baptist City, Deeds, 1-4.

43. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1327-30*, 310; B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 2 (36).

44. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1327-30*, 452.

45. *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, I, 186-9.

46. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1334-8*, 183.

47. *Ibid.*, 1338-40, 245.

48. R. M. Haines, ed., *The Register of Wulstan de Bransford* (Worcs. Historical Soc., new series, IV, 1966), 202, 218, 225; W. P. Marett, ed., *The Register of Henry Wakefeld* (*ibid.*, VII, 1972), 171.

49. On Carpenter's career see *B.R.U.O.*, I, 360-1, and R. M. Haines, 'Aspects of the Episcopate of John Carpenter', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XIX (1968), 11-40.

50. J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards* (1965), 23-5, 29-30, 33-4.

51. *Ibid.*, 34-5.

52. *V.C.H. Gloucs.*, II, 106-8; N. Orme, *Education in the West of England, 1066-1548* (1976), 182-4.

enterprise was in his mind as early as 1451, not very long after the Lollard outbreak of 1448. The evidence which follows makes it clear that Carpenter himself devised the plans and initiated what was done. The Kalendar brethren and the mayor acquiesced in the work and helped to carry it out, but they deserve no further credit than that. Traditionally, as we have seen, the prior of the Kalendars had been an ordinary non-graduate secular priest. The appointment as prior of John Hemming, an Oxford master of arts, in September 1451 marks a change in this respect and signifies the beginning of Carpenter's reforms. Although Hemming was nominated by the guild and presented by the mayor in the usual way, the bishop was closely involved and the relevant documents were all copied into his register at length, a care without precedent.⁵³ Three years later in 1454 Carpenter gave Hemming permission to live away from Bristol in order to study at Oxford.⁵⁴ The course of study is not mentioned but it is most likely to have been theology, since Hemming had already completed the arts course and a stipulation that the prior should be a student of theology was eventually made by the bishop in 1464. The intention was evidently to train Hemming for the new role of a preacher and lecturer which Carpenter had in mind. Plans for the guild to run a public library appear at much the same time. On 30 July 1455 William Oakbourne, the dean of the other reformed foundation at Westbury, bequeathed a book in his will 'to the new library to be built in Bristol'. The work, entitled *Parisiensis*, was in two volumes, and although an exact identification is no longer possible it was evidently in Latin and probably theological.⁵⁵ No doubt Hemming, once qualified, was intended to return to Bristol to inaugurate the new foundation, but he died at Oxford in the summer of 1457 and Carpenter had to find another suitable person to take his place. He discovered one in John Harlow, an Oxford bachelor of theology, whom the guild and the mayor obligingly presented for institution in April 1458.⁵⁶ Harlow's recent career had been an unusual one. It appears that while studying theology at Oxford he had fallen under the influence of the learned bishop of Chichester, Reynold Peacock, whose rational approach to the subject led to his unfortunate and unjust conviction for heresy in November 1457. The bishop's disgrace soon spread to his followers. A royal letter was despatched to Oxford naming Harlow as a supporter of the bishop's heresies and ordering the university authorities to search for copies of Peacock's books alleged to be in his possession. Worse still, the university was warned not to admit Harlow to the degree of doctor of theology, thereby ruining what remained of his academic career.⁵⁷ In earlier days, however, Carpenter and Peacock had been fellows together at Oriel College, and the bishop of Worcester's immediate patronage of Harlow after Peacock's downfall suggests that he did not share the prevailing hostility towards the fallen scholar and his disciples. In Harlow he gained an able graduate, more highly qualified than Hemming, who remained in his service at Bristol for over twenty years.

By 1464 Carpenter was ready to give final legal form to his plans for reforming the guild. Ordinances to this effect were issued by him on 5 April and were approved by the prior, his brethren and the mayor of Bristol twelve days later.⁵⁸ The ordinances did not alter the functions of the guild in general, but made two major additions to them. First, Carpenter enlarged the office of prior from that of an ordinary chantry priest into that of a well-educated evangelist. Each future prior was to be a bachelor of theology, or at least a master of arts who had studied theology. He ought to have been adequately instructed in both the Old and the New Testaments and be able to preach. His duties were to administer the public library, of which hereafter, and to deliver a public lecture there once a week. He was also expected to preach in the city when possible, and to ask his audience when he did so to pray for Carpenter's soul and the good estate of the mayor of Bristol. On 20 October 1466, following the benefaction of money to the Kalendars by John and Edith Chancellor,

53. Reg. John Carpenter, I, f. 103-v.

54. B.R.U.O., II, 906.

55. P.R.O., Prob 11/4 (P.C.C. 3 Stokton).

56. Reg. John Carpenter, I, f. 145v.

57. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 789, f. 324.

58. Reg. John Carpenter, I, ff. 197-8.

the bishop ordered the prior to preach four annual sermons in perpetuity as recompense. Two were to take place at Keynsham, one at St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, or at the cross nearby, and the fourth at the church of St Mary Redcliffe.⁵⁹ In order to make the office sufficiently attractive to graduates, the prior's salary was set at £10 which was probably higher than it had been hitherto. Carpenter did not provide any new endowments for this purpose, and it is likely that the necessary income was found by suspending the fourth chantry which appears to have been left vacant after 1453.⁶⁰ Henceforth the guild supported only two chaplains besides the prior. Since even £10 a year was not much to tempt theology graduates, successive priors were allowed to hold the office in plurality with a parish church in the neighbourhood. Harlow himself was rector of Marksbury, Somerset, and St Stephen, Bristol, and several later priors held benefices of a similar kind.

The other major innovation of 1464 was the public library. It seems to have been housed in the attic above the north aisle of All Saints which we have seen was built in 1443.⁶¹ Since the ordinances state that the bishop had newly built the library at his own expense,⁶² he probably modified the structure for his needs and provided the appropriate fittings. The library was to stand open every weekday, for two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon, for anyone who wished to enter for the purpose of study.⁶³ The prior had also to remain in attendance during the meanwhile to explain uncertain and obscure points of holy scripture. An inventory was to be kept of the library books, copies of which were to be held by the prior, the mayor and the rural dean of Bristol. New accessions were to be chained in the library under their supervision and recorded in the inventory with a note of their value. Every autumn between Michaelmas and All Saints' Day the prior, the dean and a representative of the mayor were to compare the books with the inventory, and the prior was bound to replace any volume which had left the library through his negligence. Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the books themselves. The only ones to be described by contemporaries are the volumes of *Parisiensis*, already mentioned, and a Latin chronicle, probably in the library, noted by William Worcester in 1480.⁶⁴ The church of All Saints also possesses eight books which have traditionally been regarded as survivors from the Kalendars' library.⁶⁵ Four are manuscripts and the remainder printed books dating from between 1481 and 1501. Seven are Latin works of theology and the eighth is the *Catholicon* of John of Genoa—the standard Latin dictionary of the later middle ages. They represent the kinds of books which the library may have contained, they come from the right period, and they survive in the right place. On the other hand they contain no evidence, such as press marks or inscriptions, explicitly linking them with the library. Their connection with it, though possible, must therefore be regarded as unproven.⁶⁶

In the absence of a reliable list of books we can only determine the nature of the library and its founder's intentions by comparing it with other institutions of a similar kind. The Kalendars' library was not unique. It was modelled by Carpenter on the Guildhall library in London, founded about 1425 by the common clerk of the city, also named John Carpenter, from money bequeathed by two wealthy merchants: Richard Whittington and William Bury.⁶⁷ Which of the three men originated the idea is not certain. The Guildhall library was an endowed foundation, staffed by two secular priests and open to the public. Its books were mainly theological in content and appear to have been primarily intended for the use and instruction of the city clergy. Carpenter would have become acquainted with its work during the 1430s when he was master of St Anthony's Hospital,

59. *Ibid.*, ff. 206–7v.

60. Thomas Halleway, the last known occupant, vacated the fourth chantry c. 1453 (B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, CS A 24 (225)).

61. *Ibid.*, CS B 7 (324).

62. *propriis nostris sumptibus noviter edificate* (Reg. John Carpenter, I, ff. 197–8).

63. *per duas horas ante nonam et duas post nonam*. *Nonam* has generally been translated as 'nine o'clock', but 'noon' seems to me more likely and is supported by other 15th-century usage.

64. *Itineraria Simonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcester*, 229.

65. T. W. Williams, 'Gloucestershire Medieval Libraries', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, xxxi (1908), 87–90.

66. N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (2nd ed., 1964), 13.

67. On this subject see Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, 83–5.

not very far away. He was also a close friend and possibly even a relative of his namesake, the common clerk. As well as establishing a model of the Guildhall library in Bristol, Carpenter made a third foundation in the Carnary chapel at Worcester, his cathedral city. The latter appears to have been planned after the Bristol one since the earliest evidence about it comes from 1458, but it was finally established with a similar set of ordinances in the same year, 1464.⁶⁸ No other imitations of the Guildhall library were made before the Reformation, and the three foundations of the two John Carpenters form a small distinctive group. Putting together what is known about their books in general, it is clear that these were chiefly Latin works of a scholarly nature. This in turn suggests the type of person for whom the institutions were intended. They were not libraries of a modern kind, frequented by the general public; they were intended for the local clergy—the rectors, vicars and chaplains of the surrounding churches and chapels. An exceptional layman, as we shall see, may have wished to consult the books and been allowed to do so, but the laity as a whole, even those who were literate, were not expected to come in. If they had been, these libraries would have contained the kind of devotional, mystical and moral treatises in English which we find in the wills of knights and merchants of the 15th century. Instead, the Kalendars' library and its sisters reflect the typical medieval idea of evangelism. The need as Carpenter would have seen it was to improve the education of the clergy: to make them better able to preach, to hear confessions, and to give spiritual counsel. The laity benefited from the library at second hand, through the teaching they received from the clergy. In this way Carpenter's methods were somewhat different from those of the 16th-century Reformers.

The libraries at London and Worcester continued to function until the Reformation. The subsequent history of the Bristol foundation, on the other hand, is full of mystery. In view of the fact, mentioned earlier, that the Kalendars' muniments were burnt 'by mischance', it has sometimes been supposed that the library came to grief in the same way. Some writers have actually dated the conflagration to 1463-4 when the church book of All Saints records a fire as having destroyed two houses next to the church steeple.⁶⁹ Yet the church book nowhere mentions a fire in the Kalendars' own property, and it is highly unlikely that Carpenter would have permitted his project to languish so soon after its inception. On the contrary, the writings of William Worcester suggest that the Kalendars' books were still extant in 1480. In that year he mentions finding an abridgement of the Latin chronicle of Marianus Scotus 'in the library of All Saints',⁷⁰ and this is more likely to mean the Kalendars' library than the library of the parish church which is only known to have contained liturgical books.⁷¹ A chamber called the library still existed when the Kalendars' guild was dissolved in 1548.⁷² On the whole it is probable that the library suffered not from a dramatic conflagration but from lack of care by its keepers and a lack of interest among the clergy for whom it was intended. Far from being destroyed the library may simply have ceased to be used. A decline of standards in the Kalendars' guild is apparent in the early 16th century, and this may have been accompanied by the decay of the library.

For the first fifty years after the refoundation of 1464 Carpenter's ordinances appear to have been observed, at least in the attainments of those who were appointed priors.⁷³ Harlow's retirement in 1480 brought in John Burton, a Londoner, fellow of Balliol College, and bachelor of theology. He held the priorship together with the vicarage of St Nicholas, a necessary plurality because Burton received only £2 of the prior's salary until 1486, the rest having been allocated to Harlow as a pension. Like his predecessor Burton was no ordinary scholar. In 1483 he made an adventurous journey abroad to study theology at Bologna, from which he returned with a doctor's degree. He

68. H.W.R.O., Reg. Silvestro de Gigli, ff. 132v-3v. See also N. Orme, 'The Medieval Schools of Worcestershire', *Transactions of the Worcs. Archaeological Soc.*, 3rd series VI (1978).

69. B.R.O., All Saints City, Church Book, pp. 381, 539.

70. *Itineraria Simonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre*. 229.

71. B.R.O., All Saints City, Church Book, pp. 315, 333.

72. *Ibid.*, All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 7 (324).

73. See the list of priors below, Appendix I.

then remained prior until his death in the winter of 1498–9. His will, dated 21 December 1498, arranged for his burial at London in St Margaret's, Bridge Street, and he instructed his executors to dispose of certain books and other goods for the benefit of the 'college' of Kalendars and two parish churches of which he was incumbent.⁷⁴ After Burton's death John Vaughan, an Oxford master of arts, was prior for a brief period, to be followed by Richard Eastmond, fellow of All Souls College and junior proctor of Oxford University. He too was well qualified, being also a doctor of theology, and held a Wiltshire benefice throughout his tenure of the priorship. His death in 1503 brought in another distinguished man, Thomas Harper, a native of Axbridge, fellow of Merton College, and also a doctor of theology. In 1507 Harper was elected warden of Merton, but it was at Bristol that he died in the following year, and in 1509 twenty-eight of his books were brought from there to Merton to be distributed among the fellows in obedience to his last will. He also left some small bequests to the guild of Kalendars and its brethren, to be paid with money owing to him from the foundation.⁷⁵

Harlow, Burton, Eastmond and Harper were all scholars of distinction whose presence must have helped to strengthen the work of the parish clergy in late medieval Bristol. The first suggestion of a departure from Carpenter's ordinances comes with Harper's retention of the priorship after his election as warden of Merton; the two offices were not truly compatible. Real evidence of decline comes with the priorship of Harper's successor, William Cross, appointed in 1509. Cross was the first prior of the new foundation, apart from Vaughan, to be a mere master of arts. He was a middle-aged man at his appointment, probably in his late fifties, and for the last thirty years had been simply the vicar of the city church of St Leonard. He did not enjoy good health, and in the spring of 1512 he was licensed to reside away from the guild on account of his age and infirmities.⁷⁶ In the following years Cross seems to have done little to fulfil the duties of his office, so much so that in 1520 John Bell, the bishop of Worcester's vicar-general, commanded him to observe certain basic duties on pain of suspension from his benefice. He was ordered to visit All Saints church every day to pray for the founders and benefactors of the guild, to celebrate mass there once a week, and to be present in the choir on Sundays and festivals at mattins, mass and vespers. Bell's injunction gives a distinct impression that Cross was an unsatisfactory prior, and not merely an incapacitated one.⁷⁷

Cross vacated his office between 1520 and 1525—it is not known why—and with his successor Roger Edgeworth the guild again acquired a distinguished theologian as its head. Born at Holt Castle in Denbigh, Edgeworth was a fellow of Oriel College, a doctor of theology, and a preacher of some note whose sermons were later printed.⁷⁸ A strong supporter of the old religion, he was one of the first prebendaries of Bristol Cathedral, and after his death in 1560 was buried at Wells. Edgeworth, however, vacated the priorship in 1528 after only a few years, and the next two priors, Francis Pollard and John Pinnock, exhibit a further decline of qualifications. Neither appears to have been a master of arts, thus making an absolute breach in Carpenter's ordinances. Pinnock was one of the Bonshommes of Edington in Wiltshire who were regular canons of the order of St Augustine. He is first encountered in 1518 as titular bishop of Syene, and from then until 1535 he acted as a suffragan bishop in the diocese of Salisbury where he held a succession of canonries and other benefices. He can hardly have been very active in Bristol during his five years as prior, which he terminated by resignation in 1535, shortly before his death. The last two priors before the dissolution, John Flook and Thomas Silk, were somewhat better qualified. They were both Oxford masters of arts and both resided in Bristol, but neither is known to have studied theology. On the whole, the priors after 1509, with the exception of Edgeworth, failed to reach the standard of their predecessors, and for most of the period from 1509 to 1535 the guild appears to have been led by poorly qualified men, two of whom were not always resident.

74. P.R.O., Prob 11/11 (P.C.C. 37 Horne).

75. P.R.O., Prob 11/16 (P.C.C. 10 Bennett).

76. Reg. Silvestro de Gigli, f. 78.

77. B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, NA 57 (262).

78. They are discussed by J. W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late 15th and 16th Centuries* (1964).

With the coming of the Reformation the guild of Kalendars shared the general fate of the chantries and religious guilds. A survey of its property was made under Henry VIII in 1546⁷⁹ and again under Edward VI in the early months of 1548.⁸⁰ The foundation was dissolved by order of the crown at Easter in that year, and the prior and chantry priests were awarded pensions.⁸¹ The Kalendars' property was confiscated, and sold by the crown on the following 3 October.⁸² The records of this process give us an insight into the state of the guild during its last years. The net income of the endowments was estimated at £33 5s. in 1535, and the gross income at about £39 in the 1540s. The latter figure included the endowments of Richard White's chantry in St Stephen, of which the Kalendars were trustees. The survey of 1546 reported that the lands of the guild were 'in great decay', but no mention of this was made in 1548. The endowments supported four priests. Thomas Silk, the prior, received the salary of £10 established by bishop Carpenter; Richard Wale, the priest of the second chantry, £8; and William Deane, the priest of the third chantry, £7 4s. The fourth priest, Nicholas Harris, was the surviving chaplain of the associated chantry of Richard White, and was paid a stipend of £6 6s. 8d. Nothing is said about the constitution of the guild, or whether its membership still included other clergy or lay people. The lesser priests appear to have been still living in the guild house adjoining All Saints church, but the prior was not. He had a separate dwelling, which belonged to the guild, in the suburban parish of St Philip. His duties and those of his brethren remained the traditional ones: divine service each day and the celebration of regular obits, dirges and masses for the souls of the founders of the guild. Little remained of Carpenter's reforms. Of the four annual sermons which he had established, only three were now delivered and even these by a paid deputy. No mention is made of the library as a working institution, or of the prior's weekly lecture there, but as already stated there was still a chamber in the guild house 'vulgarly called the library'. The decline of the prior's evangelical work was fatal. If active, it might have secured the guild's survival in some altered form within the new evangelical Church of England. As it was, the Kalendars bore too many of the marks of a Catholic institution for intercessory prayers. In consequence they had no interest for the Protestant Reformers, and shared the fate of all the other bodies of their kind.

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79. P.R.O., E 301/21 no. 65.

80. Ibid., E 301/22 no. 12; Sir J. Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, VIII (1883-4), 246-7.

81. E 318/1845, ff. 12-13.

82. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1548-9*, 105-6; B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 7 (324).

APPENDIX 1

CHAPLAINS OF THE GUILD OF KALENDARS

Priors, or Chaplains of the First Chantry

1. William	occurs	1 May	1361	14. John Burton, STB	instituted	10 Apr.	1480
2. William Draper	instituted	15 Oct.	1369		died by	Feb.	1499
3. William Hull	instituted	8 Apr.	1370	15. John Vaughan, MA	instituted	Feb.	1499
	occurs	1 Apr.	1376		resigned by	July	1499
4. Henry Derlaston	occurs	25 July	1382	16. Richard Eastmond,	instituted	7 July	1499
	died by	Aug.	1414	STP	died by	Nov.	1503
5. <i>William Sidbury</i>	collated	10 Mar.	1387	17. Thomas Harper,	instituted	15 Nov.	1503
6. Thomas Colman	instituted	30 Aug.	1414	STP	died by	Mar.	1509
7. John Blake	occurs	13 Nov.	1418	18. William Cross, MA	instituted	21 Mar.	1509
	died by	May	1427		occurs	10 Sept.	1520
8. <i>Thomas Mew</i>	presented	May	1427	19. Roger Edgeworth,	occurs	10 June	1525
9. Thomas Redeman	collated	27 Nov.	1427	STP	resigned by	Apr.	1528
	resigned by	Apr.	1429	20. Francis Pollard, BA	instituted	27 Apr.	1528
10. John Forster, <i>Mag.</i>	instituted	20 Apr.	1429	21. John Pinnock	instituted	19 Feb.	1530
	deprived by	Sept.	1440		resigned by	Mar.	1535
11. John Gyllard	collated	20 Sept.	1440	22. John Flook, MA	instituted	24 Mar.	1535
	died	28 June	1451		died by	Oct.	1540
12. John Hemming,	instituted	25 Sept.	1451	23. Thomas Silk, MA	instituted	8 Oct.	1540
MA	died by	Aug.	1457		till dissolution	Easter	1548
13. John Harlow, STB	instituted	15 Apr.	1458				
	resigned by	Apr.	1480				

1. B.R.O., St Peter's City, Deeds, 11.
2. H.W.R.O., Reg. William Lynn, f. 2v.
3. Ibid., f. 3; E. W. W. Veale, ed., *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, Text: Part I (Bristol Record Soc., IV, 1933), 94.
4. W. P. Marett, ed., *The Register of Henry Wakefeld*, 33; H.W.R.O., Reg. Thomas Peverel, f. 67v. He was also rector of Toddington, Gloucs., instituted 12 November 1385, resigned 15 September 1386 (*The Register of Henry Wakefeld*, 49, 136). For his will (dated 9 May 1410) see Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Thomas Arundel, II, f. 204.
5. Ibid., Reg. William Courtenay, f. 265. The collation was not effective.
6. Reg. Thomas Peverel, f. 67v.
7. P.R.O., Prob 11/2B (P.C.C. 48 Marche)—the will of Thomas Botoner; H.W.R.O., Reg. Thomas Polton, f. 18v. He had previously been chaplain of the second chantry.
8. Reg. Thomas Polton, f. 18v. The presentation was not effective.
9. Ibid., ff. 31v, 61v. He was collated by the bishop, to whom the right had devolved.
10. Ibid., f. 61v; E. F. Jacob, ed., *The Register of Henry Chichele Archbishop of Canterbury*, I (1945), 302-3. He was also rector of Hutton, Somerset, in September 1440, but had gone by June 1441 (T. Scott Homes, ed., *The Register of John Stafford Bishop of Bath and Wells*, II (Somerset Record Soc., xxxII, 1916), 271).
11. *The Register of Henry Chichele*, I, 202-3; B.R.O., All Saints City, Church Book, p. 80. He occurs as a chaplain in All Saints church in 1419 (P.R.O., E 179/58/10).
12. He was elected on 7 September, presented on 8 September and instituted on 25 September 1451 (H.W.R.O., Reg. John Carpenter, I, f. 103-v). For the rest of his career see B.R.U.O., II, 906.
13. Reg. John Carpenter, I, f. 145v; H.W.R.O., Reg. John Alcock, f. 65. For the rest of his career see B.R.U.O., II, 875-6. He died on 6 December 1486 (B.R.O., All Saints City, Church Book, p. 86).
14. Reg. John Alcock, f. 65; Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. John Morton, I, f. 185. For his career see B.R.U.O., I, 319, omitting the last paragraph.

15. Reg. John Morton, I, f. 185; H.W.R.O., Reg. Silvestro de Gigli, f. 9v. For other details of his career see *B.R.U.O.*, III, 1941.

16. Reg. S. de Gigli, ff. 9v, 29v. For the rest of his career see *B.R.U.O.*, II, 650.

17. Reg. S. de Gigli, ff. 29v, 58v. For the rest of his career see *B.R.U.O.*, II, 878-9.

18. Reg. S. de Gigli, f. 58v; B.R.O., Deeds 12966 (36). He was vicar of St Leonard, Bristol, instituted 3 January 1480, still in 1513 (Reg. John Alcock, ff. 61v-2; Reg. S. de Gigli, f. 99v). For other details see *B.R.U.O.*, I, 518-19.

19. B.R.O., Deeds, 12966 (37); H.W.R.O., Reg. Jeronimo Ghinucci, f. 36. For the rest of his career see *B.R.U.O.*, IV, 184-5.

20. Reg. Ghinucci, f. 36. The son of John Pollard, mercer, and his wife Maud of the parish of St Nicholas, Bristol, he was in priest's orders by 1521 (see her will dated 2 May 1521 in P.R.O., Prob 11/20 (P.C.C. 15 Maynwaryng)). For other details see *B.R.U.O.*, IV, 455.

21. Reg. Ghinucci, ff. 39v, 73v. A Bonhomme of Edington, Wilts., he first appears as bishop of Syene in 1518 and acted as a suffragan bishop in Salisbury diocese from then until 1535 (F. M. Powicke & C. R. Cheney, ed., *Handbook of British Chronology* (2nd ed., 1961), 268). He was prebendary of Durnford, Salisbury Cathedral, instituted 15 September 1519, exchanged 24 August 1520 (Salisbury Diocesan Registry, Reg. Audley, ff. 79, 82); prebendary of Axford, Salisbury Cathedral, instituted 24 August 1520, resigned by February 1524 (*ibid.*, ff. 82, 97); vicar of Highworth, Wilts., instituted 24 August 1520 (*ibid.*, f. 82); prebendary of Chardstock, Salisbury Cathedral, instituted 20 February 1524, till death (*ibid.*, f. 96; Reg. Shaxton, f. 7); and master of the hospital of St John the Baptist, Wells, in 1535 (J. Caley, ed., *Valor Ecclesiasticus Tempore Henrici viii* (6 vols., 1810-24), I, 140.

22. Reg. Ghinucci, f. 73v; H.W.R.O., Reg. John Bell, f. 12. For the rest of his career see *B.R.U.O.*, IV, 207-8.

23. Reg. Bell, f. 12. For the rest of his career see *B.R.U.O.*, IV, 552.

Chaplains of the Second Chantry

1. John Holgate	instituted	20 Sept.	1374	13. John Thomas	instituted	22 Mar.	1470
	resigned by	July	1375		resigned by	Aug.	1479
2. Thomas Goos	instituted	11 July	1375	14. John Howell	instituted	27 Aug.	1479
3. Simon Hembury	resigned	28 Nov.	1379		resigned by	Sept.	1483
4. Richard Conyng	instituted	28 Nov.	1379	15. John Davy <i>alias</i>	instituted	20 Sept.	1483
	died by	July	1382	Skinner	died by	Nov.	1485
5. Thomas Westwere	instituted	25 July	1382	16. John Mersham	instituted	16 Nov.	1485
6. Richard Baldock	instituted	13 May	1386		died by	Jan.	1491
	resigned by	July	1387	17. Richard Repingdon	instituted	20 Mar.	1491
7. John Blake	instituted	18 July	1387		resigned by	June	1493
8. Ralph Ayssh	occurs		1419	18. Thomas Merryfield	instituted	22 June	1493
	died by	May	1424		resigned by	Aug.	1501
9. William Twyty,	instituted	26 May	1424	19. John Dyer	instituted	21 Aug.	1501
MA	died by	Sept.	1447		died by	June	1510
10. Philip Smith	instituted	19 Sept.	1447	20. Nicholas Carey	instituted	27 June	1510
	occurs	Sept.	1451		resigned by	Nov.	1510
11. John Prince	instituted	28 Aug.	1455	21. Thomas	re-instituted	20 Nov.	1510
	resigned by	Aug.	1464	Merryfield	occurs		1534
12. John Baret	instituted	1 Aug.	1464	22. Richard Wale	instituted	27 Sept.	1539
	died by	Mar.	1470		till dissolution	Easter	1548

1. J. W. Willis Bund, ed., *The Register of the Diocese of Worcester Sede Vacante*, IV (Worcs. Historical Soc., 1897), 315, 345.

2. *Ibid.*, 345.

3. *The Register of Henry Wakefeld*, 19. He exchanged the chantry for the rectory of Acton Beauchamp, Herefs., which he exchanged in turn for the vicarage of Bishop's Frome, Herefs., on 30 September 1382 (*ibid.*, 34). He exchanged Bishop's Frome for the vicarage of St John-in-Bedwardine, Worcs., on 19 June 1397 (W. W. Capes, ed., *Registrum Johannis Trefnant Episcopi Herefordensis* (Canterbury & York Soc., xx, 1916), 190; H.W.R.O., Reg. Tideman of Winchcombe, f. 15.

4. *The Register of Henry Wakefeld*, 19, by exchange for the rectory of Acton Beauchamp.

5. *Ibid.*, 33.

6. *Ibid.*, 50, 56. He was subsequently chaplain of the chantry of Richard Spicer in St Michael, Bristol, instituted 29 September 1391 (*ibid.*, 97-8).

7. *Ibid.*, 56. He was subsequently prior.

8. P.R.O., E 179/58/10; H.W.R.O., Reg Philip Morgan, II, f. 27.

9. Ibid.; Reg. John Carpenter, I, f. 55. He occurs as a chaplain in St Werburgh, Bristol, in 1419 (P.R.O., E 179/58/10). For the evidence as to his Oxford career see *B.R.U.O.*, III, 1920.
10. Reg. John Carpenter, I, ff. 55, 103.
11. Ibid., ff. 130v, 186. For his part in a riot in All Saints in 1457 see *B.R.O.*, All Saints City, Deeds, NA 46 (229).
12. Reg. John Carpenter, I, f. 186; II, f. 9v.
13. Ibid.; Reg. John Alcock, f. 58. He was subsequently vicar of All Saints, Bristol, instituted 12 August 1479, died by July 1503 (ibid., f. 57; Reg. S. de Gigli, f. 26).
14. Reg. John Alcock, ff. 58, 119.
15. Ibid., ff. 119, 152.
16. Ibid.; *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, II, 129-30.
17. He was presented on 21 January (ibid.) and instituted on 20 March 1491 (*H.W.R.O.*, Reg. Robert Morton, ff. 42, 51).
18. Ibid.; Reg. S. de Gigli, f. 16v.
19. Ibid., ff. 16v, 64v. Two chaplains of this name appear in Bristol in 1498, one in St Nicholas and one in St Werburgh (Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. John Morton, f. 178).
20. Reg. S. de Gigli, ff. 64v, 66v. He occurs as a chaplain in St Nicholas, Bristol, in 1513 (ibid., f. 99v).
21. Ibid., f. 66v; *H.W.R.O.*, ref. 802 (B.A. 2764), pp. 60, 99.
22. Reg. John Bell, f. 1. He was still alive in 1555 (*Trans. B.G.A.S.*, XXIX (1906), 120-6).

Chaplains of the Third Chantry

1. William White	died by	Jan. 1373	7. Thomas Furber	instituted	17 July 1484
2. John Langadok	instituted	20 Jan. 1373		died by	Oct. 1503
3. Henry Colas	occurs	1419-1423	8. Ralph Molder	instituted	7 Oct. 1503
4. Walter Salcombe	occurs	Sept. 1451		died by	May 1527
	died by	Mar. 1467	9. William Deane	instituted	8 May 1527
5. John London	instituted	14 Mar. 1467		till dissolution	Easter 1548
6. Thomas Haxby	died	19 June 1484			

1. Reg. William Lynn, f. 5v.
2. Ibid.
3. He occurs as a chaplain in All Saints church between these dates (P.R.O., E 179/58/10; *B.R.O.*, Deeds, 00859 (5)), and was later recorded to have been a fellow of the guild of Kalendars (*B.R.O.*, All Saints City, Church Book, p. 80).
4. Reg. John Carpenter, I, ff. 103, 210.
5. Ibid.; II, f. 69. He was still alive in 1493 (T. P. Wadley, ed., *The Great Orphan Book of Wills* (1886), 171).
6. He occurs as a priest in All Saints in 1475 (Reg. John Carpenter, II, f. 69) and died in possession of the third chantry in 1484 (Reg. John Alcock, f. 132). The date of his death is recorded in *B.R.O.*, All Saints City, Church Book, p. 85, which also notes that for 28 years he acted as parish clerk of All Saints.
7. Reg. John Alcock, f. 132; Reg. S. de Gigli, f. 29v. He occurs as a priest in All Saints in 1475 (Reg. John Carpenter, II, f. 69).
8. Reg. S. de Gigli, f. 29v; Reg. Jeronimo Ghinucci, f. 30v.
9. Ibid. He was still alive in 1555 (*Trans. B.G.A.S.*, XXIX (1906), 120-6).

Chaplains of the Fourth Chantry

1. John Jolyf	resigned	24 July 1379	6. John Fynamour	instituted	18 Feb. 1416
2. John Kneton	instituted	24 July 1379	7. Richard Brownwyn	occurs	1419
3. Nicholas Tintenhull	instituted	9 Sept. 1384		died by	Nov. 1429
4. William Kene	instituted	17 Dec. 1385	8. Thomas Halleway	instituted	20 Nov. 1429
	died	30 July 1410		occurs	Sept. 1451
5. Stephen Green	instituted	10 Oct. 1410			
	died by	Feb. 1416			

1. *The Register of Henry Wakefeld*, 19. He exchanged the chantry for the rectory of Radipole, Dorset.
2. Ibid., previously rector of Radipole.
3. Ibid., 43. Although superseded in this chantry by the end of the following year, he remained a chaplain of the Kalendars until his death in 1392 (Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. William Courtenay, f. 225).

4. *The Register of Henry Wakefeld*, 49; Reg. Thomas Peverel, ff. 24v-25v. He was a kinsman of Thomas Sampson, burgess of Bristol (*The Great Orphan Book of Wills*, 17).
5. Reg. Thomas Peverel, ff. 24v-25v, 75.
6. *Ibid.*, f. 75. He occurs as a chaplain in St Werburgh in 1419 (P.R.O., E 179/58/10).
7. *Ibid.*; Reg. Thomas Polton, ff. 71, 72v. He was apparently already a chaplain of the guild by May 1410 (Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Thomas Arundel, II, f. 204).
8. Reg. Thomas Polton, ff. 71, 72v; Reg. John Carpenter, I, f. 103. He was presented to the chantry of Thomas Halleway in All Saints on 9 September 1453 (B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, CS A 24 (225)). The fourth chantry was probably left unfilled after his departure.

Unassignable Chaplains

1. Henry Fairford	occurs	11 Nov. 1329	6. John Wylford	died by	Oct. 1403
2. Robert Walsham	resigned	14 Mar. 1373	7. Henry Portlond	instituted	8 Oct. 1403
3. John Davy	instituted	14 Mar. 1373	8. Richard Brownwyn	occurs	9 May 1410
4. Nicholas Tintenhull	died by	1392	9. John Dyer	occurs	9 May 1410
5. <i>John Hereford</i>	presented	1392	10. Thomas Botoner	died by	Apr. 1419

1. When he was appointed first chaplain of the chantry of Roger Turtle in All Saints, Bristol (B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 2 (36)).
2. He exchanged the 'first chantry' of the Kalendars for the rectory of St Martin, Worcester (Reg. William Lynn, f. 19). This, however, conflicts with the tenure of Prior William Hull. 'First chantry' must be a mistake, unless it means that the priorship at that time was not attached to the first chantry.
3. Reg. William Lynn, f. 9. The same remarks apply. He became rector of Warndon, Worcs., by exchange on 8 December 1362 (H.W.R.O., Reg. John Barnet, f. 18); and exchanged Warndon for the rectory of St Martin, Worcester, on 1 June 1370 (Reg. William Lynn, f. 9).
4. Nicholas Tintenhull, though superseded in the fourth chantry in 1385, remained a chaplain of the guild until his death in about 1392 (Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. William Courtenay, f. 225).
5. *Ibid.* The presentation was contested and probably ineffective.
6. Occupant of 'a chantry' of the Kalendars (H.W.R.O., Reg. Richard Clifford, f. 63).
7. *Ibid.* His chantry too is unspecified.
8. Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Thomas Arundel, II, f. 204, where he is mentioned as fellow of the Kalendars. He later held the fourth chantry, but cannot have done so until after 1416.
9. *Ibid.*, and also mentioned as a fellow of the Kalendars.
10. An uncle of William Worcester, who mentions that he was a fellow of the Kalendars (*Itineraria Simonis Stmeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre*, 190). For his will, dated 13 November 1418 and proved on 20 April 1419, bequeathing the residue of his goods to John Blake, prior of the Kalendars, see P.R.O., Prob 11/2b (P.C.C. 48 Marche).

Uncertain Chaplains

1. Henry Pye	occurs	1310	
2. Richard Sodbury	resigned	25 May 1344	
3. William Clopcote	instituted	25 May 1344	

1. When he issued a deed, possibly as prior (B.R.O., All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 1 (11)).
2. As priest of a perpetual chantry in the church of All Saints, which he exchanged for the rectory of Cameley, Som. (T. Scott Holmes, ed., *The Register of Ralph Shrewbury Bishop of Bath & Wells*, II (Somerset Record Soc., XI, 1897), 502).
3. The other party to this exchange (*ibid.*) He was probably rector of Cameley by 27 March 1339 (*ibid.*, (Somerset Record Soc., X, 1896), 349).

APPENDIX 2

PROPERTY OF THE GUILD OF KALENDARS IN 1548

(P.R.O., Particulars for Grants, E 318/1845, ff 12-13)

I. INCOME FROM TENEMENTS

<i>Property</i>	<i>Tenant</i>	<i>Rent</i>
<i>High St</i> Messuage	Walter Phillippes	40s.
<i>Corn St</i> Messuage	Margery Curtes	13s. 4d.
Messuage	Thomas Yonge	26s. 8d.
<i>Corn St</i> —St Werburgh parish 2 Messuages	William Wellett	60s.
Messuage	Thomas Seward	16s.
<i>The Key</i> —St Stephen parish Messuage	James Chestor	36s. 8d.
<i>Baldwin St</i> —St Nicholas parish Messuage	Alice Powell	53s. 4d.
Messuage	Thomas Pottesmowth	20s.
<i>The Back</i> —St Nicholas parish Messuage	John Hewes	40s.
<i>Wine St</i> —Christ Church parish Messuage	Thomas Thurston	60s.
<i>Knifesmith St</i> —St John parish Messuage	Philip Gryffeth	26s. 8d.
<i>Monkbridge</i> —St John parish Garden	John Sprynge	6s. 8d.
Garden	William Yonge	3s. 4d.
<i>Horsechurtyard</i> —St James parish A perch of land or garden	Nicholas Woodhowse	20d.
<i>Lewins Mead St</i> —St James parish Messuage	John Tailor	13s. 4d.
<i>Barton Hundred</i> —St Philip parish Close	[formerly] Nicholas Thorne	5s.
<i>Turtle Donge in Barton Hundred</i> —St Philip parish Close	Gregory Pers	13s. 4d.
<i>Without Lawford's Gate</i> —St Philip parish Messuage	Elizabeth Wokie, widow	26s. 8d.
Messuage	William Ryppyngton	26s. 8d.
<i>Towards the Church of St Philip</i> —St Philip parish Garden	John Gervys	29d.
<i>Old Market Place</i> —St Philip parish Messuage	Richard Roberts	4s.
Messuage	Agnes Barbor	4s.
Messuage	— Saunders	5s.
Messuage	Katherine Blanche	4s.
<i>St Thomas Lane</i> —St Thomas parish Garden	Michael Sowdeley	5s.
<i>St Philip parish</i> A mansion house or capital messuage . . . in which the master of the aforesaid fraternity lived		16s.

II. INCOME FROM RENT CHARGES

<i>High St</i> —All Saints parish			
Message	Alice Phillipps		4s.
<i>Corn St</i>			
Corner message, next	— Wateley		8s.
All Saints conduit			
<i>St Nicholas Church</i>			
Crypt	Warden of St Nicholas		30s.
<i>The Back</i>			
Message of Master Cary	Wardens of St Nicholas		8s.
Chapel of St John	Wardens of the chapel of St John		12d.
<i>High St</i>			
At the corner towards the shambles,	Wardens of the chapel of St John		8s.
parcel of the chantry of Walter Frampton			
<i>St Michael's Hill</i>			
Close	Wardens of Christ Church		12½d.
<i>Broadmead</i>			
Tenement	Wardens of St Mary Redcliffe		20d.
<i>St Thomas Church</i>			
Burton's Chantry	Wardens of St Thomas		11s. 8d.
<i>Bere Lane in Temple St</i>			
Message	Wardens of St Mary-le-Port		2s.
<i>Guildhall</i>	Chamberlain of Bristol		20d.
<i>Next Tryvyll Mylles</i>			
Close called Mylleirey	Chamberlain of Bristol		6s.
<i>Old Market Place</i>			
Tenement before the fountain	Chantry of Everard le Frenche		12d.
<i>Next Grey Friars</i>			
Tenement	Thomas Heynes		7s. 6d.
<i>The Weir</i> —St Philip parish			
Tenement	Henry Croke, tanner		18d.
<i>St Michael's Hill</i>			
Tenement	— Stradlyng	}	6s.
<i>Grope Lane</i>	— Stradlyng		
Tenement			
<i>Redcliffe St</i>			
Tenement by gift of the heirs of Robert Pomfrett	— Younge		6s.
GROSS INCOME			<hr/> £31 14s. 0½d. <hr/>

III. OUTGOINGS

<i>Rent</i>	<i>Paid To</i>	<i>Amount</i>
Possessions in Keynsham Abbey	The King	6s. 8d.
Tenement held by John Taillour	Bristol Cathedral	4s.
Tenement held by Walter Phillips	Wardens of the Chapel on the Bridge	5s.
Tenement held by Alice Powell	Wardens of St Nicholas	2s.
Tenement held by James Chestor	Wardens of St Laurence	2s.
<i>Fees</i>		
To a preacher, twice a year, within the city of Bristol		13s. 4d.
To a preacher at Keynsham		6s. 8d.
To David Brooke, serjeant-at-law, for his counsel		6s. 8d.
TOTAL OUTGOINGS		<hr/> £2 6s. 4d. <hr/>
NET INCOME		<hr/> £29 7s. 8½d. <hr/>

TRANSACTIONS FOR THE YEAR 1978

IV. INCOME OF RICHARD WHITE'S CHANTRY

<i>Property</i>	<i>Tenant</i>	<i>Rent</i>
<i>Baldwin St</i> Messuage and 2 small tenements	William Sprott	53 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
<i>Marsh St</i> Messuage	Jerome Grene	13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
<i>The Key</i> Messuage	John Flemyng	20 <i>s.</i>
Messuage	John Griffith	26 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Messuage	Owen Tailor	13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
OUTGOINGS		NIL
NET INCOME		<hr/> £6 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> <hr/>