

**THE KALENDARS**  
**Bristol's Oldest Guild**  
**And Earliest Public Library**



**Nicholas Orme**

**ALHA Books No 23**

## **Preface**

I first discussed the Guild of Kalendars in an article in *TBGAS* in 1979. Since then, more has come to light about other guilds of this kind, about the guild's relationship with its parish church of All Saints, and about Bishop Carpenter who reorganised the guild in the 15th century. This provides a stimulus and reason for rewriting and extending the original article. It has not been possible, unfortunately, to reproduce fully in these pages the lists of guild clergy and the inventory of the guild's endowments in 1548 which were included therein, and readers should consult the article about such matters.

I am grateful to Mr Peter Insole for assistance with the Heritage Environment Register, to Jon Cannon and John Wickson for photography, to Avon Local History and Archaeology for publishing this work, to Mr William Evans and Dr Jonathan Harlow for furthering that process, to Dr Clive Burgess to whom so much is owed for his work on medieval Bristol, especially All Saints church, and to the copyright holders of the illustrations for permission to reproduce them.

Ds misereat. Pat' nr. Et ne nos ostē  
 nob. Saluos fac seruos. t. 7 ancill. t.  
 Mitte eis aux de. s. D ne ex. D n̄s. nob.  
 D s q' karitatis dona p' gr̄am s̄a sp̄e  
 tuoz cordibz fidelū in fundis  
 da s' annulis 7 famulabz tuis: p' q'bz tua  
 depam' clemenciam salute mentia 7 cor  
 poris: ut te tota uirtute diligunt. 7 q' t' pla  
 cita sūt tota dilectōe p'seuiat. p.  
 Roma. fratru 7 sororu. Baled. Januar. defuā.  
 D. Will's de Stankeye. Decan' & x̄o. Alidyl.  
 Capll's ff' nr. 7 Hodieru vroz ocher.  
 Therr 7 cistina nr. Ad Capell. Leo  
 Arjn' p'sbit 7 canonic' ff' nr. Baledkyn.  
 flandrens. 7 Anguylla soroz nra. Hugo.  
 de molton. 7 Will's ff' nr. 7 Iditha soroz  
 nra. Ric. fil' Andree. 7 Aluona de Hotes.  
 f. n. Albt' p'sb. Theolald' fil'. Rad. 7 Halby.

A prayer at the admission of a member, and the names of members to  
 be prayed for in January, from the Exeter guild of Kalendars, early  
 14th century.

# **The Kalendars: Bristol's Oldest Guild and Earliest Public Library**

The Guild of Kalendars, Bristol, was the oldest and most important religious guild in the medieval city. It was founded by about the mid 12th century and lasted for at least four hundred years until it was abolished in 1548 by the Chantry Act of Edward VI. During its long life legends grew up about it. In 1318 it was alleged to have supervised schools in Bristol 'for the Jews and the teaching of other children'.<sup>1</sup> In 1480 the antiquary William Worcester was told by the prior of the guild that it was founded in about A.D.700, long before the earliest evidence for the existence of Bristol, and in honour of the feast of Corpus Christi, which was not established until 1264.<sup>2</sup> By the 17th century the guild was believed to have kept ancient records and muniments not only of Bristol but of other towns,<sup>3</sup> and in 1789 William Barrett maintained in his history of Bristol that it was a kind of college for the propagation of the faith and a registry that preserved the city archives and kept a kalendar or monthly register of deeds and rolls, hence its name of Kalendars.<sup>4</sup>

## **Guilds of Kalendars**

None of these legends is true, but the history of the guild still possesses much significance and variety. Guilds of Kalendars were founded in large numbers in Germany and Denmark during the 13th and 14th centuries,<sup>5</sup> and they existed in at least three towns in England: Bristol, Exeter, and Winchester. The relationship of the English guilds to one another and to those of the Continent is still obscure, but they all appear to have shared some common features. All were 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, meaning 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 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 or her funeral. They accompanied the body to the grave, organised prayers for the soul, and commemorated the death at regular intervals.

The three English guilds of Kalendars are first recorded in the 13th century: Exeter in about 1200, Winchester in 1238, and Bristol in about the 1240s.<sup>6</sup> Their origins, however, appear to be older than this. Traditions at Bristol, as we shall see, suggest that the guild existed by at least the mid 12th century. The Exeter guild was associated with a church, St Paul, likely to have existed by about 1100, and it commemorated several clergy who lived before the year 1150. Its Winchester counterpart used a seal that may have originated in the same century. Exeter's first appearance relates to its union with another city guild, the 'guild of twenty', and their



migration from their previous churches in the city to the more prominent one of St Mary Major (*left, from a 19th century painting*) next to the cathedral.<sup>7</sup>

The united guild is not known to have had a presiding officer. It acquired a little property and possibly premises in the street still known as Kalendarhay, but did not apparently employ full-time clergy. It came to an end in the early 14th century when it seems to have transferred its assets and duties to the vicars choral of Exeter Cathedral, who thereafter celebrated the kalendar mass at the start of each month. It has left us the liturgical material for the admission of its

members and, uniquely among the English Kalendar guilds, the list of the names of those commemorated in its monthly masses from the 12th to the early 14th centuries (*see frontispiece*). The names include both clergy and prominent laymen and women within the city.<sup>8</sup>

The Winchester guild also emerges because of a federation, in its case with the neighbouring fraternity of St Peter in 1238. On this occasion the two guilds did not integrate but retained their separate organisations while cooperating in their activities. The Kalendar's guild was based in the prominent church of St Mary Kalendar in the High Street and that of St Peter in the church of the same name. Each guild was headed by a prior assisted by a steward in charge of the guild's property and a cantor who presumably led the chanting of the monthly masses; each guild also had premises in the form of a house. The agreement of 1238 throws light on what happened when members died. All the priests of the guild attended the ceremonies that followed death, clerks guarded the body overnight and said psalms around it, and the clergy attended the funeral mass on the morrow and offered at least  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  each. Thirty requiem masses were said during the next thirty days, the name of the dead was written in a kalendar, and the anniversary of his or her death was kept in subsequent years. Both of the Winchester guilds held property in the city and it is possible that they paid some of their clergy members or had some such members living in their houses, because in 1548 when they were suppressed by Edward VI's Chantry Act, they were described as a 'college' which implies a group of clergy dwelling together.<sup>9</sup>

Combining this evidence with what we shall find in Bristol leads to the conclusion that each of the three guilds was important in the city to which it belonged. In Exeter and Winchester they were not the only religious guilds and they held less property than the Kalendar's guild in Bristol, but all three guilds were associated with churches of high profile and their acquisition of endowments in the form of tenements and rent charges indicates that they gathered in the members of the city elite of merchants, prosperous craftsmen and shopkeepers, and a good many clergy. By about 1400 the guild church of St Mary Kalendar in Winchester played an important part in civic ceremonial, and the elaborate arrangements for commemorating the dead recorded there and implied at Exeter would not have been appropriate for lowly people. All three guilds were probably dominated by the leading laity and clergy of their cities, enabling such

people to bond together and giving them the prestige of having elaborate funerals and the commemoration of their souls for long afterwards.

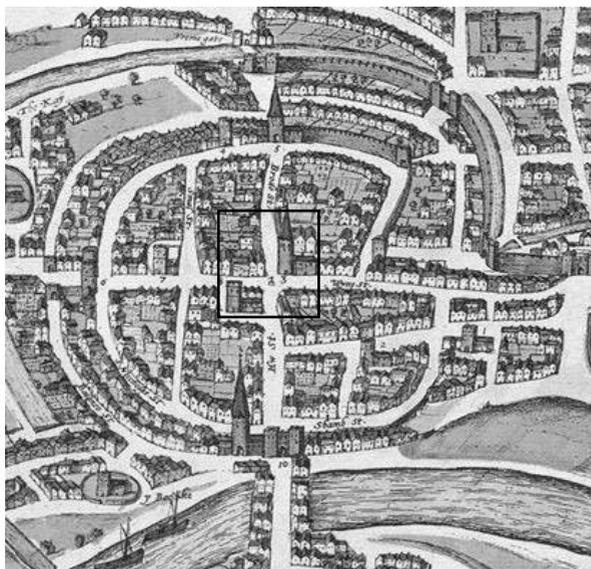
### **The Origins of the Bristol Guild**

We possess no contemporary documents of the Bristol guild in the 12th century and hardly any in the 13th, so it is necessary to extrapolate what we can from its first major surviving record. This was an inquiry into its history made in 1318 by the rural dean of Bristol, Robert Hasele, at the command of the bishop of Worcester after certain people had allegedly infringed the rights and liberties of the guild.<sup>10</sup> The dean 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. With this information he sent the bishop an account of the origins 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 the Norman magnate Robert Fitzhamon (died 1107), the re-founder of Tewkesbury Abbey, with his son-in-law Robert earl of Gloucester (died 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 rather than afterwards, and believed 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 concerns the origins 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 Anglo-Saxon times and that its meetings were originally held in the church of the Holy Trinity, later and more generally known as 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. When the antiquary William Worcester was in Bristol in 1480, he saw and read what he called 'letters certificatory' relating to the guild 'of the time of St Wulstan, bishop of Worcester [1062-1095], under an ancient hand'.<sup>11</sup> These do not survive, but may have been available in 1318. There is no bar to the existence of a religious guild in Bristol in the 11th century. Anglo-Saxon

guilds are recorded during that or the previous century at Abbotsbury, Bedwyn, Cambridge, and Exeter, making it likely that such organisations were common in towns of that period.<sup>12</sup> It might be asked why the Kalendars, if they existed so early, were not linked with St Peter's church which was claimed in the mid twelfth century as having been the 'original and chief of the churches of Bristol'.<sup>13</sup> In Exeter, however, the Kalendars were not at first linked with a major church, and if Bristol's Holy Trinity existed before 1066, which is likely, it may have been preferred as a venue for some now unknown reason or for having a central location.

After the Conquest, says the account of 1318, the Kalendars' guild continued to meet in Holy Trinity church until the reign of Henry II (1154-89) when Robert Harding, with the consent of the king and 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 died in 1147. Robert Harding or Fitzharding was the most famous Bristolian of the 12th century and the founder of the Berkeley family. He died in 1171.



*A map of Bristol in 1581, showing Trinity top right and All Saints Church bottom left of the inscribed square.*

The translation of the guild to All Saints, if it was Earl Robert's responsibility, probably resulted from his foundation of the abbey of St Augustine's in about 1148. Not long afterwards, between about 1154 and 1172, the abbey acquired the patronage of All Saints,<sup>14</sup> whereas Holy Trinity fell into the hands of Tewkesbury Abbey to which it partially belonged by 1147.<sup>15</sup>

It would have been natural for Robert to seek an association between the guild, of which he was a likely member, and the abbey that he had just founded nearby. The brethren of the guild may also have preferred to link themselves with their 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 unhindered in All Saints until the Reformation and, as we shall see, the abbey allowed the guild to erect its buildings against the walls of the church without exacting any rent.

The inquisition of 1318 asserted that Robert Harding, as well as transferring the guild to a new church, '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' needs explaining. John Leland, the Tudor antiquary who visited Bristol in about 1542 and saw a version of the inquisition when the guild still existed, interpreted it as 'schools for the conversion of the Jews'.<sup>16</sup> But although Bristol had a Jewish community during the 12th and 13th centuries, it is improbable that any Christian organisation 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.<sup>17</sup> It seems more likely that a misunderstanding has arisen from the Latin words *scola Judeorum* which mean a synagogue, not a school. The Kalendars may have possessed a tenement in Bristol that had once been used as a synagogue and a tradition to this effect have circulated in a garbled form. An ex-Jewish synagogue in Wine Street is mentioned in the 13th century, and this was a street in which the Kalendars later held property.<sup>18</sup> In the early 1600s tradition identified the 'school for the Jews' with a house called Checker Hall in that street.<sup>19</sup>

The reference to the guild being given control of a school for the teaching of other children, meaning Christian children, is equally hard to confirm. Schools for the public certainly existed in English towns by the 12th and 13th centuries, broadly speaking of two kinds. Elementary schools taught the mere ability to read. They were held in churches or private houses and were largely unregulated. Grammar schools taught the ability to understand, compose, write, and speak Latin and were confined to older boys. At first there was usually one prominent grammar school in

a town, with a patron (like the patron of a parish church) who claimed authority over it. The patron appointed the schoolmaster, provided him with a schoolhouse, and gave him a monopoly of teaching locally to ensure him an adequate income from school-fees. Most patrons, however, were bishops, cathedrals, monasteries, or lords of manors, and it seems unlikely that the Kalendars' guild held this kind of patronage since no other guild is known to have done so early. Even if it did, its members would not have carried out the teaching themselves but appointed a master to do so. Leland recorded a tradition that 'William earl of Gloucester, founder of the monastery of Keynsham, gave the prefecture [i.e. government] and mastership of the school in Bristol to Keynsham, and took it from the Kalendars'.<sup>20</sup> This would have to be dated between the foundation of the abbey in about 1169 and Earl William's death in 1183.

It is possible to conceive of Keynsham Abbey as being made patron of an official Bristol grammar school, but the abbey was distant from Bristol and by the 14th century there was more than one grammar school in the city. In the end, a link between the Kalendars and education turns out to be impossible to establish, and it is never recorded in the period after 1350 when information about the guild becomes more plentiful.

### **The Early Rule of the Bristol 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'. This is unsupported by other evidence but is credible. 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. In fact William of Blois did not become the bishop of Worcester until 1218. His interest in the guild, however, is confirmed by the other main source that we now possess for its early history: its 'Rule' or code of religious observances. This survives in a 15th-century copy enrolled among the

records of Bristol corporation in the ‘Little Red Book’, with a preface affirming that it was issued by William himself.<sup>21</sup> The document appears to have 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 appropriate than a later one.<sup>22</sup>

The Rule of 1218-36 is concerned with the regulation of the guild’s worship rather than with its constitutional basis, but a little may be gathered about its general organisation as well. 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 laity’. This suggests that the Kalendar brethren were originally Bristol’s chief or only religious guild: ‘the guild’. The name of Kalendars, which was in general use by the 14th century, probably arose when other guilds (religious or commercial) came into existence and caused some distinction to become



*The tomb of William of Blois in Worcester Cathedral.*

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. Winchester, as we have seen, had the first two officers as well. The rest of the members were priests, laymen, and lay women, the priests being the senior in status. 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, examples of which 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.<sup>23</sup> 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 by the mid 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 guild brethren, and there may have been no absolute restriction of numbers.

We learn from the Rule that 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 lay person, was required to say the Paternoster (Lord’s Prayer) 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. Their 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 members by the clerk on the previous day. They assembled in All Saints church immediately after the bells had rung for prime (at about six in the morning), and after the commendation had been said,<sup>24</sup> 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 have focussed on the names of those who had died in the month concerned as was the case at Exeter. Members were warned not to walk about the church while mass was in progress, but to stand or kneel in the chancel so that non-members might be stimulated by their example to do likewise. Each of them was expected to make an offering of money at the mass, and this must have provided the chief source of income in the early days.

There is no record of the monthly meeting being followed by eating or drinking, as sometimes took place in other guilds, but doubtless the opportunity was taken to transact guild business. New members may have been admitted at the kalendar mass; 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 members 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. Any members who fell sick were entitled to support from the chest for up to a year, or else the guild had to find them a place in a hospital. Money could be given to other works of charity if the guild was so inclined.

Finally there were elaborate arrangements for members' funerals. As soon as any of them died, their comrades had to attend their rites of passage, beginning with the commendations and prayers that were said around the deathbed. If the deceased was a priest, his fellow clergy were to come in surplices bringing with them candles weighing half-a-pound apiece to burn around the body. On the following day all the guild members were to follow the deceased to whichever church had been chosen for the funeral, the corpse of a priest being again accompanied by his fellow clergy in surplices with candles. At the funeral mass each member had to make an offering, and when a priest was to be buried, a second mass was to be celebrated if possible. The body was then conducted to the grave, the interment being followed by a series of intercessions and prayers: of a more elaborate kind if the dead man was a priest but less so in the case of the laity. If a priest, the other priests were each to say for thirty days the commendation, the vespers of the dead (*Placebo*), and the matins of the dead (*Dirige*). They were also to insert into their daily masses a special collect, secret, and post-communion prayer for the soul of the deceased. 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 lay person died, on the other hand, the priests were not bound to make the elaborate intercessions that they did for one another. They merely said fifteen Paternosters and Aves like the laity.

The Rule enables us to see why the guild of Kalendars came into existence and what its members gained from their membership. It enabled them all to join in regular corporate acts of worship by which they could do their duty to God and their neighbours on a greater scale than was possible on their own. All the members gained valuable spiritual benefits during their lives, since each enjoyed the daily prayers and intercessions of their comrades. The guild provided fellowship, monetary help in trouble or sickness, a dignified funeral such as people in those days considered proper, and remembrance after death with regular intercessions. The laity benefited from the regular masses and prayers said by the clergy, at a time when few professional chantry priests existed to say masses for money and when the friars were only just beginning to do the same thing. The clergy on their part needed the laity to provide the regular donations required to finance the system of prayers, benefits, and charitable work. There was probably also a bonus in terms of status, at least for the laity. They had access to more prayers than ordinary people, and the fact that they are mentioned as being in the chancel of All Saints indicates that they were given the unusual privilege of admission to a part of the church that was normally reserved for clergy and very important laity.

### **The Guild from 1300 to 1464**

Hitherto we have been dependent on two documents. In the 14th century the written sources improve considerably. The Kalendars' own archives have not indeed survived as a collection: in about 1542 Leland heard that they were 'for the most part burnt by chance'.<sup>25</sup> A good deal of evidence about the guild survives, nonetheless. The registers of the bishops of Worcester list the appointments of chaplains to the guild from the second half of the 14th century until the Reformation: that is to say the chaplains employed by the guild as distinct from its priest-members. Other references survive among the records of the corporation of Bristol and of the guild's mother church of All Saints, as well as in some local wills.

The picture of the guild in the 14th and early 15th centuries that emerges from these records 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 wealthier organisation. The monthly offerings of its members were now supplemented from at least two other sources: indulgences and 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'.<sup>26</sup> These indulgences 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 of remission of penance to those who made donations to the guild.<sup>27</sup> Indulgences, however, were very common in later-medieval England; many churches had them, and they may not have raised very much money. More important was the fact that the Bristol Kalendars acquired property over the years in the form of urban tenements and rents, doubtless through bequests from their members. When the guild was suppressed in 1548 its property consisted of more than two dozen tenements and pieces of open land, and a dozen or so rent charges on other properties. The net income, after the deduction of outgoings, amounted to over £29.<sup>28</sup>

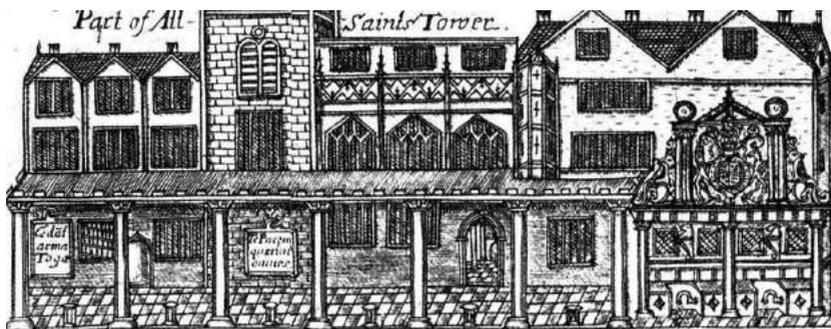
The acquisition of endowments enabled the guild, by at least the 1340s and probably earlier, to employ four permanent priests occupying what were known as the first, second, third, and fourth chantries of the guild of Kalendars. A fifth and sixth chantry are sometimes mentioned in records. These refer to the chantry of Richard White in the church of St Stephen, whose two priests were associate members of the guild but had no share in its government.<sup>29</sup> The endowment of permanent priests appears to have affected the guild's constitution. The office of prior became permanently vested by the 1370s in the occupant of the first of the four chantries. The power to elect the prior and choose the other three priests, to grant leases of the guild's property, and to take other important decisions became the primary responsibility of the four priests, although it is possible that some consultation was held with the rest of the guild. From this time onwards the appointment of the prior and his fellow chantry priests took place in the following manner.<sup>30</sup> The surviving priests approved a candidate to fill the vacancy. They sent a letter of nomination to the mayor of Bristol, who had come to be regarded as the patron of the foundation. His oath by the 15th century included a promise to maintain the guild and defend its property.<sup>31</sup> The mayor was then expected to present the priests' 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 as one of the assistant priests, 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.<sup>32</sup> In 1427 Robert Russell attempted to make a similar presentation of one Thomas Mew to the vacant office of prior. The other 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.<sup>33</sup> Other mayors may have exerted an influence over the appointments in practice but by law, until the very dissolution of the guild, their power was limited to presenting the elected choice of the guild chaplains. This fact is often, although not always, recorded in the bishops' registers.

The guild may have had a house for its activities by the 13th century, like the Winchester guild. Its existence is not known for sure, however, until 2 July 1333 when the canons of St Augustine's Abbey, with the agreement of the parishioners of All Saints church, allowed the guild to erect a house 'against the aforesaid church and superimposed upon its walls'. No fees or rents were charged for the privilege.<sup>34</sup> The house stood on the north side of the church alongside Corn Street and is the earliest known of a series of structures that have occupied the site.<sup>35</sup> Its area was defined as stretching 'thirty feet in length from the church porch, that is to say from the doors and the pillars attached to the same, and twenty-three feet in width from the traverse of the aforesaid pillars towards Corn Street'. In effect, that was from the west end of the church to the church tower. Vertically the house was allowed to be raised 'upon the wall of the aisle or north part of the church'. The lowest storey stood against the north side of the church nave and the first floor projected into the nave, so that it rested on the piers of the north nave aisle. The building of 1333, or through subsequent enlargement, extended all along the north side of the nave, and thereby prevented any windows from being installed on that side.

In 1443 the abbey gave permission for the house to be rebuilt. This was made possible by a bequest from the estate of John and Christine Haddon of Bristol and a gift of 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) from John and Edith

Chancellor of Keynsham.<sup>36</sup> The purpose of the rebuilding was to improve the church of All Saints. It required the Kalendarers to surrender the eastern end of their house beside part of the north wall of the church nave, exposing enough of that wall to allow the insertion of three new glazed windows to light the north aisle of the nave which was (or now became) the Lady chapel of the church. To compensate for the loss of space in the house, a new room was built high above the north side of the nave, resting on the piers of the north arcade, presumably as a dwelling chamber for the prior or other chaplains. As these piers are more slender than those further west, the upper room must have been a wooden building whose floor presented a flat ceiling to the church below. The house survived largely in this form until the late 17th century, and a drawing of it appears on Jacob Millerd's map of Bristol, 1673 (*below*). It possessed three storeys with attics and probably a cellar. The building was reconstructed in about 1740 and again in 1782 to create what stands there today.



*The library is immediately right of the church tower, above the church, and the Kalendars' house further right with a conduit in front of it.*

In its medieval state the house enjoyed a prominent location opposite the city Guildhall and alongside the arcades known as the Tolseys, where business was done and where the mayor held a weekly court. A public well, the All Saints Conduit, stood conveniently outside the north-west end of the building.<sup>37</sup> One presumes that the guild house included a hall, kitchen, store-rooms, and chambers for the priests. There was a private door into the church. The four priests ate together in the house – they must have shared the costs of the food with the wages of a cook and perhaps a manciple to buy food – and at least once in 1537 they had a paying guest,



*The interior of All Saints today from the west end*

one Sir Dunstan who was another chantry priest of All Saints.<sup>38</sup> The communal life of the clergy led to their organisation being sometimes known as a ‘college’ as well as a ‘fraternity’.<sup>39</sup> They did not constitute a collegiate church, however, in the sense that this term is used by historians, since they did not own the church in which they functioned and had no statutes other than the Rule. The words ‘religious guild’ or ‘chantry’ are the best ones with which to categorise the organisation.

The names of more than sixty of the priors and assistant priests have been preserved between 1329 and 1548.<sup>40</sup> Except for the twelve priors of the reformed foundation after 1451 whom we shall examine presently, they were almost all non-graduates and, in view of their local surnames, mostly from local families. Some held their posts until they died; others left for other chantry or parochial work and, in a few cases, to become incumbents of parishes. Long terms of service were achieved by William Deane (21 years), William Kene (25), and Henry Derlaston (at least 32), while Thomas Merryfield managed 37 years in two instalments. Their posts would have been attractive to the extent that their stipends were a little

higher than the basic rates usually offered to curates and chantry priests, and the work was based in the centre of a flourishing city with many urban amenities. Links with the citizens may have brought them hospitality in private houses.

The sole indication of personal wealth relates to Thomas Merryfield, whose moveable goods at his death in 1539 were valued at £3 12s. 2d.,<sup>41</sup> however the gifts that a few of the chaplains are recorded as making to All Saints indicate that they were not without spare cash and might own liturgical texts. Henry Colas gave the church a processional book, Thomas Furber £5, Thomas Haxby £1 6s. 8d., and Thomas Merryfield a breviary and a processional.<sup>42</sup> Haxby left behind an affectionate memory of devoted service to All Saints where he seems to have also acted as parish clerk. The compiler of the church's book of records in the fifteenth century, after recalling his gifts, was moved to continue that

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

The writer concluded fervently, 'God have mercy on hys soule. Amen!'<sup>43</sup>

Inevitably there were some individuals and periods of less satisfactory behaviour. In 1374 the bishop of Worcester's official complained that the prior's three colleagues were failing to sing the divine office and absenting themselves from the town without permission. John Langadok and John Davy were probably those involved.<sup>44</sup> Prior Henry Derlaston seems to have come close to being deprived in 1387, possibly through having held an unauthorised benefice along with his chantry, but he survived.<sup>45</sup> The guild appears to have passed through a troubled period in the 1430s. In 1438-9 the churchwardens of All Saints cited the three assistant chaplains, William Twyty, Henry Colas, and Thomas Halleway, to a church court for negligence in attending divine service.<sup>46</sup> This may be connected with charges made at about the same time against the prior, John Forster, who had been in office since 1429. In December 1439 the crown appointed commissioners to examine the state of the guild. It alleged that the revenues had become impaired, that disputes had arisen between the prior

and his co-brethren and between them and the city authorities, and that divine worship was withdrawn and scandal caused. The commissioners were told to make an audit of the guild's income during the last ten years, in other words under Forster's priorship.<sup>47</sup> Eventually he was deprived of his office in the summer of 1440 by the Archbishop of Canterbury, either for maladministration or for holding the church of Hutton (Somerset) in plurality with his priorship and probably without permission.<sup>48</sup>

No lists remain of the other members of the guild, and here conjecture alone is possible. An obit or membership list, such as survive from the Kalendars' guild in Exeter or the guild of the Trinity in Coventry, would probably show a wide range of members.<sup>49</sup> Besides the clergy and citizens of Bristol itself, it is not impossible that the guild included merchants of other towns whose business involved them in Bristol and clergy and knights of the surrounding countryside. Even monarchs and members of the great baronial families were enrolled in the Coventry guild, albeit in an honorary rather than an active capacity. Yet although there is no evidence of membership in Bristol, we possess the names of several of those who patronised the guild and, if not brethren themselves, represented the kind of people who were. These include two bishops of Worcester: William of Blois, who is directly stated to have been a member, and John Carpenter whom we shall encounter making 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.<sup>50</sup>

Among the laity 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.<sup>51</sup> The citizenry of Bristol 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.<sup>52</sup> 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.*).<sup>53</sup> The benefactions of the Haddons and the Chancellors in the 15th century have already been noted. After the 13th century the Kalendars must have faced competition from rival organisations such as friars, chantry priests, and other guilds but the bequests they received show that some local people went on supporting them.

The guild's activities in the later middle ages probably focussed on the liturgy, as laid down in the Rule. The four priests, like all clergy, were bound to say the eight regular daily services, or canonical hours. There is no evidence that their house contained a chapel, and they must have joined the vicar of All Saints and the other clergy of that church in its chancel to say the services each day, probably in two blocks: early morning and mid afternoon. John Prince, the priest of the second chantry, is mentioned as being present at (afternoon) vespers in the church in 1457 when a bailiff and his officers entered in search of a thief.<sup>54</sup> The chaplains are likely also to have said mass each day at one of the altars in the church. In 1480 William Worcester talked of the Kalendars' 'church' as being 'sited on the south side of the parish church of All Saints', presumably indicating their use of the chapel and altar in the south aisle of the nave.<sup>55</sup> Here, perhaps, they celebrated mass in turn during the morning. Finally in 1466 the bishop of Worcester referred to the duty of the chaplains to say the offices for the dead, *Placebo* and *Dirige*, on the last day of the month, and to celebrate a solemn requiem mass on the first day for the souls of the founders, brothers, sisters, and benefactors of the guild – in other words the traditional kalendar masses.<sup>56</sup>

The guild engaged in a few other activities, but of a less romantic nature than historians of Bristol have thought. One alleged task, the keeping or supervision of schools, has already been questioned. Another, that they kept the city muniments and did secretarial work for the corporation, is based on a misunderstanding of their name; the city employed its own clerks for that purpose. In about 1542 Leland was able to see a 'little book' of their history which included the information from the inquisition of 1318 with some additional records about the history of Bristol.<sup>57</sup> This was, perhaps, an early sort of 'town chronicle' of a kind found elsewhere in the 15th century, but it looks like a private compilation of their own rather than a semi-official set of annals such as the town clerk, Robert Ricart, had begun to keep.<sup>58</sup> More certainly the Kalendars provided two services of a religious kind. One was to act as the patrons of seven private chantries founded by wealthy Bristol citizens, their principal duty being to appoint the chantry priests when vacancies occurred.<sup>59</sup> The chantries were those of William Pollard in the church of St Laurence, founded by his widow Cecilia in about the 1240s;<sup>60</sup> Thomas Marshfield, a priest who may have lived in the 13th century, in St Werburgh; Roger

Turtle in All Saints, founded in 1328;<sup>61</sup> Thomas Belcher in St Stephen, founded in 1329;<sup>62</sup> Richard White in St Stephen, a chantry of two priests founded in 1334;<sup>63</sup> Robert Gyen in All Saints, founded in 1335;<sup>64</sup> and Robert Horhurst in St Nicholas, founded in 1339.<sup>65</sup> The other occasional activity of the guild was to provide ‘titles’ for applicants for ordination: promises to give them unspecified support if they were ever in need. At least four clergy were granted such titles between 1334 and 1377.<sup>66</sup>

### **Bishop Carpenter’s Reorganisation**

The next major event in the history of the guild was a reorganisation carried out by John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester, in 1464. Carpenter was a reforming bishop by 15th-century standards, and an unusual one. He was a first-rate Oxford scholar who took a doctorate in theology, was elected provost of Oriel College, and entered the service of Henry VI.<sup>67</sup> In 1433 he became master of the hospital of St Anthony (London), a somewhat decayed institution which he revived by establishing choral services and a grammar school offering free education in Latin.<sup>68</sup> In 1443 he was appointed bishop of Worcester and engaged in innovative schemes to improve the condition of his clergy. He held a diocesan synod, a rare procedure at the time, resulting in new legislation to improve clergy discipline, the conduct of services, the morals of the laity, and the care of the poor.<sup>69</sup> He turned the ancient minster church at Westbury-on-Trym into an up-to-date kind of collegiate church with resident clergy, clerks, choristers, a grammar school, and almshouses for infirm priests, men, and women.<sup>70</sup> At the end of his life he was planning a hostel for the chaplains of Worcester where they could rent rooms and join together in paying for meals, although it is not certain that this scheme was ever realised.<sup>71</sup>

Carpenter’s reorganisation of the Kalendars’ guild was an aspect of these reforms. It was probably stimulated by his awareness that although Bristol was the largest city of his diocese and the third largest in England, it lacked a resident bishop and cathedral unlike London, Norwich, and York. Its spiritual well-being is likely to have concerned him. Bristol had long been a centre of Lollardy: the opinions and practices of those who followed the precepts of John Wycliffe, all of which the Church considered to be dangerous and some heretical.<sup>72</sup> In 1448, not long after Carpenter’s arrival as bishop, the prosecution of a Gloucester Lollard named William Fuer revealed the existence of a group of such people in

Bristol. Most of them lived in the suburbs south of the Avon which lay in the diocese of Bath and Wells, but one of the leaders, William Smith, who was later burnt for his opinions, was based outside Lawford's Gate to the east of the city and in Worcester diocese.<sup>73</sup>

It is likely that Carpenter saw a need to provide good orthodox teaching to sustain the spirituality of lay people and to combat heresy. He was not the only bishop to take this view. His colleague at Chichester, Reynold Pecock, had been his contemporary at Oriel College, took a doctorate in theology, and became master of a collegiate church in London before his promotion as bishop in 1450. Pecock wrote several books as bishop, partly to confute the Lollards, partly to teach the orthodox, and did so in English:



*A mural from Westbury-on-Trym, showing Bishop Carpenter's funeral procession at the top.*

an unusual procedure which, coupled with a good deal of tactlessness, led to his downfall in 1457 on charges of unorthodoxy and to the loss of his bishopric.<sup>74</sup>

Carpenter had similar objectives but approached them in a more acceptable way. He seems to have aimed to educate the parish clergy rather than the laity directly, and he identified the guild of Kalendarers as the best institution for this purpose. There was in fact little alternative. Bristol possessed its abbey of Augustinian canons and four friaries, but although their inmates included some learned men, they were

not available or best fitted to teach the parish clergy, while Carpenter's new college of Westbury-on-Trym was too distant to undertake such work from a site three miles away.

Carpenter did not reorganise the guild until he had been bishop for twenty years, but the enterprise appears to have been in his mind as early as 1451. Historically, as we have seen, the prior of the Kalendars had been an ordinary non-graduate chantry priest. The appointment as prior of John Hemming, an Oxford Master of Arts, on 25 September of that year marked a change in this respect which surely signifies the beginning of Carpenter's involvement with the guild.<sup>75</sup> Although Hemming was nominated by the guild priests and presented to the bishop by the mayor, in the usual way, the bishop was closely involved in the process since the relevant documents were all copied into his register at length, a care for which there was no precedent.<sup>76</sup> Three years later in 1454 Carpenter gave Hemming permission to live away from Bristol in order to study at Oxford, and although the course of study is not mentioned, it is most likely to have been theology.<sup>77</sup> Hemming had already completed the arts course, and a requirement that the prior should be a student of theology was duly laid down 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.

The bishop's other plan involved the prior in running a public library. This is first intimated in 1455 when William Okeborne, the dean of Carpenter's other reformed foundation at Westbury, made his will and bequeathed a book 'to the new library to be built in Bristol'.<sup>78</sup> It is likely that Hemming was expected to qualify in theology and come home to inaugurate the library, but he died at Oxford in the summer of 1457 and Carpenter had to find a suitable successor. He discovered one in the person of John Harlow, an Oxford bachelor of theology who may have come from the Bristol area. The guild and the mayor obligingly agreed to his appointment in April 1458.<sup>79</sup> Harlow's recent career had been an unusual one. It appears that while studying at Oxford he came under the influence



*Bishop  
Carpenter's  
tomb in  
Westbury-on-  
Trym church.*

of Reynold Pecock, and after Pecock's fall he was the next to be singled out for attack. A royal letter was despatched to Oxford University naming Harlow as a supporter of the bishop's heresies and ordering the university authorities to search for copies of Pecock'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.<sup>80</sup> Carpenter, as we have seen, was a contemporary of Pecock, shared much in common with him, and evidently did not endorse the prevailing hostility towards the fallen scholar and his disciple. As a result he gained a well qualified recruit for his project who remained in post for over twenty years.

By 1464 Carpenter was ready to give final legal form to his plans for reforming the guild. He issued ordinances to this effect on 5 April and these were approved by the prior, his brethren, and the mayor of Bristol twelve days later, these parties all having evidently accepted the bishop's intervention in the affairs of the guild.<sup>81</sup> The ordinances did not alter the functions of the guild in general, but made two major additions to them. First, Carpenter elevated the office of prior from that of a chantry priest to 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 New Testaments and be able to preach. In addition he was required to administer the public library, of which more hereafter, and to deliver a public lecture there once a week. Finally he was expected to preach in the city when possible, and to ask his audience when he did so to pray for Carpenter's soul and for the good estate of the mayor of Bristol.

On 20 October 1466, following the benefaction of money to the Kalendarers by John and Edith Chancellor, the bishop ordered the prior also to preach four annual sermons in perpetuity as a recompense. Two were to take place at Keynsham and two in Bristol, the latter at places to be chosen by Harlow while he remained as prior but afterwards at St Augustine's Abbey, or at the cross nearby, and at the church of St Mary Redcliffe.<sup>82</sup> In order to make the post of prior sufficiently attractive to a graduate, the prior's salary was set at £10 per annum, which was probably higher than it had been hitherto. Carpenter does not appear to have provided any new endowments for this purpose, and it is likely that the extra money was found by suspending the fourth chantry, which appears to have been left

vacant after 1453.<sup>83</sup> From now onwards the guild supported only two chaplains alongside the prior. Since even £10 was not much to tempt theology graduates, successive priors were allowed to hold the office in plurality with one or more parish churches in the neighbourhood. Harlow himself became rector of Marksbury (Somerset) and St Stephen (Bristol), and several later priors held benefices of a similar kind.

## **The Library**

The other major innovation of 1464 was the public library. The inspiration for this seems to have come from Carpenter's time as master of St Anthony's Hospital between 1433 and 1443. His tenure there overlapped with the career of another John Carpenter who was common clerk of the corporation of the City of London, and a leading spirit in the government and cultural life of the city.<sup>84</sup> The two men may even have been related. When the master of the hospital acquired a manor in Hertfordshire for St Anthony's in 1441, the common clerk assisted him in the process, and when the latter died in 1442 he named the future bishop as the supervisor of his will.<sup>85</sup> Carpenter the clerk had been one of the executors of Richard Whittington and William Bury, citizens and mercers of London, who died in 1423. On their initiative or his own, but using their money, he set up the Guildhall Library, a pioneering institution of its kind, in or shortly before 1425. The library was linked to a college of priests attached to the London Guildhall, the centre of city government, and housed a collection of chained volumes, chiefly of theology and therefore most likely to appeal to the city's parish clergy. Two priests were paid to look after the library, and we are told that the place was visited by students who wished to be educated in holy scripture. The foundation received several gifts of money and books during the 15th century, and functioned until the Reformation.<sup>86</sup>

The Bristol library appears to have been housed in the new room above the north aisle of All Saints which had been built in 1443, as we have seen, for a different purpose. Since the ordinances state that the bishop had newly built the library at his own expense,<sup>87</sup> he probably modified the structure for his needs and provided the appropriate fittings: desks and book chains. The library was to be open for two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon for anyone who wished to enter for the purpose of study.<sup>88</sup> The prior was to remain in attendance during these hours to

explain uncertain and obscure points of holy scripture. An inventory was to be kept of the library books, and copies of this 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 rural dean, and a representative of the mayor were to compare the books with the inventory, and the prior was bound to replace any volume that had left the library through his negligence.<sup>89</sup>

Two other libraries of this kind were established at about the same time. One was at Norwich, where Walter Lyhert, was bishop. He was another former fellow and provost of Oriel College, and must have shared contact and interests with Carpenter. In 1462 a Norwich vicar bequeathed a book to a library there if it were established in the next two years, and in 1497 Bishop Goldwell of Norwich bequeathed three volumes of canon law to the library in the Carnary (a building housing chantry priests near the charnel house of the cathedral), showing that it had come into existence.<sup>90</sup> The other foundation was made by Carpenter himself in a similar Carnary, in this case next to Worcester Cathedral. Between 1458 and 1464, at about the same time that he was reorganising the Kalendars, he rebuilt the Carnary to include a library and a set of chambers for a chaplain-librarian. In 1464 he issued ordinances almost identical to those for the Kalendars: the chaplain should be a university graduate, preferably a bachelor of theology, opening the library on weekdays for two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon, remaining there to explain doubtful and obscure points of theology, and delivering a lecture once or twice a week on one of the Testaments. The chaplain was to receive £10 a year like his Bristol counterpart, and was eligible to hold a parish benefice at the same time.<sup>91</sup>

Unfortunately little is now known about the working of either the Bristol or Worcester libraries. The chaplain of the Carnary was still giving a weekly lecture when it and its library were closed in 1540, but the history of the practice at Bristol is unknown and the qualifications of the priors in the early 16th century do not inspire confidence that it continued. Neither institution has left us an inventory of its books, and only two volumes at most can be attributed to the Bristol library. One is Okeborne's bequest of 1455, which he described as *Parisiensis* in two volumes.<sup>92</sup> This must have been a Latin work by Guillaume d'Auvergne or Guillaume Peyraut, French scholars of the 13th century who were each known by that name. Both

wrote well-regarded sets of sermons, and Peyraut a popular work *On the Vices and Virtues*. The other is a copy of the Latin world chronicle of Marianus Scotus, which William Worcester saw in 1480 and described as being ‘in the library of All Saints’.<sup>93</sup> The reference seems to indicate the Kalendars’ library rather than the books in the parish church, and to show that at least one latinate layman gained entry to the book collection along with the clergy.

It has been suggested that three manuscripts and four printed books formerly in All Saints’ church and now deposited in Bristol Public Library were also in the Kalendars’ library.<sup>94</sup> Six are Latin theological works and the seventh is the *Catholicon*: the most comprehensive Latin dictionary of the later middle ages. One is a miscellany that includes a work by *Parisiensis*, in this case Guillaume Peyraut, but it is in one volume and not two. Another is Thomas Aquinas’s commentary on the



*A scholar in a library, c. 1500.*

Epistles of Paul, printed at Bologna in 1481 where John Burton, prior of the Kalendars, studied a couple of years later. However although some of the seven volumes include jotted names, none contains an inscription

linking it with the Kalendars' library or with any of the clergy of the guild. Indeed the *Catholicon* belonged to Robert Cirencester, monk of St James Priory (Bristol) in the early sixteenth century, and seems unlikely to have ever reposed with the Kalendars. Reluctantly, these books must be dismissed as evidence about the library, although they fit with its probable focus on Latin works of theology for the purpose of training the clergy.<sup>95</sup>

The libraries at London and Worcester continued to function until the Reformation. The history of the Bristol library, in contrast, is full of mystery. In view of the fact, mentioned earlier, that the Kalendars' archives 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 tower.<sup>96</sup> Yet the church book nowhere mentions a fire in the Kalendars' own property, and it is highly unlikely that Carpenter would have allowed his project to collapse at the moment of its inception. William Worcester, as we have seen, appears to have used a book from the library in 1480, and the chamber called the library still existed when the Kalendars' guild was dissolved in 1548.<sup>97</sup> On the whole it is probable that the library suffered not from a dramatic catastrophe 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 or have had its books alienated to borrowers who never returned them. A decline of standards in the management of the guild is apparent in the early 16th century, and this may have been accompanied by the decay of the library.

### **The Guild from 1464 to 1548**

For the first fifty years after the re-foundation of 1464, Carpenter's vision appears to have been sustained, at least in the attainments of those who were chosen as priors. Harlow remained in office until 1480 when he retired with a pension, although he did not die until 1486. He was succeeded by John Burton: a Londoner, a fellow of Balliol College (Oxford), and a bachelor of theology. Burton held the priorship with the vicarage of St Nicholas and other benefices, a necessary arrangement at first because he received only £2 of the prior's salary while Harlow was alive. It must have been Burton who told William Worcester about the history of the Kalendars in August or September 1480.<sup>98</sup> Like his

predecessor, he was no ordinary scholar. In 1483 he made an adventurous journey abroad, one presumes with the bishop's permission, to study theology at Bologna, from which he returned with a doctor's degree. He then continued as prior until his death in the winter of 1498-9. His will, dated 21 December 1498, arranged for his burial in the church of St Margaret, Bridge Street (London), 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 the incumbent.<sup>99</sup>

Burton was followed for a very brief period by John Vaughan, an Oxford Master of Arts who stayed for only six months,<sup>100</sup> and then by Richard Eastmond, who had been a fellow of All Souls College (Oxford) and a junior proctor of the university. He too was well qualified with a doctorate in theology, and was allowed to hold the rectory of Broughton Gifford (Wilts.) along with his post as prior. He died in the autumn of 1503.<sup>101</sup> His death brought in a fourth distinguished prior, Thomas Harper, a native of Axbridge (Somerset), a fellow of Merton College (Oxford), and another doctor of theology. He also held benefices elsewhere – the vicarages of Halberton (Devon) and St Nicholas (Bristol) with a canonry of Chichester Cathedral – and in 1507 he was elected warden of Merton College. This last post was not compatible with his duties as prior, but it is difficult to say that he neglected them because he was at Bristol when he died in 1508, and in 1509 twenty-eight of his books were brought from there to Merton to be distributed among its fellows in obedience to his will. In it he left some small bequests to the guild of Kalendars and its brethren to be paid with money owing to him there.<sup>102</sup>

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, although he held the two posts for only eighteen months. A second decline is observable in the appointment of Harper's successor William Cross in 1509. Cross was the first prior of the new foundation, apart from the short-lived Vaughan, to be a mere Master of Arts. He was a man of local origins, probably in his late fifties, and for the last thirty years had been simply the vicar of the city church of St Leonard.<sup>103</sup> He did not enjoy good health, and in the spring of 1512 he was given permission to reside away from the guild on account of his age and

infirmities.<sup>104</sup> In the following years Cross seems to have done little to fulfil the duties of his office, so little that in 1520 John Bell, the vicar-general of the diocese and a future bishop of it, 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 matins, mass, and vespers.<sup>105</sup> Bell's injunction gives a distinct impression that Cross was an unsatisfactory prior and not merely an incapacitated one.

Cross vacated his office between 1520 and 1525 – it is not known whether by death or resignation – and with his successor, Roger Edgeworth, the guild again acquired a distinguished theologian as its head. Edgeworth was born at Holt Castle in Denbighshire, attended Banbury grammar school, became a fellow of Carpenter's old college, Oriel, and took a doctorate in theology.<sup>106</sup> He held the post of prior until 1528 in plurality with two parish churches and later became one of the first prebendaries of Bristol Cathedral in 1542. When the Reformation came, Edgeworth remained a strong, albeit diplomatic, supporter of traditional Catholicism, and in 1557, while Mary Tudor was queen, he published the sermons that he had given in the cathedral during the early 1540s: lively commentaries on the First Epistle of Peter, with plenty of comments about the everyday world to interest both his hearers and modern historians.<sup>107</sup> He died around Christmas 1559, and asked to be buried in front of the door into the choir of Wells Cathedral.<sup>108</sup>

Edgeworth was the last academically distinguished prior. His successor, Francis Pollard, was a Bristolian: the son of a mercer in St Nicholas parish. He won a fellowship at Magdalen College (Oxford), but although he applied for the degree of bachelor of arts, it is not certain that he ever gained it, and by lacking a master's degree he made the first absolute breach in Carpenter's requirements.<sup>109</sup> He lasted for less than two years and was succeeded by John Pinnock, a Bonhomme of Edington Priory (Wilts.) in 1530. The Bonshommes were a variety of Augustinian canons, but although they were not an unlearned body, there is no evidence that Pinnock had a university degree. Since about 1518 he had been titular bishop of Syene and in practice a suffragan bishop in the diocese of Salisbury, where he worked until 1535 and was paid with a succession of canonries and other benefices. He can hardly have been very active in

Bristol during his five years as prior, and his appointment looks like another reward for services of a different kind. He resigned in 1535, very shortly before his death.<sup>110</sup>

The last two priors to lead the guild were somewhat better qualified. John Flook, who held office from 1535 to 1540, came from south Wales and held the degree of Master of Arts of Oxford. Flook must have had some patronage or reputation since he managed to acquire a series of other benefices, even holding two at once, including the vicarage of St Nicholas (Bristol) and the subdeanship of Westbury-on-Trym college. While prior he was also vicar of Portbury (Somerset).<sup>111</sup> Flook died in the summer of 1540 and was succeeded by Thomas Silk, who held the post for the rest of the life of the guild. He also studied at Oxford and graduated as a Master of Arts, before becoming vicar of St Leonard (Bristol). While prior he was rector of Spetisbury (Dorset) and, from 1546, a prebendary of Bristol Cathedral, so that he too possessed some local standing.<sup>112</sup> Neither Flook nor Silk is known to have studied theology, however, and it is an open question as to how many of Carpenter's requirements were still being observed at this time.

### **The End of the Guild**

The guild must have begun to feel the effects of the Reformation in 1534. Henry VIII was declared head of the Church of England, and all the parish clergy were required to subscribe their names to an oath rejecting the headship of the pope. By 1536 it was impossible to use indulgences, and in 1545 Parliament gave Henry VIII the power to make a survey of all chantries and their property in England and to reform them. A return of the income of the Kalendars' guild was duly made in the spring of 1546.<sup>113</sup> Henry's death in January of the following year gave the chantries a short respite but brought in the government of Edward VI. This was more strongly Reformist and pressed forward with religious changes that ruled out the prayers for the dead on which the guild was based. In December 1547 Parliament passed a new act dissolving chantries and religious guilds, and awarding their endowments to the crown. A further survey of the functions and revenues of these bodies was made in the following months, and they came to an end at Easter 1548.<sup>114</sup>

The survey of 1548 estimated the gross income of the Kalendars at £39 16s. 0½d. This included the endowments of Richard White's chantry,

associated with the guild. A more detailed audit of the properties later in the year gave the gross income as £31 14s. 0½*d.* and the net income as £29 7s. 8½*d.*<sup>115</sup> The income came from twenty-six houses and pieces of ground in and outside the city, and eighteen rent charges. There may have been additional revenues from donations, but these were not recorded because they could not be confiscated. 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, was paid £8, and William Deane, the priest of the third chantry, £7 4s. The fourth priest, Nicholas Harris, was the surviving chaplain of White's chantry and was paid a stipend of £6 6s. 8*d.* The four priests were all granted pensions at a standard rate: Silk £6 13s. 4*d.*, Wale and Deane £6, and Harris £5.<sup>116</sup>

The documents of 1546-8 say nothing about the constitution of the guild, and only a little can be gathered about its activities. It is not clear if the guild still had lay and other clerical members, although one would presume that this was likely. The prior's colleagues appear to have been still living in the guild house adjoining All Saints church, but the prior was not. He now occupied a house belonging to the guild in the suburban parish of St Philip; perhaps he had done so since the permission granted to William Cross in 1512. His duties, and those of his colleagues, were reported as being the traditional ones of saying divine service every day and celebrating regular obits, dirges, and masses for the souls of the founders of the guild. Little seems to have survived of the activities that Carpenter had planned. Of the four annual sermons that he had established, only three were now given and even these by deputies paid 6s. 8*d.* apiece. No mention is made in these last years of the library as a working institution or of the prior's weekly lecture there, although, as already stated, there was still a chamber in the guild house 'vulgarly called the library'. Had all of Carpenter's arrangements been still in operation, however, they would not have saved the guild. His other great project, the college of Westbury-on-Trym, had been suppressed in 1544, and if anyone had championed either the college or the guild, the crown would have pointed to its new Bristol Cathedral, founded in 1542, as providing what these other institutions had formerly done. The Kalendars had originated and been reorganised in a different age, and that was now passing away.

## Epilogue

In the late 1970s, the guild of Kalendars was revived on the initiative of the late Dr Basil Cottle, sometime Reader in Medieval Studies at Bristol University and an enthusiast for many things including the history of Bristol, who died in 1994. His motive was to encourage an interest in All Saints church and its history through a society that would be in effect the Friends of the church. He was elected as the first prior since the Reformation, and in about 1982 he kindly proposed my election as his successor. Two years later the church suspended the guild as part of the process of uniting itself with other Bristol churches, but in the absence of any further development I believe that I am still prior, at least in a titular sense. The belief provides a useful spur to make known the remarkable story of the guild and its contributions to the life of the city.

### Appendix: Clergy of the Guild of Kalendars

The following names of the clergy of the guild have been recorded. For reasons of space, only their names and approximate dates of tenure can be listed here: further information will be found in my article in *TBGAS*, 96 (1979), pp. 46-9. The sign - indicates continuous tenure between two dates, while × indicates tenure for an unknown period before or after the date mentioned. Men named in italics never gained possession of their benefices.

#### *Priors or Chaplains of the First Chantry*

William ×1361×; William Draper 1369×; William Hull 1370-6×; Henry Derlaston ×1382-1414; *William Sidbury* 1387; Thomas Colman 1414×; John Blake ×1418-27; *Thomas Mew* 1427; Thomas Redeman 1427-9; John Forster 1429-40; John Gyllard 1440-51; John Hemming 1451-7; John Harlow 1458-80; John Burton 1480-99; John Vaughan 1499; Richard Eastmond 1499-1503; Thomas Harper 1503-9; William Cross 1509-20×; Roger Edgeworth ×1525-8; Francis Pollard 1528-30 (?); John Pinnock 1530-5; John Flook 1535-40; Thomas Silk 1540-8.

#### *Chaplains of the Second Chantry*

John Holgate 1374-5; Thomas Goos 1375×; Simon Hembury ×1379; Richard Conyng 1379-82; Thomas Westwere 1382×; Richard Baldock

1386-7; John Blake 1387×; Ralph Ayssh ×1419-24; William Twyty 1424-47; Philip Smith 1447-51×; John Prince 1455-64; John Barrett 1464-70; John Thomas 1470-9; John Howell 1479-83; John Davy alias Skinner 1483-5; John Mersham 1485-91; Richard Repingdon 1491-3; Thomas Merryfield 1493-1501; John Dyer 1501-10; Nicholas Carey 1510; Thomas Merryfield 1510-39; Richard Wale 1539-48.

#### *Chaplains of the Third Chantry*

William White ×1373; John Langadok 1373×; Henry Colas ×1419-23; Walter Salcombe ×1451-67; John London 1467×; Thomas Haxby ×1484; Thomas Furber 1484-1503; Ralph Molder 1503-27; William Deane 1527-48.

#### *Chaplains of the Fourth Chantry*

John Jolyf ×1379; John Kneton 1379×; Nicholas Tintenhull 1384-5 (?); William Kene 1385-1410; Stephen Green 1410-16; John Fynamour 1416×; Richard Brownwyn ×1419-29; Thomas Halleway 1429-51×.

#### *Unassignable Chaplains*

Henry Faireford ×1329×; Robert Walsham ×1373; John Davy 1373×; Nicholas Tintenhull ×1392; *John Hereford* 1392; John Wylford ×1403; Henry Portlond 1403×; Richard Brownwyn ×1410×; John Dyer ×1410×; Thomas Botoner ×1419.

#### *Uncertain Chaplains*

Henry Pye ×1310×; Richard Sodbury ×1344; William Clopcote 1344×.

### **Illustrations**

[See back cover for cover illustrations.]

Frontispiece. A prayer at the admission of a member, and the names of members to be prayed for in January, from the Exeter guild of Kalendaris, early 14th century (Exeter Cathedral Archives, D&C 3675, f. 7v).

p. 2 St Mary Major, Exeter, the home of the Exeter guild. It was demolished in 1865 (Exeter, Royal Albert Museum, painting by Edward Ashworth).

p. 5 Bristol in 1581, from Braun & Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*.

- p. 8 Tomb of Bishop William de Blois (died 1236) credited with drawing up the Rule of the Kalendars, Worcester Cathedral: original photograph by John Wickson.
- p. 14 The Kalendars' house in 1673, from James Millerd's map of Bristol.
- p. 15 All Saints Church, Bristol, modern interior view from the west end (Jon Cannon).
- p. 20 Bishop Carpenter's funeral procession of 1476, from a former mural in Westbury-on-Trym church (George Pryce, 'Mortuary Chapel and Tomb of John Carpenter', *Anastic Drawing Society* (1855), pp. 10-11).
- p. 21 Bishop Carpenter's cadaver tomb in Westbury-on-Trym church in c.1780 (Ralph Bigland, *Historical, Monumental, and Genealogical Collections Relative to the County of Gloucester*, ed. Brian Frith, part iv, BGAS, Gloucestershire Record Series, 8 (1995), p. 1414).
- p. 25 A scholar in a library from *The Long Accidence* (London, c.1500).

### Abbreviations

BGAS	Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
BRO	Bristol Record Office
BRS	Bristol Record Society
<i>BRUO</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford</i> i-iii to AD 1500 iv 1501 to 1540
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>TBGAS</i>	<i>Transactions of the BGAS</i>
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
WRO	Worcestershire Record Office

### Bibliography

#### *Unpublished Sources*

#### Bristol Record Office

- All Saints City, Deeds
- All Saints City, Church book
- Deeds, various
- The Great Orphan Book
- J. Latimer, MS Calendar of Ancient Deeds in the Archives of the

Corporation  
 St Peter's City, Deeds  
 St John Baptist City, Deeds  
 London, Kew, The National Archives  
   C 47 Chancery, Miscellanea  
   C 143 Chancery, Inquisitions ad quod damnum  
   E 301 Chantry certificates  
   E 318 Exchequer, Augmentations, Particulars for grants  
   PROB 11 Registered copy wills  
 London, Lambeth Palace Library  
   The Register of William Courtenay  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library  
   MS Ashmole 789  
 Worcester, County Record Office  
   The Register of John Carpenter, 2 vols  
   The Register of Silvestro de Gigli  
   The Register of Thomas Polton

*Published Sources*

Barrett, William. *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol* (Bristol, 1789).  
 Bickley, F. B. (ed.) *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, 2 vols (Bristol and London, 1900).  
 Burgess, Clive. (ed.) *The Pre-Reformation Records of All Saints' Church, Bristol*, 3 vols, BRS, 46, 53, 56 (1995-2004).  
*Calendar of Patent Rolls* (London, Public Record Office, 1891–  
*Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, 6 vols (London, Public Record Office, 1890-1915).  
 Cheney, Mary, and others. (ed.) *English Episcopal Acta: 33, Worcester 1062-1185* (Oxford and London, 2007).  
 Dugdale, W. *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis, and B. Bandinel, 6 vols. in 8 (London, Record Commission, 1817-30).  
 Edgeworth, Roger. *Sermons very Fruitfull, Godly and Learned: preaching in the Reformation, c.1534-c.1553*, ed. J. Wilson (Cambridge, 1992).  
 Emden, A. B. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD*

- 1500, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-9).
- Emden, A. B. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford AD 1501 to 1540* (Oxford, 1974).
- Green, V. H. H. *Bishop Reginald Pecock: a study in ecclesiastical history and thought* (Cambridge, 1945; repr. 2014).
- Haines, R. M. 'Bishop Carpenter's Injunctions to the Diocese of Worcester in 1451', *Bulletin: Institute of Historical Research*, 40 (1967), 203-7.
- Haines, R. M. 'Aspects of the Episcopate of John Carpenter', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 19 (1968), 11-40.
- Harris, M. D. (ed.) *The Register of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, Coventry*, Dugdale Society, 13 (1935).
- Jacob, E. F. 'Reynold Pecock, Bishop of Chichester', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 37 (1951), 121-53.
- Keene, Derek. *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, 2 parts, Winchester Studies, 2 (Oxford, 1985).
- Ker, N. R. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed. (London, 1964).
- Ker, N. R., and others. *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford, 1969-2002).
- Leech, Roger H. *The Topography of Medieval and Early Modern Bristol*, part 1, BRS, 48 (1997).
- Leland, John. *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London, 1907-10).
- Lepine, David, and Orme, Nicholas. *Death and Memory in Medieval Exeter*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, new series 47 (2003).
- Maclean, John. 'Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire', *TBGAS*, 8 (1883-4), 229-308.
- The New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, 2nd edn, 15 vols (Detroit and Washington D.C., 2003).
- Orme, Nicholas. 'The Kalendar Brethren of the City of Exeter', *Reports and Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 109 (1977), 153-169.
- Orme, Nicholas. 'The Guild of Kalendars, Bristol', *TBGAS*, 96 (1979), 32-52.
- Orme, Nicholas. *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance*

- England* (London and Ronceverte, 1989).
- Orme, Nicholas. *Medieval Schools* (New Haven and London, 2006).
- Orme, Nicholas, and Cannon, Jon. *Westbury-on-Trym: monastery, minster and college*, BRS, 62 (2010).
- The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. C. Matthew and B. Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford, 2004); updated electronic edition (including revised and further biographies): <http://www.oxforddnb.com>
- Ramsay, Nigel, and Willoughby, James M. W. *Hospitals, Towns and the Professions*, Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues 14 (London, 2009).
- Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. W. C. Davis et al., 4 vols (Oxford, 1913-59); vol. i, ed. D. Bates, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1998).
- The Register of Wolstan de Bransford, Bishop of Worcester 1339-49*, ed. R. M. Haines, Worcestershire Historical Society, new series 4 (1966).
- The Register of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. E. F. Jacob, 4 vols, Canterbury and York Society, 42, 45-7 (1937-47).
- The Register of Simon de Montacute, Bishop of Worcester 1334-7*, ed. R. M. Haines, Worcestershire Historical Society, new series 15 (1996).
- The Register of Henry Wakefield, Bishop of Worcester 1375-95*, ed. W. P. Marett, Worcestershire Historical Society, new series 7 (1972).
- Registrum Henrici Woodlock Episcopi Wintoniensis*, ed. A. W. Goodman, 2 vols, Canterbury and York Society, 43-4 (1940-1).
- Ricart, Robert. *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith, Camden Society, new series 5 (1872); ed. P. Fleming, BRS 67 (2015)
- Smith, Toulmin. *English Gilds*, Early English Text Society, original series 40 (1870; repr. 1963).
- Taylor, C. S. 'The Religious Houses of Bristol and their Dissolution', *TBGAS*, 29 (1906), 81-126.
- Thomson, J. A. F. *The Later Lollards 1414-1520* (London, 1985).
- Veale, E. W. W. *The Great Red Book of Bristol*, 5 vols, BRS, 2, 4, 8, 16, 18 (1931-53).
- Victoria County History of London*, ed. W. Page, vol i (London, 1909).

- Walker, David. (ed.) *The Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, BGAS, Gloucestershire Record Series 10 (1998).
- Whitelock, Dorothy. (ed.) *English Historical Documents, c.500-1042*, 2nd edn (London, 1996).
- Williams, T. W. 'Gloucestershire Medieval Libraries', *TBGAS*, 31 (1908), 78-195.
- Worcester, William. *The Topography of Medieval Bristol*, ed. Frances Neale, BRS, 51 (2000).

### References

- <sup>1</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book*, i, 206-9.
- <sup>2</sup> Worcester, *Topography of Bristol*, 210-11.
- <sup>3</sup> Smith, *English Gilds*, 287-8.
- <sup>4</sup> Barrett, *History and Antiquities of Bristol*, 449.
- <sup>5</sup> *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, viii, 111.
- <sup>6</sup> Orme, 'Kalendar Brethren of Exeter', 154-5; *Reg. Henrici Woodlock*, 635-9 (Winchester). The existence of the Bristol Kalendars by the 1240s is implied by their subsequent exercise of the patronage of the chantry of William Pollard in St Laurence church, founded at that time.
- <sup>7</sup> Orme, 'Kalendar Brethren of Exeter', 154-5; D. A. E. Pelteret, *Catalogue of English Post-Conquest Vernacular Documents* (Woodbridge, 1990), p. 103, no. 102.
- <sup>8</sup> Orme, 'Kalendar Brethren of Exeter', 157-8, 161-9; Lepine and Orme, *Death and Memory*, 263-71.
- <sup>9</sup> *Reg. Henrici Woodlock*, 635-9; Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, ii, 505-7.
- <sup>10</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book*, i, 206-9.
- <sup>11</sup> Worcester, *Topography of Bristol*, 210-11.
- <sup>12</sup> Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, 657-62.
- <sup>13</sup> Cheney, *English Episcopal Acta: Worcester*, 60-1.
- <sup>14</sup> It does not seem to have belonged to St Augustine's in 1154 (*Regesta Regum*, iii, 48), but did so by about 1172 (Walker, *Cartulary of St Augustine's*, 9).
- <sup>15</sup> Cheney, *English Episcopal Acta: Worcester*, 102; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii, 70-1.
- <sup>16</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, v, 91-2.

- <sup>17</sup> *Victoria County History of London*, ed. Page, i, 551-4.
- <sup>18</sup> Veale, *Great Red Book*, text part i, 75.
- <sup>19</sup> Smith, *English Gilds*, 287-8.
- <sup>20</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, v, 91-2.
- <sup>21</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book*, i, 202-6.
- <sup>22</sup> It may be relevant that William is a likely candidate for much of the building of the church of Westbury-on-Trym, implying his interest in the Bristol area (Orme and Cannon, *Westbury-on-Trym*, 22).
- <sup>23</sup> There are several (imperfect) impressions of the seal among BRO, Deeds, 12966 (36-8), 004711 (1), and 00859 (5).
- <sup>24</sup> Presumably part of the ‘commendation of souls’: the series of psalms and prayers said after a person’s death.
- <sup>25</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, v, 91.
- <sup>26</sup> Burgess, *Records of All Saints*, i, 7.
- <sup>27</sup> *Reg. Henrici Woodlock*, 638-9.
- <sup>28</sup> TNA, E 318/1845, ff. 12r-13r, summarised in Orme, ‘Guild of Kalendars, Bristol’, 50-2.
- <sup>29</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book*, i, 210-11.
- <sup>30</sup> The process is best illustrated in the documents relating to the appointment of John Hemming as prior in 1451 (WRO, Reg. Carpenter, i, f. 103v).
- <sup>31</sup> Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*, 73.
- <sup>32</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, Reg. Courtenay, f. 225r.
- <sup>33</sup> WRO, Reg. Polton, f. 18v.
- <sup>34</sup> BRO, Deeds, 5139 (233); All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 3.
- <sup>35</sup> Heritage Environment Register, 990M; Leech, *Topography of Bristol*, 66-7.
- <sup>36</sup> BRO, Deeds, 5139 (235); All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 5 a,b,c (205, 208).
- <sup>37</sup> Heritage Environment Register, 682M.
- <sup>38</sup> Burgess, *Records of All Saints*, iii, 343.
- <sup>39</sup> E.g. ‘college’ in Worcester, *Topography of Bristol*, 56-7, 210-11.
- <sup>40</sup> Listed in the Appendix, with fuller details in Orme, ‘Guild of Kalendars, Bristol’, 46-9.
- <sup>41</sup> Burgess, *Records of All Saints*, iii, 62-3.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 9, 11-12; iii, 62-3.

- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 12, 27.
- <sup>44</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book*, i, 209-10.
- <sup>45</sup> Orme, 'Guild of Kalendars, Bristol', 46.
- <sup>46</sup> Burgess, *Records of All Saints*, i, 74.
- <sup>47</sup> TNA, C 47/7/6/3.
- <sup>48</sup> *Reg. Chichele*, i, 302-3; Orme, 'Guild of Kalendars, Bristol', 46. No papal licence is recorded for him to hold two benefices.
- <sup>49</sup> Lepine and Orme, *Death and Memory*, 263-71; Harris, *Register of the Guild of Holy Trinity*, passim.
- <sup>50</sup> Burgess, *Records of All Saints*, i, 7; BRO, All Saints City, Deeds, NA 5 (55).
- <sup>51</sup> TNA, C 143/370/8.
- <sup>52</sup> TNA, C 143/337/11; *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1358-61*, 464-5.
- <sup>53</sup> *Cat. of Ancient Deeds*, vi, C 5912; BRO, All Saints City, Deeds, LM A 4 a,b,c (49, 50, 52); The Great Orphan Book, f. 14v.
- <sup>54</sup> BRO, All Saints City, Deeds, NA 46 (229).
- <sup>55</sup> Worcester, *Topography of Bristol*, 210-11. On the church building, see Heritage Environment Register 247M.
- <sup>56</sup> WRO, Reg. Carpenter, i, ff. 206v-7v; BRO, All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 6 (5139 (234)).
- <sup>57</sup> Leland, *Itinerary*, v, 91-2.
- <sup>58</sup> Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar*.
- <sup>59</sup> For the list, see Veale, *Great Red Book*, text part iv, 127-30.
- <sup>60</sup> The patronage was shared with the rector of St Laurence (BRO, St Peter's City, Deeds, 11). For the *floruit* of Cecilia Pollard, see BRO, J. Latimer, MS Calendar of Ancient Deeds in the Archives of the Corporation, 43-4, and BRO, St John Baptist City, Deeds, 1-4.
- <sup>61</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1327-30*, 310; BRO, All Saints City, Deeds, CS B 2 (36).
- <sup>62</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1327-30*, 452.
- <sup>63</sup> Bickley, *Little Red Book*, i, 186-9.
- <sup>64</sup> *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1334-8*, 183.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 1338-40, 245.
- <sup>66</sup> *Reg. Montacute*, 84, 139; *Reg. de Bransford*, 202, 218, 225; *Reg. Wakefield*, 171.

- <sup>67</sup> On Carpenter, see *BRUO*, i, 360-1; Orme and Cannon, *Westbury-on-Trym*, 57-76; *ODNB*, article by R. M. Haines (updated online version); and R. M. Haines, 'Aspects of the Episcopate of John Carpenter, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 19 (1968), 11-40.
- <sup>68</sup> Orme and Cannon, *Westbury-on-Trym*, 58-9.
- <sup>69</sup> Haines, 'Bishop Carpenter's Injunctions', 203-7.
- <sup>70</sup> Orme and Cannon, *Westbury-on-Trym*, 65-80.
- <sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 242.
- <sup>72</sup> Thomson, *Later Lollards*, 23-5, 29-30, 33-4.
- <sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-5.
- <sup>74</sup> *ODNB*, article by Wendy Scase; Green, *Reginald Pecock*; Jacob, 'Reynold Pecock', 121-53.
- <sup>75</sup> On Hemming, see *BRUO*, ii, 906.
- <sup>76</sup> WRO, Reg. Carpenter, i, 103r-v.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, i, ff. 116v, 138r.
- <sup>78</sup> TNA, PROB 11/4/67.
- <sup>79</sup> On Harlow, see *BRUO*, ii, 875-6.
- <sup>80</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 789, f. 324r.
- <sup>81</sup> WRO, Reg. Carpenter, i, ff. 197r-8r.
- <sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, i, ff. 206r-7v.
- <sup>83</sup> Thomas Halleway, the last known incumbent, vacated the fourth chantry c.1453 (BRO, All Saints City, Deeds, CS A 24 (225)).
- <sup>84</sup> *ODNB*, article by Matthew Davies.
- <sup>85</sup> Orme and Cannon, *Westbury-on-Trym*, 59.
- <sup>86</sup> Ramsay and Willoughby, *Hospitals, Towns and the Professions*, 156-65.
- <sup>87</sup> *propriis nostris sumptibus noviter edificate* (WRO, Reg. Carpenter, i, ff. 197r-198r).
- <sup>88</sup> *per duas horas ante nonam et duas post nonam* (*ibid.*). *Nonam* has generally been translated as 'nine o'clock', but 'noon' seems more likely and is supported by other 15th-century usages.
- <sup>89</sup> WRO, Reg. Carpenter, i, ff. 197r-8r.
- <sup>90</sup> Ramsay and Willoughby, *Hospitals, Towns and the Professions*, 215-20.

- <sup>91</sup> Orme, *Education and Society*, 36-7; Ramsay and Willoughby, *Hospitals, Towns and the Professions*, 447-52.
- <sup>92</sup> TNA, PROB 11/4/67.
- <sup>93</sup> Worcester, *Topography of Bristol*, 152-3.
- <sup>94</sup> Williams, 'Gloucestershire Medieval Libraries', 87-90.
- <sup>95</sup> Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 13; idem, *Medieval Manuscripts*, ii, 183-6; Ramsay and Willoughby, *Hospitals, Towns and the Professions*, 23-7.
- <sup>96</sup> Burgess, *Records of All Saints*, i, 48, 104.
- <sup>97</sup> BRO, All Saints City, Deeds CS B 7 (324); Burgess, *Records of All Saints*, iii, 382.
- <sup>98</sup> Worcester, *Topography of Bristol*, 210-11.
- <sup>99</sup> On Burton, see *BRUO*, i, 319, omitting the last paragraph; his will is TNA, PROB 11/14/170.
- <sup>100</sup> On Vaughan, see *BRUO*, iii, 1941 (the last on the page).
- <sup>101</sup> On Eastmond, see *BRUO*, i, 650.
- <sup>102</sup> On Harper, see *BRUO*, ii, 878-9; his will is TNA, PROB 11/16/251.
- <sup>103</sup> On Cross, see *BRUO*, i, 518-19, and Orme, 'Guild of Kalendars, Bristol', 47.
- <sup>104</sup> WRO, Reg. Silvestro de Gigli, f. 78r.
- <sup>105</sup> BRO, All Saints City, Deeds, NA 57 (262); Burgess, *Records of All Saints*, iii, 263, 460.
- <sup>106</sup> On Edgeworth, see *BRUO*, iv, 184-5 and *ODNB*, article by Janet M. Wilson.
- <sup>107</sup> Edgeworth, *Sermons very Fruitfull*, ed. Wilson.
- <sup>108</sup> TNA, PROB 11/43/369.
- <sup>109</sup> On Pollard, see *BRUO*, iv, 455, and Orme, 'Guild of Kalendars, Bristol', 47.
- <sup>110</sup> On Pinnock, see Orme, 'Guild of Kalendars, Bristol', 47.
- <sup>111</sup> On Flook, see *BRUO*, iv, 207-8.
- <sup>112</sup> On Silk, see *BRUO*, iv, 552.
- <sup>113</sup> TNA, E 301/21 no. 65.
- <sup>114</sup> TNA, E 301/22 no. 12; Maclean, 'Chantry Certificates', 246-7.
- <sup>115</sup> TNA, E 318/1845, ff. 12r-13r, summarised in Orme, 'Guild of Kalendars, Bristol', 50-2.
- <sup>116</sup> Taylor, 'Religious Houses of Bristol', 120-2.

The Guild of Kalendars was Bristol's most ancient religious guild, existing for at least four hundred years from the twelfth century until the Reformation. One of a small group of such guilds in medieval England, it gathered together the clergy and leading citizens for monthly celebrations of the dead in the church of All Saints, where the imprint of its house on the church may still be seen. From 1464 it operated Bristol's first public library. This study examines its history and functions in detail, including the legends that have grown up about the guild.

Nicholas Orme is emeritus professor of history, Exeter University, and an honorary lay canon of Truro Cathedral. He is the author of numerous general and local studies of religious, social, and cultural history in medieval and early modern England, including *The English Hospital 1070-1570* (1995), *Medieval Children* (2001), *Medieval Schools* (2006), and a history of the minster and college of Westbury-on-Trym (2010).

Cover Picture: A funeral mass with clergy, hearse, and mourners (British Library, Sloane MS 2468, f. 115, France c.1420).

Right: priest and clerk celebrating mass (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 245, f. 264v).



**£3.50** RRP