

## THE REFORMATION IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE PARISHES

By Russell Howes

The religious changes made by Henry VIII and his minister Thomas Cromwell had far-reaching results in the government of state and church. Their effect on church life in the parishes was limited. Henry VIII was never a protestant; in his reign those with protestant leanings found themselves in trouble. William Tyndale the biblical translator began his work in Gloucestershire, but was forced to go abroad to continue. John Jenyver of Lechlade questioned the veneration of saints, and had to do penance at the front of the parish procession in Broughton Poggs church. He was sentenced by Edmund Bonner commissary of John Bell vicar general of the bishop of Worcester; both men figured later in the story of the Reformation. Sir William Tracy of Toddington made a will in protestant terms, for which, after his death, his body was burned for heresy on the orders of the chancellor of Worcester. John Erley, who had preached protestant ideas in Bristol, came into south Gloucestershire, where Thomas Key vicar of Cold Ashton had him arrested.<sup>1</sup>

The establishment of the royal supremacy over the church in 1533 and 1534 affected priests and people in the parishes inasmuch as curates were ordered to declare it from the pulpit once a quarter. Some clergy had doubts. William Norton was in trouble for a service book from which the bishop of Rome's name had not been removed. Martin Cave of Blockley admitted that he took the king as supreme head for fear and not in conscience.<sup>2</sup>

The dissolution of the monasteries between 1536 and 1541 affected parish churches because many had been appropriated by monasteries, which received tithes and other income from the parishes; this income now often passed into lay hands, and the transfer may have occasioned disputes about payment of tithes. After the dissolution many monks became priests in parishes, a move encouraged by the government, which no longer had to pay them pensions. Gabriel Morton, prior of St. Peter's, Gloucester, was for a time curate of Northleach. Richard Mounslow the abbot of Winchcombe became rector of Notgrove and a prebendary of Gloucester Cathedral. The abbey of Cirencester was Augustinian, and this order had always shared in parish work. William Phillipps a canon of the house had been vicar of Cirencester before the dissolution, and continued so afterwards. Another canon,

Thomas Hodde or Brinkworth, became vicar of Stroud.

The principal church service was the mass, celebrated by the parish priest every day. Parishioners also attended church when the priest recited the offices of matins and evensong. Services were in Latin, but lay people might have primers, books containing prayers for personal use, some of them in English. Lady Mary Kingston of Painswick had 'a thick book of prayers covered in gold' (which she bequeathed to Lady Mary, the future queen), and a 'little book of gold with a prayer to the sacrament'.



**Quedgeley church.** The south aisle, on this side of the church, was the Field Court chapel. It was the scene of the dispute between Richard Barowe and Arthur Porter.

On Sunday the mass was accompanied by greater elaboration. Holy water was sprinkled on altars and congregation. Holy bread, baked and given by parishioners in turn (and quite distinct from sacramental bread), was shared among the people as a token of mutual charity. There was a procession around the church, and sometimes the churchyard;

and people vied for first place in it, like Chaucer's wife of Bath. The right to a place in church could lead to dispute. Richard Barowe had for 17 years come to Quedgeley church, where he had a pew in the chapel of Our Lady, now the south aisle. Barowe held the manor of Field Court, which was near Quedgeley church, but in the parish of Hardwicke. In 1533 Arthur Porter, who leased (and subsequently acquired) the manor of Quedgeley from Llanthony Priory, of which he was under-steward, tried to drive out Barowe. Porter, Nicholas Arnold, his brother-in-law, and others came into the church with swords and bucklers, as the priest was saying matins, and 'plucked' Barowe from his place. The quarrel ended in the court of star chamber.<sup>3</sup>

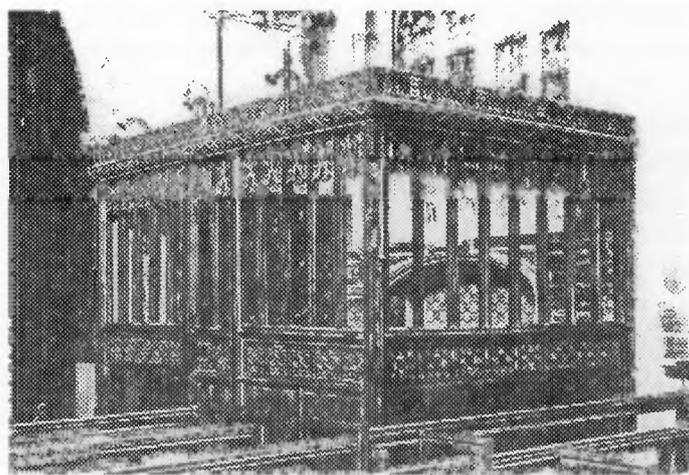
Chantries were an integral part of parish life and worship. A chantry was an endowment which maintained a priest to say mass after their deaths for the founder, his family and friends. Some chantries commemorated important people: William de Syde, chaplain to Thomas III Lord Berkeley, in 1343 founded chantries for his master and a long list of other people at Syde, Cambridge, Newport and Wortley; Katherine, Lord Berkeley's widow, founded a chantry at Berkeley, besides a grammar school at Wotton-under-Edge, whose master was also a chantry priest. But most chantries were founded by ordinary people; the commissioners who surveyed chantries in 1548 found that sometimes the name of the founder could not be remembered.

The chantry mass was usually celebrated at a separate altar, with its own dedication, in the parish church. For example, in St. John's church Gloucester were chantries of the Rood, Our Lady and St. Anne. In Gloucester there were a Charnel service at St. Katherine's church, a Jesus service, probably involving devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, at Holy Trinity church, and a Rood service at St. Nicholas's church. At Newent a chantry had a separate chapel in the churchyard. In Tewkesbury Abbey chantry chapels were part of the tombs of noble people.<sup>4</sup>

Some chantries had a separate chapel some distance from the parish church, and these provided worship for people in remote parts of the parish. Examples were the Berkeley chantries at Cambridge, Newport and Wortley; the priest at Newport was to celebrate two masses each morning for the benefit of

travellers on the road. Other remote spots with chantry chapels were Gretton, Shepherdine and Tockington; chantry chapels at Oldbury-on-Severn and Hillesley later became parish churches. A less expensive way of being remembered in prayers was to give land to pay for candles; such land was commonly known as lampland. Lamphill Wood at Miserden once maintained a light in the parish church; similar names are recorded elsewhere, for example Lampland at Tidenham and Lamp Acre at Toddington.<sup>5</sup>

Chantry priests provided additional clergy for a parish; the foundation sometimes laid it down that the chantry priest should sing divine service in the parish church, as in the chantries of Our Lady at Minchinhampton, and of the Holy Trinity and



**Cirencester church, The Garstang chantry chapel**

Robert Ricard at Cirencester. The chantry priest was appointed to say the morrow mass in the early morning at Littledean and Wotton-under-Edge. The assistance of two chantry priests was said to be necessary at St. Mary de Lode in Gloucester because of the multitude of 'houseling people' or communicants; similarly three chantry priests were needed at Cirencester because of the greatness of the parish. In the Forest of Dean the chantry priest of Our Lady's service at Newland had to go from one smith to another and from one mining pit to another, twice a week, 'to say the gospel'. Several chantries required the priest to teach children; this was so at Tewkesbury, Cirencester, St. Briavels, and Katherine Lady Berkeley's foundation at Wotton-under-Edge.

Chantry priests often had houses provided by the foundation, and these were granted away when chantries were dissolved. Chapel houses were recorded at Wortley and Shepherdine, and at North Nibley, where its successor is still in the churchyard. The house of Lady Berkeley's chantry at Berkeley was presumably on the site of Edward Jenner's house, 'The Chantry', which is now a museum. Where several chantry priests lived together the house was usually called a college; at Gloucester there were 'Graslane College', 'Le Colledge' in Hare Lane and 'Trinity College'. The certificates of 1548 recorded 94 chantries in Gloucestershire, served by 79 priests in 52 parishes.<sup>6</sup>

In 1535 Hugh Latimer, one of the celebrated reformers, became bishop of Worcester, in which diocese Gloucester lay. The record of his activities is sparse; his register contains little more than formal notices of the appointments of clergymen.<sup>7</sup> In 1536 Thomas Cromwell, the king's minister, in a series of injunctions, began a programme to rid the church of superstitious practices and encourage sound teaching. Priests were not to 'extol' images or relics; nor were they to encourage people to go on pilgrimage to the shrine of any saint. Rather they were to take care that parents and masters taught children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. This had long been part of the clergy's duty in instructing the laity, and these things were in primers; even the direction that they were to be taught in English was not new. What was revolutionary was the injunction that in every church there should be a book of the whole Bible in Latin and English, which should be put in the choir for every man to read.<sup>8</sup> In 1538, after an official English version of the Scriptures had been published, Cromwell ordered that each church should have a 'Bible of the largest volume'. Latimer carried out the policy against superstition when he went to Hailes Abbey, and in the presence of a large crowd examined and then removed its famous relic, the Holy Blood. Henry VIII was particularly averse to the veneration of Thomas à Becket who had resisted an earlier king. Thomas Trowell, rector of Avening, was in trouble for possessing a service book from which Becket's name had not been erased.<sup>9</sup> Although Henry VIII never accepted protestantism, Cromwell and Latimer were moving towards it. Their policy met with opposition. In Gloucester Sir Thomas Bell complained about the preaching of certain priests, James Ashe of Staunton, Anthony Saunders, who had been sent by Cromwell to preach to the monks at Winchcombe, and one called Benet who preached in Gloucester. Bell had Hugh

Rawlins, curate of Trinity church in Gloucester, removed for causing sedition and division; and he

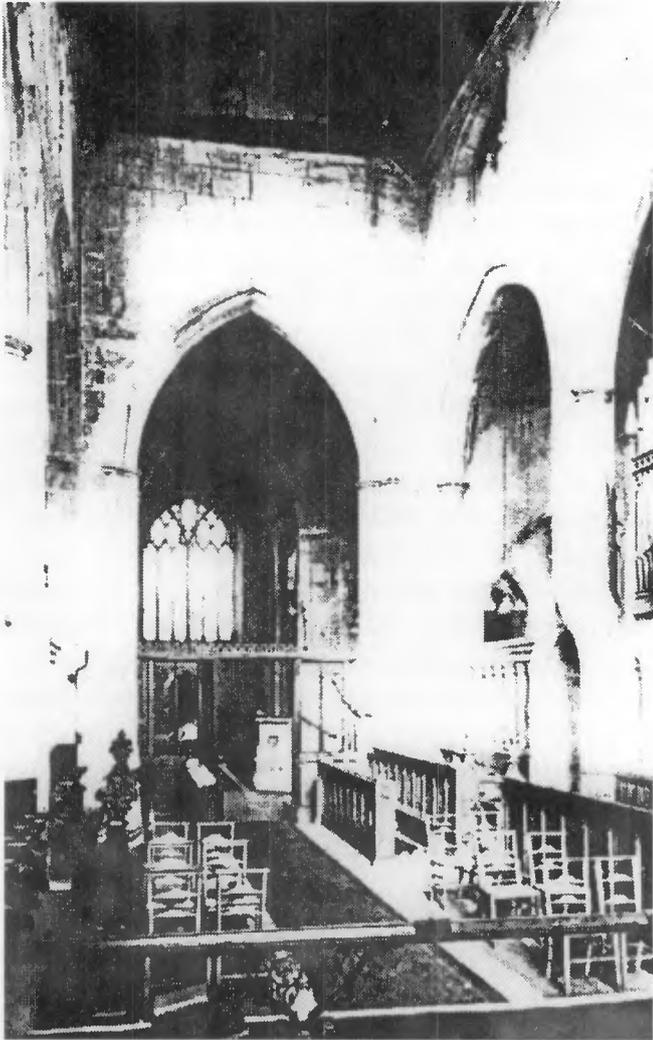


**Sir Thomas Bell of Gloucester.** He complained about priests who preached protestant doctrines, but bought the Blackfriars when the monasteries were dissolved

called Latimer a 'horsesone heretycke' Sir Nicholas Arnold interceded for Rawlins, and Cromwell restored him.<sup>10</sup> Despite his antagonism to religious change, Bell bought the Blackfriars in Gloucester when the friaries were dissolved. In 1539 the government, under the influence of conservatives and catholics, changed direction. The Six Articles Act required acceptance of certain catholic beliefs and practices, such as the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and the desirability of private masses and auricular confession. Latimer resigned. A year later Cromwell was removed from power and executed.

The new bishop of Worcester was John Bell, who had been vicar general. His register revealed that protestant ideas had spread to clergy and laymen in some parishes. There were four clergymen. John Dydson, vicar of Coaley, denied the value of masses for the dead, and evidently believed that ritual without understanding was useless, for he explained to his people in English what ceremonies signified. John Andrewes of Wotton-under-Edge, citing *Galatians 4*, said that the ceremonies of the church were 'begarlary ceremonies'. Harry Costen of Berkeley and James Ashe of Staunton were ordered to make a public declaration in their churches affirming the Six Articles. There were three laymen. William Clarke of Hartpury called the sacrament of the altar 'a vainglory'. Matthew Price of Staunton said that the sacrament of the altar remained bread

and wine, and mocked the use of holy water, sprinkling it on William Baker, who irreverently turned his back. Henry Grynshill of Stonehouse went to St. Mary de Crypt church in Gloucester, read aloud from the English Bible, and declared before a



**St. Mary de Crypt church, Gloucester.** Here Henry Grynshill read aloud from the English Bible to a large crowd

great multitude that there was no mention of purgatory in scripture, and that he wished no prayers for his soul after his death.<sup>11</sup>

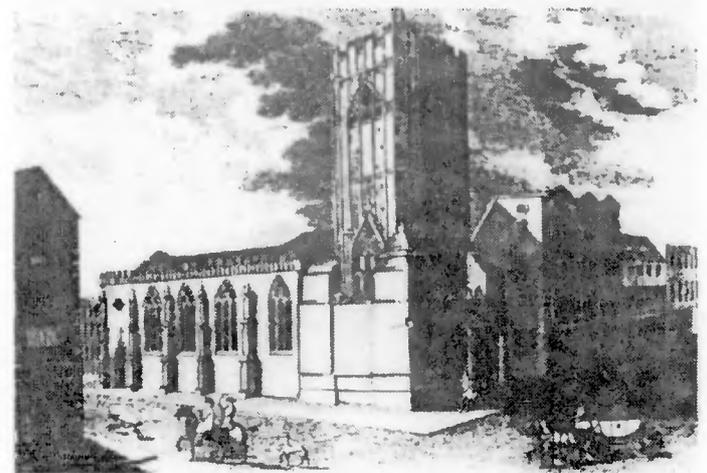
In 1541 the new diocese of Gloucester was set up. John Wakeman, last abbot of Tewkesbury, became the first bishop. He conducted a visitation in 1542, but the records of it are incomplete. It was reported that in the cathedral prime and other hours were not sung canonically; perhaps there was uncertainty, now that the monastery had been abolished, whether the monastic services should continue. The 'stipendiaries' were said to enter the choir in dissolute dress, even wearing daggers, and quarrelling with each other. One of the prebendaries, Roger Tilar, who was also curate of St. Aldate's church, was often absent. Elsewhere in the diocese

the rector of North Cerney did not celebrate divine service as he ought; and John Weldon (whose parish was not stated) said that pictures of the Blessed Virgin Mary were idolatry. Reynold Taylor, a priest, and six laymen were bound to appear before the king's justices for the Six Articles.<sup>12</sup>

In the last years of Henry VIII there was an uneasy balance between conservatives and reformers. The act of parliament in 1543 which attempted to restrict Bible reading to the upper classes must have been prompted by actions like that of Henry Grynshill. The first moves were made away from the Latin services. A primer in English was published. A chapter from the Bible in English was to be read at matins and evensong. Archbishop Cranmer composed an English litany to be used in the parish procession.

Parish life in those years is illustrated by the churchwardens' accounts of St. Michael's Gloucester; they began in 1546, and are the oldest surviving such accounts in Gloucestershire. Payments for obits and knells indicate that the dead were remembered in masses. The special ceremonies at Easter included the Easter sepulchre. The church paid for the vestments and ornaments needed for the elaborate ceremonies of the mass, such as alb, corporal and pyx.<sup>13</sup>

When Edward VI became king in 1547 reformers, led by Edward duke of Somerset, took control, and

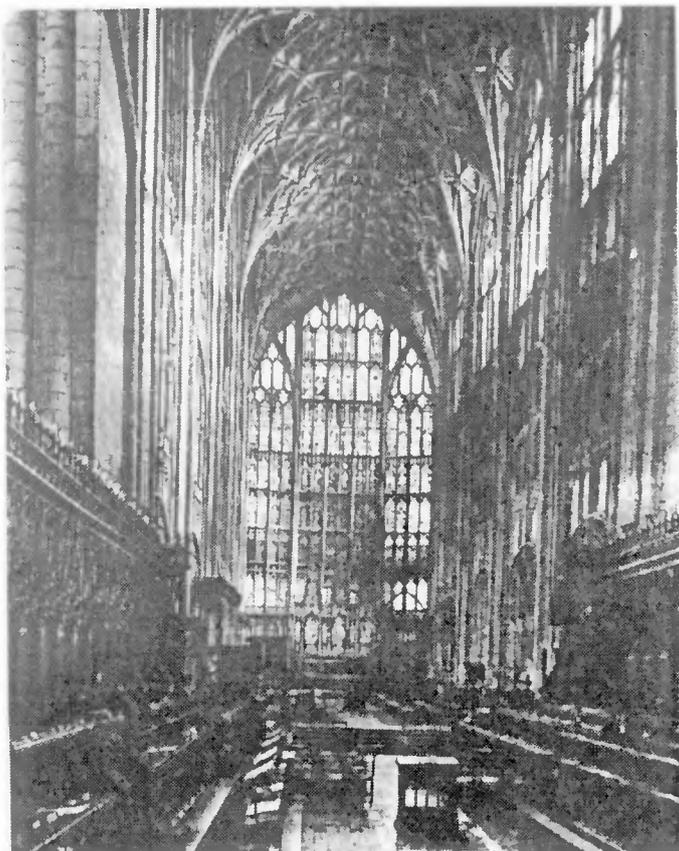


**St Michael's church, Gloucester.** The churchwardens' accounts of this church go back to 1545, and give a glimpse of catholic worship before the Book of Common Prayer changed church services

injunctions were issued, which took the English church towards protestantism. Images were to be taken down; shrines, pictures and paintings, on walls or in glass windows, were to be taken away. Each parish was to provide, besides a Bible, the *Paraphrases* of Erasmus. The *Paraphrases* explained the four gospels and the *Acts* and had been

translated by Nicholas Udall, headmaster of Eton. The epistle and gospel were to be read in English at mass. There was to be a sermon at least once a quarter. Instead of going on pilgrimage people were to be encouraged to give to the poor.<sup>14</sup> In 1548 an English 'Order for the Communion' was published, and lay people were to receive wine as well as bread. Clergy were permitted to marry.

The dissolution of the chantries, which had been proposed by Henry VIII's government in 1546, was carried out in 1548. Commissioners were appointed to survey the chantries. Most chantry lands were sold by the government in the three years after the dissolution. There were about 25 purchasers in Gloucestershire; only a few of these lived in the county. The most notable local purchaser was Richard Pate, who had served as a commissioner for chantries each time. He acquired the property of 15 chantries in ten parish churches of Gloucester; it was mostly houses in the city, including his own dwelling house in the parish of St. Mary de Grace. He and his partner in the transaction, Thomas Chamberlayne, paid £1134.<sup>15</sup>



**Gloucester cathedral choir.** When St. Peter's abbey became a cathedral there was uncertainty how services should be celebrated

The abolition of the chantries has been called 'a disaster for lay religious life'. Individuals were deprived of the traditional way of mourning and

remembering their dead. Parishes lost their additional services and priests. A survey was made of parishes where it was deemed that additional clergy were necessary; there were 25, including three in Gloucester; two additional priests were proposed for Newland and Thornbury; and Cirencester was said to require at least eleven. Nothing came of this survey. The same report proposed grammar schools for Newent, Cirencester, Tewkesbury and Cheltenham. Queen Elizabeth I in 1574 granted the property of two former chantries at Cheltenham to Richard Pate in order that he might endow his school and almshouse. Katherine Lady Berkeley's foundation at Wotton was threatened with closure as a chantry, but after litigation was able to continue as a grammar school.<sup>16</sup>

The process of religious change in Gloucestershire can be observed in John Wakeman's second visitation, which he made in 1548. At the cathedral it was reported that Roger Tilar did not properly consecrate the Eucharist, and perhaps had no intention of consecrating. He was a bad character, accused of living incontinently with Margaret Perkin, while Elizabeth Chambers of St. Katherine's parish said that he was the father of her two children. Several parishes reported that they had no Bible or *Paraphrases*. Others had no quarterly sermons - at Uley because the curate was overcome with ale. At Wyck Rissington there was no mass or matins because the parson sat in the alehouse at Bourton. Inquiries were made about chalices and plate. Parishes evidently did not wish the government to get its hands on these valuables. Newnham, Longhope and Staunton said that they had sold them so as to furnish soldiers. Some parishes sold these things and used the money for repairs: Tidenham for the church tower, English Bicknor for the church house, and Staunton for the church.

In church services there was little uniformity. At Tidenham William Lyvyng the curate did not say mass as he used to. He also deliberately broke church windows - this seems to be the only recorded instance in Gloucestershire - and he helped to throw down the cross in the churchyard. Several churches reported that they were not getting instruction in English in the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments. Wakeman required instruction also in the Ave Maria. At Painswick there was no procession in English, presumably meaning no English litany. At Dymock the curate would not make holy bread and holy water, and during the service people babbled in the churchyard. In one or two parishes extreme or heretical attitudes were reported: William Brown and William Clutterbuck

of Slimbridge called the sacrament a 'stinking idol'; and John Clemente of Oldbury-on-Severn called it 'baggage'.<sup>17</sup>



**Slimbridge church.** Two laymen of this parish expressed their dislike of catholic worship in extreme language

The first Book of Common Prayer, which was published in 1549, was intended to reform this situation. The mass was forbidden; George Rowe, for singing mass at Sudeley, was called before the Privy Council. St. Michael's, Gloucester, bought a book of communion and psalters. In 1550 Gloucester received a reforming bishop in John Hooper. He carried out a visitation in 1551. In his injunctions he directed that the altar should be replaced by 'an honest table', at which the minister should face the people. Rood lofts and effigies had to be removed. Pictures were to be defaced from walls; in any new windows there should be no images of saints, but plain glass. Parishioners were asked whether images had been burned and all relics taken out of the church. The churchwardens of Beckford were told that their rood loft must be completely destroyed. St. Michael's church in this year sold timber from its rood loft, sold copes and other church goods, and paid for a Bible and *Paraphrases*. Hooper's questions exposed ignorant clergy: 168 could not repeat the Ten Commandments, and 34 did not know the author of the Lord's Prayer. John Dumbell of South Cerney and Driffield thought that it had been authorised by the Lord King. He was subsequently sentenced to be deprived on separate charges of simony and superstition. About 20 clergy were reprimanded for catholic teaching or practice, and had to recant publicly before their congregations. Roger Wynter of Staunton had in addition to read a declaration against transubstantiation in Gloucester cathedral. In

1553 Gabriel Morton, was brought before the bishop's court for using 'superstitious practices' at Northleach and ordered to recant in his sermons. A second and more protestant Book of Common Prayer was issued in 1552.<sup>18</sup>

When Mary became queen in 1553 Bishop Hooper was deprived and subsequently burned. The new bishop was James Brookes. John Foxe recorded four martyrs besides Hooper in Gloucestershire, all laymen: Thomas Drowry and James Croker were burned at Gloucester, and John Horne and Elizabeth Denye at Wotton-under-Edge. Catholic worship was quickly restored. It was expensive for parishes to buy the many books and ornaments needed. St. Michael's, Gloucester, spent on stones to make the altar and painting it, a sepulchre and Judas for Easter, a cross in the churchyard, a processional cross, a pyx and a chalice, several vestments and books, a sacring-bell and a censer. Minchinhampton, whose churchwardens' accounts begin in 1555, paid for a pyx, a sepulchre, a tabernacle, antiphoners, incense and various tapers. In 1558 St. Michael's had a painting of Mary and John, and Minchinhampton an image of the Trinity.<sup>19</sup>

Forty two priests were deprived in 1554 and 1555, 19 of them for marriage. The government insisted on the celibacy of the clergy, and ordered those who had married to separate from their wives; if they did not they were to be removed. The other deprived clergy presumably refused to conform to the restoration of catholic worship.<sup>20</sup> The number deprived contrasts with only John Dumbell deprived in the reign of Edward VI, and only seven in the first four years of Elizabeth I. Some half dozen mainly lay people were brought before the bishop's court for heresy. Henry Hickes, a joiner of Gloucester, submitted to the church, and was sentenced to bear a faggot (in token that he might have been burned) and publicly recant in Berkeley church and in Gloucester cathedral.<sup>21</sup>

Cardinal Reginald Pole, Mary's archbishop of Canterbury, formally absolved the English church from its schism, and reconciled it to the pope, at a ceremony in Canterbury Cathedral in 1556. He undertook a visitation, for which Bishop Brookes, as the archbishop's sub-delegate, was responsible in Gloucestershire. Pole's articles, based on those of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, show that the restored Catholic Church adopted some reforms of the protestants. There must be a sermon at least every quarter; the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ten Commandments, and also the Ave Maria, were to be taught in English. Congregations were to show reverence at the mass – no talking or walking up and

down, no lurking behind pillars at the time of the elevation. There must be a tabernacle like that in Gloucester Cathedral; and a rood, with Mary and John and the church's patron saint, not painted but in timber or stone. England's reconciliation to the Catholic Church was to be celebrated every St. Andrew's day.<sup>22</sup> St. Michael's Gloucester in 1557 paid for bread and wine 'at the reconciliation'. Before the end of 1558 Brookes was dead; so too were Cardinal Pole and Queen Mary, and all hope of restoring catholicism.

Queen Elizabeth I brought the Church of England back to its condition in King Edward's reign, but she avoided extremes. Her injunctions ordered the destruction of images. There was to be no parish procession, because people quarrelled about their places. At the litany everyone must kneel. Removal of altars was declared not to be a matter of great moment; but for communion the holy table should be put in the middle of the chancel. People should learn the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and Ten Commandments in English by heart. The requirement of a sermon once a month could not be fulfilled in most parishes.<sup>23</sup>

Once again parishes had to change the books and other things needful for church services. St. Michael's Gloucester took down the rood, on which Mary and John had been painted the year before; they paid to 'fetch down' a Bible, perhaps from London; they sold a vestment, a cope, an alb and a chalice. Their holy water pot was bought by William Goldstone, a shoemaker who was later a benefactor of St. Bartholomew's hospital, and their old books by 'the priest of Barnwood'. Minchinhampton bought a prayer book in 1559, and in the following years a Bible, the *Paraphrases* and a book of homilies. But Thomas Taylor the absentee rector was not friendly to the changes. It was only in 1575, after he had left, that the church threw out 'sundry superstitious things tending to the maintenance of idolatry'.

In 1563 Matthew Parker archbishop of Canterbury made a visitation. In the diocese of Gloucester Richard Cheyney the new bishop made a survey of all parishes. The replies of churchwardens show that reform still had far to go. Traces of catholicism remained: at Southrop the rood; at Tredington a painted cross on the wall. There were complaints of too few clergy; at Cirencester there was only one vicar, where there used to be two priests and a deacon. Other clergy did not do their duty. At Bibury Richard Bragge, a former friar of Gloucester did not say service every Sunday; he was alleged to have committed adultery with a servant, and was

described as a dicer, carder, hunter and drunkard. The vicarage at Windrush was used as an alehouse, even during service time. Other churches reported that common prayer was not said regularly, and that there was no quarterly sermon; books and ornaments were lacking. People still misbehaved during service, talking at Chipping Campden, walking about at Tewkesbury.

Some people in the parishes wished for catholicism. John Bower at Berkeley had in his house images decked with roses; his wife abused William Fleming the curate as a vagabond because he was married, and called his children bastards. Tewkesbury parish church still had three crosses, two holy water pots, two censers, a pyx, a mass book and 27 processions – perhaps there would be another change. Elsewhere puritan leanings were visible. William Fortey refused to wear a cope at communion, and preached over long at Minsterworth.<sup>24</sup> In the years ahead the Church of England slowly established its direction as a middle way between the two extremes.

The impression gained from the somewhat fragmentary records of Gloucestershire parishes during the Reformation is that clergy and people generally conformed to instructions from the government. Instances of heresy in Henry VIII's time were comparatively few. In Mary's reign, some priests were deprived, but for marriage rather than for heresy. Many clergy continued in their parish or office throughout all the changes. John Williams, chancellor of Gloucester, was severe against protestants under Henry VIII, catholics under Edward VI, and protestants again under Mary; he vowed that he would die rather than submit to Queen Elizabeth and yet more changes; he died soon after his rash vow.<sup>25</sup>

## References

<sup>1</sup> K. G. Powell, 'The Beginnings of Protestantism in Gloucestershire', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society (Trans. B.G.A.S.)*, vol. 90 (1971), pp. 141-57; 'The Social Background to the Reformation in Gloucestershire', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, vol. 92 (1973), pp. 96-120. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII (L.P. Henry VIII)*, vol. VI, nos. 40, 928, 1192.

<sup>2</sup> *L.P. Henry VIII*, vol. XI, no. 1041; vol. XIII, part 1, no. 34

<sup>3</sup> Gloucestershire Record Office (G.R.O.), Hockaday Abstracts, Painswick, 1549. Public Record Office (P.R.O.), STAC 2/3, ff. 163-68. *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, vol. VII, p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Maclean, 'Gloucestershire Chantry Certificates', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, vol. 8 (1883-84), pp. 229-308. Cf. *Calendar of Patent Rolls (Cal. Pat.)* 1548-49, pp. 260-67.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. 1549-51*, pp. 98-103.

<sup>6</sup> *Cal. Pat. 1548-49*, pp. 51-56, 329-34; *1547-48*, pp. 328-30; *1548-49*, pp. 102-12, 260-67.

<sup>7</sup> Worcestershire Record Office (W.R.O.), BA 2648, b716.093, parcel 9a (ii).

<sup>8</sup> G.R.O. Hockaday Abstracts, vol. 26, General, 1534-36.

<sup>9</sup> *L.P. Henry VIII*, vol. XV, no. 407.

<sup>10</sup> *L.P. Henry VIII*, vol. X, no. 1099; vol. XII, part 1, nos. 308,701.

<sup>11</sup> W.R.O., BA 2764/802, Visitation Book of John Bell, bishop of Worcester, pp. 107,109-10,115,127-29,131-35,137,143-49,153-56,163-66. K. G. Powell, op. cit.

<sup>12</sup> G.R.O., GDR 2, pp. 2,3,5,21,53. A list of stipendiary priests at 'the King's College', i.e. Gloucester Cathedral in Bishop Bell's visitation book contained 21 names, of whom 11 were former monks. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on Manuscripts in Various Collections*, vol. VII, pp. 44-68, Records of the Diocese of Gloucester, especially pp. 44-59; several volumes of Gloucester Diocesan Records (G.R.O., GDR) are briefly summarised.

<sup>13</sup> G.R.O. P 154/14 CW 1/1; PA 154/2.

<sup>14</sup> G.R.O., Hockaday Abstracts, vol. 31, General, 1547-48.

<sup>15</sup> *Cal. Pat. 1547-48; 1548-49; 1549-51*. A. L. Browne, 'Richard Pates, M.P. for Gloucester', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, vol. 56 (1934), pp. 201-25.

<sup>16</sup> G.R.O., Hockaday Abstracts, vol. 31, General, 1547-48. Eammon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, p. 454.

<sup>17</sup> G.R.O. GDR 4.

<sup>18</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council 1547-50*, p. 401. James Gairdner, 'Bishop Hooper's Visitation of Gloucester', *English Historical Review*, vol. XIX (1904). F. D. Price, 'Gloucester Diocese under Bishop Hooper', *Trans B.G.A.S.*, vol. 60 (1938), pp. 51-151

<sup>19</sup> Minchinhampton Churchwardens' Accounts, G.R.O., P 217/CW 2/1; extracts were printed in *Archaeologia*, vol. XXXV (1853), pp. 409-52.

<sup>20</sup> G.R.O. GDR 1B.

<sup>21</sup> G.R.O. GDR 11, pp. 36-37,201-2,207,233. Patrick McGrath, 'Gloucestershire and the Counter-Reformation', *Trans. B.G.A.S.*, vol. 88 (1969), pp. 5-28.

<sup>22</sup> G.R.O., Hockaday Abstracts, vol. 39, General, 1556-57.

<sup>23</sup> G.R.O., Hockaday Abstracts, vol. 40, General, 1558-59.

<sup>24</sup> G.R.O. GDR 20, pp. 25,32,43-45,48,51,57,58,67,71,82. Colin W. Field, *The State of the Church in Gloucestershire in 1563* (Gloucester City Library, Gloucestershire Collection, 36206)

<sup>25</sup> Samuel Rudder, *A New History of the County of Gloucester* (1789), p.163

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