THE MEDIEVAL CHURCHES OF BRISTOL

M. Q. SMITH

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The Medieval Churches of Bristol is the twenty-fourth pamphlet published by the Bristol Branch of the Historical Association. Its author, Dr. M. Q. Smith is Lecturer in Charge of the History of European Art in the University of Bristol. A good deal has been written about the ancient churches of Bristol but the particular interest of Dr. Smith's work is that he examines them individually and in groups with special reference to the chronological development of different architectural styles in the middle ages.

The sketch map of the churches and hospital in medieval Bristol is reproduced from *The Cartulary of St. Mark's Hospital, Bristol,* by courtesy of the editor of that volume, Dr. C. D. Ross, and the Bristol Record Society. The Branch wishes to express its thanks to the Director of the Bristol City Art Gallery for permission to use two water colours from the Braikenridge collection and to Mr. G. Kelsey of the University of Bristol Arts Faculty Photographic Unit who took the photographs.

The author wishes to acknowledge the kindness and courtesy with which he was greeted by both clergy and laity during his examination of these historic churches.

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The next pamphlet in the series will be *John Whitson and the Merchant Community of Bristol* by Patrick McGrath. This will be based upon the Frederick Creech Jones Memorial Lecture delivered in the University in November, 1969.

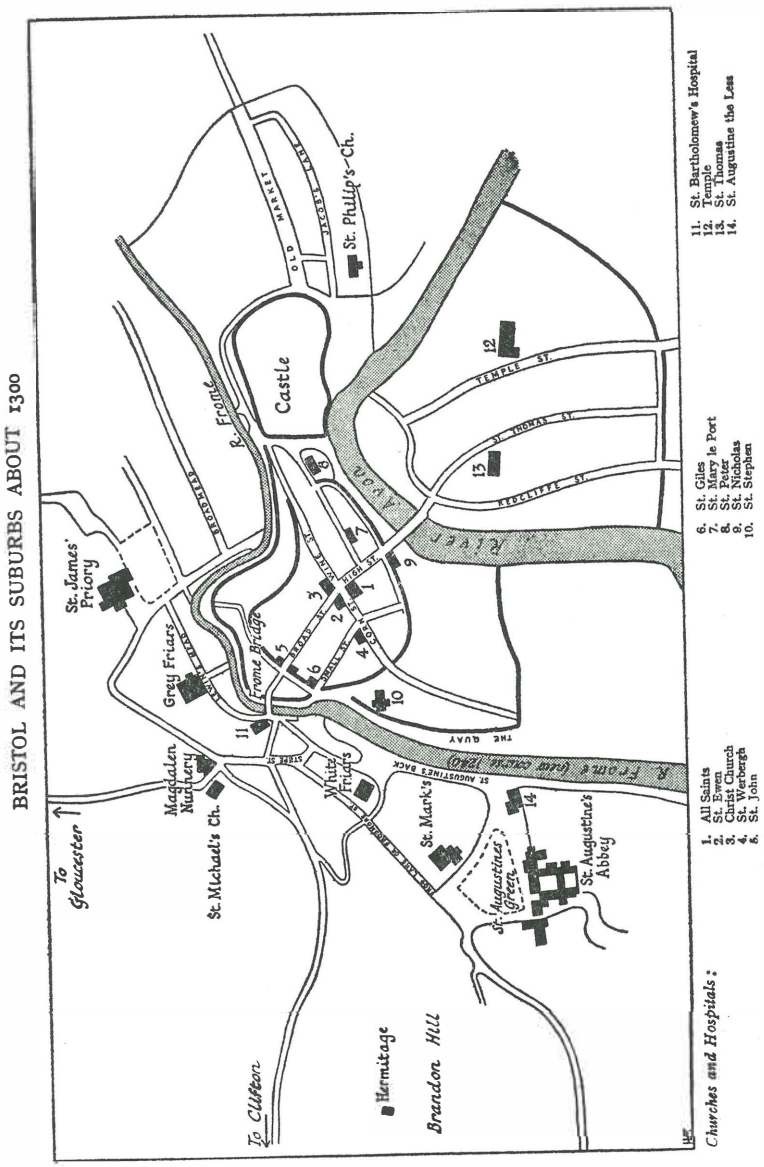
A full list of publications will be found on the inside back cover. The pamphlets can be obtained from most Bristol booksellers or direct from Mr. Peter Harris, 74 Bell Barn Road, Stoke Bishop, Bristol 9, BS9 2DG. They are also on sale at the Porters' Lodge in the Wills Memorial Building and in the Senate House. Readers are urged to place standing orders for future publications.

THE MEDIEVAL CHURCHES OF BRISTOL

As we have heard, so also have we seen
In the city of the Lord of Hosts, in the
City of Our God.

Psalm XLVIII

Issued by the Bristol Branch of The Historical Association,



THE MEDIEVAL CHURCHES OF BRISTOL

by M. Q. SMITH

The nineteen surviving medieval churches of Bristol can be divided in four groups. Eight in the centre of the city are still substantially of medieval date: S. Augustine's (the cathedral), All Saints, S. James, S. John Baptist, S. Mark's (the Lord Mayor's Chapel), S. Mary Redcliffe, Ss. Philip and Jacob, and S. Stephen. A further three medieval churches, at Brislington, Henbury and Westbury, are now within the city boundary. Five medieval churches have been rebuilt wholly or in great part: towers survive at S. Michael's and S. Thomas's; the tower of S. Werburgh has been rebuilt on a new site in Mina Rd., S. Nicholas still retains its medieval crypt; only a few stones survive of medieval Christchurch. Three more medieval churches survive as ruins: S. Mary-le-Port (tower only), the Temple, and S. Peter. S. Augustine the Less was demolished in 1962. For all these churches, and for many other churches and chapels now destroyed, there is a great wealth of documentary evidence; but in this pamphlet the emphasis is entirely on the surviving visible remains, which are considered in roughly chronological order. Taken as a group, the churches of Bristol provide a useful illustration of the development of medieval ecclesatical architecture.[1]

1. A few of the more useful and accessible authorities have been included in the following notes; full documentation of each point would overload the text. An excellent selection of publications on Bristol churches is available on loan at Bristol Central Library. Many of the older books, and some of the pamphlets still on sale in the churches, are not very helpful. The City Art Gallery holds important material especially the Braikenridge Collection.

   H. A. Cronne, *Bristol Charters* 1378-1499 (Bristol Record Soc. XI, 1946) contains much essential information, as does *The Victoria County History: Gloucestershire* vol. II (1907). The best architectural treatment is N. Pevsner: *North Somerest and Bristol* (Buildings of England, Penguin Books, 1958) pp. 355-476 with a glossary pp. 477-497. P. Brown: *Eight Bristol Churches* (1968) is excellent. J. F. Nichols and J. Taylor, *Bristol Past and Present* vol. II (1881) is useful even if in parts outdated. *Trans. Bristol & Glos. Arch. Soc.* and the *Proc. Clifton Antiquarian Club* contain many notes and articles on Bristol churches. A. K. Wickham, *Churches of Somerset* (1952) is essential.

EARLY FOUNDATIONS

None of the Bristol churches for which early origins have been claimed has any visible part of a recognisably Anglo-Saxon character, though Anglo-Saxon foundations have been discovered by excavation at S. Mary-le-Port. At Westbury a possibly Anglo-Saxon tomb slab has been set in the tower; far more important is the bold seven foot high carving of the Harrowing of Hell dating from c.1050 now in the south transept of the cathedral. This is one of the finest carvings of its date in Britain; surprisingly it seems to be at least a century older than any visible part of the cathedral or of any of the other churches in Bristol. But there are close to Bristol, particularly in Gloucestershire, several Anglo-Saxon churches which indicate the character and probable scale of the earliest churches of the city.

Fifteen churches are documented by the end of the twelfth century. S. Peter's can be traced back to 1106 when it was endowed on Tewkesbury. The three churches at the cross-roads of the early burh—Trinity, known as Christchurch, S. Ewen (demolished 1820) and All Saints—could all be of early origin; in 1295 the four quarters of the ville Bristollie were related to these churches and to S. Mary-le-Port. All Saints is recorded by 1153, together with S. Nicholas at the south gate and S. Leonard (destroyed 1771) at the west gate at the lower end of Corn St. In Corn St. itself stood S. Werbergh, recorded by 1166-72. Outside the walls to the north of the city stands the twelfth century priory of S. James, founded as a cell of Tewkesbury, but due to suburban expansion soon taking on a parochial role which it still retains. Beyond the Frome and its marshes, the Augustinian abbey, now the cathedral, was founded on its hill in 1142; unlike Glastonbury, Bristol had developed as an independent commercial town, not at the gates of a monastery, while Westbury which was an important early monastic centre remained a small village. To the south of Bristol, S. Mary Redcliffe, serving it own suburban community, is recorded in 1158.

Between Redcliffe and the south gate were founded the Templars' church (c.1145) and S. Thomas a Becket—a dedication suggesting a date after 1174. On the hill to the north of Bristol an Augustinian nunnery dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene was founded c.1173; twenty years later a church is recorded on the opposite side of the road, S. Michael-on-the-Mount-Without, under the patronage of Tewkesbury Abbey. In the same year, 1193, the church at the north gate, towards S. James and S. Michael's, is

recorded, dedicated to S. John Baptist, together with SS. Philip and Jacob in the Old Market area beyond the important castle.[2]

THE ROMANESQUE CHURCHES

Although the majority of these twelfth century churches have been greatly altered or even completely destroyed, the scale and style of their architecture can still be appreciated. Two bays of the original nave of All Saints happily survive; the church is recorded as being given to S. Augustine's by Earl Ranulf of Chester who died in 1153. The Norman work, which is perhaps several years earlier than this, is as plain and straightforward as could be. The bases of the piers are no longer visible; the columns are short and cylindrical, with scalloped capitals; the abaci are chamfered, but square in plan and so related visually to the right-angles of the mouldings of the arches. Above the arches were hood-moulds, re-cut on the north side but quite lost on the south; these were chamfered, echoing the form of the abaci, but with the minor enrichment of a small nick cut into the moulding just above the chamfer.

Far grander than the simple work at All Saints is that to be seen at S. James, not originally a parish church but a cell of Tewkesbury. In 1374 an agreement was made between the Abbot of Tewkesbury and the parishioners that the nave should be used for parochial purposes and become the parishioners' responsibility; which is why the nave has survived though all the east end of the priory and the monastic buildings have disappeared. As at All Saints, the piers are cylindrical, but enriched and strengthened by the addition of minor shafts, usually four in number, though one pier of the south arcade has twice this number. As at All Saints the capitals are scalloped and the abaci chamfered, though in plan the abaci echo the shape of the piers below, leading the eye to the right-angled mouldings of the arches. The hood-moulds are more prominent than those at All Saints, and decorated with diamond patterning. On the south side, the hood-mould ends above one pier with a label-stop carved into a dragon's head very much like the similar ones at Malmesbury Abbey; perhaps there were others at S. James, for the ends of most of the hood-moulds have obviously

2. W. H. Warren, 'The Medieval Chapels of Bristol', *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* XXX (1907) pp.181-211 covers 28 chapels. C. S. Taylor, 'Chronological Sequence of Bristol Parish Churches', *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* XXXII (1909) pp. 202-219 has been criticised in a number of details.

been re-cut. Above the arcade is a firm horizontal line, the richly ornamented string-course at the foot of the clerestory windows; these are small and deeply splayed on the interior. On the exterior of the south side they are set within a band of blank arcading. The nave is five bays long, and ends now in an east wall decorated in mock Norman; both aisles have been rebuilt, but their proportions can easily be worked out, particularly on the north side of the church where the columns of the extraordinary Victorian aisle seem to have been set along the line of the original Norman outer wall. On the exterior of the west wall is a Norman-looking buttress on this line, and a sloping joint in the walling may indicate the original angle of the aisle roof.

The west facade of S. James is sadly eroded; as can be seen by comparison with early drawings and engravings, the original effect was much richer, with every detail enlivened with carving. The lower wall is bare; at clerestory level three round-headed windows are set in a bold band of interlaced blank arcading; the shafts are irregularly spaced so that some of the arches are pointed. All of them were originally carved with incised zig-zag. In the centre of the upper wall is a large circular window. The combination of a group of round-headed windows with a circular one on a west facade can be found on many late Norman churches, but at S. James the circular window has plate tracery—a rare feature at this date—a central octagon surrounded by eight circles, the whole bound together by a rope knot, and encircled by a border of boldly cut zig-zag.

Even more important than S. James is the Romanesque work at the cathedral. The Augustinian Abbey was founded in 1142, and enough had been built for consecration in 1148. Of this work little can be gathered apart from the proportions of the plan: the choir aisles and transept walls incorporate early material and so do the crossing piers. The representation of the church on the seal of c.1200 seems to show two towers at the end of the transept, such as are recorded at Winchester and survive on continental churches at Tournai, Laon and Limburg. The plan of the east end is presumed to have been square-ended; it seems that the original nave was probably five bays long. At the west there seems to have been a two-towered facade incorporating a narthex.

Various parts of the Romanesque monastic buildings survive to the south and west of the church. The Chapter House and its entrance, and the two gateways, are a little later in date than the church, and even more richly decorated than the front of S. James.

But it is worth noting the absence of figurative elements in this rich carving of late Norman Bristol: there is nothing to compare with the reliefs at Much Wenlock, with the capitals and reliefs (from a font?) at Bath or with the bosses from Keynsham Abbey. The earlier sculptural tradition at Bristol exemplified by the Harrowing of Hell seems to have died at the Conquest.[3]

The crossribbed vault of the Chapter House is the oldest in Bristol: the arcade at S. James is too light to have supported vaulting. The massive diagonal ribs are semi-circular, the transverse rib being slightly pointed: both ribs and arch have rather ponderous decoration on their front edges. The vaulting of the triple entry bays is more advanced, especially in the more rounded profiles of the ribs. Neither in the Chapter House itself nor in the entry bays are there wall-ribs, nor in the great gate where there is a third early vault. The changes in detail in the modelling and detailing of these vaults is of greatest interest for they are the first of a fine sequence in Bristol and show the masons struggling with the difficult problem of unifying the vault and its supports.

Few fittings survive from the Romanesque periods: at Ss. Philip and Jacob, of which the earliest reliable date is 1174 in a list of fees of William Earl of Gloucester, an unexceptional Norman scalloped font survives and a badly eroded Norman tomb slab, carved with a Maltese cross on a tall staff set between eight six-petalled flowers; on the side are interlaced semi-circular arches decorated with pellets, all rather reminiscent of the detailing of the Chapter House.

EARLY GOTHIC

The transition from Romanesque into Gothic can be followed in two churches of outer Bristol, at Henbury and Westbury. Henbury nave is the older, and not much altered except for the cutting of larger windows through the basically original outer walls of the aisles. The doors, both north and south, are in the Late Norman tradition, with trumpet capitals, commonly used throughout the west country. The two easternmost bays of the nave were originally Norman but were rebuilt duing the nineteenth century restorations to conform with the rest of the arcade, which has pointed arches. The piers are circular but much taller and more elegant than the Romanesque, set on bases with rather stolid roll-

3. E. S. Goodwin, 'Bristol Cathedral', *Archaeol. Jnl.* XX (1863) pp. 38-63; R. R. Paul, 'The Plan of the Church and Monastery of S. Augustine', *Archaeologia* 63 (1912) pp. 231-250; D. Harrison, *The Pictorial History of Bristol Cathedral* (1962).

moulding, on square pedestals of irregular height. The capitals are concentrically moulded; and even though the mouldings of the arches are still right-angled (like those of S. James), the general impression is of greater elegance in the general proportions of the design. Originally there was no clerestory, and the nave and aisles were perhaps all under one roof, an arrangement which survives at Grosmont (Mon.). At a later date windows were cut through alternate spandrels, creating a rather bizarre effect.

The west tower is massive, its overall width being that of the nave. It has simple lancet windows, and also a plate-traceried window of trefoils and lancets over the west door; but the details of this window and of the door below may be entirely due to "restoration". The tower is unbuttressed, with the stair-turret next to the south aisle allowed to protrude slightly; this is a feature which later is emphasised to become a characteristic Bristol fashion. Equally massive is the base of the rather earlier tower of S. Peter's, enclosed north and south by later aisles; a buttress on the north face, once external, and Transitional in character and a late Norman capital recorded in 1909 help date the tower. So too do the small double-lancet window higher up, and the larger pair in the south face. The main faces of the tower are built of rough-set greyish-red sandstone, but the quoins are built of better quality stone, of a pale creamy grey colour. This colour contrast between the cut stone and the rough becomes a characteristic feature of Bristol church towers.[4]

At Westbury the older church seems to have provided a basis for the new work. There had perhaps been a west tower-porch, a nave (of which parts of the walls may survive just east of the tower) and a chancel. The irregularities in the setting-out of the new Gothic arcades and developments in its details suggest that the work was carried out part by part, so that the earlier structure was gradually replaced. As at Henbury the pedestals are all of odd heights. One or two of the bases have a more developed moulding, of the "water-holding" variety. The circular piers are shorter than at Henbury, and allowance was made for the provision of a clerestory of lancets. In the south arcade the capitals are rather heavily modelled but octagonal, so that they lead the eye on to the *chamfered* (not right-angled) moulding of the arches. On the north side the capitals are more finely modelled but circular, and the chamfers of the arches now have more importance than the right-angled hollows. Over the eastern pier, the chamfers are allowed to dissolve into a circular section, related to

4. C. E. Boucher, 'S. Peter's Church', *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* XXXII (1909) pp. 260-301.

the shape of the pier below. Even more highly developed is the modelling of the chancel arch. In contrast to the Romanesque manner seen at All Saints, S. James and Henbury, the vertical support and the curved arch are now integrated.

A major reason for the gradual rebuilding at Westbury would seem to have been in order to provide a new south aisle, perhaps as a chapel for the refounded College. It is broad and separately gabled—the first example of a fashion which became usual in Bristol. The original fenestration survives in the west wall, where there is a good set of three lancets under a single hood mould; another single lancet survives among later windows in the south wall. The site of a major altar is indicated by the survival of a triple sedilia and a fine piscina, set high in the wall. The sedilia is crisply modelled, it arches deep-cut, the shafts being given a frontal axis by their fillets; the capitals are concentrically moulded. But on the piscina capitals are omitted so that the mouldings are uninterrupted; this is a Somerset fashion (cf. Wells nave triforium).

The triple lancets of the chancel chapels at Henbury look fine examples of Early English; but the right hand chapel is all nineteenth century work, and the groups of lancets in the side wall of the chapel to the left of the chancel are not shown in nineteenth century prints. All details of the interior must therefore be suspected. Nonetheless the initial rebuilding of the east end and the interpolation of clerestory windows in the nave, could have been the work of about 1270, when Bishop Gifford of Worcester ordered rebuilding. The south aisle at Westbury could be of the same time, when the Bishop was trying to increase the size and influence of the College.

When we consider the Early English work in Bristol itself, it is important to note that there is little sign of knowledge of the local manner exemplified by Wells choir, transepts and nave and north porch, (work of c.1185-1220). Instead we find a preference for Purbeck shafts; the mixture of materials means that capitals cannot be omitted to form continuous mouldings in the west country manner. The two marble shafts in the west windows of St. Augustine's Chapter House are, if original, extremely precocious examples (cf. Winchester S. Cross). After the Chapter House of c.1165, marble shafts occur in the north porch of S. Mary Redcliffe, the major surviving part of the twelfth century church. Though Redcliffe is recorded as being given to Salisbury in 1158, the new Purbeck-shafted cathedral there was not begun till 1220, and the porch at Redcliffe cannot be much later than 1200. A similar problem of comparative chronology applied to

the Elder Lady Chapel at S. Augustine's, which can be dated to c.1220: comparable work at Worcester east end was not begun till 1224, and coloured marble shafts were not used at Wells until the west front was begun in c.1220. Bristol was, without doubt, in the forefront of this fashion, no doubt since sea-transport was so easy.

The entrance arch to the Early English north porch at Redcliffe is partly hidden by the later outer porch; presumably there were in all seven detached marble shafts at either side, arranged 2: 3: 2, with the three front ones linked by their capitals and bases into triplets. The arch itself is deeply cut, with corner-rolls with fillets. In the porch either wall has five blank arches set on marble columns. The capitals are the first foliage capitals in Bristol—windblown stiff-leaf, and this foliage helps to soften the difficult transition from a circular shaft to a square abacus. The vault is provided with pointed wall-ribs, but the diagonals are still semi-circular and their profiles too are still rather like those of the Romanesque vaults at the entry to the Chapter House at S. Augustine's. At the entrance of the vault is a rather flattened stiff-leaf boss, representing a slight development beyond the bosses of the Chapter House. The vault, like that of the Chapter House, rests on corbels; they have keeled shafts, and the capital at the north east is leafy.[5] A very similar corbel, though in triplet form, survives inside the church, on the south side of the tower, and the lines of wall-arches can be seen indicating that the Early English church was also vaulted. No date is known for this vault, but Gloucester nave vault of a comparable style was not built until 1242-5.

Redcliffe tower itself has been a good deal altered. Compared with Henbury it has corner buttresses at the north-east, north-west and south-west which are, with the buttress at the west end of the south arcade, all of an Early English form with corner shafts. The footing on which they and the wall between them stands may be older; it includes in the west wall of the tower a shorn-off part of an eccentrically placed buttress. Alterations have been made too, inside the tower. Water colours in the Braikenridge Collection in the City Art Gallery show that although the shafting and capitals of the eastern arch of the tower are modern, they are based on similar ones on the south side towards the nave, now hidden by a modern reinforcement arch.[6] In 1207 a grant of land is recorded, and indulgencies related to the repair of the church may indicate

5. Braikenridge M. 1947 shows that the detail of the south wall of the porch and the doorway into the church is all modern.
6. Braikenridge M. 1950.

that the rebuilding was in progress from that time and through 1232, 1246, 1278 and 1287.

A further step in the development of the Bristol tower can be seen at Ss. Philip and Jacob; it stands in a transeptal position on the south side. The two lower storeys are of Early English date. As at Redcliffe, there are angle buttresses, those at the south-west corner being extended to contain a protruding stair-turret. As at St. Peter's the quoins are of freestone, and the colour-distinction emphasises the various forms of tower, buttresses and stair. In the first storey are paired lancets. Inside the ground floor of the tower the form of a tall lancet remains in the east wall, with a circular window to the south. The wall-arches and springers of a quatripartite vault remain; the diagonal ribs are more finely modelled than those in Redcliffe porch. The capitals which supported the vault are set on marble shafts; in their design of wind-blown leaves they too represent an advance on those of Redcliffe inner porch.

Towards the chancel one arch of the arcade survives, with triplet shafts and concentric capitals on the inner arch; but the larger, enclosing arch is uninterrupted by capitals. Remains of a comparable arch survive on the opposite of the chancel. The doorway opening into the tower from the south aisle has stiff-leaf capitals, those of the comparable door on the north side are concentrically moulded; the other Early Gothic innovation to note here is the treatment of the label-stops now cut to the form of naturalistic faces instead of beasts' heads in the Romanesque manner. Above the north door is a lancet with continuous mouldings, visible from both inside and outside. Later alterations have made it difficult to be certain of the original plan of the Early English church, but it seems that these doors from the present aisles were originally entrances to a cruciform church with an aisleless nave.

The finest Early English in the the city is at S. Augustine's. On the south side of the church a fine doorway in the south cloister remains to indicate an extension to the monastic quarters, while on the other side of the church a detached Lady Chapel was built eastwards from the north transept. Its entry represents a further refinement beyond that of the entry to Redcliffe porch: the treatment is fully three-dimensional, and the shafts are very tall and elegant. (The innermost shafts of the group of three and the arch above are nineteenth century interpolations; most of the north wall of the second bay is of the same date). All the vertical shafts, all the moulded bases and capitals of the upper storey are of

marble. Around the lower wall the lively capitals and spandrel carvings, not all of them exactly pious, are the work of a carver expressly borrowed by Abbot David from Wells.[7] The faces on the label-stops above the triple lancets continue the tradition noticed on the doorways of Ss. Philip and Jacob. Not only in the use of Purbeck, but in its use in combination with spandrel carving Bristol is precocious, for Worcester east end, was not begun till 1224, and the Chapter House at Salisbury not until 1275. At about this date, the east window was altered, and a vault built. This is elegantly modelled and with a ridge-rib running east-west, linking the four bays together. The clarity of the mouldings of the pointed diagonal ribs and the generous cutting of the bosses represent a considerable advance beyond the preceding vaults at Redcliffe and S. Philip's. Latest developments in Gothic are also reflected in the use of bar tracery for the new east window; this can be dated to about 1275 by comparison with the windows of the stairway to the Chapter House at Wells; the vault over these stairs is the first at Wells to have a ridge-rib.

A the entry to the Lady Chapel is the tomb-slab of Abbot David himself, showing his head in relief, and the remains of a foliate cross. It is of Purbeck—that is to say, of imported rather than local stone. But no doubt due to the establishment of workshops for the carving of all the statuary of the west front at Wells, from about 1225-30 onwards Bristol churches benefited from a continuous tradition of full-scale figure sculpture in local stone, and perhaps cut in Bristol itself.[8]

The most obvious example of Wells influence is the broken but beautiful Madonna and Child by the entry gate of S. Bartholomew's Hospital. The late Transitional gateway itself shows the hand of local master, for the capital behind the left outer door has no shaft ring so that the stiff leaves grow straight out of the shaft: this is a local mannerism seen in several neighbouring Early English churches. A possible example of Wells influence is the effigy of Richard de Grenville (c.1240) in S.

7. For a general well-illustrated survey, A. Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture* (1951). Photographs of details of the carvings in the Elder Lady Chapel and at Wells will be found in *Friends of Wells Cathedral Report for* 1969, pp. 19-20.
8. A. C. Dyer, Monumental effigies made by Bristol Craftsmen 1240-1550', *Archaeologia* 74 (1923-4) pp. 1-72 is well-illustrated; I. M. Roper, *Monumental Effigies of Gloucestershire* (1931) is a full catalogue; the first half of A. Anderson, *English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture in wood* 1220-1270 (Stockhom, 1949) includes an important study of west country and Bristol sculptures.

View of the North Side of S. John The Baptist.
Braikenridge Collection

PANORAMA OF THE CITY CENTRE: November, 1969. 1. S. John Baptist; 2. Christchurch; 3. S. Mary-le-Port; 4. All Saints; 5. S. Nicholas; 6. S. Thomas; 7. S. Stephen (in scaffolding); 8. S. Mary Redcliffe.

Photo: G. Kelsey

Interior of S. Peter's to E.

Photo: G. Kelsey

St. Peter's from N.W.

Photo: G. Kelsey

St. Mary Redcliffe: Early English (inner) and Decorated (outer) parts of the North Porch.
Braikenridge Collection

James, shown in his flowing gown, the first of a series of civilian effigies. Both material and craftsmanship are local. Four thirteenth century effigies of knights have been similarly linked with the knights on Wells front, or with the several tomb effigies around Bristol. The well-preserved head and shoulders of an unknown knight at Ss. Philip and Jacob gives an indication of the quality of the finish of these most evocative figures; the other figures are all cross-legged, a pose derived from the traditions of the Purbeck workshops though the stone is of local origin. The Robert, 3rd Lord Berkeley (c.1220) in the north transept at Redcliffe was carved by the same workshop as cut the effigy of the founder of St. Mark's, Maurice de Gaunt (c.1230). This effigy, now moved from its original position in the north transept, shows the mail indicated by vertical incisions, a detail to be noted too on the effigy now next to it, that of Maurice's nephew, Robert de Gourney (c.1269) who is shown drawing his sword from his scabbard.

S. Mark's or Gaunt's Hospital (now the Lord Mayor's Chapel) was founded in 1220.[9] The surviving parts of the original church —chancel, transepts and nave—are of a slightly later date, perhaps 1275. The arches into the transepts are good Early English work with many mouldings. The re-cut capitals are boldly modelled stiff-leaf; the shafts are not Purbeck. On the north of the nave there are four windows, the western one re-created in 1889; two survive on the south side, with part of a third visible from the south aisle chapel. These windows are recessed into the wall in a manner to be seen in all later examples; though the windows are set high, to allow for a cloister on the north, the sills are lowered well down the wall. On either side, the easternmost capital on the nookshaft is of stiff-leaf like those of the transept arches, but westward the plainer concentric form is used. Again there is no Purbeck. The tracery is now bar-tracery, not plate, consisting of three linked trefoil-headed lancets. The facade has been greatly altered, so no proper parallel can be made between the Early English of S. Mark's and the Late Norman of S. James. The Geometric blank arcading at either side of the door was designed in 1889 by J. L. Pearson following traces of arcade-work behind a portico of 1777-8. The huge window above replaced an earlier one, perhaps like that with five grouped lancets discovered in 1821 in the east wall of All Saints chancel.[10]

9. C. D. Ross, *Cartulary of S. Mark's Hospital, Bristol*: Bristol Record Soc. XXXI (1959); W. R. Barker, *S. Mark's or The Lord Mayor's Chapel* (1892).
10. Braikenridge MS. 2380-1-2.

Besides founding S. Mark's, Maurice de Gaunt also founded Blackfriars, the Dominican Friary, in about 1227-9. This had a long choir and a broad three-aisled nave; three sides of the claustral buildings survive (known as Quaker Friars). The Franciscans were the next to arrive, in 1234; their church also had a long aislesless choir, and an almost square preaching church of three broad aisles supported by four-bayed arcades. The Carmelites, who arrived in 1267, had according to Leland the finest of the Friars' churches; the site is now covered by the Colston Hall. The Austin Friars, who arrived in 1313, were building their church near Temple Gate in 1329. Documentary evidence shows that these Friars churches played a very important part in the lives of Bristolians. Though little survives and disappointingly little is known of the architecture of these churches, the design the Dominican and Franciscan three-aisled nave needs to be kept in mind when considering the three-gabled form of several of the later parish churches. Such designs are relevant too in relation to the new choir at S. Augustine's.[11]

DECORATED

The major feature of S. Augustine's choir is that it is a hall-church with three aisles of equal height. This feature can be related to examples in France and to English precedents at the Temple and at the east ends of Southwark, Winchester and Salisbury, or to the wooden-roofed Friars churches in Bristol itself. The vaults are basically interpenetrating tunnels, arranged east-west along the axis of the choir, and north-south across the choir and into the aisles. The continuity of the vault surfaces is emphasised by the use of liernes, arranged in a pattern similar to that found earlier in the undercroft of the royal chapel of S. Stephen at Westminster. The great arches of the arcades, their mouldings unbroken by bases or capitals have west country precedent, as at the Augustinian Priory at Llanthony in the Black Mountains with which S. Augustine's had close connexions. The tracery of the great east window is not a very graceful example of flowing Decorated; the side windows are more personal, with alternating tracery patterns which bind the various verticals, horizontals and arches into a unified pattern. For the first time in Bristol we have some idea of the proper coloration of the architecture; original green and gold and red old glass survives in

11. G. E. Weare, *The Bristol Friars Minor* (1893) includes references to the other friars' churches.

the top tracery, and in the Martyrdom of S. Edmunds, (though overwhelmed by the harsher blues and scarlets and silvers of the more recent glass) and the repainted carved details of the stonework use the same green and gold and red. The whole church is detailed with a great number of splendidly realised heads, some of which may perhaps be considered as commemorative portraits.

The construction of a building so balanced, visually and structurally, implies the presence not only of a great designer but also of marvellously competent masons and carvers—perhaps trained in the workshops at Wells. It is likely that William Joy, the master mason at Wells in c.1330, had trained at S. Augustine's. Kingsland in Herefordshire seems to have been designed by a Bristol-trained mason, and Bristol influence can also be found at Dublin. In Bristol itself, influence from S. Augustine's is immediately recognisable at Redcliffe, and to a lesser extent at St. Mark's.[12]

At Redcliffe an hexagonal porch-chapel was added in front of the Early English north porch. This chapel we know from the pedestrian but invaluable description of Bristol compiled by William Wyrcestre[13] in about 1480-84 was dedicated to the Virgin and contained a statue of her; an altar stood against the east wall of the inner porch. The elegance of the exterior has unfortunately been considerably reduced by the construction of modern "hornworks", the statuary of the exterior has been lost, and all the carving has been re-done, some as recently as 1964. But the original corbel figures now kept in the south choir aisle, in the tower and in the north transept indicate the quality and good humour of the work. The carving is quite as "Decorated" as the form of the doorway, as the hexagonal volume of the interior, as the pentagonal buttresses, as the dagger-shaped windows or the twist given to the vault so that each of its angles points not to the top of each buttress but to the top of each arch.

Subsequently the whole of the Early English church was reconstructed, beginning on the south side, where the three tomb-recesses in the south aisle are clearly in the S. Augustine's tradition. They illustrate the designer's wish to maintain the unity of a wall even though it is pierced by an arch or recess; the outline of the north doorway into the outer north porch can be similarly explained. The vault design in the south aisle is equally adventurous: instead of the usual straight diagonal ribs, which tend to divide

12. H. Bock, 'Bristol Cathedral and its place in European Architecture', *Bristol Cathedral 800th Anniversary booklet* (1965) pp. 18-27.

13. J. Dallaway, *Antiquities of Bristol . . . including the Topography of William of Wyrcestre* (Bristol 1834).

the vault visually into four parts, the designer has used curved ribs which unify the area of each bay. After the south aisle wall, work was continued into the south transept, where the window-tracery of the great south window is of a transitional Dec-Perp pattern, like that of the side windows at S. Augustine's; but the clerestory windows with a frame of quatrefoils have few parallels. Work was interrupted by the Black Death, and the awkwardness of the vault and side windows of the south porch seem to show this clearly. Yet various features give important indications of the way in which unity was maintained with the completion of the other transept and of the choir and nave. In the south transept, panelling fills the spandrels above the arcade, but for the later parts of the church panelling appears not only in the interior but also on the exterior in the spandrels above the clerestory. Similar panelling below the aisle windows appears first to the south of the choir—tidier but duller than the tomb recesses in the south nave aisle.

The forms of the piers show changes in design, from a diamond plan with a deep hollow in each face used in the south transept to an eight-pointed star form in the choir and nave. This means that instead of having a concave hollow around the arch, there is a heavier, flat-faced outer moulding in a plane parallel to that of the panelled wall above. Both transepts have vaulting-shafts in a triple form with leafy capitals, but in the choir and nave the vault springs from a cluster of tiny shafts with dimunitive moulded capitals; rather oddly, leafy capitals are retained below the wall-ribs. The vaulting of each part in sequence—aisles, choir, nave, transepts,—shows many developments; though the unity of the church is maintained by the general dimensions of the vaults, the detailing is very varied. The choir is unified by an arrangement of liernes which follows that used in the south porch; the design over the five bays of the choir recalls both the triple ridge-rib of Gloucester choir and the net-pattern at Wells. The nave vault is unified in a different way: the complexity of cusped liernes, like a rose-hedge, quite hides the bay divisions, and there is no ridge-rib to divide the vault lengthwise. The narrowness and verticality of the stupendously elegant transepts is emphasised by the way in which the vault is designed with strong transverse arches to distinguish each bay, with the sides of each vault raised up to accommodate the tall clerestory windows.

Unfortunately the modern arrangement of the stalls in the transepts disrupts the east-west axis, for each transept had two chapels in the eastern aisles. It is indeed hard to imagine what the church was like in its medieval glory: "every inch of masonry has

either been renewed or scraped beyond recognition . . . (there has been) wholesale destruction of the building inside and out (and) needless desecration." The well-meant complement of coloured windows upsets the balance of the church, making the choir darker than the nave. The fragments and fine figures of old glass which remain are of pale gold, clear blue and unashamed ruby—something to remind one that the church originally had windows of the style and quality of those happily surviving at Great Malvern. The modern taste for vistas is exemplified by the recent expulsion of a well-proportioned Victorian reredos, so that the eye is attracted to the tangle of screen and window tracery, vault-ribs and indistinguishable glass instead of being focused on the altar. S. Mary Redcliffe is one of the great English medieval churches; Melton Mowbray, Faversham, Coventry S. Michael, Hull Holy Trinity, Newark, Grantham, Boston, Louth are all great town churches, and when one turns to small communities, then Walpole S. Peter, Patrington, Dennington, Long Melford and more spring to mind; as Blythburgh shows, a parish church need not be vaulted to be worthy of attention. But it is the vaulting of S. Mary Redcliffe which gives the church such distinction, and creates a sense of unity lacking in so many large churches with histories of complex rebuildings.[14]

Discussion of Redcliffe has interrupted our chronology. At S. Mark's an aisle was added to the south of the church, with two arches cut through the nave south wall: this work is in the S. Augustine's manner. The mouldings over the arches end with the heads of a bearded man and a wimpled woman, and below the rich leafy main corbels are subordinate ones with the heads and shoulders of men in hoods, perhaps the carvers themselves. Similar heads appear in S. Augustine's, as at the west end of the south aisle. The south windows are of three lights, now blank, to a design not unlike that used in Redcliffe outer porch, but the west window is in a pattern similar to that used at Malmesbury or Gloucester or Leominster, smothered with ball-flower. The aisle was not vaulted, but the expertise of the Bristol masons in the decades before the Black Death can also be studied in the vaulted crypt of S. Nicholas: it is two aisled, the northern part being the major.

EFFIGIES

Changes in style and in personal fashions in the fourteenth

14. Besides N. Pevsner (n.1, above), see H. Brakspear, 'S. Mary Redcliffe,' *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* XLIV (1922) pp. 271-292, and J. Britton, *Redcliffe Church* (1813).

century are illustrated by the group of tomb-effigies.[15] The earlier of the Berkeley effigies in S. Augustine's (probably the 6th Lord, d.1321, in the western recess of the south aisle) has knee-pieces of leather such as can be seen more clearly on the Robert of Normandy effigy of c.1290 at Gloucester; the second Berkeley effigy (probably the 7th Lord of 1326,) in the eastern recess, has knee-pieces of plate—a feature not immediately recognised, since this effigy, like the other, has lost the mail which in this period was added in gesso, Much more plate can be seen on the effigy of the 9th Lord Berkeley (c. 1386) on the table-tomb in the arch cut between the north aisle and the Elder Lady Chapel. The female figure next to him is believed to be his mother (d.1337): she wears a graceful robe with tight sleeves. The arch above the tomb is quite typically capricious, with dimunitive vaults supporting transoms below the main vault: the effect is of a little chapel. The Berkeley chapel itself, with a tomb cut through the aisle wall is on the south side of the church; the ceiling of the vestibule is an amusing invention consisting of only the skeleton of a rib-vault. These flying ribs are precedents, on a small scale, for the daring displays of German Late Gothic vaults which also use curved ribs as found in the south aisle of Redcliffe.

After the amazing tomb-recesses of S. Augustine's and Redcliffe south aisle, the ogee-headed niche in the south aisle of S. Mark's seems very straightforward. The effigy of a merchant (c.1360) provides an illuminating parallel to the effigy of the previous century in S. James. The merchant sequence continues with the Edmond Blanket (c.1371) and his wife in S. Stephen's, the dress of the wife providing evidence of changes in fashion in the thirty years since the Berkeley lady in the Elder Lady Chapel. Around the tomb itself the figures of "weepers" fortunately survive, though below the floor-level of the present church. The original effect of the tomb is also slightly altered by the cutting back of the niche so that it could contain both figures; the detail of the florid Decorated work of the ogee arch and its cusping is a good deal restored. In the next niche, a much plainer affair, is the effigy of another prosperous Bristolian, perhaps Walter Tyddestille (1385). This is very similar to the effigy of Walter Frampton (1388) now set in the tomb-recess in the north wall of the chancel of S. John Baptist. Originally the tomb was free-standing, enclosed by rails for Walter Frampton, mayor in 1357

15. Besides the authorities cited in n.6 above, see J. Evans, *English Art* 1307-1461 (Oxford History of Art, vol. IV, 1949), for tombs and effigies of the period.

and "Parliament man" in 1362 and 1397 was founder of the present church of S. John Baptist.

PERPENDICULAR

S. John Baptist is the last surviving of those medieval churches which stood at the gates of the town; though small, it is a church of great character. The cumulative effect of a large number of small churches and chapels in Bristol must have been most exciting. For size is not in itself an indication of quality—witness the office-blocks which overshadow S. John's. The church stands upon a two-part vaulted crypt dedicated to Holy Cross; the aisleless nave has in either wall six tall four-light windows of straight-forward Perpendicular pattern. The wide hollows around the windows continue down the walls, separated by tall shafts from floor to ceiling at the bay divisions. The chancel is of two bays, narrower and lower than the nave, with three-light windows. Beyond this is the vestry, built later than the rest of the church on land purchased in 1394.[16]

Unfortunately Bristol has lost entirely its most characteristic group of late medieval parish churches: their naves had no clerestories, and the added aisles and chapels were each separately gabled, with the windows of various dimensions and the arcades all in quite simple Perp. S. Thomas, S. Nicholas and Christchurch were rebuilt, S. Ewen and S. Werburgh were destroyed, and the Temple, S. Peter's, S. Mary-le-Port and S. Augustine the Less were bombed. This group of churches was as characteristic of Bristol as the flint churches of Norwich with their long ranges of clerestories, their low transeptal chapels and their two-storied porches set within the aisle. The loss of so much of Bristol's fifteenth and sixteenth century church architecture is hard to bear, for it leaves in a vacuum the very abundant documentary evidence from this period. The nave and aisles of Ss. Philip and Jacob give some idea of the form, low and without clerestories; but here the arcade has been altered by the removal of alternate piers and the remodelling of the arches. The second half of the fifteenth century seems to have been an era of great artistic activity, exceeding even that of the early fourteenth century; there seems to have been a slackening in the decades before the Reformation. Evidence is strong enough for

16. H. C. M. Hirst, *History of the Church of S. John Baptist* (1921). The various early map-plans of Bristol (facsimiles on sale at the City Museum) given an idea of the earlier setting of the churches; for the present situation, see P. Brown's fine pamphlet (n.1 above).

one to be able to propose that the city parish church was an almost independent art-form, linked in many features to the parish churches of the surrounding country districts, but distinct as a group with an almost family relationship, in architectural features and social usage.[17]

A major feature of the interior was the great screen, such as survives at Long Ashton: this created a basic division between the western congregational part of the church and the altar areas. The site of these screens can be seen, marked by the stairs, at Westbury, S. Peter's, Ss. Philip and Jacob, S. Stephen's, The Temple, and S. John Baptist where there are two additional windows set high before the chancel arch to light the rood: at Westbury the eastern clerestory windows are wider than the rest, and there is also a window over the chancel arch. Descriptions and engravings show that St. Thomas had a lantern, like a one-bayed clerestory, for the same reason. The rood at Redcliffe was at the east of the crossing. There is documentary evidence of the carving colouring and lights of these screens and their roods. Other screens surrounded the many chapels and minor altars: at the Dissolution thirty five chantries are recorded in Bristol, though for the period 1376-98 the total was as high as sixty-nine.[18] The only medieval screen-work in tolerable condition is in the cathedral—the wooden parclose in the Newton Chapel, and parts of the stone screen from Whitefriars, dating from 1542, now built into the screen around the High Altar. Of all the masses of carved woodwork, only the entertaining misericords of c.1520 in S. Augustine's survive, and a tiny piece from the Chapel on Bristol Bridge (now in the Red Lodge). Nothing survives of the carpentry and carved work at All Saints for which Geoffrey Kerver was paid £13 6s. 8d. in 1463-4, nor of the seats in S. Ewen for which Stephen was paid £2 6s. 8d. in 1467-8 at the same time as John Hill, a mason from Wells and his men were working in the same church. High altars were backed by great reredoses: a full description of the one ordered in 1498 for S. James survives, to be made exactly like than in S. Stephen's by Richard Rydge of Staffordshire, together with a sedilia and parclose screens. The early sixteenth century reredos of S. Mark's survives, but all re-done; at the ends of the choir aisles in S. Augustine's are very much unrestored

17. Among easily accessible books with views and details of the lost churches are W. J. Robinson, *West Country Churches* (4 vols., 1914) and the valuable collections of the old Bristol photographs published by Reece Winstone.
18. E. I. Williams, *The Chantries of W. Canynges in S. Mary Redcliffe* (1950) summarises the evidence for Bristol.

remains. Coloured fragments at S. Cuthbert's, Wells, give us an idea of the effect of these characteristic late medieval display pieces. Churchwardens' accounts, inventories and wills record all the other colourful features of medieval worship—lights, votive ship-models, clocks, organs, statues, vestments. But little remains. Four Limoges XIIIc enamel candle sticks from S. Thomas (two on display in the Art Gallery), a pre-reformation paten at All Saints, a mazer from S. Michael's (lent to the Art Gallery), a cope-morse at St. Stephen's. St. Stephen's keeps, on behalf of S. Nicholas, a grand latten eagle lectern of c.1485 of a very popular East Anglian pattern, and in the cathedral is a marvellous candelabra of about 1450 from the Temple. Sadly little glass survives: the collected fragments at Redcliffe and similar collections in the north transept and cloisters of S. Augustine's and a few stray pieces indicate the quality of what has been lost. Besides the famous pair of Canynge tombs, late medieval fashions and tomb design are illustrated by the abbots of S. Augustine's, Bishop Carpenter at Westbury, and by the small group of monumental brasses.

But to continue with architecture. At All Saints, fifteenth century work survives in the three new bays of the nave and the broad aisles. The southern aisle was rebuilt some time after 1420, with three-light Perp. windows, rather small within the wall. The north aisle is presumably rather later, and is of higher quality. The windows are of four lights and so large that with the panelling below them the whole wall is unified into three bays related to the form of the arcade; the chancel arch maintains the same design. On the exterior the spandrels are similarly panelled, and the one Gothic window of the tower shows that structurally it too is in part at least of medieval date. The work may be dated perhaps by reference to the records of the Halleway chantry, of which the earliest is of 1449.

S. Stephen's was entirely rebuilt in about 1470 (and thoroughly restored in 1875-98). It is unique among Bristol churches in its design, with a five bayed clerestory uninterrupted by any chancel arch. The arcade is set high on pedestals; the piers have hollow mouldings in each angle, and angels with scrolls take the place of capitals; other angels act as corbels beneath the attractive flat roof. William Wyrcestre seems to have seen the stones of the fine vaulted south porch in the yard of the mason, Benet Crosse: all the names of the parts are recorded, and a drawing of the mouldings. Benet Crosse's will survives: he lived in a house be-

longing to John Shipward the elder, a prosperous merchant, and mayor of Bristol in 1484 and 1486, who is believed to have paid for the great east window of the church and for the tower.[19]

The way in which the church at Westbury developed around an earlier nucleus has already been noticed. The addition of a north chapel involved the rebuilding of the chancel wall as a two-bay arcade, in the eastern arch of which was placed the tomb and cadavre-effigy of the benefactor, Bishop Carpenter: this work follows the new Foundation of 1455. On the south side, the chapel known as Canynge's chantry, is three-bayed, involving the rebuilding of the apse of the chancel. Both chapels continue the line of the nave aisles, where the new, large Perp. windows replaced the earlier narrow lancets.

The Kemys aisle added to the north of the chancel at Ss. Philip and Jacob is of about the same period. The arcade cut through the wall has four-centred arches, their soffits decorated with panelling. The western pier is hollowed to include stairs for a stone pulpit (a Somerset fashion) while under the eastern arch is a tomb with the broken half of a knight in full plate. The open wagon roof has a beautiful line. The nave aisles would seem to be of the same date—witness the corbels in the south aisle and the remains of an original window in the north aisle.

Work at S. Augustine's is to be found in the vaulting of each transept and of the crossing beneath the new tower; this is splendid rich work of great vitality in general design and in the carving. Traditions of this work can be followed in the vault of S. Mary Redcliffe, including the tower vault. At S. Thomas's loose bosses survive from what must have been a most magnificent broad north aisle of c.1475-80: Barrett in his History of Bristol (1789) records the church at "next to Redcliffe the largest as well as most elegant" of the city.[20]

At S. Mark's the chancel was rebuilt by Bishop Salley (d.1516) whose tomb is on the north side—straight topped in contrast to the much more assertive ogee headed neighbouring tomb of Sir Maurice de Berkeley (d.1464). The chancel is calm, balanced work: quite drastically re-done though. Also of fifteenth century date is

19. W. R. S. Bathurst, *Bristol City Parish Church* (revised edition 1965)—on sale at the church, and very good.

20. For the whole history of S. Thomas's I was allowed to consult R. W. Keen, *The Story of a Bristol Church* (manuscript kept in vestry).

the huge west window to the nave, and the extension of the south aisle chapel eastwards as far as the transept-tower; the spaces between the windows are carved with niches for statuary, now unfortunately missing.

The way in which the two parts of this aisle and the two parts of the main chapel seem unified depends greatly on the fine flat ceiling, now dark in colour with gilded detailing. Last of all, and quite separate, the Poyntz Chapel of c.1520-36 was added in the angle between the chancel and the south transept. It is all stone-built, with niches for statuary in the walls, a fan-vaulted roof, and lovely Spanish tiles on the floor. Although the tomb is destroyed, the room remains extremely satisfying and provides a beautiful sixteenth century parallel to the outer porch at Redcliffe.[21]

BRISTOL TOWERS

Finally we come to the Bristol church towers, by far the most vivid survivals of the medieval city.[22] In a class of its own is the broad crossing tower of S. Augustine's of c.1465: it is panelled, and has a pronounced corner-turret. Doubtless the loveliest tower is that of the Temple. Each corner has angle-buttresses, with a stair turret next the south aisle; each of the lower storeys has a two-light opening. The top storey, which was built at an angle to reduce the tilt, begins with a band of triangles above which are tall pairs of two-light openings with Somerset tracery separated by an angled little buttress which echoes the forms of the gradually reduced corner buttresses. Perhaps due to tilt there is no parapet, only an Agnus Dei weather vane.

S. Werburgh (now in a suburb) has a panelled tower with a stair turret at the south-west. S. Stephen's is, like Temple tower, of two dates: above the lower panelled part is an airy Gloucester-type crown in which the corner turret above the stair is given additional prominence. Similar crowns, probably by the same designer can be seen at Dundry (dated 1482, built by the Merchant Venturers) and at Llandaff and Cardiff S. John's. S. Thomas' tower survived the rebuilding: it is ashlared, with a pinnacled turret at the south-west, away from the body of the church.

21. S. Mark's now holds excellent glass in many styles; full description in G. McN. Rushforth, 'The Painted Glass in the Lord Mayor's Chapel, Bristol', *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.* XLIX (1927) pp. 301-331, summarised in E. Ralph and H. Evans, *S. Mark's, The Lord Mayor's Chapel* (1961) on sale in the church.

22. F. J. Allen, *The Great Church Towers of England* (1932).

Then there is the group, including Westbury and Brislington, in which the feature of the prominent corner stair-turret is emphasised by the use of freestone for the corners and detailed work, while the four faces of the tower are of coloured stone. These towers have single windows in each face, and the usual refinements are two gargoyles below each parapet. Fortunate survivals are the effigy of Bishop Carpenter in a niche at Westbury and a Virgin and Child at Brislington. S. Michael had been buit by c.1480l, S. Mark is dated by an inscription on a slate to 1487. S. Mary-le-Port has fortunately been saved from destruction, but S. Augustine-the-Less has been pulled down.

S. Mary Redcliffe spire (recalling that at Salisbury) is now Victorian work, the medieval lead-covered spire of S. Nicholas has been replaced as have the tops of the towers of All Saints and Christchurch. S. Ewen has gone and the 200 foot spire of White Friars, as have the hundred foot spire of the chapel on Bristol Bridge and the 65 foot tower of S. Leonard.

In the nineteenth century the towers and spires punctuated a skyline of furnaces and tall chimneys; now most of them are overwhelmed by office blocks and S. Michael's challenged by a gross exhaust pipe. But the church towers remain, with their differently coloured walls of local stone and their jaunty little turrets the liveliest and most characteristic feature of the Bristol skyline.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Further reading for matters of local interest can most profitably begin with I. Gray and E. Ralph, *Guide to the Parish Records of the City of Bristol and the County of Gloucester* (1963). G. H. Cook, *The English Medieval Parish Church* (1961), is a useful recent survey; L. F. Salzman, *Building in England down to* 1540: *A Documentary History* (1967) is outstanding. Comparable groups of churches at Southampton, Norwich, Ipswich, Leicester, etc., may be studied with the help of Prof. Pevsner's Building of England series. Studies of particular interest include J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (1948) and *The City of York* (Victoria County History 1961). Better than reading any of the books is visiting the churches for oneself.