FACT SHEET 339

So, what do we know about the "Chapels and Chantries" in Southwell Minster

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Chapels fairly straightforward. They are still – mostly – here today and we talk about them frequently to visitors: their history, their architectural features, their stained glass.

But chantries? Have any of us ever been approached by a visitor saying *"talk to me about your chantries"?* Before researching this talk, the only thing I had read about chantries was on pages **24-25 of the "Southwell Minster History and Guide".** And even that is incorrect! It talks of 6 chantries – when we know there were 13 recorded in the Chantry Commissioners' Certificates of 1545 and 1547.

But I don't say that by way of criticism, rather to acknowledge that records have been destroyed or are often sketchy, copyists frequently made errors in recording dates or names and, down the centuries, historians and experts have often disagreed.

Take William Dickinson in his "History and Antiquities of the Town of Southwell" first published in 1787. In it, he lamented that "scanty records, obscure accounts, contradictory traditions and absurd opinions generally compose the mass of materials from which an author is to **_fabricate_** and digest a history" before going on to develop his "general argument (that) a very considerable part of (Southwell Minster) is of Saxon origin". Not a widely-held view today!

So some, perhaps much, that I – in Dickinson's word – seek to **'fabricate'** this morning is likely to be wrong or, at least, open to challenge depending on which source one chooses.

A primary source for me has been the two excellent and detailed articles by A. Hamilton Thompson published in 1911 in the Transactions of the Thoroton Society. Whilst now over 100 years old, they are both still considered authoritative by most recent writers.

I have relied heavily for general information on the rise and fall of chantries in England on three books **"Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels" by G H Cook in 1947, "The Medieval Chantry in England",** an excellent series of essays edited by **Luxford and McNeill published in 2011** and **"Chantry Chapels" by Roffey, published in 2008**, as well as the *Liber Albus*, the White Book of Southwell, especially the 2018 copy edited by Michael Jones and others.

But I will refer to other sources during this talk and can provide more details of these to anyone who is interested afterwards.

Over the first half of this session, I will talk briefly about the origin and types of chapels. I will then talk in considerably more detail about the origin, growth, importance and suppression of chantries, not one of which has existed in this country for over 450 years. Then we will walk around the Minster, stopping in turn at each chapel (or altar) where I will

talk about the chantries associated with them – if any – and the individuals who founded them. I will not, however, be talking about their current fixtures or their stained glass, save for a couple of exceptions.

And we will then end up back here when I will talk about the chapel or chapels that are no more.

Please ask questions throughout. I probably won't be able to answer them but if, I can't, I'll try to find the answer and circulate it later. I hope that, by the end, you will have a better knowledge of the Chapels and, especially, the Chantries of Southwell Minster and that, like me, you will be fascinated and will want to go on to learn more. And do, please, challenge or disagree with anything I say. That's how we can all learn more about this amazing building and its history.

So, Chapels.

The word '**chapel', like 'chaplain'**, is derived from the Latin and, more specifically, from the word for the tent or shrine in which the kings of France preserved **the cape of St Martin of Tours**. By tradition and whilst still a soldier, Martin had torn his cloak in two so that he could share it with a beggar in need of warmth. The other half, he wore over his shoulder like a cape – *CAPPA* in Latin. The beggar, so it was said, was Christ in disguise and Martin experienced a religious conversion, renouncing his military life and becoming a monk, then an abbot and, finally, the **3rd Bishop of Tours in the C4th AD.**

His cape came into the possession of the **Frankish kings** who revered it as a relic that would bring them good fortune in battle. The **tent** in which the cape was kept was called a *CAPPELLA* and the **priests** who said daily mass in the tent were called the *CAPPELLANI*. And it is from these words, via Old French, that we get the words *CHAPEL* and *CHAPLAIN*.

By extension, any sanctuary housing a relic was called a chapel and, by further extension, all places of usually but not always Christian worship that were not mother churches also came to be known as chapels. They were relatively small and might be part of a building or complex that had another main purpose – such as in a castle or large house or palace. Or they might be small, stand-alone places of worship built as satellite sites by a mother church or monastery; these were often called a *CHAPEL OF EASE*.

However, throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, **veneration of the Virgin Mary** became widespread and, during the C13th most major churches and cathedrals created a dedicated *LADY CHAPEL* and many **remodelled their eastern ends additionally to create a number of extra-devotional chapels**. In France, where the eastern end was commonly rounded, many of these additional chapels took the form of a semi-circular range of **radiating polygonal chapels** – known as a *'CHEVET'*. In England, this is reflected in the churches of Westminster and Canterbury. However, most English cathedrals and large churches already had or chose to rebuild their quires with a flat eastern wall and this gave rise to quire transept chapels such as those at Wells, Lincoln or here, at Southwell following the rebuilding of our quire after 1234.

In the context of Southwell Minster, our chapels are small places, each with its own altar. Mary Skinner, in her excellent Fact Sheet (no 73) talks of "The Five Chapels" but, without seeking to disagree with her, I am going to suggest that, by the time of the Reformation, there were at least eight chapels – and several more altars to boot.

Southwell Minster, of course, was not just a sub- or pro-cathedral within the medieval diocese of York, but also the parish church for the town of Southwell. Within the town itself there are records of five stand-alone chapels– but not necessarily certainty about their location. According to Dickinson, one of these stood in Easthorpe, in a place that early in the C16th became known as Palmers Yard. A second stood about half a mile away from this in a large enclosure called 'Easthorpe pasture' (Crew Lane?). A third was in the hamlet of Normanton and a fourth, dedicated to St Catharine was near the spring on what is known as Bath Lane in Westhorpe. The fifth appears to have been near where the modern King St runs into the Burgage.

In addition, and within the then-much-larger parish of Southwell, there were also three CHAPELS OF EASE for those who could not reach the Minster itself conveniently. They were at St Denis Morton, established in the early C12th; Halam dating from the mid-C12th and Halloughton, from the C13th.

I am not, though, going to talk further about the five town chapels or the three chapels of ease but, as we walk round the Minster, only about those chapels that exist or existed within this building.

But, let me now turn to *CHANTRIES*.

The word Chantry itself derives from the Old French *chanter* and from the Latin *cantare* (to sing). But if that is its etymology, what did the word come to mean? Well, a chantry was essentially an endowment for the performance of a mass or masses for the benefit of the souls of specified persons. It might be established in perpetuity or only for a limited time and it might imply anything from a single priest saying masses at an existing altar to a purpose-built chapel sustained by a corporate body of priests with their own residential accommodation.

The Christian practice of prayer and offering mass for the repose of the soul of a deceased person is recorded as early as the 8th century and the concept of an intermediate state or place where the soul was held between death and judgement – what became known as *PURGATORY* – gained wide currency through the writings of Pope Gregory the Great in the C6th. This intermediate state was for those whose sins were not such as to condemn them straight to hell or whose condition was not so flawless that they would be admitted straight to heaven.

Gregory's writings were widely read in the early Middle Ages, not least in the reformed Benedictine monasteries of *Charlemagne's* C9th Europe and especially at the great *Abbey of Cluny* where, in 1030, *Abbot Odilo* introduced the first known feast commemorating the dead, the *Feast of All Souls,* on 2nd November, the day after the feast of All Saints.

So, from a purely religious point of view, three key elements were now in place that would encourage and enable the subsequent emergence and growth of chantries:

i) the concept of purgatory, even if understanding of it remained vague;

ii) a belief in the efficacy of intercessory masses;

iii) monasteries willing to pray for the souls of the dead

At Cluny, when a monk within the community died, **six brothers**, one after the other and without interruption, said five masses each for the first thirty days after death. ***6x5x30=900 masses in total.*** In addition, an act of charity was performed, so that a pauper should be fed for thirty days and, thereafter a mass would be celebrated on the anniversary of the monk's death.

At monasteries, lay benefactors were also accorded intercessory rites, according to their rank. From the first quarter of the C12th, one begins to find instances in which laymen, in effect, buy the services of an individual monk. For those who had the necessary means, however, the best way of ensuring their soul would be in good hands was to **found a monastery**. Thus, **William the Conqueror** founded a monastery at **Caen** in Normandy **"for the salvation of my soul and the souls of my wife, my children and my parents".** Indeed, **Edwin Smith in his book 'English Parish Churches'** estimates that, in the century after the Norman Conquest, i.e. **by 1150, there were between 450 and 500** monasteries in England.

Despite such a level of growth, if 900 masses could be said for the soul of a single monk, it doesn't take much imagination to realise that monasteries would have been finding it steadily more difficult to cope with the increasing demand for perpetual intercessory masses, not just for their own departed brethren but from the growing number of a wealthy laity.

In every abbey and monastery, the names of all deceased abbots, monks and *confratres* (associate lay members of a monastery who received a share of the prayers without corresponding responsibilities such as living a rigorous life or abiding by restrictive vows) were inscribed in the *Liber Vitae*, or 'Book of Life', which lay on the high altar as a symbol of their participation in the **opus dei**.

Colvin records that, begun in the C9th, the *Liber Vitae* at Durham contained the names of some **3,150 men and women**. That though is a mere trifle**. At Cluny,** it is estimated that there were some **45,000 names** in its lost *Liber Vitae*. This was clearly unsustainable.

But help was at hand.

In the ten generations between the Conquest and the end of the C13th, the population of Europe increased dramatically. Indeed, in England it **trebled from c2million to c6million** and, whilst initially this must have further increased the pressure on monasteries, the century between 1150 and 1250 saw an enormous amount of church-building as villages and settlements grew and sought their own place of worship. Indeed, **WG Hoskins, in his seminal book 'The Making of the English Landscape',** pointed out that it is in the one

hundred years to 1250 that the division of England into **ecclesiastic parishes** was largely completed.

Church building was prodigious. Indeed, **Cook,** in his book, asserts that, from the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon period until the middle of the C13th, the **Church may well have absorbed one-half of the economic resources and manpower of England,** not only in buildings – with all their accompaniments of stone and wood carving, carpentry, painting, glazing, tile-making, plasterwork, thatching and leadwork – but also in education (for the church ran the only schools), in the training of administrators and in the encouragement of more efficient agricultural techniques.

With the growth in the number of parish churches, each with its own priest, many more places where intercessory masses could be said became available and we see the emergence of the earliest **single altar chantry**. These, where an intercessory mass is celebrated on a daily basis at a specified altar by a priest dedicated to the task, requires little more than the identification of an altar and a means of ensuring that the priest discharges his duty. Given that most people hoped to be buried in their local churchyard, it is unsurprising that so many single altar chantries were founded in the adjoining church because of the greater spiritual efficacy that masses being said close by were perceived to have.

Colvin, sometime Professor of Medieval History at Oxford, is clear that these perpetual chantries arose from the inability of monasteries to meet a growing demand for intercessory masses from the laity. He identifies **Ettington in Warwickshire** as the first single altar parish chantry where, before his death in 1220, Henry the son of Sewallis founded a chantry for the benefit of his soul and the souls of his wife and children at the altar of St Nicholas with the provision that, as each chaplain died, another was to be appointed by him or his heirs.

Crouch, more recently, has argued that the chapel-chantry evolved out of a more complex cross-fertilisation of ideas than Colvin allowed and he proposed **Snettisham** in Norfolk where Roger Rustain founded a chantry at the altar of St James, whose priest was to be paid out of an endowment that he had lodged with the prior of Wymondham sometime between 1193 and 1221 as the first.

Thousands of chantries were set up across Europe in the C13th, C14th and C15th, not only by kings and queens and other great persons, both lay and ecclesiastic, but also by the rural gentry, wealthy townsfolk and, in time, urban guilds which enabled the less well-off to join fraternities, what I might describe as a "co-operative chantry" that was more easily afforded as it enabled the cost to be shared by a growing middle class. In England, chantry foundations reached a peak in the first half of the C14th. Between 1300 and 1349 (the start of the Black Death) 934 endowments of land or income were made for the establishment of permanent chantries – those for which a separate chapel might need to be built or for which accommodation at a specific altar was agreed.

The transfer of wealth from individuals to the church and other religious institutions was huge. As **Colvin** observed, **"today, it is the physical welfare of the old and sick that**

threatens to place a disproportionate burden on the active members of society; in the Middle Ages, it was the spiritual welfare of the dead to whose uncertain salvation a substantial part of the nation's economy was committed". In other words, where our focus today is on physical healing and our National Health Service, then it was on intercessory masses for the soul of the departed and the purging of sins.

Chantry endowments proliferated throughout the C13th and beyond. In effect, the benefactor had secured rights over an altar and a priest. As the duties of the parish priest were far wider and much weightier than repetitively reciting a mass, very quickly chantries led to the establishment of a new clerical position, that of *chantry priest*, less well educated or paid, physically integrated into a church, but institutionally independent or semi-independent. He might, though, be required to assist the parish priest in the normal offices of the church or teach in a free school.

The **nature of the chantry necessarily depended on the value** of the endowment. At its most basic, it could be an *obit*, a sung mass on the anniversary of the death for a few years or in perpetuity with, in most cases, the requirement to distribute alms to the poor out of the endowment.

Thereafter, the sky was the limit with one or more chantry priests saying or singing perpetual masses masses and with the endowment establishing an almshouse or hospital, as it was then termed, where a number of poor, blind or disabled pensioners or 'bedesmen' were housed and who were required to wear distinctive apparel and to attend church daily to pray for the soul of their benefactor. Think St Leonard's Almshouses in Newark or Chelsea Hospital and its Chelsea Pensioners.

Many chantry foundations led to the building of a dedicated chapel, added to or built within a church. Sadly, the subsequent Suppression of Chantries that we will discuss shortly meant that these no longer fulfilled their original purpose. In consequence many of these dedicated chapels have been destroyed or re-ordered over time. **Two of the most beautiful** to survive are on our doorstep: in **St Mary Magdalene in Newark**. The magnificent early C16th Meering and Markham Chantries are what has become known as **'stonecage chapels.'** As defined by Cook, these are miniature structures, usually rectangular in form erected between two pillars of a quire or nave and consisting of an ornate enclosure of in stone screens rising to a height of 9ft or more. Quite literally, they 'caged off' areas of the church and contained endowed altars.

The **Meering chantry** was founded on the north side of the chancel in 1500 and the **Markham chantry** on the south side in 1505. If you haven't seen them, do go. Please. They are simply stunning. As an aside, I will be talking about **the thirteen known chantries** here at the Minster. **Brenda Pask's** excellent history of St Mary Magdalene records no less than **twenty-one chantries**, demonstrating the enormous wealth and importance of Newark in the C14th and C15th.

Anyway, where parish churches went, so the great Mother Churches and Cathedrals quickly followed and, given the partial rebuilding of so many of these in the C13th, this has raised

the critical question for architectural historians as to whether chantry endowments were stimulating new chapel construction.

Take Southwell. Of the thirteen chantries recorded in our *Liber Albus*, no less than seven served chantries endowed before c1268. This compares to just one chantry at Lincoln cathedral by 1290. Given that our Quire was rebuilt c1240, the question that is most difficult to answer is whether the rash of new chantry foundations here after 1240 was simply **a response to the availability of more space or whether it reflected a pent-up demand** that itself played a role in the Quire's reconstruction. In other words, which came first, the **chicken or the egg**.

McNeill considers this question in some detail and concludes that, in probability, **two of our current chapels qualify as a rare example of a mid-C13th reconstruction expressly to house new chantries.** Which these are, we will find out shortly.

I should mention **three other C13th developments** that, in different ways, must have impacted upon the growth of chantry endowments.

In 1215, the Fourth Luteran Council had imposed a duty on every Christian to undertake **an annual confession** and, **in 1274**, the Council of Lyons formally **ratified the existence of a purgatory** as a place 'that the souls by the purifying compensation, are purged after death.' Think about it. As Colvin observes, after centuries of vagueness and uncertainty, every man now knew where he stood in relation to the afterlife: his sins could be atoned for by the routine of prayer offered by others on his behalf and by the practice of good works set in motion by his Will.

The formalisation of Purgatory now offered a reasonable hope of salvation to all. However, at every Confession, a man saw his purgatorial indebtedness mounting and the best remedy (if he could afford it) was to endow a priest to reduce it by saying masses after his death. The prayers of friends and relations could help - but only a priest could say mass. And masses were worth more than mere prayers!

Again, as Colvin observes, men and women do not give away their property during their lifetime or deprive their heirs of it without good reason. But for the medieval Christian, the intermediate state of Purgatory meant the prospect of Heaven was clouded by such apprehension that they did so readily.

And no wonder. Just **listen to this early C14th description of purgatory quoted by Roffey**: the sinful were **"boiled in fire and brimstone without end. Venomous worms …. shall gnaw all the members unceasingly and the worms of conscience shall gnaw the soul…. Now ye shall have everlasting bitterness….. This fire that tormenteth you shall never be quenched and they that tormenteth you shall never be weary neither die".**

 I have no doubt that the medieval church used descriptions such as this to play on the apprehension of the medieval Christian to encourage evermore gifts, endowments and chantry foundations.

And that brings me to **the third of the C13th developments** that is relevant. The formal recognition by the church of a purgatorial state in 1274 may have further increased the concern of the Crown about the ever-growing wealth and power of the Church. Certainly, just five years later – in 1279 – during the reign of Edward l, the first *Statute of Mortmain* was enacted, aimed at preserving the kingdom's revenues by preventing land or the income from it passing into the ownership of the Church. Possession of property by a corporation, such as the Church, was known as *Mortmain* -literally **mort** = dead and *main* = hand. Dead hand.

In medieval England, feudal estates generated taxes for the King principally on the grant or inheritance of the estate. If an estate became owned by a religious corporation which could never die, never attain the age of majority and never be attainted for treason, these taxes never became payable. It was akin to the estates being owned by the dead, hence the term.

The Statute of 1279 and a subsequent one in 1290 provided that no estate could be granted to a corporation such as the Chuyrch without royal consent. However, the statutes proved largely ineffective as ways were soon developed to side-step their provisions. This was largely through development of the *Law of Trusts* and the separation of legal ownership of land from the right of occupation or use. As a result, between **the late C13th and 1547, over 2,000 chantry foundations were authorised.** So, the problem – as perceived by the Crown – remained and the wealth of the religious establishment continued to grow until Henry Vlll dissolved, first, the monasteries and, subsequently, other religious institutions.

The causes of the English Reformation and the events that led to the **Chanties Acts of 1545 and 1547** are outside the scope of this talk, otherwise we could be here all afternoon – and perhaps tomorrow as well. Suffice to say that, following a **ruinous war with France** and what was called the *rough wooing* of Scotland, England was near bankrupt in 1544.

Once again, Henry Vlll saw the wealth of the church as a solution to his financial problems, as he had when he disbanded the monasteries, expropriated their income and sold off their assets. This had been made possible by the **Act of Supremacy, passed in 1534 which** had made Henry 'Supreme Head of the Church in England' and by the subsequent **Suppression Acts of 1535 and 1539**.

Now, less than twenty years later he turned his attention to the other religious institutions. The **1545 Chantries Act** defined these as representing **misapplied funds and misappropriated lands**. At this stage, only perpetual foundations were involved. **Lindley, in his essay for the book edited by Luxford**, described Henry's policy as **"tyrannical, opportunistic and inconsistent whose sole aim was financial".** No timetable was set, no arrangements were made for pensions or accommodation for those who lost their living, nor was the position of the remaining chantries and colleges spelled out.

This was a case of **'do as I say, not as I do'** because Henry had made elaborate arrangements for a richly-endowed and magnificent perpetual chantry to be founded at **his tomb in St Georges Chapel**, Windsor. It required that, upon his death, a mass for the dead should be said at the nearest suitable place and 1,000 marks distributed as alms to the poor;

that he be buried in a magnificent vault midway between the stalls and the high altar; and that an altar at the chapel should be endowed with lands sufficient to sustain two priests in perpetuity to say daily masses for his soul **'while the world shall endure'**. Was there ever a greater hypocrisy?

Henry's will was stamped and sealed on 27th January 1547. He died the very next day and was **succeeded by Edward VI**, just nine years old. England was **governed through a Regency Council** led by Edward's uncle, **Edward Seymour, 1st Duke of Somerset**. The financial needs of the country were no less but now there was a zeal for religious reform that Henry himself had lacked. The Act of 1545 had stated that the land and other assets that were to be seized would belong to the King for as long as he should live. **With Henry dead, a new Act was needed** and a **second Chantries Act was passed in 1547**. In this, Protector Somerset had decided to **liquidate all intercessory institutions**, not just those that were perpetual.

The Act aroused considerable opposition within the House of Lords but, on **Christmas Eve 1547**, it was passed. It received Royal Assent the same day and on **Easter Day 1548** the institutions and their endowments became the property of the Crown: all their houses, lands and income devoted to the provision of a priest to say masses in perpetuity or for a number of years, all stipends and salaries, all lands and rents which had supported anniversaries, obits and candles, all religious fraternities, brotherhoods and guilds (excepting the craft guilds) and all the lands, goods and plate of any of these institutions. Chantry priests were pensioned off and, in total, **2347 chantries and guild chapels were abolished**. The **suppression was total, immediate and unconditional**.

No chantry has existed in this country in the 475 years since.

Unlike on the continent, there was no clamour amongst the general population in England for religious reform. Yet, at a stroke, **a central tenet of the laity's belief system for nearly 400 years was swept away**. It must have been very disquieting and disorientating. The Catholic doctrines surrounding purgatory and the remission of sins through the sacrament of mass and persistent prayer had given the Church enormous power. Such beliefs, of course, were completely at odds with the Protestant teachings that were in the ascendency. With purgatory renounced and prohibited as being no more than a vain and baseless superstition, there was no need for intercessory masses any more. The dead were left to find their own way to heaven. The living were left even more uncertain about the journey on which they would have to embark one day. The Epistle and Gospel were now to be read in English and English was introduced into the Latin mass so, for the first time, the laity were able to understand what the priest was saying on their behalf.

In 1549 – just one year later – Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer introduced the standardised versions of the Lord's Prayer and Creed, still being said today. In the same year, priests were allowed to marry for the first time and, within churches, stained glass windows were destroyed, wall paintings were white-washed over, sculptures and images destroyed. The traditional symbolism and structures of the Church had been irredeemably changed and weakened

The social history and implications of the Suppression of the chantries is a huge topic in its own right and outside the scope of this talk. However, one of the most significant effects was on the provision of education. The duties of chantry priests were limited and they had the time and financial need to serve the community in other ways. Many taught the urban poor and rural residents and after both chantries and their priests were swept away, so was this resource.

Without doubt, many people had expected things to revert to their traditional ways in due course – and their hopes would have been raised when, **within just six years Edward Vl died and his Catholic half-sister Mary became Queen**. She sought to reverse many of the changes effected by her father and half-brother. But her **reign lasted barely five years until her death in 1558** and it was during the subsequent **45-year reign of her protestant half-sister Elizabeth** that the English Reformation became complete and irreversible.

A preamble to the 1547 Act stated that the seized assets were to be set aside for the relief of the poor. However, large sums went into the royal coffers and, in an age of patronage, there was a considerable number of people who were able to benefit or whose support the Crown needed to buy. After Somerset's fall**, sales of lands and assets** together with grants to private individuals became much more frequent, widening the group of those who had profited from the earlier dissolution of the monasteries. Livett asserts that, in England, ownership of c25% of all land and the income from it passed from the Church into the hands of nobles and the gentry as a result. In Southwell, much of the college's property was handed to **William Neville, steward to the Earl of Warwick** who had become Protector after Somerset had been deposed.

Both the 1545 and 1547 had required **Commissioners** to survey and record details of each institution whose assets were to be seized. They went about their work with great speed and thoroughness and, whilst there are inevitable differences and transcribing errors between the two sets of returns, Hamilton Thompson observed that the level of detail about the constitution and contemporary state of the great collegiate church here at Southwell was without parallel in his opinion.

It is these Chantry Certificates from which we get much of our current knowledge and on which much of the rest of my information on chantries is based.

So let's get going.

Had we entered this building through the north porch in the first years of the C13th, the first thing we would have noticed would have been a **screen**, either of stone or more probably of wood, across the western arch of the tower. Above the screen there would probably have been a **rood-beam, possibly supporting a large cross or crucifix** as was common in medieval churches.

On the western face of this screen, facing us, was the **parochial altar dedicated to St Vincent, as it happens the patron saint of vintners, who was martyred in 304AD.** According to Hamilton Thompson, the nave aisles would also have been screened off, with plain doors

through which priests, having entered by their south door, would come to say masses at the various other altars that existed in the nave.

Mary Trebeck, in an article on Sout hwell Minster in 1900, talks about the ancient mural painting of the Annunciation on "**Pike's Pillar".** She believed it was probably as old as the pillar itself. Her accompanying drawing suggests that it was much more recognisable than it is today and she was in no doubt that this was the site of an altar to the Virgin Mary; perhaps **this was the altar to 'Our Lady of Grace'**, referred to in contemporary wills. But medieval churches had many altars and there would have been others throughout the nave.

So, in those early years of the C13th, the nave functioned as the parish church of Southwell; the crossing and transepts formed the vestibule of the quire and the squat Norman eastern arm was, in Hamilton Thompsons words, "a mere ritual quire".

But let us now venture through one of those plain doors into the transept.

On the eastern side of both the north and south transept was a short and broad apsidal chapel. The Norman quire extended just some 60 ft terminating in a rectangular eastern wall with north and south aisles some 40 ft in length terminating in apsidal chapels and with the triforium and clerestory design corresponding to that in the nave. I can find no more detailed information on these Norman chapels or on their dedications.

Now, between 1100 and 1200, no less than 5 new prebends were founded in this collegiate church, taking the total number of prebendaries from 9 to 14 and this, together with the associated increase in vicars choral etc. meant that, within less than a hundred years, our Norman quire was not, in modern parlance, 'fit for purpose'. Indeed, **Dimmock** suggests that by 1200 the quire may have expanded into the crossing and even into the eastern parts of the nave itself, such were the growing needs of the then collegiate church.

In 1234, **Archbishop Walter de Gray** granted indulgences to encourage the rebuilding of the quire and that this was completed by 1240. Similar indulgences have been dated between **1232 and 1234 for the building of new quires at Ripon and Beverley** so that all three collegiate churches were building new quires at the same time. In each case, the first object of this was to provide more room for additional altars and a special chapel for the services of the quire.

Let's, therefore, now go through into our newly completed quire and look at the chapels within it and the opportunities they gave for the endowment of chantries.

Even more so than at its sister church in Beverley, what strikes me is **the perfect symmetry of the newly-created quire transept,** with a transept and an aisle chapel on either side of this magnificent chapel, with its rectangular eastern end. I say chapel because, **unlike Ewan Christian,** I am firmly of the view that the **medieval ritual high altar** would have been there, in the fifth bay from the west, **with a screen at the back**, leaving the sixth bay clear as **an ambulatory for processions**. These would have been used for the procession each Sunday before high mass but especially for the great Whitsuntide procession when free circulation would have been needed for the vast crowd that came from throughout Nottinghamshire. Today's chancel would have been a separate eastern chapel, probably screened off from the

ambulatory. However, **whether this was a Lady Chapel** is a debate that we will come back to shortly.

Christian did, perhaps, let slip the **real reason** for his decision not to reintroduce a quire altar and an ambulatory in the letter he **wrote to Bishop Ridding in 1886** lamenting the Minster's choice as the cathedral for the new diocese of Nottingham. As **Harold Brooke commented in 'Closed for Business',** Christian wanted the new Cathedral "to be taken to the people, to be in the heart of the centres of industry and population". He had wanted it to be St Mary's, Nottingham not at Southwell Minster which he said would "only be a goal of a holiday excursion" – and hence the aim of his restorations was to provide an impressive parish church, nothing more.

Our newly built **C13th century quire had five chapels and six altars.** Let us now go to the first of these chapels, that of **St Thomas in the north quire transept**. Our all-embracing Stewards **Fact Sheet no 2 describes this on the south wall as 'blind arcading',** as we have in the Slype. But in her Fact Sheet no 73, Mary Skinner describes it as a **'five seat sedilia'**, as does the Minster's comprehensive account in the 2011 Church History Project as well as the 1961 Historic England's Grade 1 official listing description. So, who am I to disagree!

This chapel has an Aumbry in the north wall for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament or the storage of sacred vessels and oils; and there is a double piscina here in the east wall, one for washing the priest's hands and one for washing the sacred vessels. There was a tomb recess in the north wall but this was blocked up by Christian.

I am suggesting that this chapel contained the altar of **St Thomas the Martyr** and was the site of the first three chantries founded between **1240 and 1245 by Robert de Lexington.** However, Leach and others disagree and place the altar to St Thomas the Martyr not here in the Minster but in the Chapel at the top of the Burgage I referred to earlier. Interestingly, however, Thoroton records that "the third altar was *likewise* at the altar of St Thomas the Martyr *in the new work".* And in 1240, this would certainly have been the new work.

For our purposes, I will presume that all three were founded at this altar and were to be served by two priests, two deacons and two sub-deacons.

For Lexington read Laxton for that was where Robert was born in 1190. He was appointed to the prebend of North Muskham in 2014, at just 24 years old and succeeded to the barony of his father sometime thereafter. **His brother, Henry** succeeded Robert as Prebend of North Muskham and went on to become Bishop of Lincoln whilst **a third brother, Stephen,** was granted the Prebend of Oxton in 2015, going on to became Abbot of Clairvaux in Northern France and, as such, head of the Cistercian Order throughout Europe. Think Rufford, Fountains and Rievaulx Abbeys in this country.

However, like his father, **Robert was primarily a judge** and, by 1230, he was sitting at Westminster as a senior member of the King's Bench. In 1240 – the year he founded his chantries – King Henry lll sent judges across the whole kingdom in the hope of raising money through fines and the like. Robert was appointed **Chief of the Justices for the North of England** for which work he gained a high reputation and great personal wealth. Perhaps

tellingly, the chantry citation, after reciting the souls of himself and the other individuals for whom masses were to be said, concludes **"and also for all the living ….. of whom (I have) ever received any thing either willingly or against their wills".**

In later life, Robert was seized with paralysis and retired from office, spending the rest of his life in prayer and almsgiving before his death in May 1250.

This chapel **would have had a screen or parclose** of wood – as would all the quire side chapels. This was because, as **Nicholas Orme explains in his book "The History of England's Cathedrals"**, **transubstantiation** was the belief that the consecrated bread and wine of the mass becomes the physical body and blood of Christ; and that meant that chapels and altars had to be screened from public view to provide a holy space for Christ to appear. As such, there would have been railings or windows and a lockable door in this screen so that the priest saying mass was secluded but onlookers were able to watch.

Moving on, we come to the **north aisle chapel.** Again, there is an aumbry in the north wall and a double piscina in the east wall. However, it is the only one of the four quire side chapels not to have a sedilia. All the windows are by Kempe. It is worth noting the **dedication on the window behind the altar** showing the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It reads: In memory of Thomas Henry Shepherd last Canon of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Southwell who died 1873 aged 94. Shepherd had held the Beckingham Prebend since 1830 and with his passing, what Hamilton Thompson had called "the greatest medieval collegiate foundation in England" came to its end.

Since 1984, this has been known as the Airman's Chapel. However, when built, it was the **chapel of St Peter** and it was the site of another chantry foundation: by **Richard de Sutton** around 1260. Richard's mother, Alicia, was the sister of Robert de Lexington and her marriage to Roland de Sutton united two of the most important Anglo-Norman families of the time. Indeed, when a descendent, Robert Sutton, who built the first Kelham Hall, was granted a peerage by Charles 1st in 1645, he took the title Baron Lexington.

Richard Sutton held the Prebend of North Muskham in succession to his uncle, Henry of Lexington from 1242 until 1268. I have already mentioned that this Henry went on to become Bishop of Lincoln and Richard de Sutton's brother, Oliver Sutton, also became Bishop of Lincoln from 1280 until his death in 1299.

We now come to the eastern chapel, today's chancel. The **five seat sedilia dates from about 1340** and was restored by the **Bernasconi brothers in** the early C19th. By general agreement, this – together with its adjoining piscina – is **not in its original location**, as evidenced by the fact that they obscure the lower part of the window behind. **Indeed, Kilpack, in 1839,** writes that the position was previously **occupied by an oak screen** that "the singing boys used to amuse themselves by climbing …. until a fatal accident happened to one of their number".

Hamilton Thompson, whilst acknowledging that it had been fitted in very cleverly into its present place, was in no doubt that it stood originally in the second bay of the south side of the quire, upon the south side of the medieval high altar; and that it is likely that it formed

part of a coherent design which included the stone screen behind the altar to which I referred earlier and a screen on the north side in which there was a tomb or, perhaps, Easter Sepulchre. He dated the current arrangement to the reordering that took place after the fire in 1711.

So, if the current chancel wasn't the location of the medieval high altar, **was it a Lady Chapel**?

Nicholas Orme observes that the classic Lady Chapel emerged in the C13th – when this quire was rebuilt; that nearly all cathedrals had one down to the Reformation; and that it usually lay at the east end of the church beyond the high altar. However, it has often been said, as the Minster is dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, that there was no need for a separate Lady Chapel. **But is this right?**

Salisbury Cathedral, the pinnacle of Early English Gothic, is also dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Its foundation stone was laid on the 28th April 1220 and construction of its eastern end was sufficiently advanced for Bishop Poore to dedicate the altars in the high-ceilinged central eastern chapel and in the two quire aisle chapels just five years later, on 30th September 1225. This was barely nine years before reconstruction of our quire started and, in layout, the probable medieval arrangement at Southwell was almost identical to that which we know existed at Salisbury.

In the Middle Ages, it was at this eastern chapel at Salisbury – with its altar to the Holy Trinity and All Saints but usually referred to as the Lady Chapel - that the Blessed Virgin Mary, to whom the Cathedral was dedicated was commemorated with a Lady Mass sung daily in her honour. **So, if at Salisbury, why not at Southwell?**

Irrespective, this eastern chapel would have been screened from the ambulatory and could have been the location of our next chantry. This was **"founded at the altar of the BVM" by William de Gunthorpe in 1395** for "the maintenance of a chaplain to celebrate the *mass of our Lady* every day in the *chapel of St Mary",* although this second reference does go on to say that the altar was 'on the north side of the church'. However, we know those chapels were dedicated to St Thomas and St Peter so I don't see how that could be right.

William de Gunthorpe had been in the service of King Edward lll. He was Keeper of the Wardrobe and then a secondary baron of the Exchequer from 1373-87. As a modestly successful civil servant, he was naturally rewarded by the Crown with various ecclesiastical livings, one of which was as the prebendary of Norwell Palishall from c1381 until 1400. William de Gunthorpe augmented an earlier chantry of St Mary, of unknown foundation, that had fallen into decay, perhaps as a consequence of the Black Death.

There was another chantry dedicated to St Mary Magdalene and founded by **Robert de Oxton** in 1408. It is not recorded in the White Book but is referred to in the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535. However, other than that, we know know nothing about it. Might it also have been in this chapel?

It is also worth noting that *The White Book*, as recorded by Dickinson, makes numerous references to earlier chantries being augmented without naming them and to chantries that do not appear in the Chantry Commissioners' Certificates following the 1545 and 1547 Acts.

Indeed, The White Book does record two of these: the first a chantry founded before 1346 by **Robert Woodhouse**, endowed with about one hundred acres of land in Norwell and Willoughby (on-the-Wolds?) which appears to have been merged with the William de Gunthorpe chantry in 1395; and **a second, after 1422 at the altar of St Stephen** (which, as we shall see, was in the current Pilgrim chapel) **by Thomas of Averham** endowed with lands in Farthingate and further augmented by others in 1444.

However, as we move on, there is no record of any chantries associated with our next two chapels.

The south transept chapel has been known as The Blessed Walter Hilton Chapel, the Southwell Saints Chapel and the Boys' Chapel and is, of course known today as The Chapel of Christ the Light of The World. As Walter Hilton was born in 1340 and didn't enter Thurgarton Priory as an Augustinian Canon Regular in 1386, this chapel must have had an earlier dedication when built in the C13th. However, I have failed to find out what that was.

There is an aumbry in the east wall, a double piscina to the left of which is a small recess to hold a cruet and a tomb niche in the south wall. The west wall has a three seat sedilia and the door leading to the spiral staircase.

The south aisle chapel is dedicated in honour of St Oswald, the C10th Bishop of Worcester from 961 and Archbishop of York as well from 972 until his death in 992. He had had an important role in establishing the Saxon Minster here at Southwell. However, as we all know, the symbol of the raven on the red frontal is that of the other St Oswald. He was King of Northumbria whose predecessor, King Edwin, had been converted to Christianity by our very own Paulinus and whose death in battle in Shropshire is remembered in the name of by birthplace, Oswestry or Oswald's tree.

The chapel has a very small aumbry and, unlike the other three chapels, a small projecting single piscina in the south wall. In her fact sheet, **Mary Skinner records that a single piscina would** have been the norm at the time the quire was rebuilt. In the C14th, it was decreed that there should be two basins but, in the C15th, one basin again became the rule. So, a conundrum: was this the only one of the four chapels to revert to a single piscina or the only one of the four never to have had a double piscina?

We now go back to the north transept and to the Pilgrim Chapel.

So, let's recap. The new quire was re-built by 1240. The design integrated the Norman transept with the new Early English quire and left both of the original east-facing Norman apsidal chapels unaltered. Yet, just ten or, at most, twenty years later – certainly by 1260 - the Norman northern apsidal chapel was demolished. **Why? What had changed in such a short space of time?** Well, **according to McNeill, this was "a rare example of a mid-C13th chapel expressly reconstructed to house chantries".** Not built anew or bolted-on to or built

within an existing church or cathedral; those exist a-plenty. But by the demolition of something that it had been intended to keep, specifically to provide space for chantries.

Let's take a closer look. We have the elegant, rounded Norman arch inelegantly sub-divided by an Early English pillar that is not centrally placed, creating two sharply-pointed arches of dramatically-differing sizes and with a modern, wooden screen. There is a single, narrow entrance accessed down a flight of steps that stretches across the full width of the Norman arch. I find the whole quite discordant from the outside.

So let's go into the chapel.

We can now see that, from the inside, the Early English pillar **subdivides the chapel into two equal sections with equal-sized vaults**. The whole was built to house twin chapels, with separate entrances accessed from the broad steps and with a stone or, more likely, wooden divide between. Each chapel had its own aumbry, piscina and altar stone. We can see the outline of the former Norman apsidal chapel on the floor.

These chapels were dedicated to St Nicholas and to St Stephen respectively.

According to Thoroton, **Sir William Wydryngton,** Seneschal or Bailiff of Southwell Manor for the Archbishop of York from 1226 had founded a chantry at "his chapel of St Nicholas at Easthorpe during his own life but, after that, it was transferred to the altar of St Nicholas in the Minster". This suggests that it was after Sir William's death. He was still alive in 1249 but almost certainly had died by March 1253. Hang on to that thought.

Now, we have seen that neither of the south quire chapels had any recorded chantry foundations and could presumably have accommodated this chantry. Instead, as McNeill concluded, the Norman apsidal chapel was rebuilt shortly after the Early English Quire was completed in order for Wydryngton's existing chantry to be brought into the Minster from the chapel at Easthorpe.

At the altar of St Stephen in the adjacent chapel, a chantry was founded for the soul of **Andrew another Bailiff** of Southwell for Archbishop Walter de Gray; Andrew is believed to have died between 1226 and 1228. It was at Walter de Gray's instigation that our Early English quire was rebuilt by 1240. And within, perhaps, no more than ten years, the Norman apsidal chapel is torn down and replaced by twin chapels to house chantries - one founded elsewhere and one newly founded – for two Bailiffs of Southwell, one of whom had been dead for some years, one perhaps newly dead.

Is it just a coincidence that these two chapels have an association with two of Walter de Gray's most senior secular servants at Southwell? But let me suggest an alternative theory: was there a belated realisation that **a new, larger Treasury** was needed and that, if the Norman apsidal chapel was replaced, there would be the space for two new chapels side by side with a new Treasury being housed above it, where the Minster library is now? Was either of these the reason for an apparently unintended reconstruction? Or is this a misreading of the evidence? Certainly, I can find nothing to suggest that the endowment of these two chantries was such as to warrant or fund the reconstruction when there were

evidently other recently-built chapels that could house them. This, then, is a matter worthy of further research.

In 1884 and as part of Christian's restoration, the twin chapels were abandoned and the whole became a single chapel designated the **Chapel of St Eadburgh**. She was the Abbess of Repton Abbey who died c700, the only Saxon woman to be canonized, and her body was moved to Southwell , where a shrine was established. Where this was located is unclear and the shrine is last mentioned in a document of 1020.

Subsequently, this chapel has had a varied life, serving as the first Airman's chapel, as Minster library, as choir song-school and, now, as a vestry.

Let's return to the transept.

There are also references to the chapels or altars to **St Laurence and St Margaret** and I have found suggestions that these might have been **in or off the south transept**. There are also suggestions that the entrance to the quire **under the pulpitum** was so deeply recessed to accommodate altars on either side. If so, perhaps this is where these two altars were located. Again, though, so little is known or certain.

Let us now go back through that door in the screen across the north aisle and walk up the medieval nave to the current Welcome Desk.

We are standing in front of **the altar of St John the Evangelist.** Henry de Nottingham was a canon and prebendary by 1219 and founded a chantry here in 1242. He was buried subsequently in front of the altar and, **after his death in 1245, Robert de Lexington** augmented this chantry so that there would be two chantry priests serving the altar. So not just a chantry but one marking an actual interment - but probably not the interment that led to the creation of this tomb recess. **According to Kilpack**, writing in 1839, the tomb itself was presumed to be for **Aldred, Archbishop of York** and a great benefactor to this church, who died in 1069.

I am not sure Kilpack is right but do like his waspish description of Aldred: "his character was strongly marked with ambition and arrogance, while he showed himself ever ready to sacrifice truth and honour in his inordinate desire for power"!!

Now, let's cross to the other side of the nave for here, opposite the altar of St John the Evangelist, it is believed was the **altar to St John the Baptist** and it was here, in 1275 or shortly afterwards, that **Henry le Vavasour**, prebendary of Norwell Palishall between 1257 and 1280, founded another chantry. The Vavasours were an important Anglo-Norman family and **Dobson in 'A History of York Minster' records** "Of the great noble and knightly families of the York diocese, the Vavasours, Percies and Scropes alone founded a perpetual chantry in the cathedral".

Also at this altar of St John the Baptist, **a second chantry was founded in 1415**, some 140 years later, by **Thomas Haxey**, canon and prebendary of Rampton from 1388 to 1425. It was known as the morrow-mass chantry which implies that it was the first of the morning masses in the church and was probably said – as it was at Newark – at 4.00am. Haxey held

other prebendary positions simultaneously – in dioceses as diverse as Lichfield, Salisbury, Lincoln and York, where he became Treasurer of the Minster and where his tomb still remains near the entrance to the north transept.

Haxey was significant for two reasons. Firstly, he paid for the building of the Chantry Priests House that provided lodging for the thirteen chantry priests that were attached to the Minster at the time of the Suppression. This was located in the north-western corner of the churchyard, just beyond where the Minster Visitors' Centre is now. It was a courtyard building, not unlike the house for the Vicars Choral which had been built some twenty years previously, with a common hall and separate apartments and it survived until 1784 when it was replaced by the then Minster Grammar School, now Minster Chambers.

Secondly, in January 1397, Haxey was a representative of the clergy in Parliament and he presented a petition criticising the costs of King Richard ll's household. The king was affronted and insisted that Parliament punish Haxey for treason. He was deprived of his positions and possessions and condemned to death. However, on deposing Richard in 1399, Henry lV successfully petitioned Parliament to reverse the judgement. Today, the case is widely recognised as having established a very significant point of constitutional law: **the Right to Free Speech within Parliament.**

We now come to the last of the chantries established in the Minster, what are known as the two **Booth Chantries.** William Booth was Archbishop of York from 1452 until his death in 1464. During this time, William's half-brother, Laurence, some thirty years his younger, was installed as Prince-Bishop of Durham and, in 1476, he was translated to York where he too served as Archbishop until his death just 4 years later, in 1480.

Neither brother was your typical Archbishop. In 1463, William in alliance with the powerful Earl of Warwick, Richard Neville, led an army in the north of England which repelled an attempted invasion by the Scots and the former King Henry Vl and Margaret of Anjou. Laurence was Lord Privy Seal from 1456 to 1460, joined in battle with his half-brother to repel Henry Vl and was appointed Lord Chancellor in 1473 in Edward lV's government.

This was the century when the Archbishops of York were frequently grand figures whose relationships with the cathedral at the heart of their diocese was less close and personal than their predecessors. Indeed, along with John Kempe and Henry Bowet, the Booths are characterised in 'A History of York Minster' as **"central figures in three of the closely-knit and well-connected clerical dynasties that amassed so much of the ecclesiastical wealth and power of C15th England."**

William Booth had a particular affection for Southwell and incurred substantial personal expenditure on completing the then Archbishop's Palace which had been left unfinished by Archbishop John Kempe. He died at his official residence at York but his will stipulated that he should be buried at Southwell. Laurence Booth also desired to be buried at Southwell. But this is where it becomes complicated.

The biographer of the Archbishops of York states that William was buried "in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary by the Archbishops Palace which he had renewed at his own

expense". 'Renewed' implies that the restoring of a pre-existing chapel had been completed. However, William's will refers to him wishing to be buried "in the Chapel of St John the Baptist in the south part of the wall of the same chapel". His brother Laurence's will is similarly-worded but continues "if the work (involving) the aforesaid chapel *begun by me* be not finished in my lifetime, my executors should cause it to be performed according to my intention".

Laurence died just six months after the date of his will and it is certain that the works described as 'begun by me' were not completed by then.

After much reasoning, Hamilton Thompson concluded i) that William Booth was intending to be buried in a pre-existing chapel to St John the Baptist that he planned to rebuild; ii) that this was built out from the three western bays of the south aisle of the nave; iii) that both William and Laurence were indeed buried in this chapel; and iv) that the works to rebuild it were completed by Laurence's executors in line with the brothers' wishes. But, if there was an existing external chapel, when, why and by whom was it erected?

Cook, writing in 1947 but without providing evidence or source, asserted that it was a chapel built for the Vavasour chantry of 1280, an assertion **repeated by Roffey** in his 2008 book on Chantry Chapels. However, Thoroton makes no mention of an earlier chapel whatsoever. Further, the Haxey chantry was said to have been founded at *the same altar* as the Vavasour chantry but 140 years later;l and the Haxey chantry was known as the 'morrow-mass' chantry - which makes it probable that this altar and the celebration of the 'morrow-mass' was in the nave, so that pious lay people could attend before starting work or travellers before going on a journey, not in a separate side chapel.

I can do no better, therefore, than to agree with Hamilton Thompson, writing in 1911: i) that the old altar to St John the Baptist at which both the Vavasour and Haxey chantries were celebrated remained in the south aisle of the nave; ii) that there was indeed an existing, probably C15th external chapel but its origin is unclear; iii) that, notwithstanding this, the extended or rebuilt chapel associated with the Booths was commonly known as the Chapel of St John the Baptist once completed; and iv) that it was Laurence Booth who founded a double chantry in this chapel. This double chantry, with one of its altars dedicated to St Cuthbert, was for two chaplains who were to be endowed out of the fruits of the manor of Battersea in Surrey. That would have been quite some endowment had it been made today!!

These were the last two chantries of which we have a record. They were made in a chapel that unquestionably existed but for which there are no contemporary paintings or sketches or, indeed, description that would enable us to re-construct how it looked before the ravages of the Civil Wars that so damaged it as well as the adjacent Archbishops Palace. Thoroton commented on the ruinous state to which the chapel had been reduced subsequently.

With the two Booth foundations, Southwell now had its thirteen chantries and thirteen chantry priests living in the communal Chantry Priests' House. The value of the chantries varied considerably. Between £5 and £10 a year. In addition, they received a share of a

common fund and might have earned more through doing a little teaching. Unusually, all thirteen chantries were founded by prebendaries or senior secular members of an Archbishop's household. None were founded by guilds or fraternities, unlike Newark – just five miles away – where at least 15 of its 21 chantries were founded by lay individuals or guilds. It appears that the chantry priest at the altar of St John the Evangelist was uniquely appointed by the Vicars Choral whilst all the other chantry priests were appointed by the Chapter.

So, there we have it.

The ravages of the Civil War inflicted huge damage to the adjacent Archbishops' Palace, so it is unsurprising that Thoroton, writing in 1677, commented that the Chapel was "now utterly ruined".

Some restoration work clearly took place to the Booth Chapel because, by the C18th, it– or, at least, its site – was being used as the grammar school and library. Equally clearly, as restored it was not an attractive building. Dickinson comments that it was "considered as a deformity destroying the regularity of the building". Clearly, it had become an eyesore to our Georgian ancestors. And so it was that, on the 12th August 1784, a meeting of the Southwell Chapter agreed to demolish it.

1784 was also the year in which the former Chantry Priests house was demolished. And so, in the same year, the only known external chantry chapel at Southwell – built by and for two Archbishops of York– and the building housing the thirteen chantry priests in post at the time of the Suppression were swept away. Ever since, the existence and importance of chantries in the pre-Reformation life of Southwell Minster has been just a footnote in its history.

I hope that I have been able to convey some of that importance to you this morning through this talk on the chantries and the chapels that housed them.

References:

Roger Blaney references

Mary Trebeck FSs 281 291 297

Roger Hamilton Thompson

        Cambridge University Extension lecturer

        Fellow British Academy

        Fellow Society of Antiquaries

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        President Royal Archaeological Society