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The Chipping Campden Altar Hangings

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The Chipping Campden Altar Hangings

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Outside the specialist world of church embroidery, the altar hangings of the church of St. James the Great in Chipping Campden are not well known. They are, nevertheless, a national treasure. Dating from the second half of the 15th century, they are the only complete set of English purpose-made medieval altar hangings known to survive in England.¹

The two earliest known written descriptions of the hangings appeared almost simultaneously. The first described their display to members of the Society of Antiquaries in London in June 1887 by the church's then vicar, the Revd. F.S. Foster;² with the hangings Foster had brought the church's equally historic cope which dates from the end of the 14th or start of the 15th century. The second and shorter description is in a paper by Mary Ellen Bagnall-Oakeley published by the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society in 1887; in this the author briefly described both hangings and cope.³

The need in the early 1990s to conserve and repair the hangings⁴ reawakened an interest in their history. This for many years had been the subject for speculation. Making use of fresh and surprising evidence which has recently come to light, an attempt is made here to unravel their background.

Description of the Hangings

The hangings are now displayed in two glazed cases beneath the church's fine Perpendicular tower. On the south wall is the nether front, also known as the frontal proper, the cloth designed to hang in front of the forward face of the altar. Stitched along the frontal's upper edge is the so-called narrow apparel;⁵ this would have originally been attached to the edge of the linen cloth which covers the altar's surface. The case on the opposite wall contains the upper frontal, also called the dossal, designed to hang on the wall behind the altar. The material of all three pieces is a deep cream-coloured silk damask.

These hangings, when first seen, are startling in their size. The frontal proper measures 10 ft 8½ in (329 cm) in width and 2 ft 4½ in (73 cm) in height, plus the 8½ in (22 cm) height of the apparel. Possibly the nether front and the apparel were originally fringed, which would then have brought them to the normal height of a medieval altar. The upper frontal is even larger, 12 ft 3¼ in (379 cm) wide by 3 ft 10 in (118 cm) high.

Of the several incomplete sets of such hangings that still exist in England and Wales, few originated as such but were conversions from other articles of needlework, either secular or ecclesiastical.⁶ The Campden hangings, however, composed as they are of five and a quarter and six loom widths of material respectively, were clearly made as such. Decorated with rows of conventional flowers, the hangings are worked in polychrome silks and gold- and silver-wrapped threads. The flowers are surrounded with tendrils of gold-wrapped thread and small stamped metal spangles. In the middle of the frontal proper are the remains of a representation of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, consisting of portions of the golden cloud from which descended the dove, together with the triple flowered lily and a pavement of triangular tiles; the

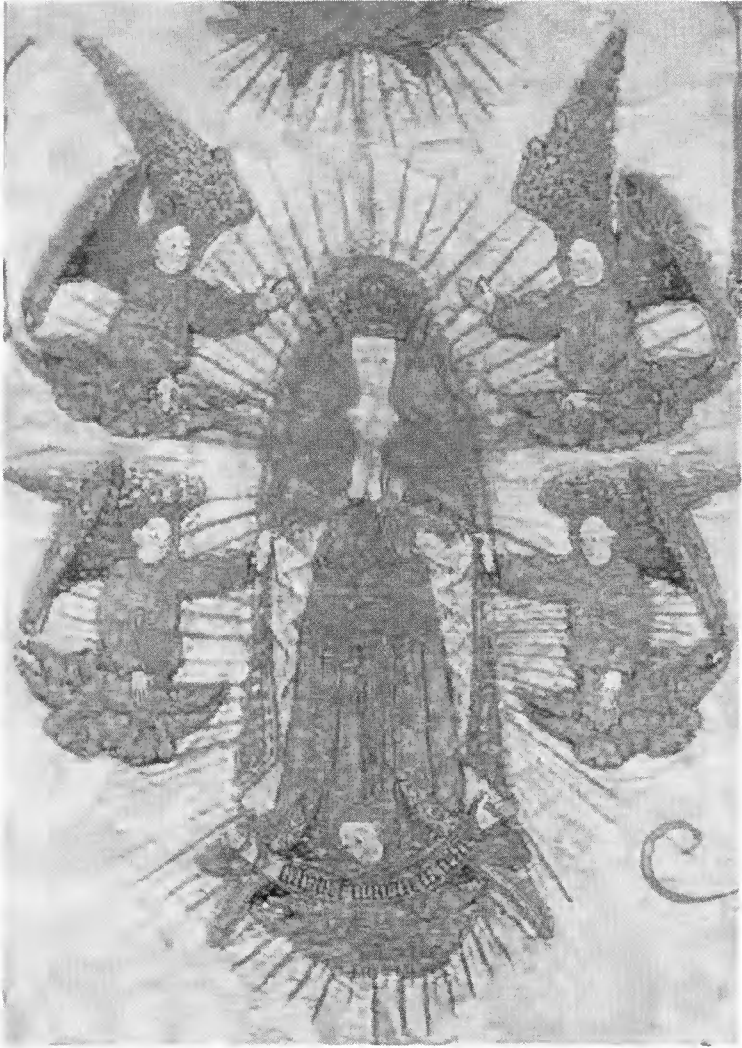


Fig. 1 The Assumption of the Virgin Mary; detail from the dossal of the Chipping Campden hangings (illustration reproduced by permission of the vicar and wardens of St. James's church).

figures of the Blessed Virgin, the Archangel Gabriel and the lily pot have been carefully and completely removed. In the centre of the upper frontal is a magnificent representation of the Assumption (Fig. 1) in which the Virgin is supported within a golden aureole by four angels; two hands extend from heaven above and a fifth angel holds a scroll with the legend 'assupta e maria in celu'.⁷

The Design Copied for Westminster Abbey

Fourteen years after the hangings were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries they were taken to the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, where they were photographed; it seems probable

that the results were used as an illustration for the 1904 edition of R.F. Kendrick's *English Embroidery*. Their next recorded journey away from Chipping Campden was to the 1905 exhibition of medieval textiles mounted by the Burlington Fine Arts Club.⁸

Five years later they were again at the Victoria and Albert Museum. This was because they had inspired the design for new hangings for the high altar of Westminster Abbey (Fig. 2). In accordance with the rubric in the Order of Coronation, King George V and Queen Mary were to offer new hangings to the abbey for their 1911 coronation; subsequently these hangings have been used on a number of state occasions, among them the V.E. Day service on 9 May 1945, and at all royal weddings in the abbey since 1919. In the centre of the frontal proper is a representation of the Crucifixion, flanked by angel figures bearing the royal arms and the cross patence and martlets of St. Edward the Confessor; the dossal is embroidered with the figures of St. Edward and the Pilgrim, together with smaller and kneeling representations of the two royal donors.

The royal gifts to the abbey were designed by Professor William Lethaby, the prominent architect-craftsman of the Arts and Crafts movement and first professor of design at the Royal College of Art. In 1906 he had become surveyor to the dean and chapter of the abbey. The work was carried out by Lethaby's students and embroidered in the workshops of the Oxford Street firm founded by William Morris, the designer's close associate. The damask, copied from the Campden original, was woven on the St. Edmundsbury looms at Letchworth.⁹

Opus Anglicanum

Famous for its excellence, much medieval English embroidery had in the past found its way overseas, some as offerings to popes, who might then distribute them as gifts to individuals and foundations. As early as the middle of the 12th century, Abbot Robert of St. Albans took Pope Adrian IV an offering of three mitres and a pair of sandals, described as being of 'wonderful workmanship';¹⁰ in Italy and Spain many fine examples of English vestments bear unmistakable evidence of their origin. Embroidery was not, as is often assumed, confined to women, working in convents or private houses; in monasteries much magnificent work was produced by men, many of whose names, famous in their day, are still known. In fact, however, the great majority of surviving high-quality medieval ecclesiastical embroideries were probably produced in professional workshops in London run by men with both men and women doing the embroidery work; gold embroidery, the 'top' specialist work, was done by men.¹¹

For a variety of reasons, only a small proportion of this *opus anglicanum* has survived. Many articles were wantonly destroyed for their precious materials: Archbishop Lanfranc's worn-out chasubles and copes were reduced to ashes in 1371 or 1372 for the sake of the gold.¹² Much fell victim to fire, war, theft and the ravages of time. But the greatest toll was exacted at the Reformation, when the making of ecclesiastical embroideries in England for a time all but ceased. Much existing work also disappeared, some being scattered at Henry VIII's suppression of the monasteries and more with Edward VI's abolition of chantries. Work was often taken abroad by monks, often to be sold. Pieces also passed into private hands to be used for lay purposes. Much was destroyed, again for precious metals or for jewels, and some was concealed, either by priests or laymen, perhaps never to reappear.¹³

The Search for the Donor—William Bradway's Will

Nevertheless, some articles of pre-Reformation worship, the property of parish churches and chantries, survived the destruction to remain *in situ*, as did much stained glass. It is not impossible that the altar cloths now displayed in St. James's church could have been there since they

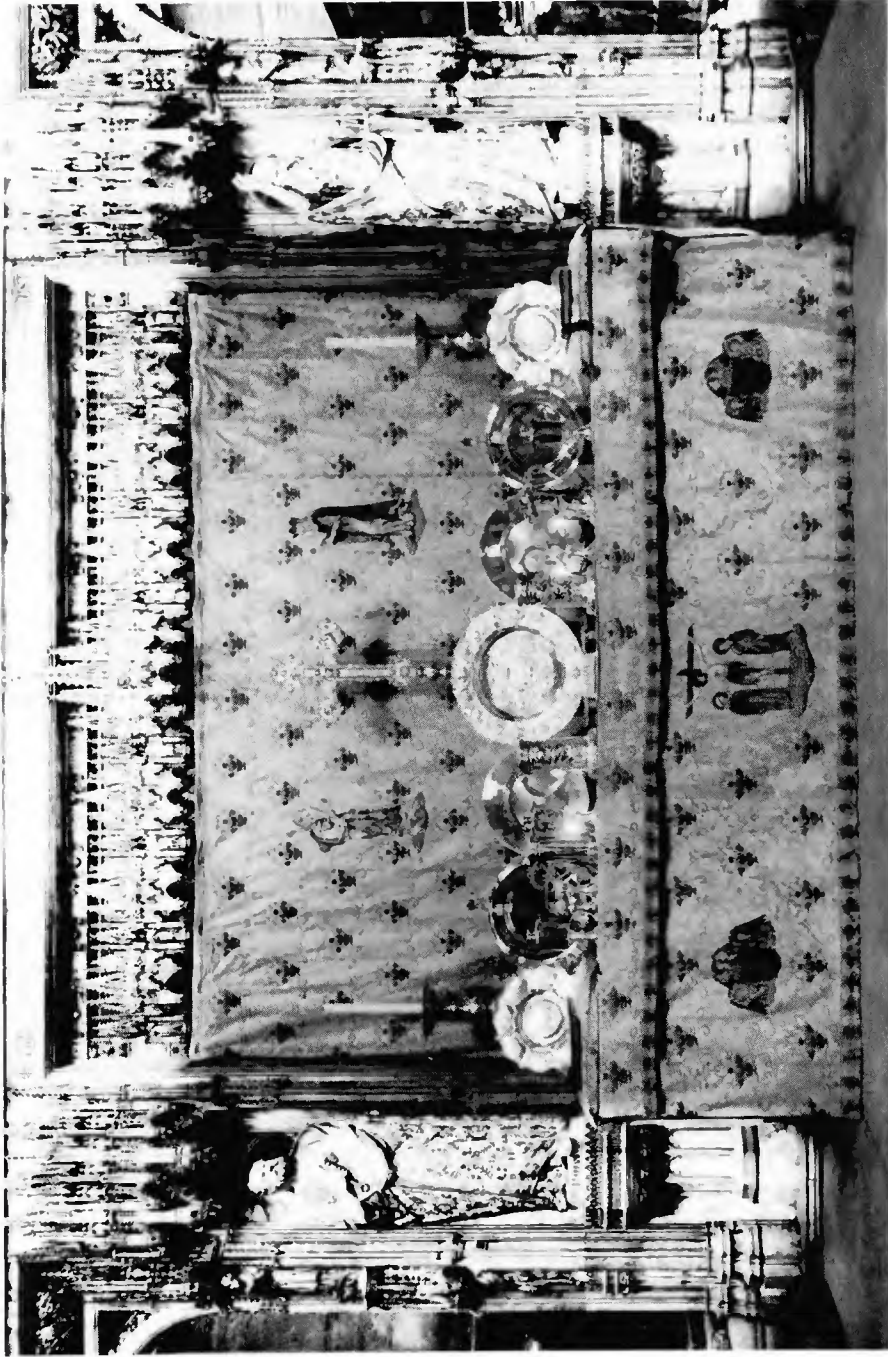


Fig. 2 The 1911 coronation hangings in place on the high altar of Westminster Abbey for the coronation of 1953 (photograph reproduced by permission of the dean and chapter). Although in the subject and placement of the principal figures the hangings differ from those at Chipping Campden and although the dossal is considerably taller, the conventional flowers precisely copy those of the Campden original. The fringes to the apparel and nether frontal follow medieval precedents and thus may well have had parallels in the Campden hangings.

were made some 500 years ago, having survived history's vandalism and accidents? Local historians have long suggested or assumed that this was so.¹⁴

This assumption was based primarily upon the last will and testament of William Bradway of Chipping Campden, dated 6 June 1488 and proved fifteen days later.¹⁵ A transcript of the will is given in Appendix 1. A wealthy individual, as his will demonstrates, Bradway was a member of a substantial family whose name appears at frequent intervals in Chipping Campden's known records from 1433 until the middle of the 18th century.¹⁶

Included among William's many munificent charitable bequests was the following:

I bequeath to every altar in the said [St. James's] church a chasuble of white damask with all the apparel thereto belonging for a priest to sing mass with all.

As has been mentioned, the altar hangings have been dated to the second half of the 15th century.¹⁷ Their material, 'white damask', is that designated in the will. As for the 'apparel thereto belonging' specified in the bequest, it could well have included altar hangings. Today 'apparel' is used in two senses: as well as being a somewhat archaic synonym for garments, it can also be used, as we have already seen, to describe the embroidery on ecclesiastical vestments, strictly speaking the decorative panels (either woven or embroidered) applied to albs, amices and other garments. However, in Bradway's time and later, it was a far wider-ranging, multi-purpose word used for collections of artifacts, embellishments, appendages or materials of almost any type, ranging from the contents of a house and the accoutrements of a soldier or a ship's rigging to the components of a recipe for a dish.¹⁸ The *prima facie* case that the altar hangings were part of 'the apparel thereto belonging' of the several white damask chasubles William Bradway bequeathed to the church is strong indeed.

Nevertheless, a doubt that sometimes exercised enquirers was the very munificence of the bequest. Bradway did not confine his generosity to Chipping Campden. He also made a similar bequest to the chapel of Broad Campden (a building now in secular use as 'The Norman Chapel') and he presented twenty 'pairs of vestments',¹⁹ again of white damask and again 'with the apparel thereto belonging', to twenty other parish churches in Worcester diocese, of which Chipping Campden was then part. The vast quantity of costly material used has proved impossible to estimate; it would, however, almost certainly have been imported from Italy because drawloom weaving, the type used for producing complex materials such as silks or velvets, had not as yet been introduced into Northern Europe.²⁰

A comparison with similar bequests can, however, be made by reading 122 Oxfordshire wills proved between 1393 and 1510, many of them of people of consequence, including London merchants.²¹ Only fourteen of these wills included bequests of ecclesiastical vestments; some specified altar cloths, none chasubles. Costs, where stated, were extremely variable, but only one testator specified a total sum as large as £40 and only one made provision for as many as four churches, his total bequest amounting to £12 6s. 8d.²² Bradway's bequests were, in fact, on an altogether different scale from those of his contemporaries and near contemporaries. Furthermore, as well as making generous provision for his family, he could also make the usual bequests for priests to sing masses for his and his friends' souls and bequeath 100 marks to the rebuilding of the nave and body of St. James's church.²³ Bradway was rich indeed, an indication of the wealth a major Campden merchant could command even at the end of the 15th century when the town's commercial heyday as an entrepot for the export of wool had begun to decline.²⁴

The Question of Survival

There is another question to answer. Was it in any way possible that such vestments could survive *in situ* both the depredations of the Reformation and the vandalism of the Civil Wars?

The evidence suggests that this could be so. According to Caroline Litzenberger, in Tewkesbury as elsewhere the wardens adopted what she calls a 'minimalist approach to the introduction of protestanism',²⁵ avoiding some of the prescribed changes which included the replacement of altars with tables and wall paintings of images with passages from the Scriptures. The prime Gloucestershire example of the survival of stained glass is, of course, at Fairford, but in Campden also, as elsewhere, much escaped destruction, first at the Reformation and later during the Civil Wars, when Chipping Campden became a battleground. Until the early 18th century, in fact, St. James retained much of its medieval glass,²⁶ although today no more than a few small lights survive. That the vicar during the Civil Wars, William Bartholomew, was a Puritan, albeit ambivalent in his loyalties, may have had something to do with his church's apparent escape from major damage.²⁷

If stained glass survived in this way, so perhaps could the church's vestments. However, only slight clues suggest links between Bradway's bequest and the altar hangings displayed today. An inventory of church goods made in 1547 by the Chantry Commissioners included 'A chalice of VIIJ oz and IIJJ *old* [authors' italics] vestments: claymed by Thos Smyth Esq'.²⁸ Sir Thomas Smyth, whose fine early Renaissance tomb stands in the chancel, was a courtier of Henry VIII and became lord of the manor of Chipping Campden in 1553. Could he have claimed some of these old and possible treasured articles and might he or his heirs have later returned them to the church? Could they also have been part of the Bradway bequest? In the mere half century that had passed since Bradway's death, it is not likely that the Church would have acquired further vestments so shortly after it received those lavish bequests.

Sixty years after the Chantry Commissioners completed their inventory, the church still counted various silk vestments among its possessions, details of which were listed regularly in the churchwardens' inventories;²⁹ included are old silk table cloths and cushions converted from old table cloths, sometimes described as white, silk or damask (Appendix 2). Among them are items that might well have survived from before the Reformation.

Nevertheless, the hangings are in such relatively fine condition for their age as to suggest they have remained unused for much of their existence. At some stage in their long history did an incumbent, someone better able to appreciate their historical and aesthetic value, remove them from the care of the churchwardens to safeguard them, possibly in the vicarage? There they could have remained virtually ignored until the Revd. F.S. Foster displayed them to the Society of Antiquaries in 1887.

New Information and Another Doubt

Reasonably strong then was the circumstantial evidence that the present altar cloths formed part of William Bradway's bequests to the church. However, a major doubt has arisen as a result of their repair and conservation, completed by Wendy Toulson in 1992. This provided the opportunity for sample threads to be taken from the cream damask material itself and from repair patches apparently inserted when the major part of the depiction of the Annunciation was removed from the frontal proper. The threads were examined, first in 1992 using the technique of Thin Layer Chromatography (TLC), and again two years later using the more sensitive technique of UV/Visible spectroscopy.

The result of these tests showed with almost absolute certainty that the samples taken from both the original damask and the repair patches had been originally dyed red even though the samples supplied had no visible coloration. Presumably the repair patch was dyed red to match the original colour of the object. In addition it was possible to say with a fair degree of certainty that the two samples were dyed with the same dye, and that dye was madder.³⁰ Although the

samples analysed showed no coloration, those portions of the repair patches that lay behind the main body of the frontal, and were therefore protected from exposure to light, did retain a pinkish hue.³¹

Madder is obtained from the ground root of the plant *Rubia Tinctoria L.*, and it has been used for dyeing textiles from early antiquity. Giving a strong scarlet hue, it is generally found to have good light fastness when dyed correctly. However, a faked madder, produced from redwood, logwood, sandalwood and other tannic-acid containing dyestuffs, was often used to adulterate true madder; these additives reduce the fastness of the madder. What is more, such dyes lose their colour over time even without exposure to light, and once they have faded the colouring matter is no longer present in the material.³²

It is then clear that the altar hangings were originally dyed red and that this has faded with time. On the face of it, this invalidates the theory that they were part of William Bradway's bequest, he having specified that the vestments should be white damask. But again it may be unwise to jump to conclusions. Did his executors carry out his instructions to the letter? Did the priests ask for or insist upon red vestments, not white? This is not impossible. Priests could be powerful men. To negotiate with the executors a change in the colour of the bequest should not have been too difficult.

Conclusions

What then is the evidence that Campden's altar hangings were part of William Bradway's munificent bequest and that they have belonged to St. James's church ever since? Their date matches Bradway's bequest. Their damask material is as specified in Bradway's will. However, he designated *white* damask; it has now been shown the hangings were originally red and have faded to their present cream with time. Nevertheless, it cannot be ruled out that the executors may have failed to carry out the exact provisions of the bequest and produced red rather than white vestments, possibly at the request of the priests.

That the hangings survived *in situ* the ravages of the Reformation and the subsequent military and religious turmoil of the mid 17th century is not impossible. Sir Thomas Smyth or his heirs, or some other local family, recusants perhaps, could have hidden and later returned them; mention of old vestments repeatedly occurs in the churchwardens' inventories of the 17th and early 18th centuries. It is also possible that they might even have been acquired for the church by the Revd. F.S. Foster, who exhibited them to the Society of Antiquaries, or by one of his immediate predecessors, but no reference to such an acquisition has been found in local or other records.

One day perhaps, further information about the provenance of St. James's altar hangings may come to light. Today, however, their link with Bradway's bequest is tenuous but possible. For the time being, not proven is the only verdict.

APPENDIX 1

Transcript of the Will of William Bradway, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury
on 21 June 1488

(Spelling and punctuation are in standard modern form. Uncertain readings are given in italics and square brackets indicate the omission of an illegible word.)

In the name of Almighty God Amen. The 6th day of the month of June in the year of our Lord God 1488
I William Bradway of Chipping Campden of the diocese of Worcester being of whole mind and good

memory though I be diseased and feeble dreading *peril* of death make my testament and last will in form that followeth.

First, I recommend my soul to Almighty God my maker our Lady Saint Mary and to all the saints of heaven my body to holy burial to be buried in the parish church of our Lady of Chipping Campden aforesaid.³³ Also I bequeath to my mother church and cathedral of our Lady of Worcester 6s. 8d.

Item, I bequeath to the high altar of the parish church of Campden aforesaid 6s. 8d.

Item, I bequeath to the building of the nave and body of the said parish church 100 marks.

Item, I bequeath to every altar in the said church a chasuble of white damask with all the apparel thereto belonging for a priest to sing mass with all.

Item, I bequeath to the chapel of Broad Campden a chasuble of white damask with all the apparel in like wise thereto belonging for a priest to sing with.

Item, I bequeath to 20 parish churches within the foresaid diocese to be named and chosen by the discretion of my executors underwritten 20 pairs of vestments of white damask for priests to sing with the apparel thereto pertaining.

Item, I would that every priest hired to sing in the said parish church of Campden have 6s. 8d. to remember my soul.

Item, I will and ordain that there be an honest priest of good *condition* be gotten to sing mass for my soul my friends' souls and all Christian souls for the space of 15 years next coming receiving for his salary 8 marks yearly and bread wine and wax over that sufficient.

Item, I bequeath to Margaret my wife £100 in ready money to be delivered to her after that my debts be fully paid.

Item, I bequeath to William son to my said wife £20 for to send him to school.

Item, I bequeath to Agnes and Denise daughters to my said wife either of them £20.

Item, I bequeath to Richard Yorke my servant £20.

Item, I bequeath to Agnes my mother yearly during her life 40s.

Item, I bequeath to John and William my sons £500 sterling equally to be divided betwixt them.

Item, I would that all my household³⁴ and my woods within my house and grounds thereof at Campden be equally divided in 2 parts betwixt my wife and my said 2 sons after the discretion of mine executors undernamed that so to the one half to my said wife and the other half equally to be divided betwixt my said 2 sons.

The residue of all my goods chattels and [] my debts paid and this my [] last will and testament fulfilled I wholly give and bequest to John and William my sons aforesaid, provided always that if Master Thomas Dydbrook, one of mine executors undernamed, falls in poverty or be without benefice or service whereby he may not live according to his honesty that then he have £6 sterling of the residue of my said goods or else 8 marks and a gown of the *value* of 13s. 3d. yearly in sickness and in health during his life to sing and pray for my soul. And I make and ordain mine executors Master Richard Donne, the said Master Thomas Dydbrook, Richard Porter, William Wyllyngton and John my son aforesaid. And I will that every one of the said masters Richard, Thomas, Richard and William mine executors aforesaid have for to take the charge and execution of this my testament and last will []. This being witness thereon present Edmond Compton gentleman Sir Hugh Mason priest John Bayley and Richard Bayley with divers *more*.

APPENDIX 2

Details from Inventories recorded in the Churchwardens' Accounts³⁵

Sixty years after the 1547 inventory by the Chantry Commissioners, St. James's church still counted silk vestments among its possessions: five silk board cloths (board being a near synonym for the Protestant tables that had replaced so many church altars) and nine silk cushions. These are recorded in the churchwardens' oldest surviving inventory, compiled in 1627 in a 'great paper book', newly bought for the accounts.

After 1627 references to similar vestments occur in subsequent churchwardens' inventories for almost another hundred years. The possible fate of some is revealed in the 1629 inventory in which the total of five silk board cloths drops to four, with a note that the fifth had been converted as cushions. The nine cushions and four board cloths continue to appear in later lists but the board cloths were styled table cloths from 1638 and until 1641, the last recorded inventory until 1657. The accounts were kept only spasmodically during the Civil Wars, during which Campden was bitterly ravaged, and the Commonwealth years that followed.

In 1657, however, among the mere nine items recorded were two 'carpetts', a word still then used for a table covering. In 1662, the first full inventory after the Restoration, 'two white velvett Carpetts' and 'one other old Carpett' are recorded, together with 'two old Cushions'. Similar entries for carpets continue until 1667 when they are replaced by '1 old Satin Carpett, 1 old Carpett and 1 White Dammas Carpet', the word 'Dammas' being superimposed over the deleted word 'velvet'. (Unsophisticated male churchwardens, countrymen all, may well have found it difficult to differentiate between silk, satin, velvet and 'dammas'.)

Thereafter three satin carpets appear regularly until 1708 when the number dropped to two and the material again became velvet. Similar entries continued until 1717 when the custom of recording inventories signed by the churchwardens seems to have lapsed. Between 1667 and 1717 a diaper table cloth, diversified with a uniform pattern, was also listed, a napkin of the same material being sometimes recorded as well; this could well have been the table cloth habitually in use. Such diapers were, however, commonly linen.³⁶

Finally, in 1887, a very detailed inventory was prepared under the instructions of the archdeacon of Cirencester; it included two 'Frontals and Superfrontals', but the descriptions fail in any way to match those of the mediaeval vestments displayed that very year to the Society of Antiquaries.

Acknowledgements

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For permission to reproduce illustrations we wish to express our thanks to the vicar and churchwardens of St. James's church, Chipping Campden, and to the dean and chapter of Westminster Abbey. We are particularly grateful to Dr. Tony Trowles, the assistant librarian of the abbey's muniment room and library, for his help in finding an appropriate illustration.

Our thanks are due to Dr. John Juřica for his guidance in preparing this article for publication. None of the above, it should be needless to say, are responsible for any opinions expressed or errors that may remain.

Notes

1. Letter from the textiles and dress department, Victoria and Albert Museum (V. & A.), 17 Oct. 1991.
2. *Proc. Soc. Antiquaries* (1887), 408–10.
3. M.E. Bagnall-Oakeley, 'Ancient Church Embroidery in Glos.' *TBGAS* 9, 256.
4. The lengthy restoration and conservation was carried out by Wendy Toulson in her workshops during 1992. A detailed description of her work is displayed with the hangings in the church.

5. The word 'apparel' is discussed at note 18.
6. A.F. Kendrick, *English Embroidery* (George Newnes, 1904), 15, 57–8.
7. The description of the hangings is taken from Foster's account (see note 2) and Wendy Toulson's letter to St. James's church, 7 May 1991.
8. Wendy Toulson's letter, quoting the V. & A. as her source.
9. Jocelyn Perkins, *Westminster Abbey: Its Worship and Ornaments* (1951), iii, 176–7; *Illustrated London News*, 1922, p. 215.
10. Kendrick, *Eng. Embroidery*, 15, 27.
11. *Letter from V. & A.*, 14 Aug. 1995.
12. Kendrick, *Eng. Embroidery*, 2–4.
13. *Ibid.* 4, 66–7.
14. Bagnall-Oakeley, 'Ancient Ch. Embroidery', 256; P.C. Rushen, *The Hist. & Antiquities of Chipping Campden* (priv. print. 1911), 124 (where certain reservations are expressed); C. Whitfield, *A Hist. of Chipping Campden* (Eton, 1958), 71.
15. Public Record Office, PROB 11/8.
16. 'Bradway' is a contraction of 'Broadway', the name of a nearby parish. Rushen, *Hist. & Antiquities*, provides numerous references to the family, the last in 1751.
17. *Letter from V. & A.*, 17 Oct. 1991.
18. *Oxford English Dictionary (O.E.D.)*.
19. 'Vestment' in the past had a far wider meaning than today. In 1460, according to the *O.E.D.*, Sir John Fortescue wrote 'Often tymes he [the king] woll bie rich hangynges and other apparell for his howses; vessaill, vestements and other ornamentes for his chappell'.
20. Information from Wendy Toulson.
21. *Some Oxfordshire Wills . . . 1393–1510*, ed. J.R.H. Weaver & A. Beardwood (Oxfordshire Rec. Soc. 39, 1958).
22. *Ibid.* pp. 11 (will of Ralph Lovell, 1413), 13–15 (will of Thos. Mokking, 1427).
23. The bequest of 100 marks (£66) could have paid much of the cost of a major rebuilding of the body of the church that occurred at the end of the 15th century. For comparison, the building of a large new church at Winchcombe at that time cost £200.
24. During the 15th century wool export declined as home cloth-making increased. Campden suffered as a result because of its lack of streams upon which the various processes of cloth-making depended.
25. *Tewkesbury Churchwardens' Accounts, 1563–1624*, ed. C.J. Litzenberger (BGAS, Glos. Record Series 7, 1994), p. 5.
26. George Ballard, paper on St. James's church written in 1731 and read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1771: copy kindly provided by the society's secretary. According to Ballard:

There was formerly a great deal of curious painted glass in the church, the fragments whereof are still remaining: particularly on the north side of the chancel are 5 headless figures; four of whom are the principal fathers of the Church, St. Gregory, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose and St. Austin. In a window at the upper end of the south isle was the representation of the passion of our Sav[our]. Some fragments of it still remaining. In another window in the north isle are the figures (from the knees upwards) of St. George, St. Christopher very prettily pictured.

27. William Bartholomew, vicar 1636–61, was suspected of Presbyterian sympathies and was famous for his equivocation. He was, according to the inscription on his monument:

A hammer of the Sect of the Orthodox English Church, a fearless advocate (even in the worst times) of the Royalist Party.

28. Whitfield, *Hist. of Campden*, 80.
29. *The General Accounts of the Churchwardens of Chipping Campden 1626 to 1907*, transcr. Leighton Bishop (Campden Rec. Series, 1992). The first inventory, that for 1627, included 'five silke board-clothes' and 'nine silk cushions' (*ibid.* p. 4). These were omitted from Whitfield's widely quoted copy of the inventory (*Hist. of Campden*, 113).

30. Reports submitted by Messrs. Alain Colombini and David Howell of the textile conservation studio of the Historic Royal Palaces, Hampton Court, to Wendy Toulson.
31. Information from Wendy Toulson.
32. Letter from Wendy Toulson, 27 Feb. 1995. On 'faked madder' she quotes Judith Hofenk de Graaf, *Natural Dyestuffs* (Amsterdam, 1969).
33. The church was dedicated to the Virgin Mary until the Reformation.
34. The word 'household' covers goods, chattels, furniture and stuff.
35. *Accounts of the Churchwardens of Chipping Campden 1626-1907*.
36. Letter from V. & A., 14 Aug. 1995.

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As well as the books mentioned in the notes the following have been consulted.

P. Dirstay, *Church Furnishings* (Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1978).

Sir William St. John Hope and E.G.C.F. Atchley, *English Liturgical Colours* (S.P.C.K. 1918).