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Some Early Artists of Gloucester

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SOME EARLY ARTISTS OF GLOUCESTER.

By ST. CLAIR BADDELEY.

I.

WHEN lecturing upon a building, it is needful, as a rule, to give an outline of the salient historical features or the structure; after which follow more special points of detail and style: the colour, the proportions, the radiant glass, the beautiful traceries, the heraldic shields, and the monuments of the generations of those who lie buried. If you will permit me, I will try and observe the same scheme with the rather more complicated subject, belonging to mediæval Gloucester, with which I am to deal to-day.

For, in order to talk to you about certain gifted and once quite famous citizens of Gloucester, I find it is needful to bring back (if possible) something of the atmosphere in which those men lived, moved, and had their being; and so to restore the historical background in front of which they came to carry out their very notable achievements.

This demands, first of all, a practical, working description from historical data, of the progress and condition of this builded city, its growing significance, from the tenth to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (872-1350). With your patience I will try to do this.

As the position, and therefore the defences of Gloucester, after Alfred the Great, or the year 900 A.D., assumed a more important political significance throughout these four centuries, and they were at all times built of local materials by our Cotswold masons, I must deal first with these. And thus we shall see that four centuries of more and more

active masons' craft went to the making of certain great local masters.

There is good reason for ascribing the actual (*i.e.* not the legendary) resurrection of Gloucester¹ from its ruins to Æthelfleda and her husband, Æthelred, under the direct inspiration of her father, King Alfred, about the year 890 and onwards. It must be borne in mind, however, that Æthelred was supreme Viceroy to Alfred, not merely of the limited ancient West Saxon province of Wiccia, but of all Mercia, including London. In the chronicle made by Alfred's own son, Æthelwerd, there is a noteworthy distinction in the terms he has used to describe Gloucester in the early part of Alfred's reign (879) (when these terms are only "urbs" and "oppidum"), and at the decease of Æthelred, when (910) the place of his death and burial is called "in arce (dictæ) Glevucestric:" in the stronghold or citadel of Gloucester.² The same term is used later for the burial there of Æthelfleda, his famous wife, who fortified several other towns. The advancing change is manifest. Money began to be coined there, though there is but one Alfred coin struck at a mint at Gloucester.

The significance of this is considerable, for it practically

¹ The document in Dugdale, entitled "Memoriale Ecclesie Cathedralis Glocestrie Compendiarum," is plainly but a late sixteenth-century glorification of the new cathedral and of Gloucester. Its value is exceedingly small, as Freeman rightly perceived. Its exaggerated statements about early Saxon Gloucester under Wulphere are "Arabian" in style. But nevertheless its baseless statements have been taken over-seriously here and there. The "Historia" of the Abbey of St. Peter makes no such florid pretensions, nor does the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, nor (be it added) does Æthelwerd nor Beda. Even the so-called Foundation Charter is wrongly dated by ten years, 671 instead of 681. Even the "Confirmatio" (on p. 74, vol. i., of *Hist. et Cart.*) dating 872 is given as signed by Archbishop Ceolnoth, who died in 870, and Borthred, whose last authentic signature is in 869. Wulphere certainly was no beautifier of anything.

² It is believed to have at any rate been the equivalent of "Castrum" at this period. Later it was that of a fortified tower.

means that these royal folk actually closed their eyes in the now merely traditional "Aula-Regis," or Saxon king's hall, their local home in the ancient royal manor of King's Barton, and that home was, therefore, like Bath, a favoured kingly residence. That manor, besides including all the meadows to Westbridge, extended northwards; and, of course, it included Kingsholm, which was merely its chief pasture-meadow by the Severn. The original hall or king's house (as an early manor house would do) probably stood much closer to Gloucester and to St. Peter's, and probably very near the present Probate Registry by Hare Lane, that is: just outside the original north-gate of the city. This does not preclude the possibility of more than one site and Aula-Regis having risen in the Saxon manor. This Mercian royal house may well have been a main cause of the peculiar extension of your town in that direction, which begat the former second north-gate. No such thing occurred to south-gate nor to east-gate. In 1331 there still stood in this Hare Lane, a lane taking its name from "the War Host" (that is, of the Danes), a spot then known as the Castle of Croydone (*Cal. Corp.* No. 870). An earlier deed, A.D. 1117, actually mentions the locality as the "King's Hall, in the King's Barton," which Abbot Serlo had pledged to one Wybert, Bit by bit the various water-meadows, and finally the site of the early Saxon hall itself, became the possession either of St. Peter's or of St. Oswald's. The long rivalry between the two monasteries was not unnatural. Thus (and thus only, I think) we ought to picture to ourselves somewhat as follows: an intelligible early group of buildings representing the most prominent feature of the town of Gloucester in the last years of the ninth century, say A.D. 900, the triumphant close of Alfred the Great: (1) Saxon St. Peter's, (2) the King's Hall and Barton, and (3) the Royal Saxon Priory of St. Oswald, called in early and genuine deeds a free royal chapel, then quite new.

That mediæval Gloucester should have shrunk up to this

mere north side of the ancient little "Colonia" of Glevum is certainly strange, but it is unmistakably clear; and this is also why Hare Lane (originally *Here Lane*, *i.e.* *Here*=the War Host or spoilers, pl. *Heras*) is there, and not on the south flank of the town or elsewhere; for Æthelwerd (Æthelfleda's brother) tells us, in his account of the temporary truce with the War Host of the Danes (A.D. 877), that these went (*i.e.* after Exeter) to Gloucester, and put up their huts in that town ("atigia figunt, in oppido dicto"). That may mean that during the truce they were invited by their favoured creature, Ceolwulf, to his "Aula." For the Danes allowed this Mercian thane to divide Mercia with them, he taking the south-western portion of it, with Gloucester and its Church of St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, whose authority most of the Danes had now become ready to acknowledge. For in the following months (after temporarily breaking the pact, however, and destroying¹ St. Peter's Church (*Cf. Chron. of Hyde Abbey*) and being defeated heavily by Alfred at Ethandun, and then besieged at their stronghold at Chippenham), their chief or king, Gothrum², actually accepted baptism, with his important men, and took the name of Athelstan (*Cf. Gaimar*), and then retired peaceably to Cirencester. There they put up their huts and remained for nearly a year before proceeding to Middlesex; those who refused baptism departing by river to the sea. They at least did not break the pact this time. It is after this remarkable event but a few years that Æthelwerd verbally describes Gloucester no longer as "oppidum" but as an "arx," or a military stronghold, and the reason for this is clearly manifested. The very marked improvement in its condition arose

¹ The Book of Hyde tells us that the Danes actually destroyed St. Peter's Church. Æthelwerd tells us that they came to Gloucester, and then broke pact and went down to Chippenham. But the two facts are perfectly reconcilable.

² Gaimar calls him Gormund. This recalls the Cirencester traditional "Grismond."

probably out of the devout as well as political desire of King Alfred to transfer the remains of the heroic St. Oswald, his Northumbrian ancestor, to Gloucester, from the ruins of Bardeney Abbey. In this famous historic transaction we may well recognise yet another hand, that, namely, of Bishop Werferth of Worcester, a devout and loyal friend, who survived to see this as well as other far-reaching measures carried through, and a second royal monastery built at Gloucester as a memorial over them. The latter building arose just beyond (or 200 yards) the north-west angle of Romano-British Gloucester, and on a choice portion of the king's own demesne land (afterwards known to us as King's Barton Manor), the same estate on which we have just recorded documentary evidence (of A.D. 1117) that the king's hall as principal or manor house certainly then stood.

Now, it is of interest to remark here, had actual solid Roman city walls existed, or had such survived at Gloucester, neither the king's hall nor the king's new monastery would surely have been built beyond and outside them; but these walls would have formed the most redoubtable natural security to them, as has happened in so many other mediæval towns where such extremely durable walls have existed. Again, had such Roman walls stood, *de facto* the Monastery of St. Peter itself could not have been built where it was; for to have cut through masonry seven to ten feet thick would have been quite impracticable.

By what means, then, are we to explain the peculiar royal selection of locality? For, surely it also involves the practical reason of the still earlier selection of the site of St. Peter's Abbey itself! The most natural explanation is that what was still the most defensible remaining portion of ancient Glevum, walled or not walled, with vantage of the Severn and valuable pasture-land, lay on the north (or Worcester) side of it, whence, too, relief could the more readily come to it in need from Hereford. It at the same time gives the real reason why the corresponding, or opposite, south-

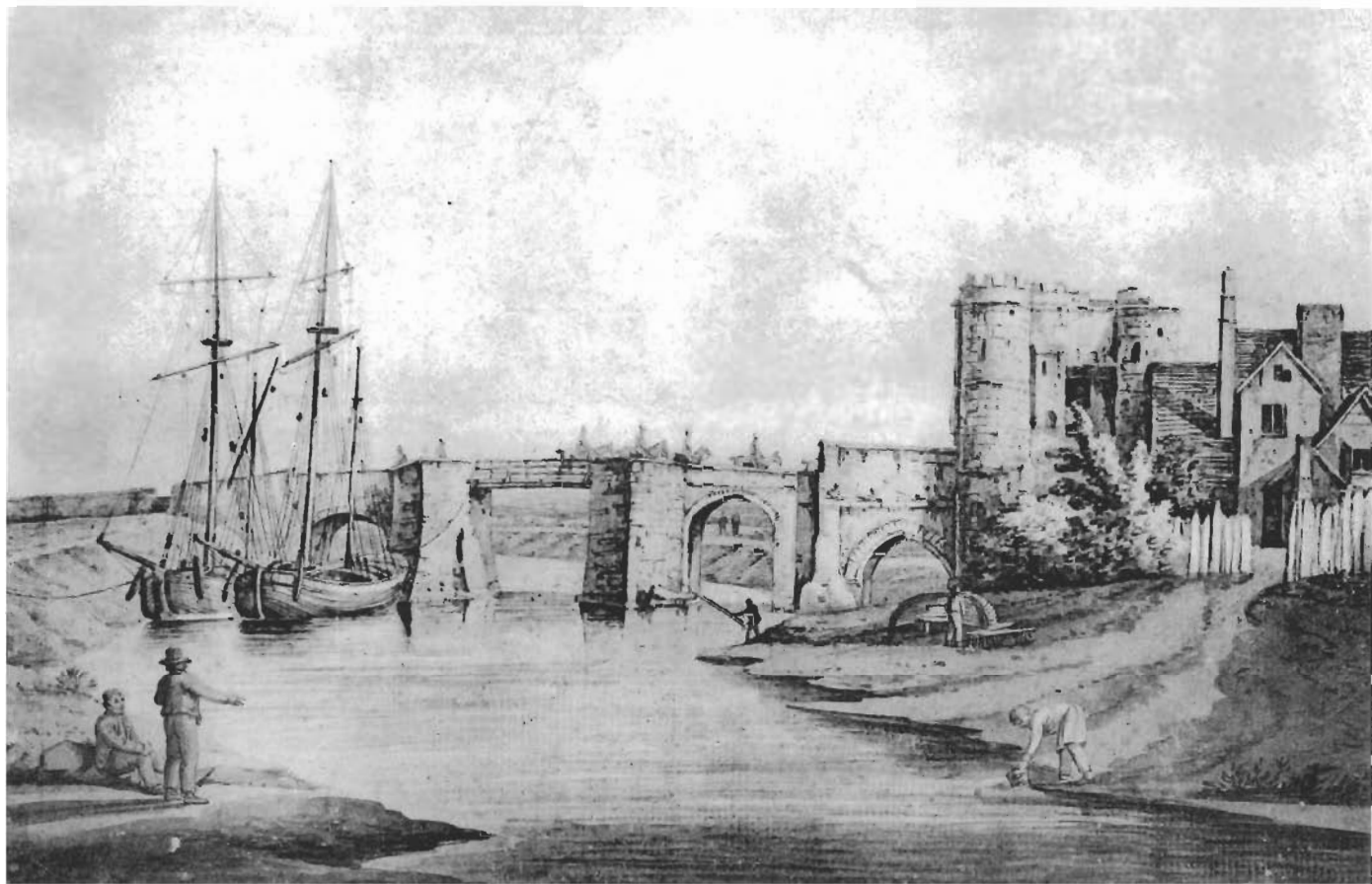
western portion of the city, was for long after known as "Bareland."

This brings us for a minute or two to the problem of the still more ancient, or Roman, defences of Gloucester; and to state here as far as is practicable, what trustworthy ocular evidence exists or has existed down to recent times, as to what these defences were. It may also, perhaps, lead us to fresh points of view.

Fortunately it may be just possible to do this, owing to the carting away in 1818-19 of a remaining angle of a very considerable earthwork, known then variously as "Old Castle" (through its having antedated the Norman stronghold close by) and "Barbican" (as probably having carried a Norman watch-tower, either of wood or of stone). The position of it is to be identified both on Kips' Plan of Gloucester and on Pinnell's (1780); and it is needful to bear in mind that all defensive works of other days have at some time passed under the name of "Castle" or "The Castles." It is well seen in Mr. H. W. Bruton's South-West View of the City (c. 1740-50). Moreover, in 1643 Corbet carefully described it as "a firm and lofty work."

Without suspecting what it really might be, the industrious Fosbroke¹ launches into a rather vague disquisition upon Celtic, Roman, and Saxon hillocks and watch-towers. But its position clearly tells us that it was of even more importance than these: it was nothing less than the surviving south-western angle of the oblong Roman vallum (or ditch and mound defences) of Glevum, which had been saved by its conversion to mediæval uses; but it was neither Alfred's work, nor was it King William's. Fosbroke's correspondent, Mr. Counsel, gave him fair proof of this, had he but fully realised the fact! Mr. Counsel thus wrote to him: "It is now being removed. The workmen have found several Roman coins; one of them, a Valens (A.D. 364), is in my possession." It is true Fosbroke does conjecture the

¹ *City of Gloucester.*



Westgate Bridge, Gloucester (c. 1780–85). From an original drawing by Joseph Farington, in the possession of W. St. Clair Baddeley (see p. 156) Reproduction by Sydney A. Pitcher.

mound to have been Roman ; but he thought it merely an odd thrown-up hillock-fort of theirs, when indeed it was the south-western angle of the only surrounding fortification, I venture to hold, that was ever made at Glevum by its Romano-British occupiers—at any rate, of which we have any historic evidence at all.

At this moment it is pertinent to observe that neither Fosbroke (a hundred years ago) nor Atkins (two-hundred and more years ago) nor Æthelwerd (a thousand years back) records any actual evidence, or hands on even any tradition of any real Roman walls at Gloucester. Neither were any found when this mound-angle was cleared away in 1818 ; nor were any traces of such discoverable when lately (1909) the Shire Hall extension permitted us to closely (and repeatedly) examine excavations both deep and wide and long, on their hitherto presumed direct line, south to north. The idea that Romano-British Glevum ever had anything more substantial than the powerful fosse and vallum of most Roman settlements is a comparatively modern conjecture, partly relied upon in recent days owing to an accidental misreading of the character of certain remains under Eastgate, and those still to be seen beneath the Public Library. These remains are not Romano-British ; they are entirely mediæval, though without doubt (I think) occupying the convenient line of the Romano-British fosse, or ditch, which latter gave the mediæval name of Goose Ditch to the Eastgate line of the town, as did a similar one at Cirencester. The very notable absence of real Romano-British walls perhaps indicates (as almost all such walls were built, not as my good friend Mr. John Bellows thought, by Vespasian and Titus, but quite late in the Empire) that, having at its rear the Severn, Glevum, the small Romano-British town, had no very actual need of such elaborate defences as thick walls. This is what we might quite reasonably expect. Nothing threatened her, and she was at no time the provincial headquarters. For, surrounded by peaceful villa-lands and their farms, raising quantities of

sheep and cereals, and, above all, well protected beyond the river by the permanent legion at Carleon and the various stations, up the great road to Chester, and having the strong provincial seat of government at Corinium,¹ the need for powerful defences did not, we think, arise for Gloucester until the days of the ruthless Norman-Welsh wars; and that is probably the reason why the Abbey Church of St. Peter became quite easily builded right over what would (had there been massive Roman walls) have been the line of most difficult obstructive walling, to where its west front now stands. Neither could the Saxon masons, nor their successors, have pierced such walls for making necessary ducts and drains.

If we may presume to carry the line, therefore, of the fosse and vallum, using the before-mentioned flat plan of Gloucester, from the "Old Work" or "Barbican" on Pinnell's map, and draw it along Berkeley Street and College Street, it will strike the abbey near the south porch (as theoretically it has been already made in plans to do), as though a built wall actually exists there. In the extension-buildings to the Shire Hall referred to, the excavation went down to the depth of twenty-two feet beside Berkeley Street over a considerable area. But no trace whatever of Roman wall, nor site of such wall, was encountered. There was found only a considerable stretch of rammed earth and small stone covering, like a rolled walk, but retaining in it a number of carbonised stumps of stout wooden stakes, of four and five inches in diameter. One group of these stakes amounted to twelve, covering an area of 3 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. All these were covered by later flagstones. There was no evidence of pottery to declare it Romano-British, but there it still lies, like a promenade path. Gloucester (we take it) had no built up walls, but a strong vallum of mounded earth and perhaps a stockade; and that is also a reason why no single local place-name designating ancient wall-work has come

¹ The still earlier cantonal town of the Dobuni.

down here to us in our multitudinous mediæval documents, in contrast to such survivals at other and larger Romano-British towns, such as Lincoln, York, and London, all which became walled after the days of the early Empire.

This matter being now clear, let us pass to the Norman period, when secular or non-ecclesiastical building operations commenced here with real vigour and design; and William FitzOsbern, Earl of Hereford, at the Conqueror's command, proceeded to raise a castle, together with defensive city walls, at any rate along the south, east, and north sides of this city. *Civitas*, not *Villa*, Gloucester is termed in Domesday Survey, 1086; probably by this term was intended "ancient city."¹ It was not yet a borough. As the Norman kings frequently visited, wore their crowns, held Witan Councils, and spent Christmas at Gloucester, it is obvious what new and weighty significance the place now bore (and was destined to bear) in their policy towards Wales (a policy born in the days of Edward the Confessor). Gloucester was to become one of the vitally important strategic centres of the kingdom, the southern base against the Welsh, even as Shrewsbury and Chester were the northern bases. These royal visits only became less frequent during the first twenty years of the twelfth century, by reason of the town and abbey twice falling victim to devastating fires. These events, under the political condition prevailing, only stimulated to greater efforts the quarrymen, the designing masons, the carpenters, and the whole subsidiary army of labour. In the later years of Henry I. (c. 1130), we find that king re-visiting Gloucester and giving money to complete the "turrus," or great keep, of the now extended castle, which he had begun c. 1104 or before 1113. We have record also, in the last year of his reign, of the burial (A.D. 1134) in St. Peter's of the body of his long-captive brother, Robert, Duke of Normandy, and likewise record of the fact of the Constable of his Castle at

¹ Cf. *Civita Castellana*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Civita Lavinia*, where "*Civita*" has been continuously used to designate ancient importance.

Gloucester (*M. S.*, p. 8) becoming the Hereditary Constable of England; not, mind, Lord of the Honour of Gloucester (with possession of that earldom and its two castles of Cardiff and Bristol), but official constable of that royal honour or group of estates in the south-west. The former of these very important distinctions that the king had conferred upon his (natural) son Robert, to whose son, William, and so down to his De Clare descendants it followed in succession. Neither Milo Fitz-Walter, nor any of his De Bohun descendants, were ever Earls of Gloucester.

Let us now leave detail, and at once skip over the civil wars of Stephen and nearly fifty years of Gloucester history as a royal Norman full-blown city, with castle and town-walls, and several gates enclosing the oblong Romano-British town, and preserving no doubt the same main cross-lines of its ancient streets, both those toward the Severn and those south to north. In 1172, under Henry II., we come to a matter of abiding significance: the Welsh had now become horsemen, which they had not been in early Norman days, and they carried fire and sword ruthlessly to the very gates of Gloucester, and threatened to do there what they had done to Hereford in 1054-55. In consequence, the king came here, and held a great Council (May, 1175) in company with his son (Henry), with the Baron, William de Braose (whose family had lately been massacred at Abergavenny), and with the friendly Welsh magnate, Rhys-ap-Gryffyd. One immediate result of this Council was the construction of a castellated west-gate at the river-bridge. This fine structure lasted (with various repairs and alterations, but not rebuildings, as Farington's picture¹ shows) until it was taken down in the early nineteenth century. You can here see the Norman "tourelles" at the angles; while its eastern gateway (as another picture, by Carter, reveals) actually remained Norman. This additional Norman protection led immediately to the extension of the city residences and workshops westward

¹ *c.* 1780.

down Bridge Street, and created a very solid accession to the area of habitation. It also now caused the term of Foreign (*forinsecus*) to be applied to this district, as lying beyond the first arched bridge that crossed the "Little Severn" (as a small eastern arm of the river became called), that cut it off just beyond St. Nicholas Church.

Now it is just this piece of old Gloucester that should especially be significant for our purpose. For it is from this humbler and newer suburb that were to spring several of the remarkable men who made the city of their birth and its neighbourhood of artistic fame, and some at least of whose beautiful work is yet with us in another and greater place, to justify to England the pride which Gloucester ought ever to feel and realise at having been their "*alma mater*." It was in that new quarter that the Abbey of St. Peter was possessed of most of the tenements in which lived the masons, glaziers, carpenters, and braziers of those days; and it was there that the great glass-works continued to survive down till the eighteenth century. The smiths had their forges elsewhere, in Smith Street,¹ a noisy but drier region.

II.

At this period of her history, with the fully-completed Norman fortifications, some rebuilt early parish churches, the new Abbey of Lanthony² just beyond the castle, and the almost equally rebuilt Norman Abbey of St. Peter and old St. Oswald's west of it, Gloucester presented quite a fine appearance; and the town had without doubt become a striking centre of local masonry and carpentry. Wood and stone and iron were all well worked here. With such churches and walls and gates as it possessed, there was continuous work to be done in the newest or pointed style, which had

¹ Long Smith Street and Broad Smith Street.

² 1136.

fully set in before the Westgate had stood many years over the river, at guard against the Welsh.

But though our kings still occasionally kept court in the castle, and John himself stayed there, there was only one thing in the stormy and cruel reign of King John to give any especial spur—rather, any exceptional stimulus—to the life of Gloucester, and this was his confirming to it the full privileges of a borough. But even this scarcely contributed anything to cause Gloucester in the approaching thirteenth century to become an exemplary English city in architectural style and a wonder of South-West England. Other towns, such as Oxford, Chester and Lincoln, had castles and one or two noble monastic structures apiece, and each of these towns had, in addition, a cathedral. This last advantage had always been lacking to Gloucester, and it was to remain lacking for three more centuries. But the little expected sometimes happens; and this threw into the lap of this Severn city the good fortune she had neither enjoyed nor looked for.

In 1216, on the death of John, Henry, his youthful son (who may have been then in residence at the castle, and was in the care of the great Earl of Pembroke, William Marshall),¹ came to the throne. As the crown of England had lately been lost with the royal treasure and the spoils of East Anglia, in crossing the Wash, a simple circlet of gold alone was procured from a goldsmith, and the youth was crowned king in the Abbey of St. Peter, where the nobles and prelates swore allegiance and made their homage. One account relates that the people wore crowns of flowers for days after it, though at the end of October (28th) these could hardly have been plentiful.

This important event made its mark very deeply upon the affectionate memory of this afterwards devout and architecture-loving king. For not only did he repeatedly revisit the city, and extend and embellish the castle, but we

¹ He lived at Goodrich Castle, near Ross.

find him the chief patron and founder of no less than four new monasteries here. In 1235 he and Eleanor caused St. Bartholomew's Priory Hospital between the bridges to arise, and gave St. Nicholas to it. Five years later we see Henry granting rich gifts to the new Dominican Priory; and Queen Eleanor enjoys, with her dower, certain of the local fish weirs. In 1245 he is patron to the new Carmelite Convent of White Friars, occupying with its fields the site of the modern cattle market; while but a few years earlier (1230) than all of these he added the Franciscan Convent of Grey Friars. So that, before the end of his long reign in 1272, Gloucester possessed in all no less than six monasteries and four hospitals; moreover, the Abbey of St. Peter, after a bad fire early in the reign, became entirely re-vaulted in solid stone as we see it now, and it was further enriched with a magnificent infirmary and an Early English Lady Chapel. All these beautiful buildings were painted with pictures or designs, and adorned with carven screens of stone and wooden choir stalls, and proud canopied tombs, and graceful chantry chapels. Nor was this the sole architectural activity of royalty in this county during the most mature moment of Early English architecture. The king's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and his wife, the queen's own sister (as devoted to bricks and mortar as was Henry himself), in 1246 laid out at enormous expense the great Cistercian Abbey of Hailes, near Winchcombe, wherein both of them now lie buried. In its design it was more closely related to the new work Henry was building at Westminster, with the distinguished assistance of certain Gloucestershire masons, than any other church in all Britain. Little wonder then that there arose a saying, "As sure as God is in Gloucester."

It was this magnificent building output, you will perceive, that must be held responsible for the education, accomplishment and eminence of the Gloucester men whom I now introduce to your notice (I believe) for the first time. And the first of these is John of Gloucester, King's Mason. He-

appears as witness in 1249 to a grant of land between the bridges in our town, by the Prior of St. Bartholomew to one John of Eldersfield, and he is already described therein as the King's Mason, that is Master of the King's Works. We may be sure, therefore, that he had already risen to this superior grade in a trade, that was in those days hereditary, through meritorious achievements on the castle at Gloucester, on St. Bartholomew's Priory Hospital, and possibly on the aforesaid Abbey of Hayles¹ then building on the estate of the king's brother near Winchcombe. We obtain a glimpse of his labours in this city from a Liberate Roll of 1245 (August 3rd), in which the Sheriff of Gloucester is ordered to have repaired (by the King's Mason) the wall of the castle here, "towards the town forges," *i.e.* Smith Street, to place glass (*i.e.* painted) windows in the king's chapel, in that of the queen, and in her chamber, and other several drastic alterations. For instance, in 1247 (August 30th) two buttresses are to be built under the king's chamber at Gloucester Castle. In 1249 the leaden roof of the keep which had been cut, was to be repaired, and the bailey-wall on the south side to be crenellated; a new altar was to be placed in the chapel, together with a new bell, and the two (*draw-*) bridges of the castle are to be repaired. And in the same year the Sheriff is ordered not to distrain John the mason for certain wine (Close Roll, 1249-50) which he has bought of the king. This is of interest because probably it indicates

¹ The architect at Hailes is twice designated contemporaneously *Frater Johannes, Cementarius*, which should rather point to one belonging to a religious order, or at least confraternity. He is in no case designated as of any place. By some this omission will be held to signify Gloucester. He is not heard of again in connection with any other known buildings, which is curious, seeing how beautiful and masterly was his work at Hailes, and how important his royal patron. It is certain, however, that there was a Brother John of Waverley in 1236, probably a Cistercian, and in 1278 there was a Brother John of the Order of St. Thomas of Acre, a King's Mason at the Tower. John of Gloucester is always "*Magister*," never "*Frater*."

that John of Gloucester¹ had paid a tour of inspection to the French Cathedrals of Reims and Amiens, which were then completing, and the influence of which upon the new work then in progress at Westminster carried out by him has in our day been fully recognised.² As five years later (1255-56) the king returned to John five casks of wine in place of those the king took from him at Oxford,³ we see that there prevailed over many years remarkably convivial amenities between the architect and his sovereign; moreover, he became then rewarded with ten librates of land at Blaisdon⁴ (Co. Suffolk) for his good services to the king both at Gloucester, Woodstock and Westminster, and he became exempted from all tolls and dues. We may see his actual work at Westminster, for happily it survives in glory—that is to say, a good deal of it, though the great sacristy, which he built and roofed in 1256, has entirely vanished. Let us briefly notice the rest of the many personal honours done him. He is given two fur robes of good squirrel a year by the king's order, "such as is worn by Knights of the Household," and is exempted from being put on assizes, juries, etc. In 1256 the king further gives him at Northampton,⁵ for his services, the house of Leo the Jew, and a place there belonging to Solomon (or Slomond) the Jew; and in the following spring he was made chief master-mason of all the king's castles this side of Trent and Humber. In 1257 we find him in Dorsetshire buying Purbeck marble for Westminster Abbey (Pipe Roll, 1257). Meanwhile our Corporation Records of Gloucester tell us that certain property

¹ He witnesses at Gloucester, both in 1249-50 and 1252-53, to grants of land (*Cf.* Corporation Records).

² *Cf.* Mr. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey*, p. 161.

³ The king in 1258 gave him a house at Oxford in the parish of St. Aldates, which had belonged to David le Cu.

⁴ Held by petty serjeanty.

⁵ In 1258 the king added for praiseworthy services the house of Samuel Bernard (? Jew), in the parish of All Saints, Northampton, value xxviii. pence per annum.

of his lay in Puck Lane (near Northgate), next that of Hugh, the girdler (*Cf.* 439 Corp. Records, a. 1250). He was also the possessor with his wife Agnes and his son, Edmund, of a good house in Westminster, and of the ferm of the Royal Manors of Rodley and Minsterworth in Co. Gloucestershire. An order in 1259 instructs him to have prepared the king's lectern (in the Chapter House) at Westminster for Master William our beloved painter to decorate. This is the period of his best and culminating success as a master. He now built the gateway of Guildford Castle, and he was also building the choir and north transept and high vaulting in the great national Abbey; and it is to him we owe the beautiful coloured heraldic shields, in the spandrels of the arcade, belonging to the most illustrious of the Abbey's patrons. In 1260 his wages were doubled, owing to the king's delight in his work. He also in that year was given £410 to expend on work at Windsor (equal to £5,000 now). Alas! in the following year, 1261, a Patent Roll of February 18th discloses that he has died and left his estate at Blaisdon to the King's Sergeant, Henry de la Wade, and his great office at Westminster became conferred upon Robert of Beverley.¹ It is not unworthy of mention here that the Record Office account shows that he had used nearly three tons of Forest of Dean iron for his ties, "ferri tenacis de Gloverna, xx℥," on the Abbey at Westminster. His son Edmund is referred to in 1266. At the time of John of Gloucester's decease the wonderful Chapter House there had been entirely finished and floored with the tiles laid down under his supervision in 1258, and the great painted lectern was set up. Mr. Lethaby thinks that a certain lay figure sculptured high

¹ On November 20th, 1260, the king conceded to Agnes the widow, and Edmund the son, of John of Gloucester, the ferm of the Manors of Rodley and Minsterworth in Gloucestershire.

Cf. Issue Rolls. In 1266 a concession is made by the king as to payment of a debt of 80 marks owed by Edmund, son of John of Gloucester, owing to poverty (December 12th, Oxford).

up in the north transept may well be a portrait of our architect.

I now proceed to give some account of the man who was the king's chief goldsmith at this fascinating period, William of Gloucester, who was in 1256-57 in charge of the Mint. In 1258 he made the great altar frontal (spontale) of gold work, a gold chalice and two gold cups for Westminster, and was ordered a little later to buy gold from the Jews in order to complete the shrine of Edward the Confessor, which work was finished in 1269; and it received the remains of that sainted king. I proceed to mention the following works which he made for the king before his death in 1272:—

A silver image over ye tomb of Katharine (in Westminster Abbey) the daughter of Ye King.

An image of St. Peter, holding a Church in one hand, and in the other his keys, and trampling upon Nero, and having a large sapphire on his breast, £100.

Five angels of gold, £30 7s. od.

A Majesty, £200.

The Virgin and her son, set with rubies, emeralds, sapphires and garnets, £200.

St. Edmund, King, with a crown having two great sapphires worth £86.

In 1257 (*Issue Rolls*, a. 41 Hen. III.) the king purchases from William, for ten marks, a certain clasp to offer at the shrine of the blessed Edmund (Rich) at Pontigny; and, again, 5 marks for a clasp of gold for the King's use. A King with a flower in his hand and a great garnet on his breast with pearls, £56.

Another King, with a ruby on his breast, £48.

No doubt these kingly figurines were for the adornment of the great shrine of the Confessor, as was the figure of King Henry himself, holding a model of the same shrine.

William of Gloucester died early in 1272, the same year as his sovereign. Truly, therefore, we have in him a master of whom London and the Abbey were as proud, as no doubt was

the Goldsmiths' Guild. He married Willclma, daughter of Thomas of Basing, younger son of the founder of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, Dean of St. Paul's 1222, and he left a son, Henry of Gloucester.

I now pass over sixty years into the reign of Edward III., as I still lack the final evidence of the suspected intimate connection of another (and each equally great) Westminster goldsmith (his successor) with Gloucester. I mean William Torel, the fashioner of those two masterpieces of the abbey, the bronze effigy of Henry III. and of Eleanor, wife of Edward I., the first made in England.¹ And I come to Thomas of Gloucester, also the king's mason. Mr. Lethaby describes him as in 1356 one of the best-known masons in London. In 1358-59 he was working on the Palace at Westminster, and was the chief mason at the time (*Cf.* Lethaby, *Westminster*, p. 204.) It may be possible to identify him with a Thomas of Gloucester of ten years before (namely in 1345), one of six officials then employed at the Tower of London on work for the Treasury, and who undertook to produce before the King's Treasurer and the Barons of the Exchequer, at need, John of Thormerton (? Gloucestershire man), parson, and late clerk to John of the Flete, keeper of the Exchange, who is imprisoned in the Tower suspected of certain defaults in the office of the Exchange. But I think the latter to have been the same with Thomas of Gloucester of the 1342 Close Roll, son of Henry of Gloucester, goldsmith, deceased, under whose will was a recognisance of a debt of £60. The executors were John of Bristol and Andrew of Essex, seal engraver. More of him I do not find.

Contemporaneously, however, I find, both at Gloucester and at Westminster Abbey, one Thomas Glaswryght,

¹ For it is possible that William Torel, of 1250, owning tenements like John of Gloucester, between the bridges at Gloucester, was a goldsmith, and whose daughter, Cecily, married Robert de Bredon there. In which case he may have been father or grandfather of William Torel at Westminster, and Gilbert Torel (died c. 1321).

probably one and the same individual, the most prominent of glass-makers at the greater Abbey at that very interesting moment of time between the battles of Crecy and Poitiers! No other bearing this specific name and profession occurs at the period; and there are, at any rate, two notable things to be said relative to him. He appears upon a commission sitting at St. Bride's Church in Fleet Street, London, to report to the mayor upon the evil encroachments, etc., made upon the Fleet Ditch by tanners and others, close to the king's great mansion, Bridewell Palace, there. It is not a little singular¹ that this very site is still occupied by the great glass works of the Powells in Tudor Street, White Friars. If he is indeed the same Thomas Glasswright, whose name I have found in the Cathedral Library in an unpublished deed of 1337 (as a witness), owning a tenement down Bridge Street, Gloucester (where all the artists seem to have resided), and in three of our Corporation records, 1330 (No. 865), 1339-40 (No. 899-900), then I may be permitted the conjecture that some great achievement by him in Gloucester churches had procured his summoning to the king's work at Westminster, like his great predecessor, John of Gloucester, to make similar noble windows there. And there was one magnificent work certainly made here in Gloucester Cathedral at the very time, at the cost and desire of the then Constable of Gloucester Castle, a prime favourite of King Edward. I allude, of course, to Sir Thomas Bradeston,² (c.) 1288-1380, for whom the famous east window

¹ As Mr. Lethaby points out in a letter to me.

² Son and heir of Henry de Bradstone, near Berkeley. Served in the Scottish War 1318-19. Suffered forfeiture for countering the Despencers. Governor of Berkeley and Keeper of Kingswood Chase. Governor of Gloucester Castle 1330 and from 1338-60. Held the Manor of Deerhurst from Queen Isabel. On embassy to Rome 1343. Accompanied the king to France 1346 (July), in the retinue of the Earl of Arundel. Sat by summons in three Councils Edward III. Chantries in St. Michael's Chapel at Bradestone (now gone). Married (1) Isabel (died 1343-44); (2) Agnes. His son married Philippa, daughter of Sir Guy de Brian.

in the Abbey here was set up about the year 1352 by undoubted local masters. In Thomas the Glasswright of Gloucester we may indeed have, though it is not yet proved absolutely, the actual artist of that unique achievement.

I find that the Abbot and Convent of St. Peter's after 1345 were annually paying to Sir Thomas Bradeston for life £48. This important fact establishes the means of understanding his undertaking the commemorative or Crecy window in the Abbey; and it makes Thomas the glasswright of Gloucester the most likely person to be employed there, for, as I find from documents still unprinted, he was a tenant of the Abbey.