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**Medieval Gloucester: II**

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MEDIEVAL GLOUCESTER: II

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ABBREVIATIONS


Cart. Historia et Cartularium S. Petri Gloucestriae.

H.M.C. Historical Manuscripts Commission.


I. INTRODUCTION

A PAPER entitled 'Medieval Gloucester' appeared in Vol. l.xvi of these Transactions. It dealt, principally, with the topography of the town. In the following pages an account is given of the general life of Gloucester, chiefly as it can be pieced together from the Records of the Corporation, as compiled by W. H. Stevenson, and from the extracts of them he gives in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Twelfth Report, Appendix, Part IX.

The period covered is from the 12th to the close of the 16th century, and it deals with an age that saw ecclesiastical power in the land reach its zenith and then stand still, incapable of altering its ways to meet changing conditions. It was the servant of an alien hierarchy, ruling from Rome, with no knowledge of how things were shaping in England. While the masses were uneducated,
it was all-powerful with them, but, as learning spread, people became less credulous; in the course of time they grew to be critical and assertive. As these trends developed, so the influence of church and abbey waned. The vast possessions of these institutions, their many rights and privileges made them envied; the easy manner of life of many a priest and monk could but lose them respect among a commonalty which was learning to know its own strength as it developed a corporate spirit, whether in craft guilds or in local government; a commonalty which was outing Latin and French, and making its own tongue the language of the land. With the growth of a corporate spirit, came a desire for power. Cities and towns sought liberties and privileges from the crown, crafts from the civic authorities, and these, when secured, were very jealously guarded. Both town and craft sought to put obstacles in the way of those from without who wanted to enter within their walls to trade.

Such are some of the happenings that are mirrored, sometimes clearly, at others somewhat dimly, in the Records. When a new king was crowned, we see the burgesses getting him to renew by charter their existent liberties and privileges, and often seeking more, though the payments in either event were heavy (1). The craft guilds had their own rules and privileges agreed with the Community, and later with the Common Council. The language in which the deeds was written gradually changes from Norman-French and Latin to English. In personal names the early epithet or nickname turns into the surname of today. At the end of the previous paper a list was given of the distribution of properties in the town as between lay and religious holders and it showed that the latter considerably outnumbered the former, a state of affairs that the burgesses must have more and more resented as the years passed. The fact that the abbot of St. Peter had all the rights of a burgess within the liberties

1 Gloucester and its Varying Fortunes, Blakeway, G. S., 37.
of the town and could buy food, corn, and other commodities after those for the mayor’s household had been obtained, was not likely to improve relations. Furthermore, when the townsmen looked beyond their walls, most of the land they saw was in the hands of the king or of religious houses; even the meadows where they grazed their sheep, fed their swine, and pastured their cattle and horses, belonged to the abbey, and this last was a frequent cause of controversy, and sometimes of violence.

Violence was often considered a justifiable means of attaining an objective. In 1500 the Common Council found it necessary to pass a bye-law to forbid the carrying of any arms within the town. In 1513 the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and burgesses, were all parties to very forcible action against the abbey in a dispute about rights of pasture. Owing to a bad harvest in 1585, the price of corn was very high during the following year and much discontent resulted. At Easter ‘greate nombers of weaver(s), tuckers, and other persons most poore and many welthie’ held up and plundered a boat on the Severn carrying malt. It was not the only act of this kind, and the passage of corn by the river had to be held up for a while (2).

Gloucester’s geographical situation inevitably made it at an early date an important commercial centre. The Domesday Survey mentions iron-making. ‘In the time of King Edward (the Confessor) the city of Gloucester paid . . . thirty dickers of iron, and one hundred rods of iron drawn out, for making nails for the King’s ships’. By the reign of Henry II, the town must have been a medieval Woolwich Arsenal as it was making armaments to be despatched to the royal armies, not only at home, in Ireland, and in France, but also to the lands of the Crusades (3). The fact that it had a port, undoubtedly helped, as it made easy not only the transport of iron ore

2 H.M.C., 459.
3 Historical Geography of England before 1800, 227.
from the Forest of Dean, but the shipment of manufactured goods. With the growth of the wool trade, a portion of the cloth-making that went with it came to the town. Tanning was for a long time one of the main industries, and it is significant that, at the time of the RENTAL of 1455, tailors and shoemakers appear to have been the most numerous of the traders. In medieval times, as today, the making of agricultural implements for sale in the surrounding country was an important business. Imports included leather from Spain, coal, wines, and fish. The bye-laws passed by the Common Council and the rules of the craft guilds show how keen was the determination to protect the town’s trade and craftsmen. Generally speaking, an outsider could only buy or sell in the Bothall; no-one could be a tanner in the town unless he was a burgess or freeman; and no one could trade as a butcher until he had done at least seven years’ apprenticeship in the town. There was, however, one week in the year when restrictions on outside traders and merchants were, if not entirely removed, at least, considerably lightened, and that was the occasion of the annual fair at Midsummer. There is little doubt that this was the great event of the year in the town’s life.

Many of the deeds contain the measurements of the properties with which they deal. These are in accordance with a long-lived local custom whereby an inch was interposed between every yard, the effect of which was to give 37 inches to this measure (4). Other measures of weight or quantity occur: a peisa of tallow, a quarter of woad; a trussel of cloth; a ‘galon, potell, quarte, pynte’ of ale. There is information about building materials, also what can be described as an early specification of materials for the re-building of a house. There are mentions of household commodities and of clothes, some of them quaint to the reader of today.

4 Records vi.
A deed of about 1190 (5) which records a grant of land, land, ends with the names of the witnesses, and then these words: 'These were present at the drinking in the house of the said Ralph of Muchegros'. Ralph was the grantor. It would seem that a disposition of land was made an occasion for drinking. Indeed, a study of the Stewards' accounts, of the Council Book, and the rules of the craft guilds suggests that many events were treated as opportunities for 'drinkings'. Brewing prospered in the town for a long time.

References to the parish churches are numerous, but not very informative. They do, however, record the endowment of chantries and of lights. These are often named in wills which sometimes contain bequests for the repair and maintenance of roads, also of the streets of Gloucester. The bad and dirty condition of the last was no new thing, even in medieval times when appeals for the means of bettering them were met by royal grants, but then, as now, the community had to pay. The king would authorize the levying of tolls on goods coming into the town. This meant, of course, that the vendor added the cost of the toll to the purchase price.

To many, probably, one of the chief interests of the Records will be in the light they throw on the development of corporate administration. Some indications of this are given in the following pages. The reeve is followed by the bailiffs and stewards, and these, in turn, give place to the mayor and Common Council. The coming of the last was followed by the keeping of Council Books, the first of which (1486-c. 1600) is the only one that concerns this paper. (6)

It contains not only minutes, but many other matters of interest, such as early bye-laws and rules for the meetings of the Common Council to be conducted with due decorum. From its pages we learn that among the

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5 No. 87. (Number in Records of Gloucester Corporation).
6 No. 1375.
duties of the mayor were those of inspecting meat offered for sale, and of fixing the prices for corn and ale. To judge from the bye-laws, the morality of the town's inhabitants and the condition of its streets must, at one time, have been equally bad: 'Gloucester, the which is to abominable spokyn of in alle England and Walys of the vicyous lyvyng of dyvers personez, as well sprytuell as temperall' and 'Item that alle inhabitantes within this towne make clene byfore ther soyles the strete and so dayly to dayly (sic) kepe it clene and cause it to be caried away, and not to stryke it doune by the chanell (gutter)' (7). The Chamberlains' accounts amplify the information in the Council Book. There is no doubt, however, that a full study of these and of those of the Bailiffs, of the Burgess Rolls, and like records would throw very considerable additional light on a subject that is, at present, all too vague.

A feature of the Records is the great number of place and field names that they contain, and many of them (field names especially) are given in the appendices to this paper which give particulars of properties held by the hospitals of St. Margaret and St. Bartholomew. Identifications of some will be found, but others could be placed by those who have the requisite local knowledge. Individual names have particular interests: Smoke-acre in Wotton, used of a form of tax or incidence of tenure; the problematical 'Wellcettur' in Lydney, and Whetstones (Welsh stone) of Newnham; and the recording of a natural characteristic of a locality in the Goldfinches field of Down Hatherley.

Across the town scene pass many figures, some colourful, others drab and sad: the mayor and aldermen in scarlet gowns and velvet tippets; the wife of a burgess dressed in a gown faced with black lamb with white 'frice' and having 'piped hookes of silver'; a mitred bishop; the beggars in livery, wearing badges; and an organ player.

\textsuperscript{7} H.M.C., 435.
who had fallen on hard times. There are yet others: jesters, companies of players, waits, morris-dancers, and performing bears; and in the wings, almost off-stage, the shunned and tragic lepers.

II. Hospitals

The Hospital of St. Sepulchre and the Blessed Margaret the Virgin

The Records give a certain amount of information concerning this institution. It was established by and belonged to the abbey of St. Peter (8) which prescribed its rules. Rudder states that it did not come under the control of the Common Council of the city until the dissolution of the monasteries (9). It would seem, however, that, at least as early as 1361, its administration was in civil hands as in that year it is recorded that Robert the Waller (le Walour), the Master of the Hospital, was elected by the Community of Gloucester (10). Subsequently the holder of this office, which became an annual appointment, was sometimes called Keeper, Supervisor, or Warden. The resident head of the house was the Prior. The Records name sixteen holders of this office between 1297 and 1559 (11), and there is a roll for the period 1534–64 that gives the names of the Masters between these years (12). There is a draft appointment of 1518 of William Organ as Prior and Governor by the mayor, the master of the hospital, and all the burgesses (13).

The relationship between the hospitals of St. Sepulchre and St. Margaret is uncertain. The earliest grant in the Records (c. 1180) (14) is to the Lepers of St. Sepulchre, but, in another (c. 1210) (15) a witness is described as

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8 H.M.C., 426.
9 New History of Gloucestershire, i, 185.
10 No. 973.
11 Rudder: 1, 186–7, gives a list of priors and masters.
12 No. 1300. 13 No. 1198. 14 No. 84. 15 No. 136.
Chaplain of St. Sepulchre of the House of St. Margaret, and yet another (c. 1220) (16) is in favour of the ' Leper Brethren and sisters of the Hospital of St. Sepulchre and the Blessed Margaret the Virgin without Gloucester '. In the course of later years, deeds name, almost without exception, St. Margaret only. It has been suggested that St. Margaret was the name of the hospital, whereas St. Sepulchre applied only to the chapel attached to it (17). Be this as it may, the institution began as a leper house, but later became a home for the infirm. Rudder states that the lepers were given permission (c. 1158) to bury in their own churchyard (18) and the Records contain a reference to their cemetery (19).

A roll still exists containing the rules for the church and convent of St. Margaret (20). It was written about the year 1200 in Anglo-French, and is in parts illegible. A translation is given in Vol. xx of these Transactions (21). The rules deal with the perquisites of the chaplain (these included a gallon of ale daily), with money to be given to the brethren and sisters, with the prayers they were to say, and they end with a threat of excommunication by the Abbot and Convent of Gloucester for any breach of them.

There are some 139 deeds relating to the hospital, the majority of which are grants and leases of property, but all the former do not represent benefactions. Some are clearly purchases (22). While they do not give a complete list of the lands owned, they are sufficient to show that the hospital's possessions were widely spread. It is significant, both in the case of St. Margaret's and of St. Bartholomew's hospitals, that, whereas up to 1370 most of the deeds relate to acquisitions, after that date they become, as the

16 No. 176.
17 B.G.A.S., xx, 132.
18 R., 183.
19 No. 1018.
20 No. 1366. It is printed in full in H.M.C., 426-7.
21 P. 135.
22 Nos. 364, 510 relate to land bought at Elmstone Hardwick.
years proceed, increasingly, and finally almost wholly, leases by the two houses of their estates. This was, no doubt, a consequence of the shortage of labour resulting from the Black Death. The properties mentioned fall within an area bounded by Elmstone Hardwick, Swindon (near Cheltenham), Hucclecote, Gloucester, and Hasfield, and, as would be expected, the greatest number lay around Wotton, Elmbridge, and Hucclecote. Fifteen acres were held at Swindon, with a mill near Arle. The total acreage named exceeds 75 acres (23).

Apart from deeds relating to land, there are two that grant corodies and one of these, dated 1465 (24), states that the recipient shall be given the usual allowances of bread, ale, meat, fish, and other foods, a chamber and all such other things and easements as a brother of the hospital received, also enough food for four sheep for his use, these to become the hospital’s property at his death. The fact that they were to be depastured within the hospital, at its expense, during the winter is evidence of farm buildings being attached to it. The earliest grant to the Lepers of St. Sepulchre (c. 1180) (25) gave them the right to take wood from a wood at Brimpsfield. This right was later interfered with as, c. 1540 (26), a petition was sent to the king in which complaint was made that his officers had stopped them taking the wood. It asked for restoration of the liberty given them by ‘Elys Giffard in the tyme whereof no mind is in remembrance, by his deed under his seal of arms (27)’. Another deed (c. 1230) (28) grants to St. Sepulchre all the furnage ( furnace) every Monday of a bakehouse in what is now St. John’s Lane. Two deeds (c. 1230) relating to a grant

23 See Appendix 1.
24 No. 1155.
25 No. 84.
26 No. 1222.
27 The Giffard family held Brimpsfield Castle.
28 No. 283. Furnagium was in feudal times the fee paid to the lord by a tenant for the right of the latter to bake in his own oven, but, in this case, Stevenson suggests (Records, p. 144) that the term is used of the profit of baking.
of a rent of land near the Gooseditch, outside the Eastgate, gave to the ‘Church and Brethren of the Sepulchre of the House of St. Margaret’ all weaving implements on the land (29). This would seem to indicate that the inmates made cloth for their own use. It is most improbable that, being lepers, they would have been allowed to sell it.

There is a grant (c. 1230) (30) by Thomas Toli to ‘the Hospital House of St. Sepulchre’ of land in the castle street of Gloucester, held in fee from him by Robert Bolde. The hospital was to receive from it 44d annually, half of which was to be used for the purchase of food and half for the light of a lamp to burn in its church. He also gave half a pound of cumin to be paid from land in the Smiths’ Street: ‘to have and to hold if he (Thomas Toli) die in his pilgrimage towards Jerusalem’. Cumin or cummin was grown for its fruit or seed which was used medicinally as a carminative. By the will of Joan Goldstone, 1578, the hospital received two loads of wood (31).

In 1518 the annual value of the hospital was £11 8s 4d of which the brethren and sisters received £8 12s 0d and the priest £2. He was also given the out-rents, worth 15s. The goods, plate, ornaments, etc., were valued at £24 7s 6d. It was disclosed at a visitation held in 1580 that the charter of foundation had been delivered to a mayor, then deceased, and had not been returned, and it was stated that, by the foundation, six poor people were to be fed in the hospital. It would seem, however, that in 1562 a reader and ten men were being maintained (32).

There are only two royal deeds relating to the hospital: one of 1376 (33) in respect of a piece of land in Gloucester bequeathed by a will which it was claimed should have gone to the king under the Statute of Mortmain; and the other a general pardon of 1424 (34) to the prior, brethren, and sisters. The reason for it is not stated.

29 Nos. 240–1. 30 No. 267. 31 No. 1266. 32 Rudder, 1, 186. 33 No. 47. 34 No. 51.
Rudder states that the old hall of the hospital was converted into a barn in 1571 and that the prior's lodgings were at the east end of the church (35). The buildings suffered considerably during the siege of 1643, three sides of the quadrangle being destroyed. Only the church survives today and in it none of the original Norman structure remains. John Clarke in this *Architectural History of Gloucester* gives a drawing of the hospital shewing, presumably, the one surviving side of the quadrangle. It was made from the east side (36). The writer possesses a reproduction of a drawing of the same building from a south-west aspect. This gives part of what was, probably, the prior's lodging. This is to be seen, though much less conspicuously, in Clarke's drawing. Whereas the old building was set right against the road, the present almshouses lie well back from it.

(Note.—The Corporation Records contain a Rental of St. Margaret's Hospital dated 1589 (No. 1320) and the Master's Accounts for 1555-6, 1560-1, 1561-2 (Nos. 1345-7).

**The Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene**

This hospital was also known as the Upper House of Dudstone, St. Margaret's being called the Lower House. There are but three deeds relating to it in the Records. The first is a copy of a will of 1334 (37) which contained bequests to it and St. Margaret's, and the second is a letter from James I (38) which, *inter alia*, changed its name to the Hospital of King James and granted a pension of £13 per annum from the royal purse, 'as was formerly paid by the Kings of England'. The third deed, dated c. 1225, deals with a grant to St. Bartholomew's Hospital of 'ten loaves of Dudestan', to be received from Llanthony Priory, such loaves to be of the same corn, weight, and quantity as were received from the priory by St. Mary
Magdalene hospital. The priory had the option of paying 6d (Estclingi) instead of the ten loaves (39), and gave to St. Mary Magdalene hospital, which it had founded, £12 6s 8d yearly for providing the bread and for other necessaries. According to the register of Henry Deene, prior of Llanthony, the inmates were given two loaves a day, a load of hay, and a tree for fuel, yearly, with pasturage for a cow, and some other lands for the maintenance of a priest (40). This land may have been that part of the manor of Little Barrington which Roger, son of Milo of Gloucester, gave for the provision of 13 lepers, c. 1150 (41). There would appear to have been an annuity of £20 per annum from the manors of Newland and Ruardean. In 1562 only one reader and six poor people were being maintained at the hospital (42).

On the back of the will of John Fenner, alias Spring, dated 1603, is an inventory of household goods, etc., that came to him as prior: a corn-wain, a dung-wain with a pair of iron-bound wheels, two yokes for oxen and two iron springs, one plough with shear and coulter, one sow, one cock and three hens, various pots, pans, and a kettle, a pewter candlestick, a silver chalice, and, in the church, a tablecloth and surplice (43).

The hospital buildings were on the east side of the London road, and the church on the west side. The former were on the site of a house, formerly known as Wotton Lawn, now the offices of a Regional Electricity Board. The writer was informed that a plan with the deeds of the property shows the foundations of these buildings. Only the chancel of the church remains. The nave was pulled down in 1861 when the fine Norman south door was built up in the chancel arch, on the wall of which are a number of pilgrims' marks (44).

39 No. 213. 40 Rudder, 187.
44 There is a photograph of the church before the nave was removed, in B.G.A.S. xxvi, opp. p. 50.
THE HOSPITAL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

As there is an account of this hospital in Vol. li of these *Transactions* (p. 169 *et seq.*), it will suffice to give here additional information concerning it to be obtained from the Records.

Compared with the hospitals of St. Margaret and St. Mary Magdalene, it was larger and considerably wealthier. There are more than 330 deeds relating to it, apart from Lease Books, Accounts, Rentals, and other documents (45) but it is evident that, from time to time, many others have been lost. In fact, a royal deed of 1407 (46) records that many charters and evidences had been burnt, abstracted, or lost by carelessness, and there is no doubt that since then further losses have taken place. Notwithstanding this, a sufficient *corpus* survives to throw considerable light on the institution.

Some idea as to the number of inmates can be gathered from a petition of 1558–1603 (47) which recites that the hospital formerly housed 52 poor people, each receiving 7d weekly, but that, owing to its having fallen on bad times, this number had been reduced to 32 in receipt of 4½d weekly. The foundation was for men only in the first instance, but from 1405 onwards the deeds from time to time mention the ‘Brethren and Sisters’. (48) Before this date ‘the Prior and Brethren’ are the only parties to deeds on the hospital’s behalf, but in 1407 amplifications begin to appear: ‘the Prior or Warden and Brethren or Chaplains’, ‘the Keepers or Governors and Proctors of the infirm’, the prior being one of the Keepers or Governors. He was also called Master (49) Proctors were agents for the collection of tithes and other church dues, and in a deed of 1537 they are merely called the

45 Records, pp. 457–8, 460, 463.
46 No. 50.
47 No. 1324. See also *B.G.A.S.*, li, 191, 203.
48 No. 1056.
49 Nos. 50, 1191–2, 1211, 1213–14.
rent-gatherers of the hospital (50). In this case they were, probably, stewards rather than agents as, in the latter event, it is unlikely that they would have been parties to deeds.

The hospital's properties were widespread and numerous, extending from Newnham-on-Severn and Lydney in the west to Colesborne in the east, and from Hasfield in the north to Newington Bagpath in the south. Outside the present county it had land at Minety in Wiltshire, at Castlemorton and Longdon in Worcestershire, and at Caple in Herefordshire. Its largest holdings appear to have been at Castlemorton, Coaley, Elmbridge, Hardwick (south of Gloucester), and Uley. It had a considerable number in and just round Gloucester. Apart from all these, which are listed in Appendix No. 2, it held St. Nicholas church in Westgate street, the advowson of Newnham church, and, according to Rudder (51), the rectory of Kemmerton. It also held the chapel of Little Dean (52).

In addition to actual holdings and rents, the hospital secured other benefits, as, for instance, 2 crannocks of corn from a barn at Heiperlea (Down Hatherley) (53); 2 of wheat and 2 of oats from another at Lassington (54). Both these were annual gifts. It was also given a pound of wax for the Mass of St. Mary in the hospital, to be received from land (55), and two loads of charcoal under the will of Joan Goldstone (56). With a grant of arable land in Owlpfen went sufficient pasture for 8 sheep and 2 cows (57), and with one in Uley licence was given to enclose a meadow between the Feast of the Purification (Feb. 2) and that of All Saints (Nov. 1) (58). This was the period for preparing land for sowing, for sowing and harvesting; enclosure being necessary to keep out

50 No. 1217. 51 Rudder, 1, 202.
52 No. 1166. See also B.G.A.S., LI, 199.
53 No. 131. 54 No. 181.
55 No. 264. 56 No. 1266.
57 No. 412. 58 No. 532 (c. 1260)
animals. In 1268–9 land at Elmbridge was released to the hospital on condition that it delivered to the former owner from its barn as much corn in the following year as pertained to the land in question (59). This may have been an early form of the present ‘out-going’. In 1325 John of Olepenne (Owlpen) gave the hospital a grant of common ‘for all their beasts at Lotegarshale in all his lands, woods, and other common pastures throughout the whole year, and in his meadows in open time (i.e. when they were not enclosed), just as the free tenants of Olepenne pasture (60)’. In an agreement of 1440, made between the parishioners of St. Nicholas and the hospital, the former undertook to pay the prior ‘two pounds of good and new wax at the feast of the Annunciation and at Michaelmas by equal portions (61)’. Another gift in kind was that of the ‘loaves of Dudestan’ which has been described under the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene (62). In the case of that hospital the service of bread was commuted for a money payment, probably because of the considerable distance between it and Llanthony Priory, also owing to the undesirability of coming in contact with lepers. Whether a similar commutation was made with St. Bartholomew we do not know, but here there were no lepers and the hospital was not a great distance from the priory by the Severn bank.

The account of the hospital in these Transactions, referred to above, mentions a deed (c. 1240) which gave the arrangements for the appointment of a chaplain (63), but deals with a part only of it. At the same time the hospital undertook to pay 2s every Saturday to ‘a trustworthy man of Gloucester’ who was to be elected, and he, in conjunction with the chaplain and a brother of the house, was to spend the 2s in victuals for the poor and infirm brethren (64). There are two more deeds that deal

59 No. 592.  60 No. 851.  61 No. 1115.
62 p. 227.    63 op. cit., 188–9.  64 No. 351.
with food, both c. 1260 (65). In one, land at Bishops Cleeve and the nearby Woodmancote were charged with an annual payment of 12d on the eve of the Ascension, 'to be expended in the refectory of the poor and infirm in the said Hospital, for the souls of Master Hubert, then parson of Cliuia (Cleeve) and of Albreda (Aubreya) his sister'. In the other, land at Cleeve and Gotherington was similarly charged for the souls of the same persons to the extent of 20d, to be paid on the day of the death of Albreda, 'that is on the morrow of the Ascension'. A quarter of wheat was to be provided at the same time.

Many of the deeds relate to benefactions for the souls of the deceased. There is one of 1341 in which the prior and brethren undertook to find a chaplain 'of good life and conversation to celebrate divine services and masses for the life of Ralph Baron, and for his soul after death, and for the souls of his ancestors . . . and for the souls of all the faithful dead'. For this Ralph Baron paid 20 marks sterling (66). In the same year the hospital paid 25 silver marks to William of Aston Someruyle (Somerville) for land in the manor of the King's Barton and 'granted that the soul of the said William, and the souls of his father and mother should be in their special memory in their daily masses, and that their souls should participate in all the prayers and benefactions of the said Hospital, and their names should be written in the table ordained in the mass, and an anniversary should be said for them yearly' (67). About the year 1230 land at Minsterworth was given to 'maintain a lamp for the ministration of the poor people languishing in the said Hospital', for the health of the soul of Robert the Freeman and his wife Cecily (68).

The hospital held, as stated above, the church of St. Nicholas, the prior being its rector (69). In 1347 he and

65 Nos. 507–8. 66 No. 801. 67 No. 802.
68 No. 307. For gifts of other lamps, see Nos. 124, 437.
69 p. 229.
the brethren gave the parishioners permission to build on a piece of land ' between the wide door and the wall of the church on the north and the King's highway on the south, extending in length from the stone wall at the back of the chapel of St. Mary in the said church on the east to the stone work of the bell-tower (campanile) of the said church '. The profits of the building were to be used for the church's maintenance, and the prior was to demand no rent for it (70). This land formed part of a dispute between the hospital and the proctors and parishioners of St. Nicholas in 1140 (71). The latter claimed that a chamber over the west porch of the church, ' and the soil or area on the west of the said porch walled with stone ' were part of the church glebe and had belonged to them ' time out of mind ' for repairing the church. It was agreed that the parishioners should have the chamber and land for 40 years, but the prior and others were to have right of entry, and the prior was to be paid two pounds of wax annually. The deed proceeds to give the measurements of a building erected by the parishioners on land belonging to the hospital, namely part of a tenement. They were to hold it for 40 years, to keep it in repair, and, on the death or removal of the sitting tenant, to pay the prior 8d yearly.

There was another dispute about property in 1426; this time concerning a tenement in Southgate street, in respect of which Hayles Abbey claimed successfully that it held it from the hospital by fealty and a rent of 6s 8d, and not by fealty and a rent of 18s as had been ' exacted ' by the brethren (72).

A lease for 70 years by the hospital of two tenements in Southgate street, ' between the entry going into the tenement called "the Signe of the Bell" ', granted in 1538, is of interest as illustrating the obligations of lessor and lessee for repairs. The latter were to keep the property in repair with the exception of ' all manner of greatte

70 No. 938. 71 No. 1115. 72 No. 1089.
tymbre, that is, collare postes, great sommars, principall pricke postes, and enterdeyces' which were to be found by the prior and brethren (73).

In 1447 Henry vi granted to the bailiffs and burgesses of Gloucester the right to build two water mills under one of the arches of the Westgate bridge (74). Effect was given to this in 1451 when the hospital gave the Community a 99 years' lease of a tenement and the water of the Severn so that the latter could have an easement for two water mills to be built on the river near the tenement (75). The Rental of 1455 records this as follows:—' The Stewards hold a house near the west gate with a water mill there, newly built from the foundations in the thirtieth year of the reign of King Henry the Sixth (76)'.

THE PARISH CHURCHES

The Records do not contain a great deal of information about the parish churches and much of such as there is will be found in wills and relates to chantries and lights. The latter were given by those who could not afford the expense of founding the former. It was often obligatory for a chantry priest to teach as well as to say masses, but only in the case of a chantry in St. Nicholas is there evidence of such a requirement. There he had to give, free of charge, instruction in grammar to anyone who wished to learn it. In some instances the Records name properties belonging to chantries, and it is, perhaps, significant that in different churches there were chantries to the same saints, especially, to St. Mary, St. Katherine, and St. Anne. The Rental also gives properties attached to these benefactions. There are deeds of 1549, 1550 and 1576 (77) conveying to the Mayor and burgesses properties that had formerly belonged to the chantries in the city; a consequence of their suppression.

73 No. 1218.  
74 No. 17, see also B.G.A.S., LVI, 21.  
75 No. 1133.  
76 p. 70.  
77 Nos. 1243, 1245, 1264.
St. Aldate

According to the Rental (78), the Proctors of the Service of St. John in this church held property in St. Aldate street. There was also a Service of St. Mary, as appears in the Chantry Certificates, Gloucestershire (Roll 22), 1548 (79).

St. John

By the will of Petronilla of Ledeney (Lydney), the rector received 6s 8d, each priest celebrating in the church 12d and the clerk 4d. To the lights of St. Nicholas, St. Mary, the Holy Cross, St. Katherine, and St. Anne, she left 2s 6d in equal shares (80). (Fosbrooke states that there were chantries to St. Mary, St. Anne, the Holy Trinity, and the lights of Saints Nicholas and Catherine) (81). The Rental shows the Service of St. Mary as holding properties in Northgate street, between and beyond the two north gates, Hare lane and Feet lane (Alvin street). The Chantry Certificates give The Rood, Our Lady, and St. Anne Services. The priest of the first, besides saying prayers, keeping an obit, and bestowing money to the poor, had to ‘ give certain money yearly to an organ player . . . towards the mending of his living (82) ’. The ordinances of the Tanners’ Guild indicate that it maintained a chantry in this church (see under Craft Guilds).

St. Mary de Crypt

There is a deed (c. 1230) recording the grant of 2 acres in Hasfield to the rector, the consideration being 36s of silver which the grantee ‘ paid the donor in his great need, to acquit him of his debts to the Jews (83) ’. Another deed of the same period stated that 16d was to be rendered ‘ to the sustentation of the light of the mass of St. Mary of Suthegate ’ in respect of land in Southgate street (84).

78 p. 70.
80 No. 986 (1368).
81 p. 313.
83 No. 250.
84 No. 255.
The church benefited considerably under the will of Richard Manchestre, burgess (85). He left 3s 4d to the high altar 'for tithes forgotten', and his largest brazen pot towards 'the purchase of five great bells of one concord to be fixed in the belfry'. Such of his silver as was not specifically bequeathed was to be sold and, with its proceeds, his executors were to find an honest chaplain 'to continually celebrate at the altar of St. John' in the church for his soul, for those of his two deceased wives, his relations and benefactors 'for so long as the money will last'. He stipulated that his book called *Medulla Gramaticae* (86) should remain in a chest in the church under the custody of the Chaplain and Proctors of the Chantry of St. Mary; also that a book of the miracles of St. Jerome, which was bound with iron chains to the stall in which he sat, should continue in the custody of the wardens 'for the increase of the virtues of those reading the said books'. The bequest of the *Medulla* suggests that teaching obligations may have attached to the Chantry of St. Mary. He so left his various properties that the income from them should be spent in the sustentation of a chaplain of 'the perpetual chantry of St. Mary'; in the maintenance of a lamp to burn in the second chancel of the church; and for an anniversary of his death. The Chantry Certificates give the chantries of Our Lady (2), St. Katherine, and St. John (87), and Rudge states that the chantry of St. Katherine held lands in Lydney, Ripple and Naunton (88).

The Rental shows that the Chantry of St. Mary owned properties in Southgate, Westgate, Longsmith streets, and in Bell lane. It also gives a Fraternity of St. Thomas in the church, the Proctors of which held a tenement in Southgate street for the maintenance of a lamp (89).

85 No. 1138 (1454)
86 The Marrow of (Latin) Grammar.
89 p. 23.
ST. MARY GRACELANE

A deed of 1576 (90) mentions a Chantry or Service of St. Mary in this church, and this is confirmed by the Chantry Certificates (91).

ST. MARY DE LODE

This church had a chantry dedicated to St. Mary (92) and a Fraternity of the Holy Trinity to which Richard Manchester left his greatest mazer (murra) and the profits of two shops for the service of the chaplain who was to pray for his and other named souls (93). The Rental shows that the Fraternity held property in Scrud and Archdeacon lanes. The Chantry Certificates give the Trinity Guild and the Service of Our Lady (94).

ST. MICHAEL

A deed of 1273 states that the holder of some land outside the east gate of the town had to pay 1 lb. of wax yearly at Michaelmas to the light of St. Mary in this church (95) and in a will of 1348 (96) there are the following bequests:—12d to the high altar, 6d to the chaplain, 4d to the chaplain of the chantry of St. Mary, and 3d to the clerk; and a wax candle each to the images of St. Katherine and St. James. There is also a bequest 'to the image of St. Mary in the meeting of the four cross roads (in quadrivio) a silken veil and 1d of wax'. This may have been an image on the outside of the church; if so, it probably disappeared at the time of the spoliation of the chantries in the 16th century.

There was a second chantry, that of St. Anne, the proctors of which were the Master and Wardens of the guild of Weavers who, under the will of John Fawkener, received £40 (97). They were required every year to lend

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90 No. 1264.
91 B.G.A.S., viii, 260.
92 Rental, pp. 20, 48.
93 No. 1138 (1454)
94 B.G.A.S., viii, 259.
95 No. 631.
96 No. 942.
97 No. 1237 (1545).
out this sum among ' the poor handicraftsmen, occupiers, parishioners, and inhabitants of the parish ' so that no-one received more than £5. They were to take security for repayment and to collect the money at the end of the year. A third chantry was dedicated to St. John the Baptist (98). Fosbrooke states that it was a Fraternity of Brethren and Sisters who inhabited a house in Eastgate street called ' Brethren of St. John's Hall ', the ' Brethren Hall ' of the Rental (99). It held properties in New Inn Lane, Northgate and Eastgate streets; the chaplain's house was in the last. The Chantry Certificates give the Service of St. Anne (100).

The Church received 20s for reparation under the will of Joan Goldstone (101).

**ST. NICHOLAS**

A deed of 1245 (102) directs the payment of 12d yearly to the Service of St. Mary in this church. It also benefited under the will of Joan at the Oak (atte Nõke). She left 6d to the high altar, 6d to the chapel of St. Mary, 6d to the light of the chapel, 4d to the roofing of the church, 3d to the light of St. Katherine, and 4d to that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, 2d to each chaplain in the church, 3d to the parish chapel, 1d to the clerk, and half a piece of the best veil of silk ' to the Image of St. Mary in the chancel of St. Mary '. She also stipulated that if her daughter, to whom she left 2 pieces of silk veils and a wool cloth, a brass pot, 6 silver spoons, 2 pieces of silver, and a mazer, died within half a year of her own death, these articles were to go to the ' curator ' of the church (103).

There is an Exemplification, dated 1451, of the will of Thomas Gloucestre charging lands in Gloucestershire, Middlesex, Essex, Hertford, and London, with the

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98 No. 1245.  
99 p. 350, and Rental 92.  
100 B.G.A.S., viii, 255.  
101 No., 1266 (1578).  
102 No. 425.  
103 No. 996 (1375), ' Curator ', ' one who has a cure of souls '. O.E.D.
foundation of two chantries: one in the church of the Friars Minor in London, and the other in St. Nicholas, Gloucester. The chaplain of the latter, in addition to saying masses for the souls of the testator, his wife, and parents, was 'to instruct all persons coming thither, and so desiring, in the faculty of grammar gratis, and without reward'. He was to have a salary of 20 marks and a suitable house (104).

The Rental names properties belonging to the Service of St. Mary in Westgate and Eastgate streets, also between the two north gates. The Chantry Certificates give, in addition to the Service of St. Mary, that of the Rood (105).

ST. OWEN

The Rental gives property in Southgate street belonging to the Service of the Blessed Mary (106), and the Chantry Certificates record it (107). Joan Goldstone bequeathed 20s to this church (108).

HOLY TRINITY

A deed of 1304 states that the parishioners of this church held a tenement in 'Brodesmethenestrete' (Berkeley street) (109). In 1380-1 St. Bartholomew's Hospital granted a lease of a piece of vacant land which it held of the grant of the churchwardens (procuratores) and parishioners of Trinity church (110). Among the bequests of Ranulph atte Felde, burgess and saddler, was 'the tenement belonging to the chantry in the church of the Holy Trinity on the north' (111), and in a lease of 1453 it is stated that the Service and Fraternity of St. Thomas the Martyr held land in Maverdine lane (112). Another lease of 1454 shows that the tenement bequeathed by Ranulph atte Felde was in Gore lane and that it

pertained to the Service of St. Mary in Holy Trinity church (113). In 1464-5 the proctors of the church, with the consent of the parishioners, leased for 6 years a tenement near the Quay (114). It would appear from a deed of 1498 that the tenement in Berkeley street belonged to the Service of St. Mary (115).

The Rental shows the chantry of St. Mary as holding property in the Butchery, Berkeley and Southgate streets, and the Fraternity of St. Thomas of Canterbury as being very well endowed as it held property in Westgate, Southgate, Longsmith, and College streets, the Mercery, St. John's Lane, and between the two north gates.

The Chantry Certificates give the St. Mary Service and the Jesus or Rood Service (116).

**ST. KATHERINE**

This church was destroyed at the time of the siege of 1643 and adjoined the priory of St. Oswald. It was, like St. Owen, outside the city walls. The Chantry Certificates give a Charnell Service here (117). Fosbrooke is of opinion that this was the same as that of St. Michael which belonged to the priory. He states that the church had a chantry dedicated to St. Catherine (118).

**ALL SAINTS OR ALL HALLOWS**

Rudge states that it contained a chantry dedicated to St. Mary and another called the Feoffees Service (119). The Chantry Certificates show that there was a chantry, but they give it no name (120).

**IV. RELIGIOUS HOUSES**

**THE ABBEY OF ST. PETER (Benedictine)**

Numerous deeds in the Records recite that land in Gloucester and in the county adjoin property of the abbot

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or is held from him, but the number that deal with the abbey itself or with its relations with the town are disappointingly few, and this is somewhat surprising considering how big a landlord it was in the town, as shewn by the Rental of 1455, and by the Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Gloucestriae.

There is a letter patent of 17 October 1340 (121) from Edward III to the Mayor (sic), Bailiffs, and Burgesses of the town requiring them to pay to the abbot its share of £500 outstanding in respect of a subsidy of a ninth on movables levied on the citizens and burgesses of Salisbury, Bristol, Gloucester, and Oxford to defray expenses incurred by the Black Prince during his regency while the king was abroad. The abbot, as Receiver of the Subsidy for Gloucestershire, was commanded to collect, with all possible speed, from the town its portion, or, at least, £60 1s 8d. The charter of Richard II, of 27 March 1378, states that the abbot, his servants, and tenants, are to be exempt from the powers given to the town bailiffs in respect of pleas of debt, account, detinue of chattels, also seizure and detinue of cattle, within the town (122).

About the year 1235, an agreement was made between, the abbey and the burgesses with regard to rights of pasturage (123). The burgesses had been exacting common in the lands of the abbey’s manor of Maisemore and the abbot contended that no such right of common existed there. He granted that they should have all manner of common for all manner of beasts and cattle belonging to them between the bridge of Gloucester and the Old Leden (124), also that in these pastures he could only

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121 No. 44.
122 No. 12.
123 No. 347. See Hist. et Cart., iii, 240, for full text.
124 In No. 1197 there is a mention of ‘Old Leden Crosse’. ‘Old Leden’—this suggests that the river had changed its course. O.M. 6 shows a disused channel, marked as ‘old mill race’. This left the present stream some 1100 yards west of its present mouth above Over bridge and joined the Severn just below the bridge, and a map of 1624 (Blakeway, G. S., opp. p. 48), also Greenwood’s map of 1824 show that, at the times they were made, this was the course of the river.
replace trees that had decayed. Furthermore, he gave them common in all his meadows beyond the Severn towards the west after the hay had been cut and carried, except in the fields appertaining to his out-lying manors. The burgesses were also to have common in the meadow of Prestham after the hay had been carried. They paid 35 marks for these privileges. There was further trouble about these lands three centuries later. Then the burgesses dug a trench in them ‘to the grete unquietnesse of the abbot and convent’, but this was only one of the points at issue. The situation was, indeed, serious, and the abbot had twice complained to Henry VIII of acts of violence committed by order of the municipal authorities as a result of differences of opinion concerning rights of common. On Whit-Monday, 1513, some thirty burgesses forcibly and riotously expelled the abbot’s cattle from meadows outside the Westgate. Two days later more than sixty of them broke into the house of the abbot’s barber, played havoc with its contents, and violently assaulted him and others. They also ‘brake and cast a wey his wax and tapurs’ with which, presumably, he singed the abbot and others of his monastic clientèle. On the following day over one hundred and forty persons ‘by the maintenance of the mayor and aldermen’, set out, well armed, and dug a ditch eight feet wide and ten feet deep, and ‘one hundred perche and above’ in length. They went out in the morning and returned at night—so said the complaint—with tabours and horns blowing and piping; furthermore, they set barrels of ale at the High Cross, and there they drank and ate with loud shouts and cries of triumph. They did the same the next day. On the Thursday night a crowd ‘with jackes, sallettes, bowes and arrowes, swerdes and bucklers, in maner of warr arraed’ badly wounded a servant of the abbot. On the 9 June the king ordered the Common Council to hold an enquiry, to punish offenders, and to observe the rights of common in the meadows according to custom, failing
this, he threatened heavy penalties and the loss of liberties. The burgesses were in no way deterred. The day following the receipt of these commands, the mayor and burgesses went out into the meadows and drove away horses belonging to the abbot’s tenants of Maisemore. On succeeding days similar acts were committed and on one of them the sheriffs raided the meadows and took and marked as strays two colts. This was followed by the burgesses putting their own horses and cattle into Archdeacon’s Meadow in which hay was standing, ready for carrying, and at night of the same day they put more than twenty horses into it. They did this despite the fact that the king’s judges were then in the city (125).

The dispute then came to arbitration, the arbitrators being the abbot of Winchcombe and the prior of Llanthony. Their award, dated 27 October 1513, is given in the Historia et Cartularium (iii, xlv), and it would seem that the deed in the Records (126) is an agreement made between the abbey and the burgesses as a result of it. The latter is a very lengthy document and is stated to have as its purpose the settlement of disputes regarding the title, use, and possession of common pasture in Comynham, Oxelesowe or Noneham, Portham or Prestham, Pullemedowe, Lytle Meneham, Archedekyn’s Medowe, and Little Medowe, also for the settlement of other matters at issue. The Little Meadow was on the east bank of the Severn between the small gate of the Westgate and the orchard of St. Bartholomew’s hospital. In it was the common pound, regulations for which are given. Archdeacon and the Meneham meadows were also on the east bank of the river. The agreement as to the meadows was, in brief, as follows:—

Archedekyn’s Medowe and Lytle Meneham (Little Meadow, o.m. 6). The mayor and burgesses were to have common pasture from the time when the hay was carried until the Feast of the Purification (Feb. 2), but,

125 Hist. et Cart., iii, xxxix–xlv. 126 No. 1197.
should the abbot use these meadows for agistment or pasture before they were mown, then the burgesses could put their beasts into them on the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr (July 7) until the 2nd February. During this period the abbot could put in only 10 horses or geldings and his tenants of Maisemore were to be excluded. He was to mow and carry the hay in these meadows before Portham was mown.

Pullemedow This was to be used solely by the (Pool Meadow, o.m. 6). abbey.

Comyn Ham There had evidently been especially (Town Ham, o.m. 6). serious disputes as to the bounds of this meadow as these are specifically defined in the agreement as follows:—‘it extended from the westgate of the town to the end of the causeway leading from Maisemore to the west bridge of the said town; from thence to a crosse standing on Maisemore causeway called “Old Ledon Crosse”; from thence to the new ditch (127), so that one half of the said new ditch shall continue as it now is, and thereupon boundary stones and stakes to be set from time to time as need requires; and the other half of the said ditch to extend to the corner of Pulledowe adjoining to the Severn, and boundary stones to be also set there’.

The burgesses were to have common of pasture in this meadow at all times of the year for all their beasts, except sheep; but there were special reservations for sheep belonging to butchers. The abbot was not to keep more than 14 score sheep here all the year round, no cattle, but only ‘the swine of the (abbot’s) baron’ which were to feed in the pits in the Ham in which the burgesses ‘had been wont to dig for earth and clay for repairs’ in the town.

Noneham or Oxelesowe The burgesses were to have common (Oxlease, o.m. 6). of pasture here for ‘all manner of beasts’ from the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (June 24) to that of the Purification, but the abbot could only have ewes and lambs here and in Portham during the same period.

Prestham or Portham The burgesses here had similar (Port Ham, o.m. 6). rights of common of pasture to those they enjoyed in Archdeacon Meadow and Little Meneham. The abbot could keep ewes and lambs here between the Feast of All Saints (Nov. 1) and the Purification, and his tenants could put their ‘oxen and kine’ in Oxlease, Port Ham, and the Common Ham only for one month after Portham had been mown.

127 This may well have been the new ditch which caused such ‘grete unquietnesse to the abbot’.
No burgess could have more than five beasts, his own property, pasturing at any one time, but there were special provisions for the numbers allowed to butchers. The abbot was to have the right to replace a foot-bridge over Little Severn (128), so that he could move hay, timber, horses, cattle, etc., from the abbey to his manors and weirs, and vice versa, using for this purpose Archdeacon, Meanham, and Little Meadows, also through 'the little gate near the west gate of the said town for drift and passage only (129)'. The abbot and his servants were to continue to have right of way over footpaths and ways across the meadows and pastures, and he was to have rights of replevin (130) in respect of beasts, goods, and chattels impounded within the Hundred of Barton. The mayor and burgesses were to have this right in the Hundred of Dudstone and the town of Gloucester. It was agreed that the freehold and fee simple of all the meadows vested in the abbey and, to ensure that these were not over-crowded, both abbey and town could impound all beasts found in them beyond the agreed numbers, one drift being put in the abbot's pindolf and another in that belonging to the city.

The document ends by stating that the abbot was to have all the rights of a burgess of Gloucester 'as well within the liberties as without', also 'that when the Mayor of the said town has bought and is served of such victual and cakes as shall be necessary for his household' then the Abbot and Convent could buy such of these commodities as they needed, also wheat and other corn.

There is one more deed that deals with these meadows. It is dated 11 September 1542 (131) and is the royal transfer, following the dissolution of the abbey, of many

129 Drift—the driving of cattle, sheep, etc.
130 Replevin—The recovery of goods or chattels wrongfully taken or detained.
131 No. 24.
of its lands, including the Abbot's Barton and 'the Oxeleas' to the mayor and burgesses.

There are two deeds of 1497 (132) that deal with another dispute between the abbey and burgesses. This concerned a house being built by the former between the church of St. Mary Gracelane and the Cross. The reason for it is not clear. It may have been due to the new house being higher than that previously on the site or to the manner in which it would overhang the street. As a result of arbitration, the abbey gave to the burgesses a bond of £100 to obey the award made, to set 'posts 9 ft. 5 in. from the end of the said house towards the said cross, and for the "overbidding" of the same house over the said posts'.

Llanthony Priory (Augustine)

Such references as there are in the Records are not of much interest, with the exception of that concerning the 'Loaves of Dudestan' which has been dealt with under St. Mary Magdalene and St. Bartholomew's hospitals. One deed only need be mentioned here. It is dated c. 1200 and is a grant in fee-ferm (133) by the prior of land in Holy Trinity lane (134). Its interest is that one of the witnesses to it is the Hall-moot (halimotum) of St. Owen. The hall-moot was generally the court of a lord of the manor, held in his hall, but it could signify the meeting of a guild court (135). Fosbrooke states that the priory held its hall-moot court in the church of St. Owen (136).

There is a full account of the priory in B.G.A.S. lxiii.

Friars Minor or Grey Friars (Franciscans)

This order was introduced into England in 1224, and as its rule forbade the holding of property, the sites of its

132 Nos. 1187, 1369.
133 No. 91—fee-farm, land held at an annual rent.
134 B.G.A.S., lxvi, 18, note.
135 Medieval Latin Word List, 199.
136 Fosbrooke, 377.
houses, *et coetera*, were vested in the Communes (*Communitates*) of the towns in which they were situated, as is confirmed by a deed *c.* 1230 (137). It is a release from Thomas, Lord of Berkeley, to the Commune of the Burgesses (*Commune Burgensium*) of Gloucester 'on account of the easement of the Friars Minor there dwelling of all the piece of land he bought of the said Burgesses for 10 marks'. In later deeds an official, known as 'the Guardian', acts on behalf of the house, and in one case he does so with the assent of the Provincial Minister (138). Apart from deeds that deal with its water supply, which have been dealt with in the first part of this paper (139), there are five wills, four of which contain monetary bequests to the Grey Friars, and the fifth leaves to it 'a book beginning "Haec Algarismus"', a work on arithmetic (140). There are a number of deeds that deal with the disposition of the site of the house at the dissolution of the monasteries, also by subsequent owners.

**Friars Preachers or Black Friars (Dominicans)**

The only deeds in the Records directly affecting this house are wills in which monetary bequests were made to it. By that of Edith of Keynsham (141), the Friars Preachers, Friars Minor, and Friars Carmelite were to celebrate amongst them three trentals (sets of thirty requiem masses) for her soul.

**Friars Carmelite or White Friars**

The only reference to this house, apart from monetary bequests in wills, is an agreement, made in 1347, between the prior of St. Bartholomew's hospital and 'Brother John, Provincial of the Order of St. Mary of Mount

137 No. 319—see also Records, p. 154, note.
138 Nos. 962, 966, 1050, 1112.
139 *B.G.A.S.*, LXVI, 10–12.
140 Nos. 939, 942, 945, 986, 1138. 141 No. 942 (1348).
Carmel and the Brethren of the same order of the House of Gloucester (142) by which the latter were given an aqueduct from the spring called ‘Gosewhytewell (143)’.

St. Oswald’s Priory (Augustines)

The first mention of this house in the Records is c. 1200 when one William, canon of St. Oswald, was a witness to a grant of land (144). Other deeds show that the priory held land, not only in, but outside the city:—Down Hatherley, Hucclecote, Sandhurst (called Southurst), Barnwood, the New Land, and between the two north gates (145).

V. Wills

The Records contain 19 wills, and the bequests in many of them indicate the strong desire of the testator or testatrix to be well esteemed at death. The numerous gifts to religious institutions have been dealt with under the heads of Parish Churches, Hospitals, and Religious Houses. One kind of these, however, that calls for mention is the oft-recurring gift of money to the mother church of Worcester. Gloucester only became a diocese and city at the dissolution of the monasteries. From Saxon times till then, Worcester had been the ‘head minister’ or mother church of Gloucestershire. In the earliest will (146) 40s were left for the repair and painting of St. Martin’s church, and there are also bequests in it to the high altars of the churches of Hartpury and Down Hatherley.

In a number of cases there are gifts of money or in kind to the poor. In one instance it is stated that 20s were to be spent in coal for them (147).

There are two 14th and two 16th century wills that contain bequests to roads and bridges, a kind of gift that,

142 No. 936.  143 See B.G.A.S., lxvi, 41.
144 No. 93.   145 Nos. 734, 745, 809, 915, 946, 961, 984.
146 No. 873 (1334). See also B.G.A.S., lxvi, 25.
147 No. 1266 (1578).
in medieval times, was popular among merchants whose occupations took them about the country. Robert of Goldhull (1334) made bequests to the bridges of Gloucester and Longford (148)—the latter spanned the Horsbere brook, and Stephen the Heyr (heir) (1343–4) left 6d to the former (149). By the will of John Fawkener (Falconer), an ex-mayor, £20 was left for the repair of the highway between Gloucester and Cheltenham, £20 to the mending of that between Gloucester and Tewkesbury, £10 for the repair of Maisemore bridge and the causeways belonging to it, and £20 to the making of Chepstow bridge, providing this was made and finished within one year of his death (150). Joan Goldstone directed that half the residue of her estate was to be used for the repairing of highways in Gloucester (151).

Mention has been made above of charitable bequests. There are two of special interest made by John Fawkener; the first, that of loans to the poor which has been described under St. Michael's church; the second, the gift of a black gown to each of twelve poor men who were to pray for him and attend his funeral ‘mooneth mynde and twelve moneth mynde’, namely the celebrations in his memory at the end of the month and of the year of his death. ‘Mynde’ means memory.

A particular interest of some wills is the information they contain concerning personal effects and clothing. The comment cannot be resisted that in medieval days the latter was more highly prized than it is, even in these present times of shortage of materials. It is not possible to imagine a will of today in which a testator bequeathes his second or third best suits, yet in the testament of Richard Manchester, dated 18 September 1454 (152), we read that he left his cousin, who lived at St. Albans, ‘one of his usual gowns the best but two, with his black hood’. His second gown,
with a painted table, went to another beneficiary, and a third received his girdle harnessed with silver and his scarlet hood. His best gown went to the vicar of Holy Trinity church, with a table and six silver spoons, the stipulation being made that the vicar should pray specially for the soul of the testator's mother. The will of Joan Goldstone supplies the feminine counterpart to that of Richard Manchestre. Her bequests included three red petticoats and smocks, also four kerchiefs, her black gown, a pair of ' piped hookes of silver ', a gown faced with black lamb and lined with white ' frice ', and her silk hat. In 1375 Joan at the Oak left her mother ' a robe of bluet, a doubled cloak with hood, and her best chemise (iterula) (153). Bluet was a bluish woollen cloth.

The personal effects mentioned are very varied. Beds seem to have been highly valued, and a bequest of Richard Manchestre appears to be of the necessaries that went with one: a tester, coverlet, quilt, two blankets, and three sheets. Other objects of worth were mazers, silver spoons, and chests—' to the church of Elmore, a chest containing the measure of 21 bushels '. An unusual object is a claperium, ' claper ', for feeding rabbits. Joan Goldstone kept an ' ostrie ' (hostelry) and, presumably, made the beer she sold, as she named among her bequests: ' her furnace of brass and all her vats and " skeelees " (cups), maltmill, and the stained cloths in her " gysten chamber " ' (guest chamber).

VI. PERSONAL NAMES AND EPIPHETES

Quite a number of Norman-French personal names occur, especially in early deeds, but these have not been included in the following remarks, inasmuch as, to use an oft-recurring word in the Records, they are forinsecus, foreign. Apart from these, there are well over 1300 male

153 No. 996.
and female personal names in the Records, and some 350 personal epithets in Records and Rental.

A study of these names shows the gradual development from a single name, also the origin of a number of present day surnames (154). When the single word became inadequate, descriptive variants took its place. These indicated relationship, a personal characteristic, an occupation, or the locality whence the bearer came, or where he or she lived. Examples of the first are: Thomas, son of Ernis; Geoffrey, the abbot’s nephew; Roger, son of Richard the Frenchman, Maurice, the son-in-law of Katherine (155). Names denoting personal characteristics are varied: Adam the Red, Henry the Bald, Benedict of the Beard, Robert without Breeches (sine braccis); and those signifying an occupation very numerous: Thomas the Limner, John the Carpenter, Roger the Haybearer, Robert the Waterman (156). When a locality was used, it might denote the name of a place: Walter of the Hide, Thomas of Matson; a local feature: John at the Elm; or it might have a wider significance: John the Southern (157). There are occasions when a man has more than one name: Sampson (son of) Gerard of No. 507 is called Sampson the Gardener of Guthintun (Gotherington) in No. 508. The evolution of present-day surnames can be traced. One example must suffice, that of a family still closely associated with the city:—

No. 89. c. 1200 Bretun
107. do. Brutun
133. c. 1220 the Breton
242. c. 1230 Briton’
355. c. 1240 Bretun
492. 1252 Briton
523. c. 1260 Breton

154 Edwisia (No. 87); Isaac (No. 93); Humfrid, Nicholas (No. 95).
155 Nos. 85, 84, 83, 107.
156 Nos. 83, 336, 119, 120, 121, 704, 192.
157 Nos. 190, 315, 915, 556.
597. c. 1270 the Bret (le Bret)
1053. 1404 Brewton
1063. 1408 Bruton

A list of Personal Epithets is given in Appendix No. 3. It is interesting, *inter alia*, because it contains a comprehensive catalogue of the occupations carried on in and around the city. It will be noticed that there are variations at one date or at close dates in the forms of names. These indicate that they were given orally to the clerk whose spelling of them represents how they sounded to him.

VII. GUILD MERCHANT AND COMMUNE

The first definite mention of the Guild Merchant (*Gilda Mercatoria*) in the Records is in the charter of king John in 1200 (158) which states ‘that all burgesses of Gloucester of the Merchants’ Guild shall be quit of toll’, *et coetera*. The charter implies that it was already in being, and it may be that it followed that of Henry II (159). ‘The fundamental feature’ of the Guild Merchant ‘consisted in the exclusive right of its members to buy and sell within the borough, on market days and at all other times without payment of toll or custom (160)’. The charter of Henry II grants ‘the same customs and liberties throughout all my land of toll and of all other things as the better citizens of London and those of Winchester had at any time in the time of King Henry my grandfather’. The earliest of the town seals, which probably dates to 1200, is the ‘Seal of the Burgesses of the Guild Merchant of Gloucester’. There is another, c. 1398, with the same inscription, while that of 1564 is inscribed ‘Seal of the Mayor and Burgesses of the Guild Merchant of the city of Gloucester (161)’.

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158 No. 5.
159 No. 1.
160 *Historical Geography of England before 1800*, 219.
161 See also *B.G.A.S.*, XIII, 384, *et seq.*
It would seem that the town did not become a Communa (Community) until it secured its charter from king John. In 1170 Ailwin the Mercer and others were fined for setting up one in the burgh without warrant (162).

A frequent distinction between Guild Merchant and Commune was that, whereas the former embraced both burgesses and craftsmen, the membership of the latter was restricted to burgesses. In the first reference to the Commune in the Records, c. 1230, it is defined as the Commune of the Burgesses (Commune Burgensium) (163). Some burgesses were, however, as the Records show, members of both bodies.

A grant of Edward III (164) states that the burgesses bought and sold goods in their ‘Gild Hall’ and another of Richard II enacts that pleas were to be heard there (165). There is a demise, c. 1230 (166) from four named burgesses ‘and all the other burgesses of Gloucester of the Guild Merchant . . . of a part of their land of the Guild Hall (Gihalla) lying between the land that belonged to Ralph of Tudeham and the door of the Bothall (Bohalla) (167)’. It has seven witnesses, two of whom are probably bailiffs. Furthermore, there is a roll (1534-5—1563-4) (168) in which newly-admitted burgesses are said ‘to enter the Merchants’ Gild’, and, again, the Chamberlains’ Accounts for 1550-1 show that £23 was paid in fines by 21 new burgesses ‘takyn and admytted in the Guylde Hall of the Merchaunteres (169)’. Guildhall and Bothall were in the same building, and it is possible that the latter occupied the ground floor, the former being situated above it. The Rental speaks of the Community of Gloucester as holding by their Stewards ‘a tenement with appurtenances called “the Bothall” or “the Gild Hall”

162 Blakeway, G. S., 26.
163 No. 319.
164 No. 11 (1333-4).
165 No. i3 (1397–8).
166 No. 220.
167 Guildhall denotes a town-hall; Bothall, a covered market.
168 No. 1300.
169 H.M.C., 465.
for holding the pleas of our Lord the King and of others there (170). This is, however, the only occasion on which this expression is used in mentions of property belonging to the Community. It may be intentional or otherwise that the Rental describes only two properties as being held by the 'Community of Gloucester' and all others as held by the 'Stewards of the town' or the 'Stewards of Gloucester'. It confirms those named in the Records, but the latter show that those stated in the former as belonging to the Community were acquired by or let on lease by the bailiffs and stewards.

Whether the Guild Merchant and Community were always (at least till the 16th century), or at some time became one it would seem that if they were not, they were, at least, very closely connected. The properties held were, for the most part in Southgate street, including the site of the 17th century Tolsey; but there were others in Eastgate, Northgate, Westgate, Berkeley and Longsmith streets, the Mercery, Oxebode and Maverdine lanes.

VIII. Civil Government

There are a number of royal charters and letters in the Records, and these have received a certain amount of attention, especially that of Richard III whereby the town was given a mayor and twelve aldermen, and made a county of which the bailiffs were to be sheriffs (171). Little, if anything, has yet been done in the way of examining charters, letters patent, and the general body of deeds, rolls, and accounts for the light they throw on the city's administration.

Robert Cole prefaces his Rental of 1455 with a return of the landgavel of Gloucester for 1096–1101. This shows that the city had a reeve. King John, in his charter of 1200 (172), granted it two reeves or bailiffs, and four

170 See also B.G.A.S., lxvi, 19.
171 No. 20 (1483).
172 No. 5.
stewards (173), the latter to keep the pleas of the crown and other things that pertain to us and our crown in the same borough, and to see that the Reeves or Reeve of that town treat justly and lawfully both rich and poor'. These officers were to be chosen by a deliberation of the whole body of burgesses. The qualifications for a man to become a burgess were, generally, that he should hold land or a house within the town, also land for cultivation outside it, and the right of pasturing on the town's common land. How jealously this right was guarded, and the violence that an alleged violation of it aroused, are described under the Abbey of St. Peter. In Gloucester during the 14th century, burgesses were made Portmen (174). The Burgess Rolls (175) give lists and show that each entrant paid 6d. A typical entry is: 'Johannes Hayward, skynnare (skinner), intrat Portman', per plegium Johannis Jurdan and Willelmi Hattere. vid'.

The earliest of the city's Lease Books (176), contains the oath taken by a man on becoming a burgess, under date c. 1520, but it probably dates from the 13th century. It is in French, and an interesting sentence in it is that in which the new burgess undertook not to buy any land or house within the town's franchise from any abbot, prior, or other lord, the doing of which would render him liable to make suit in any court other than that of the king or of other courts within the franchise. He promised loyalty to the Commune, respect for the Common Council, and due regard for his gildebrethers.

The local deeds in the Records affecting property in the town are often witnessed by the bailiffs or reeves from c. 1200 till Richard III's charter of 1483. As regards deeds of property and the like to which the town, as a community, was a party, the earliest, c. 1230 (177), is a

174 H.M.C., 420. In o.e. a portman was a citizen of a town, a burgess.
175 Records, p. 455.
176 No. 1405. H.M.C., 471.
177 No. 319.
Release to the Commune of the Burgesses (Commune Burgensium) of Gloucester. In 1306 and 1345 there are grants to the two bailiffs and the community (178). From 1357 to 1483 the usual description is either the two bailiffs, four stewards, and the whole community, or just the bailiffs and stewards. In 1484 there is a lease by the mayor, and the four stewards, with the assent of the Common Council (179). Thereafter, the usual formula is the mayor and burgesses. There is a deed, c. 1230 (180), the witnesses of which are not only the reeves (bailiffs), but 'all the chapter and all the Hundred of Gloucester'. One of the witnesses to another of 1275-6 (181) is Richard the Blaxstere, 'then Clerk of the town of Gloucester'. The indications are that this office had been in existence before that date as one of the witnesses to earlier deeds relating to the town is often termed a clerk. A minute of the Common Council, c. 1490 (182), provided that the Town Clerk should receive 13s 4d per annum for his board, and that 2d was to be paid him in respect of each writ issued for debt or damage.

It would seem that it was not until Richard III's charter that the town was officially given a mayor—who was to have a sword carried before him—and aldermen (183). This charter ordained that the bailiffs should also be sheriffs of the county town, within which they were to exercise the powers of both offices. L. Toulmin Smith states that citizens did not always require a charter to give them leave to elect a mayor, and cites Gloucester and Rye as examples, and, further, that the former had

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183 Impressions of the seal that was made then (1483) survive. It bore the inscription: Sigillum matenalitatis ville Gloucestrie, and it is surprising that the present arms 'concocted by the heralds in 1538 and 1652' should be preferred; those of 1483 have meaning and distinctive character, whereas the arms now in use might to many appear to be anything from a glorified pawnbroker's sign to nothing intelligible.
one in 1220 (184). The evidence for this is that in a number of deeds between that year and c. 1240 one Richard, the Burgess, is often described in witness clauses as ‘tunc Majore de Glouc (185)’.

It lay with the burgesses to levy tolls on traders from without coming into the town and, it would appear in the case of Gloucester, on some of those resident in it.

The Burgess Roll of 1380–1 contains numerous entries such as the following:—

Henry Hannes pays a toll of 2d for this year for making cloth, on the security of William Felix.

Howel the honeymonger for selling honey in the town until the said feast (St. Michael’s) 20d, on the security of Stephen the Sergeant (186).

Four sets of the Bailiffs’ Accounts are still in existence, but the dates of two are uncertain (187). The first, which relates to the time of Edward I, contains receipts and payments. The former include landgavel, rents of property by the Bothall (188), the profit of the Bothall (presumably, market dues), fees paid by Portmen, and tolls. The bailiffs were paid for their services and maintained a staff as their disbursements include payments to their clerks, servants, and gaolers. Other outgoings were the cost of ‘lampreys by the writ of the Lord King’, also two casks of wine for his service. The accounts for 1408–9 contain expenses incurred in connection with royal officials; those paid to three of the town’s porters for

184 Companion to English History (Middle Ages), Ed. F. B. Barnard, 199.
185 See also H.M.C., 499.
186 H.M.C., 419. Five of these rolls survive and cover years between 1380 and 1481 (Nos. 1295–9). As the extracts from the city muniments in the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission are, for the most part, limited to matters of general interest, an examination of the actual documents would, undoubtedly, throw very considerable light on those of local import.
188 de redditiibus ant(e) (B)okhall, xxiii, No. 220 (c. 1230) shows that the Commune held more than the site of the Bothall.
taking 'pecuniam quindecimae' (the Fifteenth), a tax on property, to Northleach; those of the royal Justices of Assize, and of wine sent to them at the abbey; also the cost of removing a dung-heap in Gracelane.

Inquisitions taken before the bailiffs in 1273 (189) still exist and are of interest as illustrating the types of cases with which they had to deal. One was a complaint that the abbot of St. Peter had diverted the course of the river Twyver; another that John of the Pole had encroached beyond his house towards the castle, raising a wall and making a fence on the king's highway; and a third was a plea that Emma de Sh...ton had a house which was roofed with thatch 'to the great peril of the whole town' from fire. Other complaints were for evasion of tolls and for forestalling, such as, 'And that John the Tanner, Vicar of the Merchants (Vicarius Mercatorum), Nicholas Best forestall wool by buying before the time ordained'. 'Vicar of the Merchants' appears to have been the title of an official of the Guild Merchant.

The grant of Richard III's charter naturally led to changes, and some account of these is given in the minutes of the Common Council held on 2nd October, 1486 (190). The title of steward was altered to chamberlain and from about this time the holders of the dual offices of bailiffs and sheriffs were called by the second title. The Council decided that the sheriffs should pay the mayor, towards the expenses of his office, £6 a year in four quarterly instalments. In consideration of their doing this, they were to be quit in future of paying for four annual 'generall dynners' which had been held on the day of the election of the mayor and sheriffs; on the two 'lawe dayes' (assizes); and the 'Kesiardes Dynner at Mydsommer'. They were also to be quit of the 'drynyngge on Midsomer Eve'. Presumably the expenses of these

189 No. 636. H.M.C., 412-3.
190 No. 1375. H.M.C., 430. The oldest of the Council Books; it covers the period 1486-6. 1600.
gatherings were to be found by the mayor. The sheriffs were to keep the drinking on St. Peter's Eve (191). The chamberlains were to pay the mayor 13s 4d at Christmas towards his expenses, also 20s quarterly to his sword-bearer who was to receive, in addition, 10s for his gown, but the mayor was, in future, to find two sergeants (mace-bearers) and the sword-bearer. A subsequent minute of 1493 (192) stated that the mayor was to find the sword-bearer in meat and drink, and that the stewards were to pay him yearly 26s 8d 'for his fee or wages', also to provide him with a gown, similar to that of the sergeants-at-mace, or to pay him 10s in lieu of it.

The Stewards' Accounts for 1409-10 and 1493-4 (193) have been preserved. In the first receipts include revenue from the community, entrance fees of 15 burgesses to the Guild Merchant, murage (194), also 52s 10d 'de viridi cera' (estreats sealed with green wax (195)). Among the disbursements are costs of repairs to the south gate and of paving. The accounts for 1493-4 are much more detailed and relate, inter alia, to repairs to a house on the quay, to the Bothall, and to the pipe-line from Robinswood hill (196). Under the head of necessary expenses are the cost of a skelpette (the present day skip or large basket) for carrying weights for the weighing of bread (197), money paid to the king's messenger for carrying a letter from the Lord King to the mayor, as to keeping watch for vagabonds, and money paid to William Goldsmith for

191 The drinkings on Midsummer and St. Peter's Eves synchronized with the opening and closing of the St. John the Baptist's Fair. See under Fairs.
192 H.M.C., 431-2.
193 Nos. 1305-6. H.M.C., 421, et seq.
194 Murage—a due levied by the Crown for the repair of the town walls.
195 Medieval Latin Word-List, 74. An estreat was the true extract or copy of fines, amercements, etc., entered on the rolls of a court to be levied by the bailiff or other officer, O.E.D.
196 B.G.A.S., lxvi, 11.
197 Among the duties of the Guild Merchant was the testing of weights.
riding to the Constable of the Forest of Dean concerning thieves held by Richard ap Thomas for the mayor and burgesses. Extraordinary expenditure included the cost of a mace for the sergeant-at-mace, 6s 8d, also a scabbard for the mayor’s sword, 20d.

The earliest volume of the Chamberlains’ Accounts (198) covers the years 1550–97 and contains numerous items of interest. It shows that Thomas Pury, late mayor, paid 20s ‘for the redempcion of a bankett (banquet) of olde tyme used to be made in the vigil of Seynt John the Baptist after the Watche don’. This was, doubtless, a feast held in conjunction with the opening of the seven days’ fair which began on that day by a grant of Edward I (199), and may have been the Kesiardes Dinner referred to above. The sum of 23s 4d was paid for three books, newly bought in London, containing ‘the whole Statutes’, and 13s 2d for the new casting of the cock of the conduit at the High Cross, and for taking it to and bringing it back from London. Repairs to the ‘skoldyng carte’ cost 6s 8d. In 1553 there were the expenses of entertaining at the New Inn ‘the knyghts and gentilmen and yomen’ who came to proclaim the accession of Mary to the throne, also ‘in reward gevyn to Marster Arnoldes servauntes on May Day at the bryngyng in of May, xxs . . . and more to those persons that daunsed the moorys daunse (morris dance) the same tyme’.

The accounts for 1554–5 show that the burning at the stake of Bishop Hooper involved considerable expense: 40s was paid to the escort that brought him from London, 43s 8d for a dinner given by the mayor, and 5s 8d for wine given to the players who performed on the morning of the burning. Expenses incurred in 1573–4 give some idea of the costs of a royal visit. When Queen Elizabeth came to Gloucester in 1574, she was given a double gilt cup, that cost £26 11s 4d, in which were £,40. The King of

198 No. 1394. H.M.C., 464, et seg.
199 No. 8 (1302).
Heralds (200) received an unnamed amount, the Sergeants-at-Arms 40s, the Queen’s footmen £3, and her trumpeters 1s. Other payments were made to the Clerk of the Market, the yeoman of the bottles, the ordinary messengers of the queen’s chamber, the royal sword and macebearers, the queen’s musicians, porters, coachmen, ‘blacke garde’, bakers, way-master, the officers of ‘the boylinge house’, the Marshal and his man, the Clerk of the Markets’ man, and the waits who went with the royal footmen to the dinner given by the mayor. The Lord Treasurer was presented with a sugar loaf weighing fifty (sie) pounds at 16d per pound, two gallons of sack, and a ‘gallande’ of claret. Further ‘paiied to him that broughte the redde dere which the Quenes Majestie sent, xs’. The waits of Shrewsbury received 26s 8d for playing about the city every morning while the queen stayed there. It is interesting to compare with these accounts the disbursements made when Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn visited Gloucester in 1535 (201). The king received ten fat oxen costing £20, the queen a purse of gold containing £11 5s 6d in ‘rialles’ (royals) of gold. Geese, capons, and chicken, given to Master Secretary, cost 11s 5d; the king’s servants who proclaimed his arrival received 13s 4d; his footman 12s 6d, the queen’s footmen 5s, the royal trumpeters 12s 6d the servants to the king’s buttery 3s 9d, those of the royal pantry the same amount, the royal ‘blacke garde’ 8s, the servant of the king’s almoner 12d, and the Herald of Arms 27s 6d.

The accounts contain numerous payments to players, and among these was Master Kyngeston’s Abbot of Misrule (202). Others were those of lords Dudley,

200 The ‘King of Heralds’ was the same as ‘King of Arms’, a royal herald. ‘As the “image of his master”, he was crowned and consecrated, and wore the coat of arms of the monarch whose proxy he was’. Companion to English History (Middle Ages). Ed. F. B. Barnard, 137.

201 H.M.C., 445.

202 The king, abbot, or Lord of Misrule was the director of Christmas-tide festivities in medieval and Tudor times.
Stranges, and Hunsdon, of the earls of Warwick, Worcester, Leicester, and Sussex, also of the Lieutenant of the Tower. Royal jesters and bearwards also came to the town to perform. It appears to have been a duty of the mayor's sword-bearer to entertain the players as there are entries such as the following: 'also for wine and chirries spente upon them (the Queen's players playing at the Bothall) at Mr Swerdebearers, iis. viiid.' and 'geven in rewarde to the Erle of Worcester his players and their drynkynge at Mr Swordberer's by the commaundement of Mr Mayore, xiis. vid. (203)'.

A frequently recurring expense to the chamberlains was the cost of turning out the scold-cart referred to above. It may have been used for the correction of habitually abusive females, but, in the accounts, the purpose of its employment was for carrying round the town bawds and men caught with them. The women were disguised with 'frontelettes of papyr and ray hodes (204)'. A similar disguise was made for a soothsayer who, at the mayor's order, had to stand on the leads at the High Cross, and was also led about the town on a horse. The accounts of 1559–60 show that some Egyptians (gipsies) were stripped naked, tied to a cart, and scourged through the streets; and those for 1571–3 relate that 'oulde Stephens carpinter', was paid 6d for mending the 'gomestole' (duking stool?) and within twelve months 2s 8d for making the 'gomme stole', which was, presumably used when one Lewes Meredith and a woman were washed at the 'gurrie slipe' after being carried about the town. Where the 'gurrie slipe' was is a matter of surmise. There were 'slippes' by the Severn, but they were specially set apart for the washing of cloth, and there was a washing place in the river Twyver outside the outer north gate (205).

It is clear, both from the Council Books and the Chamberlains' accounts, that only beggars registered at

203 H.M.C., 469. 204 H.M.C., 435, 465. 203 H.M.C., 441, 434.
the ' Yeld Hall ' were allowed to ask for alms. They were
distinguished in that they wore a badge and livery. There
was a payment in 1555 for the cost of a mould for the
casting of beggars' badges (206).

What was probably the first body of bye-laws was
passed by the Common Council in 1500 (207). It may
have been a codification of existent regulations or based
on those of other boroughs with a constitution and powers
similar to those granted to the town by Richard III. A
third alternative is that it was drawn up to meet local
requirements of the time. Be this as it may, it is evident
that practices elsewhere were copied. It was laid down in
a further set of regulations, made before 1504, that a
hutch, or pen, for bawds was to be erected in the market
place for their punishment, as well as for that of wedded
men and priests, and that it was to be similar to those in
use at London and Bristol (208). The bye-laws of 1500
make regulations for bakers, brewers, butchers, colliers
(charcoal makers), wax and tallow chandlers, inn-keepers,
and fishmongers. They also ordained that only officers
of the Council were to carry weapons within the town,
that no-one keeping servants or apprentices should allow
them to dice or play cards for money, ' nayles, poynetes,
or any othir thyng '; and that cart-horses used for
bringing goods to the market should not be allowed to
stay there, but must be put in stables or inns. Carts with
iron-bound wheels were not permitted in the town,
doubtless, because of the noise they made on the cobbled
streets.

If a perusal of these bye-laws reveals none too high a
standard of business morality (as judged by that of
modern times), and very insanitary conditions, the general
morale must have been very bad. Between 1500–4 the
Law Day (the Sheriff's court) found it necessary to issue
a number of ordinances which it prefaced as being ' for
the continuance of the good rule and for the "commyn

206 H.M.C., 437–8, 467. 207 H.M.C., 432, et seq. 208 H.M.C., 435.
welth” of this town of Gloucester, which is too abominably spoken of in all England and Wales owing to the vicious living of divers persons, both spiritual and temporal, with so excessive a number of common strumpets and bawds living in every ward’, also for the reforming of ‘dyvers other enormyteiez usyd within the said towne’. The ordinances laid down punishments for common queans and their frequenters, for bawds and ‘Lokastars’, also for priests or religious (monks, friars, and the like) leading immoral lives. It must have been a common happening for members of the Common Council and of juries to be insulted and ridiculed as fines for such offences were imposed, the proceeds of which were to be spent on the repair of the town walls (209).

In 1514 the Common Council issued a further set of bye-laws. These laid down the rules for the sale of corn at the markets, held on Wednesdays and Saturdays; for the wheelage to be paid on all horses and carts bringing corn through the city to the quay for shipment, or passing through, bound elsewhere. Outsiders were only to sell their goods in the Bothall, and could only make purchases there or from a burgess, except at the time of the Midsummer fair. The mayor’s sword-bearer was to have any weapons seized when bloodshed occurred, as an addition to his wages. The common scavenger (gorreour) was only to remove refuse from the ‘Bocher Rewe’ (Butchery) after 6 p.m. or before 6 a.m. of the bell. This bell was probably a town bell rung at fixed times, and placed in a tower in St. Martin’s Place by a letter patent from Edward III in 1371 (210). The Stewards’ accounts for 1409–10 contain an entry of 2s spent for the ringing of the common bell (211). The reference may, however, be to a bellman (212). Timber brought by water to the quay could only be bought after it had been unloaded. All burgesses and other inhabitants were to appear twice a year at the

210 No. 25. See also B.G.A.S., LXVI, 25.
211 H.M.C., 421.
212 H.M.C., 528, para xiii.
Law Days (the Sheriffs’ courts) unless they had a licence from the mayor excusing them. Other bye-laws were passed from time to time, dealing with such matters as the price and quality of ale, also with the measures in which it was to be sold; and with the consequences of the non-observance of fines and other punishments. Offending burgesses were to be detained in the Bothall, and other inhabitants in the prison in the north gate, until sentence had been satisfied.

The earliest Council Book contains, in addition to bye-laws, numerous other matters of interest, including musters of men for service in the royal forces, and rules for observance at meetings of the Common Council. In 1557 the mayor and aldermen were ordered by Queen Mary to find 40 soldiers for the campaign in France which was to end the following year in the loss of Calais. Half of them were to be armed with bills, a quarter with pikes, and the remainder were to be archers or ‘Hacquebutters’—men with arquebuses. Details are given of the expenses of equipping this body. These include the costs of bow-strings and of mending bows and arrows, also of cleaning and repairing body armour. It would seem that a doctor (barber-surgeon?) accompanied the men, as hay and litter, also two shoes, were provided for his horse (213).

The rules made for observance at meetings of the Common Council indicated that there had been unruly conduct. It was laid down that every speaker was to be listened to in silence, and that, if there was interruption, the mayor was ‘to strykke uppon the borde’. If the interruption continued the offender was to be fined 4d. Should he refuse to pay and remonstrate, the fine was to be doubled, and, if he continued obdurate, he was to be confined in the Council house until he had paid four times the first penalty, on pain of losing his burgess-ship. If the mayor was not impartial on such occasions, he was to pay 3s 4d for every default. Except with permission, no

member of the Council could leave before the mayor. What would today be called ‘a scene’ in the Press, took place on 1st October, 1555, but in the contemporary minute of the Council it was termed ‘discorde, contention, and striff’. It arose concerning candidates to represent the city in parliament. Some burgesses refused to leave their seats, at the mayor’s command, when a vote was to be taken. They were fined and rules were made for the conduct of future elections.

Fosbrooke (214), quoting from ‘Certain Speeches made upon the Day of the yearly Election of Officers in the City of Gloucester, by John Dorney, Esq., Town Clerk of the said City. London 24 mo. 1653’, gives the following passage: ‘As therefore amongst the ancients (in some places before the knowledge of writing and printing) it was a custome to singe the Laws, that they might not be forgotten, so the people may have cause to sing that you have not forgotten the laws and laudable examples of your predecessors, and the good customs of the City’. Dorney gave this when pointing out the general duties of the corporation as a body. It has been stated above that all burgesses and other inhabitants had to appear twice a year at the Law Days. It may have been then that the singing took place.

The foregoing remarks have dealt with the bailiffs and stewards, with the mayor and burgesses in their official capacities, but they had their lighter moments. It was for their entertainment that the morris dance was performed and that the companies of players, mentioned above, visited Gloucester. In 1570-1 the Chamberlains paid 6s 8d to the queen’s bearward ‘for baytinge of his bears before Mr Major and his bretherne’.

IX. The Craft Guilds

Little is known and little has been written about the town’s craft guilds (215). There seem to have been twelve

of them, but others may have disappeared by merger or otherwise. Rules of five survive: the Journeyman Weavers, Butchers, Metalworkers, Bakers, and Tanners, and they appear to have had a good deal in common (216). A guild generally had as its officers: a Master, two Wardens, and a Beadle, chosen annually, and, on appointment, the Master and Wardens had to be presented within a fixed time, to the town bailiffs, and later to the mayor and Hundred Court to take oaths on entering office. Rules were subject to approval and amendment by the Common Council and Justices of Assize. In every case they make provision for an entrance fee, for the framing of rules, and they contain clauses making it unlawful for members to 'entice or procure' one another's employees. Apprenticeship is fixed at seven years, and there are provisions against outsiders starting business in the town.

The earliest extant record relates to the Butchers' guild. It is dated 1454, and is a grant by the bailiffs, stewards, and community of a piece of land beyond the common quay between the Severn, the Castle, and the Bareland, for the disposal of garbage (217). The deed also gives the constitution of the guild and its rights. These were ratified and enlarged by the mayor, aldermen, and Common Council in 1549, and it was then laid down that one of the wardens should attend the mayor on market days to inspect the meat offered for sale. There is also a minute of the Common Council in 1571 in which the name of the guild is given as 'the Fraternity of the Butchers of the City of Gloucester'. In it the rules are considerably elaborated (218). In 1516–7 a meeting took place of the wardens and whole fellowship of the 'Bochers' Crafte' with the mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, at which the former agreed to desist from keeping swine in their scalding house in Grace lane, and one, Henry French,

216 H.M.C., 416, 427, 448, 450, 520, 526.
217 H.M.C., 520–2.
218 H.M.C., 522–6.
undertook not to vex the butchers for killing beasts or scalding swine. This may be an instance of a rule, common to craft guilds, whereby matters that a guild could not settle amicably were referred to the mayor. Strangers, also citizens and freemen who were not members of the guild, could only sell meat on Saturdays between 8 a.m. and 1 p.m. at the place near the common school called "Christe Schole" (the school next to St. Mary de Crypt) or in such other place as shall be appointed by the Mayor. The hall of the guild was in the Butchery.

The Ordinances of the Tanners' Guild are dated 1541–2. At the election of a new master, the outgoing one was to set a garland of flowers on the head of his successor as a sign of election. This guild was open to men and women, and provision was made for help to be given to such members as fell on bad times. When any brother or sister of the craft died, the master and wardens were required to cause the 'common bellman of the town' to announce a time for prayer for the deceased to be observed by all members of the guild. They were also to attend the funeral and, in the event of failure to do so without adequate excuse, were to forfeit one pound of wax to the lights of the fraternity. This indicates a chantry maintained by the guild, and it was, apparently, in the church of St. John the Baptist since one of the rules was that all members should attend once a year services to be held in the chapel of St. Clement in the church in commemoration of the souls of departed brothers and sisters. Non-attendance again made the offender liable to forfeit a pound of wax to the lights of the fraternity. St. Clement was the patron saint of tanners, and it was on his patronal day that the master was elected.

A specially interesting rule is that which required all brothers of the craft, with the Master and Wardens, to be in readiness at their Common Hall (in Hare Lane) at 8 p.m. on the Eve of St. John the Baptist and again on St. Peter's Eve. They were to be in their best clothes,
with 'bendes' and badges of the guild on their shoulders. It was their duty on both nights to await on the mayor and sheriffs in the King's Watch in the town (219). When this was ended, they returned to their hall and there 'the Master and Wardens shall make to the brethren of the said craft there assembled on each night an honest drinking as has been accustomed'. Such is the wording of part of the twentieth rule of the guild, and it ends: 'Every one of the brethren that shall ride in scarlet or be a steward for the year, and every widow, and every one having lawful impediment shall send an honest man well appareled, as is above said, to supply his or her room'. Default entailed a fine of 3s 4d. It was necessary to be a burgess or freeman of the town to obtain entry to the guild, and the mayor and sheriffs had to be advised to this effect in respect of all male and female entrants (220).

There were, in reality, two guilds of Weavers; one known by the name of 'The Warden and Stewards of the Fraternity of St. Anne of the Weavers in the town of Gloucester', its members being master weavers, and the other was entitled 'the Company of Journeyman Weavers'. A Journeyman was a qualified artisan. It was the first that maintained a chantry in St. Michael's church. Regulations for the latter were made in 1602 by the Court of Aldermen, and it was subordinated to the masters' guild to which its Stewards had to be presented. Furthermore, a journeyman coming into the city from outside could only be made a member of it on the introduction of a master weaver. A quarter of the fines levied by it went to the masters' guild, another quarter going to the sheriffs, and the remainder to its own uses.

219 King's Watch. In medieval times a watch was a wake or revel held on St. John the Baptist's (Midsummer) Eve (23 June). In Gloucester a wake may well have been held to commemorate Edward I, who granted the fair that began on this day.

220 In H.G.A.S., xiii, 206–7, rules of the guild, dated 1628, are given.
In 1550 'the whole company and feloshipe of the bakers' in the city exhibited their acts and ordinances to the mayor, aldermen, and Common Council for ratification; a provision of these being that one of its wardens should attend on the mayor once every week to take from him 'a newe assice according to the prices in the market'. In the bye-laws referred to earlier, it was laid down that all bakers should keep the assize (222). This assize relates to the prices for the sale of corn fixed by the mayor from time to time, but it would seem that in 1586 they were settled by the Justices of Peace for the county (223). Another provision was that secrecy was to be preserved concerning all that took place in the guild hall, and a third stipulated that cakes were only to be sold at the four principal feasts of the year; namely: Easter and Whitsun weeks, the feast of St. John the Baptist until St. Peter's day, and from Christmas day to the Epiphany.

In 1607 the Common Council approved ordinances for a new guild on its incorporation, namely, the 'Company and Fraternity of the Mystery or occupation of metal-men in the City of Gloucester'. Its object was to bring into one guild a number of crafts that had hitherto been without one, and it was described as being for those 'exercising the trades, arts, or mysteries of goldsmiths, pewterers, brasiers, coppersmiths, wire-drawers, card-makers, pinmakers, and plumbers'.

X. Fairs

Until the reign of James I, the city had only one fair (224), that granted by Edward I in 1302 (225). It lasted for seven days from the eve of the day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, until St. Peter's Eve. This was, undoubtedly, the chief annual event of the town and attracted people of all degrees from far and

222 *H.M.C.*, 433.  
223 *H.M.C.*, 459.  
225 No. 8.
wide. As has been previously stated, it was during the period of the fair that the bailiffs, in earlier times, and later the mayor and sheriffs gave dinners and drinkings, that the Tanners' guild had 'honest drinkings' and the bakers sold cakes. Except at this time, many goods could only be bought and sold by outsiders in the Bothall, and only during the fair and at harvest time could shoemakers work on Sundays after 7 a.m. (226). Among the things to be sold at it were iron and coal from the Forest of Dean and agricultural implements (227). The fair synchronized with Midsummer Eve, a favourite day for craft guilds to hold processions and drinkings, so there is little doubt that the Tanners were not the only guild to celebrate it in Gloucester.

According to Rudge (228), there was another fair, but it was held outside the town, the Barton Fair that still survives. It was granted to the abbey by Edward III and took place in the Abbot's Barton. In the time of Elizabeth it was called a pig fair.

### XI. Trade

The large number of descriptive personal names in both Records and Rental makes it possible to obtain what is probably an almost complete list of occupations carried on in the town (See Appendix 3), and from the former a long list of materials and commodities can be collected. In 1334–5, 1345, and 1434 (229) royal grants in aid for the paving of the town and the repair of its walls were made whereby the burgesses were empowered to levy stated dues on named goods brought into the town for sale. Foods that came in included salted meat, salmon, lamprey, sturgeon, herrings, salted muluelli or durus piscis (230), butter, cheese, honey, onions and garlic. Among soft

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226 H.M.C., 439-40. No. 1117 (1440-1).
227 Historical Geography of England before 1800, 285.
228 op. cit., 99.
229 Nos. 41, 46, 53.
230 Melwel is Scotch cod and durus piscis is stockfish.
goods were woollen and worsted (de Worthstede), cloth, cloth of worsted called coverlet, linen cloth, canvas, Irish and Galway cloth, linen cloth of Dilesbam (231), bord (232), ' cloth of silk or gold or chief of sendal afforced (233), ' and cloth of silk with gold or samite (234) '. For the tanners there came in the hides of horses and oxen, fresh or salted, also bark; alum, woad, copperas, ' wine and ashes (235) ' for dyers. Other commodities were chalk, iron, lead, brass, copper, sea-coal (as distinct from charcoal), querns for grinding corn, nails of all sorts, and horseshoes; the skins of deer, kid, rabbit, hare, fox, cat, squirrel, marten, also Cordovan and basan leather (236).

Except at fair time, the chief places for selling were the Bothall, the quay, the shops, and the market in the Bareland. A study of the distribution of business occupations in the Rental shows that in 1455 there was no preponderance of any one trade in any one street. Bridge street (the modern Lower Westgate street) was the chief business street and Southgate street the second. Third came the Mercery and Butchery, with Northgate street fourth. Eastgate street made a poor fifth. As regards individual trades, the most numerous were the tailors and shoemakers. After them came the weavers and cutlers in that order, and next an approximately equal number of skinners, wax chandlers, and brewers.

XII. BUILDING AND MATERIALS

There is a very interesting agreement of 1483 (237) between the town stewards and a carpenter whereby the latter undertook to rebuild a house by the ' Blacke Ferris

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231 Dilham near Worstead, Norfolk.
232 An eastern fabric.
233 Strengthened silk or linen. 'Chief' probably means 'piece'.
234 A rich silken stuff.
235 Crude tartar obtained from wine lees.
236 Basan was sheepskin tanned in bark.
237 No. 1176. It is printed in full in H.M.C., 415.
Yate' (Black Friars' Gate) on ground measuring 47 by 15 feet. All timbers were to be of oak, the posts to be 18 feet high and 1 foot square, the wall plates 9 and 10 inches thick; there were to be 10 inches between every joist with binding beams and rafters, the gables next to the Friars and facing the street to be of standard work. There were to be two lofts adequately boarded. The deed, which could be called an early form of the modern specification, provided for windows, doors, stairs, and a sloping roof. The total cost was to be £14.

Numerous details of materials and the like are to be found in the Stewards' and Murage accounts (238). These are in Latin, but, where no Latin word is available, the English word is used: 'et in clavis (nails) vocatis "bourdenayle" . . . "hacchenayle"'. The Stewards' accounts of 1493–4 deal with various repairs made in the town, including the Bothall. In connection with the latter, 4s 8d was spent for a boatload of stone, bought at the quay (le keye), for paving the great hall. Some of the words are interesting: flores (floors), robell' (rubble), blankes (planks), elmebourdes (elm-boards), wederbourdes (weather-boards), hokes, hynges, twistes (hookes, hinges, twists) (239), tyle pynnes (tile pins), ferreis crampettes (cramp-irons).

The murage accounts for 1293 deal with the cost of buying stone and its carriage to the sites where it was to be used, also with the hire of a cart from Ada of New Land, presumably for carriage of the stone. The east gate underwent repair then as there are items of timber, lead, and iron for it.

XIII. Sundry Matters

In the foregoing pages some account has been given of the principal matters in the Records as they affected Gloucester, but there are numerous others, and here it is only possible to mention a few of them.

238 H.M.C., 422–4. 239 A twist is the flat part of a hinge.
Since a large majority of the deeds relate to land, it is only natural that these should mention forms of tenure. For instance, Hawysia, a widow, released, c. 1250, her right in land in 'the great street going towards the bridge' which she held 'in free-bench (nomine liberis banki) according to the custom of Gloucester (240)'. When property was conveyed, there were, at times, unusual provisos and considerations. In 1273 Agnes Coperich sold a rent of four silver pennies and, to give the buyer greater security, she executed a deed (241) whereby she submitted herself to 'the jurisdiction and coercion of the official of the Bishop of Worcester or of the Archdeacon of Gloucester', so that either or both could suspend or excommunicate her, or cause her to be beaten through the middle of Gloucester market, or inflict any other pain on her. About the year 1280, a mother handed over her property to her daughter in consideration of the latter finding her suitable clothing and food for life (242).

Mentions of officials, lay and religious, occur. Dom. Robert Bateman, rector of the church of St. John the Baptist, was a Notary Public in 1401 (243), but this may not be the first mention of such an official as in 1334 there is a copy of a will 'under the seals of the official of Gloucester and of the Bailiffs of Gloucester (244)'. The first mention of a Recorder is in 1576 (245). The Archdeaconry of Gloucester formed part of the diocese of Worcester until Henry VIII founded the see of Gloucester, and there are a number of references to the house and lane of the Archdeacon.

There are numerous mentions of taxes: fee-ferm and landgavel; also receipts for the Tenth levied in

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210 No. 456. 'Free-bench. That estate in copyhold lands which the wife, being espoused a virgin, hath, after the death of her husband, for her dower, according to the custom of the manor'. O.E.D.

211 No. 634.

212 No. 663. See also No. 741 for a similar consideration.

213 No. 1047.

214 No. 873.

215 No. 1264.
1334–5 (246), and for the two Fifteenths of 1414–15 (247). In 1434–5 there is a certificate of the town’s right to exemption from the jurisdiction of the ‘Court of the Marshalsea of the King’s Household’ in a plea of trespass ‘within the verge of the King’s Household (248)’.

Several deeds relate, directly or indirectly to the Crypt School. The first is dated 1511–12 (249) and is a declaration that John Cook owned property in Badgeworth, Witcombe, the Hatherleys, the Benthams, and the Shurdingtons. The second, a final concord of 1526 (250), confirms his ownership of a fulling mill and land in Ebley and Stonehouse. The third is an exemplification of a judgment enrolled in the Chancery Rolls in 1550–1 (251) concerning the title to certain manors, messuages, et coetera, in Podsmead, Hempstead, Elmore, Badgeworth, Bentham, Brockworth, the ‘Crowne’ in Gloucester, Stonehouse, Ebley, Oxlyanch, Standish, Westbury and Chaxhill. It was held that they belonged to the mayor and burgesses as a result of a feoffment of them by Joan, widow of John Cook for ‘the use and intent’ of a Free School and for other purposes. She had bought some of these lands from the Crown for £256 6s 8d at the dissolution of Llanthony Priory (252).

The town was always liable to be called on to find its quota of men for the royal forces. In 1302 a contingent was sent to the Scotch wars (253), in 1512 and 1528 (254) men had to go to France. On the latter occasion there were five bowmen and six billmen, ‘and the parishes of Holy Trinity and “Seynt Mary of Brodeyate” which were assessed at two men between them, found “redy money to pay prest”’, that is to say, money was raised

246 No. 875.  
247 No. 1076.  
248 No. 54. The Steward and Marshal of the King’s Household had cognizance of all offences committed within a radius of twelve miles of the king’s person. This radius was called the ‘verge’.  
249 No. 1194.  
250 No. 1204. See also No. 1219.  
251 H.M.C., 425.  
252 Fosbrooke, 302.  
253 H.M.C., 438, 443.
to engage men to take the places of the two parishioners called up. At the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, 24 men were sent to join the king’s troops (255), and the same number went to help quell the Duke of Northumberland’s rebellion in 1553 (256). Four years later 20 men went, by way of Cirencester, to the Isle of Wight for embarkation to France, to take part in the campaign in which Calais was lost (257). In 1558 the town was called on for a ‘Vewe and musters’ of all ‘mete and able’ for war service. The particulars returned were 120 able-bodied men, consisting of 25 archers, 30 pikemen, and 65 bill-men (258).

XIV. A ROYAL VISIT

This paper may fittingly end with an aspect of the town’s life as yet unmentioned; a description of an occasion when, with picturesque ceremonial, it gave itself up to pomp and circumstance.

On 31 July 1535, Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn came from Tewkesbury to Gloucester on a four days’ visit. They were met at Brickhampton bridge by the town authorities. Canon Bazeley states (259) that in the 15th century there were three roads to Tewkesbury; the Lower Way which branched off the present main road at Norton and ran, near Wainlode hill, through Apperley, Deerhurst, and the Lower Lode; The Upper Way which followed the course of the present road; and a third that, keeping all the way above the 50 feet contour, and so above the level of the Severn floods, left the modern Cheltenham road at Staverton bridge and passed through Staverton, Boddington, Hardwick, Tredington, to the Odessa inn where it joined the Upper Way. If this is the case, Brickhampton bridge must have been the present Staverton bridge just north of the Cheltenham–Gloucester.

255 H.M.C., 445.
256 H.M.C., 452.
257 H.M.C., 453–6.
258 H.M.C., 456.
road, as the contemporary account describes the meeting-place as being at the green at the near end of the lane by ‘Brickehamton’s brigge’. The point chosen for greeting the royal party would, undoubtedly, have been where it first entered the liberties of the town (260).

The civic representatives met in the town and set out on horseback: first the mayor, the aldermen, sheriffs, and ‘Shriffes peres’, in scarlet gowns and velvet tippets; followed by about a hundred burgesses in ‘cootes of musterdvillars’ (coats of grey cloth). So they came to the meeting-place where the notabilities of the neighbourhood also assembled. We can be sure they so timed their arrival at the green that they had adequate opportunity for correcting any disorders of dress occasioned by their four miles’ ride, for forming up and dressing their ranks before the advent of the king and queen.

When the royal party rode up, they did obeisance, all on horseback, ‘gevyng His Grace the right hande’. Then the mayor rode forward and said to the king: ‘Thankes be to God of your Grace’s helth and good prosperite, which God long contynue’! Next he kissed one of the town maces which he was carrying, made his obeisance, and handed it to the king with the words: ‘That all suche liberties, prevelages, customs, and grauntes as your Grace and other your noble progenytours heretofore have gevyn unto the Maire and Burgessz of this your towne of Glouceter, we deleyvere up unto your Grace, trustyng that your Grace wilbe as good and gracieuse Lord unto us nowe as ye have byn heretofore. And, fyrthermore, I here presente my selff unto your Grace as Maire of your seid towne of Glouceter, certfyfying you that all your burgessez there be in aredynes (readiness) and obedyent at your Graces commandement, and hartely thankes your Grace for such liberties, prevelages, and grauntes

260 At this time the hundreds of Dudston and King’s Barton were within the town area. Gloucester and its Varying Fortunes. Blakeway, G. S., 99.
that your Grace hathe gevyn unto us, besechyng you of your gracious aide and assistaunce hereafter in the execucion thereof in doyng justice'. At the end of this speech the king handed back the mace to the mayor, at the same time confirming the town's existent liberties, privileges, customs, and grants. This ended the ceremony of receiving the king, and royal and civic cavalcades set out for Gloucester.

In the van rode the burgesses two by two, followed by the aldermen and sheriffs. After them came all gentlemen, esquires, knights, lords, and other great men. Behind these rode the mayor, bare-headed, with mace in hand, accompanied by the 'Kyng of Arrodes', and after them the mayor's sword-bearer with a sergeant-at-arms on either side of him, each carrying a mace. Then came the king and queen, 'with all the lades and gentilwomen folowyng them'. In the rear of these rode the royal body guard, and, last of all, ' sondry persons folowyng the Courte'. They must have made a brave show to all the country-folk who had flocked to the roadside from Parton and other villages to watch them.

Three and a half miles from Brickhampton bridge, the procession climbed the rise to the hamlet of Wotton and then began the downward slope, past the hospitals of St. Mary Magdalene and St. Margaret, to the outer north gate of the town. There it halted near the house of the White Friars for, awaiting it, were the clergy of the parish churches, wearing copes, and headed by the mitred Andrew Whitmay, Bishop of Chrysopolis, Suffragan of Worcester, and Prior of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, with 'crosse, carpettes, and cusshynges'. The king and queen, without dismounting, 'loyvngly there kissed the crosse'; and then the procession resumed its way by the inner north gate, the High Cross, the Mercery and Butchery, to the abbey. This was entered, not by the main gateway in St. Mary's street, but by 'Seynt Edwardes Lane'. It
was probably considered fitting that the monarch should enter through the gate named after one of his predecessors. The abbot and monks were waiting at the south porch of the abbey church ‘with coopys, crosse, carpettes, and cusshynges’. The king and queen dismounted and knelt to kiss the cross; then they were led within to the high altar and, afterwards, to their lodgings, the mayor, mace in hand, all the while preceding them. So the civic function of the day ended. We are not told in the Council Book how the rest of the day, or the following day, Sunday were spent, but we can presume that the king and queen attended service on the abbey church. The Historia of the abbey makes no mention of the visit. It ends at an earlier date.

About 10 a.m. on Monday morning, the mayor with others attended in the abbey churchyard and presented the king with ten fat oxen, after which Henry and the queen rode towards Painswick to hunt. They must have had a long day because it was in ‘the darke evenyng’ that they returned to the east gate where fifteen citizens, with blazing torches, met and escorted them to the abbey where they received the royal thanks and a gift of four ‘angellethe nobles’ from the queen.

On the Tuesday the mayor and his brethren again met the king and queen in the abbey churchyard as they were setting out to ride towards Coberley. They presented the queen with a purse of gold which contained twenty ‘rialles in golde’. The day’s hunting was even more prolonged than that of Monday and led the royal party to Miserden. It was night before it returned to the east gate where forty burgesses, in their best apparel, with torches lit, brought the king to the abbey and received five marks in gold. It would seem that the queen had come back earlier.

Wednesday morning saw the king’s departure. A civic procession was drawn up outside the abbey church door in the same order as was used for escorting him on his
arrival, and waited till he and the queen appeared and mounted their horses. Then the procession set out, moving by way of the High Cross and the south gate, to Qudgeley Green. There all the civic representatives formed up in line on horseback, ‘gevyng His Grace the right hande’. The king shook hands with the mayor, and then he and the queen rode past the lined up townsmen and thanked them, after which they went on their way to spend the night at Leonard Stanley before going on to Berkeley castle. The civic procession reformed and escorted the mayor back to his house, and then ‘every man departed and went home’.

**XV. Appendices**

In the following appendices, it will be noted that in place and field names the letter ‘u’ takes the place of the ‘v’ we use today; e.g.: ‘Graueshende’ in Hardwick is, in present day spelling, Gravesend. The letter ‘w’ is often rendered ‘uu’, as in ‘Neuemede’—New Meadow.

Some remarks must be made on the problematical name of ‘Wellcettur’ that occurs under Lydney. The suffix ‘cettur’ suggests *castra*. Roman remains have been found at and round Lydney, and at nearby Woolaston there are three fields called ‘The Chesters (262)’. In view of the locality and of its associations with the Welsh, one is inclined to hazard an original o.e. *wealh*—Welshman for the prefix. If such a suggestion has any substance, the word might indicate a Roman earthwork which, at some time, was occupied by the Welsh.

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262 *Field Observations between the Severn and Wye, 1932*, by Scott Garrett, C. and Harris, F. H.
APPENDIX NO. 1

A list of properties held by the Hospital of St. Sepulchre and the Blessed Margaret the Virgin.

1. Without the city walls.

Barnwood. In 1365 the Abbey granted the hospital a 30 years' lease of 7½ acres of its Manor of Barnwood, i.e. 3 ac. at the Greenhole and 4½ ac. at the Hautree near ' Bodenhammedich '. (No. 984)

Barton St. A tenement. (No. 756)

Bride Lane. A curtilage. (No. 817)

Deerhurst Hardwick (Between Elmstone Hardwick and Stoke Orchard). (Probably so called owing to its being in Deerhurst Hundred, to distinguish it from the Hardwick south of Gloucester). Lease for 70 years of 7 selions of arable in field called ' Wetlondesfeld '. (No. 1079)

Elmbridge. 1 ac. (No. 92)

1 ac.—the donor to prepare the land for sowing which is to be done by the lepers. He also gave a thrave of corn yearly. (No. 93)

2 selions at Brodecroft by the water of Elfbrugge (Elmbridge). This bridge crossed the Horsbere stream. (No. 175)

1 selion at Paygrove. Paygrove farm lies to the east of Innsworth lane—O.M.6 (263). (No. 175)

2 ac. of arable in Paygrove containing 7 selions and a headland. (No. 308)

8 ac. bought for 11½ marks, namely, 2 ac. of 8 selions in Middlegrove close to Gorbrodacresheued, 5 ac. of 20 selions in Sortfurlong leading to Banfurlong, and 1 ac. of 4 selions lying near the king's highway. If Banfurlong is the present Bamfurlong (o.m. 1) the king's highway is the present Gloucester-Cheltenham road just west of Staverton bridge, but such an identification places the land a considerable distance from Elmbridge (264) (Nos. 337–8)

2½ ac. arable. (No. 361)

Elmstone Hardwicke. 1 ac. of 2 selions in field called ' Barewebrugge '. This bridge may have spanned the Swilgate stream. (Nos. 362–3)

3 ac. of 7 selions arable in field called ' Hardenfild '. (No. 1248)

263 References to the Ordnance Survey 6-inch map are shown O.M. 6, and to the 1-inch O.M. 1.

264 According to the Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names, bamfurlong means ' the furlong where the beans grow '. 
Hardwick (See Deerhurst Hardwick). 12 selions at Hywinton in field of Hardwick, near the Westway (Nos. 364–5). This land was bought by the hospital and subsequently disposed of (No. 510) as in 1323 there is an agreement (No. 843) whereby it recovered the land. Two deeds (Nos. 904–5) show that the 12 selions made up 6 acres, and describe the land as being near Deerhurst.

Hasfield. 1 ac. of meadow in Widehamme (No. 95); 1 ac. in Widenham in Bernardescroft called 'Goracre' (No. 99); Grant of a ditch of the meadow lying in Wydenham near Homfrays Croft near the acre of the Lepers (No. 416).

In 1540 the hospital granted a lease for 21 years of 2 ac. meadow in Widnam in the parish of Hasfield—one acre called the 'Picked acre', the other in 'the meadow extending to Yaronhurst'. Widenham was the present Hasfield Ham (O.M. 1). Goracre may mean dirty acre, but more probably a piece of land triangular in shape and, in this event, it was the same as Picked Acre, picked meaning having an acute angle (No. 1224) (265).

Hucclecote. 1 ac. in Hindforlong (No. 154); 1 ac. in Middleforlung (Nos. 413, 435, 642); ½ ac. in the sand (sabloni) of Hucclecote and 1 selion in field of Hucclecote (No. 547); 2 selions in field of Hucclecote (No. 548); 1 ac. in Blakemoneforlung in field of Hucclecote (No. 549). No. 550 shows that the hospital bought the lands mentioned in Nos. 435, 548–9. 1 ac. in Hindforlong (No. 642); 1½ ac. in field called 'Kompiforlong' (Nos. 809, 816).

Hurst, The. A tenement (Rental 84)

Hyde, The. See under New Land.

Innsworth. 2 selions (No. 656)

Kimsbury. Now Kimsbury House near Painswick Beacon (O.M. 1)

1 ac. arable at Thendercombe, near the acre called 'Sladaker; i.e. the acre in the wood-lined valley (266).' Thendercombe was probably the narrow valley that lies between Painswick Beacon and Moorend (O.M. 1). The gift was made for the maintenance of a lamp in the chapel of St. Sepulchre (No. 239)

Kingsholm. In 1489–90 the hospital rented 24 ac. of which: 3 lay in Wyettisfeld, 2 at Longeford Thorne, 2 in Pedemarisfeld extending to Pristes Wythys, 6 in Sowthifde, extending to Long Hadlond (headland), 2 in field called 'Kaynestrete (king's

266 op. cit., 19.
street) one of which extended to the Crabbetre at Tokylesewe, 2 at Whitcrosse, 1 called 'the Sandeland', 5 in Wallam at Ashwere, 1 at the Legge in Wallam (Walham). These were demesne lands belonging to the royal manor of Kingsholm (No. 1180)

Ladycroft. It lay southwest of Alvin street. The hospital had a right in land here (Nos. 726, 991, 1240)

Longford. 1 ac. 'The said acre abuts upon the King's headland (Kyngesforard)'. Forard is O.E. fore-irp meaning 'fore-ploughing', The land adjoined the royal manor of Kingsholm (No. 136)

New Land. Outside the outer north gate. The hospital had holdings here (Nos. 745, 785, 902, 1149, 1230, 1256), including a barn (No. 1041) and ½ ac. in Sorefurlong (No. 176). It also had holdings in the Hyde which adjoined the New Land.

Parton. In 1320 the hospital obtained a 10 years' lease of a meadow with 5 selions of arable in the field called 'Mulhomme' near Wytheegeinemull', with free ingress and egress from the ford called 'Stiwardesforde'. One cannot be sure whether this land was in Parton or Pirton. The mention of a mill and a ford indicate a stream. This might be the Norman brook (O.M. 6) in Pirton, but it could also be the Horsbere brook (O.M. 1) except that the latter flows through medieval Elmbridge. Furthermore, the fact that one John Sage of Brickhampton was a witness to the deed could apply to both Parton and Pirton. The lease was granted by the lord of Pirton and other witnesses were John the Franklin and Henry the Cook, both of Brockworth, Syward Sigrith of Wotton, and Robert Leyr of Parton (No. 835)

Perton. 4 selions of arable between the land of Simon of the Elmbrugge and that of Felicia Gode, widow, of Pyriton. The Elm Bridge (O.M. 6) carries the Gloucester-Cheltenham road over the Horsbere brook (No. 221)

Rickenell Stile. Land (Rental 112)

Saintsbridge. No. 593 relates to land the locality of which is not stated, but Nos. 523 and 672 show that it was in Saintsbridge. 3 selions in the Hamme near Suthbrock'. This may have been near Saintsbridge. The donor was to receive, while he lived, half the crop of the land, which was to be manured, ploughed, sown, harrowed, etc., at the expense of the hospital (No. 578)

Swindon. Near Cheltenham. 3 selions or acres of arable, 'extending from the King's highway called "Sondweye" to the King's highway near the garden of Simon of Alre, priest'. He gave the hospital its biggest land holding in Swindon and was the son of Michael the Miller, of Alre (Nos. 476–7)
A mill and all the land pertaining to it, namely, a quarter of a virgate (15 ac. 2 selions). This land is described as follows:—
1 ac. stretches from the sandy way to the garden of Simon (the grantor); ½ ac. stretches from the sandy way to Sortmede (short meadow); ½ ac. in Sortmede; 1 ac. opposite Brodebruge (broad bridge); ½ ac. at the stone cross against Brodebruge on both sides of the sandy way; ½ ac. lying across the sandy way towards Chilteham (Cheltenham); 1 ac. against the mill of John of Alre; ½ ac. in Linecrofte; 2 selions in Linecrofte; 1 ac. in Tunforlong; ½ ac. against Duleye; ½ ac. upon Stapelinge; ¼ ac. in the Dene (valley); ½ ac. extending from the Dene to Brochamtone (Brockhampton, o.m. 1); 1 ac. in Watelond; ½ ac. in Rufurlong; ½ ac. in Waterforoue (267); 1 ac. in Bleri-
forlonge; ½ ac. in Lutlehale; ½ ac. upon Berwrepe (barley enclosure ?); ½ ac. near Berewrpebroke; ½ ac. at the Sidehale; 
½ ac. by Hindhill (bihindlehale); 1 ac. called 'Smallereve'; 1 ac. in field of Barwebrug. Isaac Taylor's Map of Glo-
cestershire, 1771, shows a Bar Bridge over the river Chelt on the road Staverton bridge-Arle which, at that time, formed part of the main Gloucester-Cheltenham road. The present shorter way from the bridge by Arle Court was made later (Nos. 478–9)
The foregoing grant was made c. 1250. In 1320 John of Alre released to the hospital his right in a piece of land near the above mill, namely, between the mill-pond and a field called 'Oldeburri reaching to Floodzad' (flood-gate) (Nos. 836–7)
In the 15th century the hospital leased the mill, which was then known as 'Prestesmylle' (Priest's Mill) and 12 ac. for terms of lives (Nos. 1090, 1097, 1118, 1128). In No. 1128 there are clauses for the repair of the mill and its pond, the 'flodegate' and a 'flotesharde' (flood-wall ?). The reason for the name Priest's Mill was probably that it had belonged to a priest—Simon of Alre.

TWIGWORTH. A toft, garden with curtilage and 1 ac. This may have been in Listmede—See No. 1239 (No. 1975).

WAINLODE. In Norton. Two parcels of meadow, one called 'Spitulmones Mede' (Hospital Man's meadow) in the meadow near Waynelodus Brugge, extending from Erosham to the Hertley Mede; the other called 'the Schorf' lay by the meadow called 'Cleroveve'. The bridge referred to is, probably, that over the river Chelt, close to its junction with the Severn, on the Bishops Norton—Apperley lane, near Wainlode Hill (No. 1087)

267 Foroue is O.E. Furh, furrow—water furrow.
Wotton (Gloucester). 2 selions and 2 gores at Wyntersiche and Cunchefurlung (Nos. 173-4)
2 selions in field called 'Sidenhale' (No. 209)
(The above two holdings were probably in Wotton).
5 selions, 3 of which lay at the Butme (bottom) and 2 at Stonemulle. The bottom is probably the dip on the east side of Wotton Pitch on the Gloucester-Barnwood road, and the mill will, in this case, have been on the Wotton Brook (o.m. 6)
(Nos. 926, 946).
12 ac. lying scattered in the fields of Wotton, and 1½ ac. in Moreslade, called 'Honsummede', also a toft and garden with curtilage adjoining (Nos. 1074-5)
1 ac. containing 3 selions in field called 'Wynde mulle feld'.
This field was opposite the hospital on the west side of the Gloucester-London road (No. 1137)

2. Within the city walls

The hospital held property in the following streets:—
The street of the castle. Northgate St.
Southgate St. Grant Lane.
Longsmith St. St. Aldate's Lane.
Oxbodelan. Scrud Lane.
Westgate St.

3. Rents

Rents were received from properties in:—
Southgate St. Gooseditch.
St. John's Lane. Between the two north gates.
Oxebote Lane. Brook St.
Northgate St. Land outside the Westgate.
Hatherley.

APPENDIX No. 2

A list of properties held by St. Bartholomew's Hospital

1. Without the city walls

Alvin Gate. Land (No. 499)
Asheleworth. 2 ac. of meadow in 'Wynhalys Mede' (No. 1129)
Brewererne. In Sandhurst. 3 ac. of meadow. The value of this gift, with certain rents, is totalled at 9s 9d, of which 4s was to go to the maintenance of a lamp in the hospital; 4s 4d to be spent on shoes for 13 poor people living in it; and 5d to be set aside as a start in aid of 5 beds to be provided by the donor
(Nos. 124-5)
Brimpsfield. 1 ac. of meadow and a moiety of a virgate of
land (No. 37); 2 virgates in Hulletmed for the sustentation of a
chaplain to hold services for the souls of members of the
Giffard family (Nos. 214-5); Land of Grofrugge (Nos. 323-4).
In 1262 the hospital leased for 70 years 2 ac. with adjoining
pasture in field of Asshrugg and ½ ac. in Grofrugge (probably
near Groveridge hill, o.m. 1) (No. 573). In 1495-6 the hospital
granted a 90 years' lease of a toft and carucate at Hillemede
(No. 1183)
Brook Street. A curtilage (No. 570)
Caple. In Herefordshire. 1 ac. in Wigel(eg) and Kenardesl(eg),
1 ac. in Hailla, and 1 ac. on Bradulam (No. 261)
Castle Morton. In Worcestershire. 2 ac. lying in Hauecheres-
brige (No. 156); 6 ac. and 2 parcels of land (Nos. 157-8);
1 virgate lying in 5 fields:—
6 ac. in 'Samfrayburhoc'
7 do. in 'Ruhelde'
3 do. in 'Stanling'
4 do. in 'Holibed' (Hollybed Common, o.m. 1)
4 do. in 'Loueles Ruding' also
a share of the meadow of Frewine, and sufficient 'housebote
and haybote' in the wood of Malvern to maintain the virgate
(the right to take wood for the repair of houses and thorns and
wood for mending fences) (No. 159)
2 ac. in field called 'Holibed' extending from Lepecieth to
Hauecheresbroc near Soleetherue (No. 197); 2 ac. in furlong
called 'Ruding' (No. 198) (268)
Cloatley and Minety. In Wiltshire. Land near Watersipe,
Clotleye, and Minti, with mill and appurtenances; the demisor
to find timber to raise the mill (a windmill-molenodium de vento)
and buildings (fermamentum) for the first year, the prior and
hospital to find the miller. The demisor and his heirs were to
receive a moiety of the toll of the mill (No. 451-2).
Coaley. Demise to hospital for 17 years of 1 ac. called
'Scyppingacre' in the field of Trendel(ey) and all the pasture
surrounding this field (Nos. 349, 356). In No. 590 this acre is
called 'Springingeacre', being then demised for 59 years with a
further 5 selions. In No. 411 the hospital is stated to hold
27 ac. in Coaley.
The hospital rented £12.40 1 ac. in field of Boseleg' and
another in Hathemaresfeld (No. 382); Land in meadow of
Willesword'. This is the Willeworthi of Nos. 293 and 345 (Nos.
506, 512); ½ ac. in field called 'Sugwrthi' (No. 557); 5 selions
268 Ruding is o.e. kryding, clearing.
and a headland in field of 'Dunel(eg)' also 13 selions in 'Trendel(eg)' (Nos. 569, 588, 625-6, 641)
1 1/4 ac. in 'Cliffeld', 1 ac. extended to Gwydewellebrok' and
1 1/4 ac. lay near 'Illebrok' (No. 611)
A piece of land in field of 'Boseleyg' extending to ditch called
'Boseleyesbrok' (No. 612)

Colesborne. 1/4 virgate with messuages and other appurtenances (Nos. 390, 1094)

Cowley. 2 ac. of which one in 'Rohfeld', and the other in the field called 'Tichegraue' (No. 377)

Deerhurst Walton. c. 1250 the hospital exchanged 4 ac. of arable in Wythfeld (Whitefield Court, o.m. 1) and 1 ac. in Rade-weye (Rudgeway Farm, o.m. 1) for a rent of 5s from a tenement and land in Almesham in Gloucester (Nos. 460-1)

Down Hatherley. 6 ac. in field of Haderlega, near the Park, and 6 ac. next to Westgraue. This land was valued at 4s and this amount was to be put towards the providing of five beds in the hospital (269). c. 1230 the annual rent of 12d which the hospital paid for these 12 acres was granted to St. Sepulchre, the prior and brethren of St. Bartholomew's being directed so to remit it (Nos. 110, 124, 303, 544)
5 ac. of which 2 lay at the Scaggwe, 2 near the park extending towards 'Eglouleg', and 1 in Sudmede. (Nos. 144-5-6, 544)
c. 1295 the hospital demised for life all their land in Down-hatherleye, containing 20 ac. of arable in field called 'Goldfinchesfeld', whereof 6 ac. of 22 selions lay between the land of St. Oswald's priory and the Portweye; 2 ac. of 4 selions were in Hokforlong; 9 ac. of 30 selions and a gore were in Parchulle; and 3 ac. of 8 selions in the same furlong (No. 734)

Elmbridge. 3 ac. of meadow (No. 38)
18 ac. of arable whereof:—6 lay in Thornis; 6 lay in Hust (Hurst); 6 lay in Bodme (Bottom) (No. 182)
3 ac. of 6 selions in Vifacrc (Five acres) (No. 225). No. 234 shows that Five Acres were near Innsworth.
13 1/4 ac. of arable and 1 ac. of meadow whereof:—
1 ac. extended to the Grenediche (greenditch); 1 ac. lay upon Middelsond; 1 1/4 ac. was near Longediche; 1 1/4 ac. was upon Supinglond; 1 1/4 ac. upon Thistleli (Thistle field); 1 1/4 ac. at Elbriche (Elmbridge); 1 1/4 ac. at William's mill; 2 1/2 ac. extending towards Middelgrof; 1 ac. on Rodberdeslei; 1 1/4 ac. near Depeeforeu, 2 ac. in Thehale (in the hollow); 1 ac. at Horスポ (horse pool); 1 ac. under the bridge of Thomas the Miller. (This mill was probably on the Hosebere stream) (No. 231)

269 See p. 230.
A messuage and a croft (No. 316)
Confirmation in 1241 that hospital held 47 ac. in Elmbridge (No. 411)
2 selions in field of 'Paygroue' (No. 534)
5 ac. of arable (Nos. 665-6)
In 1347 the hospital exchanged 1 selion and 8 butts, whereof
the selion and 2 butts were in Longe forlong and 6 butts near
the mill of Roger Turtle for 1 selion and 6 butts, the selion
being in Hudyngtroe (Nos. 993-4)

Elmore. 1 ac. of arable in 'Glouares Akere' of the tenement of
Farnley (Glovers Acre). Farnley is Farleys End—o.m. 1
(Nos. 446, 448, 551-2)

Hardwick. 4 selions of arable in field called 'Wateriforlong'
(Nos. 599, 678). This may be the Zwyperfeld of No. 957.
6 selions of arable with a headland and a gore, being land called
'Halfhacre' in field called 'Wrpinge' (No. 600)
1 ac. of arable at Alkeley in field of Herdewyk; 28 ac. called
'Graueshende' (No. 679), called Grofhende in No. 841; 4 ac.
of arable in Sarpgrovesfeld (Nos. 676-680, 841)
Land called 'Longerug' with adjoining ditch called 'Streboch',
extending from the way called 'Portstret' (No. 681)

Hare Lane. Land (No. 368)
Lands and tenements (Nos. 684-5)
Messuage (No. 832)
Place called 'Castel of Croydone' (No. 870)

Hasfield. \frac{3}{4} ac. in Widenham (Nos. 148, 172)
2 parcels of land in Winhale (No. 558)
1 parcel of land in Winhale (Nos. 968, 974-5, 1005)

Hyde, The. Land, a messuage and adjoining ditch (No. 360)
In 1255 the hospital paid 12 marks sterling for land (No. 503)
A piece of land adjoining No. 360 above (No. 514)
A parcel of land (No. 515)
8 ac. and 11 selions (No. 570)

Innsworth. \frac{3}{4} ac. of arable 'in the field of Wotton in Hyneswrth'
part of which extended to the road called 'Hyneswrth dich',
and 3 selions were near the mill of John of Periton (Pirton)
(No. 537)

King's Barton and Kingsholm. 1 ac. in cultura near Chinges-
weia (king's way) (No. 205)
1 selion in Pedemeresfeld (No. 534)
The hospital in 1284 leased for 20 years 4 ac. 'extending from
the street calle "Boteldelone" ' (No. 694).
2 culturae of arable in the manor of the King's Barton, 'lying
in the field called 'Pedemeresfeld' near the Kyngeshome. The
2 culturæ equalled 8 ac. (Nos. 38, 802). The hospital paid 25 silver marks for this land (270)

LINTON. A hamlet near Highnam.

4 ac. of meadow in Lilletun. These may be the 4 ac. of No. 235 to which Robert of the Rugge, 'then servant (serviens) of Hynchomme' (Highnam) was a witness (No. 411)

LONGDON. In Worcestershire. A croft in 'Longedun' and land in Estfeldeshale, Kinecrofte, Leie, Hallingecrofte, a meadow in Pingewellemende (Pinkewellemede in No. 123), 'the meadow of two crofts and the messuages called "Baldrichescrof" and "Gonderhelescrof", and meadow in Hurste' (Nos. 122-3, 152-3)

LONGFORD. 14 ac. of which 4 ac. were in Apperlega (appletree field), 4 ac. at Grenedich, and 2 ac. in Druimed. (Drymeadow Farm, o.m. 1).

In 1241 the hospital's land in Longford was stated to be one virgate (No. 411)

LYDNEY. In 1477 the hospital granted a 40 years' lease of a close near the Morelonge (No. 1768)

In 1510 the Keepers or Guardians of the hospital and the proctors of the infirm there granted a lease for 21 years of all their land in Liddency, namely one close called 'Bartilmewes Helle' and half a close called 'Welcettur'. 'Bartilmewes' is Bartholomew's and 'Helle' is probably o.e. health, a corner (No. 1792)

In 1537 they granted a lease for life of all their lands, rents, Leasues (leasowes or meadows), and pastures in Lyddencye (No. 1217)

MINSTERWORTH. 1 ac. in Nowemed, for maintenance of a lamp (No. 307)

5 ac. of meadow of which 3 ac. lay at Stanilade, two of these by the Severn (Stanilade may have been the site of the ferry at Minsterworth). The remaining 2 ac. were in Neowclone (No. 457).

In 1532 Andrew, 'Bysshoppe of Crisopolitan (Chrysopolitis)', Master or Keeper of the hospital, and 'conbretherne' granted to John Keylock of Minsterworth in 'the Duchery of Lancastre' and his son a sixty years' lease of 5 ac. of meadow and an acre of 'persshe' ground called 'Pyttmanspersshe' in the meadow of 'Corneham' in the lordship of Mynsterworth. 'Pyttmans' is Hospital man's and Corn Ham is the present name of the land in the big bend made by the Severn between Hempsted and Minsterworth (No. 1210) 'persshe' means osier.

270 See p. 232.
NEW LAND. 2 selions in the Newelonde (No. 683).
2 selions in the Neuwelonde (No. 791)
New Land was outside the outer north gate.

NEWNHAM-ON-SEVERN. A burgage in Newnham, extending from
the King’s highway to a street called ‘Hornemelonde’ (No. 252).
The above was exchanged for another burgage called ‘Walter-
otes Croft’. It extended to the ‘great church’ and lay between
the land of John Weole and ‘the little way going to the Pill
(ad pullam)’; probably Collow Pill, o.m. 6. (Pill is o.e. pyll,
a tidal inlet or pool) (No. 253). A garden near Neweham,
extending from Benpirie to land called ‘Blakenacre’ (No. 282)
A mill near Newam; ‘Mulecrofta’ near the mill; a croft
called ‘Banpirie’ of the fee of Staura (Stears, o.m. 1); a croft
called ‘Mulepond’ extending from the upper mill to the
Walleston; 1 ac. called ‘Sladaker’; and two parts of the land
called ‘Cutforlong’, ‘extending from the mill to the way
going to Staura’. The mill will have been on Whetstones
Brook; o.m. 6 (No. 393—see also No. 1080 below)
4 selions and an adjoining ditch (No. 398)
An exchange (possibly of No. 398) for 4 selions without
Neweham near the ditch (fouea) of the castle for other land
outside the said ditch, extending from the path going to Staura
to the water called ‘Ormanne Broc’ (No. 399)

According to Rudder (271), Newnham was the first place on
the west bank of the Severn to be fortified against the Welsh.
This is only one of several deeds that refer to the castle (see
below). o.m. 6 shows a ‘fosse’ on the south-west side of
Newnham and, close to it, a house called Castle House. The
Ormanne Broc may be the stream that flows into Collow Pill
(see No. 253 above), and Hornemelone of No. 252 a lane near
this stream. A croft lying between the ditch of the castle
and land of the hospital ‘extending from the path going to
Staura to the water of the mill’ (No. 401).

Land in Portfelda without Neuham and 12 selions in the Hyde-
croft, also a rent of 6d from the land called ‘Charcfeld’ (Nos.
287, 529). See below No. 1080

3 selions of arable near Neweham in ‘Louveriches Croft’, ‘extend-
ing from the watercourse called ‘Ormonne Broc’ to the King’s
highway from Newham to Staure’ (Nos. 554, 613).
7 gores of land in ‘Portfeld’ near Neuham (Nos. 614, 719)
In 1418 the hospital granted a lease for 70 years of property it
owned in Newnham. In it the Charcfeld of No. 529 becomes
‘Charkefeld.’ It belonged, c. 1230, to Hugh Tharc.

271 II, 571.
The lease gives further information about the hospital's property round Newnham. The 'Mulecrofta' of No. 393 is described as being near the brook running from Welscheston to the mill of John Staure and there is mention of a parcel of land extending from Wasscheston 'to the brook aforesaid'. It is thus clear that Welscheston, Wasscheston, and the Walleston of No. 393 are identical, also that Whetstones, the present name of the brook, is a corruption of these names. What and where the stone was it is impossible to say. It may have been a boundary mark and wealh is O.E. Welshman.' In this connection there is Rudder's statement that Newnham was fortified against the Welsh (No. 399 above). The 'Mulepund' of No. 393 appears to have become 'Mulleforlong' and another piece of land is called 'Longeforlong'. There are two crofts called 'Frerencroft (Friars' Croft) and 'Sputylmannyscrofte' (Hospitalman's Croft) 'extending from the Castledych; also a parcel of land in Forstall. Forstall is often met with in Kent, and here its probable meaning is enclosure (No. 1080)

In 1492 the hospital again granted a lease—this time for 99 years—of land at Newnham and in it the names mentioned in the earlier have undergone further change:—'Clark Feld'; 'Mylercroft'; 'Petriscroft'; 'Mylforlong'; a parcel of land called 'Whetstonysbroke'; another parcel called 'Long lond'; and another in Forstalle extending to 'Bytterlond' (No. 1182)

Owlpenn. See under Uley

Rodley. S.E. of Westbury-on-Severn. Land in Clyue in the manor of Rodleg. Clyue (Cleeve) is close to the Severn, south of Westbury. The hospital demised 4 gores of this land on Gunhulle for a term of lives to Henry of Heydona. Hayden is south-east of Cleeve and Gunhulle will probably have been the high ground near to it. (o.m. i shows a small hill 93 feet above sea level) (No. 771)

Ryecroft. This is now part of Gloucester. It lay to the south of Lower Barton street.

A headland of arable in Ruecrofte one end of which reached to a green way towards Sondebrug' (Saintsbridge) 'and the other end abuts upon the ford to the mill called 'Sawagemulne'. The mill was on the Southbrook. Ryecroft means 'rough enclosure' (Nos. 207, 509)

Saintsbridge. 4 ac. with a messuage and appurtenances in Sondebrug' (No. 422)

1 ac. of arable on the Sonde (sand) in Sondebruge (No. 602)

A tenement by 'Bulelone' extending from the highway to Gloucester to the brook called 'Marebroke' (No. 721). This
deed is a lease to Matilda, daughter of John Bule, of Sandeburgge.

Swindon. Near Cheltenham. A mill with curtilage and meadow adjoining (No. 1056)

Uley and Owlpen. A cotland (collenda) in Echescumbe with meadows, messuages, etc., except for 3 ac. held by the Prior of Stanleye (Leonard Stanley) and another for which exchange was made with the prior, namely 1 ac. under Caluenesse, 1 ac. in Wudcotefelde (Woodcock Farm, o.m. 1?) and 1 ac. in Boxdene (Nos. 410, 412, 462)

1½ ac. in Eweleg' in field of 'Meregof' (Nos. 505, 533)

A meadow lying near Olepen' (No. 536)

In 1273 the hospital leased for 10 years 3 ac. in the fields of Iwelye, 1 ac. of which was at Olepen', 1 ac. in cultura called 'the ley', and the third in the field extending towards Camme at Chirtmeye (No. 635)

In 1280 the hospital made an exchange with the abbey of Kingswood whereby it received 5 ac. :-

1½ ac. at Acchecumb' near Olepenne; between the 'Prior and Brethren's wood of Letegarehale and the land of Robert of Bennecumb'. (Isaac Taylor's Map of Gloucestershire, 1777, shows Bencomb as the name of a combe immediately south of the 'W' of Owlen on o.m. 1, and Greenwood's map of 1824 gives a Bencomb House). ½ ac. lay at the end of the above between land belonging to the hospital and that of William of Tedepen'. A ferendel (ferendellum) was between the latter's land and that belonging to the church of Symondeshale (Symonds Hall Farm—o.m. 1), abutting on the way of Wodewelle. ½ ac. lay between the land of the lord of Olepenne and that of the church: 11 ac. was between the land of Gilbert Clappe of Newenton and that of Gilbert Holcroft of Symondeshale, abutting on the way called 'Stondingeston'. (Newenton is Newington Bagpath and 'Stondingeston' means standing stone. There are tumuli east of Symonds Hall Farm (272). A ferendel abutted on the wall of Tedepenn' and another abutted on the hedge (haycium) of Adam of Tedepen' and upon the land of Walter the Southurne, of Baggepath; ½ ac. lay between land belonging to the hospital and that of the rector of the church of Newenton abutting on the road to Tetterbur(y). (Bagpath lies to the west of Newington Bagpath.) For the above the hospital exchanged 5 ac. :-

3 ac. in the field of Caldecote (Calcot Farm o.m. 1) abutting on the way of Cottenhulle; 1 ac. abutted on the Mulewye (mill-way); and 1 ac. lay between the land of Andrew the Miller and that of John Richer of Kyngescot', upon the way to Bath. (No. 691)

Land in Tetecumb in the village of Iweleg' with the hedge (cum haicio) and all appurtenances (No. 472)

A meadow in Iweleg called 'Neuemeede' adjoining grove called 'Kingesmor'; the hospital had licence to enclose it every year from the Feast of the Purification until that of All Saints (No. 532)

½ virgate in Lutegareshale (No. 167)

1 virgate called 'Lutegareshale' in the parish of Ywele. In consideration of receiving this land, the hospital undertook to pay the donor 20s yearly for the term of her life and to find her a suitable dwelling house in Gloucester on the death of her uncle, Sir Richard of Coaley (Nos. 167, 568)

c. 1310 the hospital was given a licence to enclose its land at Lotegareshale 'without the grange of the said Hospital' extending from its meadow near Waterforou to its land called 'Tetecome' (Lutegareshale must have been towards the north-east end of the offshoot from the Cotswolds that ends in Stinchcombe Hill and the wood of No. 691 that on the hillside west of the Owlpfen–Newington Bagpath road. According to Ekwall, the meaning of Lutegareshale is 'small grass corner or hollow, grazing ground (273) (No. 789)

WALHAM. 1 ac. in Waleham extending by the Severn to the place called 'Leg' (No. 519)

In 1476 Llanthony Priory gave the hospital 2 ac. in Walham in exchange for 2 ac. in Sudmede (No. 1165)

WOODMANCOTE. South of Dursley. 2 ac., one lying between Haraldestan' and the acre of Henry of Henlea (Nos. 108–9)

WOTTON (Gloucester). 1 ac. called 'Smochacre' at Wintersiche between the land of the Abbot of St. Peter and the Common furlong of Langeforde (Longford). ('Smochacre' is smoke-acre, and is associated with smoke-silver and smoke-penny, used of taxes paid to ministers of parishes in lieu of tithe-wood, but also of money paid to the sheriff for holding certain lands. The tax was probably so called because it was a householder's tax and smoke-acre was a name attached to lands held by such payments (274). The siche of wintersiche means stream, usually one flowing through marshy land). (No. 518)

274 English Place-Name Society. The Place-Names of Wiltshire, 446.
2 selions in the fields of Wotton towards Sauagesmull. (A Savage's mill is mentioned in Nos. 207, 509 above. It was on the Sudbrook. The mill in this deed, however, would appear to have been on the Wotton brook. It may be that a Savage had more than one mill or that two members of the family, which is mentioned in other deeds, each had a mill) (No. 520)

2. *Within the city walls*

Property, of the hospital, inside the city included holdings in the following streets:—

- Butchery.
- Castle Street.
- Gore Lane.
- Grace Lane.
- Myendilone.
- Pukelone.
- Smiths' Street.
- Southgate Street.
- Walkers' Lane.
- Westgate Street (including St. Nicholas Church).
- Zonary (Girdlery).

(For the above see plan *B.G.A.S. lxvi*, opp. p. 8)

3. *Rents*

Rents were received from properties in:—

- Bishops Cleeve and Gotherington.
- Brook St.
- Castlemorton.
- Coaley.
- Gooseditch.
- Hardwick.
- Hasfield.
- Hyde, The.
- King's Barton.
- Little Dean.
- Longdon.
- Lutegareshale.
- Newnham.
- Rodley.
- Saintsbridge.
- Uley.
- Walham.
- Woodmancote.
- Wotton (Gloucester).

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- Almesham.
- Archdeacon St.
- Bulgereslone.
- Oxebodelone.
- St. Mary's Lane.
- Smiths' St.
- Southgate St.
- Travel Lane.
- Westgate St.
## APPENDIX No. 3

### PERSONAL NAMES AND EPIPHETS

(The approximate date of the use of the word is given in brackets, but it has not been possible, in every instance, to give its earliest form in the Records)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apothecary</td>
<td>Potykary (1455)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arblaster</td>
<td>Cross-bowman (c. 1260, see also Balistarius)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archer</td>
<td>(c. 1220), Harecher (1285)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aumblour</td>
<td>(1336)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bailiff</td>
<td>Baillius (c. 1210), <em>Praepositus Domini Regis de Berton</em>, Bailiff of the King’s Barton (c. 1260)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakehouse, of the</td>
<td><em>De Furno</em> (c. 1270)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>Baker of the abbey (c. 1210)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balistarius</td>
<td>Cross-bowman (c. 1230). See Arblaster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bald, the</td>
<td><em>Caluus</em> (1175-90), <em>le Cauf</em> (1260-1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber</td>
<td>(1260-1), Barbour (1376)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barre</td>
<td>(c. 1230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow, of the</td>
<td><em>de Berga</em> (c. 1250), <em>atte Berue</em> (c. 1250) in Elmore (O.E. <em>beorg</em>, hill—There are several hills near Elmore), <em>de la Berwe</em> (1260-1), <em>de la Berewe</em> (c. 1270)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastard, the</td>
<td>(c. 1180)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batur, the</td>
<td>(c. 1240)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beadle</td>
<td>the Budeles (c. 1260), <em>le Budel</em> (c. 1260)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beard</td>
<td>Benedict with the—<em>cum barba</em> (c. 1230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bellfounder</td>
<td><em>Campanarius</em> (c. 1270), <em>la Belzutare</em> (1303-4), Belyeter (1346), Belleyeter (1455)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beo le</td>
<td>(1303)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berman, the</td>
<td>(c. 1210), Bermon (1250), (O.E. <em>baerman</em>, porter, bearer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berne, of the</td>
<td>(1245)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bestemon, the</td>
<td>Beastman (1273)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birche atte</td>
<td>(1357)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacstar’, the</td>
<td>(1274), Blakestare (1274), Blastere (1275-6), Blacstare (1311), Blakester (1313)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black, the</td>
<td>(c. 1230), the Blake (c. 1210)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bladesmith</td>
<td>(1455)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blund, the</td>
<td>(c. 1220), ‘the white or fair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boatman</td>
<td>Boteman (1455)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokelare, the</td>
<td>(c. 1300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bokelond</td>
<td>(1421) Bocland, ‘land held by title deed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonde, the</td>
<td>The serf (c. 1220)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bote atte (1328)
Bouliar', the (1273), (1324–5)
Boure atte (1342)
Bowyer Bowyare (1311), Bowyar (1545)
Boxe, of the (c. 1290)
Brais, the (c. 1250), le Bray (1342)
Breeches Robert without (sine braccis) (c. 1210)
Breton, the Brito (c. 1210)
Brever, the le Brazur (c. 1230), Bruear (1500), breuer (1545)
Brewhouse, of the de Brachin, de Bracino (c. 1200)
Bridgewright Bruggewyrte (c. 1230), le Punter (c. 1230)
Bruggere (c. 1260)
Bridgeward Briggeward (1450–1)
Broiderer Browderer (1455)
Bryggende (1414), Brigghende (1414)
Brook, of the Broc. of the (1242–3)
Brochar, the (1252–3) Brochere (c. 1270), see Needle-maker
Brown, the le Brun (c. 1210)
Bruche, of the (c. 1250)
Brugge, of the (1393), 'brugge' is bridge
Bule, the (c. 1230), the Bole (c. 1270)
Bulger, the (c. 1245)
But, the (c. 1200)
Butcher le Macecrer (c. 1220), Carnifex (c. 1230), Bocher (1500)
Butler Pincerna (c. 1220), Butiler (c. 1250), Botyler (1354)
Bythewaye (1380)
Callow, the La Calue (1296–7)
Caluwe atte (1344), Attecalewe (1347)
Capper (1498)
Cardemaker (1455), maker of wool cards
Carippenter (c. 1200)
Carrier Cariar (1455), Carriour (1500)
Carter Karetarius (c. 1220), Carectarius (c. 1270), Cartere (1346)
Cat le (c. 1280)
Cellarer de Cellar (c. 1200), of the Celer (1309)
Chalunner (c. 1230), Chalener (1274), maker of bed coverings
Chamber, of the (c. 1240)
Chamberlain (c. 1220)
Champeneis (1233–4)
CHANDLER (1545)
CHANGER, MONEY Cambiator (c. 1250), le Chaunger (1273), Excambiator (1284–7), le Chaniour (1287)
CHAPLAIN (c. 1200)
CHAUPERNER, THE (c. 1250)
CHURCH ATE (1343)
CHURCH OF THE Chiriche (c. 1260)
CLERK, THE (c. 1200)
CLERK Clerk of the Market of the King’s Household (1403)
CLOTHMAN 1570
CLOTHWORKER 1545
CNUSARE, THE (c. 1210, Knussere, Scnusar, Knusar, Cnusser (c. 1230), Cnusare, Cnusere (1240–9)
COMBAR (1455) wool-comber
COOK, THE (c. 1220)
CONNERE, THE (1362)
CORDWAINER Cordewan (c. 1200), Cordiwaner (1317)
COREUYSER (1362) Corviser (1384–5), shoe-maker
COUNTIES OF Cornubiensis (c. 1230), Cornwaleys (1317–18), Deuonensis (c. 1230), le Devenishe (1317–18)
CRISPE, THE (1314)
CROCKERE, THE (c. 1230)
CROSS-BOWMAN Balistarius (c. 1230) le Arblaster (1310)
CUTLER Cultellarius (1252–3), Cotiller (1377), Coteller (1454)
DANE, THE Dacus (c. 1220)
DAWBATOR (c. 1220), plasterer
DEACON (c. 1220)
DOUCE, THE le Dous (1278), Official of Worcester
DOWEMAN (1492)
DRAPER Draperius (c. 1230), Pannarius (c. 1270)
DROIS, THE (1319)
DYER Tinctor (c. 1200), le Teynturer (c. 1270), le Deyere. (c. 1290), the Deyere (1290–1), le Diere (1296), le Teyntourer (c. 1300), le Deyar (1342), le Deyzare (1338), Deyere (1344), the Deghere (1344), Dier (1408) (1245)
DUC, THE (c. 1245)
ELM OF THE de Ulmo (c. 1230), ate Nelme (1343)
ENUEYSE, THE (c. 1240), Enveise (1252), Envoisie (1252), Anueise (c. 1260), Len Veyse (1255)
(Stevenson states that ‘Enueyse’ is Old French, enveisé, envoisié: ‘gay, lively’
ESQUIRE (1460)
EYR, THE (1299), Heyr (c. 1300), heir
FALCONER le Facuner (c. 1210), Faukener (1343)
Fawkener (1478)
FARRIER Marescallus (c. 1200), le Ferrur (c. 1220), Ferrator, le Ferun (c. 1230), Ferrou (1407)
FEWTRER, THE Feutrarius (c. 1200), the Feltiere (c. 1280), Veltiere (1364), felt-maker
FARMOUR (1453), farmer
FIELD OF THE of the Feolde (1275), de la Felde (c. 1300), in the Felde (1315), atte felde (1454)
FISHER Piscator (c. 1210), le Pessonier, le Pescour (c. 1240), Visher (1308), Fischar (1455)
FISHMONGER Fischmunger (1455)
FLETCHER Flecherius (c. 1210), Flecher (1455)
FLESHMONGER Flexmongar (1315), o.e. flaesc-mangere
FORD OF THE (1320)
FORESTER (c. 1200)
FOWLER Auceps (c. 1220), (Auceps can also mean falconer)
FRANKLIN Frankelan (c. 1220), Fraunkelein (1319)
Franklin (1320)
FREEMAN Freman (c. 1230), Freman (1348)
FREEMASON Fremason (1455)
FREKE, THE (c. 1250), Freke is o.e. Frec, 'desirous, greedy'
FRENCHMAN Francius (c. 1175), le Fraunceys (c. 1250)
Frenshe (1457)
FURBUR, THE (c. 1210), from Furbarius, a burnisher or furbisher
FULLER Fullo (c. 1180), Fuller (1540)
FUSTER, THE (c. 1240), maker of fustian
GARDEN OF THE (1289)
GARDENS OF THE William, lord of Mattesdone (matson) (1299)
GARDENER (c. 1260)
GATE OF THE de Porta (1261).
GENTLEMAN, THE (1467)
GERNETER, THE (1348) hinge-maker?
GIRDLER le Seinter (c. 1175), Zonarius (c. 1240), le Seynter (1271)
GLASWRYTH, THE (1330), Glaswryzte (1399), Glasswright
GLAZIER Leuerror (c. 1200), le Verrur (c. 1220), Glasiar (1455)
GLOVER Wanterius (c. 1220) le Wanter (1245) Le Gaunter (1263), Cirotocarius (1316)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goldbeater</td>
<td>Goldbetere (1315)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goldsmith</td>
<td>(c. 1190), Aurifaber (c. 1280)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodman</td>
<td>(1578)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gooseherd</td>
<td>la Gosherde (1348)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosebrok</td>
<td>(1380)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graunger</td>
<td>(1380)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grove of the</td>
<td>de la Graue (c. 1220)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green at the</td>
<td>(1329) at the green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hafter le</td>
<td>(1273), hafter (1363)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halfclerc</td>
<td>(c. 1220)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>ad aulan, 'at the hall of the Hoke (oak), in Hucclecote (c. 1260), Halle (1316)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harecher, the</td>
<td>archer (1285)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harpur, the</td>
<td>(c. 1200) harper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvester</td>
<td>le Messer (1295)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hattere, the</td>
<td>(1357) hatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayfield</td>
<td>(1478)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hayward</td>
<td>(1325)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helde atte</td>
<td>(1338) held, o.e. slope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hende, the</td>
<td>(1302)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermit</td>
<td>(1387)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hert, the</td>
<td>(c. 1280), Hort (1291), means hart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heyberare, the</td>
<td>(1285), Heiberar (1298), Heyberere (1302) Hyberare (1342), hay-carrier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heyr</td>
<td>see Eyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindman</td>
<td>(c. 1230)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hok of the</td>
<td>(c. 1220), Hoic (1242), Oc. (1285), means 'oak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honymonger</td>
<td>(1380)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooper</td>
<td>Le Cercler (c. 1210), Circulator (c. 1210), Cerclarius (c. 1230), Cerclar (1293), Hoper (1297), Hopere (1311)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horsman</td>
<td>Alice the (c. 1270)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hose le</td>
<td>(1241) hosed, stockinged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of the</td>
<td>(c. 1260)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hullier, the</td>
<td>(c. 1260), Oleator (c. 1260), oiller (c. 1270), oilmaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hulle of the</td>
<td>(c. 1260), of the hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter</td>
<td>le Venur (c. 1230), Venetour (c. 1300), the Hunte' (1327)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husbandman</td>
<td>(1437)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huylde, the</td>
<td>(1376)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyld Lord, the</td>
<td>(1270)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyrmo(n)gare</td>
<td>(c. 1260), irmongarer (1287), irmonger (1308), ironmonger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INFIRMARY OF THE (c. 1220)
INNHOLDER (1562)
IRONMONGER see Hytmongare
KARL’ THE (1227)
KENE, THE (c. 1230)
KNIGHT le Knyt (c. 1260), le Cniht (1260–1)
KYNK, THE (1316)
LABOURER (1552)
LECIE (1455), leech, doctor
LEWARD (1478)
LIMNER Illuminator (c. 1190), luminer (c. 1230)
LOAMPIT OF THE de la Lamputte (1275)
LOCKSMITH Locar(ius) (c. 1230) Lokeare, Locar, le
Lokiere (c. 1230), Locare (c. 1252), Locker
(c. 1260)
LONG, THE (c. 1220), Longye (1337)
LORIMER (c. 1180)
LULUTAR (c. 1210), the Lultere (c. 1230), Lulsere,
Lultare (c. 1260)
LUMBARD, THE (c. 1280)
LYNDE ATTE (1346)
MALTMAKER (1546)
MARE OF THE (1347)
MARIN(ER) (c. 1190), Maryner (1349)
MARSH OF THE (c. 1210), ate Merssh (1343)
MASON Cementarius (the king’s mason) (c. 1250), le
Mazur (1262), Le Machon (c. 1300) Mason
(1433)
MASTER (c. 1200)
MEADOWS OF THE de Pratis (c. 1260)
Medicus (1455) doctor
MERCER (c. 1190)
MERCHANT (c. 1220)
MILLER (c. 1220)
MORE ATTE (1392)
MORGAN OF (c. 1260)
MORMON OF THE (1316)
MULEWARD (1327), Mulleward (1344), Meleward (1376),
Milleward (1385), Milward (1432), mill-
keeper
MUTE, THE Muet (c. 1190), Muwet (c. 1200), Mutus
(c. 1230)
NAILAR, THE (c. 1240), Nayllur (1433)
NEEDLEMAKER le Aguilar (c. 1260), Neldare (c. 1270)
NEVERE, THE (c. 1270)
Noble, the
Northfolk of
Northman
Notary
Oak of the
Oilmaker
Orchard at the
Painter
Pakkare, the
Palmer
Parchiminer
Park of the
Parker
Passur le
Paucok
Permitter
Pewterer
Peticlerck
Physician
Place of the
Plumber
Poer, the
Porter
Portman
Poter, the
Priest
Prute, the
Pulle atte
Purser
Quilter, the
Receuour
Red, the
Rede atte
Reeve
Rich, the
Roer, the
Roo, the
Roper, the
Ryn le
Sacristan
Saddler

(1384), Nobele (1389),
(c. 1280)
le Norreis (1262)
(1317)
Ok’, Hack’, Hok (c. 1260), Noke (1375)
Olearius (c. 1240) Oleator, Hulier (c. 1260),
Oiller (c. 1270)
Attenerchard (1287), Okchard (1310)
(1262), Peyntour (1377), Payntour (1455)
(1335)
(c. 1200)
(1255), parchment-maker
(c. 1230)
le Parkare (1345)
(c. 1260)
(c. 1220), peacock
(c. 1175), Parmentarius (c. 1190), Parmenter
(c. 1220), tailor
Peuderar (1455)
(c. 1250)
Fisticus (c. 1200)
(c. 1260)
Plummarius (c. 1220), Plummer (1273), le
Plomer (c. 1280)
(c. 1270)
Janitor (c. 1200)
(1380)
(c. 1240), Potter (1423)
(c. 1200)
(1234), Proute (1306)
(c. 1252), atte Poule (1380)
(1498)
le Quelter (c. 1230)
(1333), Receyuor (1339), Resseyyur (1387)
Resceyvour (1388), receiver
(1376)
Praetor, Praepositus (c. 1200)
(c. 1200), Dives (c. 1220)
(1302)
(1304)
(c. 1220)
(c. 1260), le Ryuns (1310)
Le Secrestein (c. 1200)
Selarius (c. 1200), sadeler (1493)
SAILOR
SALT MARSH OF THE
SARTERIA
SAUERNE OF
SAWAGE, THE
SAWYER
SCEPHERDE
SCHORTESTOYL
SERGEANT
SERVANT
SERVINGMAN
SHEATHER
SHERIFF
SHERMAN
SHIELDWRIGHT
SHIPSMITH
SHOEMAKER
SHOVERE, THE
SKINNER
SMITH
SMITHY OF THE
SOAPMAKER
SOMETER
SOUTHERN, THE
SOPERE, THE
SPICER
SPURRIER
STABLEMAN
STATIONER
STEWARD
STONE AT THE
STONEHOWER
STOWE OF THE
STOYL OF THE
Sur(l)urand (c. 1260) Soiurnant (1287), Suioirnant (1297)
Soioruain (1330), sojourner

Tailor
Taillur (1175–90), Sissor (c. 1200), Scisor (c. 1230), Taylator (c. 1230), Cissor (1285),
Taillour (1315), Tayllour (1320), Taylor (1425), Taylur (1436), Tailor (1455)

Tanner
Alutarius, Allutor (c. 1230), Tannere (1320),
Tanner (1498)

Taverner
(1255) Tabern', Tharbenarius (c. 1270)

Tenter
(c. 1250)

Thatcher
Thacher (1455)

Thonne of the
town
(c. 1260) Attetone, of the Toune (c. 1260)

Thresher
Filtor; Triturator (c. 1230)

Tinker
Tynker (1455)

Tire, the
(c. 1230)

Tixtor
See Weaver

Towker
(1469), fuller

pe punge
(c. 1230), pe penge (c. 1240)

Traunter
(1500), carrier

Tur of the
tower
(c. 1220) Turri (1248), de la Tur (c. 1285)

Tylar
(1348), Tiler (1548)

Underhull
(1358)

Velde atte
(1375), field

Veolar, the
(1323)

Verne of the
(1303)

Veym le
(1325), Le Veyne (1331), Veym (1336)

Veyseyr', the
(c. 1300)

Vinitier le
(c. 1210) Vinitarius (c. 1230), vintner

Vyk, the
(1354)

Waiet, the
Wate (c. 1230)

Walkiare, the
(1262)

Waller
Cementarius (c. 1230), Walour (1347)

Warde broke
(1428)

Wardwyk
(1439)

Ware of the
(1225)

Warf atte
(1384)

Water of the
Watermon le
(c. 1220), Watremon (1300), waterman

Wayn, the
(c. 1220) Waine, Wayner (c. 1230)

Weaver
Telator (c. 1180), Textor (c. 1220), Tixtor (c. 1230), Webbe, le Webbe (1342); Weaver
(1496), Wevar (1543)

Well of the
de Fonte (1270)
WELSHMAN  Walensis (c. 1200), le Walssh (1337), the Walsh (1348)
WEXCHAUNDELER (1455), wax-chandler
WEYE ATTE (1417)
WHEELER Hwelare (1297), Welare (1309), Wholare (1320), Whelare (1330), Welore (1342) Whelar' (1365)
WHEELWRIGHT Rotarius (c. 1230), Whelar (1455)
WHITE, THE Albus (c. 1220), the White (1316)
WICHER, THE (c. 1230), Wich' (c. 1250)
WIMPLERE, THE (1233)
WISE, THE Sapiens (c. 1200), Wyse (1301)
WODEWARD (1433)
WOLMONGERE (1380), woolmonger
WOOD OF THE de Bosco (c. 1220), de Boscho (c. 1260), atte Woode (1320)
WOP, THE (1263)
WRITER, THE (c. 1200)
WROPE (c. 1240)
WYGWWURTIE, THE (c. 1240)
WYNZARD ATTE (1362)
WYRDRAYER (1455)
WYTIE, THE (1340)
YOUNG, THE le Jouene, le Jeouene (c. 1260)

XVI. GLOSSARY TO APPENDICES

ACRE Originally as much land as a yoke of oxen could plough in a day.
BURGAGE A tenure whereby lands in cities and towns were held of the lord for a certain annual rent.
BUTT A ridge between two furrows of a ploughed field, or a strip of ploughland shorter than the average length of one furlong.
CARUCATE As much land as could be tilled with one plough (and 8 oxen) in a year.
COTLAND Land (usually about 5 acres) held by the Old English cottar with his cot.
CROFT A piece of enclosed ground used for tillage or pasture.
CRANNOCK A dry measure. In the time of Edward II it contained 8 or 16 pecks.
CULTURA A piece of cultivated land.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Curtilage</td>
<td>A piece of land attached to a dwelling house and with it forming an enclosure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferendel</td>
<td>A quarter of an acre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furlong</td>
<td>Originally the length of the furrow in the common field, usually understood to be equal to 40 poles; a group of strips of ploughland; an area of land a furrow long.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gore</td>
<td>A triangular piece of ploughland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headland</td>
<td>A strip of land left at the end of the furrows for convenience in turning the plough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messuage</td>
<td>Originally the portion of land intended as a site for a house and its appurtenances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selion</td>
<td>A portion of land of indeterminate area comprising a ridge or narrow strip between two furrows formed in dividing an open field; a strip or measure of ploughland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrave</td>
<td>It comprised two stooks, generally containing twelve sheaves each.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toft</td>
<td>A homestead; a house site; a piece of ground.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgate</td>
<td>An early English land measure, varying greatly in extent, but in many cases averaging 30 acres.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(References:—The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary
Medieval Latin Word-List
Brewer’s Dictionary of Phrase and Fable
Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire,
by G. B. Grundy, pp. 14–19)

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Corrigendum

Trans. B.G.A.S. lxvi, ii, line 19, for Bailiffs' accounts read Stewards' accounts.