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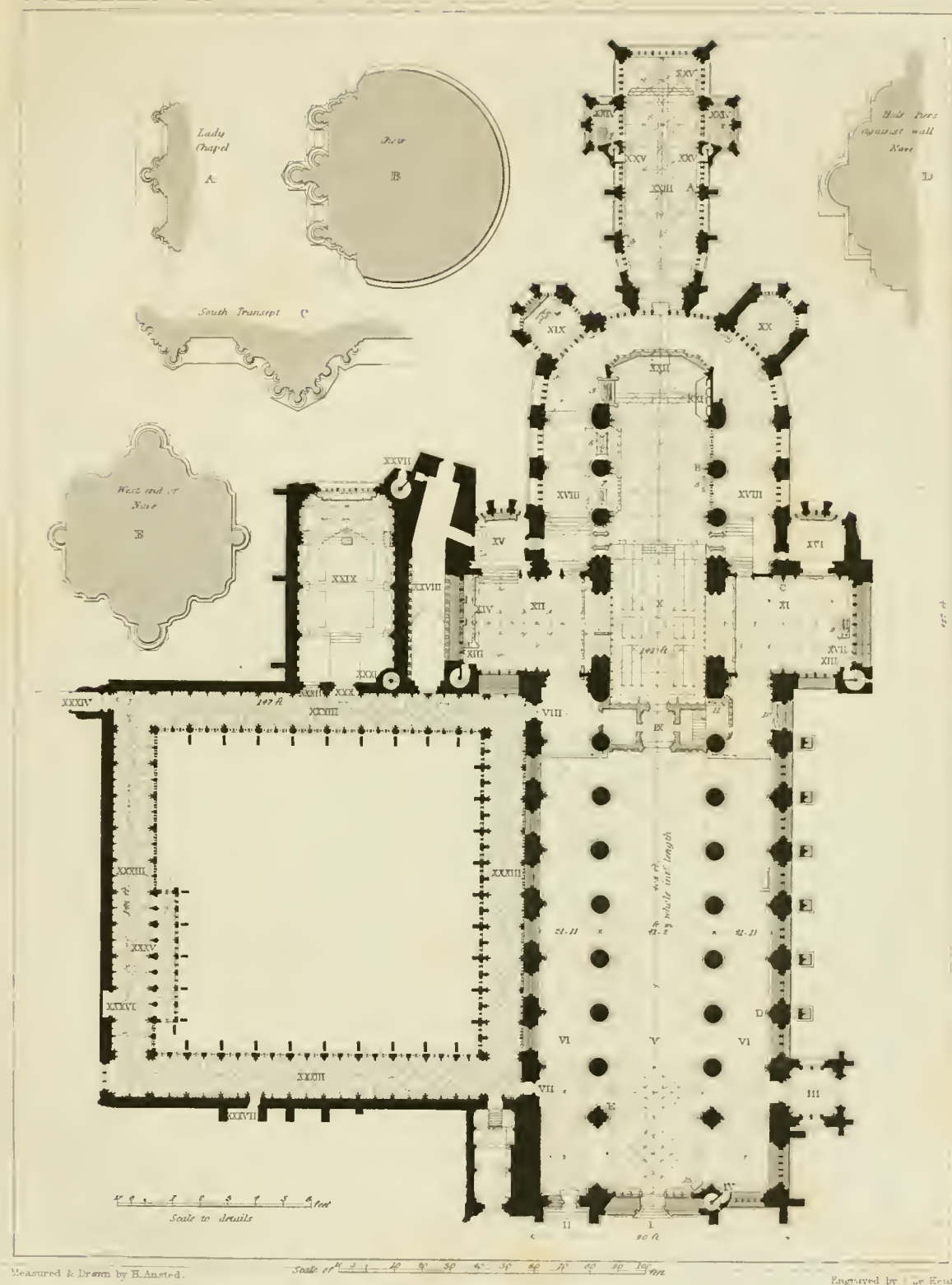
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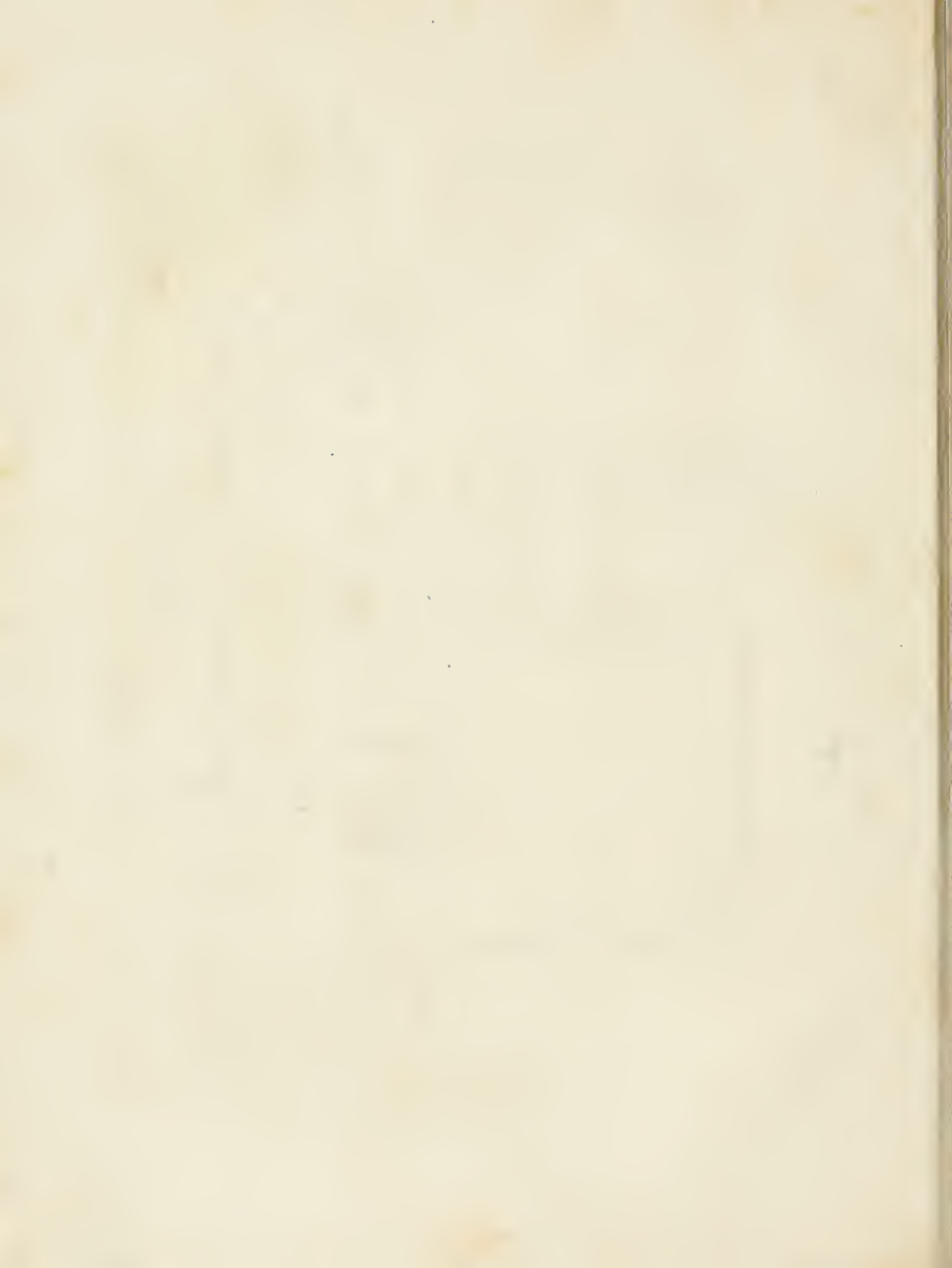


Measured & Drawn by H. Ansted.

Scale of 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 feet

Engraved by J. C. Keast

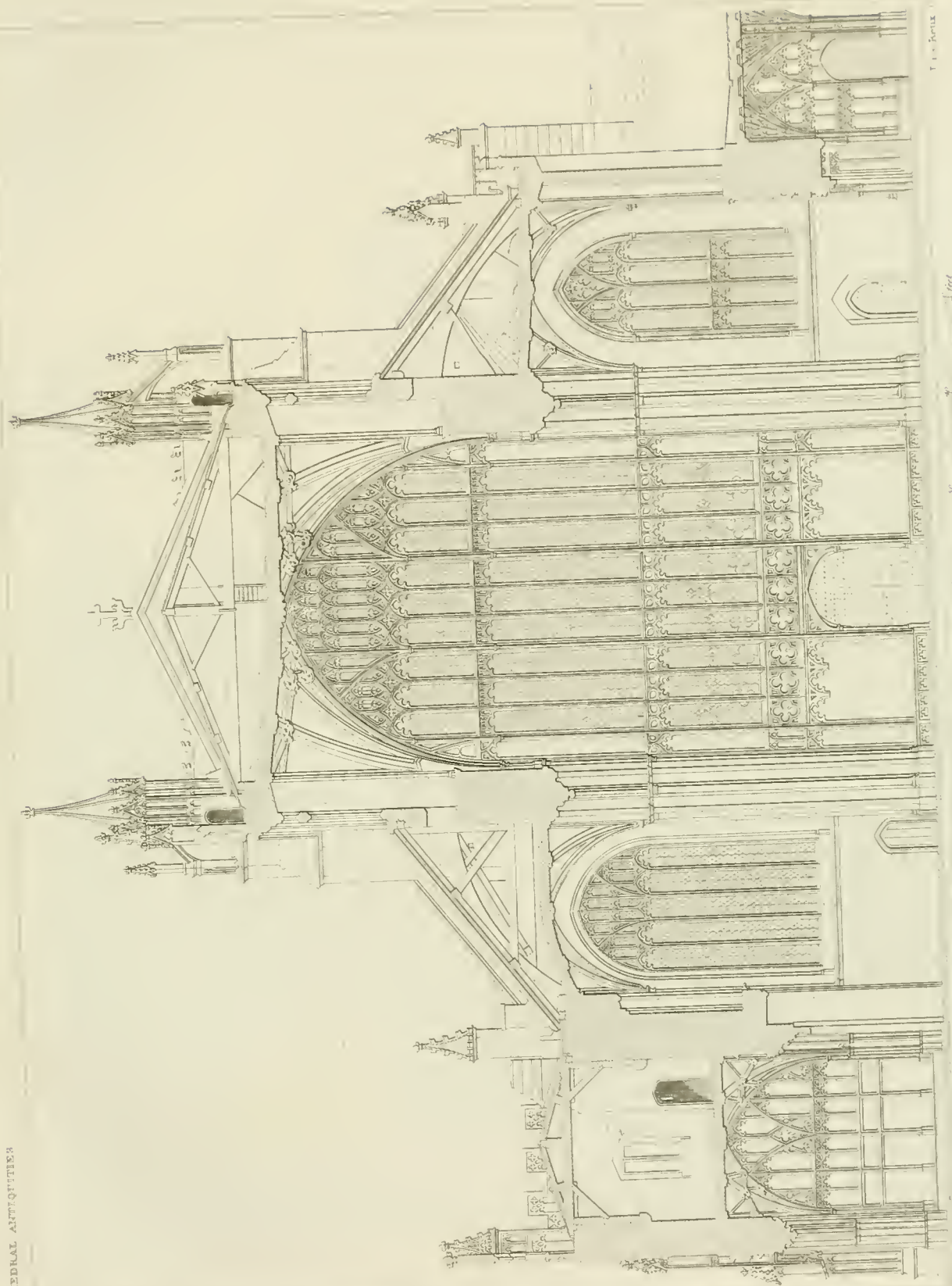
CATHEDRAL ANTIQUITIES.
GROUND PLAN, SHEWING SITES OF MONUMENTS, &c.





W. J. & J. H. P. 1841

TO JOHN BARON M. P. I. K. S. &c. this plate is inscribed with sentiment, of esteem by the
AUTHOR
J. W. J. & J. H. P. 1841. *Printed by Longman & Co. Fleet Street. No. 1.*



1/2 in. = 1 foot

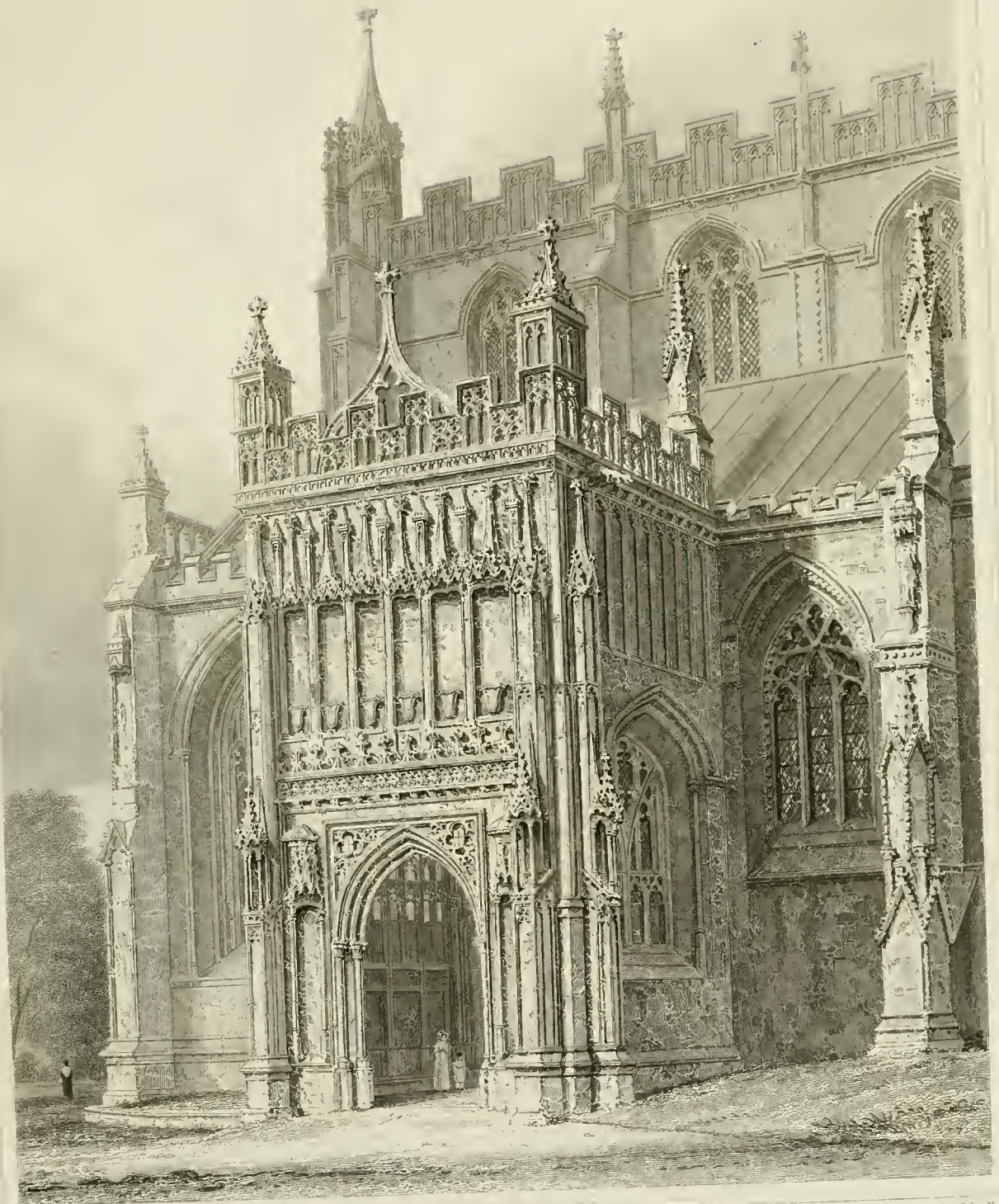
Scale of feet 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Measured & Drawn by H. Bartlett Oct 1826

SECTION THROUGH THE 3^d COMPARTMENT FROM WEST END

See also the plan of the Cathedral in the margin

See also the plan of the Cathedral in the margin



Drawn by W.H. Bartlett. 1827

Engraved by J. Le Keux

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL
VIEW OF THE SOUTH PORCH

To the HONORABLE & REV^d DANIEL FINCH, B.D. one of the Prebendaries of this Cathedral this Plate is presented as a testimony of esteem by the
AUTHOR

London Published July 1. 1828. by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row



Drawn by W H Bartlett

Engraved by J Le Keux

GLoucester Cathedral.
VIEW OF THE SOUTH TRANSEPT, TOWER &c

To CHAS HANBURY TRACY ESQ^r of Teddington, who has evinced his partiality for Ecclesiastical Architecture, by raising his own mansion in this style
this plate is inscribed by J BRITTON.

London, Published May 1 1829 by J. C. Neale, Stationer Row.



CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN, BRISTOL.
The church is a fine specimen of the
Gothic architecture of the 13th century.
It was built by the monks of the
abbey of Glastonbury, and was
dedicated to St. Martin, the patron
saint of the city. The church is
now a parish church, and is
used for the purpose of
worship.



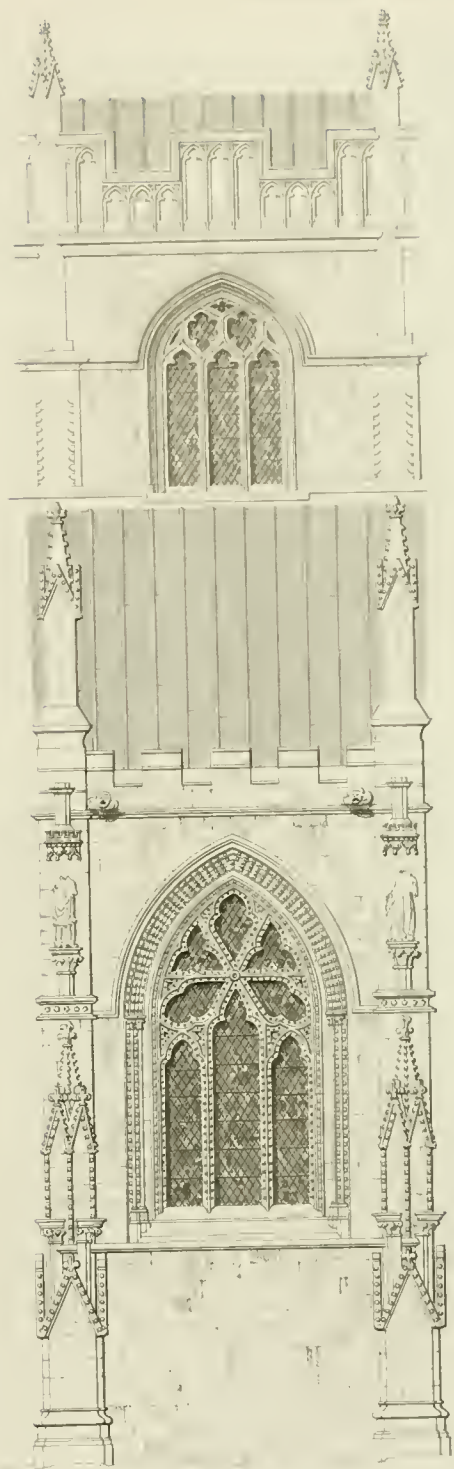
Drawn by W. H. Bartlett

Engraved by W. Woolnutt

CLONMEL CATHEDRAL
VIEW OF THE NAVE, LOOKING EAST.

To the REV. J. HOBART HAMMOND, M.A. one of the Prebendaries of Clouster Cathedral this plate is inscribed by the
AUTHOR

London, Published May 1859, by Longmans & Co. Paternoster Row



J. L. K. R. fe

H. Ansted del. 1827.

Scale of

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ELY CATHEDRAL.
NAVE: COMPARTMENT, INTERIOR & EXTERIOR.

London. Published March 1. 1826, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.



W.H. Bartlett del.

J. Le Keux sc.

GLoucester Cathedral,
LOOKING EAST INTO THE S. AISLE OF CHOIR, &c

To the Honorable & very Rev^d EDWARD RICE, D.D. Dean of Gloucester &c this plate is inscribed by
THE AUTHOR

London Published April 1846, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.



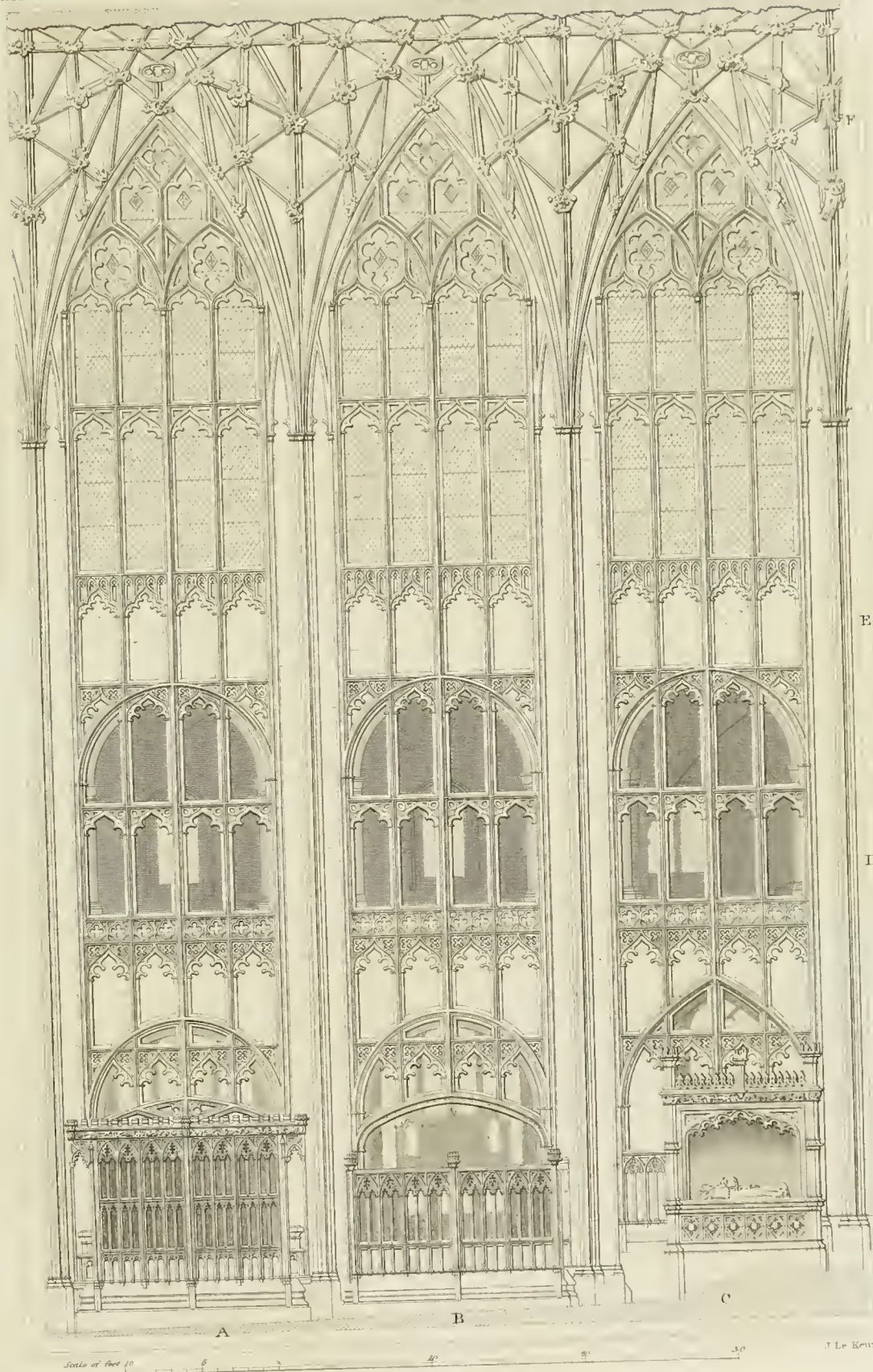
Drawn by H. Ansted, 1827

Engraved by J. L. Roux

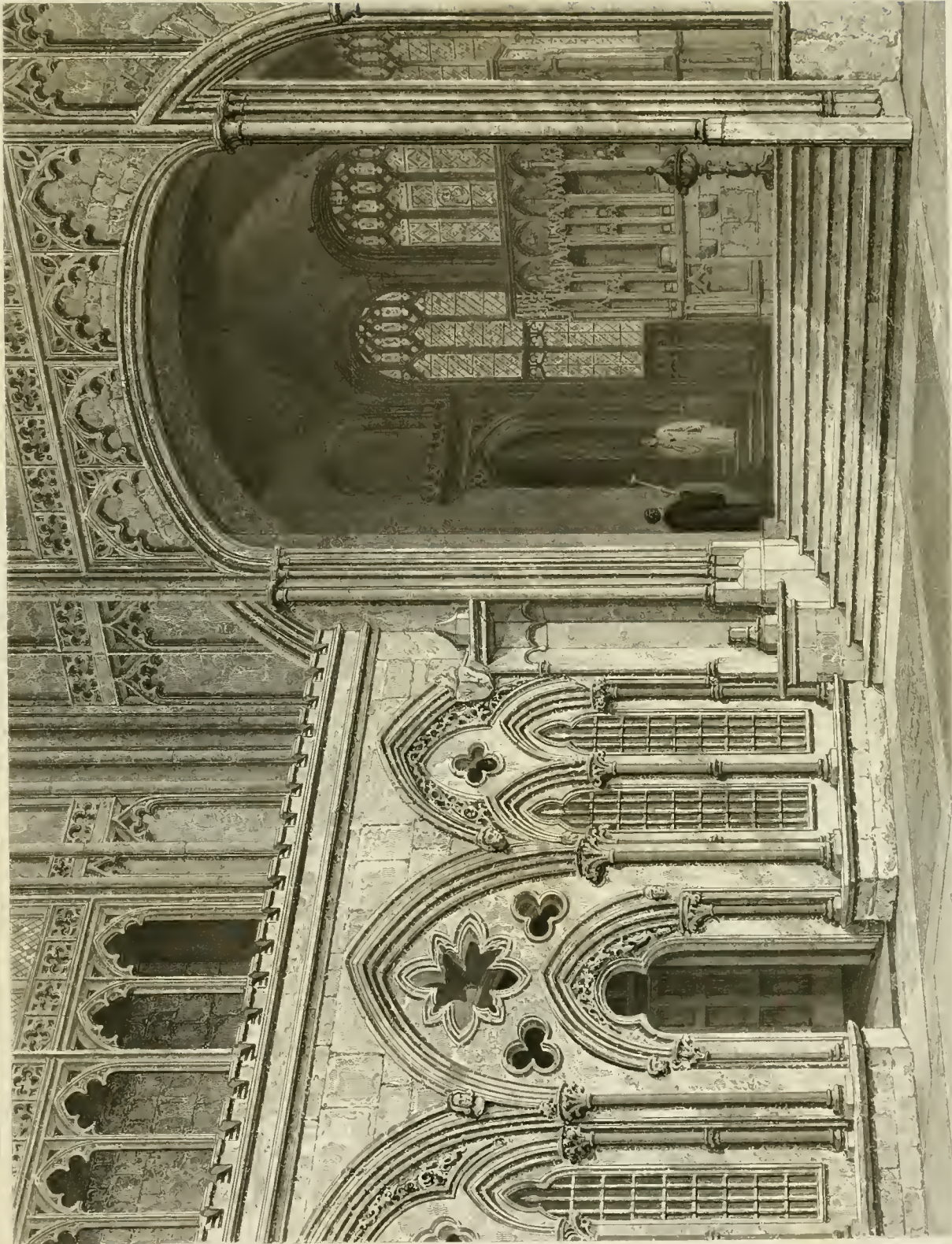
VIEW OF THE CHOIR LOOKING EAST

To the R^{EV} CHRISTOPHER BETHFIELD D. D. BISHOP OF BLOOMINGTON & this plate is in

London Published July 1 1829 by J. Rogers & Co. Printers in the Strand



CHOIR OF ELY CATHEDRAL
COMPARTMENTS 3. CHURCH OF ELY



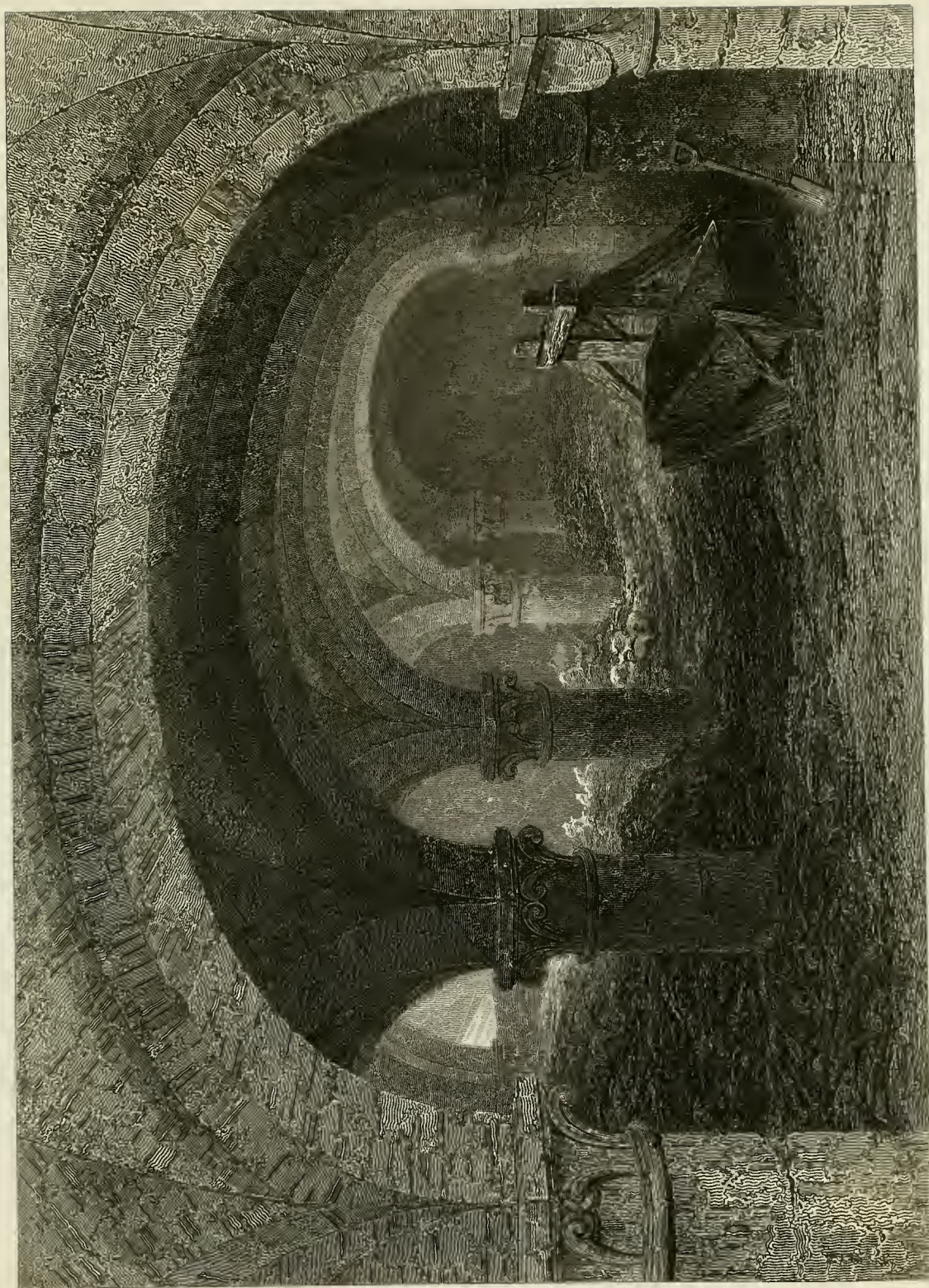
W. H. Bartlett del.

J. Le Keux sc.

THE WESTWORK, GLoucester Cathedral.

To the REV. GEORGE WHALL, D.D., Master of Pembroke College, Oxford: & one of the Treasurers of Gloucester Cathedral, this plate is inscribed by THE AUTHOR.

London: Published April 1846, by Longman, & Co. Paternoster Row.



Engraved by J. Le Keux

VIEW OF THE EAST ANGLICAN CHURCH, LONDON.
 BY WILLIAM HICKS, Esq., of East Angles, London.
 in addition to the Fine Arts, this Plate is inserted in the Annual
 and is published May 1. 1845. London: W. Le Keux, 1845.



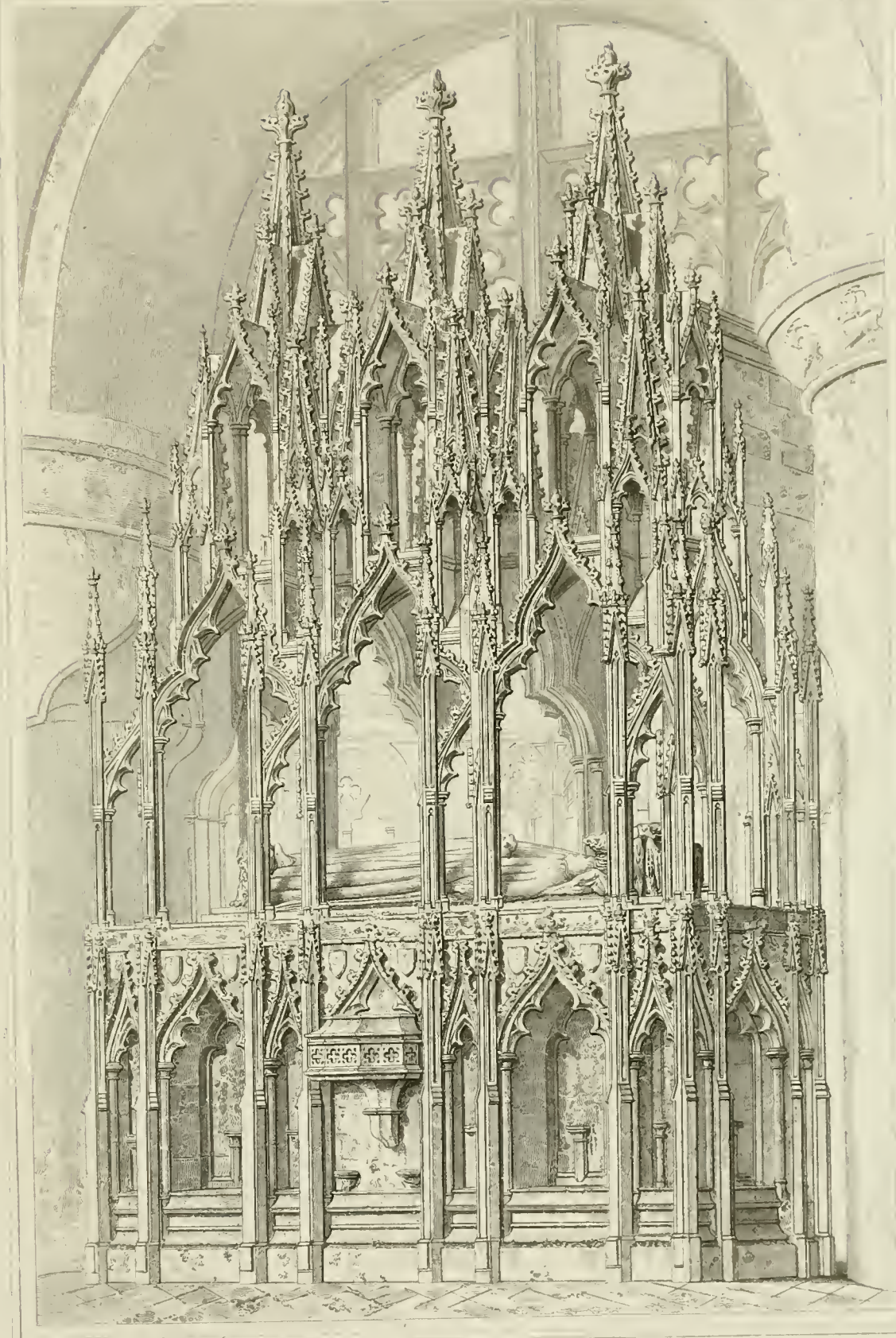
DESIGNED BY W. BARTON. ENGRAVED BY J. BROOKS.

PLATE

VIEW OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT

THE NORTH TRANSEPT OF THE CATHEDRAL OF DURHAM

ENGRAVED BY



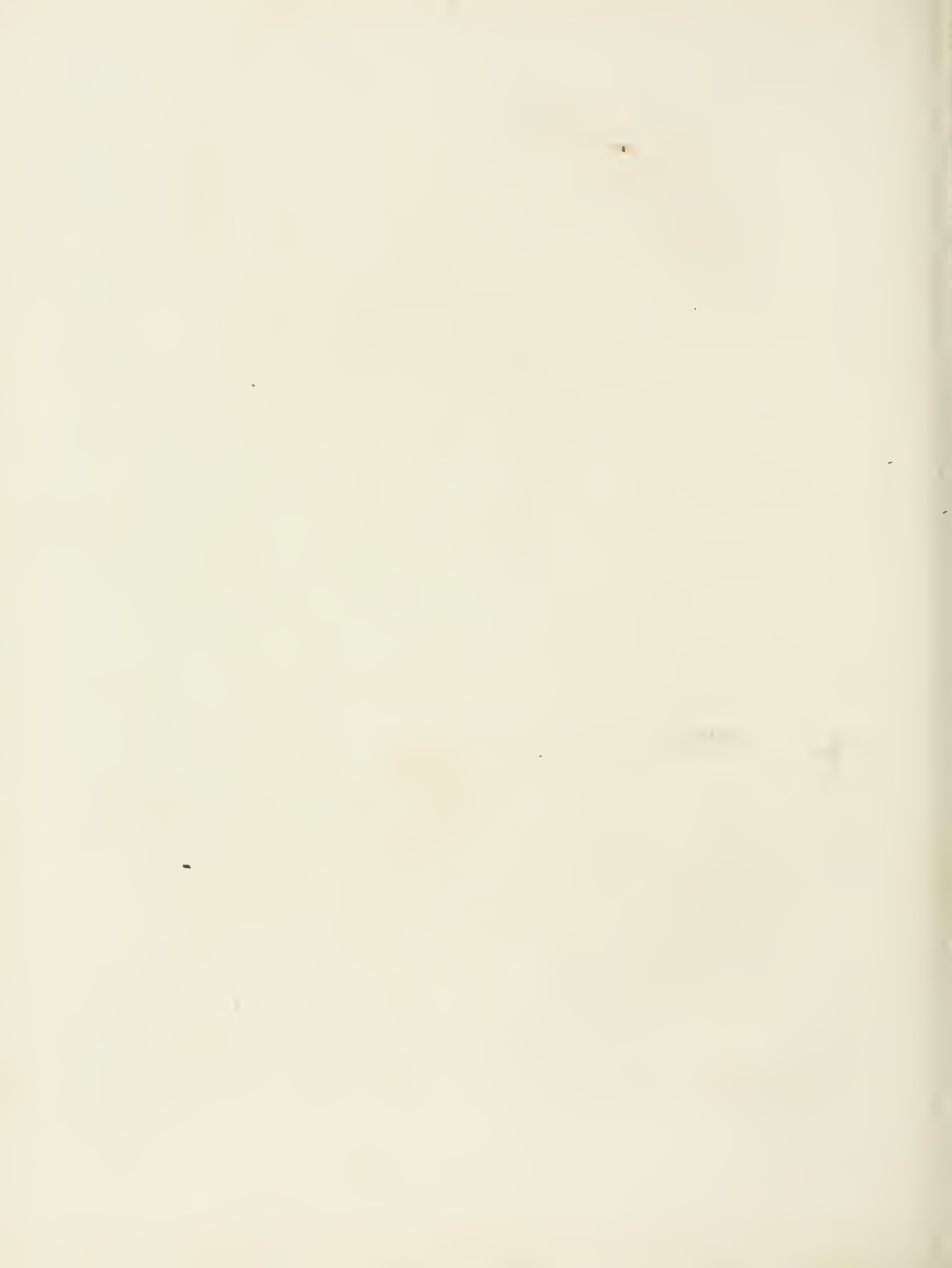
Drawn by H. Ansted, 1827.

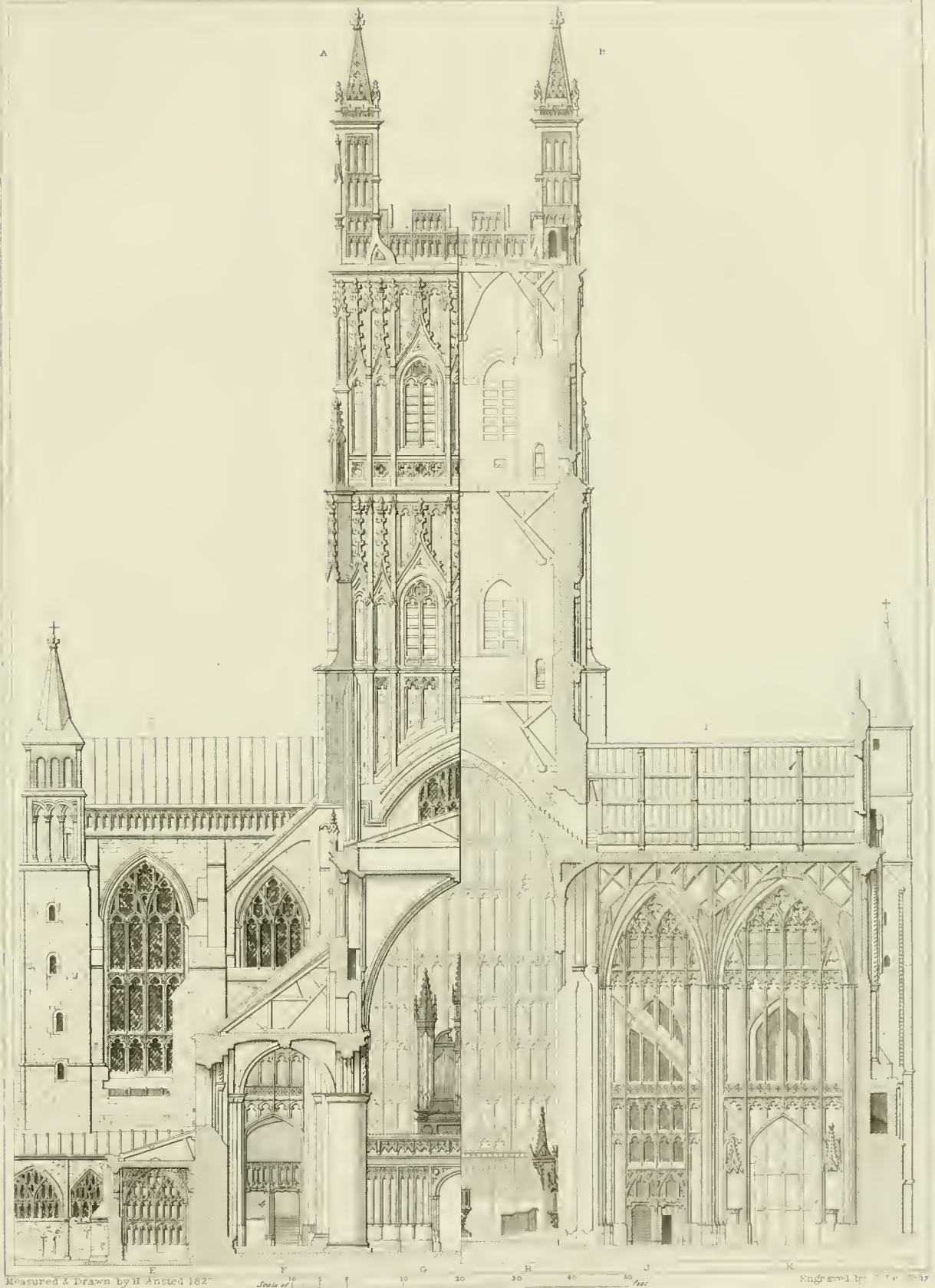
Engraved by J. Le Roux

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.
MONUMENT OF KING EDWARD II.

To the REV^d JOHN BISHOP M.A. this plate is inscribed with sentiments of esteem by
THE AUTHOR

London, Published July 1. 1828, by Longman, & C^o Paternoster Row





CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY

TOWER & TRANCHE

To the RIGHT TOWNE END SHOWN IN A CROSS SECTION OF THE CHURCH

London: Published by J. G. Smith, 1827.



Measured & Drawn by H. Ansted, 1827

Scale of 40 30 20 10 0 Feet

Engraved by J. Le Roux

WILMINGTON CATHEDRAL
TRANSVERSE SECTION OF CHOIR, AISLES, CRYPT, &c. LOOKING EAST.

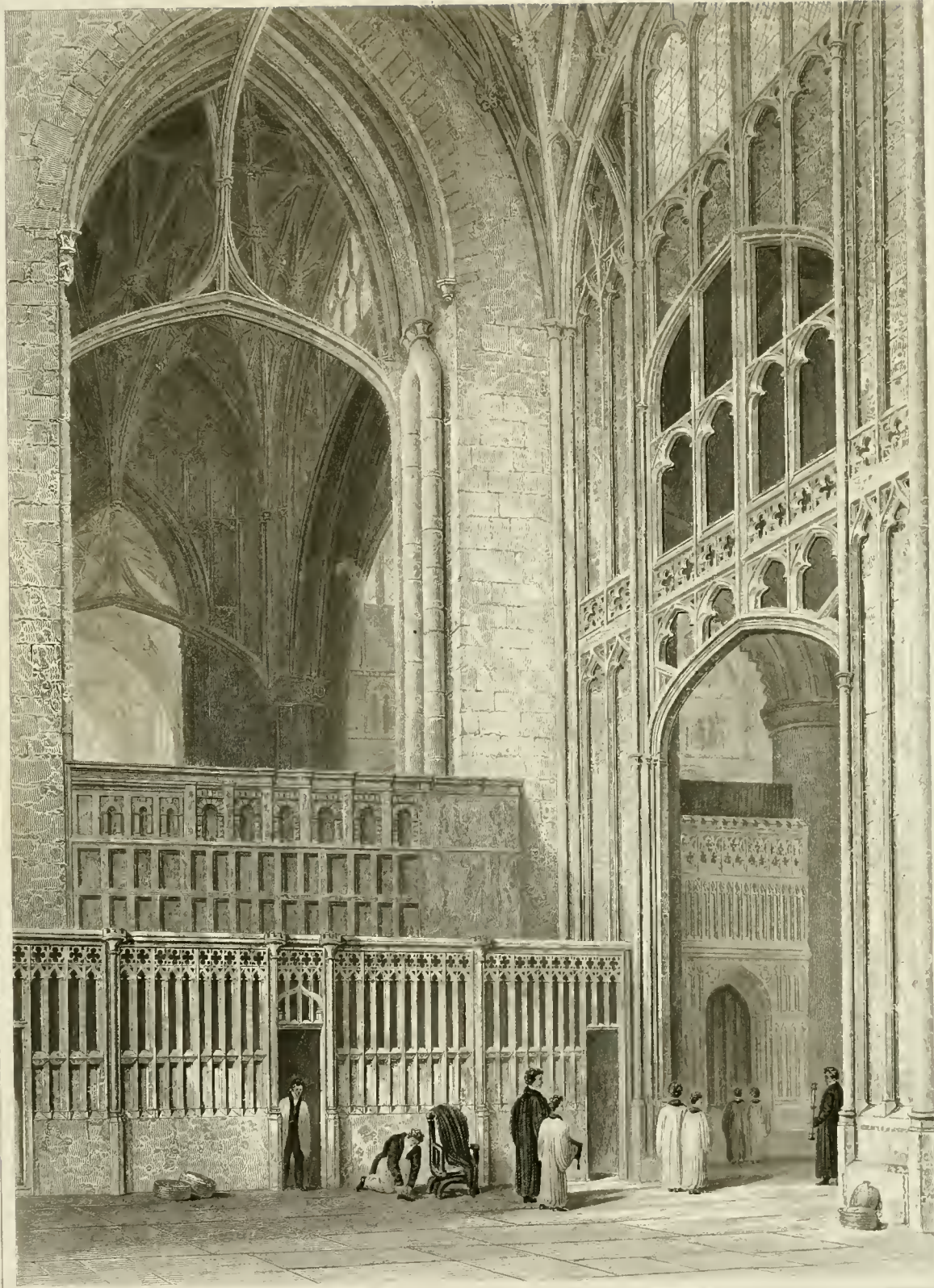


Designed by W. H. Bartlett

Engraved by R. Brown

Fig. 1. Westwerk of the Cathedral of Trier, as it appeared in the 15th century, as shown by the

Engraving. The building is 110 ft. high, and 110 ft. wide.

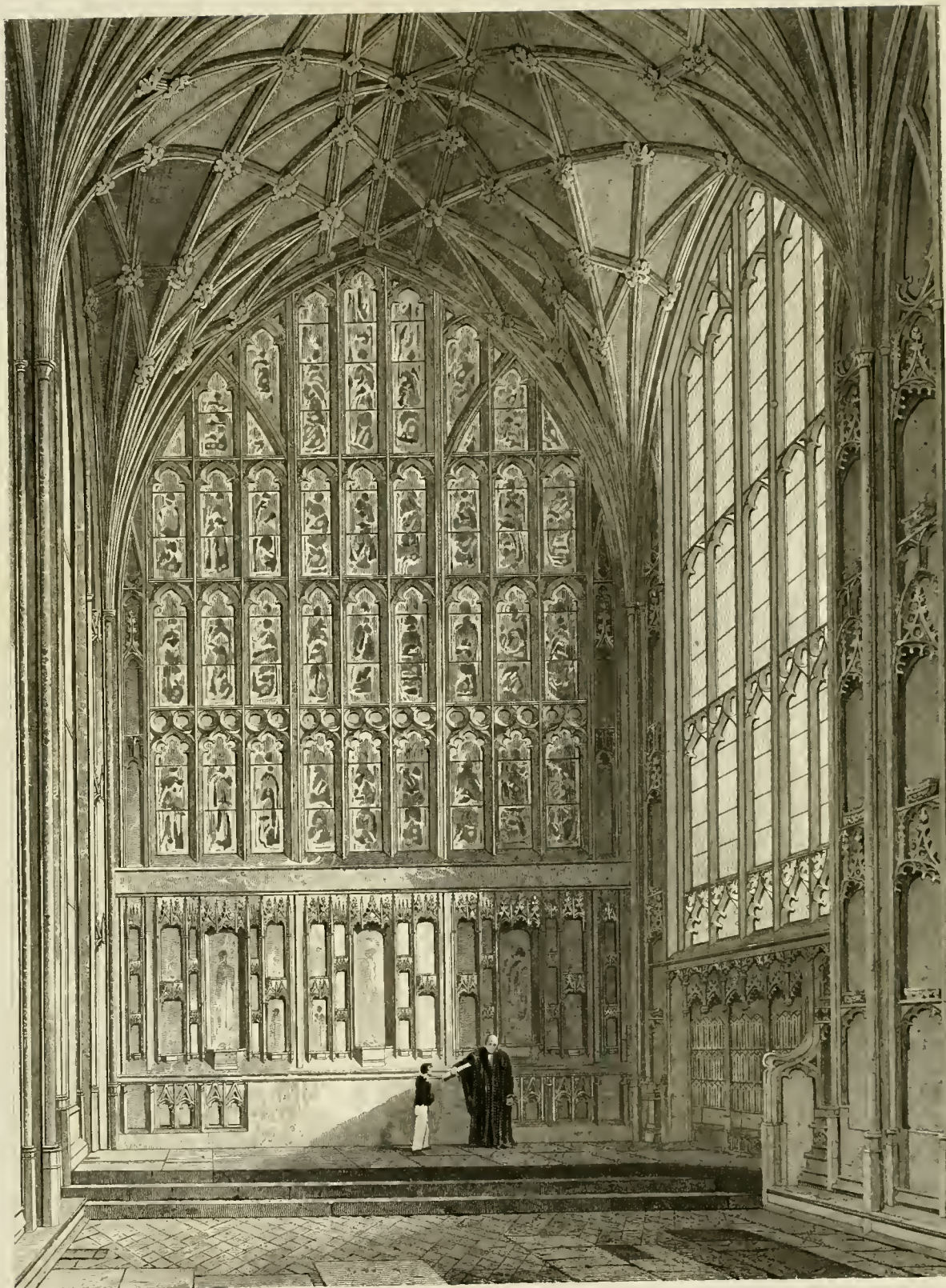


Drawn by H. Ansted.

Engraved by J. R. Kew.

VIEW IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT LOOKING SOUTH WEST
 TO HENRY ELLIS ESQ^r F.R.S. F.S.A. Principal Librarian of the British Museum &c &c.
 in testimony of many years friendship, this Print is inscribed by
 J. BRITTON

London Published April 1. 1834. by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.



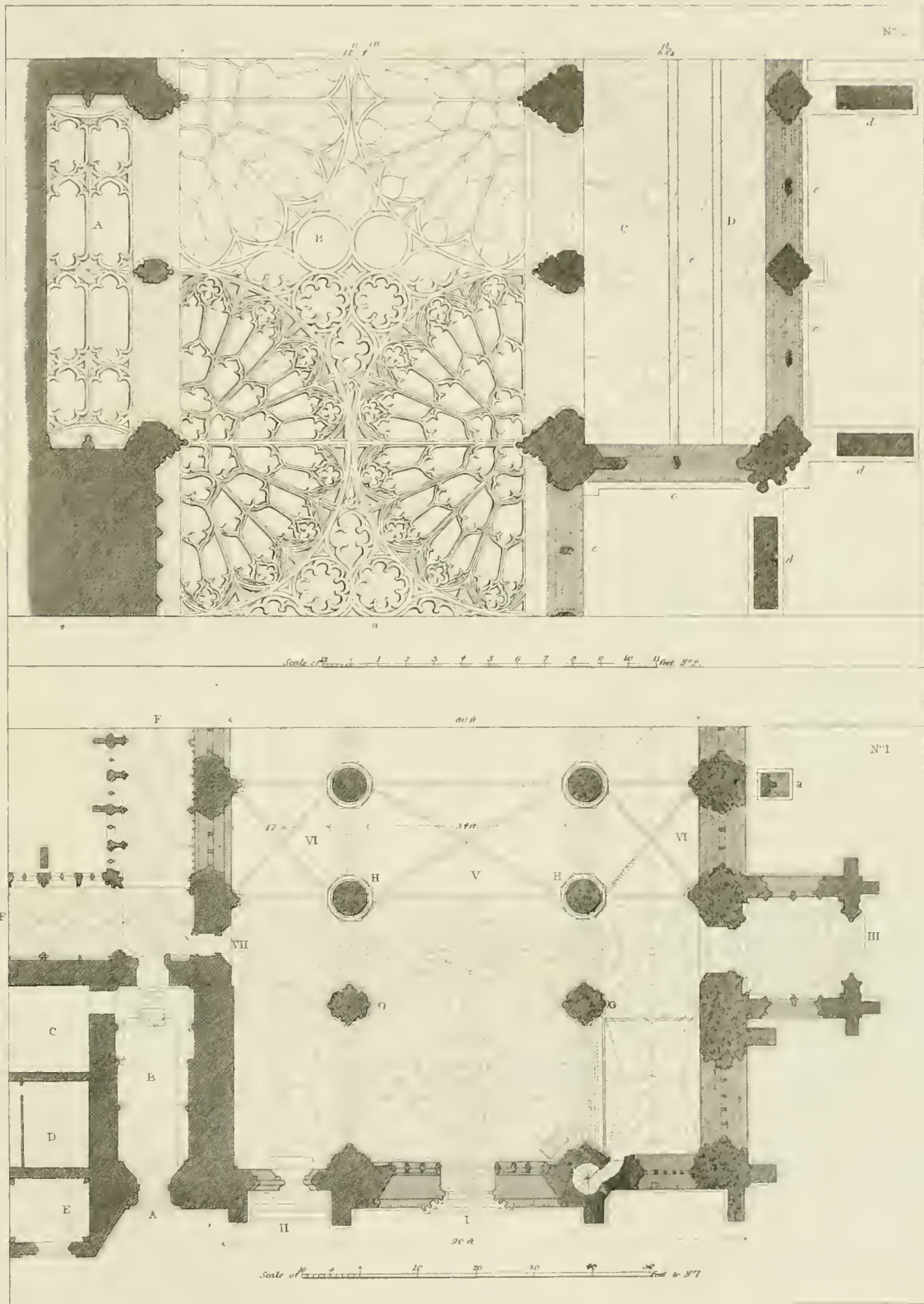
Drawn by H. Ansted, 1827

Engraved by Wm. Woolnoth

GLoucester Cathedral.
EAST END OF THE LADY CHAPEL.

To the REV^d JOHN WEBB F.S.A. this plate is inscribed as a testimony of esteem by the
AUTHOR

London. Published July 1. 1828, by Longman & Co. Paternoster Row.



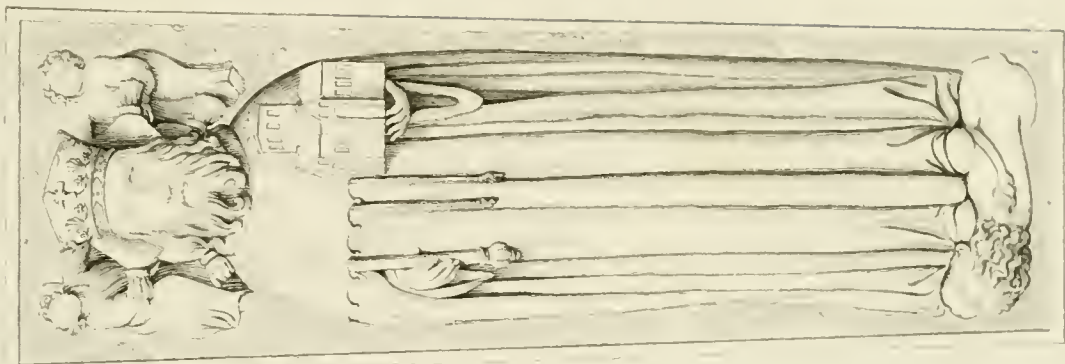
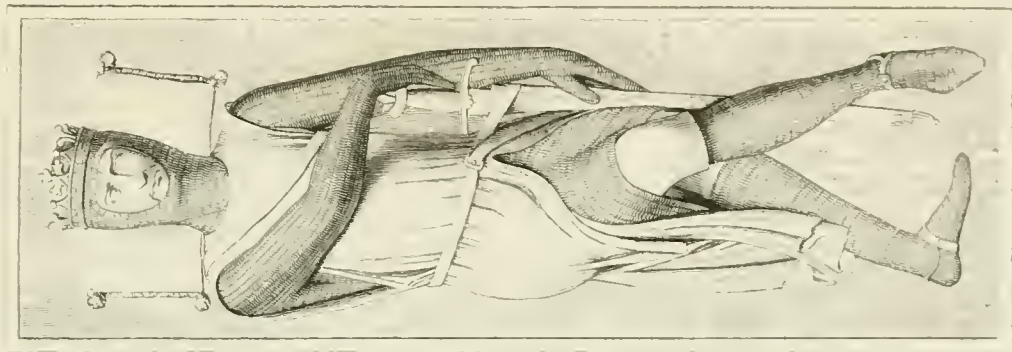
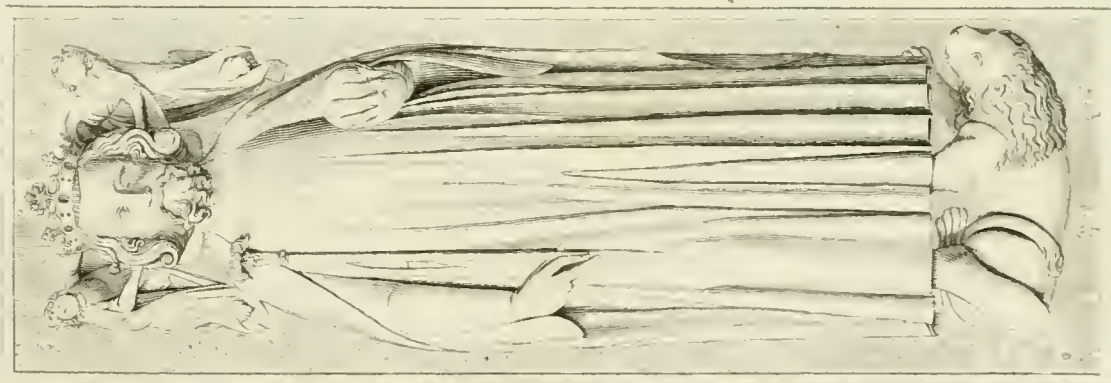
Measured & Drawn by H. Ansted, 1827.

Engraved by C. F. Storr.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

N°1 Ground Plan of the West end, with Porch part of Cloister, &c.
 N°2 D^o—of part of the Cloister Lavatory &c. on the North side

London Published July 1 1828 by Longman, & C^o Paternoster Row

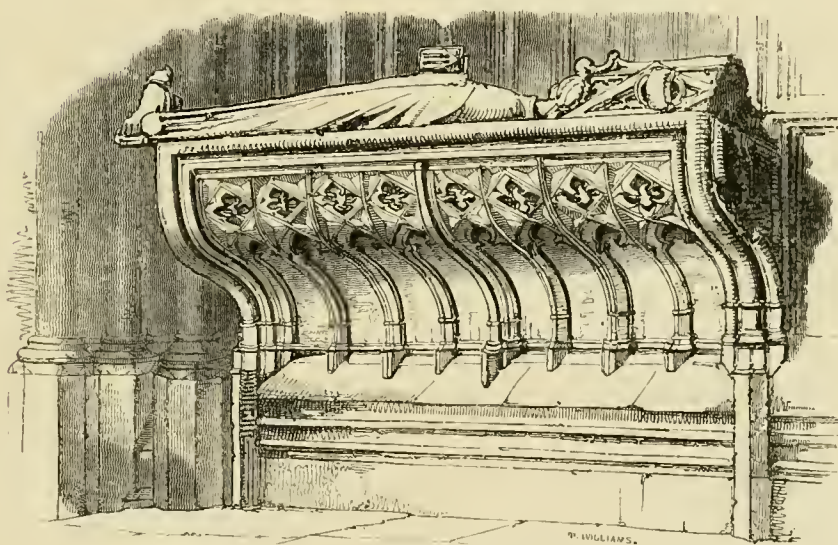


THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF
THE ABBEY, AND CATHEDRAL CHURCH
OF
Gloucester :

ILLUSTRATED BY
A SERIES OF ENGRAVINGS
OF
VIEWS, ELEVATIONS, PLANS, AND DETAILS OF THAT EDIFICE;
WITH
Biographical Anecdotes of Eminent Persons connected with the Establishment.

BY JOHN BRITTON, F.S.A. M.R.S.L.

AND MEMBER OF OTHER ENGLISH, FOREIGN, AND SCOTCH SOCIETIES.



W. Bartlett, Del.

BRACKET MONUMENT.

T. Williams, Sc.

T. Williams, Sc.

London :

PUBLISHED BY LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN, PATERNOSTER ROW ;
THE AUTHOR, BURTON STREET ; AND J. TAYLOR, 59, HIGH HOLBORN.

1829.

C. Whittingham, Chiswick.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, K. T.

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON,
SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
ETC. ETC. ETC.

MY LORD,

ALTHOUGH at the present time your Lordship must be anxiously and laudably occupied in the arduous duties of an office which has been confided to you by our revered Sovereign, I cannot doubt but your Lordship will occasionally advert to those archæological studies which, at an earlier period of life, furnished both amusement and interest. In travelling over part of the continent, with your esteemed and enlightened friend, the late Mr. Whittington, your Lordship must have imbibed a love for that intricate and picturesque architecture miscalled Gothic; and the "Inquiry into the Principles of Beauty in Grecian Architecture," from your Lordship's pen, manifests not only much partiality for the subject, but shews a mind qualified to appreciate this useful and important branch of the fine arts.

The *English Cathedrals* are the most interesting objects of our country; for, whilst they exhibit to the Artist and Antiquary so many scientific parts for study, and so many beautiful features to admire, they furnish to every thinking observer a fertile theme for inquiry, for reflection, and for comment. In architectural design and construction they are replete with fancy and skill; in their

component members they display endless varieties and beauties, whilst, in their historical and biographical relations, they involve events of paramount interest, and personages of the highest dignity and estimation.

A recent lamentable event has directed public attention to the subject of Cathedral Architecture, and its adornments. The conflagration of the choir and stall-work of York Minster is a surprising event for these times ; although we find that many of the Cathedrals of antiquity were often materially injured or destroyed by fire. In order to preserve the finest buildings of the country inviolate against tasteless alterations, and the ruin arising from neglect, I respectfully recommend to your Lordship's most serious attention the expediency of appointing a national establishment for the purpose ; and remain,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant,

JOHN BRITTON.

MARCH 5, 1829.

P R E F A C E.

THE present volume, being the eleventh* of a series illustrative of the architecture and history of the English Cathedrals, is at length offered to the patronage and criticism of the public, after a delay more than commonly tedious and embarrassing to its author. Although he is the principal mover and instrument in such a work, he is dependent on, and at the mercy of other co-operating powers. He may be zealous and indefatigable in adopting measures, and making exertions; but he can only advance to certain points by himself, and must then wait the convenience and inclinations of other persons before he can bring his work to a close. He is liable to disappointment, delay, and mortification from colleagues and agents, whilst he is alike subject to the common vicissitudes and dangers of other men; any of these things may not only retard his progress, but wholly suspend or terminate his proceedings. Unlike the merchant, the tradesman, and many professional persons, whose business may be performed by clerk or deputy, the antiquarian author cannot resort to such assistance, in case of personal incapacity; he cannot command a substitute with the same sentiments, the same knowledge of resources and technicalities, the same inclination, zeal, and habits as himself; and he must therefore either delay or entirely relinquish his work. The author of the Cathedral Antiquities has had all these reflections forced on him often, and experienced many tantalizing disappointments during the progress of the publication: but in the execution of no one Cathedral has his losses and personal privations

* These are SALISBURY, NORWICH, WINCHESTER, YORK, LICHFIELD, OXFORD, CANTERBURY, WELLS, EXETER, PETERBOROUGH, and GLOUCESTER, the whole containing two hundred and forty engravings, with historical and descriptive accounts of each edifice. Whilst these illustrations display almost every variety of style, ornament, and design belonging to the Christian Architecture of England, the accompanying letter-press embraces an extensive mass of historical, archaeological, and biographical information.

been so great as in that of Gloucester. He commenced it in 1826, with pleasing hopes and under cheering auspices: two of his pupils were diligently employed in measuring and making sketches of the edifice during the summers of 1826 and 1827; one of whom has since fallen a victim to that insidious disease, consumption. In the autumn of the latter year he visited the city, to make his final survey and examination of the Cathedral, when he experienced a compound fracture of the right leg, and was confined to bed for some weeks, at a place remote from home, but where he fortunately met with many kind and generous Samaritans. These, with a tolerably happy disposition, which always teaches him "to bear the ills we have" with firmness and patience, and rather look forward hopefully and confidently, than rail at fortune, and brood over an inevitable sorrow, supported and cheered him through many a weary day and sleepless night, till the time arrived when he was enabled to leave his prison-house, but again destined to encounter new difficulties and new dangers. None but those who have experienced long and painful confinement can know the exultation and joyous sentiment of the first emancipation from it—the first glance of the green fields and blooming flowers—the melody of the careless songsters of the grove—the ever varying aspect and effects of the sky—and the self assurance of returning health: all of which are sources of real delight, whilst many other reflections pass through the mind to adorn and enlighten the future, by contrasting it with the past.

The impositions and extortionate charges of inn-keepers have been often complained of and reprobated; but few humane persons would scarcely credit the tale, that there are some of them in the present enlightened age who are heartless and cruel enough to put a helpless man, with fractured bones, into broken, damp, and insecure post chaises; and thus subject him not only to the risk of bodily illness, but place him in imminent danger. From Northleach to London, the author was doomed to travel in four of those battered vehicles, all bad, amidst torrents of rain, part of which ran through the carriage, and, to enhance his misery, he was continually apprehensive of being overturned, and thereby having other bones broken, or deprived of life. Nearly

exhausted with fatigue and dread, he *entreated* the portly and proud landlord of a gay inn at Wycombe to provide him with a sound and roomy carriage to convey him to London, his last stage. Strange to say, and brutal as it must appear, he was lifted into one more crazy, broken, and dangerous than either of the former, from which he had escaped without bodily injury, though not without much painful anxiety and horror. The fanatic might say on this occasion, as on the author's release from a perilous situation, when he and his horse were mutually struggling to extricate themselves from a deep ditch, and when the heels of the latter frequently passed within a few inches of his head—that it was miraculous!! but nature never deals in miracles. In surmounting both these dangers, in passing through such a scene of helplessness and pain, with only a few trifling impositions, and in being restored to health and his wonted activity, with two legs to stand on, though not exactly a pair, he cannot but feel grateful and sincerely happy. To the many persons who humanely came forward to comfort and cheer a maimed stranger, he tenders and records his heartfelt thanks: and to the unfeeling and mercenary, whom he had the misfortune to meet with, he pronounces his forgiveness. These personal troubles having been produced in the prosecution of the History of Gloucester Cathedral, are here narrated, as a statement of an unfortunate disaster, which has been surmounted, and to inspire other persons under similar circumstances with confidence and hope.

It is the duty, as well as pleasure of the author to record, in this place, the names of those gentlemen to whom he has been considerably indebted for literary aid, correct information, and personal civilities in the execution of this volume. These are the Right Reverend the BISHOP OF THE DIOCESS, the Honourable and very Reverend the DEAN, and the Reverend the CHAPTER, who liberally gave access to the records in their possession; to DR. BARON, B. BONNOR, ESQ., R. SHRAPNELL, ESQ., E. W. BRAYLEY, ESQ., the REV. JOHN WEBB, M. A., and the REV. JOHN BISHOP, M. A. To the two latter gentlemen, in particular, he is under great obligations. They are both attached to the Cathedral, not only professionally, but by the sympathy of zealous, kindly, liberal minds.

Solicitous to see justice done to an edifice which they admire and revere, they have been indefatigable in searching for and communicating every fact they could obtain. The Essay, at the end of the volume, is from the pen of one of these gentlemen, who in this, as in all his other writings, has manifested the most fastidious attention to the letter, and the most refined taste in appreciating the spirit of history. Thus aided, thus supported, the Author submits his work to his friends and the public with more than usual consolation and confidence. If it be not so copious in biographical information and antiquarian disquisition as some readers may wish and expect, it should be observed, that the writer could have swelled the volume to double its size more easily than to have selected and compressed the materials to their present compass. In the descriptive part he might have greatly enlarged the accounts, and have entered into more technical minutiae respecting the composition, design, ornaments, construction, and effects of the whole building, and of its various component parts. For example, were he actuated by the feelings and practices of some of his brother antiquaries, he would find no difficulty in occupying a tolerably-sized volume with a biographical, architectural, and critical essay on the monument of Edward the Second. But his aim and practice on the present, as on former occasions, has been to condense rather than to expand his materials—to select and exemplify prominent facts in biography and history, and to explain briefly, but clearly, all the architectural varieties and characteristics of the Cathedral. It is his wish to make the descriptions and engravings mutually illustrate each other, and jointly convey clear and correct ideas to the mind of the reader. This, however, can never be done without the aid of plans, elevations, and sections. These, and these only, furnish accurate information of the true forms, proportions, and ornaments of buildings. For want of this species of illustration the older writers on Christian, or ecclesiastical architecture, were confused and imperfect both in language and ideas: they embarrassed themselves and their readers, and hence the cause of much of the controversy and difference of opinion which pervade their works.

THE
History and Antiquities
OF
GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

Chap. I.

ORIGIN AND FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. PETER, AT GLOUCESTER, WITH
BRIEF HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE SAME TO ITS DISSOLUTION.



HENRY the Eighth, though detestable as a remorseless tyrant and murderer, produced an important revolution in this kingdom by the bold and daring measure of dissolving the monasteries. The richly endowed Abbey of St. Peter, at Gloucester, was broken up among the number, its idle and useless monks dispersed, and its revenues and buildings, instead of being sold or granted to lay purposes, were appropriated to a new body of Protestant clergy, under the respective titles of Bishop, Dean, Prebendaries, &c. Hence the origin of the See of Gloucester, and the conversion of the monastic church to a cathedral. The new city, at that time, must have presented a singularly contrasted scene: by shewing its long established nest of monkish drones

* * The above initial is copied from a large illuminated letter to "the charter of foundation of the city of Gloucester, bishopric, and chapter," in the possession of the Corporation of Gloucester. It is the letter H, with a representation of Henry VIII. presenting the charter to Wakeman, Bishop of Gloucester, and his Clergy.

dispersed, and sent into the world to seek a livelihood, and a new order and class of religious persons introduced to occupy their places, who exercised different modes of worship and discipline, and manifested dissimilar habits, customs, and manners. Such a change must have been striking to the inhabitants of the city. In narrating a few historical particulars of the Abbey and See, we shall be enabled to shew some of these contrasts and varied changes.

The city of Gloucester offers to the antiquary and historian a theme replete with interest. Without adverting to its origin and fabled history under the Britons, it cannot be doubted that it was a Roman station of some extent and importance, and that it was occupied by the Anglo Saxons, and still improved and augmented under the dynasty of the Normans. The annals of the antient town and modern city have been laboriously and copiously narrated by Sir Robert Atkins, Rudder, Rudge, Fosbrooke, and other minor topographers; but the history of the Abbey, See, and Church have never been critically investigated and recorded. It will be the duty as well as the pleasure of the author to attempt this task on the present occasion: and he hopes to render it at once faithful and interesting. The Annals of the Abbey have been fully detailed by some of the Chroniclers of the house, from whose manuscripts we shall derive our principal facts.

In writing the early history of our religious edifices, it is often difficult, and sometimes utterly impossible, to reconcile the numerous inaccuracies and discrepancies of the monkish annalists, men to whom alone, in those remote ages, knowledge was confined, and who being at once the recorders of national affairs and the historians of their own deeds, found it their interest rather to mislead and deceive the unlearned, than to impart to them the facts of which they were the depositories. The early writers on Gloucester are not exempted from this reproach, and it requires much consideration to adduce those circumstances on which alone a reasonable reliance can be placed. Before, however, entering into details, it may be expedient, briefly to refer to the two principal motives which led to the foundation and endowment of the numerous religious houses erected in this kingdom.

The Saxon kings, on their conversion to Christianity, in order to propa-

gate the doctrines to which they were themselves converts, found it necessary to impress their subjects with an idea of the superior importance of the new creed to the ceremonies of Paganism, and that too in a semi-barbarous age, when the establishment of a religious house was considered an expiation for the greatest of crimes, and also a peace offering to their Maker; this was one, but not the chief cause of these foundations, for when the doctrine of tithes came to be generally recognised, as it was in the eighth century, the lords of manors and seignories thought it preferable to found and endow some religious order on their own lands, to which the tithes of their demesnes might be paid, and from which they received an equivocal compensation in the shape of prayers and masses, than to be compelled to pay them to some distant monastery, of whose inmates they knew nothing, and over whose possessions they had no control.

Several writers, and particularly Leland, make mention of Aldad, or Elded, as a bishop of Gloucester, in the year 490; and of Theonus, another bishop, who forsook it in the year 553, and became bishop of London¹. He also states that Vespasian, the lieutenant of Claudius Cæsar in this kingdom, was buried at Gloucester, in a temple there built to the honour of Claudius². This, evidently, was not the Convent of St. Peter, for there is little doubt but that Wulphere, the sixth of the Mercian kings, who, after murdering his two sons, Wulfad and Rufine, for adopting the Christian faith, had himself become a convert³, was the founder of this house (probably in expiation of his crime) about the middle of the seventh century. By the *Gloucester Chronicle* it appears that, in the year of our Lord 681, Ethelred, King of the Mercians, and third son of Penda, and brother of Wulphere, whom he succeeded, gave to two of his ministers of noble race, Osric, and his brother Oswald, large possessions in the province of the Wiccii, viz. to Osric the town of Gloucester, with certain lands in that county; and to Oswald large possessions in Pershore⁴. Osric having obtained the permission of King Ethelred, to whom he was viceroy, or "sub-regulus," appears to have

¹ Willis's Account of Cathedrals, v. i. p. 692.

² Leland's Collectanea. III. 23.

³ Strutt's Chronicle of England, I. 165.

⁴ Cott. MS. British Museum, Domitian, A. 8. Also a corresponding MS. in the archives of the Cathedral at Gloucester.

completed the foundation for nuns, which Wulphere had begun, and which was dedicated by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bosel, Bishop of Worcester, to Saint Peter the Apostle⁵.

The first Abbess was KYNEBURGA, or KENBURG, sister of Osric, the founder, and wife of Aldred, King of Northumberland⁶, who was consecrated by Bosel, Bishop of Worcester, and having governed the nunnery for twenty-nine years, she died, and was buried before the altar of St. Petronilla, near her brother Osric⁷.

EADBURGA, who had been the wife of Wulphere, King of Mercia, after the death of her husband assumed the veil in this nunnery, and was consecrated as Abbess by Egwin, or Edwin, Bishop of Worcester, in 710: she presided twenty-five years, and was buried near her predecessor⁸.

EVA, her successor, the widow of Wulphere, son of King Penda, was consecrated in 735, by Wilfred, Bishop of Worcester; her administration lasted for thirty-three years, during which time she acquired large possessions, and procured confirmations of them in different synods. She died in the year 767⁹.

With Eva, according to the Abbey Chronicle, expired the office of Abbess; for, after her decease, and during the perpetual state of war and discord in which the kingdom was involved by the Kings of the Heptarchy, the nuns were deflowered and dispersed, and the convent remained without a government of any kind until the year 821¹⁰. About that period, Beornulph,

⁵ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. In Froucester's Manuscript, is King Æthelred's gift to Osric, in 671; and in other MSS. it is said that King Wulphere laid the foundation of the nunnery here in 672, and dying, left the finishing thereof to Ethelred, his successor in the kingdom of Mercia, who appointed him to see it completed. Leland, in his Itinerary, iv. 75, says that Osric built it with licence from King Ethelred; and Osric is ever reputed to be the founder of this nunnery. Furney's MSS.

⁶ Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 531.

⁷ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 126. Osric died in the year 729, and was first interred in Saint Petronilla's Chapel, afterwards removed into the Chapel of our Lady, and in Abbot Parker's time laid under a monument of freestone on the north side of the high altar, at the foot whereof, against the wall, is the following inscription:—"Osricus rex primus fundator hujus monasterii, 681." Furney's MSS.

⁸ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 126.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Lel. Itin. v. iv. 76; also Cott. MS. ut supra.

or Bernulph, King of Mercia, repaired it, and placed therein secular priests, on whom he bestowed part of the antient possessions of the nuns¹¹; and, in the year 862, he confirmed to them the lands which had been formerly granted by the Kings, Ethelred, Ethelbald, Ossa, Kenwolf, and other persons. He also, by the consent of his great council, exempted the monastery, with its appurtenances and dependencies, from all secular service, on condition that prayers should be held in that church for himself and his heirs for ever¹².

The secular priests continued in possession until the year 1022, when King Canute, at the instigation of Wolstan, Bishop of Worcester, and afterwards Archbishop of York, expelled them, and introduced Benedictine Monks¹³; to whom the governor and inhabitants of Gloucester were at first so averse, that, in the year 1033, Wolphinus, or Ulphin le Rue, who was then governor of the town, slew seven of them between Churcham and Gloucester. In the following year, in consequence of this, he was constrained to give lands for the maintenance of as many monks as he had slain; and on returning home from the Papal See (to which he had probably been for absolution), appropriated Churcham and Highnam to that purpose¹⁴.

EDRIC.—In the year 1022, Edric, who it appears had been one of the secular priests recently expelled, was consecrated as Abbot by Bishop Wolstan. He is accused of having wasted the possessions of the Abbey, and of having wrongfully alienated the manors of Beggleworth (q. Badgworth) and Hatherly¹⁵, but most probably on insufficient grounds. This Abbot

¹¹ Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 531.

¹² Cott. MSS. Dom. A. 8.

¹³ Tanner's Notitia, p. 137.

¹⁴ Lel. Itin. v. iv. 76; also Cott. MS. ut supr. fol. 144.

¹⁵ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 126. b. This accusation was unjust, if we may believe the deed of alienation, which, being of importance, is given at length:—

“ I, Edric, Abbot in *Ealdanhame*, do notify and declare in this writing, that I, in my great necessity, have given up to one *Staniarcot* the lands of *Hegberte* and *Bregawirde*, for the term of his life, and this I have done in consideration of money by him paid, to wit, for fifteen pounds, with which I have redeemed all the other farms of the monastery from that great tax of *heregeld** laid upon all England. Witnesses of these things are, Wulstan, Archbishop of York, and

* A tax paid for the support of the army. Vide Spelman's Glossary.

presided over the monastery thirty-seven years; and on his decease, in 1058, was succeeded by

WULSTAN, a monk of Worcester¹⁶, who, by permission of King Edward the Confessor, was consecrated by Aldred, Bishop of Worcester. This Aldred removed the establishment of the monks, by pulling down the old Church¹⁷ (which, according to Fosbrooke, he converted into an infirmary¹⁸) and founding a new one, dedicated to Saint Peter, at some distance from it, and nearer to the city walls¹⁹. He afterwards, under pretence of expenses incurred by the building, but in fact for the purpose of extending his profuse hospitality, alienated from the monastery the manors of *Lech* (*North-leach*), *Odyngton*, *Standish*, and *Barton*, which, on his promotion to the Archbishopric of York, he annexed to that See²⁰. Wulstan died on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in the year 1072²¹, he being the first prelate who had attempted that journey by land; and, because he had wasted the possessions of the Abbey, was buried under the yew tree in the plot in the midst of the cloisters at Gloucester²². His kinsman and patron, Aldred²³,

Lessius, Bishop of Worcester; Aglaf, an Earl, and the whole congregation of the *old monastery*; and Anna, Abbot, and all the brethren of the monastery of Saint Oswald; and Witriside, governor, and the whole city of Gloucester, and many others, both English (i. e. Anglo Saxons) and Danes. Wherefore, if he who holdeth the lands shall have committed forfeiture, let him make amends of himself and of his own, but let the land be free, and let it be restored again to the monastery after his decease." Cotton. MS. Dom. A. 8.

It is worthy of remark that, in this deed, Edric is styled Abbot in *Ealdenhame*, which signifies *old place*, in contradistinction to St. Oswald's, founded in the year 909, by Elfrida, daughter of King Alfred, who had conveyed thither from Bardney the remains of King Oswald. Anglia Sacra, i. 207. Thom. de Rudborne.

¹⁶ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 127.

¹⁷ Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 531.

¹⁸ Fosbrooke's "History of the City of Gloucester," p. 159.

¹⁹ Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 531.

²⁰ Cott. MS. ut supra.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Furney's MSS.

²³ Aldred is conjectured by Willis to have been buried at Gloucester, and he assigns to him that *shelf, monument, or bracket*, now on the south side of the choir, opposite to Parker's tomb. It is certainly a monument of one of the founders, as appears by the figure holding a building or church in one of its hands. See Vignette in the title page.

died on the same journey²⁴. An antient effigy, said to be of this Abbot, is placed on the south side of the choir, "as though he lay in a cratch²⁵."

SERLO, who had previously worn the monastic habit in two or three religious establishments in Normandy, was probably introduced to England and advanced to this abbacy by William, Duke of Normandy, to whom he was chaplain²⁶. He was appointed to that dignity in the year 1072, by the new monarch; but such was the state of ruin and decay of the Abbey, that on his accession he found only two, or as some say three, adult monks and eight boys²⁷. By his own good management, however, and the assistance and cooperation of Odo, the cellarer, he very much augmented the possessions of the house; and by the influence of the king, with whom he was in great favour, recovered from Thomas, Archbishop of York, the manors of Froucester, Colne-St.-Alwyn, and others, which had been alienated in the time of his predecessor²⁸. He likewise obtained a thousand days release for the Church. In the year 1088, the monastery was burnt²⁹, and in the following year, on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, Serlo commenced the *foundation of a new Church*, Robert, Bishop of Hereford, laying the first stone³⁰. This was not completed until the year 1100, when it was dedicated with great ceremony by Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, and Henry, Bishop of Bangor³¹; and two years afterwards it was partly destroyed by fire, together with the city³².

On Palm Sunday, in the year 1095, Thomas, Archbishop of York, appeared in the Chapter House of Gloucester, and made restitution of the manors of Northleach, Odynton, Standish, and Barton, which had been seized by his predecessor, Aldred, thirty years before. This, according to the

²⁴ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 127.

²⁵ Lansdowne MS. No. 5, 634, p. 24.

²⁶ Lel. Itin. v. iv. 76.

²⁷ Lel. Coll. II. 262.

²⁸ Cott. MS. ut supr.

²⁹ Furney's MSS.

³⁰ Cott. MS. ut supra.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Anglia Sacra, I. 297. Annal. Winton. Free stone (of which the Church is mostly built) has been recently discovered in the Norman wall of the south aisle of the nave bearing marks of fire; and this may account for the leaning outwards of that wall.

Gloucester Chronicle, he did with many expressions of penitence, smiting his breast, and falling down on his knees³³.

William the Conqueror, who, in the twentieth year of his reign, spent his Christmas at Gloucester, repaired and increased the monastery, which was in a state of great decay. Serlo, who had obtained from that monarch, and his two sons, William the Second and Henry the First, numerous grants and confirmations of lands and privileges, died in the year 1104, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, leaving in the convent one hundred monks³⁴. He was buried under a marble tomb on the south side of the presbytery³⁵.

PETER, who had for eleven years faithfully discharged the duties of Prior, was, in 1104, created Abbot³⁶. He surrounded the Abbey with a stone wall, and enriched the cloisters with numerous books³⁷. In his time a dispute arose between the monks of Gloucester, and Remelin, Bishop of Hereford, concerning the removal of the body of Ralph Fitz Anketill, or Anketil, which Bishop Remelin had forcibly taken away. The matter was argued in the presence of King Henry, Archbishop Anselm, Robert, Earl of

³³ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 128.

³⁴ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8. fol. 128. William of Malmesbury thus eulogises him: "And that England may not be supposed destitute of virtue, who can pass by Serlo, Abbot of Gloucester, who advanced that place from almost meanness and insignificance to a glorious pitch. All England is acquainted with the considerate rule, professed at Gloucester, which the weak may embrace, and the strong cannot despise. Their leader Serlo's axiom was, '*Moderation in all things.*' Although mild to the good, he was fierce and terrific to the haughty; to corroborate which I shall insert the verses of Godfrey, the Prior, concerning him:—

' The Church's bulwark fell when Serlo died,
Virtue's sharp sword, and Justice's fond pride;
Speaker of truth, no vain discourse he loved,
And pleased the very princes he reprov'd.
An hasty judgment, or disordered state
Of life or morals were his utter hate.
The third of March was the propitious day
When Serlo winged, through death, to life his way.'"

Will. Malmesb. by Sharpe, 1815, p. 535.

³⁵ Willis's Mit. Abb. vol. i. p. 113.

³⁶ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8.

³⁷ Cott. MS. ut supra.

Mellent, and many other bishops, abbots, and nobles ; when it was decided that the body should be restored. Earl Robert, at the same time, gave sentence that for the future all persons should have right of burial where-soever they died. To this the whole of the bishops present giving their assent, Remelin surrendered all claims and complaints which he had against the Abbot for the Church of Saint Peter, in Hereford, excepting the ringing of bells before the canons ; so that the body was not dug up³⁸. Like his predecessor, he made great additions to the monastic revenues, and having governed for seven years, died in 1113.

WILLIAM, surnamed GODEMAN, or GODEMOR³⁹, a monk of this house⁴⁰, the next Abbot, was consecrated in the Cathedral Church of Worcester ; and after the performance of the ceremony gave to the sacrist, as a fee, his silken cope and vestment, and made a handsome present to the convent⁴¹. In his time the Abbey was again burnt : the account of the fire, as given in the Saxon Chronicle, is thus:—"On the 8th day of the ides of March, A°. 1122, the town of Gloucester was on fire ; and as the monks were singing mass, the fire also burst from the upper part of the steeple, and burnt all the Minster and all the treasures that were therein, except a few books and three mass hackles⁴²." The Abbey Chronicle, however, states that the injury was partial and was easily repaired by the offerings of the bountiful. About this time was assembled by King Henry the First, in a spacious building of this Church, sometimes called the *Long Workhouse*, the first Parliament after the Conquest⁴³. William, having obtained considerable donations to the Abbey, and becoming infirm, resigned his office in the year 1130, and retired to St. Paternum, or Llanbadarn, in Wales, where he died, on the 3d of the ides of July⁴⁴ ; having, prior to his resignation, by consent of the convent, appointed as his successor—

³⁸ Cott. MSS. Dom. A. 8.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Annales Winton. Angl. Sac. i. 297.

⁴¹ Angl. Sac. i. 475. It seems to have been customary not only for the Abbots of Gloucester, but for all other Abbots within the diocese of Worcester, to give the sacrist of that church, on their consecration, their vestment, or any garment of value they might happen to wear, and to the convent a sum of money.

⁴² Translat. Sax. Chron. by Ingram, p. 342.

⁴³ Lansd. MSS. No. 684, p. 25.

⁴⁴ Willis's Mit. Abb. i. p. 113.

WALTER DE LACY, his chaplain, who had been a monk in this house from the age of seven years, having been dedicated to religion by his parents, persons of considerable rank⁴⁵. He was consecrated at Worcester, by Simon, bishop of that diocess, on the third of the nones of August, A.^o. 1131⁴⁶. During his abbacy an agreement was made, in 1134, between him and his monks, and the bishop and chapter of Hereford, respecting the entrance money⁴⁷ of St. Peter's, in Hereford, which the canons of that church had held in times past⁴⁸. In the same year, also, ROBERT CURTHOSE, Duke of Normandy, dying at Caerdiff, where he had been prisoner twenty-six years, was brought to this church, to which he had been a great benefactor, and was interred in the middle choir⁴⁹, and subsequently a wooden tomb was raised over his grave. Robert of Gloucester, speaking of him, says:—

Ae Robert Courtelose his bropher, as God would, les pat lyf
About þre ȝer bývore, in prison at Kerdyf,
And bývore þe heȝe auter in þe abbeye of Gloucester ybure ys.

Hearne's Chron. p. 442.

Walter had great interest with King Stephen, who, at his request, in 1138, confirmed to the Convent all the different donations which had been made to it⁵⁰. He died on the 6th of the ides of February, 1139.

Immediately after his decease, two brethren of the monastery were dispatched to Clugny, to GILBERT FOLIOT, a monk of that convent, and prebendary of Newington in the Cathedral of St. Paul, London⁵¹ (and not, as stated by Fosbrooke, Abbot of Leicester and Archdeacon of Oxford⁵²), who, by means of the interest which his kinsman, Milo, Earl of Hereford, had with King Stephen, was appointed to preside over this Abbey. He was

⁴⁵ Cott. MSS. Dom. A. 8.

⁴⁶ Willis's Mit. Abb. i. 113.

⁴⁷ A fee paid by the incumbent upon taking possession "introitus;" hence fees are called in some instances "entrance" to this day.

⁴⁸ Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8.

⁴⁹ Lansd. MSS. N. 684, p. 25.

⁵⁰ Cott. MS. ut supr.

⁵¹ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 532.

⁵² History of Gloucester, p. 164.

consecrated on the third of the ides of June, 1139, by Robert de Betun, Bishop of Hereford, on whose decease, his patron and tutor, Becket, was instrumental in raising him to that see, to which he succeeded in 1149⁵³, and was thence translated to London⁵⁴; being, as it is said, the first bishop who had ever been canonically translated from one diocese to another⁵⁵. He was a man of considerable talents, as appears by his official letters, but was in the constant habit of traducing his superiors⁵⁶. In the contentions between the King and Becket, he sided with the former; and, as some affirm, was instrumental to the assassination of the latter. In 1143 a dispute arose between this Abbey and the newly established priory of Lanthony, respecting the right of burial.

After Foliot's promotion to the See of Hereford, HAMELINE, the sub-prior, was, on the 6th of the calends of October, 1148, elected, and was consecrated by Simon, Bishop of Worcester, in December following. During his time an old dispute was revived between the church of York and the monks of Gloucester, respecting the manors of Northleach, Standish, and Barton, to which the archbishop still preferred a claim, notwithstanding they had been restored by his predecessor, Thomas, after the expiration of the term for which they were mortgaged. Hameline was necessitated to visit the court of Rome, to defend the rights of his monastery, which he did with such ability and success, that the Bishops of Chichester and Lincoln, to whom the dispute was referred by Pope Eugenius, gave sentence in his favour⁵⁷. In 1168, the body of a Christian boy named Harald, supposed to have been murdered by the Jews, was found in the Severn by some fishermen, and was buried with great pomp before the altars of St. Edmund and St. Edward the Confessor, on the north side of the Church of St. Peter. Between the years 1163 and 1179, Roger, Bishop of Worcester, was celebrating mass before the high altar of the Abbey, when the north-western tower, owing to a defect in

⁵³ Annal. Wigorn, Angl. Sac. i. 475.

⁵⁴ Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Newcourt's Repert. Eccl. i. 12.

⁵⁵ Lel. de Scriptor, vol. ii. p. 215.

⁵⁶ Godwin's De Presulibus Angl. p. 178.

⁵⁷ Furney's MSS.

the foundation, fell down suddenly, just as he was concluding the service⁵⁸. After the death of Hameline, which occurred on the 6th of the ides of March, 1179,

THOMAS CARBONEL, Prior of Hereford (or, according to Furney, of St. Guthlac's, near that town), was elected Abbot in the month of October following. On the fifth of the ides of May, 1190, a considerable portion of the town of Gloucester was burnt, including the greater part of the offices in the court yard of the Abbey, as well as the two churches of St. Mary, before the Abbey gate, and St. Oswald's, as far as the walls⁵⁹. Richard the First, about this time, having been taken prisoner by the Duke of Austria, the monks of Gloucester were compelled to sell their chalices and silver vessels, to enable them to pay their quota toward his ransom. In 1195, Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, deposed Robert, Abbot of Tournay, and kept him here imprisoned, and in fetters, for eighteen months⁶⁰. In 1204 the Abbey was injured by lightning⁶¹; and in the month of July, in the following year⁶², Carbonel died, and was succeeded by

HENRY BLOND, or *Blunt*, Prior of the Abbey, who was consecrated by Mauger, Bishop of Worcester, on Michaelmas day⁶³, and was, in the same month, installed by John, Archbishop of Dublin. In 1207, began the general interdict throughout England, owing to the quarrel which had arisen between King John and Pope Innocent, respecting Stephen Langton,

⁵⁸ Giraldus Cambrensis. Angl. Sac. ii. 428. Under the patronage of Hameline, flourished OSBORN, a monk of Gloucester, who wrote several treatises on divinity, which, by command of King Henry the Eighth, were removed from the conventual library of Gloucester to the royal library at London. Vide Nicolas's "Privy Purse Expenses of King Henry VIII." 8vo. 1828.

⁵⁹ That is to say, the fire consumed the wood work of those two churches; with respect to that of *St. Mary's, ante portam*, the Norman pillars and walls remained till lately, and were removed only in 1825, when a great part of that church was rebuilt. It is possible, however, that this church might have been reconstructed in the Norman style after 1190; but that the foundations were of very ancient date is certain, from the fact of their having been laid upon a *Roman pavement*, which was developed when the body of the church was taken down. This expression of the Chronicle, "as far as the walls," seems to signify as far as the wall next St. Oswald's, mentioned hereafter.

⁶⁰ Scriptor. Post. Bed. 430, b.

⁶¹ Furney's MSS.

⁶² Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sac. i. 479.

⁶³ Ibid.

Archbishop of Canterbury. During the interdict the monks of Gloucester did not allow their vicars to perform the Sunday duties in the churches dependant upon the Abbey; and three years afterwards King John made a *cursed* tallage (as the Chronicler emphatically calls it) upon all the churches of England. The same authority says he took from the Abbey of Gloucester five hundred marks, and one hundred waggons, with eight horses each, for carrying his baggage. On St. Alban's day, in 1214, the town of Gloucester was in a great measure destroyed by fire; at which time, according to the Monasticon, the Abbey suffered considerably. King Henry the Third, who was then a youth of only nine years of age, was crowned with great splendour in the Abbey Church on the 28th of October, 1216: and about that time a *wall* was built between the Abbey and the Priory of St. Oswald's. In the second year, following, was terminated the suit which had been instituted against the monks of St. Peter's by the prior and canons of St. Oswald's, respecting the church of St. John, at the north gate, the chapel of St. Bridget, and the lands within the wall of the Abbey, adjoining the refectory, the larder, and the bakehouse, to the new wall next St. Oswald's⁶⁴; and also respecting certain tithes which were confirmed to the Abbey, on payment of a rent of twenty shillings to St. Oswald's Priory. In 1222, this abbot was appointed a president of the chapter of Benedictines at Bermondsey⁶⁵; and in the same year was commenced the *rebuilding of the tower* which had fallen down in the time of Hameline, his predecessor. The management of the work was committed to *Helias*, the sacrist. It appears from the Monasticon, that about this time the Abbey was again injured by fire⁶⁶. The Abbey Chronicle details the following particulars respecting

⁶⁴ The chapel of St. Bridget, described in Abbey deeds as the cell of infirm monks, probably stood between the prebendal house, near the gate of the infirmary, and the entrance to the small cloisters, as appears from vestiges of early English arches, on the outside of the building occupied as tenements, opposite the house of the organist. This was within the wall of the Abbey. The garden alluded to is that behind the said prebendal house. The remains of the refectory, next St. Oswald's, are most probably those which are seen in the garden, and about the prebendal house, on the western side of the little cloister; and his kitchen and premises probably contain the remains of the larder and the bake-house.

⁶⁵ Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 533.

⁶⁶ It seems difficult to account for these frequent fires: yet it should be remembered, that

two destructive fires in the town. On the seventeenth of the calends of August, 1222, the whole parish of St. Mary, before the gate of the Abbey, together with part of the bake-house and brew-house, and the house between the gate and the stable⁶⁷, and both sides of the great street, from St. Nicholas to the bridge, and all the small streets, as far as the Barton, were burnt down. Again, on the twelfth of the calends of June, in the following year, a fire raged from Castle Street to the Lich Gate; and on the Thursday following another broke out near the Great Cross, and consumed the whole street of the shoemakers and drapers, with the church of St. Mary de Grace Love, and part of the church of the Holy Trinity, to the place where the former fire ended. This Abbot dying on the tenth of the calends of September, 1224, was succeeded by

THOMAS DE BREDON, the Prior, who received the benediction at Worcester (or, according to the Chronicle, at Kidderminster), on St. Maurice's day⁶⁸. During his administration, which lasted only four years, the only event connected with the history of the Abbey appears to be the foundation of *St. Mary's Chapel*, by Ralph de Wylington, who gave a rent for the support of two priests, to celebrate divine service there for ever⁶⁹: of this building more will hereafter be given.

The next Abbot was HENRY FOLIOT, or FOLETH, Prior of Bromfeld (a cell dependant on the monastery), who received the benediction from the Bishop of Worcester, and was installed in the customary manner by the Archdeacon of Gloucester, in 1228. One of the first acts of his abbacy was to enter into

Gloucester suffered much in the earlier part of its history, during the wars between the Saxons and the Britons, and again in the bloody skirmishes of Canute and Edmund Ironside, and at a later period, in the contest between King Henry I. and Robert, Duke of Normandy; it is also to be observed, that there was abundance of wood in the neighbourhood, both in the forest of Dean and at Corse Lawn; this latter place is said to have furnished the chestnut timber so frequently found in the old buildings of Gloucester, which no doubt formerly consisted almost entirely of wooden houses.

⁶⁷ The brew-house and stable, as well as the bake-house, and other offices of the Abbey were on the north west side of the church, beyond the refectory, and here was also the Abbey mill; the place where it stood is still commonly known by the appellation of Miller's Green, though it has since obtained the title of Palace Yard.

⁶⁸ Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sac. i. 486.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

a compromise with Ralph de Wylington, and Olympias his wife, respecting the Chapel of St. Mary, which they had founded in the Abbey of St. Peter⁷⁰. He is stated to have made various additions and improvements to the Abbey. In 1237 died Elias de Lideford, the sacrist, who rebuilt the *Tower* which had fallen down in the time of Hameline; he also constructed the stalls of the monks; and, according to Furney, made an aqueduct to serve the convent with water, though by the Abbey Chronicle he appears to have repaired it only. Certain it is that, in 1242, the *new roof* in the *nave of the church* was completed, not, as at first, by the help of common workmen, but by "the spirited exertions of the monks;" and in the same year a *new tower* was begun, on the south side, at the west end of the church, by Walter de St. John, the then prior.

On the fourteenth of the calends of October, 1239, the Abbey Church was re-dedicated to St. Peter, by Walter de Cantelupe, Bishop of Worcester, in the presence of a numerous assemblage. The Bishop, on this occasion, granted to the church eleven days of *relaxation*, and commanded that the anniversary of the dedication should be kept as solemnly as the Lord's day by all the people of Gloucester. In the time of this Abbot the convent seems to have been very lax in its discipline; and it appears that, in 1230, he appropriated an annual rent of twenty marks out of the church of Newburgh, in Monmouthshire, "*ad caritates conventus, de vino Gallico*," that is, for the members of the convent to drink, in commemoration of their founders and benefactors. The Bishop of Worcester visited the convent in 1239, when a question arose as to his right of visitation, but it was at length acknowledged

⁷⁰ Fosbrooke's Hist. of Glouces. p. 166, from Reg. Abb. Glouc. No. 1113. MSS. Prynne. By this agreement the Abbot and Convent obliged themselves to find two chaplains to pray for the souls of the founders, for ever. These chaplains were to have a clerk attendant upon them, and were to receive a salary of two marks and a half yearly, and to have for cheese and candles 18*d.* a year; a corrody of from the cellarer, two monks' loaves, a knight's loaf, three gallons of beer, of the Convent, and a fourth gallon of the second beer, if their clerk should come for it at the time appointed; from the kitchen they were to have three dishes of the better broth of the convent; and on flesh days, two messes of flesh, one of one sort and one of another: they were to dwell in the Abbey, in the lodging built by the said Ralph, which the convent were to repair, as well as the chapel; they were also to have vessels from the bakehouse; and if any of their corrody should be withholden, they were to complain to the warden of the chapel, who would cause amends to be made by the prior.

by the convent in chapter, that he might make this singular inquisition *ex officio*⁷¹: three years afterwards he again visited the convent, when it seems that the disorders there had arisen to a very high pitch; for, having made a particular examination, and corrected such things as were necessary, he caused the Prior, and several others, to be removed⁷². Foliot was nevertheless a great benefactor to the Abbey, and very much increased its possessions. He died in the year 1243, and was succeeded by his Prior,

WALTER DE ST. JOHN, who died on the intended day of his installation.

JOHN DE FELDA (FIELD), the Precentor of the house, was therefore appointed his successor, and was installed December 12, 1243. On his consecration the sacrist of Worcester received an alb and cope, as well for Walter, not installed, as for John⁷³. He completed the *south western tower*, which Foliot, his predecessor, had commenced. He also pulled down the old refectory, and began to build a new one in 1246. In 1251 the Abbey is stated to have been in debt to the amount of three thousand marks, insomuch that the Bishop of Worcester, to whom the monks applied for relief, was obliged to forbid the reception of strangers at the monastery, and to retrench its hospitality altogether⁷⁴. This Abbot, before his decease, which occurred on the sixth of the calends of April, 1263, appropriated the profits of the mill at Over, which had been built by him, for the provision of good cheer for the Abbey, and for the relief of the poor on the anniversary of his death.

REGINALD DE HAMME, or HOMME, who had been chaplain to the preceding Abbot, was installed immediately after his death. He is said to have found the monastery fifteen hundred marks in debt, which he was unable to pay, and therefore applied for assistance to King Henry the Third, who, in 1272, appointed a commissioner to provide for the observance of this grant, and to secure the Abbey from injury. In 1264, this Abbot, in conjunction with the Bishop of Worcester, procured a truce to be made between the barons, then in the town of Gloucester, and Prince Edward, who had seized the castle: and in the following year he was summoned to parliament, being, according to Dugdale, the first abbot who received a summons. In 1274,

⁷¹ Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sac. i. 491.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Angl. Sac. i. 492.

⁷⁴ Furney's MSS.

Abbot Homme, being proctor for the whole diocese of Worcester, by special order from the Pope, in the absence of the bishop, who was detained at home by infirmity, attended the council of Lyons. Towards the close of his administration, in 1283, John Gifford, Lord of Brimsfield, founded *Gloucester Hall*, in Oxford (now called Worcester College), for thirteen monks, to be improved in learning⁷⁶, whom he chose out of this monastery, and appropriated to their support the church of Chipping Norton. Other monasteries afterwards partook of the benefit of this foundation; but the Abbey of St. Peter of Gloucester, was obliged to maintain three or four of its monks there, with an allowance to each of fifteen marks per annum⁷⁷. Reginald is stated to have made various ordinances for the regulation of the convent, one of the most important of which was concerning the obits of his monks⁷⁸. He died in 1284, and was succeeded by

JOHN DE GAMAGES, from Gamages, in Normandy, who was Prior of Hereford⁷⁹. The royal assent was given to his election October 4, 1284⁸⁰. He received the benediction from Godfrey, Bishop of Worcester⁸¹. Furney states that he was so infirm, that year, as to be unable to attend to business, and therefore procured from the King a licence to appoint attorneys in all pleas relating to himself, or his Abbey. By the Chronicle already referred to, it appears that, in the first year of his abbacy, the Convent, in consideration of numerous losses which it had sustained, surrendered to him, for the space of one year, various aids and remissions out of those things which were

⁷⁶ Cott. MSS. Dom. A. 8. Also Lel. Col. i. 247.

⁷⁷ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 534.

⁷⁸ Cott. MSS. ut supr. By this ordinance it was provided that, when any professed brother died, the *brevia* (or notices of his death) should be immediately written, and delivered to the Almoner, who should transmit them to all the neighbouring priories and religious houses; and, because this could not be done without expense, it was resolved that the following officers should each contribute a small sum, viz. the cellarers and almoner 12*d.* each; the sacrist, chamberlain, and sub-almoner 6*d.* each; and the precentor and infirmarer 3*d.* This payment was to be made to the sub-almoner on the day of such monk's burial, under penalty of forfeiting twice the sum.

⁷⁹ Annal. Wigorn. Angl. Sac. i. 507.

⁸⁰ Rot. Pat. 12 Edw. I.

⁸¹ Anglia Sacra, ut supra.

specially proved to appertain to their comfort and support⁸². On his promotion to the abbacy, he found the house burthened with a debt of one thousand marks, which he repaid, and increased the stock of sheep to ten thousand, whence forty-six sacks of wool were sold in one year. In 1298, William de Brok, one of the monks, and afterwards Prior of the Abbey, became an *Inceptor* in divinity at Oxford, under the Chancellor of that University; being the first monk of the Benedictine order in England who took the degree of doctor in that faculty⁸³.

Another fire broke out in 1300, in a house in the great court of the Abbey, by which the cloister, the great chamber, the belfry, and the buildings adjoining, were burnt down⁸⁴. In the following year the Abbot,

⁸² Among these are 10*l.* from the tithes of Froucester; from half the proceeds of the church of Newport, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; from honey, 50*s.*; from the "Magistro" of the town, for cheese-cakes (*fladonibus*) for the convent, 66*s.* 8*d.*; for the second dish on seven festivals during the year, 69*s.*; for the second dish on thirty feasts of copes, by the year, 4*l.*; from the Sacrist, for St. Denis' festival, 40*s.*; from the anniversary of Gilbert, Bishop of London, 26*s.* 8*d.*; from that of Thomas de Northlech, 24*s.* 4*d.*; that of Lucy de Purtoleye, 10*s.*; that of Matthew de Besyle, 5*s.*; that of Master Walter de Bernwood, 15*s.* The annual amount of these being 38*l.* 18*s.*, besides the Refectorar's fee of loaves, valued yearly at 40*s.*, and the daily allowance (*exigentia*) of dishes in the refectory, valued at 100*s.* yearly. It also appears that, although it had been usual for the convent to have on the seven days of festival two dishes of meat (*ferculis*), and a good allowance of fresh water and sea fish, and plenty of meat on flesh days, and on every feast of copes and albs, a good dish of fresh and salt fish; yet, in consideration of poverty, they adopted baked eggs for meat, and herrings for more expensive fish, which made a difference of 10*l.* yearly; the Sacrist and Precentor also surrendered a cask of wine, which it had been usual for each of them to receive on their festivals, which lasted three days. The total amount of these things was 65*l.* 18*s.*, whereof the deduction in the kitchen department was 32*l.* 19*s.*

⁸³ At his inception there were present the Abbot of Gloucester, with his whole Convent, and other noble persons, to the amount of a hundred horse; among these were the Abbots of Westminster, Reading, Abingdon, Evesham, and Malmesbury, with many Priors and Monks, the whole of whom offered him a variety of presents; and all other prelates of the Benedictine order throughout the whole province of Canterbury, who were absent, transmitted presents by their servants.

⁸⁴ As many of the inferior buildings of the Abbey seem to have been on the north side, it is probable that the present *small cloisters* occupy the site of those burnt down in 1300, and that they are referable to a much later date. The groined roof of the short passage connecting the two cloisters is of early English architecture, and consequently we may consider it of a much earlier period than either of the two cloisters.

Prior, Sub-prior, with other officers and monks, were excommunicated by the Prior of Worcester (*sede vacante*), for opposing his visitation of the Abbey, on the ground that it had been visited twice before in the same year⁸⁵; but from this sentence the Abbey appealed to the Apostolic See, and to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in 1303, condemned the Abbot for contumacy. A like dispute arising in the time of his successor makes it evident that the Abbey was by no means satisfied of the Prior of Worcester's authority in this particular⁸⁶. In 1303, the old dormitory having been blown down, this Abbot commenced the building of a new one, which was finished by his successor, ten years afterwards. Of Abbot Gamages' great hospitality, an instance is preserved in the account of the feast which he made in 1305, when the justices sat in the great hall of the Abbey upon the inquisition of Traylebaston⁸⁷.

He procured many privileges for his house, one of which was a charter, whereby, during every vacancy of the Abbot, the Prior and Convent were appointed keepers of the Abbey until another had received the temporalities: for every vacancy, whether it continued four months or not, they were to pay to the king two hundred marks; and if it continued longer than that time, to pay according to the rate of two hundred marks for every four months⁸⁸. He was also a great donor of books and ornaments. His death took place on the 15th of the calends of May, 1306, or, according to the Annals of Worcester, in 1307, at which time he had lived sixty-two years in this monastery, whereof he was Abbot twenty-three. He was buried near his brother, Sir Nicholas Gamages, at the gate of the cloister⁸⁹, and his funeral was attended by a numerous assemblage of the clergy⁹⁰.

⁸⁵ Anglia Sacra, i. 507.

⁸⁶ Furney's MSS.

⁸⁷ Much disquisition has arisen respecting the origin and application of this term, as applied to justices itinerant. It appears, however, from Du Cange, that they carried about with them a staff, as an ensign of their office and authority, in the same manner as a constable, in the present day, is furnished with a certain painted stick.

⁸⁸ Rot. Pat. 34 Edw. I.

⁸⁹ When the workmen were erecting Bishop Benson's Screen, in 1741, they found a stone coffin, containing "a sword, a little pewter chalice, a staff." This coffin is supposed to have belonged to Abbot Gamages, as the chalice and staff denote an ecclesiastic, and the sword, a knight, probably his brother. Vide Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, Intro. i. lii.

⁹⁰ Annal. Wigorn. Anglia Sacra, i. 529.

To him succeeded JOHN THOKEY, or TOKY, the Sub-prior of the house, to whose election the royal assent was given May 3, 1306, and on the 16th he had the temporalities restored⁹¹. It appears by the Annals of Worcester that he received the benediction at the Bishop of Worcester's palace at Hartlebury, on the 8th of the calends of July, 1307⁹². In 1313 he was excommunicated for resisting the Prior of Worcester's visitation in the vacancy of that See; but an award being made concerning it, the Bishop of Worcester, in the following year, absolved the Abbey, and required the Archdeacon of Worcester to publish it⁹³.

Thokey is said to have built the *south aisle of the Nave*, in 1318: but the most noted event of his abbacy was the reception of the body of *King Edward the Second*, for interment⁹⁴. This laudable measure was of incalculable advantage to the Monastery, as Edward the Third, in the second year of his reign, in consideration of the expenses which the Abbey had been at in

⁹¹ Rot. Pat. 34 Edw. I.

⁹² Anglia Sacra, i. 529.

⁹³ Dugdale's Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 534, from Kennet. Diptycha Eccl. Angl.

⁹⁴ It is recorded of this monarch, that, coming to Gloucester about the year 1319, he was honorably received by the Abbot and Convent, and being present at an entertainment given in the Abbot's hall, observed the pictures of his predecessors, and jocosely inquired if his own was among them; the Abbot, in something of a prophetic spirit, answered, that he hoped he should have him in a more honourable place. This actually occurred, for when the King was deposed and murdered at Berkeley Castle, by the instigation of Queen Isabel, the monasteries of Bristol, Kingswood, and Malmesbury absolutely refused to receive the royal corpse, through fear of Mortimer and the Queen; but Abbot Thokey brought the dead body from Berkeley Castle, in his own carriage, to the monastery of Gloucester, where it was received by the members of the convent in procession, and buried on the north side of the choir, near the great altar. In Smith's History of the Berkeley Family, it is stated that the account of William Aside, the receiver of that nobleman, "in the second of Edward the Third, sheweth what he paid for dyinge of the white canvas into black, for coveringe the chariot wherein the body of the kinge was carried from Berkeley Castle to Gloucester; what the cords, the horse collers, the traces, and other necessities particularly cost, used about the chariot, and conveyinge of his body thence to Gloucester. (*In uno vaseo argenteo pro corde dicti domini regis patris reponendo xxxviis. viiid.*) For a silver vessel to put the King's hart in, 37s. 8d. In oblations at severall times in the Chapple of the Castle of Berkeley for the king's soule, 21d. In expences of the Lord Berkeley's family goinge with the king's body from Berkeley to Gloucester, 18s. 6d., and many the like perticularities; whereto add these records here margined, more then evincinge the truth of this matter, whereby this Lord is allowed five pounds by the day for the king's expences whilst he was at his keepinge at Berkeley, and for soe longe time as his body remayned at Berkeley after his death."

celebrating his father's funeral, granted that upon every vacancy of the Abbot's chair the monks should compound with the King, at the rate of a hundred marks for the space of a year; but that all knights' fees holden of the Abbey, escheats, and presentations to churches, which should fall in the time of the vacancy, should belong to the King. The Prior, as President, and the Convent, were to keep the house in safe custody, till another superior was admitted thereto. The escheator, or the sheriff, upon a vacancy, to make only simple seisin within the Abbey, and so to depart ⁹⁵.

Abbot Thokey acquired various possessions for the Abbey, but growing old and infirm, he resigned in 1329; soon after which he died ⁹⁶.

JOHN WYGEMORE ⁹⁷, who succeeded, had before been Prior of the house. He was well skilled in mechanics, and the art of weaving ⁹⁸, and made various additions and improvements to the Abbey, both while he was Prior and after he was raised to the abbacy. It is stated that, whilst Prior, he built the Abbot's chamber, near the garden of the infirmary, and adorned at his own expense the screen, or picture (*tabulam*), at the Prior's altar, with burnished and gilt images, and constructed another screen of the same work in the Abbot's chapel.

The assassination of King Edward the Second produced a superstitious idea, that the only method of averting the Divine vengeance from the nation was by devotion at his shrine: this opinion was doubtless strengthened and confirmed by the monks of Gloucester, who found their advantage in it; for it appears that, in the time of this Abbot, the offerings to King Edward's tomb were so great, that from their produce, within six years of his coming to the government of the monastery, he was enabled to build the *aile of St. Andrew* (supposed to be the *north transept*), a grange at Highnam, the

⁹⁵ Rudder's History, &c. of Gloucestershire, p. 136, from MS. Froucester.

⁹⁶ Willis' Mit. Abb. i. 115.

⁹⁷ Rot. Pat. 3 Edw. III. p. 2.

⁹⁸ The Abbey Chronicle states that he gave to the convent a vestment of green samyt, or samet, with birds (*volucibus*) of gold, which he had worked with his own hands, to be worn on the feast of Pentecost: and he provided another suit of *baudekyn* for the feast of the Apostles, with various other copes of black velvet, embroidered with gold birds (probably doves).

Abbot's chamber, near the great hall, the smaller hall annexed, called "Vampeyhalle," and the chapel there. The Chronicle speaks of Wygemore as being exceedingly affable; and so humble, that he oftentimes invited one or other of the brethren to his chamber, and refreshed them with a variety of meats and drinks⁹⁹. Dying on the 2d of the calends of March, 1337, he was buried on the south side of the church, near the entrance to *the choir*, which he built.

ADAM DE STAUNTON, also Prior of the Monastery, was the next Abbot; the royal assent being given to his election March 18, and the temporalities of the Monastery restored to him April 11, 1337¹. He built the *vaulting, or inner roof of the choir*, and the stalls on the Prior's side, out of the oblations presented at King Edward's tomb². He also built the Abbot's chamber in the vineyard-house at Over, and began to erect a wall round it, which was completed by his successor³. He withdrew from the cellarer and cook the courtesies which it had been usual for them to receive from the town collectors; these he divided among the fraternity, to the amount of twenty shillings each⁴. In 1338, he was one of the two presidents at the chapter of the Benedictines, held at Northampton. He died in 1351, and was buried before *St. Thomas'*

⁹⁹ Probably the chamber near the garden of the infirmary, which might be a sort of summer-house for recreation. This remark of the writer shews in what a secluded state the abbots generally lived, with respect to the inferior brethren.

¹ Rot. Pat. 11 Edw. III. p. 1.

² These seem to have been very considerable, for it is stated that if all the oblations presented at the shrine had been expended upon the church, it might have been built anew; and that so great were the offerings of the nobles and rich men, about this time, of jewels and cloth of gold, that a hundred pieces of silk, interwoven with gold, were sold at a cheap rate. King Edward the Third, being in danger of shipwreck, vowed to offer a golden ship, which he faithfully presented, but afterwards redeemed it, at the request of the Abbot and Convent, for 100*l.*; the Black Prince offered a cross of the same metal, containing a portion of the Holy Cross; the Queen of Scots, a valuable necklace, with a ruby; and Queen Philippa a heart and ear of gold.

³ Furney's MS. Also Willis' Mit. Abb. i. 115.

⁴ It seems that the cellarer and cook had before taken the whole of these gifts (perhaps new year's gifts) to themselves: it is most likely that these officers had great interest with the tradesmen of the town who supplied the cellar and kitchen of the Monastery, and that they received from them many presents, annually.

altar, built by his brother, John de Staunton, leaving a thousand marks in the Abbey treasury, which, according to the Chronicle, he had saved that he might be advanced to the abbacy of Evesham⁵. The moveables and immoveables of the convent were, three years before his death, valued at 287*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.*, and the members of the convent were at that time thirty-six⁶.

THOMAS DE HORTON, Sacrist of the Monastery, was elected, “per viam compromissi,” to succeed him; the royal assent being given to the election November the 19th, the benediction bestowed at Cheltenham, by the Bishop of Worcester, December the 4th, and the temporalities of the Monastery restored December the 12th, 1351⁷. He acquired numerous possessions, and adorned the church with a variety of costly books, vestments, and vessels of silver⁸. He also made great increase to the monastic buildings, such as the Abbot’s chapel near the garden of the infirmary, the roofing of the chamber of the monk’s hostelry, and the great hall in the court, where the parliaments were afterwards held. In his time also the *high altar*, with the presbytery and the *stalls* on the Abbot’s side, were begun and finished; and *St. Paul’s aisle*, which was commenced in 1367, was completed in 1372, the expense of the whole work amounting to 781*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.*, of which the Abbot paid 444*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* He also constructed the images, with their tabernacles, on the north side of the entrance to the choir. After governing twenty-six years, he resigned, November 8, 1377, seventeen weeks and three days after which, he died, and was buried under a flat stone in the north transept⁹.

⁵ From this translation, or removal, it might be inferred that Evesham was of superior value to Gloucester; but this was not the case at the dissolution.

⁶ Rudder’s History, &c. of Gloucestershire, p. 136.

⁷ Compare Pat. 25 Edw. III. p. 3.—Reg. Wigorn. Thoresby.—Willis’s Mit. Abb. i. 116.

⁸ Among these were silver plate for the use of the refectory of the Convent, four silver basins for the high altar, viz. two large ones for the Abbot, and two smaller ones for the priest officiating there; also two silver candlesticks for the altar, a chalice of gold, and a silver vase to hold the holy water, with a sprinkler of silver; a cross of silver gilt, to set upon the altar whilst the priest was officiating, a crosier of silver, two vestments of scarlet cloth, and of cloth of white and gold.

⁹ *Lel. Itin.* edit. 1711, vol. iv. p. 172. Before his resignation he made an ordinance, by

JOHN BOYFIELD was elected Abbot, "per viam compromissi," towards the close of the year 1377, having previously been Precentor of the Monastery; he received the benediction from Gilbert, Bishop of Hereford, at Whitbourn, on the Sunday before Christmas Day, and was installed on Christmas Eve¹⁰. On the 2d of the calends of November, in the following year, King Richard the Second held a parliament in the great hall of the Abbey, during the session of which, he, with his whole court, were lodged in the house, which was so full that for some days the monks took their meals entirely in the dormitory, but afterwards in the school house, their dinner being cooked in the "pomerio" (query, storeroom or orchard¹¹). In this parliament there was much contention between the spiritual and temporal lords, each complaining of the other's encroachments. It lasted twenty-eight days, and concluded with the grant of a liberal supply to the King¹², who before the close of the session, gave a feast in the refectory, on which occasion the Abbot chanted high mass in the choir in the presence of an immense assemblage of the nobility.

Boyfield had great difficulties to contend with during his abbacy; the

which he provided that, on the anniversary of his death, mass should be celebrated for him, in vestments of blue velvet, interwoven with little moons and stars, which he himself had provided; that the screen (tabulam) over the altar, with its images, which had been constructed by his assistance, should be uncovered; and that on that day the Convent should be served with wassail, wine, and pittance out of the proceeds of the church of Camme, and that the Prior of Stanley, for the time being, should have charge of that church, and pay annually to the Abbot and Convent on the anniversary of the said Abbot, and on the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, the like oblations which an obedientiary there paid them against the festival of Christmas.

¹⁰ Willis's Mit. Abb. i. 116.

¹¹ On this occasion the business relative to the laws of arms was transacted in the refectory, the guest hall was set apart for the common parliament, or house of lords; in the guest chamber, called of old the king's chamber, on account of its beauty, was held the privy council; and the council of the commons in the chapter house. During the session of parliament the martyrology was read in the choir without any respect to order; for, says the Chronicle, the Monastery was so crowded, that it was more like a fair than a house of religion, and the grass plat in the cloister was so trampled by wrestling and ball playing, that not a vestige of green grass was to be seen.

¹² Rudge's Hist. of Glouc. p. 25.

Bishop of Worcester, unjustly accused him and his Monks of incontinence, and procured a bull from the Pope to secure to himself and to his successors the right of visiting the Monastery¹³. In his time also, the revenues of the Abbey were reduced by inundations, pestilence, and excessive hospitality, to seventeen hundred marks, yearly¹⁴. Boyfield died on the third of the calends of January, 1381, and was buried on the south side of the north transept, near his predecessor¹⁵.

WALTER FROUCESTER, who had previously been Chamberlain of the Monastery, next received the royal assent, as Abbot, January 21, 1381¹⁶. He was an eminent scholar, and collected and transcribed the Abbey records down to the twentieth of Edward III.¹⁷ Shortly after his election, the Abbey was sued for payment of the two hundred marks, according to the charter of Edward I.; but, after much argument, it was decided that this fine for the vacancy was no longer due to the crown¹⁸. In the following year he obtained from the King a license of absence from all parliaments, councils, and convocations, unless there was some particular reason for his presence. On his first promotion, he found the house burthened with debts to the amount of eight thousand florins, which by his prudent conduct he was enabled to pay. By the interest of the Duke of Gloucester he procured from Pope Urban, for himself and his successors, a grant of the mitre, ring, sandals, and dalmatic; likewise the right of giving the solemn benediction at vespers,

¹³ Atkyns's Hist. Glouc. p. 66.

¹⁴ The number of officers in this Monastery shews the pomp and luxury of the establishment; besides the abbot, there were three priors, two cellarers, two almoners, three sacrists, two precentors, chamberlains, keepers of the refectory, infirmary, and hostillary, masters of the churches, chapels, and works, a monk of the vill, or town, kitcheners, monks called *scholares Oron.* residing in Gloucester College, all of whom had their particular lands, rents, and emoluments; these officers had likewise their chaplains, attorneys, registrars, clerks, stewards, bailiffs, porters, brewers, shepherds, &c. amounting to above one hundred and ten different persons.

¹⁵ Willis's Mit. Abb. i. 116.

¹⁶ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 535, from Pat. 4 Ric. II. p. 1.

¹⁷ A part of these MSS. is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester; a corresponding copy is preserved in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, and another is in the British Museum, Cott. MS. Dom. A. 8, to which frequent reference has been made in this volume.

¹⁸ Furney's MSS.

matins, and table, if neither Bishop nor Legate were present¹⁹. He made great additions to the ornaments, books, vestments, silver plate, and buildings of the Monastery; and completed the Monks' cloister, which his predecessor, Horton, had commenced and built as far as the door of the chapter-house, towards the north²⁰.

Froucester seems to have been active in the dispatch of business, and for many years kept at the court of Rome, as proctor, one of the brethren of the house, by whose assistance various churches were annexed and appropriated to his Monastery²¹. Dying in 1412, he was buried at the south-west part of the choir, under the arch of the tower, where his mutilated gravestone is said to remain²².

The royal assent was given to the election of HUGH MORTON, as Abbot, on the 10th, and the temporalities of the Monastery were restored to him on the 27th of May, 1412²³. He died, without having done any thing worthy of particular notice, in 1420, when

JOHN MAREWENT, or MORWENT, the Chamberlain, succeeded him; the temporalities of the Monastery being restored July 14, in that year²⁴. According to Willis, he erected the *west front*, the *south porch*, and *two western pillars of the nave*, intending, if he had lived, to make the whole body of the Church correspond in style²⁵. Henry VI., before going abroad,

¹⁹ The Chronicle states that, about this time, great crowds of people assembled at Gloucester, to witness the translation of St. Kyneburgh from Lantony to the castle, and thence to the chapel of that saint, where mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Worcester: after which the Duke of Gloucester, together with the Bishop and the Abbot, proceeded to the banquet, where, with music playing all the time, the pontifical ornaments were presented to the Abbot.

²⁰ Furney states that, in some MSS. in his possession, it is said that Abbot Froucester began the building of a "*neat cloister*," whose ceiling and ornamental workmanship were no where to be surpassed. The Monasticon relates that he built the *great cloisters* on the north side of the church, in one of the windows of which, till the civil wars, there were verses written by himself, detailing the history of the Convent: these are printed in the Mon. Ang. new ed. i. 542.

²¹ Frouces. Chron. B. M. Dom. A. 8.

²² Mon. Ang. new ed. i. 535.

²³ Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Pat. 13 Hen. IV. p. 2.

²⁴ Ibid. from Pat. 8 Hen. V.

²⁵ Mit. Abb. i. 116. Rudder says, that on the second of August, 7 Hen. VI. (1427), a composition was made between the Abbey and the town, whereby the Lane, adjoining the south wall of

visited the Abbey, and offered an oblation at King Edward's tomb²⁶. Morewent died in 1437, when he had for his successor

REGINALD BOULERS, or BUTLER, D. D., to whom the temporalities were restored November 12, 1437²⁷. In 1444, being appointed ambassador to Rome and to other places, where his presence might be required for a considerable time, the Prior and Convent granted him 400*l.* per annum out of the funds of the Abbey, during his absence²⁸. Previous to his advancement to the See of Hereford, in 1450, he was sent prisoner to the Castle of Ludlow, by Richard, Duke of York, who was then at variance with King Henry the Sixth.

THOMAS SEABROOKE, after the promotion of Boulers to the See of Hereford, was elected Abbot, and had the temporalities restored, February the 16th, 1450²⁹. He pulled down the old *Tower*, and began the building of the present beautiful structure, a monument of his taste and knowledge in the science of architecture, which distant ages will view with admiration; but dying before it was finished, left the completion of it to Robert Tully, a monk of the house, and afterwards Bishop of St. David's³⁰. It appears

the Abbey, was granted to the bailiffs and burgesses. Their serjeants were empowered to carry their maces before the bailiffs into the Abbey: and the bailiffs or their serjeants might execute any of the King's writs, summonses, &c. within the Abbey, excepting upon the Abbot, Monks, their domestic servants, or counsellors.

²⁶ Furney's MSS.

²⁷ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 536, from Pat. 16 Hen. VI. p. 1.

²⁸ Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Rudder's Hist. Glouc. p. 137. By a composition made between the Abbey and the town, on the 20th of July, 1447, it was, amongst other things, agreed, that no Abbot, Monk, tenant, or person retained in the service of the Abbey should be arrested for debt, but that their chattels only should be seized: that the bailiffs should only exercise their authority within the Abbey (although acknowledged to be within the jurisdiction of the town) in cases of felony, treason, and other matters relative to the crown; that the Abbey should not afford sanctuary to persons flying from justice, nor provide lodgings for them; but should have liberty to maintain therein such persons as were requisite to provide them with clothes and other necessities; and that if other persons taking sanctuary there should not be removed within fifteen days after notice given to the Abbot (or in his absence to the Prior or Cellarer), the bailiffs might arrest them. Furney's MSS. from an old book in the custody of the town clerk.

²⁹ Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Pat. 29 Hen. VI. p. 1, m. 5.

³⁰ Furney's MSS. The Lansdowne MS. No. 634, p. 28, says that "the former tower stood in

from the name, arms, and motto of this Abbot still remaining on many of the glazed tiles near to the altar, that he repaved the choir. He died in 1457, and was buried in a chapel at the south-west end of the choir, where his effigy, in alabaster, is placed upon an altar tomb³¹.

RICHARD HANLEY was appointed the next Abbot, to whom the temporalities were restored March 11, 1457³². In the following year he obtained from the crown, for the Abbey, a general pardon for all forfeitures, offences, &c. ; and in 1470, William Nottingham, Esq. the Attorney-general, and afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer, gave lands to the Convent, for the erection of a chantry, to be supplied by two of the Monks³³. This Abbot began the *Lady Chapel*, at the east end of the Church ; and, dying in 1472, was succeeded by

WILLIAM FARLEY, or FERLEY, a Monk of the house, by whom the said Chapel was completed. The temporalities were restored to him May 1, 1472³⁴. He appears to have presided over the Abbey, with great credit, for about sixteen years: but after his death, in 1498, the Monks were so disorderly and contentious in making interest for the Abbacy, that the King directed a mandate to the Prior, as President, to punish all the offenders, and to preserve order during the vacancy³⁵. These dissensions were, however, put an end to by the election of

JOHN MALVERN, or MULVERNE, who had restitution of the temporalities, December 7, 1498³⁶, and died the 13th of August in the following year; when great contention and opposition again prevailed among the Monks for the vacant seat. At length

that place which is usuallie called the comon orchard, more neare to an auntient building now called the infirmery, which onelie was to be seene afar off, with an high pine tree:” and that “the forme of the church, together with that most auncient fabrick in the tyme of the nunnes, is very graphically pourtrayed in the glass window of the east side of the great cloister.”

³¹ Furney's MSS. The Monasticon, new edit. i. 536, states, that when Bishop Benson repaved the choir in 1741, Abbot Seabrooke's coffin, with several others, were opened.

³² Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 536, from Pat. 36 Hen. VI. p. 2.

³³ Furney's MSS.

³⁴ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 536, from Pat. 12 Edw. IV.

³⁵ Rudge's Hist. Glouc. p. 178.

³⁶ Mon. Ang. ut supr. from Pat. 14 Hen. VII. p. 3, m. 17.

THOMAS BRAUNCHE, one of these Monks, was elected Abbot, August 31, 1500, and dying on the 1st of July, 1510, was succeeded by

JOHN NEWTON, alias BROWN, D. D. the King's Chaplain, and, at the time of his election, Prior of St. Guthlac's, near Hereford, who had the temporalities restored to him on the 28th of November, and was installed the 6th of December following³⁷. Great opposition was made to his election, and though the majority of the Monks, at that time amounting to forty-six in the Abbey and sixteen in the Cells, were in his favour, yet John Huntley, the Cellarer, with seventeen Monks, made an unsuccessful appeal to the Bishop of Worcester; the cause of this opposition originated in his not having been initiated in this Abbey, of which he became a Monk in 1478. Fosbrooke says, "Clergymen were in the habit of entering the house, but were not considered on a par with the *nutriti*, or regular Monks, bred in the Abbey from infancy³⁸." Dying on the 15th of January, 1514,

WILLIAM MALVERNE, alias PARKER, B. D. was elected Abbot, but he did not have restitution of the temporalities till the 6th of August, 1515³⁹; shortly after which he took the degree of D. D. at Oxford⁴⁰, and in the following year attended a general Chapter, held at Coventry, wherein various statutes were enacted, to reform many monastic abuses; these, together with other constitutions respecting the proper distribution of the alms of the house, he transcribed into a Register, which is now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester⁴¹. In 1524, he wrote a poem, which may be seen in Hearne's edition of "Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle," entitled "The Foundation of the Abbey of Gloucester, and the Changes of the same, prior to the Suppression." In March 1525, Cardinal Wolsey, by his commissary, Dr. Allen, exercised a legatine visitation in the Abbey, when its yearly revenues were said to amount to 1022*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* and the Monks acknowledged themselves indebted to the Cardinal 40*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*⁴² About five years afterwards, the clergy of the kingdom having incurred

³⁷ Furney's MSS.

³⁹ Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 536.

⁴¹ Fosbrooke's Hist. Glouc. p. 179.

³⁸ Hist. Glouc. p. 179.

⁴⁰ Furney's MSS.

⁴² Rudge's Hist. Glouc. p. 173.

a præmunire, for acknowledging and receiving Wolsey's authority from Rome, compounded with the King for a fine of 200,000*l.*; of this sum the Abbey of Gloucester paid 500*l.*⁴³ Malverne, amongst other additions to the monastic buildings, constructed the *Monumental Chapel*, or chantry, on the north side of the choir. With Richard Skidmor, and thirty-four other Monks, he subscribed to the King's supremacy in 1534, and continued Abbot until the dissolution of monasteries, soon after which he died.

The Abbey was surrendered A°. 31 Henry VIII. (1539), when its annual revenues were valued, according to Dugdale, at 1946*l.* 5*s.* 9*d.*, and according to Speed, at 1550*l.* 4*s.* 5½*d.*⁴⁴, out of which the King's Commissioners assigned pensions to the Prior and to the other Monks⁴⁵. Although a Mitred Abbey, and endowed with great privileges, it was subject to the visitation of the Bishops of Worcester until its dissolution⁴⁶. From the Registers of that See it appears that the last visitation was made by Bishop Latimer in 1537⁴⁷.

⁴³ Rudder's Hist. Glouc. p. 139.

⁴⁴ This variation of value arises from the omission of the cells by the latter author.

⁴⁵ Furney's MSS.

⁴⁶ Atkyn's Hist. Glouc. p. 129.

⁴⁷ Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 536.

Chap. III.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE SEE:—ITS EXTENT, JURISDICTION, ETC. :—WITH BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES OF THE MOST DISTINGUISHED PRELATES AND DEANS, WHO HAVE SUCCESSIVELY GOVERNED THE SEE AND THE CATHEDRAL.

HAVING in the preceding chapter detailed the most distinguishing circumstances in the history of the Abbey of St. Peter, and also noticed a few biographical traits of character of its Abbots, it will be the province of the present section to point out such incidents and events relating to the See, and the conversion of the Abbey into a Cathedral, as may serve to connect and give interest to a regular narrative. Brief biographical anecdotes of the most eminent Prelates and Deans will necessarily come into this essay.

After the dissolution an act of parliament was passed, under which the city and county of Gloucester were constituted an independent Bishoprick, with a Dean and Chapter, by the name of the Diocess of Gloucester: it was also ordained, that such part of the “vill and county of Bristol” as formerly was part of the diocess of Worcester, should thenceforth be part and parcel of this See.

The letters of endowment, dated September 3, 1541, state that the King “desiring above all things that true religion and the worship of God might be entirely restored and reformed to the primitive and genuine rule of simplicity, and that all those enormities into which the lives and profession of the Monks had for a long time deplorably lapsed, might be corrected, had, as far as human frailty would permit, endeavoured to the utmost, that, for the future, the pure word of God might be taught, good discipline observed, youth freely instructed in learning, the infirmities of old age relieved with necessaries, alms given to poor Christians, highways and bridges repaired; and that all offices of piety might there abound, and thence spread to the neighbourhood far and near, to the glory of God and

the common good and benefit of his subjects : and also considering that the site of the Monastery of St. Peter, in which were *many memorials* of his ancestors, was a very fit place for erecting an episcopal See, ordained, that the Monastery should be erected into a *Cathedral Church*, dedicated to the *Holy and Individed Trinity*.”

The Abbey lands were also granted for the maintenance of a Bishop, a Dean, an Archdeacon, and six Prebendaries, six minor Canons, six lay Clerks, eight Choristers, two Masters, and other inferior officers. It was at the same time ordered, that the Abbot's lodgings, with the buildings, chapels, grounds, and other premises, his stable, and the garden at the end of the churchyard, all within the precincts of the Abbey, the house called the Wood-Barton, two stables, two slaughter houses, and a dog-kennel, in the parish of St. Mary de Lode, should be called the *Bishop's Palace*¹. Three years afterwards, various statutes and orders for the better rule and government of the Cathedral Church were compiled by Dr. Heath, Bishop of Worcester, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Lord High Chancellor of England; Dr. Day, Bishop of Chichester; and Archdeacon Cox, afterwards Preceptor and Almoner to King Edward the Sixth². These instruments are printed in Sir Robert Atkyns's History of Gloucestershire. In 1647 and the two following years, several alienations were made of the lands with which the See was endowed, but they reverted to the Bishoprick on the Restoration³. By the charter of creation,

JOHN WAKEMAN, the last Abbot of Tewkesbury, and Chaplain to King Henry the Eighth, was appointed the first Bishop of this new Diocess, on the 3d of September, 1541; and was consecrated, according to Le Neve, on the 20th of the same month⁴. A commission of learned persons having been appointed to inspect and prepare the translation of the New Testament, that portion called the Revelation was assigned to Wakeman⁵. By Godwin it appears that he died in the beginning of December, 1549, and was

¹ Atkyns's Hist. Glouc. p. 24.

³ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 538.

⁵ Atkyns's Hist. Glouc. p. 31.

² Ibid. p. 85.

⁴ Fasti Ecclesiæ, p. 101.

buried, as Wood states, at Forthampton, county of Gloucester, where he had a house, with a private chapel⁶. Willis says that he provided a place of burial in the Abbey Church of Tewkesbury, but we have no evidence of the real place of his interment.

JOHN HOOPER, D. D. was consecrated on the 8th of March, 1550, by Archbishop Crammer, assisted by the Bishops of London and Rochester; and was installed on the 22d of the same month⁷. In the earlier part of his life he had been a Monk in the Monastery of Cleves, county of Somerset, but disliking the regularity of the monastic state, returned to Merton College, Oxford, which he had entered in 1514. Here he soon became a Lutheran; in consequence of which, together with his opposition to the statute of the six articles, he was compelled to leave the University about the year 1539; and was afterwards made chaplain and steward to Sir Thomas Arundel, of Devonshire, a Catholic gentleman, who, soon discovering his principles, discharged him. He then proceeded into France, but very shortly returned to England, where being in danger of discovery by the Papists, he escaped in disguise to Ireland, and thence to Switzerland; there, by the advice of Bullinger, he married a Burgundian lady. After the accession of King Edward VI. he visited London, where he frequently preached the reformed doctrines; and, in 1549, became an accuser of Bishop Bonner, who was by his means deprived of his bishoprick. This act undoubtedly made him an object of persecution in the succeeding reign⁸. On the 26th of April, 1552, Hooper surrendered his See to the crown, and upon Dr. Heath's being deprived of that of Worcester in the same year, the former was converted into an Archdeaconry, dependant on Worcester; but the privileges of the Dean and Chapter were continued. The Bishoprick was afterwards given to Hooper, with authority to appoint the Prebendaries in both Cathedrals; but in the month of September, the same year, a letter was sent him for the surrender of his See, in order that there might be a new presentation thereto; and on the 8th of December following, the two

⁶ Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, ii. 755.

⁷ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 538.

⁸ Ibid. i. 222.

Bishòpricks were united, the Diocesan to be called the Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, and to live one year alternately in each city. This union, however, continued no longer than the reign of Edward the Sixth, by whom it was granted⁹.

As Bishop Hooper had strenuously opposed both Gardiner and Bonner, it is but natural that they should manifest a particular enmity to him; and when the King died, it was resolved to make Hooper one of the first sacrifices to the new monarch's bigotry. Soon after the accession of Queen Mary, about the end of August, 1553, he was therefore summoned to London, and on the 1st of September, following, committed to the Fleet prison, where he remained some months¹⁰. On the 18th of March, 1553-4, his Bishoprick was declared void; and on the 28th of January, in the following year, he was placed before Bishop Gardiner and others, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, for examination; when, refusing to retract the doctrines he had propagated, he was condemned to be burnt as an obstinate heretic. The Queen's pardon was offered to him, on condition that he changed his faith, but this he refused, and his sentence was put in execution. Having been deprived of his priesthood in Newgate, he was after a few days interval removed to Gloucester, the place especially appointed by the order for his execution, because the scene of his former heresies¹¹. On the 9th of February, 1555, he was chained to a stake, near an elm tree, on the north-west side of the lower churchyard, and burnt to death by three successive fires made of green wood¹². [The order for his execution is printed in the new edition of the *Monasticon*; and a monument is raised to his memory at the place of his murder.]

JAMES BROOKES, D. D. was elected Bishop, March 26, consecrated in the church of St. Saviour, Southwark, the 1st of April, and had restitution of the temporalities on the 8th of May, 1554. Before his promotion to this See, he had been a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and afterwards Master of Baliol College, and Chaplain, or Almoner to Bishop Gardiner.

⁹ *Mon. Ang.* new edit. i. 538.

¹⁰ Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* edit. 1815, i. 222.

¹¹ *Mon. Ang.* ut supr.

¹² Fosbrooke's *Hist. Glouc.* p. 186.

Unlike his predecessor, he was a zealous papist ; and, in 1556, was delegated by the Pope for the examination and trial of Crammer, Ridley, and Latimer, when they publicly advocated the Protestant religion¹³. After his death, which occurred, according to the Monasticon, on the 7th of September, 1558, or, as Wood says, the beginning of February, 1558-9, the custody of the temporalities was given to *John Bowisher*, D. D. who was nominated to the Bishoprick ; but the Queen's death prevented his having it. After a vacancy of more than three years,

RICHARD CHEINEY, B. D. Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and afterwards of Christ's College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Hereford, Rector of Mades-Norton, and of Bishop's Hampton, Vicar of Painswick, Prebendary of Westminster, and of this Church, was elected Bishop on the 9th of March, 1561-2. He was consecrated at Lambeth on the 19th of April, following, and in ten days after, had the Bishoprick of Bristol given to him *in commendam*¹⁴. Richardson states that he was addicted to Lutheranism, and that in the first convocation of Queen Mary he so zealously opposed Popery, that it was wonderful he escaped with life. On the 20th of April, 1571, he was excommunicated for contumacy ; but was absolved on the 12th of May following¹⁵. He died April the 25th, 1579, and was buried, as his predecessor had been, near Abbot Parker's monument, without any inscription¹⁶. After a vacancy of two years, during which time the See was held by the Queen, that she might secure the sum of 500*l.* owing for the tenths of the clergy,

JOHN BULLINGHAM, D. D. of Magdalen College, Oxford, Prebendary of Worcester and Lincoln, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, and Rector of Boxwell and Withington, county of Gloucester, was consecrated September 3, 1581¹⁷ ; about which time the See of Bristol was given to him *in commendam* : the latter Bishoprick he surrendered on the appointment of Dr. Fletcher, in 1589, but received in lieu thereof the Rectory of Kilmington, or Culmington,

¹³ Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* edit. 1813, i. 315.

¹⁵ *De Præsulibus*, p. 552.

¹⁷ *Le Neve's Fasti*, p. 101.

¹⁴ *Mon. Ang.* new edit. i. 538.

¹⁶ *Rudge's Hist. Glouc.* p. 204.

county of Somerset¹⁸. Anthony Wood represents him as a very illiterate man. He died at Kensington on the 20th of May, 1598, and was conveyed to his own Cathedral for interment. His successor was

GODFREY GOLDSBOROUGH, D. D. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Worcester, Rector of Stockton, Archdeacon of Salop, Prebendary of London, Hereford, and Worcester, the last of which he held *in commendam* with this See. He was consecrated at Lambeth, November the 12th, 1598; and, after governing six years, died on the 26th of May, 1604, and was buried in a small chapel on the north side of the Lady Chapel, where his monument, with an inscription to his memory, still remains. On his death, *William Tooker*, or *Tucker*, D. D. was nominated to this See by King James the First, but the *cougé d'élire* for his election was afterwards revoked in favour of

THOMAS RAVIS, D. D. a native of Malden, in Surrey, and Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford, who was preferred to this Bishoprick in 1604; in the earlier part of which year he had been appointed one of the Oxford men to translate part of the New Testament¹⁹. Although promoted to this See at a time when the popular sentiment was unfavourable to episcopacy, yet his conduct, during his stay at Gloucester, secured him the respect of his clergy and of the people committed to his charge. It is said that he made great improvements in the episcopal palace, which his two immediate predecessors had very much neglected. On being translated to London, he was succeeded on the 12th of July, 1607, by

HENRY PARRY, D. D. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Rector of Bredon, county of Worcester, which he held *in commendam* with the Deanery of Chester. In the earlier part of his life he had been Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and was afterwards promoted to the See of Rochester, whence he was translated to Gloucester, and about the latter end of September, 1610, was again removed to the Bishoprick of Worcester, where he died the 12th of September, 1616. King James the First said that he never heard a better or more eloquent preacher²⁰. He was very charitable to the

¹⁸ Willis's Surv. Cath. i. 722. ¹⁹ Wood's Athen. Oxon. ed. 1815, ii. 849. ²⁰ Ibid. 192.

poor : among other improvements, he built the pulpit that stood in Willis's time in the nave of the Church, but has since been removed. On his translation to Worcester, he was succeeded by

GILES THOMSON, D. D. of University College, Oxford, Fellow of All Souls, Reader of Divinity in Magdalen College, Oxford, Rector of Pembridge, Canon of Hereford, and Dean of Windsor. He was consecrated on the 9th of June, 1611, and had restitution of the temporalities on the 27th of the same month, with permission to keep his Deanery *in commendam* for one year, and no longer²¹. This new dignity he never enjoyed, for he died in the year following his consecration, without ever having visited his Diocess²². He was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where, by the inscription on his monument, it appears that he was a native of London, and died at the age of fifty-nine²³.

MILES SMITH, D. D. first a Member of Corpus Christi College, then of Brazen-nose, Oxford, was successively Rector of Hartlebury, and Upton-upon-Severn, county of Worcester, Prebendary of Exeter, Fellow of Chelsea College, and Canon Residentiary of Hereford²⁴, was consecrated at Croydon, September the 20th, 1612. He is described as having been a man of extraordinary knowledge, both in the classical and oriental languages, which gained him the name of "the walking library." King James appointed him one of the translators of the Bible ; for which he wrote the preface, and translated the four major and twelve minor prophets, and was rewarded by his promotion to this See²⁵. Sir Robert Atkyns calls him a stiff Calvinist, and a great favourer of the Puritans. Dying at Gloucester, on the 19th of October, 1624, he was buried in the Lady Chapel, under a plain stone, without any inscription²⁶.

GODFREY GOODMAN, D. D. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Dean of Rochester, Prebendary of Westminster, Rector of Kemerton, in the Gloucester Diocess, and of West Ilesley, county of Berks, and Canon of Windsor ;

²¹ Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, ii. 850.

²³ Pote's Windsor, p. 372.

²⁵ Wood, ut supra, p. 359.

²² Atkyns's Hist. Glouc. p. 31.

²⁴ Fosbrooke's Hist. Glouc. p. 138.

²⁶ Rudge's Hist. Glouc. p. 207.

of which benefices, the two last were held *in commendam*. He was consecrated the 6th of March, 1624; in 1640 he was suspended, and his See sequestered by Archbishop Land, for not subscribing to the canons; having been committed to the Gate-house, "he there got (says Fuller) by his restraint what he could never have gained by his liberty, namely, of one reputed Popish to become for a short time popular, as the only confessor suffering for not subscribing the canons²⁷." Shortly afterwards he changed his opinions, and was restored to his Bishoprick. In the time of the Commonwealth he participated in the persecutions of the Episcopal Church; and, according to the continuator of Godwin, published a book in which, by servile compliments, he in vain attempted to engage the compassion of Cromwell²⁸. Dying on the 19th of January, 1655, he was buried in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, where a short memorial states that he was insane.

WILLIAM NICHOLSON, D. D. Archdeacon of Brecknock, Canon residentiary of St. David's, and Rector of Bishop's Cleeve, was elected by the interest of Edward, Earl of Clarendon, on the 26th of November, 1660, with license to keep his Archdeaconry and Rectory *in commendam*. His consecration did not take place until the 6th of January²⁹. Wood says he was a native of Suffolk, and received his education at Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1615, he was Chaplain to Henry, Earl of Northumberland, then a prisoner in the Tower; and in the following year was made Master of the Free School at Croydon, in Surrey, where he remained until 1629, and did not receive his diploma of D. D. until his appointment to this See. Among his writings are "A plain but full Exposition of the Catechism, 1655." An "Apology for the Discipline of the Antient Church, intended especially for the Church of England, 1659." The "Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, delivered in several Sermons, 1661, fol." and "An easy Analysis of the whole Book of Psalms, 1662, fol." He died at Gloucester, on the 5th of February, 1671, and was buried in a small chapel on the south side of the Lady Chapel, where a monument and inscription to his memory still remain.

²⁷ Church Hist. b. xi. p. 170.

²⁸ De Præsulibus, p. 554.

²⁹ Le Neve's Fasti, p. 102.

JOHN PRICKETT, PRICKET, or PRICHARD, D. D. of Queen's College, Oxford, was elected to this See the 10th of October, 1672; being permitted to hold *in commendam* his previous preferments, viz. the Vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, the Rectory of Harlington, in Middlesex, and the Prebend of Mora, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London³⁰. He died on the 1st of January, 1680, and was buried at Harefield, county of Middlesex³¹. On the 28th of the same month he was succeeded by

ROBERT FRAMPTON, D. D. of Corpus Christi College, and afterwards of Christ's Church, Oxford, where he took a degree in arts in 1641. Soon after the breaking out of the rebellion, he retired to his native place, Pimperm, in the county of Dorset, where he became a schoolmaster; he shortly afterwards was chaplain to a man of a war, and after that to a company of merchants, trading to Aleppo. In the latter capacity he continued about twelve years, when, returning home, he was made chaplain to Robert, Earl of Aylesbury (or, as some say, to the Earl of Elgin), in whose family he married, and then sailed to Aleppo, where he continued four years, more. Again visiting his own country, he had conferred on him the Prebend of Torlinton, in the Church of Salisbury; and in 1673 was made Dean of Gloucester, and so continued until his preferment to the Bishoprick, to which he was consecrated on the 27th of March, 1681, with license to hold *in commendam* the livings of Fontmell and Oakford-fitz Pain, in the county of Dorset. These he afterwards resigned for those of Avening and Standish in this Diocess³². On the abdication of James II. and the consequent elevation of the Prince of Orange to the throne of England, Bishop Frampton, among many others, refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and was in consequence deprived of this Bishoprick, the revenues of which were sequestered into the Treasury; and the jurisdiction, by commission of the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, conferred on Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Sarum. After his deprivation, he retired to his living of Standish, where he died in 1708, and was buried in the chancel of the Church. A dilapidated monument to his memory still remains.

³⁰ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 538.

³¹ Lysons' Account of the Middlesex Parishes, p. 118.

³² Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, iv. 390.

EDWARD FOWLER, D. D. was the son of a Presbyterian Vicar of Westerleigh, near Bristol, and received his education in the College school of Gloucester. About the beginning of the year 1650, he entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which he was admitted a Chaplain on the 14th of December, 1653; and on the 23d of the same month took the degree of Batchelor of Arts, in that University. Shortly afterwards he retired to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of Master of Arts, and returning to Oxford was incorporated in the same degree in July, 1656. About this time he became Chaplain to Arabella, Countess Dowager of Kent, who gave him the Rectory of Northhill, Bedfordshire; whence he removed to the Rectory of All-hallows, Bread Street, London. In December, 1675, he became one of the Prebendaries of Gloucester, and, in the latter end of 1680, was made Vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate, upon which he resigned the living of All-hallows. In 1685, he had a dispute with his parishioners, who accused him of whiggism, and of admitting to the communion excommunicated persons before they were absolved; to disprove this charge, he preached a sermon before them, on the 15th of November, 1685; this did not, however, give the desired satisfaction, for it appears that in the December following, after a trial at Doctors' Commons between him and his parishioners, he was suspended for having done several things contrary to the canons of the church. After the Revolution he was amply rewarded, being, in 1691, raised to this See, where he remained until his death, which occurred at Chelsea, on the 26th of August, 1714³³. He was buried on the north side of the yard of Hendon Church, Middlesex, in the chancel of which a monument is erected to his memory. His writings are numerous, and though they might be popular and useful at the time, are not calculated to obtain many readers now³⁴.

³³ Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* edit. 1815, iv. 612.

³⁴ Among his numerous sermons and pamphlets may be named the following, "The Principles and Practices of certain moderate Divines of the Church of England, abusively called Latitudinarians, truly represented and defended, 1671." "The Design of Christianity; or a plain Demonstration and Improvement of this Proposition, viz. That the enduing Men with real Righteousness, or true Holiness, was the ultimate End of our Saviour's coming into the World, and is the great Intendment of his blessed Gospel, 1671." "Dirt wiped off; or, a manifest

RICHARD WILLIS, D. D. a native of Bewdley, county of Worcester, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, King's Chaplain, Chaplain General to the Army, and Sub-preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester³⁵, was elected Bishop, December the 10th, 1714, holding a Prebendal Stall in Westminster, and the Deanery of Lincoln, *in commendam*. Hence he was translated to the See of Salisbury in 1721, and thence to Winchester in 1725. He died August the 10th, 1734, and was buried in Winchester Cathedral³⁶.

JOSEPH WILCOCKS, D. D. born at Bristol, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and a Prebendary of Westminster, was elected the 25th of November, 1721. Ten years afterwards he was translated to Rochester, which he held with the Deanery of Westminster, annexed, refusing all higher preferment, even that of the Archbishoprick of York. Dying on the 9th of March, 1756, he was buried in Westminster Abbey Church, the western towers of which had been built during his government, as Dean³⁷.

ELYAS SYDALL, D. D. born at Norwich, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, a Prebendary and afterwards Dean of that Church, was translated to this See from that of St. David's on the 4th of November, 1731, and held the Bishoprick, with the Deanery above mentioned, till his death, on the 24th of December, 1733³⁸. After his death a dispute of considerable warmth, though of short duration, ensued respecting his successor. The Lord Chancellor (son of Bishop Talbot) solicited it for his friend, Dr. Rundle, but was refused on account of doubts entertained of that gentleman's principles by Dr. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London. During this contention some pamphlets were

Discovery of the gross Ignorance, Erroneousness, and most unchristian and wicked Spirit of one John Bunyan, Lay-preacher in Bedford, which he hath shewed in a vile Pamphlet published by him against the Design of Christianity, 1672." And "Libertas Evangelica: or, A Discourse of Christian Liberty."

³⁵ De Præsulibus, p. 245, and Furney's MSS.

³⁶ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 539. See the author's History, &c. of Winchester Cathedral.

³⁷ Brayley's History of Westminster Abbey, vol. ii. p. 235; and Harding's Account of the Deans of Westminster.

³⁸ De Præsulibus, p. 556.

published by each party, but Dr. Rundle was ultimately promoted to the Bishoprick of Derry, in Ireland, and his friend

MARTIN BENSON, D. D. of Cambridge, but some time student of Christ's Church, Oxford, was consecrated to the vacant See of Gloucester on the 19th of January, 1734-5. He was born at Cradley, in Herefordshire, April 23, 1689, and became successively a Prebendary of Sarum and of Durham, Archdeacon of Berks, and Rector of Bletchley, county of Bucks. He new paved the choir of the Cathedral, in 1741, erected stone pinnacles to the Lady Chapel, and repaired the episcopal palace, at a very considerable expense. On his election he declared his resolution of refusing any promotion; and died at the palace here, August 30, 1752, and was buried in this Cathedral.

WILLIAM JOHNSON, D. D. second Master of Westminster School, King's Chaplain, and Canon residentiary of St. Paul's, succeeded; the *cong  d' lire* for his election being dated October 24, 1752. He was translated to Worcester in 1759³⁹, and being killed by a fall from his horse, at Bath, in 1774, was buried in Laycock Church, Wiltshire⁴⁰.

WILLIAM WARBURTON, D. D. the friend of Pope, and the editor of his works, was next advanced to this See, in compliment to his learning and powerful talents. The *cong  d' lire* for his election passed December 22, 1759⁴¹. His father was Mr. George Warburton, attorney and town clerk of Newark upon Trent, at which place the subject of this memoir was born the 24th of December, 1698. Originally intended for the profession of the law, he was articed to a solicitor at East Markham, county of Notts, with whom he served his clerkship. Want of business is the cause assigned for his relinquishing this profession, and entering the church, in which he probably had reason to hope for preferment, for it appears that Archbishop Dawes ordained him Deacon on the 22d of December, 1723, and five years afterwards, Sir Robert Sutton presented him to the Rectory of Brant-Broughton, in the diocess of Lincoln. Here he spent the prime of his life in studious retirement, devoted entirely to letters; and in this seclusion, planned, and in

³⁹ Mon. Ang. new edit. i. 539.

⁴⁰ Rudge's Hist. Glouc. p. 224. See also the author's Beauties of Wiltshire, vol. iii.

⁴¹ Mon. Ang. ut supra.

part executed, some of his most important literary works. In 1746 he became Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, and in 1754 was appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in ordinary; the following year he was made a Prebendary of Durham, in 1757 Dean of Bristol, and two years afterwards advanced to this See.

He died June the 7th, 1779, in his eighty-first year, and was buried in the Cathedral of Gloucester, where a marble monument is erected to his memory by Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Worcester, who has thus characterized him: "He possessed those virtues which are so important in society, truth, probity, and honour, in the highest degree. He had an ardent love of virtue, and the most sincere zeal for religion. He venerated the civil constitution of his country, and was warmly attached to the Church of England. His love of letters was extreme, and his disposition to countenance all those in whom he perceived any kind of literary merit the most prompt and generous. As a writer and a divine it is not easy to find terms that will do justice to his merits. His reading was various and extensive, and his discernment exquisite. In a word, he possessed in a high degree those two qualities of a great writer, *sapere et fari*; that is, superior sense, and the power of doing justice to it by a sound and manly eloquence. The character of his style is freedom and force united: it was properly his own, and what we call *original*. In controversial compositions, he was so much superior to himself, that barely to say he excelled in it is a poor and scanty praise. As a divine, properly so called, he filled and adorned that character with the highest ability. Strength of reason, exquisite learning, a critical knowledge of antiquity, an enlarged view of the scheme of revelation, were possessed by him, in a high degree, to which must be added that first and noblest quality, a perfect honesty of mind, and sincere love of truth, which governed his pen in all his religious inquiries."

Warburton's first printed work appeared in 1723, under the title of "Miscellaneous Translations, in Prose and Verse, from Roman Poets, Orators, and Historians." About 1726, he communicated to Theobald some notes on Shakspeare, which afterwards appeared in that critic's edition of our great dramatic poet. In 1727, he published "A Critical and Philosophical Inquiry into the Causes of Prodiges and Miracles, as related by Historians;"

also "The Legal Judicature in Chancery stated." The publication which attracted most publicity was "The Alliance between Church and State, or the Necessity and Equity of an Established Religion and a Test Law, demonstrated from the Essence and End of Civil Society upon the fundamental Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations." The first volume of the "Divine Legation of Moses" was published in January, 1737-8, and produced several answers, when he printed "A Vindication of the Author of the Divine Legation of Moses from the Aspersions of the Country Clergyman's Letter in 'The Monthly Miscellany' of February 14, 1737-8." In 1739-40, he published "A Vindication of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man;" and afterwards "A Critical and Philosophical Commentary" on the same work. In 1730, appeared "Julian; or, A Discourse concerning the Earthquake and Fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem." He edited an edition of Pope's Works in 1751; and produced numerous sermons and tracts on controversial subjects: "His master-faculty was reason, and his master-science was theology." Quar. Rev.

Mr. D'Israeli, in "Quarrels of Authors," says, "the name of Warburton is more familiar to us than his works:" and Edwards, in "Canons of Criticism," remarks that this prelate's works "are more known than read." D'Israeli continues, in imitation of Warburton's style, "The literary fame of Warburton was a portentous meteor; it seemed unconnected with the whole planetary system through which it rolled, and it was imagined to be darting amidst new creations, as the tail of each hypothesis blazed with idle fancies. Such extraordinary notions cannot be looked on with calm admiration, nor common hostility; all is the tumult of wonder about such a man; and his adversaries as well as his friends, though differently affected, are often overcome by the same astonishment⁴²."

The Honourable JAMES YORKE, LL.D. of Bennet College Cambridge, where he proceeded M. A. in 1752, and D. D. in 1770, succeeded Bishop Warburton. The youngest son of Lord Chancellor Hardwick, he was

⁴² See an able review of the character and writings of Warburton in the work here referred to, also in "The Quarterly Review," vol. vii.; and for biographical materials see Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes," and a volume of "Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends," 8vo. 1809.

successively appointed to the Deanery of Lincoln, and to the Bishoprick of St. David's, whence he was translated to this See, on the 6th of July, 1779; and on the decease of Bishop Keene, two years afterwards, removed to that of Ely, in which he sat for more than twenty-seven years. His death was caused by apoplexy, on the 26th of August, 1808, at Forthampton, county of Gloucester, where his remains are deposited in a vault which he had prepared for himself and family⁴³. His successor,

SAMUEL HALLIFAX, LL. D. was the eldest son of Mr. Samuel Hallifax, an apothecary at Chesterfield, county of Derby, at which place he was born, January 18, 1733. He obtained the Chancellor's gold medal for some prize dissertations at Jesus College, Cambridge, where, in 1754, he took the degree of A. B. and that of A. M. three years afterwards; he then removed to Trinity Hall, where he proceeded LL. D. in 1764. In the following November he was presented to the Rectory of Chaddington, county of Bucks; in 1768 elected Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge, which he resigned in 1770, on being made Regius Professor of Civil Law. In this situation he acquired considerable eminence by a work entitled "An Analysis of the Civil Law." He was appointed Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty in February, 1774; in the year following created D. D. by royal mandate, and on the death of Dr. Topham succeeded him as Master of the Faculties in Doctors' Commons. From the Marquis of Rockingham he received, in 1778, the Rectory of Worksop, county of Notts, and on the 8th of October, 1781, was advanced to this See, from whence he was translated to that of St. Asaph in 1789, being the first English Bishop thus removed to a Welsh bishoprick. He died on the 4th of March, 1790, at the age of fifty-seven, and was buried at Worksop. Bishop Hallifax published at various times fourteen sermons, lectures on civil law, and some theological works. His sermons at Bishop Warburton's lectures are much esteemed, and his Analysis of Bishop Butler's Apology (a book abstruse and metaphysical) annexed to the charge he published of that Bishop to his Clergy, displays eloquence of style and profundity of thinking⁴⁴.

⁴³ Gent's. Mag. for 1808, Pt. II. p. 856.

⁴⁴ Gents. Mag. for 1790, Pt. I. p. 281.

RICHARD BEADON, D. D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, succeeded. This Prelate was a native of Somersetshire, and educated at Tiverton school. In 1758 he stood high among the wranglers of his college for his degree, and was also a successful candidate for one of the prizes for the best dissertation in Latin prose. Having proceeded B. A. the same year, and A. M. in 1764, he became Fellow of St. John's College, and was appointed Orator of his University. The present Duke of Gloucester, when sent to Cambridge, was entrusted to the peculiar care of Dr. Beadon, who by his conduct secured the royal favour, and paved the way to his subsequent high promotion in the church. His preferments were the Rectories of Orset, and Stanford Rivers, in Essex, the Chancellorship of St. David's, the Archdeaconry of London, to which he was appointed in 1775, and the Mastership of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1781. The latter of these he surrendered on his advancement to this Bishoprick, on the 30th of May, 1789; and the former on his translation to Bath and Wells, in 1802. He died at Bath, on the 21st of April, 1824, and was removed to, and interred in the Cathedral Church of Wells on the 30th of the same month⁴⁵.

GEORGE ISAAC HUNTINGFORD, D. D. Warden of Winchester College, was consecrated Bishop of Gloucester on the 27th of June, 1802, and being translated to Hereford on the 23d of June, 1815, was succeeded by

The HON. HENRY RYDER, D. D. brother of the Earl of Harrowby, and Dean of Wells. His Lordship's first preferments were the livings of Lutterworth and Claybrook, in Leicestershire. In 1803 he was preferred to a Canonry of Windsor, exchanged in 1812 for the Deanery of Wells. In August, 1815, he was consecrated to this See, upon which he resigned his two livings, but retained his Deanery, *in commendam*. On his translation to the Bishoprick of Lichfield and Coventry, in 1824,

CHRISTOPHER BETHELL, D. D. formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, made Rector of Kirkby-Wiske in 1808, Dean of Chichester in 1814, was consecrated Bishop of this See April 11, 1824.

⁴⁵ Gents. Mag. 1824, Pt. I. p. 459.

Chap. XXX.

HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE ERECTION AND ALTERATION OF DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CHURCH, WITH DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNTS OF THE WHOLE EDIFICE, AND OF ITS COMPONENT MEMBERS, ELUCIDATED BY THE SEVERAL ENGRAVINGS ACCOMPANYING THIS ESSAY.

OF an antient edifice which has braved the inclemencies of many seasons, and the vicissitudes of many centuries, which exhibits several varieties of design and style in its architecture, and which also contains some features of singular and unique character, it is an object of laudable research to ascertain the times when, and persons by whom the different portions have been executed. In spite of all the zeal, diligence, and learning that have hitherto been exerted to elucidate this history, we are still in doubt, or ignorance on many points. The previous pages contain some facts respecting certain parts of the building, derived from an authority which seems quite satisfactory; but we seek in vain for evidence of the new erection, or alteration of several other parts of the Church, and its appendent members. Although it appears to have been the duty of certain registrars and chroniclers of the old monasteries to keep accounts of the various events, expenses, and domestic affairs belonging to each house, many of which have fortunately descended to our times; yet their records relating to buildings, and monuments, were either very scanty, or have been mostly destroyed. Few have hitherto been abstracted from their archives, and we therefore hail with more than common pleasure every incidental notice and detailed account which we meet with in travelling over a wide waste of barren country. From Abbot Froucester, whose collections have afforded us so much light in this mazy way, we have gleaned some material evidence, which may serve as so many land marks to guide us in our inquiries and deductions; these,

however, are only "few and far between," and leave many chasms to be filled up in completing a regular, consecutive narrative.

To the accounts of this Cathedral published by the Society of Antiquaries, and to those of other writers, it will be necessary to make reference, in order to profit by the researches and opinions of all, and thence endeavour to produce a rational and satisfactory history of the fabric. Aided by the accompanying graphic illustrations, it is hoped that this essay will be at once intelligible and interesting to all classes of readers; and whilst those who have not previously studied the subject may derive some degree of amusement from the various historical and biographical memoranda with which it is connected, the antiquary and the architect will alike feel much gratification in the elucidation of every fact, and in the display of every characteristic feature of such a noble edifice as that now under review.

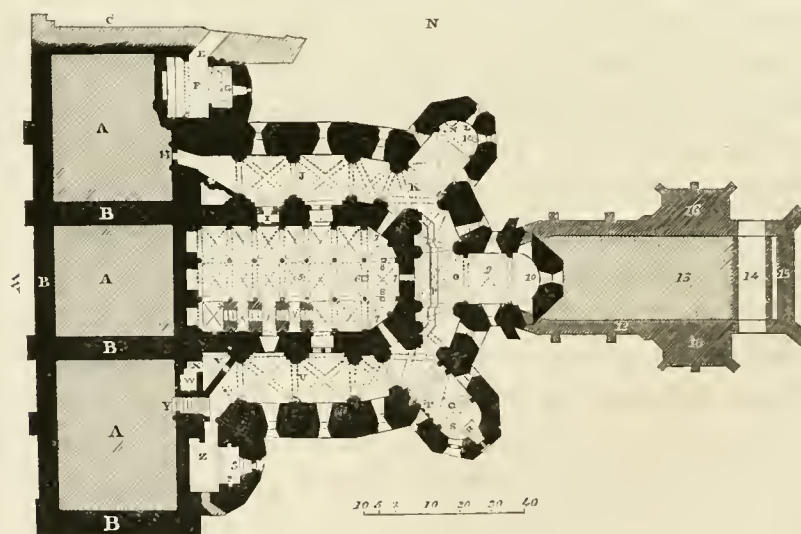
By reference to the annexed *Ground Plan*, the reader will readily perceive the general form, arrangement, and distribution of the Church, and of its appendant buildings. The former consists of a south porch, nave, and ailes; a north and south transept; a choir, with ailes, the latter of which are continued round the eastern, or altar end; a Lady Chapel, to the east; and some chapels branching off from the north-east and south-east ends of the ailes of the choir, and other chapels at the eastern side of the transept. To the north of the Church is a regular, perfect cloister, with some recesses at the north-west end, of rather unusual character. Branching off from the eastern walk of the cloister, is an oblong chapter house, between which and the north transept is a slyp, or long passage. At the south west angle of the cloister is another apartment, forming at present part of the Deanery, but which was formerly a portion of the Prior's dwelling. Such are the component parts of the edifice, which may be said to constitute the ground floor, and which are all indicated, both as to situation, proportion, and horizontal dimension, in the *Plan*. The substructure, or crypt, beneath the choir, its ailes and chapels, also the superstructure of walls, openings, roofs, and tower, with the respective characteristic features, styles, and varied decorations, will be displayed in the different engravings. By these, and such descriptive particulars as may seem requisite, it is hoped that we shall render the

elucidation of this Cathedral clear and intelligible to every reader. Instead of adopting the common-place routine of the ciceroni, or guide, we propose to commence with the oldest part of the edifice, and proceed to notice all its divisions, either according to the dates when they were respectively erected, or as they are indicated by the styles of the architecture. And here it may not be irrelevant to remark, that the Christian architects of the middle ages were prone to perpetual change and reform in the designs for their buildings. On this subject they seem to have indulged in a latitude of fancy, and either at certain epochs, or after a style, or species of building had continued in fashion a few years, they invented and adopted another, which was generally more ornamental than the former. It is however a very interesting and remarkable fact, that nearly all the ecclesiastical edifices of this country, which are of contemporaneous ages, are of a corresponding, or very similar style. From Durham, in the north, to Cornwall, in the west, and in the intermediate counties, a coincidence of system will be found to be very generally, if not always manifested. It is not easy to account for this uniformity in the architecture of churches, at places remote from each other, by any other clue than by considering that each new style originated at, or emanated from some convocation, or assembly of the monastic builders, or free-masons of each respective era. It would not be difficult to exemplify these remarks by reference to numerous buildings; but the discussion might be considered irrelevant in this place: and it is only thus incidentally introduced for the sake of justifying any opinion which may hereafter be given respecting the dates of such particular portions of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester as are not verified by record.

It may be fairly assumed of this, as of other old churches, that the most antient parts are its crypt and the essential walls: for one substantial foundation may have been employed to support many superstructures. In the crypt, or undercroft, we find a solidity of construction, and that quantity of masonic material, which seems destined to endure for ages; and we cannot doubt it to be the very oldest part of the building. As shewn by the annexed *plan of the crypt*, compared with the ground plan of the whole Church (both to the same scale), it is seen that the foundation wall, the divisions, within, the four lateral chapels, and the foundations of the tower

and transept, all correspond in position, arrangement, and forms; but there are differences in the relative thicknesses of the walls, and in their apertures for windows and doors. In the crypt there are two rows of small columns, extending from east to west, and intended to carry the vaulted roof, on which is laid the flooring of the choir. At the extreme east end is a semi-octagonal chantry chapel, nearly corresponding with two others at the north-east and south-east extremity of the apsis; but in the superstructure, or ground floor, this central chapel is of a different form, and extended to a much greater length: and by the previous narrative we learn that a new Lady Chapel was commenced by Abbot Henley, and completed by Abbot Farley, between the years 1457 and 1498. There can be little doubt that this end of the Church was originally finished with a semi-octagonal chapel, as in the crypt. Whilst the annexed engraving (PLATE XIII.) shews the forms of the central columns, arched roof, and effect of the middle division of the crypt, the plan displays both its open and solid parts. In pointing out the various divisions and peculiarities, by reference to the letters and figures on the latter, it is hoped that the reader will clearly understand the arrangement of this subterraneous portion of the edifice.

PLAN OF THE CRYPT.



ENGRAVED BY BRANSTON AND WRIGHT, FROM A DRAWING BY THE LATE J. CARTER.

A A A, ground beneath the transept and central tower, the foundation walls of which are marked black, at B B B. It may be concluded that the foundations, with their footings, are much wider than is intimated by this dark line, which shews the walls at the base of the windows. c, an arched passage, or avenue, commonly called *the slyp*, between the north transept and the chapter-house, and forming a covered way of communication from the cloister to some of the Monastic offices. e, entrance to a subterraneous chantry-chapel f, in which there was an altar at g. From the eastern side of the north transept was an entrance to the crypt at n, now closed up. i, a hole, or recess in the wall, calculated to puzzle the antiquary, as its original destination is not to be easily defined. If intended as a prison, it is appositely named *Purgatory*, for immurement in such a small, dismal cell, must have been a horrid and cruel punishment¹. j, north aisle, branching from which, at k, is a chantry chapel, with an altar at l, a piscina at m, and a bracket for a light at n. There are four loop-hole windows to this chapel. At o is an entrance to the eastern chantry-chapel, 9, the altar of which was at 10. p, lines shewing the form of the feretory, above. q, chantry, with altar at r, piscina at s, and ornamented arcade at t. The south aisle, u, with recesses, or closets v, w, and x; z, chantry, with piscina at 2, and altar at 3; entrance to the crypt from the south transept, y, a view of which is given in PLATE IX. At 4, 6, 8, is modern brickwork, intended to support and strengthen the vaulting. 5, central division, having six columns on each side, and seven arches. The foundations of the modern Lady Chapel, and its two lateral monumental chantries are pointed out by figures 12, 15, and 16, the ground beneath, 13, whilst an open arch-way is shewn at 14.

This fine, spacious, and interesting crypt indicates its Norman origin,

¹ This recess, or dark hole, as well as one at w, and another at f, have all been named *prisons*, or cells for confinement; but it is not likely that there ever were so many places of this description in *one* Monastery. The apartment at f was doubtless a chantry chapel, as there are remains of its altar, piscina, &c.; besides, the Abbey prison was generally part of the lodge, or dwelling of the Master of the Infirmary, who had charge of prisoners. [See Fosbrooke's *Brit. Monachism*. 4to. 355]. The same author thinks that the Abbey prison at Gloucester was beneath the Infirmary, and that it may be seen in a cellar of one of the prebendal houses.

by the resemblance it bears to some ancient crypts beneath churches in Normandy; and we may safely refer its design and erection to Serlo, who was advanced to this Abbey by the Anglo-Norman Monarch, William I. and who it may be supposed had witnessed the construction of some noble churches in his own country². In the same style of architecture, and most likely of coeval design, is the original part of the choir, with its ailes, triforia, and lateral chantry-chapels.

The Abbey Chronicle states, that "Aldred built the Church anew, from the foundation, in 1058;" and the same document also records, that in 1089 the first stone of a new edifice was laid by Robert, Bishop of Hereford, by the procuration of Serlo³. The author of the account published by the Society of Antiquaries, considers that the crypt, and the immediate superstructure, are remains of Aldred's Church, "finished and consecrated in 1058." Mr. King, in "*Munimenta Antiqua*" (iv. 144), contends that the crypt, and even the nave, are of Osric's original foundation, and that neither Aldred nor Serlo had any share in the work. Such opinion however is scarcely entitled to comment, for it is so completely at variance with the Monastic Chroniclers, and with the evidence of styles, that we cannot dwell on it for a moment, or place any confidence in a writer so hypothetical. Mr. Fosbrooke seems inclined to refer the commencement of the Church to Aldred, and the continuance to Serlo: but it is not easy to ascertain his sentiments clearly, for he mixes up his own remarks so much with extracts from the MSS. of Froucester and Furney, and the published accounts of the Society of Antiquaries, Carter, Dallaway, &c. that the reader cannot but be perplexed in the labyrinth thus made. It is certainly of consequence in the

² See "*Architectural Antiquities of Normandy*," for Plans of the Churches of Bayeaux, and St. Ouen at Rouen, where there are three chapels at the east end, similarly arranged to those in the crypt at Gloucester.

³ "Anno Dñi 1058 . . . ipse Aldredus *Ecclesiam illam a fundamentis construxit de Novo*." Again, "hoc anno (1089) *Glouc. ecclesiæ locata sunt fundamenta . . . Roberto Herefordensis Episcopo. primum lapidem in eo ponente, agente Serlone Abbate*." We further learn from the Chronicle, that in 1100 Samson, Bishop of Worcester, dedicated the Church at Gloucester, which Abbot Serlo had "*built from the foundation*:" and this statement is confirmed by Florence of Worcester.

history of architecture, to decide whether the oldest part of the Church be really of Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman origin: but authentic evidence is wanting to demonstrate the fact. By referring to page 7, we find that in the year preceding Serlo's foundation, a fire had burnt, or considerably injured the Abbey: and although it is therefore possible (as conjectured by some writers), that the nave and superstructure of the crypt were reconstructed by Serlo, upon the original foundation of Aldred; yet from analogy, and from the terms in which the Chroniclers speak of the fact, it is more probable that Serlo commenced the work from the foundation.

Before we proceed to notice the dates of other parts of the building, it will be advisable to point out the different divisions and members of the Church by reference to the ground plan.

The Ground Plan, PLATE I. By this delineation the whole arrangement, subdivisions, forms, extent, and peculiarities of the Church, as seen on a ground plane, are indicated: and it may tend to facilitate the clearer understanding of the whole, to point out, in the next place, the names and positions of the several parts. The *interior* area consists of a nave, v., and two aisles, vi.; a choir, x; south transept, xi.; north transept, xii.; chantry-chapels, xv. xvi. xix. and xx.; an aisle, surrounding the choir, xviii.; the Lady Chapel, xxiii., having two chantry-chapels, xxiv. and xxiv. The exterior appendages, but forming covered apartments, are the south porch, iii.; the cloister, xxxiii.; chapter-room, xxix; slyp⁴, or vaulted passage, xxviii. Other references in the Ground Plan point out, the principal western door-way, i.; the lateral door-way, ii.; staircase to triforia and roofs, iv.; entrances from the nave to the cloister, vii. and viii.; organ-screen, ix.; staircases to galleries and triforia, xiii. A place, sometimes called the treasury, and by some writers a reliquary, and a confessional, xiv.; the chantry-chapel of St. Andrew, xv.; another chantry-chapel, now used as the Minor Canons' vestry, xvi. Beneath the great window of the

⁴ In Mr. Carter's Plan this passage is represented at thirteen feet distance from the wall of the north transept, whereas it abuts against that wall. He seems to have been led into this error by shewing the ground plan and first story, both on the ground plane. It is a very singular mistake.

south transept is a door-way, now closed up, commonly called the Pilgrims' Entrance, xvii. On the right hand of the altar are stone seats, with canopies, &c. for the officiating priests, xxi: the altar-screen, executed from a design by Mr. Smirke, xxii.; staircases to apartments over the chantry chapels, xxv. On the south side of the altar, in the Lady Chapel, are stone seats for the priests officiating at that altar, xxv. At the south-east corner of the chapter-room is a staircase to the college school-room, formerly the monastic library, xxvii.; and at the south-west angle is another staircase, now blocked up, xxxi. At xxx. is a door-way with semicircular arch; and at xxxii. a window of corresponding style, to the chapter-room: vaulted passage to little cloister, xxxiv.: lavatory, xxxv. Recess, strangely called the Sudatory, xxxvi.; at xxxvii. is an entrance door-way from the Deanery. Of these different portions and members of the Church it may be remarked, that the columns, ailes, and chantry chapels of the choir, are the oldest in date; then the chapter-room and slyp, the nave next, afterwards the south and north transept, the west end and porch next, the choir afterwards, and lastly the cloister and the Lady Chapel.

In considering the peculiarities of the plan of the Church, we observe that the transepts are short, without any aile or buttresses at the angles, but with two chantry-chapels, diverging from, and communicating with their eastern sides. The choir occupies the whole area under the tower, and with its organ-screen extends to the first column in the nave; its eastern end, as well as its continued aile, take a semicircular, or rather an elliptical sweep, branching out from which are two chantry-chapels, and also a Lady Chapel, of singular design in its plan: it is considerably narrower at the entrance than at the eastern extremity, and that entrance forms a sort of vestibule, or porch. Near the east end are projections on each side in the manner of a transept, formed by two chantry-chapels, which are separated from the principal chapel by open screens. On the north side of the Church is a long passage, or slyp, which formerly communicated at one end with the cloister, and at the other end to part of the monastic offices: there were also door-ways to a crypt, or subterraneous chantry chapel below, and to the library, &c. above. From the cloister there were other openings to the

little cloister, at the north-east angle; to the refectory at the north-west, and to the Abbot's dwelling on the west side.

The CHAPTER-HOUSE, or ROOM, as marked by the Plan, assumes the parallelogramatical form, and is of large dimensions. Its oldest part, is said by some writers, to be Aldred's work, and anterior to the buildings of Serlo: but there is nothing in style or peculiarity of architecture to justify this opinion. The column, archivolt moulding, shape of the arch, and masonry, so nearly resemble the corresponding members in the crypt and Church, that we should not be safe in assigning them to different architects and distinct eras. The claustral buildings, as laid down in the Plan, are on the northern side of the Church; whereas the cloister, chapter-house, and other abbatial buildings were generally placed to the south of the Church. At Lincoln, Lichfield, York, Canterbury, and Southwell, they were on the north side. It is strangely stated by some of the writers on Gloucester Abbey, that those appendages were originally to the south of the Church; but that Aldred laid the foundation of his Church on a new site, to the south of the former, and thus left the cloister, and its appendages to the north.

It is related in Dugdale's Baronage, that Walter de Lacy, who died in 1085, was buried in the chapter-house; and hence it is inferred that the present room was completed before Serlo commenced his Church. But this is fallacious reasoning: for there might have been an *old* chapter-room at that time, either on the site of the present, or even in some other situation.

In the older parts of the NAVE we perceive considerable variations from the preceding, and may therefore reasonably consider them to have been of a different age. In the account by the Society of Antiquaries, this part is said to have been the last of Abbot Serlo's works. It is further recorded, that the vaulted ceiling was completed in 1242, during the Abbacy of Foliot. According to the Abbey Chronicle this work was not effected in the usual manner by common labourers, but by the personal exertions of the Monks⁵.

⁵ Manual labour was not unfrequent among the Monks of this period. More than eighty Monks were employed at one time in building the Church of St. Galgano, near Sienna, which was finished in 1268. Della Valle, Lettere Senesi, v. ii. p. 18. The Church of St. Mary at Dunes

The *southern transept*, called in the Chronicle the aile of St. Andrew, though said to have been built in 1163, has been so much altered that very few of its original architectural members are now remaining. Mr. Fosbrooke says, that on examining the Church in 1796 he saw an inscription on the exterior wall of the transept, with the name of William Pipard, who was Sheriff of the county in the year above named. The lower part of the walls, with the buttresses, pedimental arcades, and other members, are indicative of that date: but the windows and principal ornaments are of much later workmanship.

The *south aile of the nave*, of a totally different character to any other part of the Church, was built, according to Froucester, by Abbot Thokey, between 1307 and 1329, "at a great and sumptuous expense." Its windows, buttresses, parapet, &c. are peculiar in form, ornaments, and style. (See PLATES IV. and VIII.) Windows of similar design are to be seen in the Churches of Leominster, and Ledbury in Herefordshire, and in the Mayor's Chapel at Bristol, but I do not know of any similar buttresses.

The erection of the elegant and truly splendid *Monument for Edward II.* about 1334, brought a new class of artists to the Church; and the fame it acquired, and the riches it produced, occasioned the Abbot and Monks to direct their attention and funds to adorn and beautify their sacred edifice. A complete revolution of style and character was made in the whole of the choir: which, in the true Norman manner, had been previously plain, simple, and unadorned; but which was now rendered elaborate in its architectural and sculptural embellishments. (Vide p. 20).

Abbot Horton, who governed from 1351 to 1377, erected the *high altar*, finished the *presbytery*, and the *stalls* on the Abbot's side of the choir, and in 1372, completed St. Paul's aile, which had been commenced in the year 1367. (Vide page 23.) He appears to have expended on the latter 781*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.*, of which 444*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.* were paid by himself⁶. The cloister

(according to Felibien), was entirely rebuilt at the beginning of the thirteenth century by the members of the Monastery, some of whom made the designs, whilst others executed the masonry, sculpture, &c.

⁶ For this fact the chronicler refers to the *rolls of the work*, which are unfortunately lost.

was begun by this Abbot, who is supposed to have constructed the whole of the south walk, and parts of the west and east sides.

Between 1381 and 1412, Walter Froucester completed the *cloister*, from the door of the chapter-house to the northern extremity.

Abbot Morwent, between 1420 and 1437, built the *west front*, with two arches and pillars at the end of the nave, and the fine *southern porch*.

Abbot Seabrooke pulled down the old tower, and commenced the present splendid *tower*, about 1454, which was completed by Tully, a monk of the house.

Between 1457 and 1472 Abbot Henley began the *Lady Chapel*, which was finished by Farley, his successor, before 1498.

Abbot Malverne, about 1500, built a *vestry* at the end of the north transept, and also a *monumental chapel*, for his own interment.

Having pointed out such dates of such parts of the Church as have been preserved by the chroniclers and historians, I proceed to notice the features delineated in the accompanying prints: first, adverting to the exterior, and secondly, to the interior. The Ground Plan shews the arrangement of the walls, and the buttresses at the west end, on the south side of the choir aisle, and to the Lady Chapel. It will be observed that there are no such props or stays to the transept, or to the choir. PLATES II. IV. V. VI. and XVIII. display the general features and architectural members of the exterior of the Church, as seen in perspective. Geometrical representations of a division of the nave and of the south aisle, are given in PLATE VIII.; and the western side of the north transept is shewn in PLATE XVI. The *western front*, PLATE II., exhibits a singular design, and some beautiful members. Formerly there were two towers at this end of the Church, as at Southwell, Rippon, York, &c.; but Abbot Morwent took them down, and made an entirely new composition for the present façade. This is certainly unlike the corresponding front of any Cathedral in England; and though it cannot compete with the splendid elevations of York, Peterborough, or Wells, it far surpasses many of the other Cathedrals. The pierced parapets over the door-way, and at the summit, with the open buttresses to the great window, are evidences of fanciful design, whilst the two clustered pinnacles, at the

angles, constitute elegant and tasteful ornaments. The horizontal line of the parapet, coming before, and concealing the gable end of the roof, is very uncommon; and by carrying the outer moulding of the window through this work, and terminating it with enriched crockets and a finial, the artist has evinced his taste. We cannot however compliment him on the style, or modes of finishing the two door-ways. At the northern angle of this front is a small part of the old Priory, wherein we perceive specimens of the later circular, and first pointed styles, combined; and which, according to the opinion of the writer of "the Account," published by the Society of Antiquaries, "abundantly disprove the system of those who would derive the pointed style of the thirteenth century from a Saracenic source."

In the *southern porch* we see another and finer specimen of the architectural style of Abbot Morwent's time. Its whole exterior design, form, character, and ornamental dressings are expressed in the accompanying engraving, PLATE IV. The pinnacles at the angles resemble those of the great tower, whilst the parapet and ogee arched rib, the pannelled dressing over the door-way, and the form and the ornaments of the latter, all partake of the same style as the west front. On each side of this door-way are empty niches, and six others, with pedestals and canopies, adorn the second story of the porch. In the spandrels of the door-way are shields with armorial bearings, which formerly corresponded with those at the west end, viz. the arms of France and England, and those of the Abbey. It will be seen by reference to the Plate now under notice, that the western division in the clerestory is wider than that next to the east, that there are three instead of two embrasures in the parapet,—that the pinnacles and attached buttresses differ in form and character, and that the window is of another design. The third buttress, from the west end, indicates its original Norman character, being a sort of pilaster, with indented zigzag at the angles. A perspective view of one of the fine and highly ornamented buttresses, and one of the windows of Thokey's building, about 1320, are shewn in this Print. An elevation of two of these buttresses and a window, with the clerestory window, and flat buttresses, are given to a larger scale, and in geometrical proportions, in PLATE VIII. Others of these buttresses and

windows, with two in the clerestory, are represented in PLATE V., which also displays the magnificent tower, the flying and incorporated abutments by which it is strengthened, the exterior design and styles of the south transept, and part of the east end, in the distance. This transept, like part of the Priory already referred to, exhibits a mixture of the later circular, and first pointed styles: the buttresses, interlaced, and semi-circular arches, with zigzag mouldings being so many examples of the former, whilst the pinnacles, windows, and parapets display different and later ages of workmanship. By referring to PLATE XVIII. the reader will readily understand the whole design, and combined members of the west end, south porch, lower range of aile, and upper tier of clerestory buttresses, the projection and extent of the south transept, and the highly adorned bell-tower.

A splendid and highly interesting view of the exterior of the Church is obtained from a garden belonging to one of the prebendal houses, on the north side of the edifice. The various parts there grouped together, and displayed to the admiring eye, are shewn in PLATE VI. Here the tower rises pyramidically from an irregular, but highly adorned series of steps, forming a graduated base. The lowest member, or portion, is the east end of the chapter-house with its large window; next, the end of the monastic library, now the college school-room; then one of the semi-octagonal chapels, at the north-east angle of the choir; to the right of, and beyond which, is the northern transept: to the left, and coming before the tower, is the choir, the eastern end and spacious window of which are profusely ornamented. The Lady Chapel, with one of its lateral chantries, forms the other termination.

The north-western part of the Church is only to be viewed from the central area of the cloister, which is used as a kitchen garden, to the Deanery⁷.

Internally the Cathedral presents a great variety of features and details of antiquarian interest, of architectural beauty and merit, and of sculptural excellence. These will be noticed in alluding to the accompanying Prints,

⁷ When the peculiar beauty and unique character of the Gloucester cloister are taken into consideration, I cannot help regretting that its court should be thus appropriated. By the soil and vegetable substances being placed against the walls, their stability is much injured, the floor is rendered damp, and other injurious effects are produced. A gardener pays less regard to old stones, however exquisitely sculptured, than to roots, fruits, and flowers.

and in referring to the parts of the edifice they profess to represent. The NAVE, as already noticed, exhibits some singularities in design. Its columns, sixteen in number, are large cylinders, very tall, and of equal diameter from base to the capital, whilst its arches are small, semicircular, and ornamented with the billet and projecting zigzag ornaments. PLATES VII. and VIII. shew the architecture, both geometrically and perspectively. Separating the nave from the choir is a stone *organ-screen*, delineated in PLATE VII., and already noticed as having been executed from the designs, and under the direction, of the Rev. Dr. Griffith. The opposite end of the nave, with the large window of the western front, is displayed in PLATE III. The ends of the aisles, sections of the vaulted roofs, designs of the windows, one compartment of the cloister, and a section of the southern porch, are also delineated on this Plate. In PLATES IX. and XVI. D, the architectural character of the *southern transept* is displayed, by which it is seen that the side walls are covered with several ribs, or mullions, extending from the base to the springing of the vaulted roof. Some of these constitute the divisions in the windows of the clerestory, also a sort of screen before the triforium gallery. The approach to this gallery is by a staircase in the south-east angle of the transept, through a gallery in the wall under the great window (shewn in the section). The two door-ways, represented in PLATE IX., are of very uncommon design, if not peculiar to this Church. I have never seen one of the same form and ornament in any other building. Through one of these is the approach to the aisle of the choir, to the presbytery, &c. and through the other is the descent to the crypt.

The *north transept* is represented in PLATES XII. and XIX., the former being a view looking north-east, shewing a closet, or inclosing screen of singular design, and of doubtful application: one of the chantry chapels, branching out of the transept, with its rich altar-screen, and an open gallery, beneath the great north window, which forms a passage of communication from the stairs to the triforium of the choir. Much conjecture has been exercised respecting the original purpose of the small apartment at the northern extremity of this transept; the architectural style and decoration of which are delineated in the print now referred to. Judging by the column, arch, and ornaments, we may safely refer it to the very commence-

ment of the thirteenth century, about the time when Henry III. was crowned with great pomp in the Abbey Church; and Helias the sacrist commenced building a tower in 1222: upon one of those occasions, and for some peculiar purpose this closet was probably erected. It has been called a reliquary, a treasury, and a confessional. Though it is difficult to give it an unobjectionable name, we may safely say it was neither a chantry nor a sacristy. PLATE XIX. represents a portion of this northern transept, also a flank of the organ-screen, a screen inclosing the choristers' vestry, the back of a gallery in the choir, and the enriched tracery vaulting under the great tower. The detached or flying buttress ribs, here represented, are singular specimens of construction and of ornament. Perhaps they are unique. Up to the point of their springing the piers seem to be of Norman construction, as indicated by the double cylindrical mouldings; but the archivolt, and tracery above, are all portions of the new tower. In the centre of the vaulting is a circular aperture, called the *Star-hole*⁸.

The *Choir* is represented in PLATES X. XI. and XVII. the first delineating the general arrangement and style of the whole, with its east window, stalls, pulpit, throne, seats, &c.; whilst the second shews three compartments on the north side, near the east end, with three monuments under the arches, the style of windows, tracery before the walls, of the vaulted roof, &c. The forms of the original Norman arches, both to the aisles and to the triforium,

⁸ This has much difference of opinion respecting the diameter of this aperture, and that of the great bell: it being generally asserted that the latter is greater than the former, and consequently could never have passed through this hole. Mr. Fosbrooke asserts that the great bell must have been raised before the vaulting was finished, as "the hole is smaller than the great bell." (History, p. 258-9). The Rev. Mr. Bishop and Mr. Brayley examined and measured the two in the autumn of 1827, with so much care and accuracy that we may now speak with certainty on the subject. The hole above the door-ledge is five feet nine inches from north to south, and five feet ten inches from east to west, whilst the extreme diameter of the great bell is five feet eight inches and a half. The height of the bell is four feet nine inches, and its weight about three tons and a quarter. It is suspended in a room measuring thirty-two feet eleven inches by thirty-three feet two inches, whilst the belfry above, containing a peal of eight bells, measures thirty-six feet two inches by thirty-five feet seven inches. The space between the walls, on the leads, measures forty feet, by forty feet three inches. Mr. Dallaway says, "the inscription on the great bell has been strangely mistaken: it is—'ME FECIT FIERI MONCHATUS NOMINE PETRI—the Monastery caused me to be made.'" Others read it MUNCUTUS.

are still preserved, but faced with new mouldings; and the whole surface of the walls and columns has been cased with corresponding works. The monuments shewn in PLATE XI. are for William Malvern, or Parker, A; Edward II., B; and Osric, C. The choir is fitted up with thirty-one stalls of tabernacle work, carved in oak, with a pulpit, bishop's throne, and seats for the minor canons, chantry boys, and for other persons who attend the Cathedral service. Beneath the seats are various specimens of grotesque carving: one represents two knights playing at dice, another a knight running at a tilt, a third a forester killing a stag, and a fourth a knight cutting off the head of a giant. On the south side of the altar are four subsellia, or stalls for the officiating priests. The presbytery is raised above the choir by four steps at the eastern end of the stalls, and the floor of the altar is raised three steps, higher. A new altar-screen has been erected from the designs of Mr. Smirke, in the place of an older work, which Mr. Fosbrooke states was painted in fresco. That altar-piece was taken to the old church at Cheltenham. Mr. Carter says that an antient and very fine altar-screen was inclosed and obscured by the other, and that it most probably was adorned by the very curious *old painting*, which is now deposited in the triforium of the choir. As a specimen of the execution and design of monastic artists this picture is interesting, and should be guarded against further injury. The Account by the Society of Antiquaries recognises it as "a large and sumptuous picture, in a high state of preservation, and painted in the style of the fifteenth century." Mr. Connel of Gloucester, in a letter to Mr. Fosbrooke, states that it was executed "by an Italian in England, from a label being in the Italian language. It is painted on a golden or yellow ground; is in two separate parts, or folding doors, joined in the middle (about ten feet by seven). That part of the picture which represents the new Jerusalem has Grecian columns, supporting circular arches, and surmounted with perforated battlements. Some of the angels are represented singing from a score, and others are playing from different instruments, particularly viols and lutes." This picture, like many of the designs in the Dutch, Flemish, and French missals of the beginning of the sixteenth century, represents the day of judgment, where the spirits of the blessed

and of the cursed are doomed to enter their final abodes of eternal bliss or misery. The Deity presides, St. Peter is placed with his keys, and groups of angels are painted to indicate the heavens, whilst monstrous forms, with a beastly mouth, flames, &c. are intended to typify hell.

A narrow passage, behind and below the glazing of the fine eastern window, and forming a corridor between the northern and southern triforium, is called *the whispering gallery*. It is about seventy-five feet long, three wide, and eight feet high, and has the property of transmitting sound along its walls in a powerful and apparently mysterious manner. "The lowest whisper of the mouth, if placed close to the wall, the slightest scratch with a pin on the stone, is distinctly heard from one end of the gallery to the other." This place, like the whispering gallery of St. Paul's, the echo on Westminster Bridge, and many similar phenomena in ancient works of art and situations of nature, does not require supernatural powers to explain: nor were there any magical arts used in their original formation or contrivance. All may be accounted for on the principles of acoustics.

Of the large, and once splendid *East Window*, the full design is made out and illustrated in PLATE XVII., which also shews Mr. Smirke's screen, the transverse section of the crypt with its ailes, the triforium and its vaulted roof, the arched vaulting over the choir, the open parapet to the eastern gable, with the turrets at the angles.

The *Lady Chapel*, at the eastern extremity of the building, must have been originally an elegant apartment, but its glories and beauties are faded, though its form, extent, and style of decoration may be understood. "In style it very nearly resembles the choir, both in its beauties and defects. Extreme ingenuity is displayed in the union of the chapel with the church. The light of the great east window is scarcely at all obscured by the building, though so close to it; and the line of junction, which is one of its transverse mullions, is almost imperceptible from within the choir." A view of the east end, with one compartment on the south side, having a large and lofty window, and stone seats beneath, is given in PLATE XX.

Some idea of the style and decoration of the *Cloister* may be formed by examining PLATE XIV., which exhibits the northern walk, as seen at the

western end. Its embowed and fan-tracery roof cannot fail of exciting the admiration of every spectator. On the right-hand side of this view is a recess for the lavatory, where the stone trough still remains; and on the opposite side is another recess in the wall, with groined and ornamented ceiling, for the towels. (Vide the plan, PLATE I., and a plan of part of the cloister, more at large, PLATE XXI.) According to the statement by the Society of Antiquaries, this cloister "is acknowledged to be the most elegant and perfect in England. The proportions are extremely beautiful, and the ornaments superb. In the south walk are the remains of antient *carols*; which were small recesses, to which the religious retired to study, each having a small opening to admit light."

Branching from the eastern walk of the cloister is the *Chapter-room*, or *house*, of which I regret that we have no correct representation. Though I was desirous, and directed the artists I employed at Gloucester, to make a view of the interior, and of the entrance door-way, I could not prevail on them to provide me a satisfactory representation of either. This is named merely to vindicate the author from reproach on this head. The entrance door-way has a semicircular arch, adorned with bold zigzags, and three small columns on each side. As shewn in the Ground Plan, the room is of a parallelogramatical shape, is very lofty, and its inner ceiling is arched. On each side is a stone seat, above which is a series of small columns attached to the wall, supporting archivolt mouldings. The eastern end is ornamented with tracery mouldings both on the wall and in the roof; there are also some niches with canopies, and a large window. As far back as 1648 this fine room was converted into a *library* by some of the parliamentary officers, when part of the cloister was fitted up as a stable. In 1656 the library was settled on the Mayor and Burgesses. In 1826 and 1827 the Dean and Chapter very properly had it again fitted up with care and skill, for the preservation of their present library; and it is gratifying to know that it is placed in the custody of one so well qualified to guard its stability and pristine beauty, as the present very amiable and estimable librarian.

Chap. XV.

AN ACCOUNT OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS AND INTERMENTS OF EMINENT PERSONS, WITHIN THE WALLS OF THE CHURCH.

THE preceding pages contain notices of the interment of several royal and distinguished personages within the consecrated precincts of Gloucester Cathedral. It will be expedient in this place to point out more precisely their places of sepulture, and to give some account of the tombs, and effigies, raised to the respective memories of them, and to such other persons as may be entitled to historical record, or who, from station or from worthy deeds, deserve the praise or gratitude of posterity. An attempt to appropriate antient monuments to their legitimate owners is a task of no small difficulty; for there are few tombs, of a remote date, which remain in their pristine stations, or that are unmutilated or unaltered. The present Cathedral, like nearly all others in this country, has undergone various changes at different times: and on those occasions we may fairly conclude that every innovator on, or improver of, the old works (and we find that every new generation has been a reformer of the preceding), would either transfer or destroy such monuments as interfered with the intended symmetrical arrangement of the new architecture. This fact is exemplified in reference to the Choir of the present Church, as the monument of Curtoise, or Curthose, was removed from that place: and the effigies ascribed to Osric, the founder, and to Aldred, have also undergone changes of situation. Other removals we may conclude have been made, for it is recorded, that several Abbots were interred within the more sacred enclosure of this part of the edifice.

In adverting to, or describing these sepulchral memorials, it will be in accordance with the system adopted in this volume, to notice them rather in chronological order, than from position or classes of subjects; and the

relative situations of the more antient tombs will be pointed out by figures on the engraved Ground Plan.

Oldest, in reference to person, though not in execution, is the monument commemorative of OSRIC, the Viceroy of Ethelred, seventh King of Mercia, who, according to the inscription given in a preceding page (4), founded this Abbey¹. Placed on the north side of the high altar (5, in Ground Plan), is an altar tomb, supporting an effigy, and covered by an ornamental canopy, or tester. The figure (shewn in PLATE XXII. fig. 1), is sculptured in stone, and intended to represent a king, by the crown on its head, a sceptre in the right hand, and a model of a church in the left: the latter of which was meant to indicate his claim to the honour of being the founder. Although Osric's monument has been inadvertently referred to the eighth century, we may more safely ascribe its execution to the time when the choir was newly made. Mr. Rudge says, that "the effigy is certainly of older date than the tomb on which it is laid, and the obtuse arch, together with the arms of Parker and the Abbey, joined to those of the Northumbrians, plainly refer the cenotaph to the reign of Henry VIII. This was agreeable to the practice of other Abbeys, where monuments of this kind were raised to the honour of their Saxon founders, in the later ages of the monasteries, as an expression of gratitude²."

¹ It is no easy task to reconcile and explain the contradictory and discordant statements of chroniclers and modern writers, respecting the events and personages of so remote a time as that of Osric's reign. In the Abbey Chronicle he is styled the Viceroy of Mercia, under King Ethelred (see antea, p. 3); and in the Preface to "Simon of Durham," in the "Decem Scriptores," he is called the son of Aldfrid, King of Northumberland. It appears from William of Malmesbury, "De Gestis Regum Anglorum," printed in the "Scriptores post Bedem," ed. 1601, p. 27, that Kyneburga, who is said to have been the first Abbess, was the sister of the two Mercian kings, Wulphere and Ethelred, and that she married Aldfrid. This connection probably occasioned the influence which Osric appears to have had in the Mercian kingdom, and shows that, although he was nearly related to Kyneburga, he could not have been her brother: had this been the case, the antient historians would certainly have noticed it, but they have no allusion to such connection: and we find by the Saxon Chronicle (Ingram, p. 65), that Osric, King of Northumbria (to which throne he succeeded in 718), died in the year 729, the very date assigned by the Abbey Chronicle.

² History of Gloucester, &c. p. 166. Following the Abbey Chronicle, it has been inadvertently stated (p. 4), that *Kyneburga*, the first Abbess, was buried near her brother Osric,

The Saxon Chronicle (Ingram, p. 135), states, that the body of ELFRIDA, or ETHELFLEDA, daughter of Alfred, and Queen of the Mercians, was interred in the *east porch* of St. Peter's Church, at Gloucester; and William of Malmesbury, repeats the statement, but seems to confound this Monastery with that of St. Oswald, in the same town. He says, that Ethelfleda was "a woman with an enlarged soul,—the delight of her brother's subjects, and the dread of his enemies." In conjunction with her husband, Ethelred, "she had erected the Monastery of St. Peter with great solicitude³." It is more likely that this alludes to St. Oswald's Priory; to which the canonized relics of Oswald were conveyed by Ethelred, and his queen. (See note antea, p. 6.) It is not easy to know what is meant by the *east porch*: for such an appendage to that end of a Church is very uncommon, if not wholly unknown.

ABBOT WULSTAN, as stated by Furney, was buried under a yew tree in the area of the cloister: but as he died on a pilgrimage, in a distant land, and in disgrace, it is not probable that they should have brought his remains to this place for sepulture.

According to Leland⁴ the following persons were interred in the chapter-house, where inscriptions were remaining for them in his time. ROGER, EARL OF HEREFORD; RICHARD STRONGBOW, son of Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke; WALTER DE LACY (who was accidentally killed in 1085, by a fall from the battlements of St. Peter's Church, at Hereford, which he had just finished, and stated by Dugdale to have been "buried in the Chapter-house at Gloucester, in the time of Abbot Serlo;") PHILIP DE FOYE, Knight; BERNARD DE NEWMARCH (De Novo-mercato); PAIN DE CHAWORTH (Paganus de Cadurcis); and ADAM DE CHAWORTH. Most of these noblemen were distinguished characters in their respective times: Roger, Earl of Hereford, Bernard de Newmarch, and Walter de Lacy, were contemporary with the Conqueror; Richard Strongbow died in the twelfth century; Pain and Adam de Chaworth, (whose ancestors had been liberal benefactors to the

who died nineteen years after his sister. On a further investigation we find that she was first interred at Castor, near Peterborough, and afterwards removed to the Monastery of the latter town. See Saxon Chron. (Ingram, p. 157). The place of Osric's sepulture is doubtful.

³ Hist. of the Kings of Eng. (Sharpe), p. 142.

⁴ Itinerary, iv. 77.

Abbey,) in the thirteenth century. Of Philip de Foye nothing appears in history, but he probably received his name from *Foy*, a place on the banks of the Wye, near Ross, in which neighbourhood the Abbey had possessions. Mr. Rudge conjectures that the grave-stones are concealed under the wooden floor of the chapter-house; and this opinion is confirmed by the discovery of a piece of stone, bearing the letters . . . *e Cadurcis*, on removing a part of the floor in the year 1827⁵.

A singular shelf, or *bracket monument*, sustaining an effigy, generally ascribed to *Aldred*, Archbishop of York, who died in 1069 (see *antea*, p. 6), is attached to the stone screen on the south side of the choir; (8, in Ground Plan). According to Leland, SERLO, who died in 1104, was "buried under a fair marble tomb, on the south side of the presbytery⁶;" as Aldred was not interred at Gloucester, and the situation of the monument corresponds with Leland's description, it may therefore be fairly attributed to Abbot Serlo. The monument is shewn in the title-page to this volume, and is strangely described by Mr. Gough, as "a beautiful and singular *altar tomb*, arching forward, on pillars⁷." The figure resembles that of Osric, and is habited in a long robe, or tunic, holding in one hand part of a pastoral staff, and in the other, the model of a church, probably in allusion to Serlo's having refounded the Church.

⁵ Mr. Dallaway, in "The Heraldic Inquiries," has given an etching of the following arms, on glazed tiles, in the Chapter-house; and says they are, "1st. Lozenge:—In the centre, 1. Ermine, a cinquefoil sable, Seabrooke: 2. Henry VII.: 3. England: 4. Abbey of Gloucester: 5. Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. 3rd. Lozenge:—Talbot quartering Furnivall, impaling Beauchamp, quartering De Newburg: for John Talbot the second Earl of Shrewsbury, and Margaret, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. The square tiles contain the arms of Abbots. 1. A leopard's head, jessant de lys: Abbot Braunch: 2. Beauchamp impaling Hastings, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury: 3. Three covered cups, Abbot Boulars, or Boteler: 4. Tracy: 5. Brydges: 6. A chevron between three cross-crosslets fitchè, Abbot Farleigh. The Abbey had a manufactory of these tiles, which were prepared for the kiln by the more ingenious Monks: and specimens of them are to be seen in several Churches, dependent on this house.

⁶ Itin. iv. 77. The same author mentions the finding of a bull's hide, containing a body, supposed to have been that of the *Countess of Pembroke*, wife of Richard Strongbow. It lay at the head of Edward the Second's tomb, under an arch, where Malvern, alias Parker, made a chantry chapel to be buried in. Ibid. viii. 33.

⁷ Sepulch. Mon. vol. i. part i. p. xc.

An altar tomb (4, in the Ground Plan), sustains an effigy of ROBERT CURTHOSE, eldest son of William the Conqueror, and Duke of Normandy, who died the 10th of February, 1134, and was originally interred before the high altar. (See antea, p. 10). Although the effigy is supposed, by Leland, to have been executed long after the death of that prince⁸, yet Mr. Gough is of opinion that it is one of the most genuine of the twelfth century⁹: and the supposition is strengthened by the singularity of its execution and the material of which it is made. It is "carved to the life in heart of oak," as Sandford states, and the tomb which supports it is also of wood, "in the form of a chest." The figure is now covered by a wire grating (which was added by Sir Humphry Tracy, of Stanway), who, when the Parliamentary soldiers, under Cromwell, agreeably to the overheated and extravagant zeal of the times, tore it to pieces, bought the fragments, and, after the Restoration, caused them to be repieced, and placed in their present situation¹⁰. The head of the figure is represented with a coronet of pearls, fleurs de lis, and strawberry leaves, ranged alternately; the body, covered by a hauberk and gorget of chain mail, over which is thrown an embroidered surcoat, having depicted on the breast three lions passant gardant (probably painted at the Restoration). The right hand crosses the body, and rests upon the hilt of a sword. The legs are crossed, (Robert having been a leader in the first Crusade, in 1096), and the chausses in which they are encased scarcely reach the knees: it is not improbable that the prince obtained the appellation of Curt-hose (short hose), from this part of his habit.

In 1168 the body of a *Christian boy*, said to have been martyred by the Jews, was buried with great ceremony before the altar of St. Edmund, on the north side of the Church. (See antea, p. 11¹¹).

⁸ Itin. iv. 172. ⁹ Sepul. Mon. vol. i. part i. p. xcvi. ¹⁰ Geneal. Hist. by Stebbing, p. 15.

¹¹ The reception of this body for interment appears to have been one of those frequent schemes among religious bodies, in former days, to enrich themselves by the influence of pretended miracles at the tomb of the deceased. The boy is said to have been concealed from March until the 16th of the kalends of April, when the Jews destroyed him by the most cruel tortures. The body was afterwards thrown into the Severn, and there discovered by some fishermen.—The obloquy of the murder thus thrown on the Jews, who were alike odious to the ecclesiastics and

ABBOT GAMAGES was buried in 1307, at the door of the cloister, near his brother, Sir NICHOLAS GAMAGES. (See *antea*, p. 19, note).

On the north side of the choir, between two of the ponderous Norman columns, is the enshrined tomb of EDWARD THE SECOND. (6, in Ground Plan). Considering the weakness of his reign, and the lamentable fate of the monarch, we view this elegant monument with mingled surprise and admiration: the former arising from the consideration of seeing any sepulchral trophy raised to a deposed and murdered king, and the latter in finding a work of so much beauty and merit. "When it is considered," says Carter, "how many irreligious and anti-royal hours, fraught with barbarity and savage despotism, have passed since the erection of this noble tomb, astonishment is excited, that in our day it still exists so little havocked, and so venerated¹²." A dupe to favourites—a slave to his own caprices—subservient to a wanton wife, and her infamous paramour, Mortimer, Edward II. fell a sacrifice to cruelty and intrigue, in the forty-third year of his age. After being deposed, and kept prisoner at Kenilworth, Corfe, Bristol, and Berkeley Castles, and suffering under many privations and indignities, he was destined to encounter the climax of human misery in the latter fortress. Whilst in the custody of Lord Maltravers and Thomas Gournay, they caused him to sit on a mole hill, and to have his head shaved with water from a ditch; they lodged him in a room over carrion, and administered poison to him. Surviving all these outrages, Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Hereford, wrote a letter to his keepers, concluding with this line—"Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est." This jesuitical sentence had two meanings: if a point was placed between *nolite* and *timere*, it forbids; but if after *timere*, it enjoins, or directs. His keepers knew the intended construction, and, proceeding to the king's bed-room, smothered him with bolsters, and then forced a red-hot iron up his fundament. Instead of obtaining rewards, as expected, his murderers fled the country; Gournay

the laity, was probably undeserved; for the Chronicler adds, that "no *Christian* was present to witness his tortures, nor was any thing ever disclosed by *any Jew*."

¹² "Some Account of the Cathedral," p. 12.

was taken and beheaded at sea, and his accomplice lived a miserable life in Germany¹³. The Abbot of Gloucester prudently and sagaciously obtained the body, and had it interred in his Church, as already stated, p. 20.

The annexed engraving, PLATE XX., exhibits the general design of the whole monument, whilst the effigy of the deceased is shown in PLATE XXII. fig. 2: and we are satisfactorily assured, that Edward the Third caused this memorial to be raised over his imbecile and unfortunate parent. Resting on the floor is an altar tomb, sustaining the recumbent alabaster effigy of the King, which is finely executed; and from the character of the face, beard, hair, and robes, we may regard it as a faithful portraiture. Around the tomb are canopied niches, with pedestals, but deprived of statues: and surmounting the whole is a splendid canopy, or tester, consisting of a series of trefoil-headed arches, with crockets, finials, and cusps; also pinnacles, buttresses, and housings for other statues. As originally finished, this monument must have presented a splendid display of art: in which the united beauties of sculpture, architectural members, and armorial insignia were employed to captivate the eye and fill the imagination. It has been taken charge of by the heads and fellows of Oriel College, Oxford, which the Monarch had founded, and has been restored or repaired by them in 1737, 1789, and 1798. What it had suffered in previous ages, either by neglect or wanton injury; and in what manner it had been repaired, or renovated, we are not told, and it would be vain to conjecture. On the capitals of the adjoining columns, which some writers erroneously call "Tuscan," are painted a white hart, collared and chained—the cognizance of Richard II. From this device a vulgar and silly notion prevails, that the corpse of the Monarch was drawn by stags from Berkeley Castle to Gloucester.

ABBOT STAUNTON, who died in 1351, was buried before the altar of St. Thomas, which had been raised by his brother, John de Staunton.

In the south aisle of the nave is a monument, (10, in Ground Plan), sustaining two effigies, ascribed to HUMPHREY DE BOHUN, Earl of Hereford,

¹³ See Sandford's *Genealog. Hist. of the Kings of Engl.* by Stebbing, p. 152. For many interesting particulars respecting the captivity and murder of this monarch, see "Smyth's *Lives of the Berkeleys*," p. 17. 21. Hume ascribes the murder to Mortimer.

and his Lady, but we have no account of any earl of that name having been buried at this place; and although Mr. Gough, who fixes the date of his death in 1367, conjectures that the monument was conveyed to this Church, at the dissolution, from the neighbouring Monastery of Lanthony, where many of the Bohuns were interred¹⁴: yet it does not appear that any earl of this family was buried there after the year 1275. The two last *Humphries* died in 1360 and in 1371-2, and were both buried in the Monastery of Saffron Walden¹⁵. The male effigy is represented in plate armour, mail gorget, collar of S S, an under helmet, or *chapelle de fer*, very pointed, and shoes of mail; his head rests upon a helmet, partially covered by a mantle, his hands raised on his breast, and at his feet a lion. The female figure has flowing hair, bound in front by a fillet; down her breast falls a band like a striped riband, and her body is covered by a long mantle, lifted up at the feet by a collared dog.

ABBOT HORTON was buried in the north transept.

ABBOT BOYFIELD was interred near his predecessor.

ABBOT FROUCESTER was buried in a chapel at the south west end of the choir, where a gravestone is said to cover his place of sepulture.

Attached to the east wall of the south transept is a very singular piece of sculpture, which may be regarded as unique in design, and if intended for the sepulchral memorial of a master mason and his son, as traditionally related, it is peculiarly apposite and emblematical. Projecting at right angles from the wall is a highly ornamented bracket, with an embattled coping round the rim, tracery ribs, and trefoil pannels: two small figures of an aged and of a young man, disposed as brackets, or corbels, support the whole work. The former figure is said to designate the master mason, named Gower, who completed the choir of the Church, and the younger one, his son, or apprentice: the first has tools in his apron, and the second is shown with extended arms, whilst both are clothed, we may presume, in the costume of the time. The bracket forms a sort of mason's square¹⁶.

¹⁴ Sep. Mon. vol. i. part ii. p. 195.

¹⁵ Dugdale's Baronage, vol. i. p. 186.

¹⁶ See PLATE IX. for a view of this bracket, and also Carter's "Antient Sculpture and Painting," for a spirited representation of it; annexed to which are some trivial remarks by Mr. Gough, who strangely ascribes the south transept to Abbot Seabrooke, who died in 1457.

On the south side of the organ-screen, between the nave and choir is a *Chantry Chapel*, erected by ARBOT SEABROOKE, in which is a monument to his memory. It is adorned with singular tracery and pannels, and supports an alabaster effigy, with angels at the head, and a lion at the feet. (See II. in GROUND PLAN).

On the north side of the choir, (7 in Ground Plan), is an enriched altar tomb, within a screen, erected by ABBOT PARKER during his life-time, but in which his body was never interred. His effigy is executed in alabaster, with the abbatial mitre and a pastoral staff.

In a small chapel, on the south side of the Lady Chapel, is a stone monument, and a board, on which is depicted the figure of a man kneeling, in the habit of a lawyer, with an inscription to THOMAS FITZ-WILLIAM, Esq. who died November 26, 1579.

Against the wall of the south transept is a monument, with the kneeling figures of a man, in a law habit, a female and four children, commemorating RICHARD PATES, Esq. Recorder of Gloucester, who died in 1588¹⁷.

In a chantry on the north side of the Lady Chapel is a monument of freestone (1 in Ground Plan) to commemorate BISHOP GOLDSBOROUGH, who died in 1604.

On the wall of the north aisle is a monument, with the effigies of a man in a scarlet gown, kneeling at a desk, and his wife opposite, also their seven sons and six daughters, underneath. It was raised to the memory of THOMAS MACHEN, thrice Mayor of Gloucester, who died in 1614; and of Christian his wife, who died in the following year.

In the north transept is a monument to JOHN and ANN BOWER, with their nine sons and seven daughters, the males on one side, and the females on the opposite side of a desk; upon which is a covering, painted scarlet, with gold lace. She died in 1613, and he in 1615.

Attached to the wall, at the western end of the nave, is a mural monu-

¹⁷ Pates was one of the Commissioners appointed by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. to survey the religious houses in Gloucester, Bristol, &c. He was a considerable benefactor to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in the former city; and founded the Grammar School at Cheltenham, subject to the control of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

ment, containing the bust of a man, with a book in his hand, and an inscription, to the memory of JOHN JONES, Alderman, thrice Mayor of this city, Member of Parliament at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, and Registrar to eight several Bishops of this diocese, who died in 1630. This appears to have been erected during his life-time; and it is said, that after having given some directions for altering the colour of the face, he inquired if they had *done*, and being answered in the affirmative, replied, "So have I, too." He died on the second day ensuing.

Against the wall of the south transept is a marble altar monument (9 in Ground Plan), supporting the effigies of ALDERMAN BLACKLEACH, who died in 1639, and his wife, sculptured in alabaster, in a kind of Vandyck dress. The figures, according to Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting*), "even in that tasteless attitude, are easy and graceful, and the draperies have a peculiar freedom."

In a chantry, on the south side of the Lady Chapel, is a monument for BISHOP NICHOLSON, (2 in Ground Plan), who died February 5, 1671.

A full length marble statue, in judicial robes, standing on a pedestal under an alcove, (3 in Ground Plan), erected by John Snell, Esq. to the memory of his uncle, JUDGE POWELL, who in 1685 represented this city, his native place, in Parliament. He was successively a Justice of the Courts of Common Pleas and of the King's Bench, and was one of the Judges who tried the seven Bishops, and joined in the declaration against the King's dispensing power. For this, James II. deprived him of his office, July 2, 1688; but William III. created him, first, a Baron of the Exchequer, then a Judge in the Common Pleas, and on June 18, 1702, advanced him to the King's Bench, where he sat until his death, June 14, 1713¹⁸.

In the north aisle of the nave is a mural monument, to the Rev. BENJAMIN KING, D. D., Prebendary of this Cathedral, who for forty years filled the

¹⁸ Of this judge the following anecdote is related, showing in a striking manner his exemption from the superstitions of the age in which he lived. An old woman was tried before him for witchcraft: her adversaries swore she could fly. Prisoner, said the judge, can you fly? Yes, my lord. Well then you may, there is no law against flying. He thus saved her life, for he would not convict her, even upon confession. Noble's *Contin. of Granger's Biog. Hist. of Eng.* vol. i. p. 168.

office of Registrar and Vice-Treasurer. He died November 26, 1756, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St. Mary de Lode, Gloucester.

Against the east wall of the south transept is a marble monument bearing a well executed medallion of BISHOP BENSON, who died August 30, 1752. Another monument to the same prelate is placed at the west end of the nave. This worthy divine was not only zealous in the discharge of his episcopal duties, but generously expended much of his income in the repairs and adornment of his palace and the Cathedral. He raised an altar-piece in the Lady Chapel, which was removed in the year 1819; and also an organ-screen, from the design of Kent, in 1741, which was taken down in 1820, to give place to the present more appropriate design.

On the west side of the south door of the nave is an inscription, on a marble tablet, to the Rev. ANTHONY ELLIS, D. D., who for thirty-seven years occupied a prebendal stall in this Church, to which he was admitted in 1724. He was consecrated Bishop of St. David's, 28th of February, 1753. He died January 17, 1761, and was buried in this Church.

Against a pillar, on the north side of the nave, is a monument of marble, on which is sculptured a winged cherub, leaning on a medallion profile of MARY, wife of SIR WILLIAM STRACHAN, of Tewkesbury Park, who died October 23, 1770.

A marble tablet, on the most western pillar in the north side of the nave, bears an inscription to BISHOP WARBURTON, who died June 7, 1779. Warburton was certainly a man of great talents, but of intolerant, arbitrary, and dogmatic principles. He was perpetually embroiled in quarrels and controversy, ill becoming the principles and profession of a protestant prelate. His character is ably developed in D'Israeli's "Quarrels of Authors," in which Warburton is not only the first of the series, but is shewn to be the most noted of the irascible race of the literati.

A monument, also in the north aisle, commemorates RALPH BIGLAND, Esq., who was appointed Blue Mantle Pursuivant, February 23, 1757; Somerset Herald, January 15, 1759; created Norroy King of Arms, May 27, 1773; Clarenceux King of Arms, September 12, 1774; and Garter Principal King of Arms, March 2, 1780. Died, March 27, 1784.

Against the east wall of the south transept is a marble slab to the memory of DEAN TUCKER, of whom some notice will be found in the list of Deans in a future page.

Against the wall of the north aisle is a monument, by Flaxman, to commemorate MRS. S. MORLEY, daughter of James Richardson of Newent, who died at sea, 25th of May, 1784, in her twenty-ninth year, a few days after child-birth. The artist has represented the figure of the mother with an infant in her arms, in the attitude of ascending from the waves of the ocean towards heaven, assisted by an angel.

A memorial for the REV. JAMES BENSON, LL. D., who was many years Chancellor of the Diocess, a Prebendary of the Cathedral, and a liberal benefactor to the fabric, is placed against a pillar near the west end of the south aisle. He died December 12, 1785.

Attached to a pillar on the north side of the nave is a tablet, bearing an inscription for the REV. CHARLES BISHOP, M. A. Rector of Elkestone and Rudford, and one of the Justices of the Peace for the county of Gloucester, who died March 29, 1788.

In the south aisle of the nave is a tablet to commemorate SIR JOHN GUISE, Bart. of Highnam Court, LL. D., Alderman of Gloucester, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Militia of that county, who died May 3, 1794.

Another monument commemorates JOHN WEBB, Esq. LL. D. one of the members of Parliament for Gloucester in three successive Parliaments. He died February 4, 1795.

A tablet in the purest taste, in a Gothic niche, surmounted by a canopy with crockets and a finial, records the skill and munificence of JAMES GRIFFITH, S. T. P. (see Essay, p. 9), in the erection of the organ-screen and other improvements in the Cathedral. It was put up in May, 1823, and is attached to a buttress on the north side of the organ-screen, and contains an inscription written by Dean Plumtre.

In the south aisle of the nave is a fine bust of SIR GEORGE ONESIPHORUS PAUL, Bart., who died June 16, 1820, aged seventy-four years. This is executed by R. W. Sievier. Sir George distinguished himself by his active exertions in reforming and improving the construction of prisons, and the

discipline of prisoners. According to the inscription on his tomb, he “reduced to practice the principles which have immortalized the memory of Howard, and banished the use of fetters.” He published three works on the subject of prisons, in 1784, in 1808, and in 1813; and also wrote some communications to the Board of Agriculture.

Among the modern monuments of the Church, the first in distinction and merit is a colossal Statue, placed at the west end of the nave, and commemorative of the fame and person of EDWARD JENNER, M. D. LL. D. F. R. S. &c. &c., who was buried at Berkeley in Gloucestershire. This statue was executed by R. W. Sievier of London, a sculptor, who, like Mr. Chantrey, served his apprenticeship to another profession; but from a predilection for this exalted branch of the fine arts, devoted his ardent mind to it, and has fortunately attained an honourable eminence. The statue, now under notice, is distinguished by that union of simplicity and grandeur which belongs only to works of merit. Graceful in attitude and expression, with truth of portraiture, and clothed in the ample drapery of a Doctor’s gown, tastefully disposed, it is calculated to please the common observer, and the refined critic.

The name and celebrity of Dr. Jenner have extended over the globe. Before his time, the human race was subject to a contagious disease—the small-pox, which often proved mortal, but more frequently destructive to the beauty of the fair sex. To eradicate this malady, or guard the human frame against its ravages, was a desideratum; and the world is indebted to Dr. Jenner for the promulgation of an antidote to that disease, by introducing another of a much milder, and consequently safer nature—the cow-pox¹⁹. He was the active and persevering agent to recommend and

¹⁹ About fifty years ago, when the writer was a boy and living in the north of Wiltshire, he remembers that his mother often said, the milkmaids, who had been affected with the cow-pox, were thereby exempt from the small-pox; but it does not appear that the medical practitioners then thought of inoculating for the one to guard against the other. This important practice was reserved for Dr. Jenner. Previously to his time, and the adoption of the cow-pox, it was satisfactorily proved before a Committee of the House of Commons, “that no less than forty-five thousand die annually of the small-pox, in the united kingdoms alone;” and therefore what must

promote its almost universal adoption. That such an innovation on a long established system, should meet with obstinate opposition is not surprising; but it is surprising and gratifying to know, that in a very few years it triumphed over ignorance, pertinacity, and prejudice. Had Dr. Jenner been actuated by the spirit of selfishness or quackery he would have kept his secret to himself, and thereby made a large fortune; but he divulged his knowledge to the world, challenged inquiry and investigation, and, during his life-time, obtained the more gratifying rewards, due to honesty and liberal science. The British Parliament took up the subject, and after mature deliberation adjudged, in the years 1802 and 1807, to the learned Doctor remunerations, amounting in the whole to 30,000*l*. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of M. D.; and many foreign potentates, and learned societies, complimented him by various presents and honorary distinctions. The comparatively small sums thus voted him by Parliament, not only disappointed his friends, but the impartial part of the public: for even the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted, "that the value of the discovery was without example, and beyond all calculation. It was made out by convincing evidence, that Dr. Jenner had precluded himself from great emoluments by the generosity of his own conduct." It was further stated to the house, that the Doctor had absolutely expended 6000*l*. in prosecuting his inquiries; and Mr. Wilberforce stated, that Dr. Jenner had devoted upwards of twenty years to the subject. Thus it often happens in the great assembly of the nation, as in small committees and corporations, that a niggardly, and even mean prudence, prevails over a liberal and enlightened policy. To such a man, and in reward for such an invaluable discovery, even the 30,000*l*. was indeed a poor and inadequate compensation. After the death of this great benefactor to mankind, the Parliament might have come forward to make some atonement for its former error: but Dr. Jenner was neither a court sycophant, nor a wholesale murderer of

be the amount of its deleterious influence in the vast population of Europe, of the world? It was finely and forcibly put by Admiral Berkeley, in the House of Commons, that "not a *second* is struck by the hand of time, but a victim is sacrificed at the altar of that most horrible of all disorders—the small-pox."

men, and no national trophy has been raised to his memory. To compensate, in some degree, for this neglect, a few of his personal friends and admirers raised a subscription, to pay for a handsome work of art, which might serve to commemorate the eminent philanthropist, gratify their own feelings, and reflect credit on their taste. As this was not placed in the metropolis—the focus of national science, wealth, and talent—it was thought advisable to fix it in the Cathedral of the county, as the most appropriate station, next to London²⁰. An interesting volume is published on the life, opinions, and experiments of Dr. Jenner, by his surviving friend, Dr. Baron. It contains such a review of the history and efficacy of the cow-pox, as must tend to place it on the firm basis of philosophy and truth.

Another and far more elaborate monument in that style, which alone can harmonize with buildings like these, executed by the well known taste and talent of Mr. Rickman of Birmingham, is to the memory of the REVEREND RICHARD RAIKES, a character of great piety and benevolence, who died September 5, 1823, in the eightieth year of his age.

A marble tablet, on the eastern wall of the southern aisle, has been recently erected to the memory of the late amiable DEAN PLUMTRE, who died Nov. 26, 1825, and to that of his Lady.

²⁰ The following simple inscription was intended for this cenotaph—"Edward Jenner, born at Berkeley in this County, May 17, 1749; died at the same place, January 25, 1823."

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE
Bishops of Gloucester,
 WITH THE CONTEMPORARY KINGS OF ENGLAND.

No.	BISHOPS.	Translated or Consecrated.	Died or Translated.	Buried at	Kings.
1	John Wakeman	Inst. . . Sept. 20, 1541	Died Dec. 1549	Forthampton . . .	{ Henry VIII. Edw. VI. Mary
2	John Hooper	Inst. . . March 8, 1550	Burnt . . Feb. 9, 1554	Gloucester	Mary.
3	James Brookes, D.D. . .	Inst. . . March 26, 1554	Died . . Sept. 7, 1558	Gloucester	Mary.
4	Richard Cheiney, B.D. .	Inst. . . April 19, 1561	Died . . April 25, 1579	Gloucester	Elizabeth.
5	John Bullingham, D.D. .	Inst. . . Sept. 3, 1581	Died . . May 20, 1598	Gloucester	Elizabeth.
6	Go. Goldsborough, D.D. .	Inst. . . Nov. 12, 1598	Died . . May 26, 1604	Gloucester	Elizabeth, Jas. I.
7	Thomas Ravis, D.D. . .	Inst. . . Dec. 17, 1604	London, May 18, 1607	London	James I.
8	Henry Parry, D.D. . . .	Inst. . . July 12, 1607	Worcester, Sept. 1610	Worcester	James I.
9	Giles Thompson, D.D. .	Inst. . . March 15, 1611	Died . . June 14, 1612	Windsor	James I.
10	Miles Smith, D.D. . . .	Inst. . . July 15, 1612	Died . . Oct. 19, 1624	Gloucester	James I.
11	Godfrey Goodman, D.D. .	Inst. . . Nov. 26, 1624	{ Depr. 1640 } { Died, Ja. 19, 1655 }	{ St. Margaret's, } { Westminster }	{ James I. Charles I. II.
12	Wm. Nicholson, D.D. . .	Inst. . . Jan. 13, 1660	Died . . Feb. 5, 1671	Gloucester	Charles II.
13	John Prichett, D.D. . . .	Inst. . . Oct. 10, 1672	Died . . Jan. 1, 1680	Harefield	Charles II.
14	Robert Frampton, D.D. .	Inst. . . Jan. 28, 1680	{ Depr. Feb. 1, 1690 } { D. May 25, 1708 }	Standish	{ Ch. II. Jas. II. Wm. and Mary Anne.
15	Edward Fowler, D.D. . .	Inst. . . June 8, 1691	Died August 26, 1714	Hendon	{ Wm. and Mary Anne, Geo. I.
16	Richard Willis, D.D. . .	Inst. . . January, 1714	{ Salisbury . . 1721 } { Winchester, 1725 } { D. Aug. 10, 1734 }	Winchester	George I. II.
17	Joseph Wilcocks, D.D. .	Inst. . . Nov. 25, 1721	{ Rochester . . 1731 } { Died Mar. 9, 1756 }	Westminster	Geo. I. II. III.
18	Elias Sydall, D.D. . . .	Trans. . . Nov. 4, 1731	Died . . Dec. 24, 1733	George III.
19	Martin Benson, D.D. . .	Inst. . . Jan. 19, 1733-4	Died . . Aug. 30, 1752	Gloucester	George III.
20	William Johnson, D.D. .	Inst. . . Oct. 24, 1752	{ Worcester Nov. 9, } { 1759. Died 1774 }	Laycock	George III.
21	Wm. Warburton, D.D. . .	Inst. . . Dec. 22, 1759	Died . . June 7, 1779	Gloucester	George III.
22	James York, LL.D. . . .	Trans. . . July 6, 1779	{ Ely . . . July 1781 } { D. Aug. 26, 1808 }	Forthampton . . .	George III.
23	Samuel Hallifax, D.D. .	Inst. . . Oct. 8, 1781	{ St. Asaph . . 1789 } { Died Mar. 4, 1790 }	Worksop	George III.
24	Richard Beadon, D.D. . .	Inst. . . May 30, 1781	Bath and Wells, 1802	Wells	George III.
25	G. I. Huntingford, D.D. .	Inst. . . June 1802	Hereford, Jun. 23, 1815	Living	George III.
26	Henry Ryder, D.D. . . .	Inst. . . July 8, 1815	Lichf. and Cov. 1824	Living	George III.
27	Christoph. Bethell, D.D. .	Inst. 1824	Living	George IV.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE

Deans of Gloucester.

WITH BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA.

No.	DEANS.	Elected, &c.	Died or removed.
1	William Jennings ¹ , B. D. . .	Appointed . . Sept 3, 1541	Died Nov. 4, 1565
2	John Man ² , A. M.	Installed . . Feb. 2, 1565	Died March 18, 1568
3	Thomas Cowper, D. D. . . .	Installed . . July 5, 1569	{ Bishop of Lincoln 1570 { Bishop of Winchester 1584
4	Lawrence Humphrey ³ , D. D.	Installed March 13, 1570	Dean of Winchester 1580
5	Anthony Rudd ⁴ , D. D. . . .	Installed . . Jan. 10, 1584	Bishop of St. David's 1594
6	Griffith Lewis, D. D.	Installed 1594	Died June, 1607
7	Thomas Morton ⁵ , D. D. . . .	Presented June 22, 1607	Dean of Winchester 1609
8	Richard Field ⁶ , D. D.	Installed 1609	Died Nov. 21, 1616
9	William Laud ⁷ , D. D.	Installed . . Dec. 20, 1616	Bishop of St. David's 1621
10	Richard Senhouse ⁸ , D. D. . .	Installed . . Dec. 13, 1621	Bishop of Carlisle 1624
11	Thomas Winniffe ⁹ , D. D. . .	Installed . . Nov. 10, 1624	Dean of St. Paul's 1631

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDA RESPECTING THE DEANS.

¹ The King's Chaplain, and last Prior of St. Oswald's. Buried in the Cathedral.

² Keeper of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in Gloucester, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and Prebendary of Lincoln; buried at St. Anne's, Aldersgate, London.

³ Born at Newport Pagnell, county of Bucks, about 1527; received his education at Cambridge, and afterwards became Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took the degree of A. M. in 1552, about which time he was made Greek reader of his College, and entered into orders. In June, 1555, he went to Zurich, where he joined the English Reformers, but returning to England, after the death of Queen Mary, was restored to his fellowship. In 1560 he was made the Queen's Professor of Divinity, and elected President of his College; in 1562 took both the divinity degrees. He died in 1590, leaving a wife and ten children. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, i. 558.

⁴ A native of Yorkshire, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rector of Strathern, county of Leicester; died March, 1614. Richardson—De Præsulibus, p. 586.

⁵ Born at York in 1564, where he was educated; in 1582 entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and was elected Fellow ten years afterwards. His subsequent preferments were the Rectory of Long Marston, county of York, a Prebendary of York Cathedral, the Rectory of Aylesford, county of Kent, the See of Chester in 1615, that of Lichfield and Coventry in 1618, from whence he was translated to Durham in 1632. Being expelled by the Oliverians, after several removals, he took up his abode with Sir Henry Yelverton, at Easton Mauduit, county of Northton, where he died, September 22, 1669. Surtees' History of Durham, vol. i. p. xcii.

⁶ Had been Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth and King James, Canon of Windsor, and soon after his promotion to this Deanery was made one of the new Fellows of Chelsea College. He was buried at Windsor. Pole's History of Windsor, p. 385.

⁷ Vide the author's History of Wells Cathedral, p. 71.

⁸ Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain to Prince Charles; killed by a fall from his horse, May 6, 1626, and buried in his own Cathedral (Carlisle). Richardson—De Præsulibus, p. 772.

⁹ A student of Exeter College, Oxford, Prince's and King's Chaplain; promoted from the Deanery of St. Paul's to the Bishoprick of Lincoln in 1641, deprived in the rebellion, and died in 1654. Ibid, p. 303.

No.	DEANS.	Elected, &c.	Died or removed.
12	George Warburton ¹⁰ , A. M.	Installed... June 11, 1631	Dean of Wells... August, 1631
13	Accepted Frewen ¹¹ , D. D...	Installed... Sept. 13, 1631	Bishop of Lichfield, ... Aug. 1644
14	William Brough ¹² , D. D....	Installed... Nov. 20, 1644	Died..... July 5, 1671
15	Thomas Vyner ¹³ , D. D.....	Installed... July 23, 1671	Died..... April 11, 1673
16	Robert Frampton ¹⁴ , A. M...	Installed... May 6, 1673	Bishop of Gloucester..... 1680
17	Thomas Marshall ¹⁵ , D. D...	Installed... April 30, 1681	Died April 18, 1685
18	William Jane ¹⁶ , D. D.....	Installed... June 6, 1685	Died February, 1706
19	Knightly Chetwood ¹⁷ , D. D.	Installed... April 6, 1707	Died March, 1719
20	John Waugh ¹⁸ , D. D.	Installed... Aug. 5, 1720	Bishop of Carlisle.... Aug. 1723
21	John Frankland, D. D.....	Installed... Oct. 3, 1723	Dean of Ely 1729
22	Peter Alix, D. D.....	Installed..... 1729	Dean of Ely 1730
23	Daniel Newcombe, D. D. ...	Installed..... 1730	Died March 2, 1758
24	Josiah Tucker ¹⁹ , D. D.....	Installed... July 15, 1758	Died..... Nov. 4, 1799

¹⁰ Vide the Author's History of Wells Cathedral, p. 123.

¹¹ Vide the Author's History of Lichfield Cathedral, p. 59.

¹² Buried at Windsor, of which place he was a Canon. Rudge's History of Gloucester, p. 255.

¹³ Likewise a Canon of Windsor; buried in this Cathedral, where an inscription for him still remains. Ibid.

¹⁴ Vide ante, p. 39.

¹⁵ Born at Barkby, county of Leicester; became Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1668, and Rector of that society in 1672; also Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, and Rector of Bladon, near Woodstock, which he resigned three years before his death, which took place at Lincoln College, Oxford. He was buried in All Saints Church in that city, where his epitaph still remains. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, iv. 170.

¹⁶ Born at Liskeard, in Cornwall; elected student of Christ's Church from Westminster school, in 1660, where, having taken the degrees in arts, he afterwards became Chaplain to Dr. Compton, Bishop of Oxford, and was made Canon of Christ's Church in 1678. In the year following he proceeded in his faculty as a compounder, and on the 19th of May, 1680, was admitted Regius Professor of Divinity. About the latter end of April, 1685, nominated by King James II. Dean of Gloucester, and on the 21st of November, 1689, elected Prolocutor for the lower house of the Convocation of the Clergy, in order to make some alterations in the liturgy to please the dissenters. Buried at Christ's Church, Oxford. Wood's Athen. Oxon. edit. 1815, vi. 643.

¹⁷ Born at Coventry, in 1652, educated at Eton, became Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in 1683. He was Chaplain to Lord Dartmouth, the Princess of Denmark, and King James II., Prebendary of Wells, Rector of Great and Little Risington, county of Gloucester, and Archdeacon of York. He was nominated to the See of Bristol by James II. but was prevented from enjoying it by the abdication of that monarch. In 1689 he was Chaplain to the English forces in Holland, under the Earl of Marlborough; commenced D. D. in 1691, and afterwards preferred to this Deanery, which he enjoyed until his decease, at Templeford, county of Bedford, where he was buried. Among his writings was the "Life of Lycurgus," in the translation of Plutarch's Lives, and "The Life of Wentworth, Earl of Roscommon," preserved among Baker's MSS. Collections in the public library at Cambridge. He was particularly intimate with Dryden, for whom he wrote the Life of Virgil, and the Preface to the Pastorals, generally ascribed to Dryden himself. Chalmers' Biog. Dic. ix. 246, from Nichols's Poems, i. and iii. Atterbury's Correspondence, i. p. 18. 430. Malone's Dryden, iv. 547.

¹⁸ Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, London, and Prebendary of Lincoln. Richardson—De Præsulibus, p. 774.

¹⁹ A learned divine, but more celebrated as a polemical writer, was born at Laugharn, Carmarthenshire, in 1712; educated at Ruthin school in Denbighshire, wherein he obtained an exhibition for St. John's College, Oxford. At the age of twenty-three he entered holy orders, and in 1737 became curate of St. Stephen's in Bristol, and Minor Canon of the Cathedral. Here he attracted the notice of Dr. Joseph Butler, then Bishop of Bristol, and afterwards of Durham, who appointed him his chaplain, and shortly afterwards obtained for him a prebendal stall in Bristol Cathedral. When the bill was brought into the House of Commons for the naturalization of the Jews, Mr. Tucker strongly advocated the measure, by which he gave such great offence, that he was attacked by pamphlets from all quarters, and was burnt in effigy by the people of Bristol, together with his writings. In 1755 he published an able pamphlet on the "Turkey Trade." About this time, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Tucker, Lord Clare, afterwards Earl Nugent, was returned to parliament for Bristol, in reward for which service he procured for him the Deanery of Gloucester, when he took his degree of D. D. So great was his reputation for commercial knowledge, that Dr. Thomas Hayter, then

No.	DEANS.	Elected, &c.	Died or removed.
25	John Luxmore ²⁰ , D. D.....	Installed...Jan. 16, 1800	{ Bishop of Bristol.....1807 Bishop of Hereford.....1808 Bishop of St. Asaph.....1815
26	John Plumtre ²¹ , D. D.....	Installed.....1808	Died.....Nov. 26, 1825
27	Edward Rice, D. D.	Installed...Jan. 20, 1826	Living.

tutor to his Majesty, applied to him to draw up a dissertation on the subject for the perusal of his royal pupil; this was accordingly done, under the title of the "Elements of Commerce," which was printed, in quarto, but never published. Bishop Warburton, speaking of Dean Tucker, says "his trade was religion, and religion his trade." This certainly was unjust; for although commerce and its connections had been favourite objects of his attention, yet he faithfully discharged the duties of his office, and his various publications on moral and religious subjects show him to have been deeply versed in theology. Gents. Mag. Nov. 1799, vol. lxix. part 1.

²⁰ Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and Prebendary of Canterbury, which latter he resigned upon his promotion to this Deanery.

²¹ Educated at Eton, became Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in 1775; in 1778 vicar of Stone, and in 1790 Vicar of Wichenford, both in Worcestershire; in 1787, Prebendary of Worcester; and in 1808 was made Dean of this Cathedral.

A
List of Books, Essays, and Prints,

WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED RELATING TO

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

ALSO A LIST OF

ENGRAVED PORTRAITS OF ITS BISHOPS.

THIS LIST IS SUBJOINED TO GRATIFY THE BIBLIOGRAPHER, THE CRITICAL ANTIQUARY, AND THE ILLUSTRATOR;
 AS WELL AS TO SHEW, AT ONE VIEW, THE SOURCES WHENCE THE CONTENTS OF THE PRECEDING PAGES HAVE
 BEEN DERIVED, AND THE FULL TITLES OF THE WORKS REFERRED TO IN THE NOTES.

MANUSCRIPTS, BOOKS, AND ESSAYS.

FROM the numerous notes of reference in the preceding pages it may be inferred that the published accounts of this Cathedral are already numerous, and that a new volume on the subject is a work of supererogation. Those who will give themselves the trouble of examining and comparing these different publications will soon detect omissions and doubtful statements, occasional chasms and irrelevant matter. Respecting the architectural history of the fabric, some are silent, and others very imperfect. On this subject the author of the present volume has endeavoured to furnish the reader with full and explicit information. Although he has not been fortunate enough to define the date and history of every part of the building, he must ascribe this defect to the want of success, rather than to the want of diligence in his inquiries.

Of the *manuscript materials* from which much of the history of St. Peter's Monastery has been obtained it will be proper to give some account. In page 25, and in the Essay page 5, are notices of *Abbot Froucester*, with some account of his works. His collections, relating to the Abbey, must have been both extensive and valuable. From these he compiled a "*Chronicle*," detailing the most material events relating to the house and its dependencies. They extend from the time of the foundation to that of his decease, in 1412. That part of the chronicle which records his death and gives his eulogium is of course continued by another hand.

A copy of this Chronicle is in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, and another in the British Museum. Two books of charters and other muniments, transcribed by Froucester, are in the possession of the Dean and Chapter. *Archdeacon Furney* made use of these materials, in what Mr. Fosbrooke calls "*a Catalogue Raisonné*;" but if this learned gentleman had seen the whole of the Archdeacon's collections, he would have awarded to him rather more merit than that of a catalogue writer. On these authorities the preceding narrative places its chief claims to authenticity respecting the monastic part of its history. Furney, a native of Gloucester, bequeathed in 1755 to the Bodleian library, his collections relating to the Abbey, &c.; and Browne Willis acknowledges his obligations to him in preparing his "*Survey of Cathedrals*."

Dr. Richard Parsons, chancellor of this diocese from 1677 to 1711, collected materials for "*Memoirs of the antient Abbey and present Cathedral of Gloucester*." Wharton intended to print this as a third volume of his "*Anglia Sacra*." Bishop Nicholson, in "*Historical Library*," says, that Parsons's work "was digested into so good a method, that it well deserved the title of a complete history." Dr. Parsons died in 1711. The destiny of his collections is unknown to the writer of this notice, though Atkins and Rudder both appear to have made use of them.

Kennett's "*Parochial Antiquities*," 4to. 1695, p. 75, states that the New Conventual Church, rebuilt by Serlo, the abbot, was dedicated, July 7, 1100. Anno 13 Will. Rufus. 1 Hen. I.—p. 194, a Controversy between Henry, Abbot of St. Peter's, and the Prior of St. Oswald's, was by Pope Honorius referred to the Abbot and Prior of Thame, by whom peace was made

¹ "*Original History of the City of Gloucester*," preface, v.

between them, "Ex Chartul. S. Petri Gloces. MS."—p. 223, Agreement between the Abbot and Convent, and the Abbot and Convent of Oseney, as to the tithes of Chesterton.

"*The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*," by Sir Robert Atkyns, Knight, folio, London 1712, reprinted 1768, contains a short notice of the Bishoprick—the Charter of Foundation—the Endowment—Account of the Bishops—List of the Chancellors and Archdeacons—Statutes and Orders for the better Rule and Government of the Cathedral Church, appointed and prescribed, anno 36 Hen. VIII.—a List of the Deans and Prebendaries, with a Description of the Monuments and Dimensions of the Cathedral, p. 68 to 96—it also contains a North View of the Cathedral, by J. Kip. Most of the copies of the first edition of this book were consumed by fire at Mr. Bowyer's, the printer, in 1712-13. The second edition printed by Mr. Herbert, was most carelessly executed, the errata not being even corrected. Great part of this edition was also burnt.

In Le Neve's "*Monumenta Anglicana*," 5 vols. 8vo. 1719, are copies of the Inscriptions on the Monuments from 1600 to 1718.

The History of the Foundation of the Abbey, and the Changes in the same before the Suppression by Hen. VIII., by William Malverne, Abbot, from MS. in Cai. Coll. Camb., also Harl. MS. 539, f. 111., is contained in "*Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle*," 2 vols. 8vo., 1724.

Wilkin's "*Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*," folio, 1737, contains the following documents—v. i. p. 368, Synod of Gloucester—p. 404, Synod for the Election of a Bishop, anno 1122. V. iv. p. 17, Mandate for the Visitation of this Diocese, anno 1547, ex. Reg. Well.—p. 145, Injunctions by James, Bishop of Gloucester, throughout his Diocese, anno 1556, Ex. Append. ad. Histor. Rob. de Avesbury, edit. Thomas Hearnii, p. 376²—p. 344, the Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the Bishop of Gloucester for an Account of his Clergy, anno 1592, Ex. Reg. Whitgift, fol. 199. b.—p. 518, Orders by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Dean and Chapter and others of the Cathedral Church, anno MDCXXXV. Reg. Laud. fol. 236—p. 541, Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, suspended from his office, anno 1640, Ex. Origin. et Nalson's Collect. v. i. p. 351, et seq.

Browne Willis's "*Survey of the Cathedrals*," 4to. 1742, contains an Account of the Foundation, Monuments and Inscriptions, Sale of the Lands of the Bishoprick, 1648-9, Endowment of the Chapter, with Notices of the Bishops, Deans, Precentors, Chancellors, Treasurers, and other ecclesiastical officers, also an account of all the Churches and Chapels in the Diocese, &c. v. i. p. 691 to 755. PLATES, a Ground Plan, drawn by Walt. Merricke, cler. and a South Prospect, both engraved by J. Harris. Willis acknowledges his obligations to Archdeacons Furney and Eyre, and to Precentor Gregory, who looked over the matter both before and after printing.

The new Edition of Dugdale's "*Monasticon Anglicanum*," v. i. p. 531 to 565 contains, the Origin of the Abbey, with a List of the Abbots from its foundation to the dissolution; A List of the subordinate Cells and country Residences of the Abbots; List of Books given to the Monastery by Richard de Stowe, in the 14th cent. Harl. MSS. no. 627, fol. 8; the Foundation of the Bishoprick with names of places given for its Endowment; short Accounts of the Bishops, as also a Description of the Cathedral.—It likewise contains the following documents—No. 1. "*Annales de Winchcombe in Bibl. Cottoniana*," as to the Foundation of this Monastery, anno 680. "R. Hoved, fol. 255. a. n. 10." The Dedication of the Church by Aldred, Bishop of Worcester, anno 1058.—Nos. II. to VIII. inclusive, "*Ex Cronicis Gloucestrensis Canobii*," in Bibl. Cottoniana sub effigie Domitiani, A. viii. being an account of the foundation of the Monastery, gifts of lands thereto, &c. from the year 681 to 1089.—No. IX. "*Ex libro Censuali vocato DOMESDAY BOOK*," being an account of the possessions of the Church of St. Peter in the time of William the Conqueror, in Hampshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire.—No. X. MS. Cotton. Domit. A. viii. fol. 128. Surrender of divers Manors to the Church of St. Peter, by Thomas, Archbishop of York, anno 1095.—No. XI. Ibid. the Dedication of the Church of St. Peter in the time of Abbot Serlo, anno 1100.—No. XIII. Ibid. fo. 144, List of the Possessions of the Monastery of St. Peter, as well spiritual as temporal.—No. XIV. *Ex Ipso Autogr. in Bibl. Cottoniana*, xvii. 3. The Charter of King Stephen, confirming and reciting the gifts made to the Church of St. Peter.—No. XV. *Cart. Antiq. Harl. Brit. Mus.* 58, H. 40. Grant of a Fair at Northleeche to the Abbot and Monks of St. Peter.—No. XVI. *Pat. 17 Edw. III. m. 35.* MSS. Lausd. 291, fol. 273.—No. XVII. MS. Cotton. Domit. A. viii.

² In one of Furney's MS. vols. is a set of Instructions from Cardinal Pole (a circular) sent to Gloucester, among other places. In a Note, Furney says that he communicated it to Hearne, who published it.

fol. 141. Order of Thomas Horton, Abbot of Gloucester, concerning the performance of Mass.—No. xviii. *Pat. 33 Hen. VIII.* p. 2. m. 10. Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 724. Creation of the Bishoprick, A. D. 1541.—No. xix. *Pat. 33 Hen. VIII. Iterum MS. Cotton.* Append. ix. fol. 28, constituting John Wakeman, Bishop.—No. xx. *Claus. 6. Edw. VI.* p. 3, n. 27. A. D. 1552. Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 297. Surrender of the Bishoprick to the King.—No. xxi. *Claus. 6. Edw. VI.* p. 6, n. 15. Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 298. Confirmation of the preceding surrender by the Dean and Chapter.—No. xxii. *Pat. 6 Edw. VI.* p. 1, m. 34, A. D. 1552. Rym. Fœd. tom. 1, p. 298. Concerning the translation of the Bishop of Gloucester to the Bishoprick of Worcester.—No. xxiii. *Ex Codicibus MSS. penes dec. Eccl. Cath. Glouc. excerptum.* A compendious memorial of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester.—No. xxiv. *MS. Cotton. Cleop.* E. V. fol. 380. Order for the burning of John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, A. D. 1555—Ministers' Accounts of the Monastery of St. Peter, 34 Hen. VIII. Augmentation Office.

"*A New History of Gloucestershire*," by Mr. Samuel Rudder, a printer of Cirencester, folio 1779, Cirencester, contains the Foundation Charters, and Endowment of Abbies and other religious houses, the Foundation of the Bishoprick, &c., with a short account of the Bishops and Deans; the Names of the Patrons and Incumbents, and the ancient and present Value of all the Ecclesiastical Benefices, Monumental Inscriptions, &c.

"*The History and Antiquities of Gloucester*," 8vo. Cirencester, 1781.

"*Collections Monumental, Historical, and Genealogical*, relative to the County of Gloucester, printed from the papers of Ralph Bigland, esq." London, 1791, fol.

"*Views of the Interior and Exterior of Gloucester Cathedral*, Drawn and Engraved by T. Bonnor, in 1796, and reprinted, 1815."—London, 8vo. with thirty-seven pages of letter-press.

Gough's "*Sepulchral Monuments*," fo. 1796, contains—v. i. pt. 2, p. 19, Figure of Robert Curthose,—v. i. pt. 1, p. 52, Bodies of three Abbots found in the Choir—p. 84, Description of the Figure of Robert, Duke of Normandy—p. 125, Figure of an Alderman and his wife—pt. 2, p. 92, Edw. II. Monument—p. 195, Account and View of Monument of Humphrey de Bohun.—v. ii. pt. 1, p. 67, An Account of an Abbot's body found in new paving the Cath.—p. 104, Ethelred and his wife, Elfreda, Founders of St. Oswald's Priory—p. 105, Osric's Monument.—v. ii. pt. 2, p. 182, View and Account of the Monnment of Abbot Seabrook.

"*Collection of Gloucestershire Antiquities*," by Samuel Lysons, 1803, fol. containing, 1. Engravings of Figures on Glass in the Cathedral:—2. East End of the Library:—3. Stone Stalls:—4. View of the Crypt:—and 5. West End of the Lady Chapel, &c.

"*Some Account of the Cathedral Church of Gloucester*, illustrative of the Plans, Elevations, and Sections of that Building." Lond. 1809, folio, published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. This account was drawn up by Sir Henry C. Englefield, Bart. The Engravings, by J. Basire, from Drawings by J. Carter, consist of, 1. Ground Plan of the Church, Cloister, and Monastic Buildings:—2. Plan of the Crypt:—3. Plan of the Triforium Story of the Choir, Transept, and Lady Chapel:—4. Elevation of the West Front, Tower, and Deanery:—5. Elevation of the North Side of the Church:—6. Section, through the whole from East to West, with the Crypt, Lady Chapel, Tower, &c.:—7. Section of the East End, with the Crypt:—8. Elevation of part of the building North of the West End of the Church:—9. Elevation of the South Porch:—10. Elevation of one division of the South Aile of the Nave and Buttress at large, exterior:—11. Elevation of a compartment of the Nave, interior:—12. Elevation of part of the North Side of the Choir, showing portions of four Monuments:—13. Elevation of a compartment on the North Side of the Lady Chapel:—14. Elevation of the "Monk's Treasury," in the North Transept:—15. Elevation of the North Side of the Monnment of Edward II.:—16. Plans and Sections of the same:—17. Elevation of a Doorway, &c. in the South Transept.

"*The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church and See of Gloucester*, with Engravings, by J. and H. Storer, 8vo. contains a short account of the Monastery and Bishoprick, and the following eight prints—Ground Plan—N. E. View—N. Transept, from the Cloisters—W. Front—Door in Nave—Osric's Tomb—Bishop's Palace—South Porch—Interior of Nave.

"*The History of Gloucester from the earliest Period to the present Time*," by the Rev. Thos. Rudge, B. D. Gloucester, 8vo. 1811, contains Extracts from ancient Chroniclers and Historians relative to the History of the Abbey—a List and Biographical Memoranda of the Abbots, Bishops, Deans, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, with Historical Notices of the Endowment, Revenues, and Extent of the Diocess—a Description of the Cathedral and its Monuments.

"*An Original History of the City of Gloucester*," including the Original Papers of the late

Ralph Bigland, esq., by the Rev. J. D. Fosbrooke, M.A. F.A.S., 4to. London, 1819, contains Accounts of the Abbey, Extracts from the Lives of the Abbots, List of Monuments and Epitaphs, Priors, Bishops, Abbathial Residences, Episcopal Officers, &c. pages 156 to 280—also the following twenty-five PLATES by Bonnor, &c., most of which were published in his "Itinerary."—Osric's Monument—Seabrooke's ditto—Parker's ditto—S. W. View of the Cathedral by Buckler—Parts of the Cathedral by Audinet—Interior of Lady Chapel—Specimens of Armorial Pavement—Monuments of Edward II.—Robert Curthose—Bishop Goldesborough—Lord and Lady Bohun—Alderman Blackleach and his Lady—Aldred—Mr. Williams—Mrs. Clent—Alderman Jones—Sir John Powell, Knight—Ralph Bigland—Bishop Benson—Alderman Machen and his Lady—Dame Mary Strachan.

In Dallaway's "*Inquiries into the Origin, &c. of Heraldry in England*," 4to. 1793, is an Etching of an Armorial Pavement in the Cathedral.

In Dallaway's "*Observations on English Architecture*," 8vo. 1806, is an Essay on Gloucester Cathedral, which is called "a complete school of Antient Architecture."

King, in "*Munimenta Antiqua*," folio, 1799, v. iv. has some Remarks on the Architecture and Dates of this Church, with five prints: but they are of little value, the latter being singularly inaccurate, and the former very theoretical.

In "*Views of the Cathedral Churches*," 4to. 1822, by J. C. Buckler, is a S. W. View of Gloucester Cathedral, and a short Account of the Edifice.

"In Birch's "*History of the Royal Society*," v. i. p. 120, is a Description of the *Whispering Gallery*, with "a Scheme of it," by Mr. Powle.

PRINTS.

Besides the Prints already specified in *different books* the following have been published.

In Carter's "*Antient Architecture*," fol. 1796, are Etchings of the following subjects—Flying Gallery, Pl. xv. p. 16—Arches, Columns in Undercroft, Pl. xvi. p. 17.—Avenue to the Cemetery, Pl. xxi. p. 20—Doorways, xxxviii. 33—Holy Water Basin, xxxii. 27.

Carter's "*Antient Sculpture*," fo. 1795—View of a piece of Sculpture at the entrance into the S. Aisle of the Choir, v. i. p. 53—Paving Tiles before the High Altar, v. ii. p. 6.

South West View of the Cathedral, drawn and engraved by T. Bonnor.

View of the Cathedral from the S. W.—a large aquatint Print, from a Drawing by J. Buckler.

View of the Screen erected by Bishop Benson, 1741—*J. Vardy*, sc.

Etching of the Head of Robert Curthose, *Vertue*, del. *Bretherton*, sc.

ACCOUNTS OF BISHOPS.

Godwin in his "*Catalogue of Bishops*," small 4to. 1615, gives short Memoirs of the Bishops from 1541 to 1612. In "*De Præsulibus*," by Richardson, fo. 1742, these Accounts are continued to 1734.

Le Neve's "*Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*," folio, 1716, contains List of the Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries, &c. up to 1714.

PORTRAITS OF BISHOPS.

JOHN HOOPER:—mez. *Faber*, sc.—mez. *Houston*, sc.—in sheet of the Seven Bishops, *R. White*, sc. *Granger* and *Bromley*.

EDWARD FOWLER:—mez. *Kneller*, del. *Smith*, sc. *Granger* and *Bromley*.

MARTIN BENSON:—la. fol. *J. Richardson*, del. *Vertue*, sc. 1739. *Bromley*.

JOSEPH WILCOX, sitting holding a book—mez. *E. Seeman*, *J. Simon*, sc. *Bromley*.

WILLIAM WARBURTON:—mez. *C. Phillips*, del. *T. Barford*, sc.—in the act of writing, and Bust of Pope, id.—Medallion, *H. Gravelot*, sc.—in a lay habit prefixed to his "*Works*,"

W. Hoare, del. *J. Hoare*, sc. 1784,—etching of profile (*Hoare*), 1765, 8vo. *J. Houbraken*, sc.

—in Malone's "*Shakspeare*," 1787, 8vo. *A. Smith*, sc. *Bromley*.

RICHARD WILLIS, sitting in a carved chair—*M. Dahl*, pinx. *Simon*, sc. *Granger*.

List of Prints

ILLUSTRATIVE OF GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL.

Plates.	Subjects.	Drawn by	Engraved by	Inscribed to	Described.
I.	Ground Plan, and Plans of Parts	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux...	53. 57.
II.	View of the Western Front	W. H. Bartlett	W. Woolnoth	John Baron, M. D. &c.	26. 57.
III.	Section of the West End	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux...	57. 60.
IV.	South Porch ; View of	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	Hon. and Rev. D. Finch	26. 57. 58.
V.	Tower and South Transept ; View of.....	W. H. Bartlett	J. Le Keux...	C. Hanbory Tracy.....	27. 57. 59.
VI.	View from the North East	W. H. Bartlett	H. Le Keux..	Rev. J. Michell, LL.D.	59.
VII.	Nave ; View of, looking East.....	W. H. Bartlett	W. Woolnoth	Rev. J. H. Seymour ...	55. 60.
VIII.	Nave, Compartment of, interior and } exterior.....	H. Ansted	J. Le Keux...	56. 60.
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AN
ESSAY ON THE ABBEY OF GLOUCESTER.

ILLUSTRATIVE OF CERTAIN
CUSTOMS, PRIVILEGES, AND MANNERS OF THE MONKS OF THAT HOUSE.

THOUGH the early history of this Abbey, like that of many others stretching out beyond the era of the Norman conquest, is involved in some obscurity, enough has been preserved, by the industry of the monks, to assure us of its remote origin, and to ascertain with sufficient precision the period of its foundation, and the succession of its founders, rulers, and benefactors. What degree of credit may be due to the precise form and terms of the charter of foundation, published by Dugdale, from the muniments of the Abbey¹, may rather be conjectured than determined, the original, of which it professes to be a copy, being lost. But it is well known that too many of those that claimed to have been granted by the Saxons were manufactured at a much later date; and there are some grounds for doubting that this may be of the number of such spurious documents. Yet there is no reason to question that the event to which it refers took place at or about the date assigned to it; nor that the institution was patronised by nobles and princes of the land; and underwent, as might be expected, those changes recorded by the compiler of the chronicle, during the confusion that arose in the struggles of the Saxons in their wars with the Danes.

More light breaks in, however, about the time of the settlement of the Normans in England. Gloucester was a place of considerable civil consequence, frequently honoured by the presence of the Conqueror, as it had been of old by princes of the Saxon line. Under these circumstances the ecclesiastical foundation, once famous, but fallen to decay, could not fail to command some share of attention. Accordingly we find it re-established by the best interest and highest power in the country, repaired, reformed, and assuming increased importance.

Thence-forward the Abbey began to flourish, as it passed down the course of time. The abundant evidences of its aggrandisement still extant in its annals and cartulary shew that, while a taste for such endowments prevailed, it continued long to receive fresh accessions of wealth and power. During the reigns of several kings, from William I. to Richard II., it appears that the Convent obtained many important privileges, receiving from those monarchs severally either confirmations or additions to those which had been bestowed by their predecessors. Some of these must have been of great value in seasons of lawless aggression, impost, and outrage. They had *sac*, *soc*, and *theam*, and *infangenetheof*; they were quit of carriage, *summage* and *conduct*, *king's tallage*, and all royal works and unjust exactions: whatever they bought, sold, or consumed was exempt from toll, custom, passage, or

¹ Mon. Ang. new edit. vol. i. p. 540.

pontage : wherever they went they might pass unmolested, under pain of forfeiture to the king from any offender, in *wick* and *vill*, in wood and in plain, on land and water, on sea and in port². These, which are the very expressions of many grants, shew how largely and generously their peculiar rights were conveyed to them. King Stephen, during his stormy reign, took them under his protection ; and gave safe conduct to Abbat Hameline, and all persons under his jurisdiction, “ to go, and come, and remain, and enjoy all that they had without unjust disturbance³ ;” and John, when Earl of Mortagne, though at a later period he scrupled not to oppress them, had granted privileges, similar to those which have been just enumerated, in all his lands at Bristol, and at Cardiff and Newport in Wales, enjoining all his bailiffs and officers, French, English, and Welsh, “ to forward their business, as though it were his own⁴.” Thus, not only were their persons protected, and interests promoted, but the necessities and luxuries of life were secured to them. Their chases and fisheries were scrupulously guarded. They had free warren in all their estates in Gloucestershire and beyond the Severn ; and where their authority obtained, no one, without permission, could pursue any game, or take a fish from their waters ; while all the king’s foresters, huntsmen, and archers on the Welsh side of the river, and in the forest of Dean, were to surrender the tithe of any venison taken in the forest of that province. By ancient law the *sturgeon* is a royal fish ; wherever caught it appertained to the king. Then occasionally, as in these days, such a fish would stray from the expansive estuary of the Severn into the narrower windings of the stream in their vale ; and this, if taken in any Abbey fishery, was exclusively their own. The privilege, indeed, was not peculiar to the Abbey of Gloucester ; the Bishop of Durham, having wreck of sea within the lordship of his manor of Hoveden⁵, laid claim to the whale and the sturgeon, cast upon those northern and tempestuous shores : it may also be imagined that such concession on the part of the king would cost but little ; as, in the existing state of the roads and locomotive habits of the princes, the sturgeon could, probably, in few instances be conveyed fresh and sound to the royal table ; and there can be no great stretch of liberality, or self-denial, in assigning that to others which we cannot enjoy ourselves. But it was an especial mark of high favour : on the one part it carried with it an air of munificence, and on the other, it conferred dignity in the eyes of the people ; and that which, next to the admitted sanctity of their official character, constituted the bulwark of these ecclesiastical bodies was this, that they were “ men whom the king delighted to honour.”

The twelfth century is celebrated in history for the vast increase of monastic establishments in England, and for the immense wealth accumulated by the church. During the earlier part of it, and under the government of Serlo, De Lacy, Foliot, and Hamcline, several priories were attached to the Abbey of Gloucester, which must have greatly advanced its reputation and influence. Ewyas-Harold and Saint Guthlac in 1100, and Kilpec in 1134, all in the county of Hereford, and Saint Guthlac, close to the city ; Ewenny, in Glamorganshire, in 1141 ; Stanley-Saint-Leonard’s, in Gloucestershire, in

² Cartæ Reg. Angl. in MS. Registro Walteri Froucester asservatæ, vol. i.

³ Carta Regis Stephani. Ibid, f. 15 b.

⁴ Carta Johannis Com. Morton. Ibid. f. 18 a.

⁵ Rymer. Fœdera, vol. ii. part ii. p. 1225, new edit.

1146; and Bromfield, in Shropshire, in 1155. Various donations gradually swelled the monastery's rental; houses and shops, gardens and meadows in and about the city, and advowsons, woods, and manors in many parts of the county. Their name and authority had, from early times, extended into Hampshire, Devonshire, &c.; they had a church in Norwich, and some of their estates were in the Marches and in South Wales.

The consequence which this house acquired, especially after its re-establishment by the Conqueror, seems to have been not a little promoted by the existence of a *palace* to the north of the city. Allusion has already been made to it in mentioning the residence of princes at Gloucester. Of this edifice, in ancient writings styled *Aula Regis*, nothing now remains, save a traditionary site, and the name of King's-Holm. Yet it is most certain that kings of England have not merely sojourned here upon travel, but have occasionally selected it for a temporary abode. At such seasons the Abbey Church, being the nearest and the most eminent place of public worship, would be frequented by the court; and hence sovereigns, with their trains of counsellors and knights in arms, have bowed and offered at its shrines. It is expressly recorded that young Henry III. lodged here, when he was brought, with a great retinue, to receive the crown at the high altar of Saint Peter's⁶; for Gloucester was then considered the safest place in the kingdom. Before and after the probable ruin of this palace, from the reign of Henry I. to that of Henry V., the spacious convent was honoured or burdened by the holding of many parliaments. Legates of the popes, archbishops, and high ecclesiastical dignitaries have held synods and provincial councils within these walls;—they have witnessed the coronation and the funeral of a king.

Every tide must have its ebb. The attachment to these institutions, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, but more particularly after the death of Henry III., was gradually on the decline. It was then found that the celebrity of a convent, so far from contributing to its advantage, would, by increasing its expenses, prove a cause of its decay, unless some expedient could be devised to improve the revenue of the house. Both these circumstances are strikingly illustrated in the case before us. Richly as Gloucester Abbey may be supposed to have been endowed, it is a remarkable fact, with regard to the fabric, which had more than once experienced serious injury by fire, that while some new parts were occasionally added, others of no small importance seem to have been suffered to run into a state of dilapidation. During the government of De Gamages the wind blew the dormitory down. Though the notoriety acquired by the reception of the Christian child who was said to have been crucified by the Jews, and the miracles reported to be wrought at his tomb, might, by attracting wealthy visitants, have proved in some degree beneficial to the monks, it should seem that, unless extraordinary means had occurred of improving their finances, the church, like the dormitory, might have been leveled with the ground. Nearly fifty years had been suffered to elapse before they could summon resolution or ability to rebuild the south-western tower, that had fallen down in the life-time of Abbat Hameline; and in the year 1323, when they requested Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, to permit the appropriation of the parish church of South Cerney, they made a statement nearly in the following terms :—

⁶ Robert of Glouc. Chron. by Hearne, vol. ii. p. 513.

“ That the Church of the Monastery, built by pious founders of olden time for divine worship in a sumptuous style, had long ago for the most part fallen down through mere antiquity and decay, and the remainder threatened soon to fall; that they had laid out large sums in the repair thereof, and that more must be expended in work newly begun; that the Monastery, situated in a public place and famous town, was subject to a very great burden of hospitality, from the reception of persons resorting thither in very great numbers from divers parts of the world; that the persecution of certain powerful individuals had formerly taken possession of a great share of their substance, originally assigned to the support of the fraternity and for the burdens incumbent upon the Monastery, which had suffered great injury in its means of subsistence.” And they conclude by affirming that “ in the pursuit of their right in this respect, and in other causes, they had incurred so heavy a debt that, unless their necessities were timely relieved, they had reason to apprehend they should be reduced to distress⁷.”

This representation was made during the government of Abbat Thokey, and though couched in the usual style of pleading when appropriations were sought, involved, no doubt, much of the real state of the case. But a remedy surpassing all anticipation was at hand: never was a stroke of judicious policy or generous loyalty more effective than the determination of that Abbat to receive the corpse of Edward the Second. Though that part of the expenses of his interment which fell upon the Convent was very considerable, and it should seem that they could ill afford it, no money could have been laid out to more advantage. Their conduct secured at once the favour of Edward III., who shewed much good feeling and filial duty in endeavouring to uphold the reputation of his unfortunate parent. Upon the ground of their heavy charges and loyal exertions, besides other important concessions, he permitted them to appropriate three churches, of Wyrardesbury, Chipping-Norton, and Camme, “ for the support of an anniversary, and that they should pray for the soul of his father⁸.” The same tone of consideration and attachment was kept up by Richard II. who exempted Walter Froucester, the Abbat,

“—for life from appearing in person at any of his parliaments, congregations, and councils, on account of his special love to the Abbey of Gloucester, where the body of King Edward, his great grandfather, was buried, and that his beloved in Christ, Walter, Abbat of that house, might be retained to celebrate exequies, and an anniversary for his soul.”

From this very memorable event the building may date not only its restoration, but much of its subsequent magnificence. In the rage for visiting the tomb of Edward II. the ways to Gloucester were crowded by pilgrims, innumerable; and the offerings there presented by the devotees made more than amends for the slackening of other donations. The wealth that was poured in at this channel flowed over, and descended to later times; and it is worthy of observation that, while there is no record of any estates left for that purpose to the use of the master of the works, beyond the end of the fourteenth century, the most costly improvements in this building were afterwards made during the fury of the civil wars between the rival Roses, when England became a theatre of havoc and blood; and monasteries, the sanctuaries of those who fled from assassination or battle, were

⁷ Concessio Thom. Episc. Wygorn. MS. Registr. Froucester, vol. i. f. liii. Tanner's Notitia Monast. preface, p. 20, note, Nasmith's edit.

⁸ Rymer. Fœdera, vol. ii. pars ii. p. 729, new edition. See also the King's letter to the Pope on the same subject, p. 742.

comparatively little thought of, and too frequently suffered in the general devastation. Of what occurred to this Abbey, at that precise period, there is no regular contemporary account. But to this hour may be seen the effects produced by the tomb of the murdered monarch. It was erected by his son and successor, and as a specimen of art challenges the admiration of the spectator; yet the eye that wanders from the tiled floor, at the high altar, to the intricacies of the roof above, will discern a still more striking memorial of his death and burial. The choir itself, decorated no doubt by the superfluous wealth that the Abbey had thus acquired, while it has dedicated the wonderful and beautiful of architecture to the service of the Most High, presents as noble a *mausoleum* as, perhaps, has ever been erected to the memory of any British king.

Of all the Abbats whose acts and characters are detailed in the Chronicle of the house, no one is more entitled to the grateful respect of the antiquary than WALTER FROUCESTER. By him, or at his instigation and procurement, that Chronicle was composed, which begins with the foundation and closes with his death, in 1412. To him we are indebted for most of the direct historical information concerning the Abbey, its governors, its progress, and possessions. And this, so far as it now goes, is as satisfactory as the nature of the subject would lead us to expect; though we may be assured that in their original state the series of documents which he brought together was much more complete than it is at present. Time has envied him his attempt to inform posterity how rich and well ordered was this society when he departed. He appears to have been a man of an active and munificent disposition, anxious for the dignity and welfare of the community to which he was attached, to enlarge its privileges, and protect what it had already acquired. Many of these monastic superiors were distinguished by their labours to improve the property, and repair, or enlarge, or decorate the building; and these commanded the gratitude of the fraternity; but Abbat Froucester gave most substantial proof that he was variously and eminently qualified to fill the post assigned to him. Besides the somewhat ambitious honours that he obtained for his successors, the payment of the debts of the convent, his attention to their lands and edifices, his valuable completion of the unfinished cloisters, and his compilation of that curious Abbey history before mentioned, he collected all the existing muniments relating to their affairs, and caused them to be arranged and carefully copied into registers, a part of which remain to this day. This was a work of great importance, forming a chain of evidences of which the Chronicle, by its references, appears to have been one of the links. Their earliest documents seem chiefly to have perished by neglect, or time, or waste of war or fire; but the record then made out in these cartularies, the several portions of which contain upwards of one thousand four hundred articles, attests his judgment and well directed zeal for the temporal interests of the Abbey.

These collections, illustrative of public and local events, and furnishing an estimate of the sources from which their ample means were supplied, have evidently been consulted by most of the writers who have professed to treat of this subject, either in the original or in the transcripts of *Archdeacon Furney*, who, early in the last century, with great diligence

extracted or abridged them all. The public charters that they contain have been printed; and most of those relating to the Abbey can have only a limited interest, as designating persons and places, with which the general reader has no desire to be acquainted: yet particulars such as the following may not be altogether unworthy of attention.

1. The proofs respecting their original title to those lands which Aldred had alienated from the Monastery, and attached to the see of York, are laid down with much precision in sundry affirmations made by persons of unquestionable character, called in to bear testimony upon this point. There is considerable solemnity in the style of the ensuing attestation.

“ Testimony of David of the Convent of Worcester, &c. To all sons of holy mother church, David, sometime Prior of the Convent of Worcester, health. Placed at the extremity of my days, I declare to you the truth of the matter respecting the claim which the Archbishop of York holdeth against the Church of Saint Peter of Gloucester, that ye may be informed of the same in common, and if it be necessary, as sons of truth, may not deny your testimony to this truth, I myself, should I be permitted to be present when this cause is to be tried, nothing hesitating to grasp the red hot plate of iron, or whatever the equity of justice might demand. This then before God and his saints I testify, that the Church of Saint Peter of Gloucester possessed these vills, to wit, Berton, Leech, Otintone, from the very time of the nuns who aforetime had their dwelling there, and it still holdeth them in possession. But it acquired Standish by donation of Earl Beornulph. And albeit Aldred, the Bishop of our Church, who afterwards was some time Archbishop of York, retained Leech, Standish, and Otynton, by permission of Abbat Wistan his relation, on account of building the aforesaid Monastery, he never retained Berton, neither hath the said Church lost right of plenary donation or investiture in the aforesaid manors; this I have read in charters and in chronicles; this I have known and learned by relation of truth-telling witnesses. This testimony I have confirmed by impression of my seal to those who desire to know the truth. Witnesses of this matter are Robert, the venerable Abbat of Alcester, of good memory and great authority, Warren, Prior of Worcester, and the whole Convent of the said Church. Fare ye well.”

2. Their attention to ecclesiastical privilege is shewn in the detail of their controversy with the Priory of Lanthony, soon after its removal and refoundation at Gloucester, by Milo, Earl of Hereford. This latter event occurred in 1136; and the earl dying in 1143, in the castle of Gloucester, of which he was governor, had directed his body to be buried in his neighbouring and favourite foundation of Lanthony. To this the Abbey strongly objected, by contending that they had parochial authority on the spot where that nobleman died; and in asserting the justice of their claim to funerals from the castle, they produced an account of the castellans up to that time, which would probably no where else be found. They represent to Sampson, Bishop of Worcester, and prove it by many witnesses,

“ That the land upon which the castle of Gloucester now stands was in their possession before that castle was built: that they had a garden there; and that a chaplain of their own exercised parochial duties through their means to their own men who had dwellings there; and that the bodies of these persons were buried by them: that, though the land had been exchanged, they had surrendered to no one the parochial jurisdiction that they had therein, but were in possession of it both before and after the foundation of the castle up to the time being:—that Roger de Pistres, to whose custody the castle of Gloucester was first committed after the Conquest, and the whole of his family; likewise after him Durand de Pistres, his brother, who held the same office, and all his family, had been buried by them as parishioners; that the son and family of Walter of Gloucester, who succeeded them (and assumed the habit of a Canon in the diocese of Saint David’s, and was there buried), and after these very many of the family of Earl Milo, his successor, reposed among them, and that they had thus, by custom and antiquity, kept up the right of burying those who died within the precincts of the castle, which they assert they ought firmly to maintain.”

² MS. Froucester, 2. Registr. Eleemosynarii de Standish. f. 1. a. b.

Having debated the matter warmly for two days, and their claim being satisfactorily established, the Priory of Lanthony gave up the point¹⁰. However, at the entreaty of Robert, Bishop of Hereford, Bernard, Bishop of Saint David's, Roger, the son of Earl Milo, and many barons and knights, the monks of Gloucester agreed that Milo might be interred at Lanthony upon condition that his successors should be brought to the Abbey; and thus the affair was amicably adjusted¹¹.

3. The protection of their manorial rights is seen in a proceeding that took place in 19 Henry II. respecting the violation of the Abbey fishery of Rudele. The king addressed a writ to the sheriff of Gloucestershire to this effect,—That whereas the Abbat and Convent had a free fishery in Severn, to the extent of their manor of Rudele, in the time of Kings Henry I., Richard, and John, down to the times of Ralph Musard and William De Putot (Dabitot ?) sometimes sheriffs of the county,

“So that we and our predecessors had no right of fishing in this fishery without their will or permission, the said Ralph and William during their shrievalties, and our bailiffs, and other bailiffs and sheriffs by the will and power of the sheriffs, to which the said Abbat was incapable of making any resistance, did enter the fishery with their boats, to fish therein in our name, contrary to the liberty of the Abbat, &c. we therefore strictly command you to repair to the place where this fishery is, and by the oath of discreet and lawful persons, knights and freemen, by whom the truth may be known, inquire when their boats entered the fishery to fish,” &c.

The writ is dated at Westminster, 23 kal. April, 19 Hen. II. and the inquest was held accordingly about the nativity of Saint John the Baptist, A. D. 1235, by William Talbot, then sheriff, at Newnham, upon the oath of twelve jurors; when it was determined, that though they had so done, no one had a right to fish there without leave of the Abbat; and the King, by a farther writ, certified this, whereupon the sacrist is enjoined to take diligent heed lest this privilege, after long *disseisin* recovered with much cost and trouble, may not again be lost; and “the inquest was enrolled and deposited in the treasury of London, in the 19th year of the noble and most pious King Henry, where it may be had recourse to, if need be¹².”

4. The singularity of some grants may amuse, if they do not instruct the historian in the manners of past ages. One of these relates to the above-mentioned Earl Milo. This celebrated character had conferred an estate near the Southgate, in Gloucester, upon a favourite retainer, who afterwards bestowed it upon the Abbey in *almoign*; and thus the curious charter has been preserved. It is remarkable not merely for the simplicity of the manner in which the property is conveyed, but for the humorously affectionate feeling of expression, which seems to have been infused into the lordly donor by his amusing servant in a cheerful hour.

“A Charter of the Earl of Hereford.—Milo, Earl of Hereford, to all his friends, French and English, of England and Wales, health. Know ye that this Folebarba is my *jongleur* and my man¹³, I therefore beseech

¹⁰ We find that similar disputes often occurred between the officers of the Cathedral and those of Saint Augustine's Priory at Canterbury. Vide History, &c. of Canterbury Cathedral, by J. Britton, p. 13.

¹¹ MS. Frouc. I. Registr. pertinens ad Ecclesias, &c. f. 12 b. et seq.

¹² MS. Frouc. II. Registr. Sacristaria, f. 13 b. et seq.

¹³ *Homo meus*, hath done homage to me.

all my friends to protect him, that no injury be done unto him ; and I will shew favour to any one who will do him a kindness for the love of me. And I have granted him the land whereon he dwelleth in fee and heritage to him and to his heir, and by that service whereby he liveth ¹⁴. And if he have an heir or relation to whom he will give it, to that person I grant that land as freely as he himself holdeth it ; and if he will sell the land to any one, let him be quit for three pence per annum ¹⁵."

Such was the liberal feeling of Milo towards the son of minstrelsy, whose talents had beguiled the dulness of the castle hall.

5. Richard le Brut held a tenement of the Abbey at Pitchcomb, by the title of *Squire Serjeantry*, and the nature of his service is thus particularly explained :

"When any Monk of the Church went on a journey upon business of the Convent, Richard le Brut was to find him a squire, with a proper roadster, to follow the Monk within the realm of England, and to serve him from the time he quitted the Abbey till his return. And he was to carry the Monk's bedding upon his own horse, viz. a mattress, two blankets, and a coverlid. Item, a book of the said Monk, a cresset, candles, two loaves, and half a *fercarium* of wine, or ale. This he was to be ready and bound to do during the whole year, as often as he should be reasonably required, at the cost of our house. When by reason of the said service the squire dined in the Abbey, he was to receive daily two loaves of squire's bread, with ale thereunto appertaining, and a dish from the kitchen. Should his horse happen to die, the Abbey allowed him no more than ten shillings."

This service was afterwards changed into another serjeantry, viz. that of setting the first dish upon the table in the great hall of the Abbey on the festivals of Saint Peter and Paul, before the Abbat and his successors, or any person of high dignity at that time presiding in the hall. "On that day he was to be admitted to the Abbat's table, to eat and drink as honourably as the steward of the house for the time being, and was to have hay and oats for two horses on the ensuing night ¹⁶.

But the records banded down to us by the care of Abbat Froucester claim attention in another point of view. Their scattered notices help to furnish some faint but picturesque idea of the then condition and appearance of the Church itself. His Chronicle informs us how, from its first plain but noble form, that part of the building by aisle and roof, transept and decoration, successively arose, expanded, and was adorned, up to the days in which he officiated there. Each angle of the western end was flanked by a tower. Looking from this part eastward, through the interior, the general aspect would present that bold, majestic, Norman character, which is now chiefly observable in the nave ; but then extended, not concealed as it is at present, behind a veil of more modern work, through the choir to the high altar. The cloisters were just finished as they now appear. But the beautiful central tower had not been raised ; and the chapel of our Lady, as built by Ralph and Olympias de Willinton, was probably different in structure and dimensions from that which was subsequently erected on its site. Neither did the spectator enter through that finely proportioned porch which since has graced the western end of the southern aisle of the nave.

One of the first objects that caught the eye as it ranged eastward through the body of the Church, must have been the great crucifix, between the nave and the choir. Before it stood the *altar of the holy cross*, at which, in aftertimes, the hood and beads of every newly elected beadsman were solemnly consecrated. At the foot of this altar, in 1273, Adam de

¹⁴ Minstrelsy ?

¹⁵ MS. Frouc. II. Registr. Sub-eleemosynarii, f. 48 a.

¹⁶ Id. f. 40 a.

Clunely, a monk of the house in high reputation for sanctity, had been interred, and many miracles were reported to have been wrought at his grave¹⁷. Here also was the entrance into the choir, with the square *stone pulpit* over it, commanding the nave. The whole, with the rood-loft and crucifix, must have attracted immediate observation¹⁸. It was the work of Abbat Wigmore, who was buried on the southern side of it. The northern face of this screen was adorned with tabernacle work and statues by Abbat Horton. In the choir were the stalls constructed by Staunton and Horton; and the high altar, as it then appeared, surmounted by its screen and statues, was the work of the latter Abbat: it was dedicated to Saint Peter. Of many other altars, where services were then performed, their names only are preserved, and though vestiges of them are visible, they cannot exactly be ascertained. Such were those of Saint Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, of Edward the Confessor, where the child Harald was buried, of Saint Andrew the Apostle, and of Saint Thomas the Martyr, which had been built by Thomas de Staunton, brother to the Abbat of that name, and near to which both of them were interred¹⁹. The name of Saint Andrew is still attached to that chapel wherein the font now stands. There is an altar between this very chapel and the vestry of the lay clerks and choristers (represented in PLATE XII.), another close to the door of the great cloisters, another on the outside of Abbat Seabrooke's Chapel, and in the south transept are remains of two more. Those of Saints Andrew, Edmund, Edward the Confessor, and Thomas the Martyr, were probably all on the north side of the Church. In the Chapel of our Lady was that of the Virgin, and one dedicated to Saint Petronilla. How many of the twelve chapels and altars dedicated, as is said, to the twelve apostles, were then extant, it were useless to inquire. There is no specific evidence respecting them; neither do those in the crypt or galleries appear to be alluded to in the cartulary, so as to enable us to affix a name to any one of them.

At the period of which we speak, the Church was rich in plate, and consecrated utensils, vestments, and costly furniture. The *high altar*, in particular, had a silver gilt cross, and a set of splendid chalices of gold and silver, silver dishes and candelabra, chiefly the gifts of Abbat Horton²⁰. Great store of votive offerings of precious metals and jewellery was suspended at Edward the Second's shrine. His tomb, that of Osric, and the monument of Aldred (or more probably it is that of Serlo) remain, perhaps, much in the same situations in which they were then placed, on either side of the high altar. Before it stood the monument of Robert, Duke of Normandy, for his valour and generosity worthy of a better fate, and a more illustrious memorial than he has yet obtained.

This Church, as usual in the Romish establishment, was illuminated by a profusion of *lights at the altars*. Many of them, too feeble emblems of that purer fire of true devotion,

¹⁷ MS. Chron. Fr. f. 31.

¹⁸ The pulpit was demolished in 1718, to make room for the organ; and the whole of the beautiful screen, with its entrances, arch, chapel, pillars, and oratory, was removed about the year 1741. Furney's MS. folio, pp. 192. 320. The present *screen* was erected from the design, and in a great measure at the cost of the late *Reverend Doctor Griffith*, Head of University College in Oxford and Prebendary of this Cathedral. He was moreover in every respect the architect of it. He died in the year 1823, soon after its completion, lamented as an amiable man and a zealous admirer and skilful promoter of this species of English architecture.

¹⁹ MS. Chron. Fr. f. 49. 51, et seq.

²⁰ Ibid, f.

which will be kept alive in the Christian Church universal till time shall be no more, were perpetually burning; and in the short-sighted, but piously conceived instructions of the founders, were *to burn day and night for ever*. Most of these, and the lands by which they were endowed, were placed under the sacrists' care. For the purpose of finding lights for the altars in general, Matilda de Tainton gave the Church of Tainton, and a hermitage and one yard of land: to which, in confirmation of the gift, Ralph Avenel added a husbandman, his wife, and all his family²¹. The Chapel of our Lady was also well supplied. Before the altar, where the mass of the Virgin Mary was celebrated, William de Sandford, besides a taper at the said mass, gave a lamp, burning day and night; and John Bromer, two tapers before the image. John de Maudry, Jeffrey Memfred, Philip de Deveney, and John, Chaplain of Saint Paternus, contributed to the illumination of this Chapel and altar; and Robert de Berkeley gave his Mill of Covel, with lands, for daily and nightly tapers, and at all the festivals of Saint Mary, throughout the year. This gift was for the souls of King Henry, and his heirs, Robert de Berkeley, son of Maurice de Berkeley, Juliana his wife, their ancestors and successors for ever. At the altar of Saint Petronilla, the piety of Milo de Sandhurst, and Ralph and Olympias de Willinton, had provided a lamp daily at the mass, and two chaplains to pray for the souls of themselves, their ancestors and successors, and the faithful departed. John Payne gave a lamp, day and night, for ever before the altar of St. Andrew; and before that of Saint Thomas, were the lamps of Robert de Putteleye and Henry Kaye. Nicholas Fuke and William Fitz Anketill of Lilleton, left endowments of this kind for the altar in front of the greater crucifix in the nave; and Thomas Tholy, setting out on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, made a deed of gift of certain lands, for a lamp to burn daily and nightly before the rood, provided, he should die on his journey to the holy city²².

Most distinguished of all in this respect, we may imagine, was the *high altar*. John Barefoot and John Faukener gave seventy-eight acres, in Monk's Hyde and Cowarn, for a lamp to burn here continually, in honour of Edward the Second; and John Monk had licence from Richard the Second to apply three messuages, and four yard-lands, with their appurtenances at Aylanston, in the county of Warwick, to the same purpose. The Churches of Saint Mary, before the Gate, Saint Giles of Maisemore, Saint Laurence of Barnwood, and Saint Leonard of Upton, had been appropriated to find lights before this altar by Abbat Gilbert Foliot, with advice and consent of the whole Convent. But very remarkable for the liberality of the endowment, and the manner in which it is expressed, is that of Henry the First, when he bestowed the manor of Rudele, with the wood and fishery of Sudrug, to find lights before the altar of Saint Peter, for the soul of Robert Duke of Normandy, "surnamed Curthehoce, my brother." The charters relating to this are couched in such terms as founders are wont to employ, when devoting their possessions to holy uses they give vent to their feelings in expressions of affection towards the object of their donations. He confers ample boons, and asks for no return but prayers. They are in the style of one whose heart was subdued by solemn recollections, and convey an idea of regret, and of attempt to compensate for unmerited sufferings inflicted upon an injured brother.

²¹ MS. Frouc. II. Registr. Sacrist. f. x. b.

²² MS. Frouc. II. Registr. Sacrist. f. iv. b.

That the Church was ever adorned with many architectural monuments may be questioned; but we have sufficient proof that numbers of persons of eminence, both in church and state, have been interred here. The researches of Furney have brought out a long catalogue of the dead, of whom it may in this sense with truth be affirmed, that "their memorials are perished with them." Many who in the earliest times sought a last home within this consecrated ground, unless identified and removed by Aldred or Serlo, await their account without the walls. Many were buried in the Chapter-house. But if all monumental records of these have passed away, it were reasonable that we should look for more in the present Church than are now to be found. Those of a King, a Viceroy, a Duke, and two Abbats are all that can with certainty be ascertained. And if to these be added one of an unknown ecclesiastic, who was a founder, and another to a knight and his lady, we have made out the list of monuments whose dates are anterior to the Reformation. It were, perhaps, going too far to attribute the whole of this to damage done at that period; neither is it chargeable upon the last civil war: for it is well known that while the Cathedral was in the hands of the Parliamentarians it received comparatively but little injury, through the good feeling of Massey the governor, and of Thomas Pury the younger, a man of taste and literature, cast upon most unfavourable times²³. It is probable then, that though there might have been other mural or isolated monuments, the number was not large. Hardly a vestige of the brasses; and not a single entire inscription, that savours of high antiquity, has descended to posterity.

The Chronicle mentions bodies buried before and nigh to the high altar. Looking at the spot, and considering how it is circumstanced, it is not immediately apparent in what sense and with what limitation these expressions must be understood. From the steps which lead out of the lower part of the choir to the presbytery, an inclined plane extends to the steps of that altar. Immediately under this portion of the Church is the crypt: but between the pavement of the presbytery and the vaulting of that subterraneous apartment, in the opinion of competent judges, there is not sufficient thickness of room for sepulture. If this be really so, it may be concluded, that bodies said to be thus deposited lie below the steps leading out of the choir; where the bones of Curthose would be found.

From the building let us revert once more to its inmates. It is observable that the number of Monks upon this foundation has been various at different times. Where the means of support had long been regularly established, and there could be little difficulty in filling up vacancies, the reasons for this variation are not very obvious. Serlo, at his coming in 1072, found only two or three adults and eight boys; but at his decease, in 1104, he left the number increased to a hundred. If so many could then be maintained, when the convent was refounded and settled anew in statute and constitution, and when so many donations were subsequently made towards its maintenance, it is singular that

²³ He had a lease of the Deanery, dated July 3, 1648, for seven years, at 40s. per annum, having laid out 80l. in the repair thereof. Pury, with Sir Matthew Hale and the officers of the garrison, about the same time, restored, and were great benefactors to the library. Furney's MS. folio, p. 322. But the library has been renovated in a better taste by the present Dean and Chapter, in 1828.

they should not have kept up the number. When Edward III., in 1328, appropriated three Churches to the Abbey, he appointed three Monks, in addition to the antient quota, to pray for the soul of his parent. Under the government of Boysfield there were fifty-four; and under that of Froucester forty-five, besides the Abbat. In 1510 they are reckoned at forty-eight in the Abbey, and sixteen in the cells: and in the reign of Henry VIII. those who subscribed to the king's supremacy, though these might not be all, are stated at thirty-five. These inequalities may sometimes have arisen from interference of ecclesiastical visitors upon different occasions, and for causes now unknown.

Throughout the whole period, extending from the accession of the house of Lancaster to the union of the Roses, a period most interesting, but very defective in our civil and ecclesiastical histories, a wide gap occurs in the annals of the Monks of Gloucester. The ledgers of only the three last Abbats, Braunche, Newton, and Parker are in existence; and supply some scanty information relative to their condition and economy during part of the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. immediately preceding the dissolution. To these the remaining portion of our Essay will be chiefly confined.

Great Abbies maintained a crowd of officers and dependents in various departments. In the times of Boysfield and Froucester, it is said they amounted to two hundred; in which all, in town and country, must be included. Furney, from the occurrence of them in the original documents, has particularly specified between eighty and a hundred. Their bailiffs and collectors were very numerous. As every thing in these establishments was professedly carried on with great formality and order, most of these persons, especially such as were employed immediately about the house, from the steward and physician down to the groom and the servant in the brewery, held their places by grant, or patent. These instruments were made out by the clerk of the treasury, or, as he is also styled, the clerk of the cellarer, in which not only their salary, clothing, and maintenance are, for the most part, minutely defined; but in some instances their duties, both positive and negative, are distinctly laid down. The reader shall be presented with some abstracts from them.

1. Foremost among their civil officers, in estimation and honour, seems to have been the *chief steward*. His office was executed by deputy; but that appointment the Abbey reserved to themselves. Indeed the stewards of the lands and manors of their cells seem to have been gentlemen, and some of them might have the privilege of nominating their substitute: but to two of these appointments they evidently attached much importance, and at least in latter times contrived, by the disposal of them, to connect themselves with persons of rank or interest, whose names might not only grace their roll, but whose exertions, if needful, might promote their welfare. One was the stewardship of the lands, &c. of their Priory of Ewenny within the Lordship of Ogmore and Duchy of Lancaster, in the county of Glamorgan, to which, in the reigns of Henry VII. and VIII., we have the successive nominations of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, Sir Thomas More, and Henry, Earl of Worcester; and in the appointment of the latter, where it is expressed, that "he shall receive twenty shillings per annum from the Prior of Ewenny, and other profits due to his office;" it is added, "and for good advice and assistance afforded, and to be afforded, to us and our Priory." But the other, that of chief steward of the courts, &c. of the Monastery of Gloucester, whose annual stipend was ten marks, paid by the cellarer, was in

more immediate intercourse with the whole of their interests. Sir Giles Brydges held this in reversion, 20 Henry VII., and Sir William Kyngston in 20 Henry VIII., afterwards in conjunction with Anthony, his son and heir apparent²⁴. This is the celebrated Sir William Kyngston whom Wolsey dreaded, who was Captain of the King's guard and Lieutenant of the Tower, when the unfortunate Anne Boleyn was beheaded²⁵. Kyngston and his son outlived the prosperity of the Abbey, and shared in its spoils.

2. The *Under-Steward* of the Abbey, however, as the principal manager of their receipts and concerns abroad, was on this account more immediately useful to them. John Arnold, Esq. held this post for many years, from 4 Henry VIII., and afterwards procured his son Nicholas to be nominated with him as his successor. He was treated with great consideration, had numerous perquisites, and was provided for in case of sickness or inability. His stipend was five pounds per annum: and he had livery of cloth as often as any squire of the household, or domestic of the Abbat, and four yards besides at Christmas; seven white loaves, called *myches*, weekly; three shillings and fourpence for ale every quarter; on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays, out of Lent, a mess of the first course, such as is put before two Monks; and the same every Sunday and Wednesday in Lent. Hay, litter, and standing for two horses in the cellarer's stable. If sick, his pay was to be forty shillings per annum; every day one Monk's allowance of flesh, and eight shillings and sixpence every quarter to provide his ale. His servant had every day a loaf of grooms-bread. The under-steward received also, yearly, two loads of wood, or two hundred staff-kids (strung faggots), and eight pounds of candles. His dwelling was in a chamber, with a garden annexed to it, called "*the sextry*." Some little alteration and addition was made in this when his son was associated with him, who was not to act in his father's time, but with permission of the Abbat. Both of them were appointed for life. Arnold was to audit all the accounts of the bailiffs, farmers, and other dependents of the Abbey; those of the bailiffs were engrossed on parchment. The audit was annually held between the feasts of Saint Martin and Saint Andrew²⁶.

3. Next to the under-steward, in utility and real consequence, was, perhaps, the *Clerk of the treasury*, or clerk of the cellarer. He held all the cellarer's courts. He made out all grants, presentations, advowsons, leases, copies of court rolls, and all writings under the common seal of the Abbey. His chamber was near the west gate of the Abbey, where he kept all the books, rolls, and muniments. Thomas Parker had this appointment 29 Henry VIII. He was the attorney to manage their business in the Exchequer, for which his annual fee was twenty shillings: his salary as clerk was four pounds per annum. Every Christmas he received cloth for a gown of the suit and livery of the office of under-steward and other counsellors of the Monastery, or thirty shillings in lieu thereof. The cellarer, whose carriages brought in the supply of fire-wood to the Convent, delivered three loads to him every year. He had maintenance for one horse in the stable of the Abbey;

²⁴ Registr. Brunche. ff. 37. 66. Malverna. 144. 283. Ledger, 13, et alibi.

²⁵ Ellis. Original Letters, Series I. vol. i. p. 53. He was sheriff for the county of Gloucester, 7 Hen. VIII.; and is a conspicuous personage in Fox's account of the imprisonment and martyrdom of Bishop Hooper.

²⁶ Registr. Newton. f. 52. MS. Ledger, ff. 80. 110.

and the usual corrody of meat, drink, allowance of parchment, paper, candles, and other profits to his post appertaining, and that for life²⁷.

4. The *chief porter* kept the keys of all the Abbey gates : his salary was thirteen shillings and fourpence per annum, paid quarterly : he had a chamber in the Abbey, next to the Abbey-gate²⁸. His weekly corrody was three white loaves, called myches, and two called holyers, with seven loaves of squire-bread : for ale, every quarter, three shillings and fourpence. On every flesh or fish day he had a mess of flesh or fish of the first course, as much as is set before two Monks. He had a gown every year of the suit of the gentlemen of the household of the Lord Abbat. This was granted in reversion to Robert Ingram, 28 Henry VIII.²⁹

This review of lay dependents might be greatly enlarged ; but it shall close with the introduction of a personage of no little importance among the fraternity. His grant of corrody, which will be given in a more detailed form, brings him out, like some figure touched by the hand of Holbein, habited in his robe of broad cloth, trimmed with fur, a constant attendant upon the bodily welfare of the Abbat and Monks of Saint Peter. He is a foreigner, and probably not in holy orders ; but his profession has stamped its just value on those who exercise it in every age. It opens in this style :—

“ To all the faithful of Christ to whom the present writing shall come, Thomas, by divine permission, Abbat of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Gloucester, and the Convent of the said house, health in the Lord everlasting. Know ye, &c.

“ The Abbat and Convent grant to their beloved in Christ, *Master William de Saint Severino, Bachelor of Medicine*, for his good service in the art of medicine and laudable counsel, &c. the following corrody for the term of his life. Every day a Monk’s loaf. Every flesh day such a dish of flesh, and every fish day such a dish of fish at dinner and supper as is served to a Monk of the Convent. An annual pension of two marks to find himself in beer ; and another annual pension of two marks for his stipend at the festivals of Saint Andrew, the Annunciation, Saint Mary, the Nativity, and Saint John the Baptist, by equal portions : annually from the cellarer three waggon loads of fire wood, or two hundred faggots, called ‘ kayshides ;’ and from the sub-cellarer twelve pounds of tallow candles. The said Master William shall receive yearly, towards Christmas, four yards of broad cloth, with fur, of the suit of the upper clergy of the said Monastery ; and shall have a chamber in the Abbey, called ‘ Cheltenham’s Chamber³⁰.’ Every day one servant’s loaf, called squire-bread, for his boy, and ten shillings yearly to provide beer for said boy, payable at four terms of the year, with a dish of potage on every conventual day. To have and to hold to the said Master William de Saint Severino, the aforesaid corrody of bread, flesh, fish, wages, fire, candle, clothing, and bread, with ten shillings for his servant’s beer, for the term of his life.—For which corrody the said Master William shall be faithful to the

²⁷ MS. Ledger, from 20 to 30 Hen. VIII. f. 150.

²⁸ This gate, the site of which is over against the present porch, was originally called the *Lych-gate*, from the circumstance of those bodies being rested under it, that came for burial, till they were met by the usual procession : the lane was called *Lych-lane*. Here it is to be presumed the corpse of Edward II. was halted ; and it may be conjectured that upon this account it was rebuilt by Edward III., and has ever since been called King Edward’s Gate.

²⁹ Id. f. 115.

³⁰ “ De Cheltenham ” was a great benefactor to Gloucester Hall, in Oxford. Many chambers in the Abbey seem to have received their names from inmates or visitants. In the Infirmary was one called “ The Duke of Bedford’s Chamber,” Ledger, f. 79. And there is a room in the Deanery which is traditionally said to have been the bed-chamber of Henry VIII.

Abbat and Convent and their successors, shall keep their secrets, and shall lay aside all other care when he shall be called upon and required to the care of the said Abbat and Convent and their successors, or any Monk of the said Convent; and shall apply his diligence in the said faculty, and in the execution thereof, to the utmost of his knowledge. Neither shall it be lawful for the said Master William to retire from the service of the said Abbat and Convent, or their successors, without permission of the Lord Abbat, or Prior, first asked and obtained; and during his recess, so often as leave shall be granted to him to go out of town, then the said William shall shew the said Abbat and Convent and their successors in what place they shall find him; and, if need be, the said William shall return with all speed, at his own expense to the said Abbat and Convent, and their successors: and if he be absent without leave, his corrody of bread, fish, and all things above named, shall cease till his return to the said service. Moreover the said Abbat and Convent have granted to the aforesaid Master William, for the sake of his recreation, seven days in every quarter of a year to visit his friends, during which he may receive all things aforesaid; but if he shall be absent beyond seven days the corrody shall cease, according to the time of his absence, till he return to the aforesaid service. Sealed with the common seal and the seal of the said Master William, and dated in the Chapter-house on the last day of July, A. D. 1507 ³¹."

After all, these grants for life, without reference to future conduct or character ³² these associations of father and son, survivorships, reversions, and permissions to execute their trusts by deputy, suggest the strong tendency to abuses, with which these institutions were then infected, and which promoted their decay.

Their *leases* are no less instructive in peculiarities, relating to their habits and domestic arrangements. Many of them contain clauses connected with purveyance and good cheer. In these their festivals are not forgotten. The Manor of Froucester was to furnish a boar to the cellarer, at the feast of All Saints. The farmers of Buckland Manor were bound to fatten thirty capons, to be delivered to them by the chamberlain, against the capon-feast. From that of Preston they derived twenty-seven quarters of wheat, twenty geese, as many ducks, capons, and pullets, and four bushels of green peas, at the several seasons of Midsummer, All Saints, and the Festival of Lent. And from Abbelode they received, annually, twenty capons, twenty pullets, thirty ducks, fifteen young pigs, two hundred and forty hen-eggs, pigeons, butter, cheese, and milk. Standish supplied them with abundance of beech-wood for firing. Among the copies of their leases are several relating to their flocks of sheep; in these their numbers are specified, the livery of the Abbey shepherd is mentioned; and in one instance their shelter in winter, and their protection from heat and flies in the summer, is particularly laid down. Wherever any court is held, the lessee of that manor is bound to entertain the representatives of the house. The farmer at Monk-Leighton found wine, beer, and bread, for those who were engaged in the procession there on Holy Thursday ³³.

³¹ Registr. Braunche, f. 71. b.

³² In one instance, that of John Bodelych, the Convent panter, there is a proviso, that he shall be removed for misconduct. Registr. Braunche, f. 60, a. All their retainers were usually put to their oaths, however, to the observance of their duty, and to keep the secrets of the house. Monks, obtaining a *bene decessit* to go to another house, were put to a similar oath of secrecy. This was the case, in 1516, with William Emley, who removed to the Priory of Abergavenny. Registr. Malvern. f. 69.

³³ Registr. Braunche, ff. 7, 8, 14. 31. Malverne. ff. 145. 177. Ledger, ff. 30. 125, et alibi.

According to the Chronicle, Staunton was the first who made a residence for the Abbats at the pleasant *Vineyard*, that from its gentle knoll overlooking the Severn to the eastward, commanded the city and Abbey, backed by the distant hills. Unquestionably this was a favourite residence, and, on more accounts than one, a spot of advantageous retirement. When Gloucester, closely built and thickly inhabited, was occasionally visited by pestilential disease, and the infection reached westward across the river to Over, the Abbat, who should not think himself beyond its influence at the Vineyard, was provided with a farther retreat. By lease of the Manor and Mansion-house of Highnam to John Arnold, Isabel his wife and Nicholas their son, for seventy years³⁴, it is stipulated, that "at reasonable summons and warning of the Abbat and his successors, when plague of pestilence shall happen in Gloucester or Over, it shall be lawful to the said Abbat and his successors, during the plague, to have a convenient portion of the aforesaid mansion for the residence of themselves and their men, at the proper cost of the Abbat, during the plague."

It were unjust to omit all mention of their regular *alms-givings* to the poor. For these they were well provided by liberal donations. The registers of the almoner and sub-almoner abundantly testify the extent of their ability to exercise beneficence; and charity itself should lead us to conclude that they gave as freely as they had received. Yet it must not be supposed, that at the gate of the Abbey they doled out merely the scraps that came from the table of the refectory, for these were the perquisite of the serjeant of the refectory; it is recorded to have been a part of his office, as an attendant in the cellar, to *draw the alms* of the poor people³⁵.

Akin to their almsgivings were the *hospitalities* they had exercised for ages, and which had occasionally well nigh reduced them to distress. These kindnesses, consolatory to the traveller, and so graceful in the occupiers of a religious house, were extended to minute attentions, of which a conception would hardly be formed, even in days of boasted delicacy and refinement: provision was made not only for the rider, but for the horse to help him on his way. Katherine de Gloucester, relict of Walter Fitz-Peter, and Wymart, relict of John Franchevaler, in the genuine spirit of female compassion, left lands to find shoes for the horses of religious visitors who might need them³⁶.

An apparent privilege, but real disadvantage, was the right that they enjoyed of *electing their Abbat*. This often gave rise to contested elections and bitter dissensions. We meet with instances of Abbats chosen "by way of compromise," when the struggle was terminated by mutual compact of the contending parties. But their differences were not always settled so satisfactorily; and the interposition of royal authority had been necessary to bring them to peace³⁷. Towards the close of their career this contentious disposition raged among them, perhaps, more than ever. The election of John Newton was conducted with great heat; and the various documents relating to it occupy nearly forty closely written

³⁴ Dated 12 March, 7 Hen. VIII. Registr. Malv. f. 53. Highnam is about a mile to the westward of the Vineyard; and is now the property of Sir William Guise, Bart. The Abbat had another house at Prinknash on the hills, about four miles eastward of Gloucester.

³⁵ Registr. Braunché, f. 72, a.

³⁶ Registr. Hostillariæ, f. 1, b.

³⁷ Registr. Newton, f. 36.

leaves, double columns, of his register. These disputes brought scandal upon the fraternity, and furnished their adversaries with arguments against them. But at this time it was not enough that they should have quarreled among themselves: a serious controversy arose, during the government of Newton, between the Abbat and Convent, and the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of Gloucester, respecting right of common in some meadows near the city. It was attended with rioting and assault on the part of the townsmen; and was at length settled by the arbitration of the Abbat of Winchcomb and the Prior of Llanthony³⁸. All these things tended to increase the growing unpopularity of the house; and another cause, which operated universally to the disparagement of these societies, was equally conspicuous here. Though they might be indulgent masters to those who were absolutely under their control, yet in their zealous adherence to ancient privilege and usage they had been too tardy in manumitting their *villains*. This class of persons probably had elsewhere, for the most part, obtained their liberty, before such of them had received it who were subject to ecclesiastical lords. The registers of the later Abbats present many of their forms of manumission; the last of which may furnish a specimen and memorial of a servitude, happily now unknown in England.

"Know all men by these presents, that we, William, by divine permission, Abbat of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Gloucester, and the Convent of that house, have manumitted and given to freedom Richard Daunser, senr. of Sendbrugge (*Saintbridge*), in the county of the vill of Gloucester, Richard Daunser, son of the said Richard, senr., and Agnes, daughter of the said Richard Daunser, our *neifs* of our Manor of Barton-Abbats, nigh Gloucester, in the county of the vill aforesaid, and the whole of their offspring, begotten, or to be begotten, to be free from all yoke of servitude and like condition, with all their goods and chattels whatsoever. So that neither we, nor our successors, shall dispose of the said Richard, Richard and Agnes, nor their offspring, begotten nor to be begotten, nor their chattells, towards any parts of the world whatsoever; neither shall we be able for the future to make any exaction or claim (upon them) by reason of any *neiveté* (*nativitatis*), or like condition; but shall be excluded from all action of law and claim for ever. In witness whereof we have affixed our common seal. Given in our Chapter-house, 18th September, 1522."

The causes and circumstances that led to the abolition of these institutions need no observations here; and it is time to conclude this sketch of the privileges and customs of the Monastery of Gloucester; an outline, faint and imperfect, that the writer would gladly have strengthened and filled up, had he not already exceeded the proposed limits of this work. While many may be of opinion that sufficient has already been said of them; to others it may seem that all that has been produced is little enough to bring forward of those who occupied this spot for many hundred years, and the very thought of whose existence here appears now but as a dream. But their remains proclaim to us that they ought not, and will not be forgotten. They who, in black Benedictine vestments, trod

³⁸ Registr. Newton, f. 61, b. et seq.—The unfortunate Abbat's barber came in for his share of the mischief; it is said, in the articles against the burgesses, that certain of them, to the number of about sixty, "*The house of John Barbo', household servaunt unto the said Abbot, brake & entred as well by the wyndouse as the dores, pulling doune his basons there hangyng, & brake them almost to peces, And also brake & cast away his wear & tapurs in the same shopp being not yet so contented, but also w^t swards & Bucklers billes and staves into the said John Barbur & Rob^t Colier houshold scrvaunts unto the said Abbot being in the house of the said John Barbo'. made assaute & them bete & the said Rob^t. Colier sore wounded.*"

these hallowed courts have departed ; their processions, and images, and lights, and altars have disappeared ; their long peal at *Prime* is heard no more³⁹. Their religious ceremonies have been succeeded by a purer mode of worship and less encumbered rites. Yet their records, and Church, and cloisters show us in part what men they were ; how wealthy and influential in their generation ; how diligent in the promotion of certain of the liberal arts ; how studious, according to their notions, of employing their best efforts in rearing and decorating a temple to the service of God. And should the errors, which induced their downfall, never be obliterated, neither will some portion of their deservings ever cease to be had in remembrance, while that tower shall lift its head above the vale which for so many centuries it has adorned. There long may it continue in undiminished beauty, the admiration of the traveller and of the Antiquary, an indication of the pious feeling and talent of ages past, and a model of architectural proportion and elegance for many to come.

It may be useful to subjoin some general idea of the damages and restorations that this venerable building has sustained by neglect, interference, or a just spirit of improvement since the Reformation. At that time all those parts which had belonged to the officers of the Church had run so far to ruin, that the King ordered sixty pounds for their repair. In 1576 the whole fabric was in a very ruinous condition ; and in 1616 it became more out of order than almost any church of the same class in England ; so that Laud, who was then Dean, obtained a chapter-act for speedy attention to it, and sixty pounds per annum were allowed for that purpose. But then came the inattention and consequent dilapidation of the civil war ; in which, though as it has already been mentioned (page 11), the Cathedral suffered comparatively but little, it must not be concealed that there was a time during this season of confusion, when its total demolition was contemplated by some persons, who had agreed among themselves for their several portions. But, after the removal of the battlements, which adorned the Lady Chapel, this work of destruction was arrested. Part of the little cloisters was, however, pulled down about that period. Dorney, the town clerk, in one of his annual orations, about 1653, exhorts the officers of the city, in whose hands the charge was then vested, “ to take care of this its greatest ornament, which some do say is now in danger of falling.” Furney MS. folio, pp. 313, 314. But, interiorly, it has sustained some of its most serious injury from the ill-directed attempts of those who designed no more than to beautify and improve it. Miserable, according to Furney, must have been the mutilations of the entrance into the choir, in 1741, under Bishop Benson. Though of the well intended, but badly executed, alterations then introduced as little is now to be seen as of the beautiful work which they supplanted. It has all given way in turn, and the particulars of this havock may therefore be passed over in silence. A more correct feeling in the architecture of these ancient structures is the offspring of our own days ; and it is more consolatory to be assured, as to what is left, that the laudable exertions of the late and the present Dean and Chapter have not only effected some admirable restorations, but have progressively placed all parts of the building at present in good repair.

J. W.

³⁹ Before the Reformation the Abbey tower had chimes upon eight bells. Regist. Malverne, fo. 142.

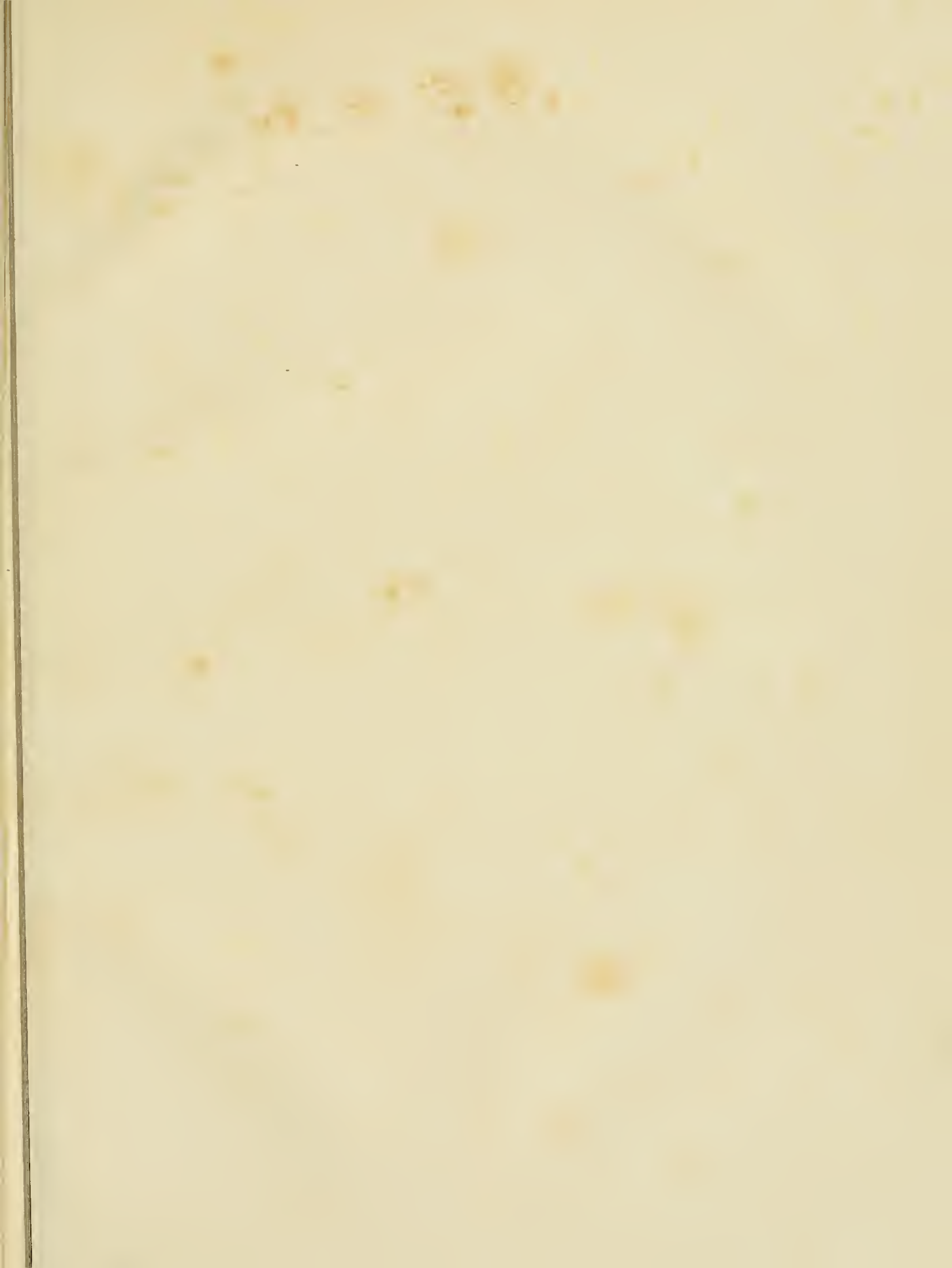
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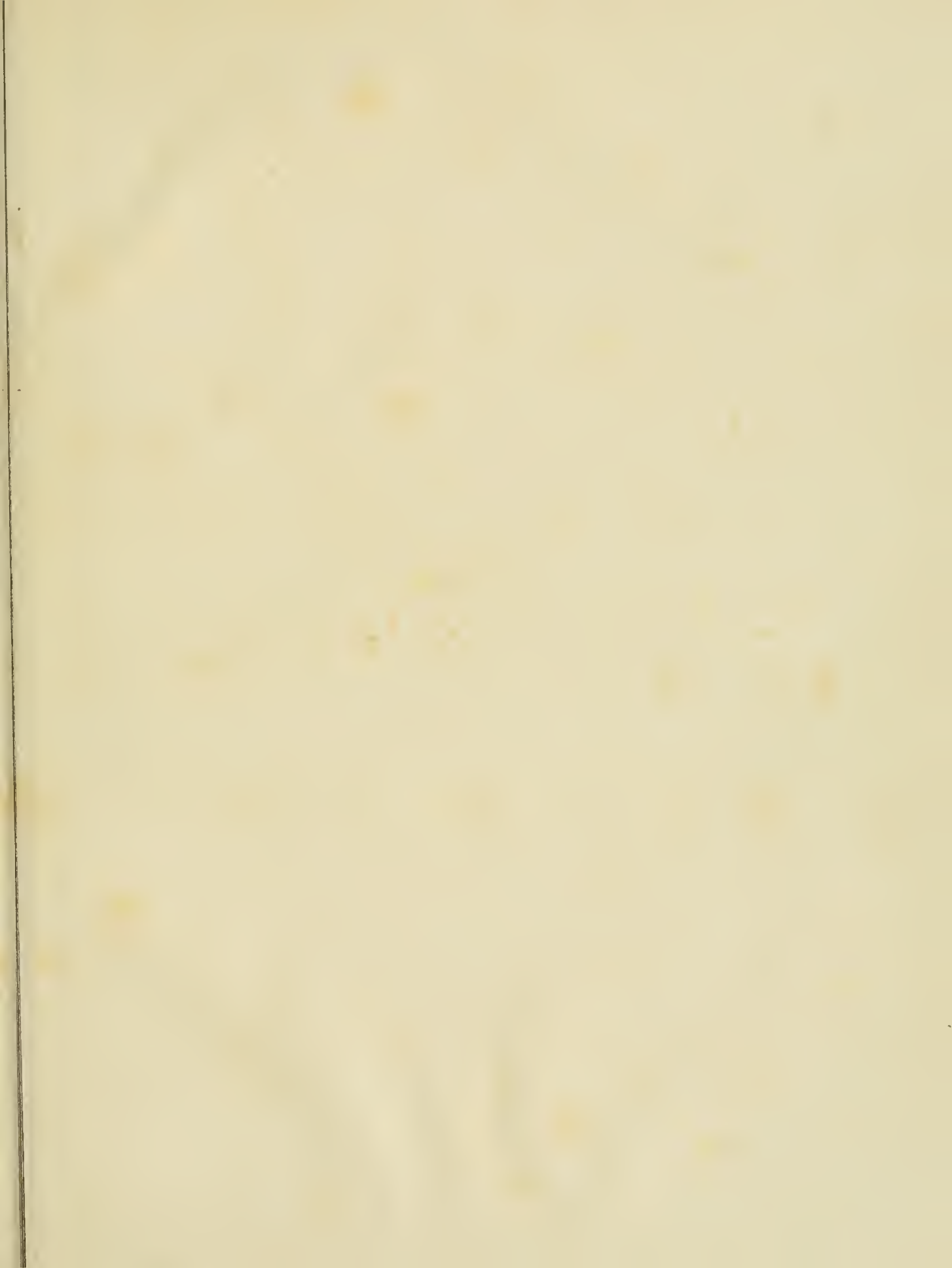
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