



39-41 Westgate Street, Gloucester

Historic Building Investigation

Rebecca Lane



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2024

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Summary

This report presents the findings of the investigation undertaken on 39-41 Westgate Street, Gloucester. Included within the report are the results of the measured survey and photographic survey undertaken during recent works to stabilise and restore both buildings. Documentary research was also undertaken to support the analysis of the two plots. The plots were owned by St Bartholamew's Hospital from the 14th to the 19th centuries. The front range, originally spanning both plots, was reconstructed in the late 16th century under tenant Thomas Weekes or his successor Henry Strafford, with a shop or shops on the ground floor, and domestic accommodation above. Within a few years a range was added to the rear of the east bay (later No. 39). By the mid-17th century the front range had been subdivided to form two separate units again, and the small rear range was added to the western plot (later No. 41). The eastern bay of the front range (No. 39) was reconstructed as a three-storey brick building in the early 19th century.

Contributors

The investigation of the building was undertaken by Rebecca Lane. Photography of the building is by Steve Baker and James O. Davies of Historic England unless otherwise stated. The measured survey was commissioned from Sumo Services Ltd with enhancements by Chris Miners of Historic England. Documentary research was undertaken by Rebecca Lane, based on the published work by John Rhodes. Initial assessment of the paint finishes on the site was undertaken by Andrea Kirkham in April 2022 with a further site visit after the discovery of the wall paintings in the rear wing in 2023. A summary of the findings of her work are incorporated into this report.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to Kate Biggs and Clare Dovey Evans of Gloucester City Council, who initiated the project and facilitated access. Chris Miners and Rosie Byford of Historic England were also involved in the initiation of the project. Thanks are also due to Andrew Armstrong, Gloucester City Archaeologist, and staff at Gloucestershire Archives and Gloucester Cathedral Archives for input and support.

Front cover image: Nos 39-41 Westgate Street from the street itself, looking south.
DP464292

Archive Location

Historic England Archive, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon, SN2 2EH\wW

Date of survey and research

The site was visited in April 2022 and February 2023. Research was carried out between January 2023 and April 2023. The report was written between December 2022 and April 2023, and revised in light of the discovery of the additional wall paintings in February 2024. The report was desk-top published in May 2024.

Contact Details

The Engine House, Fire Fly Avenue, Swindon, SN2 2EH.

Rebecca Lane, 01793 414775, Rebecca.Lane@HistoricEngland.org.uk

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Introduction

Numbers 39 and 41 Westgate Street now represent two separate properties sitting on the south-western side of Westgate Street in the centre of Gloucester (Figure 1). No. 39 is listed Grade II (NHLE 1271926). The list description notes the front block of the property to be of 19th-century date, but the rear to contain part of an earlier, 16th-century building. No. 39 sits on the south side of Westgate Street, and immediately west of Bull Lane, which now forms a narrow alleyway running south from Westgate Street connecting with Longsmith Street to the south. No. 41 stands immediately west of No. 39, as part of a continuous terrace of buildings running along the street. It is also Grade II listed (NHLE 127927), with the list description indicating that it is mainly of the 16th century, with 20th-century additions to the rear. Although now two separate properties, the documentary history indicates that the buildings formed a single property for parts of their history and have a shared history of ownership from the early medieval period onwards.¹

Nos 39 and 41 form part of a terrace of buildings on the south side of Westgate Street, flanked by Bull Lane to the east of No. 39 and a pub – previously known as the Tailor House, but now known as the Sword Inn – to the west of No. 41. Both properties sit on narrow plots, with their rear boundary line butting up against a separate property accessed from Bull Lane. The two modern building plots are orientated south-west to north-east, with their north-east frontages fronting onto Westgate Street. For the purposes of this report, however, it has been assumed that the plots are orientated along cardinal compass points, with the main frontage onto Westgate Street facing north. It should be noted that until the early 20th century, the street numbering for Westgate Street ran along the south side of the street, before returning along the north side. Thus No. 39 was originally No. 20 and No. 41 originally No. 21. The modern street numbering is used throughout this report, except where it is quoting directly from historic documentary sources.

Both properties have recently been in commercial use, although No. 41 has been empty since around 2016. As part of the Cathedral Quarter High Street Heritage Action Zone (HSHAZ), centred on Westgate Street, No. 39 has recently been subject to a grant-funded restoration project. No. 41 has also had a significant programme of work to stabilise the building. This report is intended to provide a full understanding of the two properties to support their restoration schemes.

Westgate Street has long represented an important thoroughfare in Gloucester. It forms part of the cruciform arrangement of streets which sit in alignment with the original Roman street plan of the city. Of the four principal streets laid out, Westgate Street was particularly important, as it connected the centre of the city with the quays on the River Severn, just west of the city walls, and with the bridge over the river which connected the settlement with road routes to the west into Wales. In the medieval period Westgate Street formed part of the main commercial hub of the city, with the butchery running along the south side of the street. This gave Bull Lane its original name of Gore Lane, indicating the extent to which butchery dominated the area. As well as the larger plots to the north and south of the street, by the late medieval period the centre of the wide street was also heavily built up, with structures including trading buildings such as small market structures and



Figure 1: Location map showing 39-41 Westgate Street outlined in red. [Background map: © Crown Copyright and database right 2024. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900.]

two churches, St Mary de Grace and Holy Trinity. Nos 39 and 41 would thus have always formed part of the trading centre of the city, and in the medieval period would have looked out at Holy Trinity Church immediately to the north. Holy Trinity was demolished in the mid-18th century, along with other structures in the centre of Westgate Street which were considered an impediment to traffic.²

Previous Research

There has been little detailed previous research on 39-41 Westgate Street. Their documentary history has been outlined by John Rhodes, published in 2016 as part of his publication of the *Terrier of Llanthony Priory's Houses and Lands in Gloucester 1443*.³ This covered the basic descent of the ownership and leasing of the plots, tracing its history through the various borough records. The following account of the medieval history of the site (see Documentary History) is based upon his work, supplemented by additional documentary research in the Gloucester Archives. In 2020 Nos 39-41 were looked at briefly by the Gloucestershire Building Recording Group (GBRG), as part of their National Lottery Heritage Fund dendrochronology project.⁴ The Group produced a short report on the fabric of the building, identifying the main surviving elements, and ascribing a late 16th- or early 17th-century date to the building. This was followed by dendrochronological sampling, which identified a date range of AD 1568-89 to the rear range of No. 39 and a date range of AD 1545-77 for a single sample taken from No. 41.⁵ Given the overlapping date ranges, it was considered plausible that the two surviving sections of frame were contemporary.

Documentary History

Medieval

The medieval history of the plot on which 39-41 now stands is somewhat unclear, as it appears to have been subdivided, with both Llanthony Priory and Gloucester Abbey having claims to parcels of land here in the 15th century.⁶ Ultimately however it is clear that the principal beneficiary was the Hospital of St Bartholemew, who held the whole plot by the early 14th century as tenant-in-chief and were subletting it to support the running of the hospital.

It is clear from the documentary research undertaken by John Rhodes that the site of 39-41 Westgate Street was already built upon by the 12th century, when in 1176-94 two parcels of land within the tenement were granted by Richard Burgeys the elder to 'Benet the cordwainer'.⁷ This grant details that the property had previously been held by Richard's father 'Ralph the reeve'. The two parcels granted were 10ft (3m) by 17ft (5.2m) and 12ft (3.7m) square. The larger parcel sat 'behind Benet's cellar'.⁸ Sometime between 1240 and 1251 Richard Burgeys's son, also called Richard, granted the rent of the parcels to the priory of Llanthony Prima, located in the Black Mountains of Wales. They were confirmed as lying west of Gore Lane (now Bull Lane). Presumably these parcels sat to the rear of the main properties which would have fronted onto Westgate Street.

Part of the plot appears to have been owned by Gloucester Abbey by the early 13th century. The section now occupied by No. 39 was granted by the abbey to John the Cellere in 1200-28.⁹ At this point the property was 10ft (3m) wide along Westgate Street, and 33ft 10in (10.3m) in length (north to south). The plot was therefore less than half the length of No. 41 at a similar date (see below), presumably due to the fact that as it ran along Bull Lane the rear parts of the tenement had already been subdivided to form separate units. Later in the 13th century, in a further lease of No. 39, Roger the Chaplain and Henry, both sons of Henry Cosart, assigned the lease to Walter de Pynecote, their brother-in-law. The lease specified that they would retain half a seld. Seld in this context means shop – indicating that by this date the property was partly in use for commercial purposes. Subsequent leases distinguish between the seld and a house to the rear bordering Bull Lane, suggesting that the property perhaps contained more than one structure, or was subdivided in some way. In 1318 the whole of No. 39 was let as a shop to Richard de Fidynton, while in 1339 the Hospital of St Bartholomew became the principal tenant. St Bartholomew's was one of three medieval hospitals in Gloucester and, as was standard with such institutions, it was supported by grants of properties from which it derived an income by leasing them out. Many of the late 13th and early 14th century tenants were butchers, in keeping with the plot's position in the area of Westgate Street, referred to as the Butchery in many of the contemporary documents.

No. 41 was also owned by Gloucester Abbey, but in the 13th and 14th centuries was let separately from No. 39.¹⁰ In 1200-28 it was sublet by Ralph the Goldsmith to Richard son of William the Burgess. At that point the property was 13ft (4m) wide at the front, 7ft (2.1m)

wide at the back, and 72ft 4in (22.1m) long – considerably longer than the plot of No. 39. In 1303 the Hospital of St Bartholomew acquired the principal lease. In the same year they sublet the property to Robert le Reo as a shop, 15ft 4in (4.7m) wide and 45ft 11in (13.7m) deep. In 1336 a different tenant, John de Ireland, goldsmith, surrendered the lease, at which point it was described as a tenement with a shop in front and a garden behind.

After 1339 No. 39 joined No. 41 as principally rented by St Bartholomew's Hospital. At that time the two properties appear to have been rented out as a single tenement.¹¹ In 1455 at the time of the Gloucester rental survey the tenement was in the ownership of the hospital, but held by John Doggett.¹² In the late 16th century control of the three major medieval hospitals in Gloucester, including St Bartholomew's, was transferred to the Gloucester Corporation.¹³ The Corporation took control of the hospital in 1570, following the death of its last Master in the late 1560s.¹⁴ It seems that the respective hospitals continued to derive their income from their original landholdings in the city, although now overseen and managed by the Mayor and the Burgesses.

16th and 17th centuries

In 1566 the tenement containing both Nos 39 and 41 was let to Thomas Weekes, and sometime prior to 1590 the lease was transferred to Humphrey Strafford, a butcher.¹⁵ The lease then passed to his widow Alice Strafford who held it in 1596.¹⁶

In 1610 the first map of Gloucester was published, surveyed by John Speed (Figure 2). Although the depiction of the buildings was stylised, the position of the tenement was indicated by Bull Lane, which was shown as a prominent thoroughfare running south from Westgate Street. The map also indicated the close proximity of the tenement to Holy Trinity Church, which was shown standing in the middle of Westgate Street.

In the same year, 1610, the lease of the tenement was re-let to Walter Strafford, also a butcher and presumably a relation of the previous tenants.¹⁷ It was identified as 'in the Boocher rowe or shambles in the parish of the Holy Trynytye'. The tenement was described as being situated 'Betweene the lane caled Gore Lane [Bull Lane] on th'este pte And a tenement now in the tenure of Thomas Marshall Boocher on the weste pte conteynyng Eyght yards & a quarter'. The document goes onto state:

And in length from the sayd [said] streete on the northe and fore pte unto the messuage or tenement now in the tenure of Richard Herberte gent on the sowthe [south] or backe pte Contaynyng Tenne Yarde and a halfe wth inches between ytt & the littell corte or backsayd [backside] lying behind the tenement, contayneth in length five yarde and in bredthe fower yarde & a halfe and four inches.¹⁸

The measurements given translate to 25ft 4in (7.7m) wide and 32ft 4in (9.9m) deep, with the little court measuring 15ft 4in (4.7m) by 13ft 10in (4m). They indicate that the tenement at this time certainly included both modern properties, Nos 39 and 41.

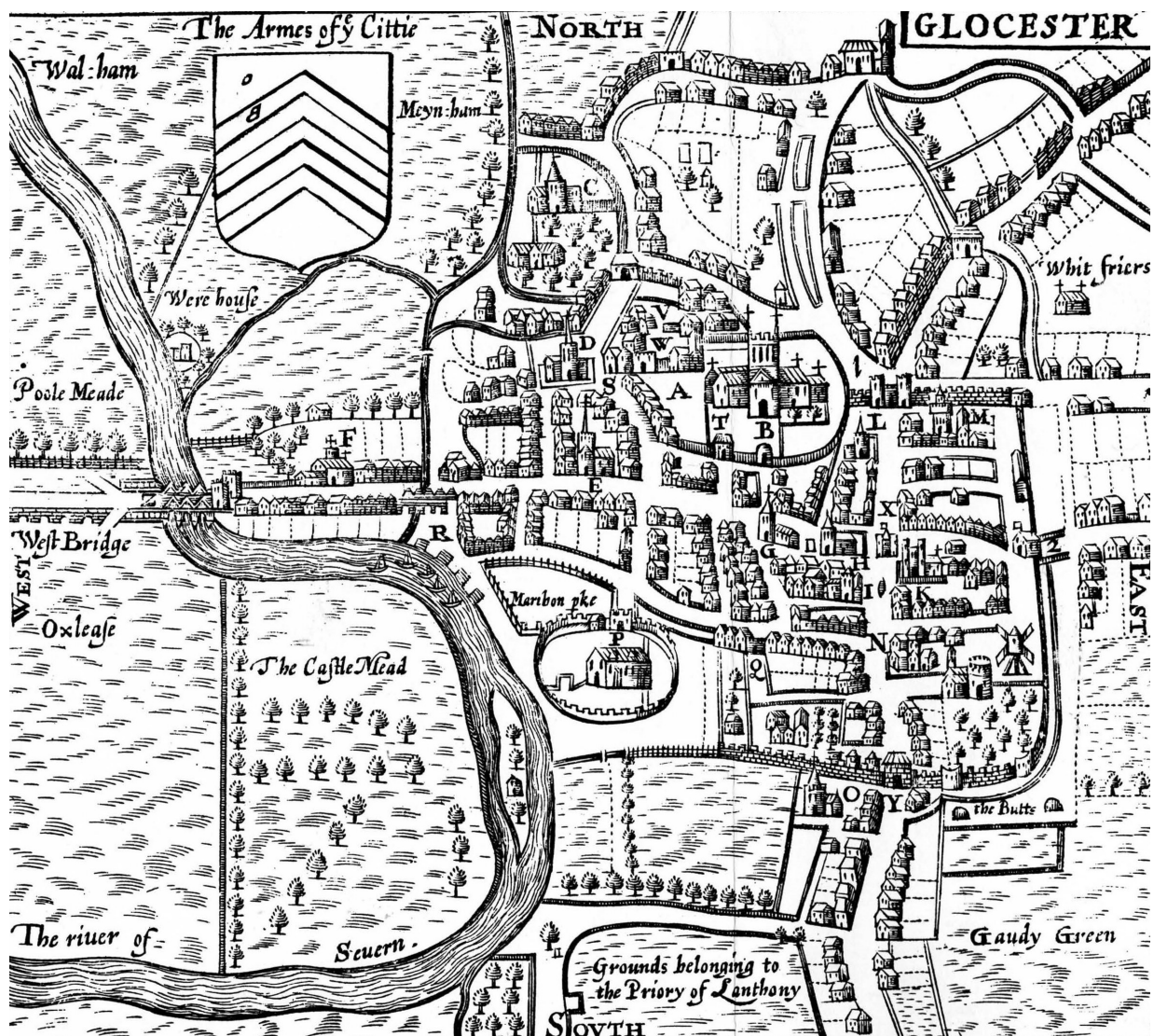


Figure 2: John Speed's 1610 map of Gloucester, the east end of Westgate Street is identifiable with the churches of Holy Trinity (G) and St Mary de Grace (H) shown. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucester Civic Trust and Gloucestershire Archaeology. © JRS Whiting]

This lease was renewed in 1641, with Walter Strafford still named as tenant, and the same overall proportions given as in 1610.¹⁹ The messuage to the west however was now in the occupation of a Thomas Plower (although the main lease was held by a Thomas Pury) and the messuage to the south in the possession of Raymond Messenger being the land of Charles Barber gent. The changing of the tenants in the plots adjoining the property indicate the extent to which the Strafford family's tenure represented an unusually long occupation in the context of the city. In 1655 the rental of St Bartholomew's Hospital has Walter Strafford listed as tenant, with a note underneath stating 'now Richard Guy'.²⁰ The additional annotation is presumably later than 1655 but it is in the same hand as the original entry.

By 1666 the property was in the possession of Thomas Ham, a yeoman of 'Heydon [Keydon?], Gloucestershire'. Crucially in this lease it is described as 'All that their two messuages or tenements situated in the butcher row'.²¹ The overall measurements of the two messuages are the same as those for the single tenement described in previous 17th-century leases, including those of the little court to the rear, indicating that the two tenements are analogous with the earlier single property. At this stage though they are evidently still being let together, although Thomas Ham could have sublet one or both of them.

It seems likely that Ham was letting both, with a family interest, as the lease was renewed in 1672 to represent the interests his son William Ham (who was to lease No. 41) and Joane Barnes, mother-in-law of a Samuel Ham (the latter deceased, but had formerly leased No. 39).²² Joane Barnes was to hold the lease on the larger property in trust for William's children Samuel and Hannah. In this lease No. 39 is described as 'late in the tenure of the said Samuel Ham'. The front section is described as a 'shoppe' with:

the said mefsuage on the Backward part being a Kitchin and a washhouse ... And also two chambers being over the said shoppe and the said Kitchin And one cocklofte lying backward ... the which said messuage and premisses are now in the tenure of the said Joane Barnes or her under tenant.²³

No. 41 is described as:

one other messuage or tenement according as the same is now divided with the appurtenances Situate in the said bucherowe [butcher row] and adjoyninge to the Afore said messusage ... being a shoppe ... and the said shop Doth containe by Estimacon [estimation] six yards in length ... and the Kitchin there doth containe two yards and three quarters ... in length And the fame quantity in breadth: Also a court containing five yards and a quarter ... And in breadth one yard and a quarter ... and one chamber over the said shoppe and one other chamber backward and also one cockloft over the said chamber next to the street there, the which messuage last mentioned with the appurtenances is now the occupation of the said William Ham or his under tenant.²⁴

A note under the title of the lease states 'Now John Cumyn' suggesting that Cumyn had taken over the lease of No. 39 sometime after this date. The 1684 rental of the hospitals includes an entry for 'John Comyn and William Ham, butcher', which relates to the two tenements.²⁵



Figure 3: Detail from Johannes Kip's 1712 Prospect of Gloucester. Westgate Street is identifiable with the tower of Holy Trinity standing and the King's Board shown as a building with a ground-floor arcade. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archaeology and Gloucester Civic Trust.]

18th and 19th centuries

On Johannes Kip's 1712 engraving of Gloucester, the plot of Nos 39-41 is identifiable by the position of Bull Lane, which is clearly shown running south from Westgate Street (Figure 3). Although somewhat stylised, the drawing indicates an irregular series of buildings running along Westgate Street and returning down Bull Lane, suggesting the extent to which Bull Lane was built up by this date. To the rear (south) there was an area shown as open ground, in common with other plots along Westgate Street.

An article by local historian P. Smith in 1979 identified some of the early 18th-century tenants of the properties.²⁶ Although the article does not specify which property it seems likely that these relate to No. 41 from comparison with the late 18th century leases. These include leases to Walter Winstone in 1721-6, Thomas Moore in 1727-37 and Winstone Moore in 1737-43.

From 1760 onwards the lease books for St Bartholomew's Hospital survive and include the details of many of the tenants of both No. 39 and No. 41, although in many cases it seems that the main, named leaseholders were then subletting the properties. In 1764 Richard Hardman, a cork cutter, was leasing No. 39, 'situate in the Butcher Rowe'.²⁷ The property was measured as 4½ yards (3.8m) wide at the front and 6½ yards (5.6m) wide to the rear, and 11 yards (10.1m) in length, with a 'little court' behind which was 4½ yards (3.8m) wide and 3 yards (2.7m) deep. It was described as having Bull Lane on the east, 'part of a tenement formerly called the Sword Inn' to the south, and another tenement belonging to the hospital in the possession of a Winstone Moore on the west. In 1778 the property formerly belonging to Richard Hardman 'deceased' was leased to Richard Webb, a grocer.²⁸ This specified a Mrs Smith, widow, living on the western side, who must have been an undertenant of Winstone Moore. In 1795 the lease was taken over by Mrs Hester Webb, widow, presumably the wife of Richard Webb.²⁹ In 1808 it was taken on by Hester Williams, spinster.³⁰ The lease lists a Joseph Hill as in possession of the tenement to the west.

In 1766 a lease of No. 41 specified Winstone Moore, butcher, or his undertenant as having possession of the property.³¹ The property was measured as 4½ yards (3.8m) wide and 8¼ yards (7.4m) deep with a little court behind 7 yards long (6.4m) and 1¾ yards (1.6m) wide. It had the hospital property in the possession of Richard Harding on the east and the property of Charles Hooper on the west. In 1782 the lease formerly belonging to Winstone Moore 'deceased' was taken on by James Hill, listed as a gentleman.³² In 1796 it was taken over by William Trinder of Lye in Gloucestershire, a yeoman and Thomas Walker of Gloucester, a victualler.³³ In 1812 the lease was taken on by Joseph Hill, maltster.³⁴ In fact the lease of No. 39 in 1808 specified him as being in possession of the property at that date. He may have been subletting it at that date and then taken over the main lease in 1812.

In the late 18th century a series of maps depicted the layout of Gloucester, with two editions of Hall & Pinnell's map (1780 and 1796) (Figure 4) followed by a further map of 1805 by Cole and Roper. While some prominent building arrangements (for example, that of the Fleece Inn further east on Westgate Street) are individually identifiable, most of the properties along the main streets are shown as undifferentiated blocks, with no detail of the tenement arrangements. The position of 39-41 Westgate Street is identifiable due to the depiction of Bull Lane immediately to the east, but no detail of the form of the buildings was provided.

By the start of the 1820s the oversight of the properties belonging to St Bartholomew's Hospital by the city authorities included regular surveying of the buildings of the estate. At this stage Nos 39 and 41 were being let entirely separately, and thus there are separate surveys for each, typically taken at the point at which the lease was being renewed or altered. In 1820, No. 39 was surveyed.³⁵ It was still described as being part of 'Butcher Row', in Holy Trinity Parish, but its location is clear from its relationship to Bull Lane. This survey drawing shows a roughly L-shaped block (Figure 5). The front section, along the street-front, is fully built up, but there is a narrower wing to the rear, running alongside Bull Lane, with a small courtyard on its western side. The total length of the property was measured as 36ft (11m). At that time the property was let to Mr John Burgess.



Figure 4: Detail from the 1780 Hall and Pinnell map of Gloucester showing the site of 39-41 Westgate Street. [Know Your Place. Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives]

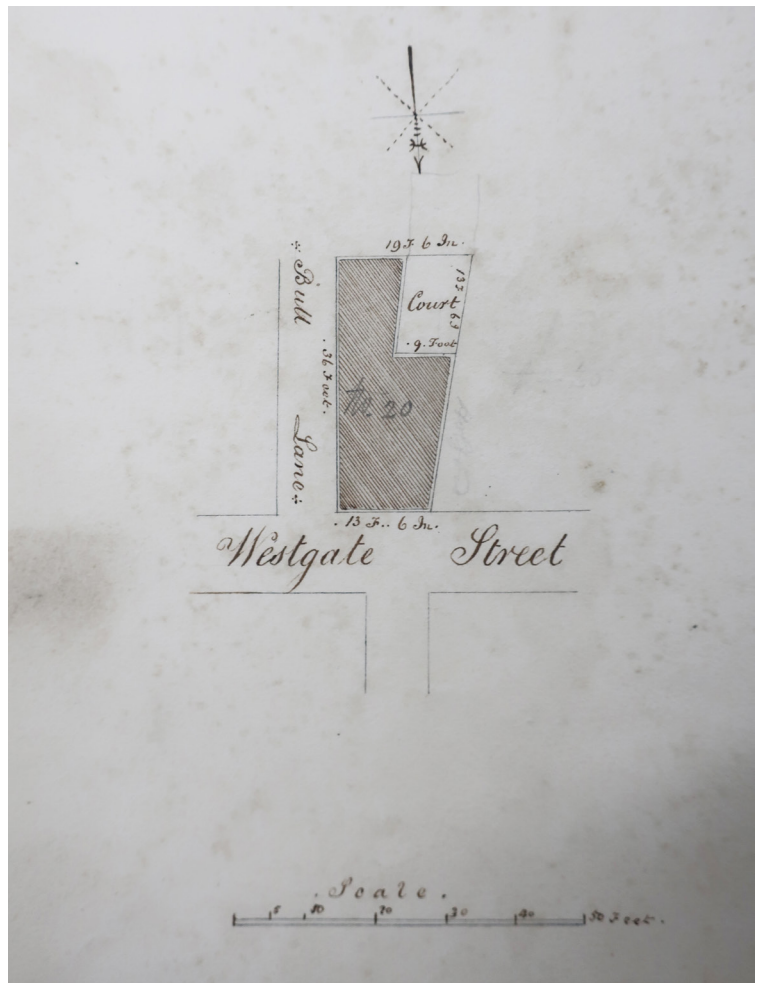


Figure 5: 1820 survey of 39 Westgate Street (then No. 20). [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GA D3269/acc. 3550/box K (part)]

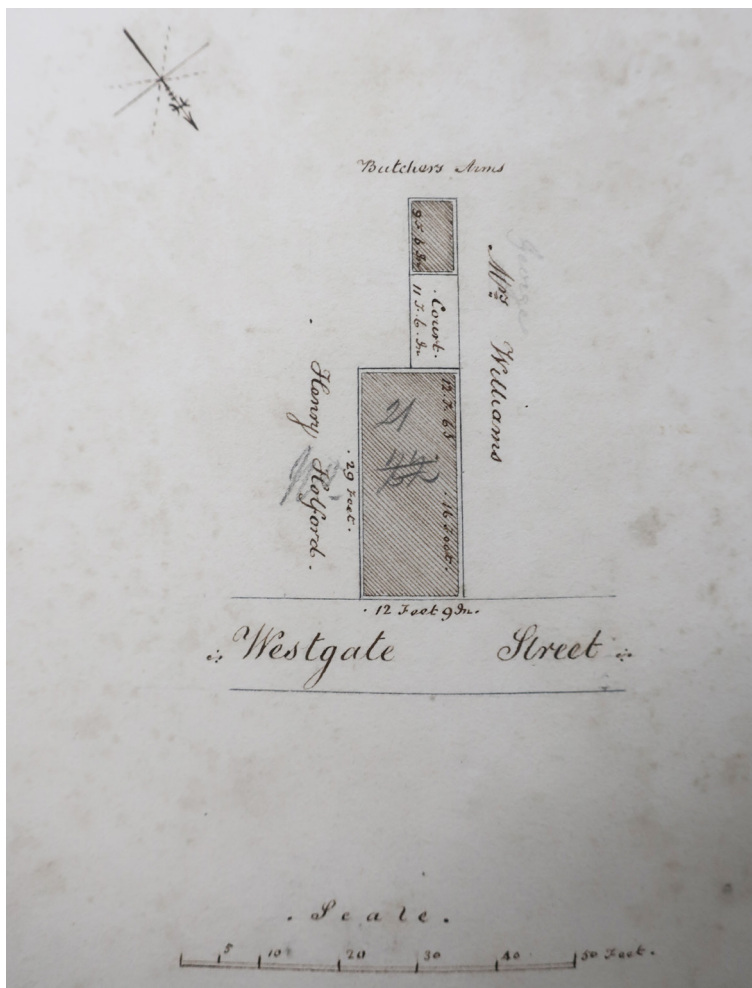


Figure 6: 1824 survey of 41 Westgate Street (then No. 21). [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GA D3269/ acc. 3550/box K (part)]

No. 41 was surveyed in 1824, and at this time was formed of a regular rectangular block closest to the street, subdivided into two rooms (Figure 6).³⁶ The front block was measured at 12ft 9in (3.9m) along the streetfront, and 29ft (8.8m) deep. The courtyard to the rear was 11ft 6in (3.5m) deep. A small outbuilding to the rear was 9ft 6in (2.9m) deep. This outbuilding was described as a brewhouse in the accompanying text. The tenant was a Joseph Hill, maltster – the same tenant who had taken the lease in 1812. Although not surveyed, the property to the east was labelled with the name 'Henry Holford', probably indicating the tenant of No. 39 at that date. He must have been subletting No. 39 from the principal tenant, John Burgess.

A new survey of No. 39 was undertaken in 1834.³⁷ The outline plan shown is identical to that of 1824; however, a note at the bottom of the description indicates that the fine for the new tenant is proposed to be £23, 'it being the first renewal since the house was newly built'. This strongly suggests that the front block had been reconstructed between the previous survey and lease in 1824 and that in 1834. The tenant at this date was still John Burgess.

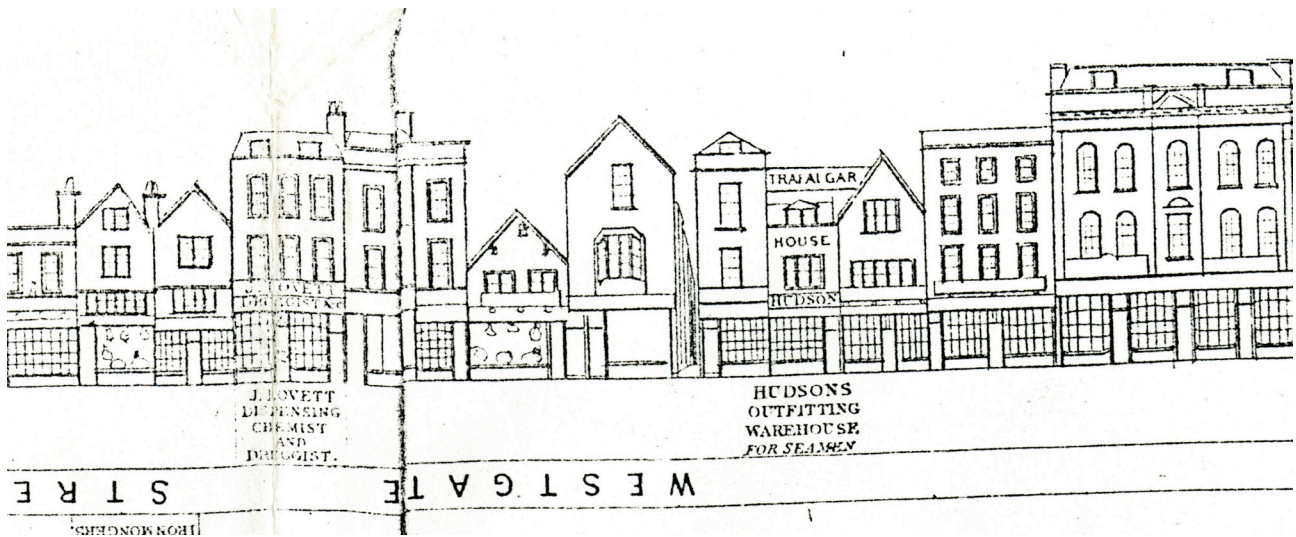


Figure 7: Detail of the front of Nos. 39 and 41 from the 1841 street view of Gloucester. No. 39 is shown in its reconstructed form. No. 41 is labelled as Trafalgar House. [From the *Historical, pictorial and topographical illustrations of the counties of Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire and Monmouthshire: with specimens of the architecture and street views of Gloucester, Cheltenham, Bath, Bristol, Wells, Salisbury, Monmouth, etc.*]

In 1841 No. 41 was resurveyed, its plan being identical to that in 1824.³⁸ The tenant was identified as Joseph Hills; however, the site was noted as being in the possession of the representatives of the late James Wood Esq. At around the same date (1841) a street directory of Gloucester was produced showing the main street elevations of the four principal streets in the city.³⁹ On Westgate Street Nos 39 and 41 were shown adjacent to the narrow alleyway forming Bull Lane (Figure 7). No. 39 is unlabelled, but was depicted as three storeys in height and to have the same detailing as survives today. No. 41 was shown in its surviving low two-storey form, with a dormer window for the attic. It is labelled (rather grandly) as Trafalgar House and annotated as ‘Hudsons Outfitting Warehouse for Seamen’. Presumably the house name was a nod to the seafaring nature of the occupying business at that date.

The leases of the properties in the 19th century do not appear to have survived, although the census and directory information provides evidence for who was occupying both properties during the period. The 1841 census returns list a William Manning (aged 51), cork cutter, on Westgate Street, living with his wife Elizabeth (46), and seven children – Elizabeth (18), Ann (16), Theophilus (11), John (9), Benj[amin] (7), Susan (4) and Jemima (2).⁴⁰ The five eldest children were all born in Ireland, although both parents had been born in Gloucestershire. The four-year-old had not been born in the county (although does not appear to have been born in Ireland either), but the two-year-old had been born in Gloucestershire – suggesting that the family had relocated back to the county two or three

years before the census of 1841. Also resident at the property was an apprentice named Naphtali Pitt (17), who had also been born in Gloucestershire. Adjacent to the Mannings was Thomas Hudson (46), tailor, with his wife Sarah (40) and two children, Samuel (11) and Charles (9), and also a Beata Pitt (65), whose relationship to the family is not indicated.⁴¹ They were all born in Gloucestershire.

Although neither property is identified, beyond being in Holy Trinity Parish and on Westgate Street, comparison with the contemporary street view with 'Hudson's Outfitters' identified (see Figure 7) suggests that these two entries are likely to relate to the two properties, and this is further confirmed by later directories (see below).⁴² It suggests that, as was likely for much of the site's history, the principal lessees named in the Corporation administration documents were not in fact occupying the premises but subletting them to commercial tenants.

In an 1844 commercial directory the two properties were occupied by Thomas Hudson, tailor, and William Manning, cork cutter.⁴³ They are both listed in the directory as at 'No. 21' (i.e. what is now No. 41), but given the subsequent entries, and the fact that no one in the directory appears to be listed as occupying what was then 20 Westgate Street (now No. 39) it seems likely that William Manning occupied No. 39. The conflation of the two numbers may perhaps indicate some degree of combined use of the two properties at this date.

The cork cutting trade was one which saw the manufacture of cork products from raw cork. In 1827 *The Book of English Trades and Library of Useful Arts* described how the business 'requires but little ingenuity', needing only a sharp knife:

The principal demand for corks, is for the purpose of stopping bottles; these are cut by men and women, who receive a certain price per gross for their labour ... It is one of the blackest and dirtiest of trades, and not very profitable either for the master or the journeyman.⁴⁴

The description goes on to cover other products including flotation devices for those learning to swim. The description also notes that cork could be burnt to produce ink: 'In Spain cork is burnt to make a light kind of black, called Spanish-black, which is very much used by painters'. And that it was also burnt to produce a powder 'often taken internally as an astringent'.⁴⁵ An accompanying plate shows a cork cutter at work, with burning going on in the background – presumably cork being burned to produce the powdered version described in the text of the entry as quoted above (Figure 8).



Figure 8: An 1827 engraving illustrating the trade of the cork cutter. [From *The book of English trades and library of the useful arts : with eighty-six wood-cuts*]

A directory indicates that by 1849 Thomas Hudson had been replaced by John Milton Jones, a fruiterer. He and William Manning were both still listed as occupying '21 Westgate Street'.⁴⁶ The 1851 census return lists John M. Jones, fruiterer and seedsman (age 36), born in Ledbury, Herefordshire, as occupying the premises on Westgate Street along with his wife Elizabeth (30; born Brockworth, Gloucestershire) and his daughters Elizabeth (15) and Ellen (18), both described as shopwomen and both born in Gloucester.⁴⁷ Also in the house on the night of the census was Jones's mother-in-law Elizabeth Baldwin (71). Next door William Manning was listed.⁴⁸ He was 61 and born at Staple in Somerset. He was described as a cork cutter employing six men. He occupied the premises along with his wife Elizabeth (54), born in Gloucester. Two of his children were still listed as residing with him, his daughter Elizabeth (28), described as a 'British School Mistress', and his son Benjamin (17), described as a 'cork cutter apprentice'. They were both born in Ireland. The British School was described in the 1856 *Post Office Directory* as occupying a premises in Hampshire Place, so presumably Manning's daughter taught there.⁴⁹



Figure 9: Detail from the 1852 Board of Health map of Gloucester, showing the footprint of Nos 39 and 41, including later pencil marks possibly indicating sub-division of No. 39. [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L10/1/2]

The 1852 Board of Health map of the city shows the two plots in slightly different form to those shown on the survey drawings of the 1830s and 1840s.⁵⁰ The widths of the two frontages appear the same, and No. 39 appears to have the same plot length. However, No. 41 is shown as having become part of a much larger block which extended southwards for the full extent of the original property boundary, and extended eastwards behind No. 39 onto Bull Lane (Figure 9). The extent to which separate tenements might

still have functioned within this block is unclear, but the map certainly suggests substantial alterations and infilling to the rear of the original buildings in the period since the survey of these properties in 1834 and 1841. It may be that this expansion saw No. 41 occupy the rear area of No. 39, which might explain the conflation of the street numbers in the 1840s directories. Later pencil annotation suggests that there was some subdivision within this space and implies that part of what appears to be a monolithic block may have formed a separate premises accessed from Bull Lane – but it is not clear how accurate the annotation is, nor when it was added.

At the time of the 1856 *Post Office Directory* John Milton Jones and William Manning were still occupying 21 and 20 Westgate Street respectively. However Jones was now described as ‘fishmonger, poulterer & licenced dealer in game’.⁵¹ They are both still listed at the properties in the 1861 census.⁵² Jones was described as a fishmonger and was occupying the premises with his wife, his son Elias (22), described as a shopman and fishmonger (born Longley, Gloucestershire), and his daughter Helen (18; born Wotton St Mary, Gloucestershire). William Manning (71) is described as a ‘cork manufacturer’, living in the premises with his wife and his daughters Anne (36) and Jemima (21). At the time of the 1871 census No. 21 (now No. 41) is listed as unoccupied.⁵³ William Manning still occupied No. 20 (now No. 39), still described as a cork manufacturer, although by now a widower. Also living there was his daughter Anne Jane Manning (46), born in Belfast, Ireland, and his grand-daughter Mary L. Manning (11), described as a scholar.

By 1881 both properties had changed tenants and functions. There are in fact two households listed as resident at No. 39. The two tenants listed at the property were John Arthur (49), china dealer, and James Milligan (38), draper.⁵⁴ It is not clear which part of the building either might have been occupying. John Arthur is listed as born in Stratford upon Avon, and occupied the premises with his wife Sarah (40), born in Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, his daughter Louisa S. Taylor (18), born in Leamington, Warwickshire and his grandson Arthur Taylor (8 months), born in Gloucester. James Milligan is listed as being born in Scotland and lived on the premises with his wife Annie (36), born in Walker, Northumberland, his son James (9), born in Gateshead, County Durham and his daughter Ada (14), born in Corton, Suffolk. No. 21 (now No. 41) is still listed as unoccupied and in a note is described simply as a ‘Dairy’. With the lack of occupation noted in the previous 1871 census this may indicate that the building was in use for commercial purposes only, with no one occupying the building.

The 1884 Ordnance Survey (OS) Town Plan shows the layout of the two properties some 30 years after the Board of Health map, and appears to confirm the subdivision of No. 39 into a rear property along Bull Lane and the front property (Figure 10). In fact it perhaps suggests that the properties which had been shown merged together on the 1852 map were subdivided into three. The 1886 1st edition OS map shows the same tripartite arrangement, but by the time of the 1902 2nd edition map, it seems to be subdivided into two (Figure 11).

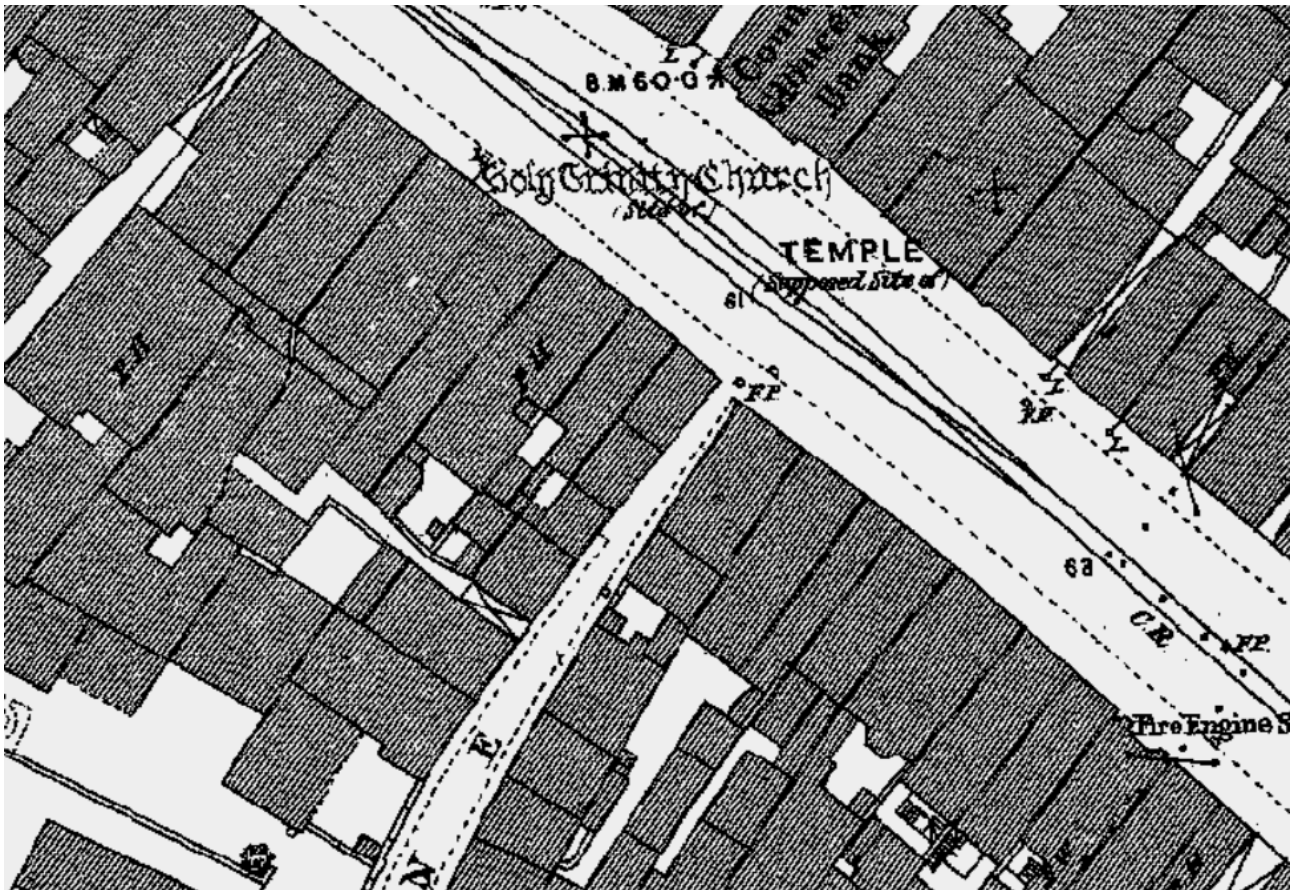


Figure 10: 1884 Ordnance Survey Town Plan showing Nos 39-41. [© and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2024.) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024]



Figure 11: 1:2,500 Ordnance Survey map of 1902 showing the layout of 39-41 Westgate Street. [© and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2024.) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024]

An 1886 plan of all of the properties belonging to St Bartholomew's Hospital shows several in Westgate Street, but does not include either No. 39 or No. 41, suggesting that sometime between 1840 and 1886 the properties had both been sold off.⁵⁵ Whether this coincided with the change of tenancies around 1881, or had in fact happened earlier, is unclear.

The 1891 census once again lists occupiers at No. 41 – the main householder being Frederick Winfield (25), listed as a fruit and potato dealer, born in Gloucester.⁵⁶ He was living there with his wife Adelaide (28), also born in Gloucester. No. 39 was occupied by a single household, headed by Thomas Headley Roper (31), listed as a tailor's manager, born in East Allington in Devon.⁵⁷ He was living there with his wife, Sophia (36), born in Bermondsey, London, and their two sons Percival (5) and Charles (2), born in Camberwell and Kensington (both in London) respectively.

In 1901 No. 41 was still occupied by Frederick and Adelaide Winfield, although his occupation was now described as florist.⁵⁸ They had a friend, Eva Mary Long (30), living with them. At No. 39 was Thomas Edward Clarke (37), born in Ashleworth, Gloucestershire.⁵⁹ He was described as a 'Fancy Stationer'. He was living there with his wife, Rosa (27), born in Pembridge, Herefordshire, his son William (3), also born in Ashleworth, and twins Thomas and Margaret (both 8 months), born in Gloucester.

The 1902 edition of the OS map suggests that by this time any clear subdivision in No. 39 had been removed, which is perhaps also confirmed by the 1891 and 1901 census returns, with only one household listed at the property (see Figure 11). If the subdivision of the property seen on the 1884 map does correspond with the two households listed in the 1881 census, it seems it was relatively brief.

In 1911 the census returns indicate that Frederick Winfield and his wife still occupied No. 41.⁶⁰ They had a five-year-old cousin, John Ridge, and an 18-year-old servant, Anne Batchford, living with them. At No. 39 were two sisters, Amy and Rosie Welch, who were 28 and 26 respectively.⁶¹ They are both described as newsagents and stationers, born in Dymock, Gloucestershire. Living with them was their mother, Rose (60), a widow also born in Dymock. By the time of the 1921 census No. 39 was being occupied by the Taylor family.⁶² The head of the household Albert Taylor (47) was described as a 'Railway Carr Builder Foreman', his wife Lydia (38) was described as a shopkeeper, detailed as 'fancy goods, stationery and newsagent'. She appears to have run the shop at No. 39 as she worked 'at home' assisted by her daughter Lydia (15). Frederick Winfield was still occupying No. 41, with his wife Adelaide and his adopted son John Leslie Ridge Winfield (15).⁶³ Frederick Winfield was described as a 'Florist, Fruiterer and Product Merchant', but his place of work is listed as 48 Northgate Street. His wife is listed as a 'Fruiterer' and working at 41 Westgate Street – so it seems they were trading from two locations. It is not clear if Frederick was related to the Winfield family who were a prominent trading family in the city in the 19th and 20th centuries, eventually occupying the large premises at 26 Westgate Street.

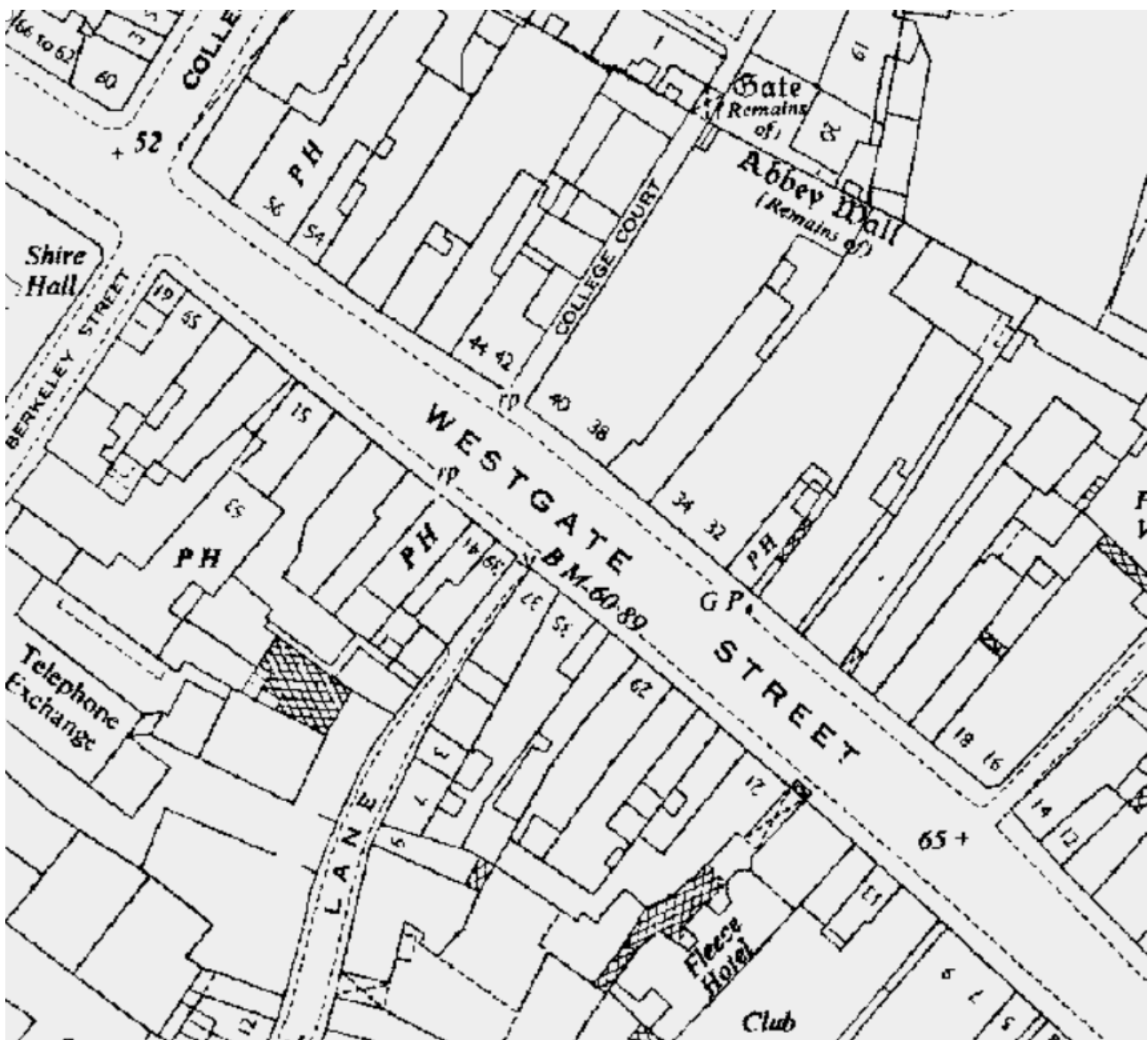


Figure 12: 1:2,500 Ordnance Survey mpa of 1947 showing the rear section of No. 39 now projecting into the rear part of No. 41. [© and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2024.) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024]

The 1923 and 1936 editions of the OS map show little change to the overall footprints of the properties. However, the 1947 map edition (Figure 12) shows a slightly different layout, with the footprint of No. 39 now projecting slightly further eastwards into what had been part of the rear range of No. 41. Whether this indicates a change sometime after 1936, or simply reflected a more accurate mapping of internal partitions is unclear. This layout of property boundaries is still shown on the present OS mapping, indicating little change to the overall footprint of both buildings since that date.

Building Description

As noted in the introduction above the two building plots are orientated south-west to north-east, with their north-east frontages fronting onto Westgate Street (see Figure 1). For the purposes of this report, however, it has been assumed that the plots are orientated along cardinal compass points, with the main frontage onto Westgate Street facing north.

Phase One – Medieval

It is clear from the documentary evidence that the plot contained a series of commercial and domestic buildings, from at least the 12th century onwards. The exact arrangement and form of these is unknown, and it is more than likely that there were phases of rebuilding prior to the construction of the extant building.

By the 13th century the leases indicate that No. 39 comprised a shop (or 'seld') with a house behind, bordering Bull Lane. In the early 14th century No. 41 was described as a shop with a garden to the rear. Although there is some variation in the professions of the principal tenants, it is likely that the premises were generally used commercially and most often used in conjunction with the butchery trade with which the south side of Westgate Street was associated. In the mid- to late 15th century both properties were leased by a single tenant. It is possible of course that the tenant was subletting one or both properties, but it may indicate that the structures were in use together at that date. The fluid nature of such arrangements is typical of urban properties and is in evidence on this site for much of its later history.

Phase Two – late 16th-century construction of the front range

Notwithstanding the uncertainty over the precise form of the medieval buildings on the site, it is clear that in the late 16th century there was a wholesale reconstruction focused on the northern part of the plot, adjacent to Westgate Street. A date range for the construction of the building is provided by dendrochronology, which gives a date of AD 1545 to AD 1588 for the timber used in its construction.⁶⁴ This correlates with the documentary evidence showing that the two tenements came under a single lessee in the 16th century. It seems most likely that the building, which spans the plots of both Nos 39 and 41, would have been constructed at a point when the two tenements were under a single occupier. The date range provided by the dendrochronology would suggest that the tenant responsible was either Thomas Weekes, who leased the tenement in 1566, or Humphrey Strafford, who leased it sometime prior to 1590 (see above). The Strafford family were to hold the plot for a considerable period of time, well into the 17th century. As constructed the building appears to have provided two separate units at ground-floor level (most likely used as shops) but a single open two-bay room at first-floor level and a further two-bay space at attic level. This presumably allowed one tenant to occupy the upper floors, perhaps with one of the shops, with the other shop perhaps sublet as a commercial premises with no associated domestic spaces.

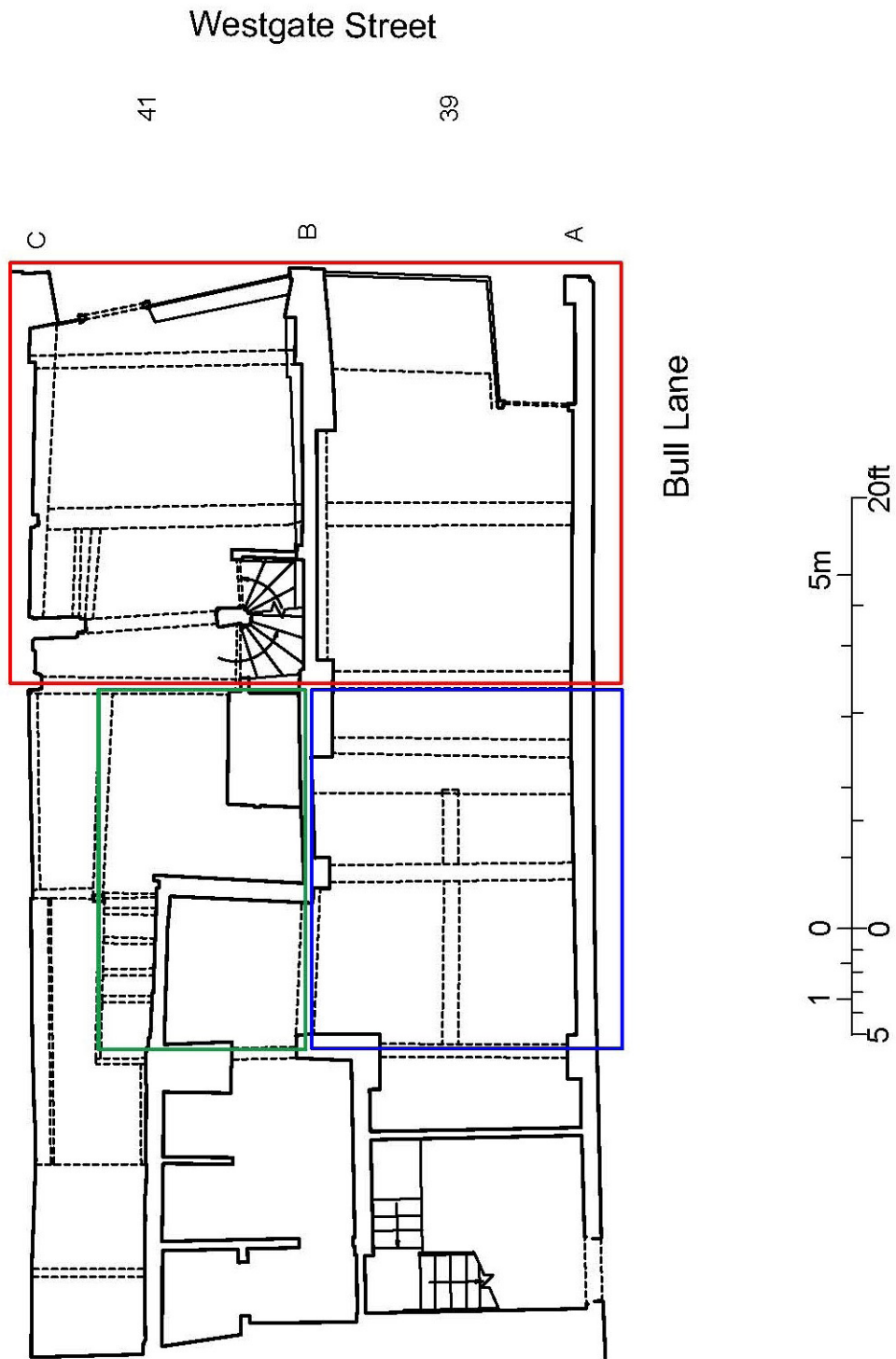
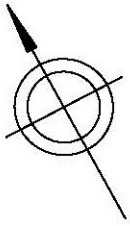


Figure 13: Ground-floor plan of 39-41 Westgate Street showing the main phases of construction. Red indicates Phase Two (late 16th century), blue Phase Three (late 16th century) and green Phase Four (17th century). The original positions of the principal frames of the front range are also marked. [© Historic England, based on original survey drawing by Aerial Cam Ltd]

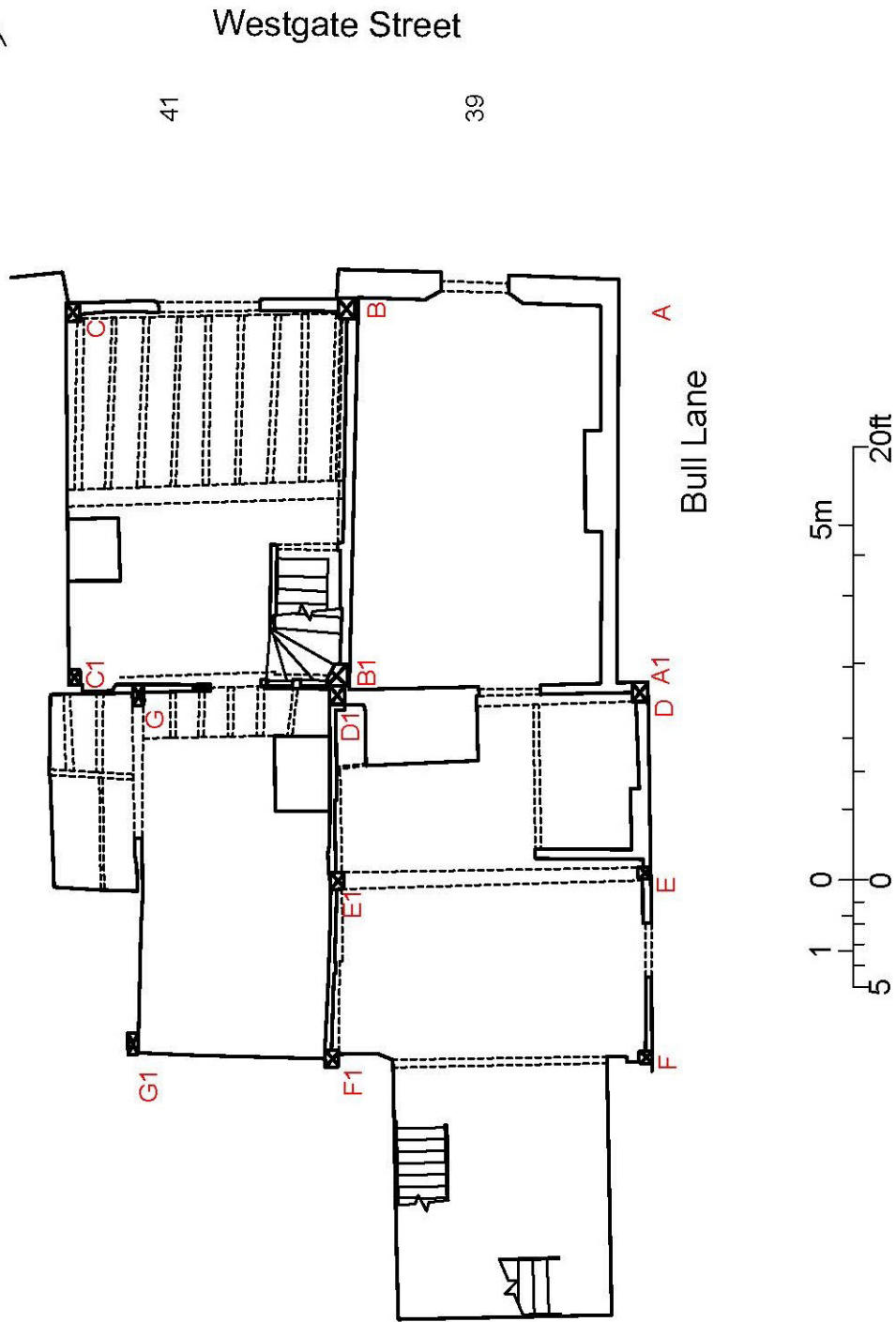
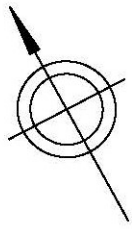


Figure 14: First-floor plan of 39-41 Westgate Street showing the original positions of the principal frames in the front range (A-C), rear range of No. 39 (D-F) and rear range of No. 41 (G).. [© Historic England, based on original survey drawing by Aerial Cam Ltd]



Figure 15: The cellar under No. 39, showing north wall with segmental-arch vaulted ceiling, looking north-west. [Abigail Lloyd © Historic England]

The phase saw the construction of a two-bay two-storey timber-framed building, which ran parallel to the street front (Figures 13 and 14). It was jettied along the north, street-front elevation, at least in the western bay, and probably originally the eastern bay as well (see below). Whether the jetty returned along the east elevation, along Bull Lane, is unclear. Underneath the western bay was a brick cellar with a segmentally arched brick vault. There may originally have been a similar cellar under the eastern bay as well.

The cellar under the western bay of the structure (No. 41) is still extant. It is formed of brick walls, with a segmentally arched vault which runs transverse to the structure above, that is with the vault running north to south (Figure 15). The vault appears to be the same width as the western bay of the timber frame above, with its eastern side wall apparently sitting directly underneath the centre of the building and the central cross frame of the timber frame above (Frame B). This strongly suggests that the two are contemporary, and that the vault is late 16th-century in date. This is consistent with the use of brick as the main material, as medieval cellars elsewhere on Westgate Street are typically of stone. The provision of a brick vault over the cellar is quite an extravagant feature in what was otherwise quite a modest building, as many other cellar structures along the street had a simple timber ceiling arrangement. It seems likely that this would have been mirrored with a further vault under the eastern bay; no such feature is currently accessible, although it may have been modified or infilled in the reconstruction of the 19th century.



Figure 16: Brick stair rising from cellar to the rear of No. 39, looking south-east. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

The orientation of the surviving vault allowed for a north wall which could give access to the street in a limited way. There is a modified opening surviving in this wall towards the east of the vault. This appears to be original late 16th-century work and may have provided a chute or lightwell arrangement with access or light from the street above. To the south, the cellar was accessed via a winder stair in the south-eastern corner of the west bay of the building (Figure 16). This has a curved brick back wall, projecting beyond the line of the vault, and the stair has brick and timber treads. Immediately west of this is a further brick shaft, as to the north. This again has been later modified to form a straight-sided recess, but may similarly have acted as a lightwell or a point of direct access from the exterior of the building, prior to the construction of the rear ranges.

Of the timber-framed structure above, the central cross frame largely survives encapsulated in what is now the partition wall between Nos 39 and 41 (Frame B). This has a carpenter's mark with a II marked on its western face (Figure 17). This indicates that it was the second of what must have been three frames (indicated by frames A, B and C as marked on Figure 13). The easternmost frame (A) has been totally lost in the reconstruction of the front section of No. 39 in the 19th century. Given the evidence of the later rear range (see Phase Three), it is likely that the frame was jettied towards Bull Lane, as well as towards Westgate Street, but there is no evidence surviving to confirm this.



Figure 17: Carpenter's mark on the western side of the central frame of the front range (Frame B), looking east. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435493]

The central frame (B) survives and is largely intact (Figure 18). It is supported on a low brick plinth, with a sill beam resting on this. The south (rear) post of the frame survives, running up through both storeys. To the north the jetty meant there were separate posts at ground- and first-floor level. The ground-floor north post survives today, having been encapsulated in the later walling when the jetty was underbuilt (Figure 19). The first-floor north post also survives. At ground-floor level the lower part of the cross frame is still largely obscured by later plaster, but where visible the sill beam appears to have survived, although above this the framing has apparently been rebuilt in brick between the two surviving posts. At first-floor level there is no indication of any original framing below the tie-beam (the surviving framing is a later insertion), suggesting that the cross frame was originally open at this level, providing a single first-floor space formed of both the east and west bays (Figure 20). Above this is the roof truss formed of a tie beam, principal rafters and raking queen struts which all survive in situ (see Figure 18). There is no indication that there was originally a collar, with the queen struts rising to the principal rafters immediately adjacent to the purlin position. As with the open frame at first-floor level, this arrangement of the truss, without a collar, may have allowed the attic to have been used as a single space, with access between the east and west bays possible through the central truss. Mortices in both the east and west sides of the principal rafters indicate that there were originally wind braces rising to the purlins (Figure 21). However, these and the original purlins have been removed, as the roof on the western bay of the structure has been raised, and that on the east completely lost in the early 19th-century reconstruction.

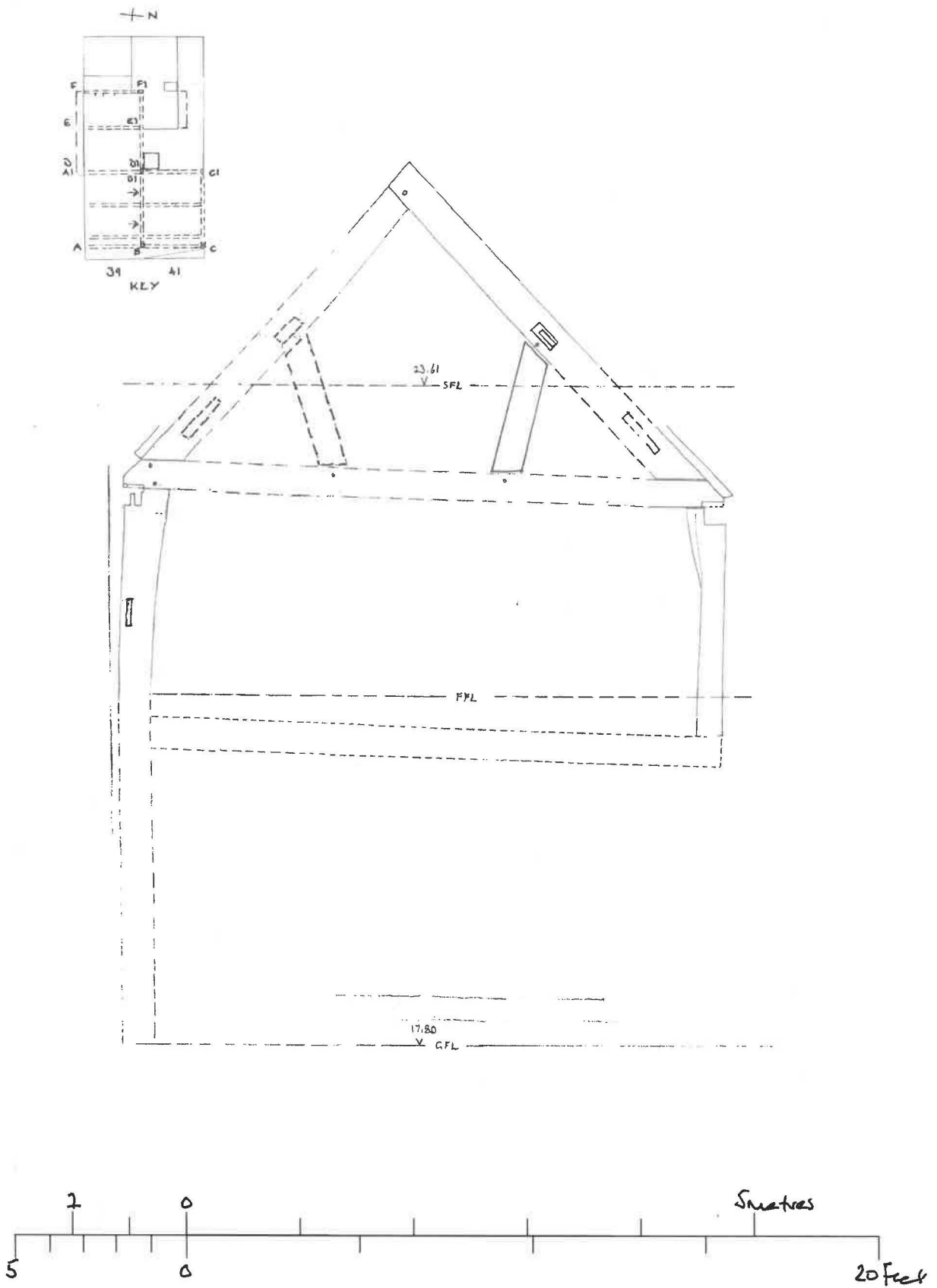


Figure 18: Frame B (Section B1-B) showing the form of the original framework. [© Historic England, based on original survey drawing by Aerial Cam Ltd]



Figure 19: The north post of the central frame (frame B), surviving at ground-floor level in the partition between Nos 39 and 41, looking east. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Figure 20: The central frame (frame B) at first-floor level with later timber-framed infill, looking south-west. [© Andrea Kirkham. Reproduced with permission]





Figure 21: The central frame, showing the junction of the tie beam and principal rafter at the northern end, with a redundant mortice for a wind brace, looking west.[© Andrea Kirkham. Reproduced with permission]

The western end frame of the structure (frame C; Figure 22 and see Figures 13 and 14) also survives with much of its original framing intact, now forming the west wall of No. 41. The southern post is again intact rising through both storeys, as is the cross beam defining the first-floor level and the framing above that. The northern post survives at first-floor level. At ground-floor level much of the framing has been removed, but there is a surviving straight down-brace at the southern end projecting from the south post, and a short section of the associated mid-rail also surviving. North of this the pattern of mortices and peg holes in the cross beam indicates that there were originally two studs running from the cross beam to the sill beam dividing the frame into three equal sections. Between the studs residual holes indicate that there were originally staves for a wattle and daub infill to the frame.

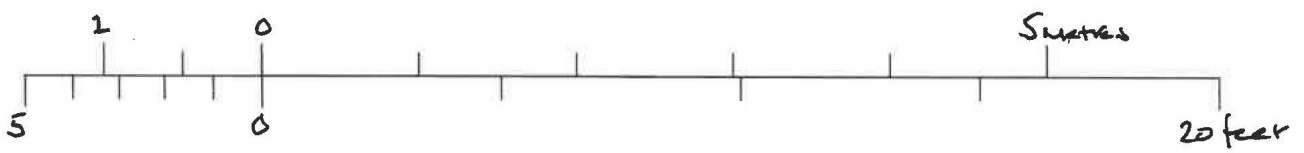
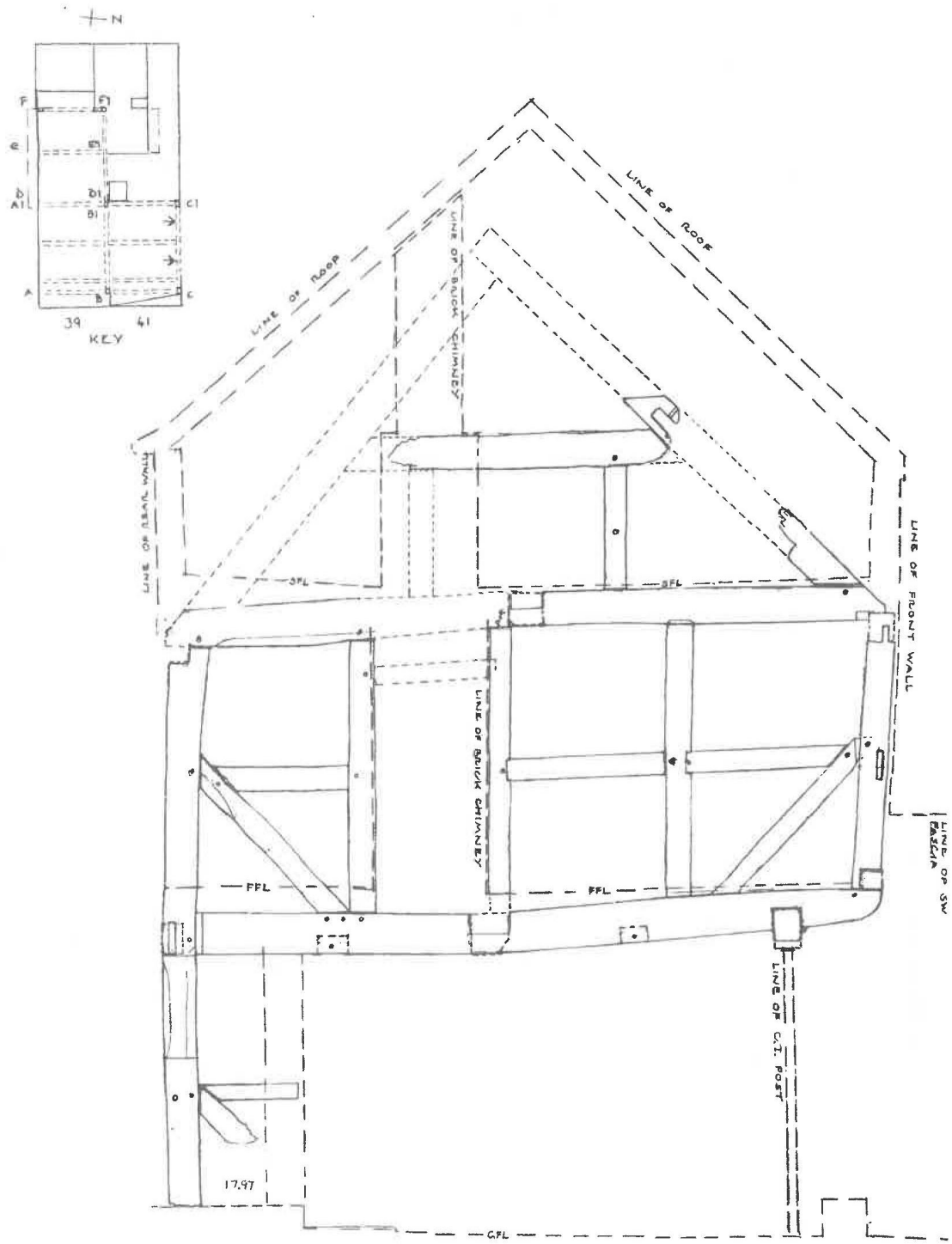


Figure 22: Frame C (Section C1-C) showing the form of the original framework. [© Historic England, based on original survey drawing by Aerial Cam Ltd]



Figure 23: The western frame (Frame C) showing the surviving original framework at first-floor level, looking north-west. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325697]

Above the cross beam, at first-floor level, the timber framing survives intact (Figure 23 and see Figure 22). The pattern of framing is similar to that which originally existed at ground-floor level, with straight down-braces running to the cross rail from the south and north posts, and a mid-rail running across the bay between the full-height studs. However, the pattern of studs is different, with three rather than two studs used. The two studs towards the southern end in fact frame either side of a doorway opening (Figure 24), with a further single stud to the north. The doorway is clearly an original feature as the head of the door is intact, pegged on either side into the studs, and there is no mid-rail between the two studs, nor any pegging associated with its removal. Apart from the door the other panels were originally all closed, with stave holes in the undersides of the tie beam, and some staves still in situ in two of the panels (see Figure 23).

The provision of a first-floor doorway in what was the end wall of the building is difficult to explain. It might be taken as an indication that originally the building continued to the west; however, there are several framing elements which indicate that this was the western extent of the building. In particular the framing appears to have been framed flush with the outer (western) side of the frame, which is typical for the end bay of the building. The pattern of corner braces (absent from the central frame) also suggests this (Figure 25).



Figure 24: The southern section of the western frame (Frame C), showing the original doorway opening at first-floor level, looking west. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325698]



Figure 25: The corner brace at the north end of the western frame (Frame C), with the brace on the north elevation also shown, looking north-west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435496]



Figure 26: The surviving elements of the roof truss of frame C, with collar, two queen struts and part of the principal rafter outlined in red, looking west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435502]

The door does not correlate with any associated feature in the surviving timber framing of the adjacent property (No. 43, now part of the Sword Inn), which is now hard up against the framing of No. 41. It is likely however that the framing of No. 43 is slightly later.

As the Westgate Street frontage was heavily built up by the 16th century, it is unlikely that there was a gap to facilitate access via an external stair, but it is possible that the building on the site of No. 43 at the time was of smaller proportions than that which survives, and that a stair from a rear courtyard to the south could have been provided. The doorway could then have provided independent access to the first-floor level of the building, without having to go through the shop below. It would have involved a slight intrusion on the adjacent plot, however, when a doorway in the rear (south) elevation would not. Alternatively it is possible that the doorway communicated with the building on the site of No. 43. However, the reasons for providing inter-communication between two separately owned and let properties are unclear.



Figure 27: The small section of the surviving north principal rafter where it meets the surviving collar, with a redundant mortice for the purlin, looking west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435503]

Above the framing at first-floor level part of the original roof structure survives intact, including the tie beam and two vertical queen struts which rise to support a collar (Figure 26). The remainder of the roof structure was heavily altered in the raising of the roof at a later stage (see Phase Five below). Enough survives, however, to indicate that the truss took a different form from the central truss to the east (see above). This is due to the fact that this was a closed truss forming the end of the building, rather than what appears to have been an open truss in the central frame. As well as the two queen struts and the collar, on the north side a short mid-section of the principal rafter survives rising from the collar until truncated by a later timber (Figure 27). This short section includes part of a redundant mortice which would have originally housed the purlin. A groove in the upper edge of the tie beam indicates that the truss was originally closed between the tie beam and the collar with a wattle and daub infill.

Elements of the north elevation of the range also survive in the western bay (No. 41). At first-floor level most of the original framing of the elevation survives, as does the original jetty and associated flooring (Figure 28). At ground-floor level the elevation has been largely removed, but the position of the original sill beam is still visible where it has been cut off immediately adjacent to the central cross frame (Figure 29). The beam is approximately 0.2m off the ground, and was probably built up on a low sill wall as the sill

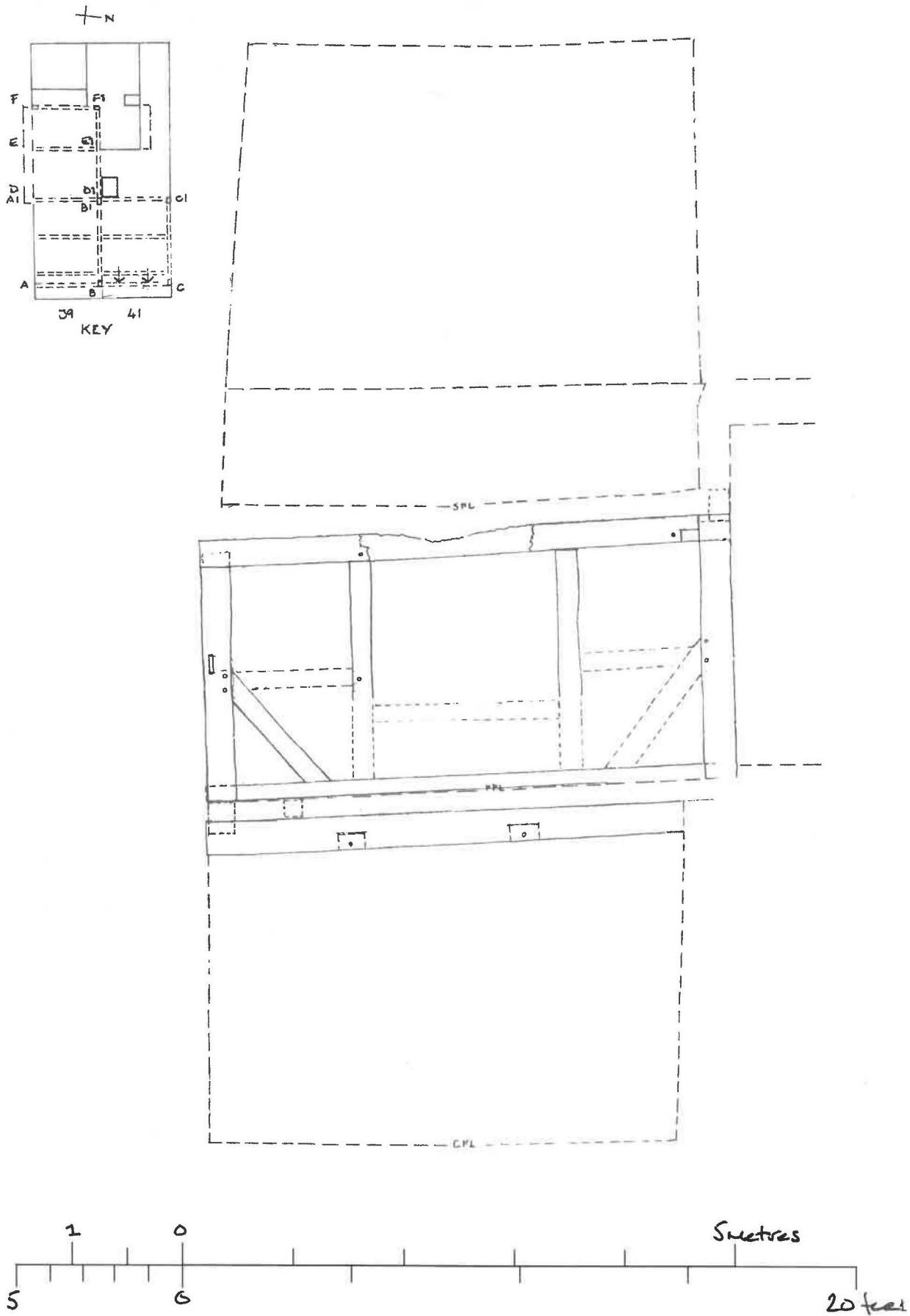


Figure 28: Interior of the north elevation, between frames C and B (now No. 41). [© Historic England, based on original survey drawing by Aerial Cam Ltd]



Figure 29: Sawn off end of the sill beam of the north elevation, visible from the western bay (now No. 41), looking east. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435523]

beam in the central frame still is. The jetty bressumer also survives above (Figure 30). This is relatively plain, with no indication of any moulding on the outer edge. Towards the western end a mortice in the underside of the jetty indicates the position of a stud, which must have been associated with the eastern side of a doorway. The original door was therefore at the western end of the frame, in approximately the same position as the extant 20th-century doorway. There is a mortice for a further full-height stud position further to the east. Other than the mortices, the remainder of the jetty bressumer has no further stave holes or other indications of infilling, suggesting that the rest of the elevation may have been open at upper level between the studs, forming large openings. This was a typical arrangement for commercial properties as the openings could have been used as windows, providing light, and also for trading. There are no mortices associated with brackets or other window head arrangements, suggesting that the openings were relatively plain and functional.



Figure 30: The jetty bressummer (painted black) and projecting joists, now within the front area of the western bay (No. 41), looking west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435521]



Figure 31: The south post of the central frame, showing redundant mortice for an up-brace, with later framing of the south elevation now projecting from it, looking south-east. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435492]

Above the jetty bressumer the original joists of the first floor project out over the top, with simple rounded ends, and no indication of any decorative bargeboard having sat to the front of them (see Figure 30). On top of these sits the jetty plate from which the framing of the first floor rises. This framing is still largely intact, with straight down-braces running from the north posts of the west and central cross frames down to the jetty plate (see Figures 25 and 28). A mid-rail runs across the elevation between the studs. The two full-height studs flank a central window opening. There is a later window frame in this location, and the wall plate above is badly damaged, but it is likely that the current window reflects an original window position – although it is possible that this has been enlarged from its original size. At the time of the survey this area was still largely concealed by plaster.

On the south elevation the west bay has been much more substantially altered, with much of the timber framing replaced, probably when the additional range to the rear was added (see Phase Four). At ground-floor level the frame of this elevation is now open, with no indication of the original framing arrangement visible. It is likely that originally there was a doorway opening in the elevation, facilitating access to the rear yard. At first-floor level there is some surviving evidence for the original form of the frame, despite the later alterations. The residual joint on the top of both the southern posts of the cross frames shows the original line of the wall plate, but the original timber has been replaced with a later, thinner timber (Figure 31). A short section of the mid-rail survives jointed into the



Figure 32: The later framing at the west end of the south elevation (No. 41), showing an original vertical stud reused in the elevation, looking south. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435491]

south post of the central truss and running up to a later stud. Above this on the south post there is a further empty mortice, which must have been for a short, straight up-brace which must have risen to the wall plate in this position, but this has been removed. This differs from the arrangement of braces in other corners of the building, including the eastern side of the same cross frame. All other surviving junctions in the front and rear walls appear to house down-braces with associated mid-rails (see Figure 25). There is no indication that the arrangement in this corner is a later modification; both mortices appear original. It obviously suggests a different arrangement for the eastern part of this bay, although it is not clear why this should be the case. There are no indications in the south side of the post that there was any projection here, such as a stair tower, although the post is partly hidden by the later post butted up against it. A small projecting tower remains a possibility therefore, or perhaps some feature within the building which necessitated there being no down-brace.

Apart from the south-east corner of the bay, the remainder of the south elevation has been replaced (Figure 32). One full-height stud, surviving towards the centre of the bay, may be a reused early timber, but it is not in its original position, as it has no mortices for a mid-rail at the right level for the elevation. It is likely that the original arrangement of the walling was similar to the front elevation, with two full-height studs running down from the wall plate and a mid-rail running in between.



Figure 33: The main longitudinal beam in the western bay (No 41), where it meets the western frame (Frame C), showing simple chamfer moulding and straight-cut chamfer stop, looking north-west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435518]

Within the western bay (now No. 41), a significant amount of the original ceiling arrangements remains at both levels. At ground-floor level a longitudinal beam runs across the bay supporting the floor joists. To the north the joists are original and run out to form the jetty. To the south the joists have been replaced at a later date. The beam is chamfered, with straight-cut stops (Figure 33). At first-floor level a similar lateral beam survives, with the same chamfer arrangement, although the stop is slightly different – apparently with a stepped form (although later damage has made the overall form less clear; Figure 34). This indicates that as built the first floor was ceiled over, to form a further room at second-floor level within the roof space. Initially this second-floor room must have been a relatively restricted space, as the original lower roof level would not have provided much head room, but it would have been sufficient for use for a sleeping chamber or for storage. The original arrangement of the central truss, with two raking queen struts rather than a queen strut and collar arrangement, would also have facilitated access between the two bays at this level (see above).



Figure 34: The ceiling arrangement at first-floor level in the western bay (No. 41), showing chamfer moulding to main beam with a stepped chamfer stop. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435495]

Given the location of the original brick stair up from the cellar in the south-east corner of the bay, it seems plausible that the original stair location always sat where the current (later) stair arrangement is, rising directly above this cellar stair. However this is uncertain as the evidence suggests that at first- and second-floor level the two bays of the building were open to each other, which would place a stair in this location in a central position within the room, which might have been an awkward arrangement. The possibility of access via an external stair in the west elevation and/or a stair tower to the rear has been considered above. It is also possible that there was a stair arrangement within the eastern bay, the evidence for which has been lost in subsequent replacement.

Phase Three – late 16th-century construction of the rear range to No. 39

The rear range which runs along Bull Lane, behind No. 39, has also been dendrochronologically dated to the late 16th century, with three samples dating to the period AD 1568-89.⁶⁵ The date range makes the construction of this range potentially contemporary with the front range, and it has been suggested that the two are in fact part of the same structure (see Previous Research above). The fabric evidence which is currently visible, however, indicates that the rear range was constructed as a separate structure from the front range, rather than forming part of the same building. The principal evidence for this is where the rear range meets the front range, where the surviving elements of the northern end of the rear range include a post on the western side which abuts directly against the central cross frame of the front range (posts B1 and D1; Figure 35 and see Figure 14). If the two ranges were built as a single structure, it would be much more straightforward for this wall to have been jointed into the south post of the front range. The fact that they are structurally separate suggests that they are more likely to have been built at different times. Given the date range indicated by dendrochronology, however, it seems the rear range was probably added just a few years after the construction of the front range, which explains the stylistic similarities.

As constructed the rear range formed a further two-bay range, its width corresponding exactly with the width of the original eastern bay of the front range (see Figure 14). It was jettied continually along its east elevation, fronting onto Bull Lane. This may originally have represented a continuation of the jetty on the eastern side of the east bay of the front range, although the subsequent replacement of the east bay makes its original form uncertain. Although extensive framing survives from the wall frames and cross frames of the rear range, the original form and layout of the interior is generally unclear, due to the extent of later alteration. It is likely that it had an ancillary function to the front range. When originally built it seems likely that the front range was still functioning as a single unit, at least at the upper levels. Evidence from the decorative schemes discovered in the upper room (see below) indicate that originally the upper room had fixed shelving along the outer wall. This may suggest that when originally constructed the range had a service function in relation to the front range, with storage at first-floor level.

This service arrangement was soon superseded, however, by an elaborate painted decorative scheme, which may indicate that the room then became a relatively high-status domestic space. In the late 17th century, after the front range had been subdivided into two units, the rear range is described as having a kitchen and wash house at ground-floor level with a chamber over (see Documentary History). Whilst this is a later document, it perhaps confirms the evidence from the decorative scheme that the upper room was a domestic 'chamber' by this date, although the ground-floor area still had a service role.



Figure 35: The south post of the central frame of the front range (Frame B), and the west post of the north frame of the rear range of No. 39 (Frame D), showing the later post butting up against the earlier one, looking north-east. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435485]



Figure 36: The west post of the central frame (Frame E) of the rear range of No. 39, also showing the box framing of the west wall of the range, and the later inserted chimney stack in the northern bay of the range, looking north-west. [© Andrea Kirkham. Reproduced with permission]

Originally it appears there were three cross frames to the new range, one abutting the south wall of the front range (D-D1), another in the centre (E-E1) and a third marking the southern end (F-F1). Of the north cross frame, only the east and west posts can be observed. The west post is currently visible from within the rear range of No. 41 (see Figure 35). This is extremely degraded on its outer (western) side so little of its form can be seen. The east post also survives at ground-floor level, visible within the later brick walling externally. The remainder of this cross frame is not visible, and may in fact have been removed in the reconstruction of the east bay of the front range in the early 19th century.

Of the central frame (E-E1) the east and west posts survive, and the roof truss above. The east post is visible externally at ground-floor level, supporting the jetty of the first floor above. Both west and east posts are visible at first-floor level, with the jowled heads visible within the framing of the walls (Figure 36). The tie beam appears to have been replaced at a later date. There is no indication of any mortices or other features on the inner sides of the posts – which suggests that the frame was originally open at first-floor level, creating a single two-bay room. Above the framing the tie beam survives, although it has been partially truncated at the eastern end. No original timbers appear to survive above the tie beam.

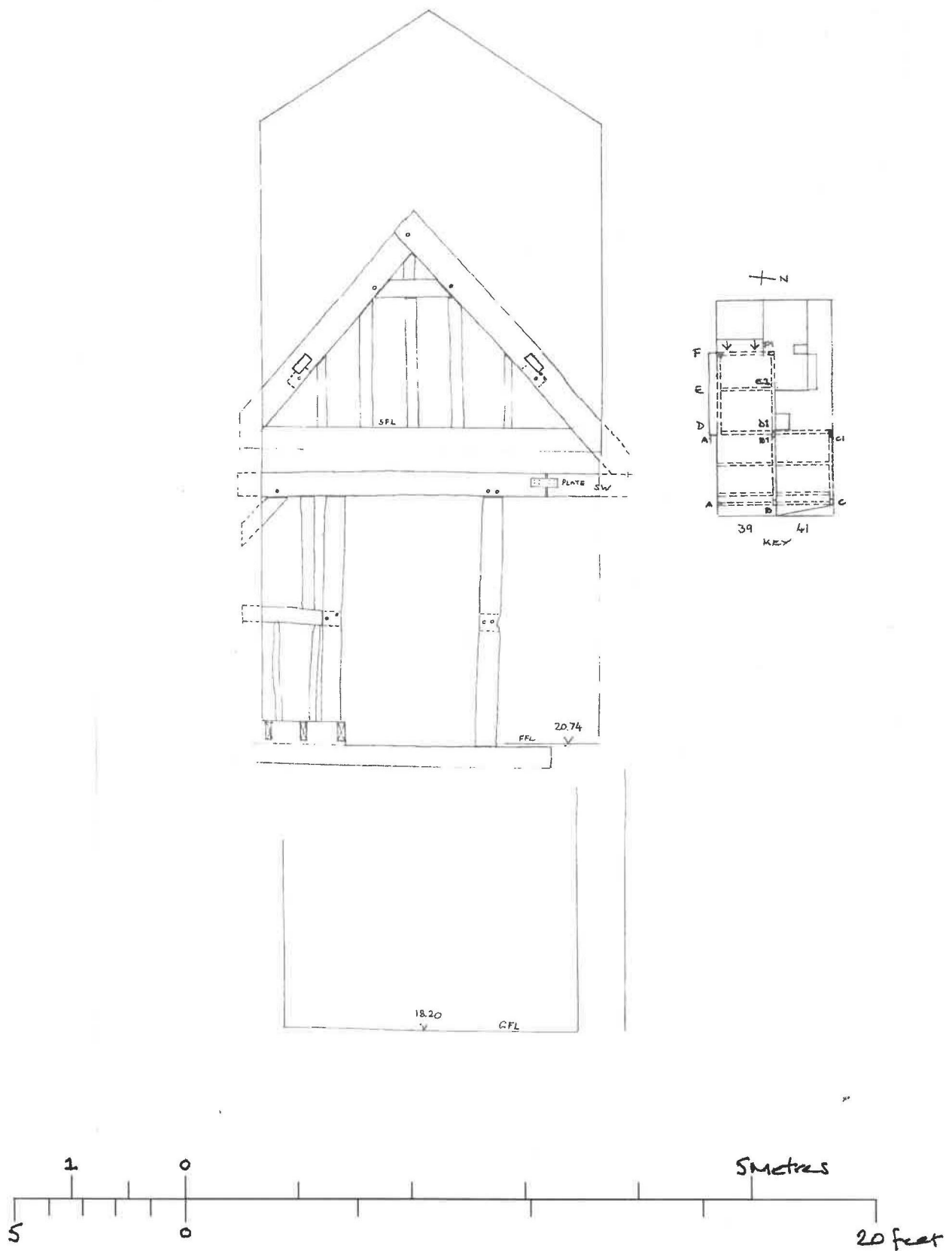


Figure 37: Frame F (Section F1-F), the southern frame of the rear range of No. 39, showing the form of the original framework. [© Historic England, based on original survey drawing by Aerial Cam Ltd]



Figure 38: The southern frame of the rear range of No. 39, showing surviving framing at first-floor level, looking north-west. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

The east and west posts of the southern cross frame (F-F1) survive, together with some of the framing at first-floor level (Figure 37). The east post is again visible externally at ground-floor level, supporting the first-floor jetty. Internally the first-floor framing largely survives, formed of two full height studs with a mid-rail running between them (Figure 38). Two straight up-braces also rise from the posts to the tie beam. The pattern of framing indicates that the truss was closed at first-floor level, with no doorway or other access, indicating that this was the end of the original range. There is no indication of any window opening, although the framing of the central panel has been modified to form a later doorway, which may have removed evidence of a central window position. Above this at what is now second-floor level the upper part of the truss survives, embedded in a wall raised in the 19th century (Figure 39). This is formed of two principal rafters, with a high-level collar just below the apex. The southern side of the truss is weathered, indicating that it was originally exposed to the elements, further confirming that this was the original southern end of the building. Redundant mortices indicate the positions of the purlins which would have projected from the truss to support the original roof structure. Just below the mortices, peg holes indicate the position of former timbers – probably raking queen struts rising to the principal rafters, in a similar form seen to the central truss of the front range. The infill framing within this arrangement is later, and the struts have been removed.



Figure 39: The upper part of the roof truss of the southern frame of the rear range of No. 39, looking north. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 40: Face-peg on the timber frame of the east elevation of the rear range of No. 39, possibly to support original shelving, looking east. [Steve Baker © HEA DP464273]



Figure 41: Framing of the west wall of the rear range of No. 39 (from within No. 41) showing box-frame form, looking south-east. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325694].

As well as the cross frames, the walling of both the east and west walls also has substantial surviving original timber framing. That on the eastern side survives only at first-floor level, supported on the jetty plate. Framing in both bays survives, with a close studding pattern – that is, with a series of closely spaced vertical timbers. This was a more expensive form of framing and was used only on the Bull Lane elevation, because it was visible from the street. Internally, in the northern bay of the east elevation, there is evidence for face pegging on one of the visible studs (Figure 40). This appears to indicate the position of fixed shelving or some other feature in the original construction – although soon superseded by a more decorative finish.

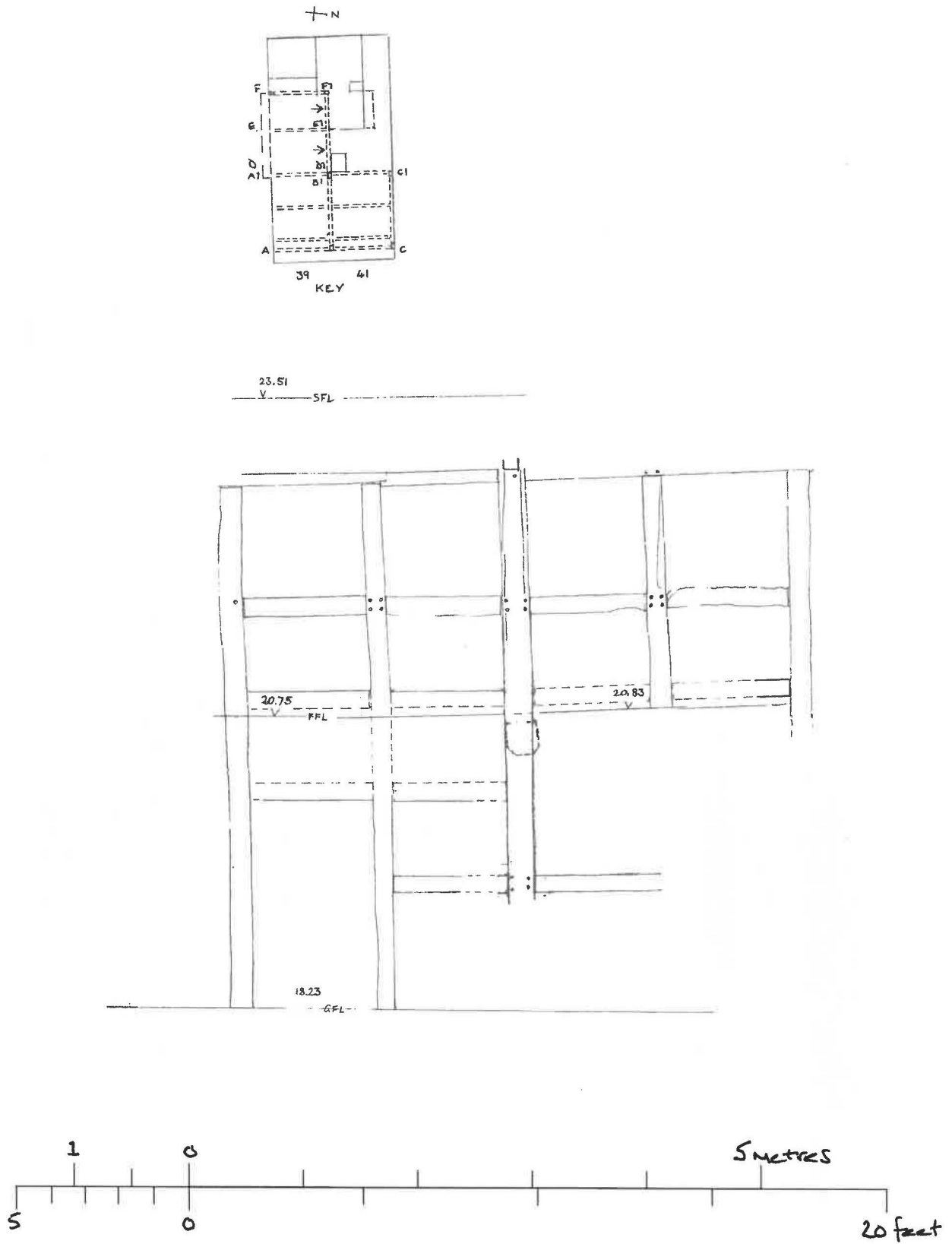


Figure 42: Framing of the west wall of the rear range of No. 39, (from F1 to D1) showing box-frame form. [© Historic England, based on original survey drawing by Aerial Cam Ltd]

On the western elevation a section of the ground-floor framing survives, visible to the west from within the rear range of No. 41, and both bays survive at first-floor level (Figure 41). This has a more modest arrangement of square panels formed of a single vertical stud and mid-rails between each post (Figure 42). At the time of survey none of the panels were exposed sufficiently to confirm if there were any window positions or other features still identifiable.

Evidence of decorative schemes

As mentioned above, it appears that as originally constructed the upper chamber of the rear range formed a service room or similar, with face pegging indicating fixed shelving along the north bay of the east elevation. This, however, was soon replaced by a decorative scheme, which suggests it had become a higher-status domestic space. These schemes have been examined by paint specialist Andrea Kirkham, and her findings are reproduced here – with a consideration of how they might relate to the structure they sit within.⁶⁶

Kirkham's research has indicated that the decorative scheme consisted of a dado of painted imitation oak panelling on the lower half of the wall, with the upper part designed to imitate fine stretched textiles (Figure 43). This comprises a pattern consisting of an ogival lattice painted in red on an off-white background (Figure 44). Within each compartment formed by the lattice was a single 'pomegranate type' fruit with a black stem and green leaf. While this patterning runs across the intermediate studs it does not run across the eastern post of the north frame, which instead has a contemporary chevron pattern. This scheme now survives only on the northern part of the east elevation, where it was protected by a later stair. It is likely that originally it ran around the whole of the first-floor chamber, but that it has been lost on the other parts of the frame due to stripping back in the 20th century.

Stylistically this scheme dates from the late 16th century up to around 1600, so could potentially be contemporary with the construction of the range – but as discussed above, there is evidence that originally the area had a more functional use. It must have replaced the original arrangement within a few years, however – in what might have been a relatively minor domestic reorganisation.



Figure 43: Painted wall scheme on the east elevation of the rear range, showing the imitation panelling on the bottom half and the lattice work above. [Steve Baker © HEA DP464281]



Figure 44: Detail of the scheme of late 16th century wall painting on the east elevation of the rear range of No. 39, showing the red lattice work with floral motif within. [Steve Baker © HEA DP464269]

There is evidence for a further painted decorative scheme layered on top of the late 16th-century scheme. This again was designed to look like high-status textile wall hangings, while the first scheme was designed to look like stretched textiles with imitation dado panelling. This time the wall hanging design occupied the whole of the wall from the floor to ceiling, rather than having a contrasting lower half. This scheme survives in a more fragmentary form, but appears to have consisted of curving shapes which may represent stems, and some fruits and other sections of colour. The fragmentary nature of the scheme precludes a stylistic date being suggested – but again it may be relatively early. This reflects the likely updating of the painting in the chamber, again possibly simply reflecting a minor domestic renovation project. It may have taken place in the early 17th century. After this the earlier scheme(s) were covered in a layer of whitewash, with the only feature being a black imitation skirting at lower level. This is typical of the 18th century, and appears to have been renewed at regular intervals until the stair was inserted in the 19th century. It is not possible to reconcile any of these schemes with larger scale structural changes as outlined in this phase and those subsequent to it. It is possible that some of them may coincide, but given the relatively minor expenditure that repainting would have incurred it is equally likely that they were part of routine domestic maintenance.

Phase Four – 17th-century construction of the rear range to No. 41

At some point a single-bay timber-frame rear range was also constructed to the south of the west bay of the original street-front range (No. 41; see Figures 13 and 14). It seems likely that this took place at the same time as, or perhaps a little after, the building was once again subdivided into two tenements, which from the documentary evidence appears to have taken place by the mid-17th century. In the description of No. 41 provided in the lease of 1666, both a shop and kitchen are mentioned – with the proportions of the latter roughly consistent with the southern rear range (at ground-floor level) as it survives now. This may indicate that it had been built sometime prior to this date – although it is possible that the current range replaced an earlier structure; perhaps something free-standing in the rear courtyard. Although the framing is largely very plain, there are a few stylistic features of the framing which suggest a 17th-century date, although nothing which can be used to confirm if it was likely to have been in place by the middle of the century. At present therefore this range has been phased to the 17th century more broadly. It is likely that the south wall of the front range was modified at the same date, to facilitate access into the new range, particularly at first-floor level.

Unlike the rear range attached at right-angles to the rear of the eastern bay (No. 39), this small addition to No. 41 ran parallel to the street-front range. It did not occupy the full width of the west bay of the earlier range, but left a narrow open passageway on the western side (see Figure 13). This must have allowed continued access directly from the front range to the courtyard behind, without going through the new range.

At the eastern end the range appears to have run off the west elevation of the earlier rear range to No. 39. Although there has been some modification at roof level, it appears that there was never a full eastern frame to the range, with the girding beams and other supporting beams instead running off the posts and rails of No. 39's rear range west elevation. At ground-floor level any structural evidence of this arrangement is still concealed, although it is clear that features within the room are built directly up against the west wall of the rear range of No. 39. At first-floor level the north girding beam is visible below the floor structure, which runs off the western post of the north frame of No. 39's rear range (post D1; see Figure 14). This is jointed in with a tenon and mortice joint, but this must have been added to the earlier post at this stage. The degrading of the post makes it impossible to confirm this. It is likely that the south girding rail is similarly jointed into the southern cross frame of the No. 39 rear range (post F1; see Figure 14), although this is currently concealed and may have been altered.

At roof level the north and south wall plates for the new range appear to have run off the western wall plate of No. 39's rear range, although this arrangement may have been modified in the alterations to No. 39 in the 19th century (see Figure 42). It is unclear how the eastern end of the roof originally terminated, as obviously the original two-storey form of No. 39's rear range would have meant that its roof was sloping away from the adjacent range. It may have been that there was some form of eastern gable truss, perhaps supported on the wall plate of No. 39's rear range in some way. Alternatively it may have run off the sloping roof of No. 39, creating a jointed arrangement. The early 19th-century modifications make it impossible to confirm this, although elements of reused timber within the later arrangement may suggest that there was a gable end at the east of some form (see below). The wall plates support a roof structure of simple paired common rafters, most of which appear to survive in situ although there are some later modifications.

As with the eastern end of the range, the northern elevation was formed simply by the south elevation of the front range. This was presumably modified to facilitate access between the front and back ranges, but subsequent changes make any alterations hard to identify. The south elevation was properly framed, although the ground-floor part has been removed in subsequent alterations. At first-floor level it survives, although much is still concealed behind later matchboard panelling. The girding beam survives and the full-height studs of the elevation are still jointed into it (Figure 45). It is unclear if there is a mid-rail as this area is still concealed. There is no indication of any window opening, but the later window towards the western end of the elevation may represent an alteration of an original opening.



Figure 45: South elevation of the rear range of No. 41, showing framing and later timber boarding, looking south. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435478]

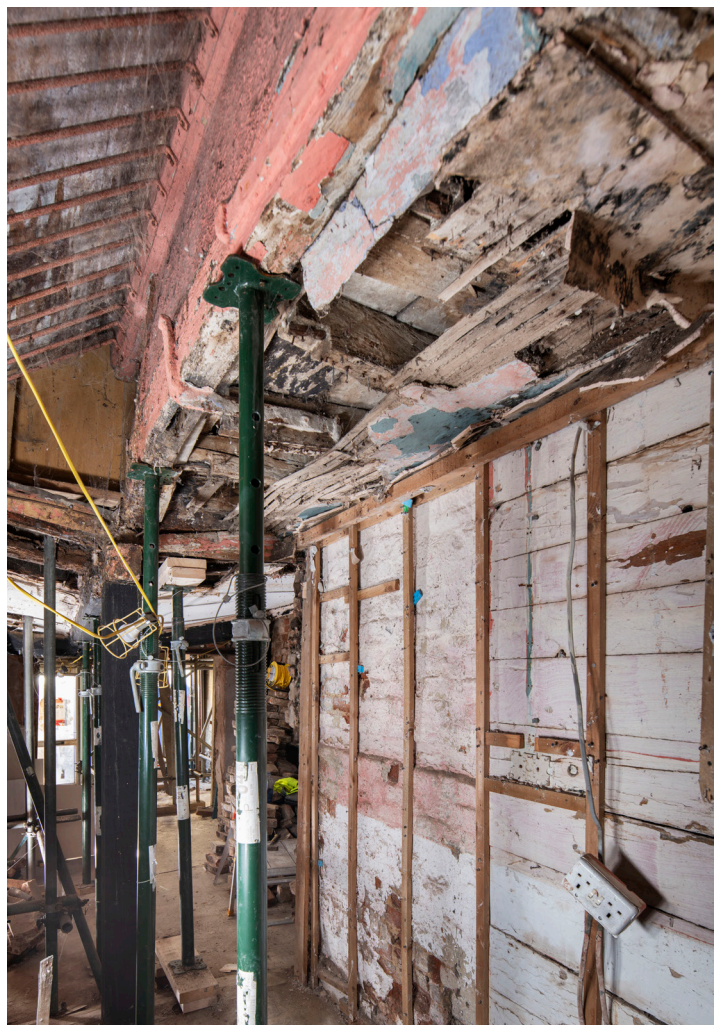


Figure 46: Line of the original west elevation of the rear range of No. 41, showing the original cross beam above, with mortices in the underside which indicate the original partition at ground-floor level, looking north-east. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435504]



Figure 47: North post of the west elevation of the rear range of No. 41 (Frame G) showing the form of the jowl, which is typical of the 17th century, looking north-west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435486]

The western cross frame of the range is also more coherent in terms of its original construction as again (as with the south elevation) it did not butt up against any earlier buildings, so required proper construction. At ground-floor level the frame has subsequently been removed, but the original cross beam is still in place, supported on a later timber underneath (Figure 46). At first-floor level and gable level substantial amounts of framing survive. Two posts form the north and south supports. They have rounded jowls, which are the main stylistic indicator of a 17th-century date for the construction of the rear range (Figure 47). Between the posts the cross beam and tie beam survive (Figure 48). Between these two beams there must originally have been two full-height studs, although the northern of these has later been removed. The southern one survives, as does a short section of mid-rail running north from the side of the stud. Fixings on the stud suggest that there may have been a window above the mid-rail in this central part of the frame. To the south of the surviving stud, original staves are still in situ and visible towards the upper part of the first floor, with matchboarding concealing the lower part (Figure 49). The northern part of the elevation has been later altered, with the original framing removed.



Figure 48: The gable end of the west elevation of the rear range of No. 41 (Frame G), looking south-west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435488]



Figure 49: The south end of the west elevation of the rear range of No. 41 (Frame G), showing the original timber infill below the tie beam (partly hidden by later boarding) looking west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435480]

Above tie-beam level the framing of the gable is intact, with two queen struts rising to support the collar and the principal rafters (see Figure 48). Below the collar a further timber runs between the queen struts to form an original window opening, which has remained largely unaltered. Externally it has a chamfer detail around the four sides of the opening. To the north of the north queen strut and above the collar, original staves are visible, with what appears to be original daub panels surviving between them (Figure 50). The window in the gable might suggest that the gable space formed a separate area as originally constructed – perhaps for use for storage or as a sleeping loft. However, the current floor arrangement is later (see below) and there are no indications of earlier joints for lateral beams on the tie beam. At present therefore it is unclear if this window lit an attic space or provided more light to the first-floor space below.



Figure 50: The gable end of the west elevation of the rear range of No. 41, showing the central window opening and original infill panels with staves to either side, looking west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435482]



Figure 51: The south end of the cut-down fireplace bressummer, reused in the later fireplace, with an ogee chamfer stop visible at its south end. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435515]

As created, it seems likely that the range would have been constructed with some form of heating arrangement, particularly if it is the 'kitchen' described in the 1666 lease – as that would have necessitated a substantial hearth. There is no evidence for the position of such a heating arrangement. The current stack is relatively small, although it contains the cut-down remains of a bressummer, which appears to have been part of a more substantial fireplace (Figure 51). At its northern end this has an ogee stop, with a chamfer running along the underside of the bressummer until cut off to allow for the present narrow width of the hearth. The upper part of the face of the bressummer is covered in taper burn marks and graffiti – common features on 16th- and 17th-century fireplace bressumers. This bressummer may of course have been reused from elsewhere in the building, or even brought in from another building, but it seems plausible that this might represent part of a large, 17th-century fireplace opening which originally existed in this range. The most likely position for this would perhaps be along the eastern side of the range, where it would not have blocked any potential window openings or access points. It may in fact have been the position of a stack on this wall which negated the requirement of a fully framed east gable, particularly at roof level. At present this is quite a speculative interpretation of the surviving features, but nonetheless it means the surviving section of the bressummer may represent an important feature of the rear range.



Figure 52: The north end of the central frame of the front range (Frame B), showing later framing lapped onto the original tie beam, looking west. [© Andrea Kirkham. Reproduced with permission]

Alterations to the front range

It seems likely that the construction of the rear range to No. 41 took place soon after, if not at the same time as, the subdivision of the two bays of the front range to form two separate units. It is possible that the two ground-floor shops always functioned separately, even while they were under one tenant, as commercial space was obviously at a premium in the Westgate Street area. However, it is suggested that in the late 16th century the front range provided single spaces at first-floor level and in the loft space. In the late 17th century, however, it is clear that the two tenements once again became leased entirely separately and the subdivision of the upper floors must have accompanied this change. At first-floor level a partition was inserted into the formerly open frame of the central cross frame (Frame B; see Figure 14). This is still extant and is formed of full-height studs lapped onto the earlier tie beams towards the top, and a mid-rail which runs between the studs (Figure 52). The lapping of the timbers, rather than jointing them into the frame, indicates that they are later than the original framework, as does the thinner scantling of the timber. The current infill between the studs and mid-rail is later but seems to have been a replacement of an earlier arrangement infilling the panels. It is clear that when originally inserted the framing of the partition was visible, at least on the eastern side, as there are traces of



Figure 53: Detail of the later framework inserted into the central frame of the front range (frame B), showing pink paint on the timbers, looking west. [© Andrea Kirkham. Reproduced with permission]

paint associated with a decorative scheme applied directly to some of the inserted timbers of the partition, and to some of the original timbers as well (Figure 53).⁶⁷ This was not a patterned decorative scheme like that seen in the rear range of No. 39, but a simpler ‘plain scheme’ which involved individual timbers being picked out in colour, with contrast panels in between, and was designed to highlight the timber frame.⁶⁸ Such schemes are seen in a broad date range from the late 16th and into the 17th centuries – and here must correspond with the perhaps mid-17th-century date of the inserted frame.

The original stair arrangement for the front range has been discussed above. However, it is likely that at the same time as this subdivision, if not originally, a stair was created in the south-east corner of the west bay. The surviving stair is likely to be later, but must represent an earlier position. If not original, then it would have been the logical place to insert a stair as part of this phase as it would have continued on from the original stair down to the cellar under the western bay.

Phase Five – Alterations to No. 41 in the 18th and early 19th centuries

A series of alterations are evident to the main two-range arrangement of No. 41. It is unclear if any of these happened at the same time or, perhaps more likely, as a series of piecemeal alterations and upgrades over the years. Most of these alterations were purely functional rather than including any decorative features, and thus there is not much stylistic evidence to help in dating. They have been described as a phase here, therefore, with some suggestion of a likely chronology laid out based on the minimal fabric evidence.

It is likely that the first-floor heating arrangement in the west bay of the front range was added in the late 17th or possibly early 18th century. This comprised a very simple brick stack, built on top of the original floorboards of the first floor and up against the first-floor doorway which was part of the original frame – confirming that the doorway had gone out of use at a relatively early date. Assuming there was already a stack at ground-floor level in the rear range (see above), then with this stack there would have been heating for the main domestic spaces within the building at ground- and first-floor levels.

At some stage, possibly in the 18th or early 19th centuries, the shopfront of No. 41 at ground-floor level was built out to align with the first floor above, underbuilding the jetty. This was a typical process undertaken in older buildings at the time, concealing the timberwork and creating a flat front façade which was considered more fashionable. The brickwork of this is visible to the east and west flanks of the north end of the bay. It appears to be broadly of an 18th- or early 19th-century type, although used in a rather haphazard way. To the west, the underbuilding utilised reused wooden panels – which appear to be part of former window shutters (Figure 54). These have a layer of wallpaper adhering to their face, which may in fact relate to their previous location, as within the partition they appear always to have been hidden behind laths. Their reuse must have been intended to provide some structural purpose, in relation to the brickwork around – they certainly do not appear to have been visible in that location. It seems likely that they may in fact have come from within the building, and been reused as infill panels in the alteration of the frontage. The shutters may originally be of late 17th- or early 18th-century date – and were perhaps reused in the late 18th or early 19th centuries.

One significant phase of alteration within the west bay of the front range (No. 41) is the raising of the earlier roof to create a taller loft space. It seems likely that the attic was originally floored (see above), but this would have provided a room with very limited headroom, restricting its utility. At some stage therefore the north and south walls of the west bay of the front range were raised and a new roof structure built over the top of them (Figure 55). The form of the roof structure suggests perhaps an 18th-century date for the alteration.



Figure 54: Timber panelling, possibly window shutters, used as part of the underbuilding of the jetty of the front range, now forming the partition between Nos 39 and 41, looking east. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 55: Raised roof over the western bay of the front range (No. 41) showing the later timbers inserted around the original gable-end framework, looking north-west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435500]

The accommodation of this arrangement to the eastern side of the bay, where it shared a truss with No. 39, makes it seem likely that the alteration took place with an associated raising of the roofline over No. 39 – as otherwise the arrangement would have been hard to reconcile along the shared truss line. It may have been, therefore, that No. 39 had the same raised roof arrangement prior to the complete replacement of the east bay of the front range in the early 19th century. The raising was achieved by using short vertical studs, of relatively thin scantling, resting on the timbers of the earlier wall frames and cross frames. To the north and south these run along the tops of the earlier wall plate positions. It seems to have been at this point that the south wall plate of this bay was replaced with the surviving timber of thinner scantling running between the posts of the trusses to either side. The original wall plate in fact appears to have been reused at the top of the raised section of wall, providing the south wall plate for the new roof (Figure 56). As well as the vertical studs, diagonal bracing was also used along these upper sections of walling to provide additional structural strengthening. To the west the raised gable height incorporated elements of the original truss, but also used other reused timber to support a higher gable roof line (see Figures 26 and 55). Much of this arrangement has been lost in subsequent modification. The arrangement to the east has been subsequently replaced in the reconstruction of the east bay (No. 39; see Phase Six below).



Figure 56: Raised wall line of the south elevation of the west bay of the front range (No. 41) showing the use of later timbers, and the reuse of the original wall plate at a higher level, looking south-west. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

The new raised wall and gable arrangement supported pairs of common rafters. These are braced with high level collars, lapped onto the sides of the rafters – which also formed a ceiling level for the room. To the front (north) a dormer window opening was also inserted – the present window is mostly of later timber but must represent the reconstruction of a feature of this date, as there would have been no other means of lighting the space. Surviving laths indicate that the wall framing of this phase was always intended to be concealed. Nails on the underside of the common rafters indicate that the plaster continued up to the level of the high-level collars, creating a completely plastered space, suitable for use as a domestic room. Small fragments of plaster survive on the west elevation, immediately below the ceiling, showing a decorative pattern of black triangles creating a modest frieze (Figure 57).⁶⁹ Stylistically this type of geometric patterning is also likely to date to the 18th century and may be contemporary with the raising of the roof.



Figure 57: Fragment of wall plaster left in attic room over west bay of the front range (No. 41), showing a painted motif of triangles along the top edge of the plaster, immediately under the ceiling level, looking north-west. [© Andrea Kirkham. Reproduced with permission]

Alterations to the rear range of No. 39 in the 18th century

As with No. 41, some phases of alteration are also visible within the rear range of No. 39. The most significant of these is the insertion of a chimney stack at the northern end of the range, against the south wall of the front range. This appears to have provided heating at both ground- and first-floor levels, with the stack still extant at both levels today. At first-floor level the fireplace opening has a relatively small fire surround, with the remains of a grate (see Figure 36). To the west of the stack, the recess between the stack and the west wall of the range has been infilled as a cupboard. The form of the cupboard doors – particularly in the use of butterfly hinges – and the overall proportions of the fireplace suggest an 18th-century date for these features. It is possible that these represent modifications of an earlier stack, but the brickwork of this feature is still largely hidden by plasterwork, so this is unclear. The first-floor fireplace looks of a proportion to have heated a domestic space.



Figure 58: North elevation of Nos 39-41, prior to the recent restoration work, showing the eastern bay of the front range (No. 39) as rebuilt sometime between 1824 and 1834, looking south. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Phase Six – Early 19th-century reconstruction of No. 39

Perhaps the most significant phase of alteration to the structure was the reconstruction of the eastern bay of the front range, and the heightening of the rear range to No. 39, which appears to have taken place at the same time. The documentary evidence indicates that this took place between 1824 and 1834. This is confirmed by the street elevation drawing of 1841, which shows the building in broadly its current form (see Figure 7). It is clear therefore that this work was done prior to the sale of the site by the Gloucester Corporation, which took place at some point after 1841.

The reconstruction replaced only the eastern bay of the front range, creating a three-storey block which must have the same footprint as the original eastern bay, but obviously providing significant additional space through the creation of an additional storey (Figure 58). It also provided a greater ceiling height for the ground- and first-floor levels, as can be seen from the exterior today, where the ground-floor space is notably taller than that surviving at No. 41. It also must have reflected a general updating of the accommodation.

The exterior walls of the block were built of brick (i.e. to the east and north). On the north elevation the ground-floor level was completely occupied by the shopfront. The original

form of this is shown on the 1841 elevation drawing of the street, which indicates an overall arrangement similar to that which survives today with the doorway on the eastern side of a large shop window (see Figure 7). Above this at first- and second-floor levels the elevation has single centrally placed windows, with the window heads formed of prominent projecting voussoirs which appear to be of stone, but are more likely to be formed of plaster laid over the top of a more conventional brick window head. The east side elevation was completely featureless, allowing for the position of a large chimney stack which provided heating at all three levels within the building. To the west, in the partition between No. 39 and No. 41, the original cross frame of the 16th-century building was retained, although any framing at ground-floor level was replaced in brick. At first-floor level the inserted timber partition was retained, but new staves were placed between the main elements of the frame. Similarly at the former gable level the roof structure was infilled with new studwork. Above the principal rafters further studwork was inserted, supporting the new gable at second-floor level.

To the south the materials used for the reconstructed block are unclear as this wall was largely still concealed by plaster at the time of the survey. It is likely that, as with the west elevation, this used studwork placed around any original framing – perhaps with brick used at ground-floor level, as to the west.

Alterations to the rear range of No. 39

The rear range to No. 39 was raised and altered at the same time, although here there was no wholesale reconstruction, with much of the framework of the original range retained, particularly at the upper levels and in the west wall. At ground-floor level the east elevation was rebuilt in brick, although the main structural posts of the earlier range were retained (Figure 59). In order to create the second-floor level a new floor level was created within the building, with its side walls formed of studwork. In the centre the original south frame was retained (frame F-F1; see Figure 14), with studwork added to the top (see Figure 39).

The earlier stack at the north end of the rear range was retained, although it must have been modified, at least at high level, in order to accommodate the raising of the range. Adjacent to the stack the current staircase arrangement on the eastern side of the north bay appears to have been formed, giving access between ground-, first- and second-floor levels. This may have necessitated some modification of the fireplace arrangement at both ground- and first-floor levels. It may have represented the position of a more modestly sized earlier stair, as there is no evidence for another stair location, and the position next to the stack would be a typical place for a stair.



Figure 59: East elevation of the rear range of No. 39 at ground-floor level showing brick infill around the original timber posts, looking north. [Steve Baker © HEA DP464261]

Alterations to No. 41

The alterations to No. 39 also necessitated some changes to the rear range of No. 41, particularly where it ran off the rear range of No. 39. The original arrangement of the east gable was altered. The work required also appears to have been used as an opportunity to insert an additional floor into the range, creating an upper loft space, although the roofline of the 17th-century range was not raised. Two lateral beams were inserted over the top of the earlier east wall plate of the rear range of No. 39, running to the earlier west gable of No. 41's rear range. To the west the beams were inserted over the top of the tie beam in the west gable. The northern of the two beams was in fact propped slightly with an additional wedge driven in between the tie beam and the lateral beam (see Figure 42). This must have been to try and create a level floor for the loft and suggests that the north-western corner of the rear range had already dropped slightly – a structural issue that appears to have become more pronounced in the 20th century.

Between the lateral beams extra sections of timber have been fixed against the wall plate to the east and against the tie beam to the west (see Figure 42). These appear to have been designed to brace the lateral beams and stop them moving. To the east, the ends of the lateral beams and the short section of timber between were used to support two raking queen posts which rise to support the purlins over this end of the range. This must have replaced the original truss arrangement at this end of the range. The queen struts are of different proportions, and the south post clearly reuses an earlier piece of timber as there is a redundant mortice in its side. This piece may have been part of the original truss at this end of the range, but the rest of the timber bracing the roof appears to be 19th-century in date.

Phase Seven – mid-19th century

It is evident from the surviving fabric that there have been significant alterations to the rear of the buildings throughout the 19th and 20th centuries – infilling the courtyards which had evidently been a consistent feature of the properties in the 17th and 18th centuries (as indicated by the lease descriptions). The first phase of this infilling appears to have taken place between 1843, when the properties are depicted on Cawston's map of Gloucester, and 1852, when the buildings were shown on the Board of Health map. It may be that these changes were the result of the sale of the properties by the Corporation, with the new owners making alterations – the precise date of sale is unknown, but it certainly happened before 1886.

By 1852 the Board of Health map indicates that the whole of the rear courtyard behind No. 41 had been infilled, as had the side passageway along the side of the 17th-century rear range (see Figure 9). This must have necessitated demolition of the earlier outbuilding. The mapping in fact suggests that this infill block wrapped around the rear (south) side of No. 39 and ran up to Bull Lane, although it seems likely that this area was in fact subdivided. It is difficult to be certain about the exact form this extension took, as much of it appears to have been subsequently removed, but it certainly indicates a significant

change in the use of the building. It seems likely that the block shown was subdivided, but it is likely that at least the areas immediately behind No. 41 were in use by the property. A similar arrangement is shown on the late 19th-century OS maps, with the 1884 town plan showing the area subdivided into units which perhaps might have functioned separately, or at least had separate access from Bull Lane.

It seems likely that this expansion was due in part to the use of the premises by the Manning family for their cork-cutting business. It is probable that this required additional space for the semi-industrial processes associated with the trade, as well as domestic accommodation for the family. The semi-industrial use of the rear range of No. 39 at this date is confirmed by the presence of large amounts of burnt cork dust, which was dislodged from the upper floor levels during the recent restoration work. The quantity of this was significant, suggesting a long-term use of the building. This burnt cork must relate to the cork-cutting process as described in the 19th century (see Documentary History), where offcuts of cork were burnt to produce a black ink as a by-product of the main business. Where within the building this might have been burnt is unclear. The presence of cork dust under the floor in the top storey of the raised building, however, suggests that the semi-industrial processes occupied at least that floor level.

The rear areas of both properties were subject to further change in the 20th century, removing much of the evidence for the arrangement in this phase. To the rear of No. 41, however, part of an apparently 19th-century single-storey block survives, the southern half of which is now in separate ownership. This is built of brick with a pitched roof. The precise arrangement is hard to determine, but internally there is some indication that there was a fluid relationship between the two properties in the mid- to late 19th century. At ground-floor level within the rear range of No. 41 a brick wall was constructed, which partitioned off the south-east corner of the range. There was no communicating door in the wall to No. 41, with the small room created instead being accessed via No. 39. It may also have communicated with a further range to the south, although this has since been removed. This room is still part of the property of No. 39 today. It may have been that the additional space to the rear of No. 41 shown on the mapping was also used by No. 39, therefore, which was occupied by the Manning family.

Perhaps as a response to the loss of space in the south-east corner of the rear range of No. 41, it seems that further adaptations were made to the western side of the range, removing the narrow passageway which ran along the western side of the rear range. The timber framing of the western elevation was removed at ground-floor level, although left intact above. The northern part of the cross beam of the elevation was supported on an inserted timber (Figure 60; see Figure 46). To the south this timber was supported on a timber post, and to the north this was fixed against the rear girding beam of the front range, with a metal strap used to reinforce the junction between the two timbers. This arrangement seems to have further exacerbated the structural problems in the south-west corner of the front range, which had perhaps already caused some subsidence of this side of the property. The point at which the inserted beam joins the girding beam has seen significant splitting in the girding beam. Initially this expansion into the passageway appears to have been at ground-floor level only, with an upper sloping grille still in place representing some form of lean-to roof covering (see Figure 46).



Figure 60: Rear range of No. 41, showing the later timber beam (now supported on acroprops) inserted to allow the removal of the ground-floor timber framing of the west elevation, running off the south girding beam of the front range, looking south-west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435512]

Phase Eight – 20th century

Both properties underwent piecemeal alterations in the 20th century, reflecting the general trends in updating commercial property. Most notable was the replacement or renewal of both shopfronts. The shopfront to No. 39 was replaced with a plate glass arrangement at some point in the late 20th century, although the evidence indicates that the main arrangement respected the early 19th century shopfront in the positioning of the door on the eastern side of the bay. Similarly the shopfront to No. 41 was replaced, but the original position of the doorway on the western side maintained. The replacement shopfront is of an angled design (Figure 61), with the shopfront running back as it runs from east to west, which had the effect of recessing the door. The outer part of the shopfront was tiled, and stylistically appeared to be of the 1950s or '60s. This shopfront was removed as part of the renovation of the building.



Figure 61: Shopfront inserted into the north elevation of No. 41 in the 20th century, looking south. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

To the rear of No. 39 the 19th-century extension shown on the map of 1852 was replaced with a two-storey brick block. This had Crittal windows and may have been constructed in the 1950s. This provided a separate access point to the unit and a rear stair and communicated with the earlier rear range through a door in the original south elevation of the building. This must have allowed the upper parts of the building to be accessed separately from the shop, which may have facilitated the letting of the upper floors.

Internally the shop area of No. 41 was also adapted, possibly at the same time, with the insertion of a brick cross wall around 1m north from the original south wall of the front range. This reduced the size of the shop but had the effect of partitioning off the main stair access to the cellar and upper parts of the building. The mixture of commercial and residential use of the properties has continued to the present day.

Conclusion

Numbers 39-41 Westgate Street have considerable significance as an example of a relatively modest set of 16th- and 17th-century commercial and domestic buildings in Gloucester. Whilst such buildings probably characterised most of the streets in the city at the time they were constructed, they have typically been replaced or significantly modernised in the ensuing centuries. The survival of the front range of No. 41 is particularly remarkable in this context, as it was the most visible street-front sections that were most often subject to upgrading or replacement.

The evidence of decorative schemes associated with the domestic spaces in two of the ranges also adds to the overall significance, with at least three schemes identified in the rear range of No. 39, dating from the late 16th century through to the 18th century. There is also evidence in the front range for a 'plain scheme', in which timbers were picked out in bright colours, probably with contrasting white used on the infill panels. This is typical of the 17th century but identified examples in the west of England are relatively rare. The decorative schemes indicate the status of the upper rooms at the time, which were not simply functional spaces, but used as well-appointed domestic spaces on which considerable money was expended.

The complex is also of interest for the evidence of the combination of commercial, domestic and semi-industrial use – the latter due to the long tenure at No. 39 of tenants in the cork cutting trade in the 19th century. Again this type of flexible, mixed use would have characterised much of the city in the medieval and post-medieval periods, but is now hard to identify in surviving properties, largely because heavy commercial use in the 20th century has typically removed the evidence associated with this.

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- 38 Ibid.
- 39 A photocopy of the Gloucester street view in the possession of Chris Miners (Historic England). It appears to be derived from the *Historical, pictorial and topographical illustrations of the counties of Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire and Monmouthshire: with specimens of the architecture and street views of Gloucester, Cheltenham, Bath, Bristol, Wells, Salisbury, Monmouth, etc. of circa 1841*. No intact copy of the book has been identified.
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