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The Fleece Hotel, 19, 19A and 21 Westgate Street, Gloucester

Historic Building Investigation

Rebecca Lane



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Summary

This report presents the findings of the investigation of the principal listed buildings which form the historic core of the Fleece Hotel, Westgate Street, Gloucester. These form three ranges arranged around a courtyard sitting south of the main street front. The buildings are mainly of the late 15th century, although the largest range incorporates part of a late 12th-century undercroft. Included in the report are the results of an investigation and detailed measured survey of the surviving buildings, supplemented by photographic recording. Documentary research was also undertaken to support the interpretation of the complex. The site was thought to be a 'pilgrim inn' constructed by St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. However, the investigation of the buildings has established that, although almost certainly constructed by the abbey, it was not built specifically as an inn and had a varied use, with the street-front range forming shops with domestic accommodation and the rear two ranges used as a large residence, possibly with some commercial functions, and intermittently as an inn. From the mid-17th century onwards the rear ranges were used permanently as an inn, known as the 'Golden Fleece'. This use continued up until the early 21st century.

Contributors

The investigation of the building was undertaken by Rebecca Lane, in conjunction with Gary Butler of Butler Hegarty Architects. Photography is by Steve Baker and James O. Davies of Historic England unless otherwise stated. Drawings are based on the survey carried out by Butler Hegarty Architects. Documentary research was undertaken by Rebecca Lane, based on the published work of John Rhodes, with some supplementary research by Abigail Lloyd. This report was prepared by Rebecca Lane. Initial assessment of the decorative wall paintings at the site was undertaken by Andrea Kirkham in April 2022, and its findings have been incorporated into the phasing of the report in a preliminary way. Comments on the report were made by Abigail Lloyd and John Rhodes. The report was edited by Colum Giles and Emily Cole.

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Front cover image: A smoke-blackened roof truss in the west range [Steve Baker © HEA DP325677]

Archive Location

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

Date of Investigation

The site was investigated in March and April 2022 with further visits in September 2022 and February 2023. Research was carried out between May 2022 and August 2023. The report was finalised in September 2023.

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Abbreviations

GA Gloucester Archives

GCA Gloucester Cathedral Archives

HEA Historic England Archives

NHLE National Heritage List for England

OS Ordnance Survey

TNA The National Archives

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Introduction

The Fleece Hotel comprises a complex of buildings sitting to the south-west of Westgate Street in the city of Gloucester. The main part of the inn is listed Grade I (NHLE 1245447) with the entry describing it as principally a 15th-century building with a 12th-century undercroft and alterations of the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. It was first listed in 1952, with amendments to the list description made in 1998. The street-front range comprising Nos 19A, 21 and 23 Westgate Street and the adjoining western range are listed Grade II (NHLE 1245448); these are described as ranges of the 15th century with alterations of the 18th and 20th centuries. It was first listed in 1998.

The Fleece Hotel has been empty since 2002 and is now owned by Gloucester City Council. All of the buildings are currently in poor condition, and the Grade-I-listed range has been on the Historic England Heritage at Risk Register since 2013. As part of the Gloucester High Street Heritage Action Zone (HSHAZ), a programme of initial stripping out and assessment of the building was funded. This report is intended to inform the conservation process and to provide a baseline of information to allow decision making.

Location and medieval landscape context

Westgate Street forms one of the four main thoroughfares in the central area of the city of Gloucester, which sit in alignment with the Roman street plan of the city.[1] The four principal streets form a cruciform arrangement meeting at a central crossroads known as the High Cross. The Fleece Hotel sits some 80m west of the High Cross, with its main courtyard accessed from Westgate Street via a narrow archway under the street-front range. The Fleece Hotel complex occupies a roughly L-shaped plot which stretches southwards from the main Westgate Street frontage and then extends behind the adjacent shops to the west (25 to 37 Westgate Street), with the western boundary of the plot running along Bull Lane (Figure 1). It now runs as far south as Cross Keys Lane, although in the medieval period the plots along this lane were in separate ownership.

The principal ranges are towards Westgate Street and for the purposes of this report are considered three separate structures – the street-front range comprising 19A, 21 and 23 Westgate Street; the great inn range (which sits on the eastern side of the plot to the rear of No. 17); and the range to the south of this, which runs parallel with the great inn range and is referred to in this report as the west range (Figure 2). As well as the main listed ranges there are further detached 19th- and 20th-century buildings which previously provided ancillary services to the hotel. These have not been examined in detail for this report, but their history is covered where relevant in the sections below. Other ranges which formerly occupied further parts of the rear plot have recently been cleared. These are referenced where relevant in the history section. Adjacent buildings to the east, including No. 11A which runs up to the eastern boundary of the site, are currently owned and managed by Gloucester City Council as part of the wider Fleece site. They have not been covered in this report, except where relevant to changes seen within the Fleece Hotel.

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Figure 1: Location map showing the outline of the Fleece Hotel site in red. [Background map: © Crown Copyright and database right 2023. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900.]



Figure 2: Site plan showing the three main ranges in red and other ancillary structures in blue. North is to the top left of the image. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]

Although the plot (and buildings) are largely orientated on a north-east to south-west alignment, for the purposes of the descriptions in this report it has been assumed that the plot aligns with the cardinal compass points, with the plot running north to south and the street-front range fronting north onto Westgate Street.

The longevity of the Fleece Hotel as a large parcel of land in a city such as Gloucester is remarkable, although inevitably there have been some alterations to its boundaries. What is now 17 Westgate Street at the north-eastern edge of the site, immediately north of the great inn range, was part of the original medieval holding but it was split from the rest of the site in 1799 and completely reconstructed in the 19th century. Nonetheless, as it originally formed an integral part of the site, its history is covered in this report where relevant. Conversely what is now No. 23, although listed as part of street-front range of the Fleece Hotel, was a separate parcel of land and a separate structure until the 20th century. Its history is covered in Appendix 2 of this report.

Gloucester's origins as a Roman settlement are well attested to. The city is located at an important strategic point on the route between the south of England and south Wales, and at a crossing point on the River Severn.[2] The Roman military settlement was laid out just to the east of this crossing point, with the street which became Westgate Street forming the principal route from the city down to the bridge over the river and to the quayside. It subsequently evolved into a civilian settlement with a larger population. Following the end of the Roman occupation, the city continued to play an important role in the Anglo-Saxon period as a centre for the kingdom of Mercia, with settlement focused outside the Roman walls to the west in the mid-Saxon period, but moving back within the Roman city in the late Saxon period, which saw significant redevelopment along Westgate Street.[3] To the north of Westgate Street the siting of the Minster Church of St Peter, founded in the late 7th century and refounded in 1022 as a Benedictine abbey, also had a significant effect upon development in the area.[4]

Following the Norman Conquest a castle was constructed in the south-western quadrant of the city, immediately east of the river.[5] The redevelopment from 1022 onwards of the Benedictine abbey, a building which occupied the north-western corner of the former Roman settlement, was also key in the development of the city.[6] As well as influence of the abbey on the city through the direct impact of the precinct itself, through endowment the abbey was also an important landowner in the city and thus had a wider role in its development.[7] The city's wealth in the medieval period also saw the foundation of other religious houses, with the Augustinian Llanthony Priory (also known as Llanthony Secunda) becoming another important landholder in the city.[8] The bridge over the River Severn ensured that the city continued to play an important role in relation to travel and communication with Wales and the quayside adjacent to the bridge in trade up and down the river.[9]

Westgate Street, often known as Ebridge Street in the medieval period (the name deriving from old English Ea, meaning river, and therefore literally the street leading to the river bridge), continued to act as the main thoroughfare from the city to the river, and as such appears to have been the focus of commercial activity in the medieval settlement.[10]

The pattern of long plots along both sides of the street was well established by the 12th century.[11] As well as the tenement plots laid out to the north and south of the street, it also had a series of prominent buildings in the centre of the thoroughfare. Two of these were the churches of Holy Trinity and St Mary de Grace, which had small parishes stretching north and south of Westgate Street.[12] As well as the churches there were various commercial properties built into the middle of the street, including the so-called 'King's Board', a small market house for the sale of butter and cheese and 'le coferye' which appears to have provided a focus for the sale of wigs (or coifs).[13] These features may have been built as part of a deliberate policy of land exploitation by the Crown or its agents in the 12th century.[14] The meat market may have occupied the space in the street between St Mary de Grace and the High Cross.[15] By the late medieval period sections of the street had apparently become the focus of different trades or services, with the south side of Westgate Street associated with the butchery trade.[16] The church of St Mary de Grace was demolished in 1654-5 and Holy Trinity largely in 1699 but their associated parishes continued to be defined until at least the end of the 19th century, served by the parish churches of St Michael, St Nicholas and St Mary de Lode.[17]

Running off Westgate Street to the north and south were narrow lanes which connected with similar alleys running off Southgate Street and Northgate Street, creating an irregular grid pattern providing access to the sides and rears of the larger plots. It is possible that originally the plots fronting onto Westgate Street occupied the whole of these areas, but by the 13th century the frontages of these lanes and alleyways were already heavily built up, including 'Gore Lane' (now Bull Lane), which ran south from Westgate Street just west of the Fleece, and 'Scrudde Lane' (now Cross Keys Lane) which ran parallel with Westgate Street to the south and provided access onto Southgate Street (*see* Figure 1).[18]

The importance of Gloucester as a trading centre on the main route into Wales – and from the late 14th century as a pilgrimage centre associated with the cult of King Edward II, who was buried at the abbey – meant that by the late medieval period the city was well served by inns to provide accommodation for travellers.[19] Many of these were constructed under the auspices of the monastic houses which were the main landowners in the city by this date. The best known of these is the New Inn on Northgate Street (NHLE 1245714), which represents the most intact survival of a courtyard inn in the city and is a notable survival in a national context. It was constructed by the Benedictine abbey, probably soon after 1432.[20] Other courtyard inns and smaller inn complexes are also known, including the Fountain Inn on Westgate Street (NHLE 1271932). In many cases these inns continued in use well into the post-medieval period, and many to the present day.

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Documentary History

Although somewhat overshadowed by the New Inn in antiquarian interest, the history of the Fleece Hotel has attracted the attention of historians since the late 19th century. Initially this interest was particularly focused on the undercroft, which was named by historian J. H. Parker in 1860 as one of five known 12th-century structures in Gloucestershire.[21] In 1946-8 H. W. G. Household published 'The Fleece in Upper Westgate Street, a "Great Inn" of about 1500' in the *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*.[22] This represented the most through exploration of the documentary history of the site until the work of John Rhodes was issued in 2016 as part of the publication of the *Terrier of Llanthony Priory's Houses and Lands in Gloucester 1443.*[23] Much of the following account is based upon their work, supplemented by additional primary documentary research at Gloucestershire Archives and Gloucester Cathedral Archives.

In terms of the later documentary history, it is important to note that the earliest street numbering for Westgate Street ran east to west along the south side of the street, before returning west to east along the northern side. This meant that the Fleece Hotel was generally identified as No. 10 (including what is now known as No. 19A), with the plots to either side numbered as 9 and 11 (now Nos 17 and 21). The numbering was changed between 1920 and 1927 with the Fleece being identified as No. 19 and the associated plots as Nos 17, 19A and 21.[24] For clarity the modern numbering has been used throughout the documentary history section.

Early 13th century to 1475

The surviving documentary evidence for the layout and ownership of the tenements on Westgate Street dates largely from the 15th century onwards. Of particular importance are the Terrier of Llantony Priory of 1443 and the 1455 household rental compiled by the Corporation of Gloucester.[25] These, supplemented with other sources, set out the history of many of the plots back to the 12th century. A great deal of work has been done by John Rhodes in clarifying the descent of the various properties of the city and their ownership and history.[26] This includes mapping the various plots as they were defined in the late medieval period (and in most cases continued to be defined well into later centuries).[27]

The Fleece Hotel complex as it stands today comprises three medieval holdings, as defined by Rhodes in his work on Gloucester (Figure 3).[28] The southern of these encompasses properties on Cross Keys Lane and was in separate ownership until the late 20th century; as such, its history is not considered in detail here. The other two relate to first the main ranges of the inn towards Westgate Street, which were privately owned throughout the Middle Ages, and second the smaller plot which forms the area adjacent to Bull Lane (previously Gore Lane), which was held by tenancies-in-fee from Llanthony Priory until 1377.[29] While these define the main holdings it is clear that the two plots were frequently connected in their ownership and tenancy, reflecting the value to commercial tenants of having access to both Westgate Street and Bull Lane. By the 15th century it seems that both plots were generally being leased together as the principal tenement.

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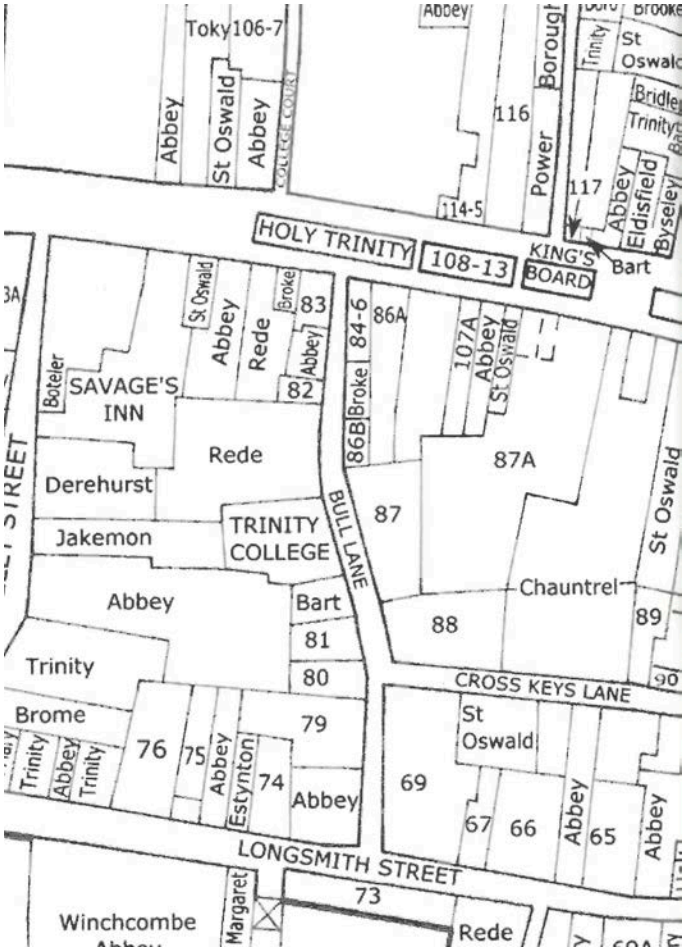


Figure 3: Medieval plot/tenement layout in Westgate Street, Gloucester, as reconstructed by John Rhodes. The Fleece tenement is covered by numbers 87 and 87A. [©The Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society 2016. Reproduced with permission.]

Within these, however, there was frequently subdivision with various sub-tenants identified for portions of both plots. The description below refers to both of these plots together, unless otherwise specified.

The larger plot was held in the years 1200-28 by David Dunning, who had purchased it from Walter Kadifor.[30] Dunning was a wine merchant and appears to have lived on the site in a building which almost certainly included the vaulted undercroft which lies beneath the great inn range on the eastern side of the plot. Within this plot, however, one portion (which Rhodes suggests is equivalent to No. 21 today) was held separately at this time.[31] Initially this smaller part on the Westgate Street frontage was held by 'Geoffrey son of Elgar' and then passed to his daughter Matilda. Matilda gave it to Cirencester Abbey in about 1220-30, her son Richard Kenewrek assenting to the transfer. In Matilda's transfer, the plot was described as the third *seld* towards the bridge, counting from David Dunning's *hostia* (or *ostium,* medieval Latin for a door or doorway).[32] The term *seld* in this context means a shop, and the description indicates that already by the early 13th century the frontage of the plot had been subdivided to form commercial units along Westgate Street. The fact that the shop is described as the third indicates that there were more shops along this frontage.[33] By the 1240s, David Dunning's son, Richard, was paying rent for this plot, described as a *selda inter carnifices* or a 'shop between butchers', and the whole of the plot, and the northern part of the smaller plot towards Bull Lane, were passed by him to John de Aure and then to John de Monemue 'as his dwelling'.[34]

In 1298 the property was leased to William de Ruyons of Gascony, merchant, as ‘a messuage with a shop east of its entrance’.[35] William de Ruyons appears to have lived on the site, and in 1310 he bought the plot outright from one of John de Monemue’s sons.[36] At this point the front range was divided into six shops, with a central entrance, which Rhodes suggests is the equivalent of the frontage of 17, 19 and 21 Westgate Street today. The easternmost shop was apparently in front of de Ruyons’s ‘hall’ and was occupied by a butcher, Robert Peyt. This suggests that de Ruyons was occupying a house to the rear of what is now No. 17. This property must have incorporated the 12th-century undercroft. William de Ruyons owned extensive other property in the town.[37] The Fleece Hotel site, described as his ‘principal tenement in the Butchery and the adjacent shop’, was bequeathed to his son William and William’s wife Joan. After the younger William Ruyons’s death, the tenement appears to have been held by Joan and her second husband Thomas de Compton.[38] In 1377 Thomas’s father John was in possession and refused to pay rent for the plot towards Bull Lane, thereby seizing title to it from Llanthony Priory and bringing the whole site under one ownership.[39] Thomas de Compton died in 1412 and bequeathed the principal tenement to his later wife Margery, to be sold after her death.[40] It was described in 1414 as a tenement with a close, a garden and four shops adjoining, at which point it was being sold to Thomas, Lord Berkeley.[41]

This was Thomas de Berkeley (1352/3-1417), 5th Baron Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle and presumably at this point, if not before, the principal tenement was being leased out rather than acting as a primary residence as it had done earlier. Subsequently ownership passed by inheritance to his daughter Elizabeth (*c.* 1386-1422), who married Richard (1381-1439), Earl of Warwick, and then to their eldest daughter Margaret (1404-67), who married John Talbot (*c.* 1389-1453), Earl of Shrewsbury.[42]

In 1455, the household rental of Gloucester noted the tenement and stated that ‘The Lady Countess of Shrewsbury holds a tenement with appurtenances, wherein Briar, butcher, and divers other tenants dwell for a rent of [blank] by year: which David Dunning held and inhabited at the time of Henry III.; William of Ryons held it in the time of Edward I.; the heirs of the said William in the time of Edward II.; afterwards John Compton, Thomas Compton, and the late Lord of Berkeley. And she pays for landgavel 13d.’. Landgavel was a form of ground rent. The next entry appears to relate to the shops on the northern part of the property: ‘The same Lady Countess holds two shops with appurtenances near the entrance of the aforesaid tenement of the Lady Countess: which in the before-named time David Dunning and others before written held; and Thomas Wyttour, of Wotton, lately held them, and of old time they were called ‘Kenewrek’. And she renders for landgavel 8d’.[43]

The description suggests that by this time the three shops west of the entrance gate had become two. Rhodes proposes that these are plots which formed the equivalent of Nos 19A and 21 today, although this was of course prior to the construction of the present building.[44] The reference to Kenewrek may relate to the name borne by Richard, son of Matilda, who assented to her transfer of this plot to Cirencester Abbey in the early 13th century.

In 1475 the tenement was sold by Edward Grey de Lisle, to whom it had passed by inheritance and marriage.[45] He sold it for £60 to John Farley, a mercer, although the main property was apparently being leased as a dwelling by one John Doggett. Rhodes has suggested that Farley was related to William Farley, abbot of the Benedictine abbey. Presumably he was acting as an intermediary in the purchase of 1475, as by 1498 the site had been confirmed as the property of the abbey.[46]

1475-1799 Abbey Ownership

Late 15th-century reconstruction

Ownership by the abbey marked a significant turning point in the structural development of the plot, as is evidenced by the dendrochronological dating, which suggests that much of the timber-framed superstructure of the surviving main ranges dates from around 1476-8 –that is, immediately after the purchase of the plot by John Farley, it is presumed on behalf of the abbey.[47] It is clear, however, that the rebuilding maintained the same basic layout and subdivisions as had previously existed on the site – particularly in the separate use of the street-front range to provide commercial property units.

It has been widely asserted that the abbey's rebuilding of the property was in order to provide an inn for the housing of pilgrims who visited Gloucester as part of the cult around the tomb of Edward II.[48] Parallels are typically drawn with the New Inn on Northgate Street, known from documentary evidence to have been built by the abbey.[49] The documentary history for the Fleece is relatively ambiguous in its terminology, however. Rhodes has suggested that the single reference to the property as a '*hospitium*' in 1534 is not sufficient to prove that the site was constructed with this purpose in mind, and that the use of the term 'tenement' in most other documentation indicates that the building was not consistently used as an inn.[50] Rhodes also notes that the site was not named amongst the 'public inns' recognised by the Gloucester Common Council in 1583 or 1672. However, these lists were not necessarily exhaustive, as other known early inn sites were also omitted, and the selective nature of such lists has been noted in relation to other settlements.[51] This question will be considered at the end of this section in relation to the documentary evidence examined for this report, and in the examination of the building evidence.

While the documentary evidence for the main tenants of the Fleece throughout the abbey's ownership is relatively extensive, it is complicated by the fact that the tenement was apparently usually sublet, and the occupier was often not recorded. Nonetheless, there are some documentary references which shed some light on the use of the site, particularly from the 17th century onwards.

In 1498 the 'capital tenement' was leased to an Elizabeth Brokwood, previously having been in the occupation of 'John Farreley', and it was described as sitting opposite the King's Board bounded by a common way called 'Myntes Smyth' on the north, tenements to the east and west and Gore Lane to the south-west.[52] In 1515-18 it was held by John Heywood and then Isabel Heywood. At this point the two shops on Westgate Street to the

west of the gateway were separately leased to Joan Vynor.[53] In 1518 the main property was let to Henry Betts and was described as 'a great tenement with a stable within a great gate'.[54] The lease included a 'scalding house' (used to prepare animal carcasses for sale) by Gore Lane, which was measured in 1649 as 94 ft 6 in. (28.8m) long from east to west (*see* below) and therefore extended from the lane to the present hotel yard. It also included a 'fleccher-house' in the front on the east side of the gate – that is, at 17 Westgate Street.[55] Rhodes interprets 'fleccher' as meaning flesh (as in butchers), which would seem logical in the context of this area being the focus of the butchery trade.[56]

16th century – '*magnum hospitium*' and private residence

In 1534 the property was described as a '*magnum hospitium'* (a great inn) on its leasing to Henry Marmyon or Marmion.[57] Rhodes indicates that the lease mentions 'great timbers and stone walls incorporating a bakehouse'. Marmyon was a leading resident of Gloucester, elected as an alderman in 1530. In 1540 he funded the stipend of the curate at St Mary de Grace Church.[58] He died in 1542 and control of the tenement appears to have passed to his widow, in the minority of his son. At the same time the shop now known as No. 21 was leased to a butcher called John Sutton, with 'an obligation to repair the daub walls'.[59] No. 19A was leased to Robert Barett. Rhodes suggests that from this date onwards 19A was leased with the 'le skaldyng-house' on Gore Lane.[60] He also suggests that in the 17th century the lease of No. 21 generally descended with 'the great tenement', although was often sub-let.[61]

The Dissolution saw little change to the pattern of property ownership in relation to this tenement, as the abbey's lands passed on to the Dean and Chapter of the newly created cathedral. In 1548 the reversion of the principal tenement, described as 'a great tenement with shops, cellars, stables and gardens' occupied by Richard Pate, was let to John ap Richard. The lease also included a 'little tenement' in front let to William Phelpis, a goldsmith.[62] Rhodes notes that in 1549 Marmyon's heirs paid landgavel on the property and it was described as a 'greate tenement that Ric. Pate gent., dwellith in', with a further tenement to the west of the gateway leased to a Thomas Saunders, 'capper'.[63] In 1577 John ap Richard was living at the property.[64] At the same time No. 19A was occupied by Richard Phelpes, a butcher.[65]

Richard Pate was described as 'gentleman' and presumably was the Richard Pate (1516-88) who was an important figure in Gloucester at the time, serving as an MP and as a clerk and recorder for the area.[66] He married Matilda, widow of Henry Marmyon, and thus it seems likely that his occupancy of the property was due to the family connection to the Marmyons. That may also explain why Marmyon's 'heirs' paid the landgavel due on the property in 1549, while Pate was living at the property. On Marmyon's death in 1588 he was buried in the south transept of Gloucester Cathedral and left considerable property in Gloucester and the surrounding area, some of which went to Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He also endowed a charitable trust, which still operates today and funds Pate's Grammar School in Cheltenham. Richard Pate is described as 'of Minsterworth' in official documentation, so it is not clear if his occupancy of the Fleece was as direct as is implied by the description, or whether it was in fact sub-let in some way.

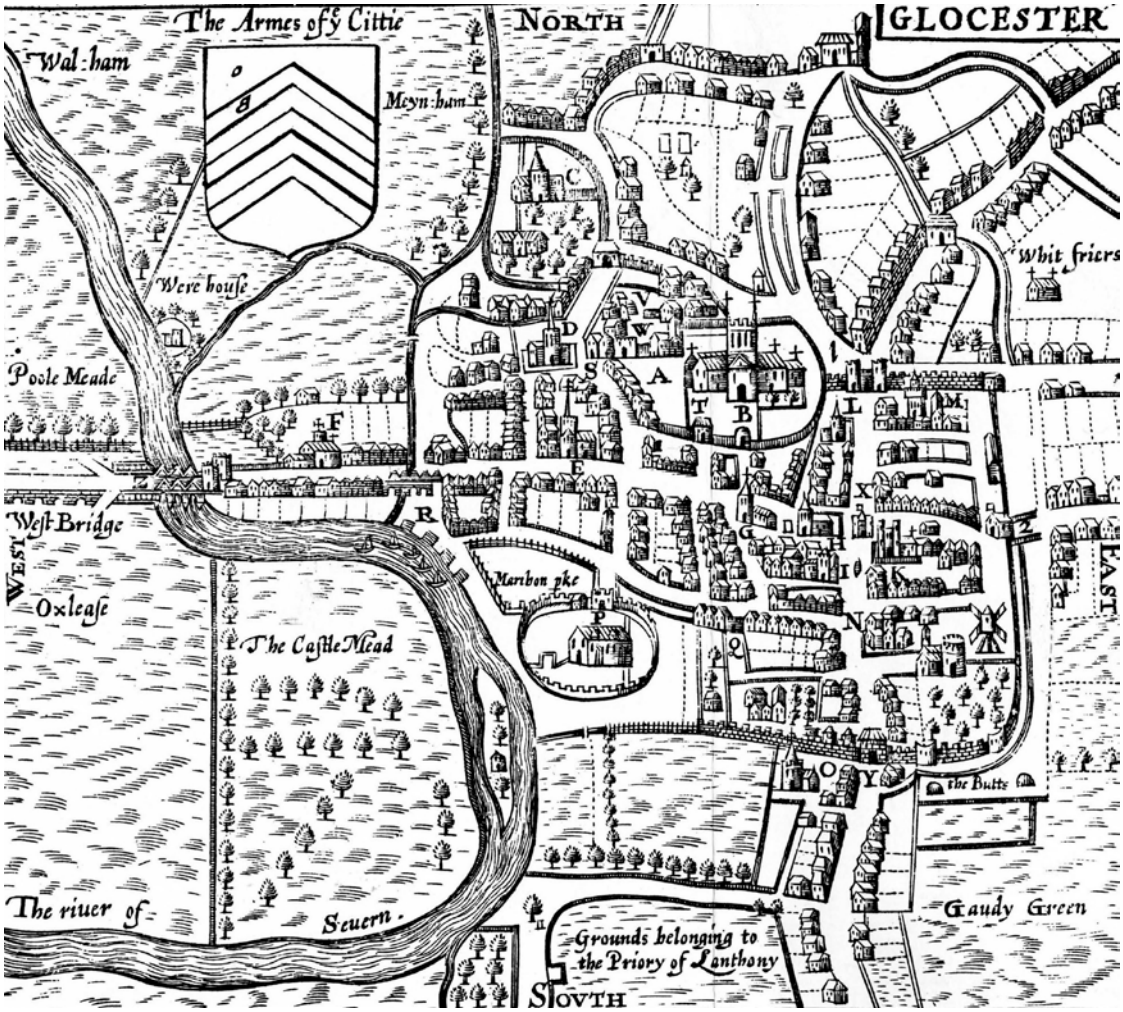


Figure 4: John Speed's 1610 map of Gloucester, the east end of Westgate Street is identifiable with the churches of Holy Trinity (G) and St Mary de Grace (H) shown. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucester Civic Trust]

The first detailed depiction of Gloucester is that of John Speed in 1610 (Figure 4). This shows Westgate Street prominently, with the cathedral to the north and the bridge over the River Severn to the west. Both Holy Trinity and St Mary de Grace churches are identifiable sitting in the middle of Westgate Street. Bull Lane and Cross Keys Lane are both depicted, and thus the larger area in which the Fleece sits is defined, but as depicted the buildings themselves cannot be easily related to individual plots.

From the late 16th century the lease books of the Dean and Chapter survive. Initially these were apparently kept on a somewhat ad hoc basis, but from the early 17th century more consistent record keeping appears to have taken place.[67] For the 18th century regular surveys of the Dean and Chapter's holdings in the city were also undertaken and provide further descriptions of the properties, albeit generally using very similar language to the leases.[68] The main Fleece complex, comprising the great inn range and the west range and land to the rear, is described throughout the leases of this period as 'the great tenement' held by the Dean and Chapter in the parish of St Mary de Grace (or St Mary

Grace Lane, as it was sometimes called). The leases also consistently specify that they include ‘all houses, shops, cellars, stables and gardens’ within the tenement, a form of words which is not generic to all of the Dean and Chapter leases and which therefore seems designed to cover the specific building types present on the site throughout this period. While these documents provide a continuous list of the main tenants of the Dean and Chapter, several of these leaseholders were evidently subletting either all or part of the tenement. In some cases the actual occupiers of the property were specified, in others they were not.

The street-front range in contrast was typically let as a series of four shops. Leases of the four properties that now form 17, 19A and 21 Westgate Street occasionally also provide more detail on the occupiers of the larger plot to the rear. The picture is confused, however, by the fact that in some periods these smaller properties are held with the great tenement, particularly No. 19A, and in others they appear to be separately let, and that not all leases for the four shops can be consistently identified. This changeable pattern of leaseholding is reflected in the measurements given for the great tenement. The width along the street front is typically described either as 11yds 1ft (10.1m) wide or occasionally as 21yds 1ft (19.3m) wide – a variation which appears to reflect inclusion of the properties east or west of the gate or both.

It is clear that the great tenement behind the street-front range was considered to form two parts – with the rear section in use as a garden. The garden was invariably measured from ‘the brick wall’ which divided the plot from that to the east, to Bull Lane (‘Gore Lane’) in the west – this is always measured as 33yds 2ft (30.4m) and in length (north to south) it was always measured as 22yds 2ft (20.3m). The front part of the great tenement was more variable in the way that it was described, in part reflecting inclusion or otherwise of any of the street-front properties. It was only the street-front length which was consistently mentioned in all leases. Some leases also specified that ‘about the middle of the Kitchen’ the front part of the tenement measured in width 25yds 11ft and 6in. (23m). – this must reflect a measurement taken across the west range and great inn range somewhere in the mid-point of the land between the street-front range and the garden. It is also specified to be 36yds (32.9m) in length from the south end of the entrance passageway to the north end of the garden.

Early 17th century – use as an inn

In 1617 the ‘great tenement’ was occupied by John Floyde, a vintner.[69] Notwithstanding the use of the term tenement rather than inn, the taking of the lease by someone involved in the wine trade could indicate that it was being used for this purpose, as was the case with inn sites in other towns.[70] At this date No. 19A was let to Anthony Rudd, but sublet to Brice Gray, a butcher.[71] No. 21 was sublet to a tailor called Anthony Tremere.[72]

In 1634 the ‘great tenement’ was leased to George Hurdman of Tirley, who is described as a gentleman.[73] He appears to have been an extensive landholder and leased other tenements within the city as part of the same agreement.[74] The lease states that at that time the premises were in ‘the several tenancies’ (that is, sub-tenancies) ‘of Richard Cox

Mercer, Thomas Gresham Chandler and John Danby Cordwainer'. Despite the term mercer, the city Freemen's Register shows that in 1647 Richard Cox also traded as an innkeeper and had taught innkeeping to his son Gray, who was free to practise that trade thenceforth.[75] It therefore seems likely that, as with John Floyde, Cox used the property as an inn at this date.

The Civil War saw Gloucester become a centre for the Parliamentary cause in the region, which led to a long siege by the Royalist forces in 1643. The council minutes noted damage to buildings on Westgate Street, including the Tolsey at the street's east end,.[76] Following the withdrawal of Royalist forces the city remained a garrison throughout the remainder of the war, which placed a considerable burden on the local population.[77]

In 1649, when the Dean and Chapter's lands in Gloucester were surveyed at the beginning of the Interregnum (a document referred to as *Oliver's Survey of Houses*), Mary Hurdman, widow, was listed as the leaseholder of the great tenement by right of the 1634 lease.[78] Rhodes states that in 1649 the lease of the plot along Bull Lane had passed to a John Oresby of London and was described as 'a shed or scalding-house' 94ft 6in. (28.8m) long from east to west and 7ft 6in. (2.3m) wide, with a curtilage 91ft 6in. (27.9m) long from east to west and 21ft (6.4m) wide and a stable 36ft (11m) long from north to south and 12ft (3.6m) wide, bounded on the south and east by the remainder of the capital tenement then held by Richard Cox, mercer. At the same time No. 19A was described as being 13ft 6in. (4.1m) wide in front and 27ft (8.2m) deep.[79] The lease in question in fact stated that this property was on Grace Lane (which runs north of Westgate Street), but the description of the tenement as being bounded on the east by the capital tenement in the occupation of Richard Cox suggests that this may be an error and that the description does indeed relate to the Bull Lane tenement.[80]

During the Interregnum the city was consolidated into four larger parishes, and the money generated by the church lands was used to support preaching vicars in the four churches in the town.[81] This parochial rearrangement appears to have come to an end with the Restoration in 1660, although not before it had seen the demolition of St Mary de Grace church in 1654-5.[82] The parish was reinstated in 1660 but most of the inhabitants continued to worship at St Michael.[83] It seems unlikely that the tenancies of the tenements within the parish were directly affected by these changes, and the Hurdmans appear to have continued to hold the lease throughout the Civil War and the Interregnum.

Late 17th century – the 'Golden Fleece'

In the 1660s the whole of the Fleece property was slowly acquired by Gray Cox, who is described in the leases as a brewer.[84] As already mentioned, Gray was the son of Richard Cox, who had been subtenant of the great tenement under the Hurdman family in the 1640s.[85] As with the lease by a vintner in the early 17th century, the use of the site by a brewer may also be indicative of its employment as an inn.[86] Initially Cox acquired a lease on No. 19A, which was in the occupation of Thomas Cooke, butcher, and described as being situated 'between the Gate of the greate tenem[t] … wherein Corill Cox Widowe now dwelleth on the east parte and a tenement … wherein Winston Cox Cordwayner now

Dwelleth on the west parte'. It also included 'one Stable called the Scalding House' and share in the use of a well.[87] In 1663 the main tenement was leased by William Hurdman of Tirley, but in 1669 the lease was passed to Gray Cox, who paid a fine for the alienation of the original lease.[88] In 1670 this arrangement was confirmed with Cox taking out a new lease from the Dean and Chapter.[89]

From 1664 until 1672 the Dean and Chapter treasurer's accounts record the rent paid for the great tenement individually, as they did for some larger properties.[90] In the accounts the tenement is referred to as *'Vellus aureum juxta Regis mensam'* (the Golden Fleece next to the King's Bench) or later simply *'Vellus aureum'*.[91] In 1664 the rent was paid by William Hurdman, but in 1665 it was paid by William Hurdman and Gray Cox, and from 1666 until 1672 it was paid by Gray Cox, suggesting that Hurdman was sub-letting the great tenement to Cox prior to the latter taking on the main lease in 1669. This is the first mention of the tenement having the name of the Golden Fleece.

It is very likely that by this date the site was in use an inn. This appears to have coincided with a period in which there was a significant expansion of inn accommodation in Gloucester – in 1672 the Gloucester Corporation agreed to allow the number of inns in the city to rise from 14 to 23, although the Golden Fleece was not amongst those named.[92] As Rhodes has noted, it seems likely that this did not reflect the complete picture of inn accommodation in Gloucester at the time.[93]

In 1673 Gray Cox took the lease of the whole of the Fleece site, in which the name is confirmed, the document stating it related to 'all that tenement called or known by the name of the Golden Fleece' including 'houses, shops, cellars, stables, gardens and backsides'.[94] The width along the street was 21yds (19.2m) suggesting that this covered the full extent of the street-front range. The land is described as 'now in the several tenures of Gray Cox, Winston Cox, William Wood Mercer, Thomas Cooke Butcher and Lawrence Allen Chandler'. These tenancies presumably related to the four street-front range properties: the two halves of what is now No. 17, No. 19A and No. 21. The lease was maintained by Cox's widow Catherine in 1694 and again in 1704.[95] In 1694 the 'several tenures' on the site were mentioned as being in the occupation of 'Catherine Cox, John Kersey, John Greene, Anthony Workman, Charles Cook butcher and Thomas Edwards Chandler'. And in 1704 they were 'Catherine Cox, John Kersey, John Greene & Anthony Workman, Charles Cooke Butcher & Thomas Edwards Grocer'.

Kip's 1712 engraving of Gloucester provides a view of the city just over 100 years after Speed's first depiction (Figure 5 and *see* Figure 4). Many of the buildings are again likely to be stylised in their depiction, although the more important landmarks are individually drawn. Westgate Street is identifiable with Holy Trinity Church still shown in the centre of the street. Three other buildings depicted in the middle of the street relate to secular structures, St Mary de Grace having been demolished in the 1650s. The central of these three ranges is the King's Board, identifiable by the suggestion of an arcaded ground-floor level. The close proximity of the Fleece to the King's Board was noted in the late 17th-century rentals of the site (*see* above). While it is probably not intended as an accurate depiction, it seems possible that the three parallel ranges with prominent gable ends

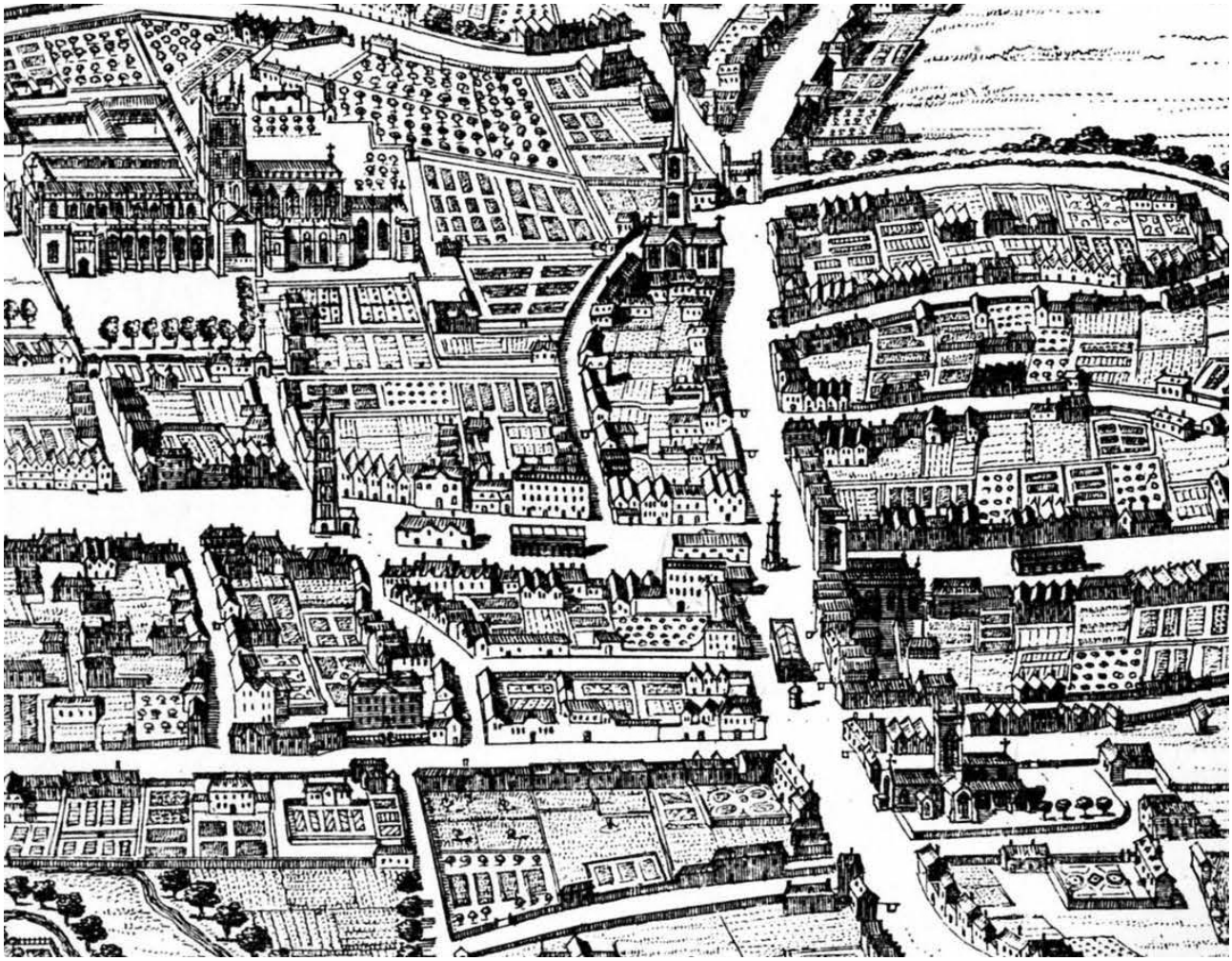


Figure 5: Detail from Johannes Kip's 1712 Prospect of Gloucester. Westgate Street is identifiable with the tower of Holy Trinity Church represented and the King's Board shown as a building with a ground-floor arcade. The Fleece may be represented by the three-gabled building just to the south of this, with the garden beyond. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucester Civic Trust.]

shown immediately south of the King's Board – with a garden to their rear away from the street – may be a depiction of the Fleece. The garden is a consistent feature which is noted on later maps (*see* below). It also corresponds with the consistent mention of the garden to the south of the property in the 17th- and 18th century leases. The routes of Bull Lane and Cross Keys Lane are clearly shown on the map, with smaller buildings lining their frontages.

In 1717 a quitclaim and deed of trust relating to the holdings of Katherine Cox (now deceased) was signed by her daughter Hester and son-in-law John Gregory, mercer, of the city of Gloucester.[96] This relates to a number of properties in the city, including a 'Messuage or tenement … called or known by the name or signe of the Golden ffleece and divers[e] other Mefsuages or Tenements thereunto adjoyning and which are all holden by Lease Granted by the Deane and Chapter'. They also held a 'messuage or tenement' called 'the ffountaine and the other tenements thereunto belonging' leased

from the Dean and Chapter, and another site ‘commonly called Church End and known by the sign of the Greyhound’. The deed assigns the leases to John Matthews and Peter Haynes. As Rhodes has noted in relation to other deeds associated with the property, this quitclaim describes it as a ‘messuage or tenement’ rather than an inn. It is notable that Katherine Cox also held the Fountain, another inn possibly built by the abbey. In this document it is also described as a messuage or tenement, but its early use as an inn has been confirmed by other documentation.[97] It therefore seems possible and, given the earlier documentation, likely that the Fleece was in use at an inn at this date, despite the description as a tenement in the leases.

18th century – use as ‘the Fleece Inn’

Following the end of the leasehold and occupancy of the Cox family, it seems that once again the great tenement was let separately from the properties in the street-front range. In 1720 the four tenements were leased individually by the Dean and Chapter. In 1730 Richard Cowles was confirmed as the leaseholder of ‘the messuage or tenement called and known by the name of the Golden Fleece and two courts or yards and garden to the same adjoining’.[98] Cowles is described as a butcher. In the same year separate leases were confirmed for Katharine Gregory ‘spinster’, Joseph Skillern ‘salesman’ and Thomas Bick ‘cordwainer’.[99] The description in the leases makes it clear that these three tenants occupied the properties to the north of the Fleece – those associated with the street-front range. It seems likely that Skillern occupied what is now No. 21 (measured at 14ft 1in. [14.1m] wide at the street front, 17ft [5.2m] wide ‘in the clear’ from ‘the kitchen’ and 53ft [16.2m] deep) and that Katherine Gregory occupied the western part of what is now No. 17. This was measured as 13ft 1in. (4m) on the street front, but 22ft 9 in. (7m) wide at first-floor level, which must reflect the fact that the tenement included the upper floor over the passageway through to the inn behind. It was noted as being 32ft 8in. (10m) long. Thomas Bick occupied the eastern part of what is now No. 17 (5yds [4.6m] wide and 10yds [9.1m] deep). Their individual leases include ‘shops and solars’ which suggests that all of the leases covered the upper chambers of the street-front ranges as well as the ground-floor areas, as indeed is clear from the specific mention of the upper storey in Katherine Gregory’s lease. Bick’s lease also included ‘all that Cellar underneath the backward part of the said messauge or tenement. Late in the possession of Margaret Turner Spinster … and now in the possession of the said Thomas Bick’. Given that Bick appears to have held the shop in the eastern part of what is now No. 17, which was directly in front of the undercroft, it is possible that he was leasing or using part of the undercroft at the time, as well as presumably the cellar in front of it. All three leases included the right to access the properties via the two entries to the Fleece – that on Westgate Street and that on Bull Lane. There are no records of leases for No. 19A, but the lease for the larger tenement lists the tenants to the north as ‘Thomas Bick, Katherine Gregory, Wm Cook and Mary Skillern (widow)’.[100] These are apparently listed in order from east to west, so William Cook must have held No. 19A, presumably subletting it from the principal tenant of the Fleece.

The lease of the larger tenement by Richard Cowles in 1730 includes some detail of the property at the time. The description mentions that the lease includes:

> the way or passage leading from the street called the Westgate Street into the said messuage or tenement containing in breadth five foot and one half and in length twenty seven foot and eleven inches and in height in the midspace under the beam nine foot and six inches together with the door and door posts at the end thereof next to the said street and the pavement in the street opposite.[101]

This clearly describes the passageway beneath the street-front range and indicates that the passage was closed with gates adjacent to the street. The lease also specifies that it includes 'all houses outhouses Edifices Buildings Stables Shops Solars Gardens and Backsides whatsoever' and, in terms of proportions, that it:

> contain[s] in breadth on the backwards part thereof from the brick wall of the said James Elly on the east to the said Lane called Gore Lane [Bull Lane] on the west thirty-three yards and two foot, and in breadth about the middle of the kitchen twenty five yards one foot and six inches, and in depth near the middle of the garden from the stable to the pales twenty two yards and two foot, and in length from the south end of the aforementioned way or passage to the north end of the garden six and thirty yards.

The description suggests that the stables were located near or within the garden at the rear of the property, and that the kitchen formed a prominent feature in the layout of the northern part of the tenement, sufficient for it to be used as a point to be measured from.

One further detail from Cowles's lease indicates the use of the site at the time. His lease included 'free licence to erect, fasten & affix to … the house of the said Katherine Gregory such a sign as is usual to distinguish … the Golden Fleece from a private house'. Notwithstanding the description of the site as a tenement, and the leaseholder being a butcher, therefore, it seems clear that by this date the Fleece was in regular use as an inn or public premises. It is perhaps notable that in the nomenclature of the lease they were content to use the term 'house' to specify such a building – indicating that the formal distinction of private and public 'houses' was not considered vital in the leases at this time.

All four properties were surveyed in September 1740 with the same leaseholders in occupation, although instead of Katherine Gregory the western part of No. 17 was in the possession of Hester Gregory, presumably some relation of Katherine.[102] Richard Cowles is this time described as a 'grazier' rather than a butcher, perhaps reflecting his involvement in rearing animals as well as slaughtering them. In 1741 No. 19A was let to a Michael Jennings, butcher, with the description mentioning 'an entry passage leading to the tnem[t] or Inn called the Golden Fleece on the East'.[103] The passing reference to the Golden Fleece as a tenement or inn is another indication of its function at this date.

The Fleece was advertised as an inn in 1743, when Richard Cowles was evidently looking for a subtenant. In the advertisement it is described as 'A well-accustom'd Inn, with a large Court, good Stabling and Garden, and all other Conveniences, known by the Name of the

Fleece'.[104] The survey of the Dean and Chapter's property of 1750 suggests that at this point No. 21 was in the leasehold of Joseph Skillern, No. 19A in the possession of Michael Jennings, the western part of No. 17 in the hands of a John Moses and the eastern part of No. 17 in the possession of Thomas Bick.[105] In 1751 Bick appears to have taken out a tenancy on No. 21, despite having renewed his lease on the east part of No. 17 a year earlier.[106] At No. 19A Michael Jennings still appears as the main leaseholder. The survey of the great tenement at this date states that it was in the hands of Richard Cowles's executors, indicating that he had died at some point after 1743.[107] The surveys of the other tenements also mention that the great tenement was in the possession of Richard Cowles's widow (described in all as '[blank] Cowles widow', although Rhodes gives her name as Elizabeth).[108] A 1764 lease identifies a Joseph Bick 'of Northampton, victualler' relinquishing an old lease and taking out a new lease on the eastern part of No. 17 – presumably this was a relation of Thomas Bick and he had assumed the tenancy of the property long held by Thomas.[109]

It appears that the inn was out of use from 1764, with the Register of Alehouse Licences showing no entry from that date for 14 years.[110] In 1767 the Dean and Chapter advertised the lease in the *Gloucester Journal*, although it appears that they were still receiving rent from Cowles's widow Elizabeth.[111]

Late 18th century to early 20th century

In 1772 Elizabeth Cowles surrendered the lease on the Fleece and the Dean and Chapter attempted to find a new use for the site.[112] On 20 July they offered it to the Gloucester City Corporation as a site to establish a market or shambles, including 'the old Materials in the said Fleece inn and the Buildings thereunto belonging which upon a moderate Computation are worth upwards of one hundred and fifty pounds over and besides a large and convenient arched Cellar'.[113] The Corporation turned it down, however, and in November 1772 the Dean instead proposed that he would take the lease himself, as no buyer had been found despite it being offered for public sale twice. He suggested that he would 'pay a fine to the Chapter of the Sums of One hundred and twenty pounds and to engage himself to lay out the further Sums of Eighty pounds upon the Dwelling House and largest Stable belonging to the premises in case he shall be allowed the liberty of pulling down the Smaller Stables and other Outbuildings and to take the Materials thereof towards the said repairs'.[114] The Chapter agreed to the proposal, although the lease was to be held in trust for the Dean by one of the minor canons, on the condition that he carried out the work as proposed.

The 1772 lease associated with the agreement is in the name of the Rev. James Edwards, described as 'clerk' in the index to the lease book.[115] Edwards was a member of the Chapter, and presumably acted as a proxy for the Dean. The property is described as 'all that their messuage or tenement called or known by the name of the Golden Fleece and two Courts or yards and one garden to the same adjoining'. The properties along the street front are described as 'late in the possession of Thomas Bick, Catherine Gregory William Cook and Joseph Skillern but now of William Badger Charles Cook Willian Jermin & Eliz.

Fawkes'. The lease was for a term of 40 years, which presumably was the standard term, as from the circumstances it seems unlikely there was any intention of Edwards retaining the property for that length of time. As well as the rent the lease also specified that Edwards:

> shall and will within the space of Three years next ensuing … lay out and expend the further Sum of Eighty Pounds of lawfull Money … in substantial Repairs and Improvements in and about the Dwelling House and largest Stable hereby demised (He and they being allowed the Liberty of pulling down and removing the smaller stables and other Outbuildings thereto adjoining and using and Converting the Material thereof for and towards the Repairs of the said Dwelling House and larger Stables).

In 1775 the property was leased by the Dean and Chapter to three Bristol men – Edward Bettington, Edward Rosser and John Roach. They are described as 'builders and carpenters'.[116] W. G. Household has suggested that they were undertaking the building work specified, but it is notable that unlike the lease to James Edwards, there is no clause about the need for them to undertake work to the property at their own or anyone else's expense.[117] Nonetheless this may have been the mechanism by which the repairs were put in hand, as the premises were relicensed in 1778, with Thomas Hopkins as the licensee.[118]

Hall and Pinnel's map of Gloucester of 1780 is the first to show the city centre in a modern conventional form, although many of the built-up areas are shown as large solid blocks.[119] Notably by this date the buildings which previous occupied the centre of Westgate Street had been cleared, having been considered an impediment to the use of the street and removed under an Act of Parliament passed in 1749.[120] This included the spire of Holy Trinity Church.[121] Despite much of the built up area on the map being largely shown as undifferentiated blocks the Fleece can clearly be identified by the position of its courtyard, with the archway through from Westgate Street shown as a gap in the street frontage, the rear yard labelled and a further route out onto Bull Lane also shown (Figure 6). There is no likelihood that the passageway through the front range was open to the sky at this time, the gap being a mapping convention to allow the access route to be identified. Within the yard, the outline of both the great inn range and the west range can be traced. The great inn range has a clear projection to its rear (south-west) which must correspond to the south-west wing surviving today, although neither of the projecting bay windows are shown. It is notable that the main body of the great inn range at this date is shown continuing further to the south than at present – that is, beyond the south-west wing (*see* Figure 6). The western range is also depicted as a rectangular range, the south end of which finishes just north of the south-west wing of the great inn range. This suggests it is shown as being roughly the same length as the range which survives today. To the rear, the area beyond the courtyard is shown as an open area of garden or orchard. Along Bull Lane a large square block is shown immediately adjacent to the yard access point onto the lane. To its south-west the garden runs up to Bull Lane. The north-eastern side of Cross Keys Lane is, however, shown as a continuous row of buildings, with one narrow access route depicted.

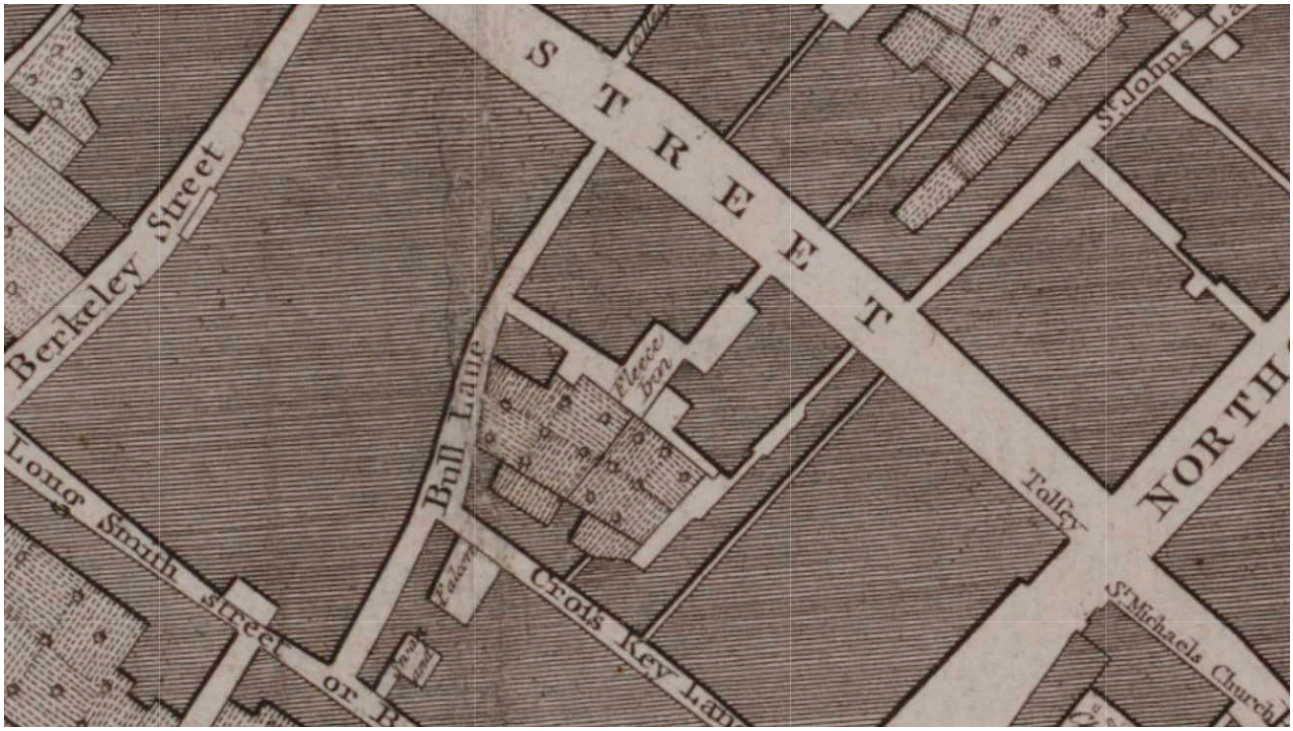


Figure 6: Detail from the 1780 Hall and Pinnell map of Gloucester showing the site of the Fleece. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucester Civic Trust and Gloucestershire Archives MA/71]

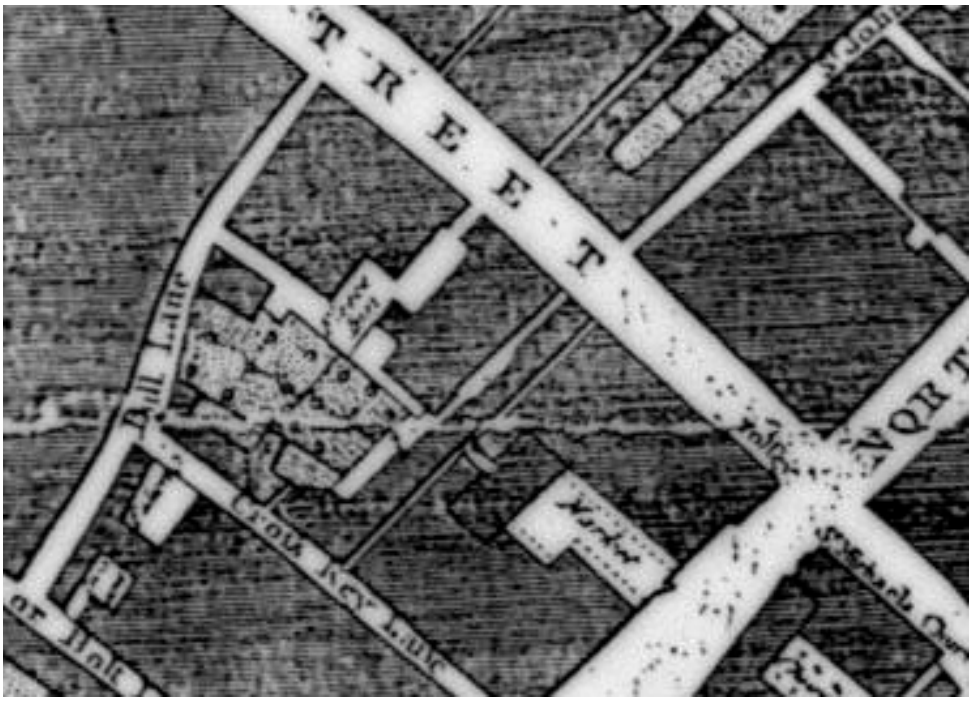


Figure 7: Detail from the 1796 Hall and Pinnell map of Gloucester. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucester Civic Trust and Gloucestershire Archives MA/51]

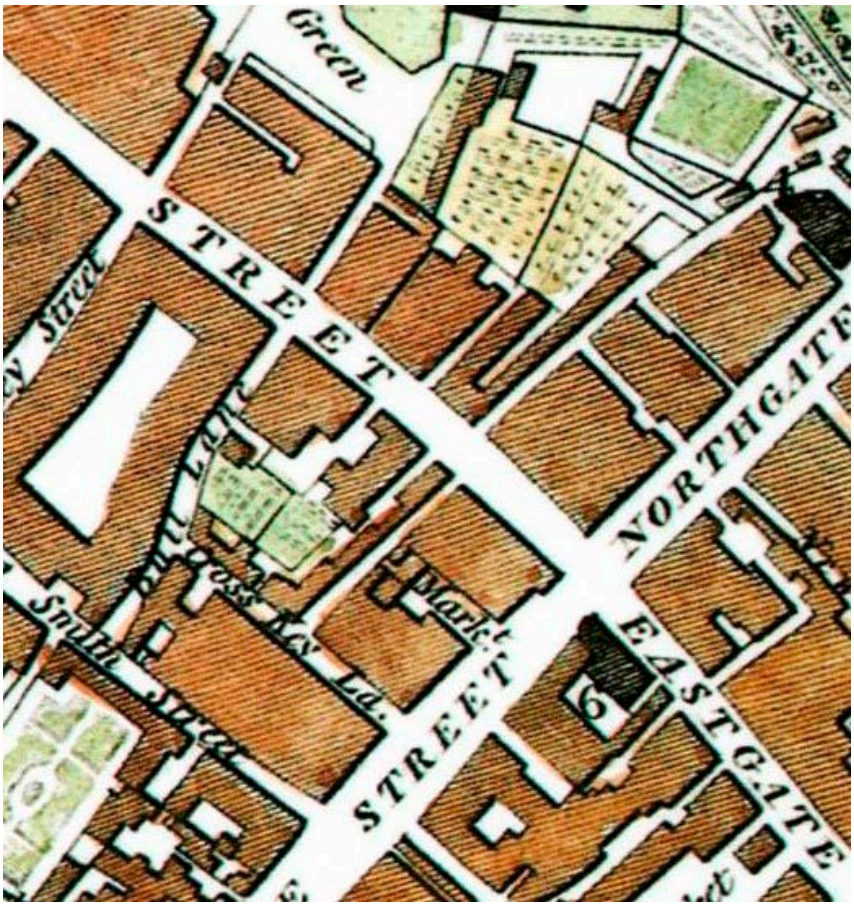


Figure 8: Detail from the 1805 Cole and Roper map of Gloucester, showing the Fleece with the courtyard and garden arrangement. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucester Civic Trust]

The same layout is shown on a further edition of Hall and Pinnel's map in 1796 (Figure 7). Cole and Roper's map of 1805 also shows a very similar layout – although the projecting south-west wing of the great inn range is shown in a more pronounced form (Figure 8). It is not clear how accurate these depictions are, particularly when it comes to the finer detail of forms of individual buildings, although the southern extension of the great inn range, south of the south-west wing, is shown consistently in the two Hall and Pinnel maps and that of Cole and Roper.

In 1789 Matthew Dean Esq. of Alderley, Gloucestershire, and Dean Bayley of Bristol, 'Linnen Draper', leased the main tenement of the Fleece, with the description of the property the same as that for the previous tenants.[122] The street-front properties are described as 'now in the possession of Thomas Hopkins, James Herbert and George Cowles'. It seems that Thomas Hopkins, as well as holding the sub-tenancy of the Fleece itself, was also directly tenant of the Dean and Chapter for Nos 17 and 19A. His lease on the properties was taken out in 1788, when he is described as 'Innholder'.[123] It suggests that he was taking on the lease directly, it having been surrendered by Abraham Gregory

and Jeremiah Jennings 'the interest of both which leases is now become vested in the said Thomas Hopkins'. Susannah Vickers is listed as undertenant in possession of No. 21 and John Darrell, butcher, is listed as undertenant of No. 17. The lease of No. 17 also included part of the cellar under Susannah Vickers's property. The two cellars are not adjacent, but Darrell presumably had access via the street or the courtyard. A separate lease for No. 19A (having the passage to the Fleece on its east), previously in the possession of Michael Jennings, was let to James Herbert, butcher, in 1788.[124] Thomas Hopkins renewed his lease on the street-front properties in 1798.[125] In the same year, a notice in the *Gloucester Journal* indicated that he had given up the Fleece and instead 'intends carrying on the fishmongery business' in one of the shops adjacent to the inn. The new tenant at the Fleece was to be Thomas Lewis, 'former waiter at the Kings-Head'.[126]

The Chapter's treasurer accounts show that Edward Bettington or Edward Rosser was paying the rent on the Fleece until 1793 (both had been named as principal leaseholders as defined by the 1775 lease).[127] From 1794, however, a Samuel Jones was paying the rent for the tenement 'late Rosser', which must relate to the Fleece (the rental charge was the same), as well as another property in the parish.[128] He paid the annual rent on this property up to 1799, when he paid just half a year's rent.[129]

1799 sale of the property

Although the sale of the property is not mentioned in the cathedral records, by 1800 the entry for St Mary de Grace parish in the treasurer's accounts was significantly reduced, clearly indicating that they had sold a large amount of property in the parish in 1799.[130] This must have included the Fleece, as there is no entry in the accounts which parallels the amount being received for this property prior to 1800. The two properties corresponding to 17 Westgate Street were retained by the Dean and Chapter and not sold until 1855, which explains the separate development history of this plot from this point onwards.

There is no mention of the sale of the Fleece or of any other property in the Chapter Acts book entries for 1799; however, there are a number of notes relating to preparations in relation to the land tax.[131] In 1798 the annual land tax levied by government on land owners had been made a permanent tax, with an option for redemption – that is, that owners could pay an immediate sum to render themselves immune from the tax on an annual basis.[132] A number of larger landowners did this by selling land, in order to avoid the tax. The Dean and Chapter at Gloucester took advantage of this option, selling extensive lands in Gloucester and the surrounding area in order to indemnify themselves against the tax.[133] The records of properties sold as part of the land tax redemption are kept at The National Archives. These include records of the other properties surrounding the Fleece. They indicate that No. 19A was sold to William Newman, gentleman of Lassington, Gloucester.[134] No. 21 was sold to Benjamin Watts, butcher of the City of Gloucester.[135] There is, however, no record relating to the sale of the Fleece itself.

In his account of the history of the Fleece written in the 1940s, W. G. Household recorded the 1799 sale of the Fleece by the Dean and Chapter.[136] He indicated that it

was purchased by Samuel Jones.[137] Jones is noted as a prominent local brush maker in several sources, and also served as an Alderman for the city.[138] The purchase of the Fleece by Samuel Jones is obviously plausible, as this must be the same Samuel Jones who had been paying rent to the Dean and Chapter on the Fleece in the late 1790s (*see* above). He and one George Jones also appear to have held the adjacent plot, No. 15.[139] Much of Household's account appears to be based on the deeds of the property which were in the possession of the hotel owner just after the Second World War, but which have subsequently been lost. The land tax records do include the sale of one property to Samuel Jones, within the parish of St Mary de Grace, but from the description it is clear that it sat north of Westgate Street.[140] The date of the purchase of the Fleece as cited by Household is the same as that in the records for the other property.

Did Household see a record of this sale, which for some reason was not included in the main register of sales associated with the land tax? Or perhaps the sale of the Fleece was a private transaction between the Dean and Chapter and Samuel Jones, which took place at the same time as the land tax sale? The fact it does not appear in the Chapter's treasurer's accounts suggests this is unlikely. At present Samuel Jones's purchase of the Fleece is unproven by the surviving records.

Early 19th century – the Haviland family

If Jones did buy the property then his ownership was possibly short-lived as W. G. Household also records that by 1800 the licensee was William Haviland and that he was the owner in 1802, having raised a mortgage to buy the inn.[141] A note in the *Gloucester Journal* in June 1800 confirms that William Haviland was in occupation of the premises by this date, as he advertised that he had taken the inn 'furnished with good beds and every other accommodation'.[142] However a surviving 1801 lease of two messuages in Westgate Street by William Haviland from Samuel Jones suggests that Haviland did not hold the freehold at this date, although he may have purchased it in 1802 (as Household indicates) or possibly as late as 1841 (*see* below).[143]

W. G. Household states that three generations of the Haviland family (all headed by a William) occupied the inn for the first half of the 19th century. The long residence of the family is confirmed by the evidence of licensing records, from the census and from early 19th-century directories – although the exact familial relationships are unclear. Ale licences were issued to a William Haviland annually between 1806 and 1825.[144] In the 1841 census, Elizabeth Haviland is listed as the innkeeper, aged 35, with Mary Haviland, 30, listed as the same.[145] These two women were possibly the sisters or daughters of the William Haviland I. They were on site with two female servants, Sarah Carr and Hannah Goodfield, and a male servant, Robert Barker.

In May 1841 the freehold of the Fleece was advertised for sale 'comprising Reading and Billiard rooms, extensive stabling, brewhouse and other conveniences including a piece of LAND lately purchased and added thereto'.[146] The advertisement states that 'the house has for many years been a great market house and has enjoyed an unusual share of business'. It also states that immediate occupation could be taken, and that the purchaser



Figure 9: Detail of the east side of Westgate Street from the 1841 street view of Gloucester. The arched entrance to the Fleece is indicated with an arrow. [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.*]

would be required to take all fixtures and furnishings of the same. More details were to be obtained from 'the Misses Haviland'. It is unclear whether this was an attempt at a sale by the Haviland family, or whether it was still at this point owned by Samuel Jones. Subsequent detail (*see* below) makes it clear that the Haviland family owned the freehold of the site in 1850, so they may have bought it in 1841 having previously been tenants, or they may have already owned it by 1841, and not sold it despite the sales notice. A William Haviland is listed in the 1844 and 1849 directories at 'Fleece Inn' on Westgate Street.[147] This was presumably the son of the original William Haviland.

A street view of 1841 shows the street-front range associated with the Fleece at this date, although none of the buildings are identified (Figure 9).[148] The archway through to the Fleece is recognisable, however, with a segmentally arched head. To the west of this the shops which are now Nos 19A and 21 appear to have been in use as a single shop unit with a central doorway flanked by two large-paned glass windows. Above this the upper floors are shown as being lit by sash windows (although one of these is partially obscured, possibly by an additional fascia board). No. 19A has a small garret window lighting the attic level. The garret window and the raised ceiling level (compared to No. 17 to the left) indicate that by this date the façade had been refaced and a parapet added to give the building the impression of greater height. The western part of No. 17 (just to the east of the passageway) is shown with paired doorways immediately adjacent to the archway, presumably giving separate access to the ground-floor shop and the rooms above. The shop appears to have had a bow window projecting out into the street. Above the shop the

building also had two upper floors, its proportions (compared to Nos 19A and 21) indicating that it had not been altered with the rest of the street-front range and presumably reflecting the original medieval levels within the building. The eastern part of No. 17 (marked '9' on the drawing) is shown as blank at ground-floor level – unfortunately the key does not survive to indicate what the 9 may stand for. Above, however, the same proportions are shown as the eastern portion – although with what appears to be a bay window at first-floor level. No. 23 is also shown as a distinct unit, again with a large paned window. It is depicted as a more modest two-storey building, reflecting its separate history and evolution from the main elements of the Fleece complex (*see* Appendix Two).

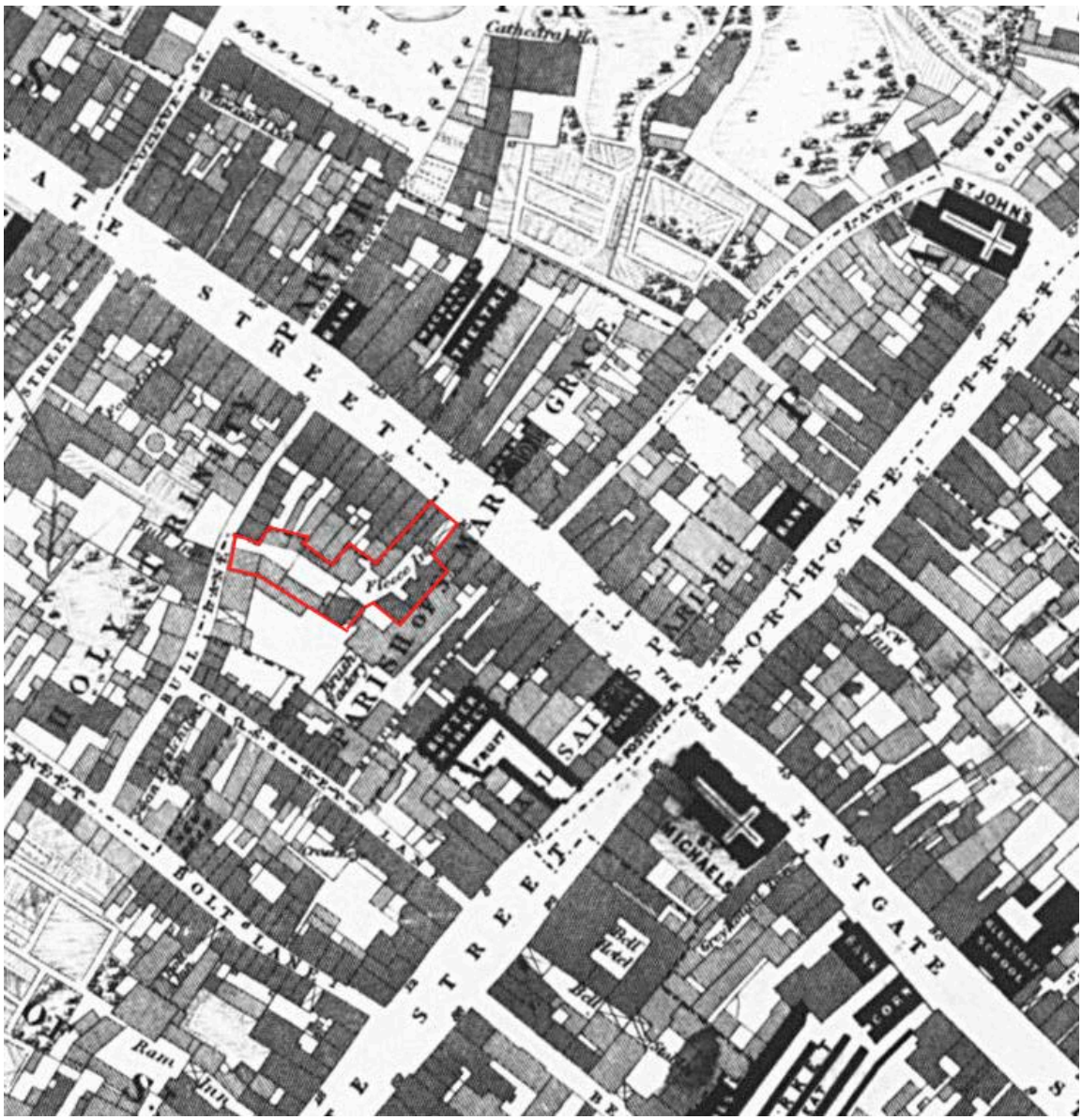


Figure 10: Detail from Causton's 1843 map of Gloucester, with the extent of the Fleece Inn outlined in red. Note the brush factory on the adjacent plot. [Image reproduced with the permission of Gloucester Civic Trust and Gloucestershire Archives MA/117]

In 1843 Causton's map of Gloucester was published (Figure 10). This shows significant changes to the area around the Fleece since the last map of 1805. The map shows that the adjacent plot to the east had been extensively redeveloped, with a large building labelled as a 'brush factory' occupying the rear of the plot, running right up to the boundary with the Fleece's great inn range. The brush factory building is shown extending westwards, partly overlapping the south elevation of the great inn range, into the area which had been a garden or orchard to the rear of the Fleece. The majority of the garden appears to have been redeveloped as a large yard, accessed via a passageway through a range on the eastern edge of Bull Lane. The yard has a dividing wall to the east which appears to separate it from the brush factory, suggesting the factory and yard formed separate units from the Fleece, despite their close proximity to the great inn range. The Fleece is still shown as having a separate entrance off Bull Lane to the north of the new yard, and this entrance route is divided from the yard to the south by a continuous range of buildings, which runs along the boundary between the two open areas. The buildings are of various sizes, giving the impression of a range of buildings which have developed over time. None of these were shown on the map of 1805, but it is possible that such minor buildings were omitted and that this range had been in place for some time.

Of the Fleece itself, the 1843 map shows the main ranges in detail, including the two projecting bay windows on the western side of the great inn range and the south-west wing of the great inn range with its angled western wall, although the southern extension seen on the earlier maps appears to have been demolished by this date (perhaps to accommodate the brush factory). The western range extends to approximately the same length as survives today.

The use of the adjacent site as a brush factory, and the appropriation of the rear area of the Fleece plot as part of this complex, strongly suggests that the alterations were the work of Samuel Jones. Notwithstanding the uncertainty over his ownership of the Fleece itself, the construction of the brush factory on the adjacent plot (No. 15), where he is known to have been in business, suggests he was responsible for construction of this large factory block. Whether he bought the Fleece from the Dean and Chapter and retained the sections which he wanted, selling (or leasing) a reduced plot on to William Haviland in 1802, or whether he had some other interest or involvement in the Fleece site after its sale in 1799, it seems clear that he did have some direct engagement with the site in the early 19th century. Indeed from the extent of the factory and its apparent access point on Mercer's Passage (or Mercer's Alley as it is labelled on the map), it seems likely he also owned or leased the rear parts of Nos 11 and 13 Westgate Street as well. The extent to which his alterations affected the Fleece is covered in the building description below (*see* Phase Six).

The 1852 Board of Health map shows the same arrangement as Causton's map of 1843, although with greater detail about the subdivision of some of the buildings (Figure 11). The great inn range is shown with a stair leading up to the entrance in the same position as that surviving today. Further south a stair is also shown running along the west elevation of the south-west wing of the great inn range, perhaps providing access to the building to the south of this. The west range is shown with a subdivision towards its southern end,

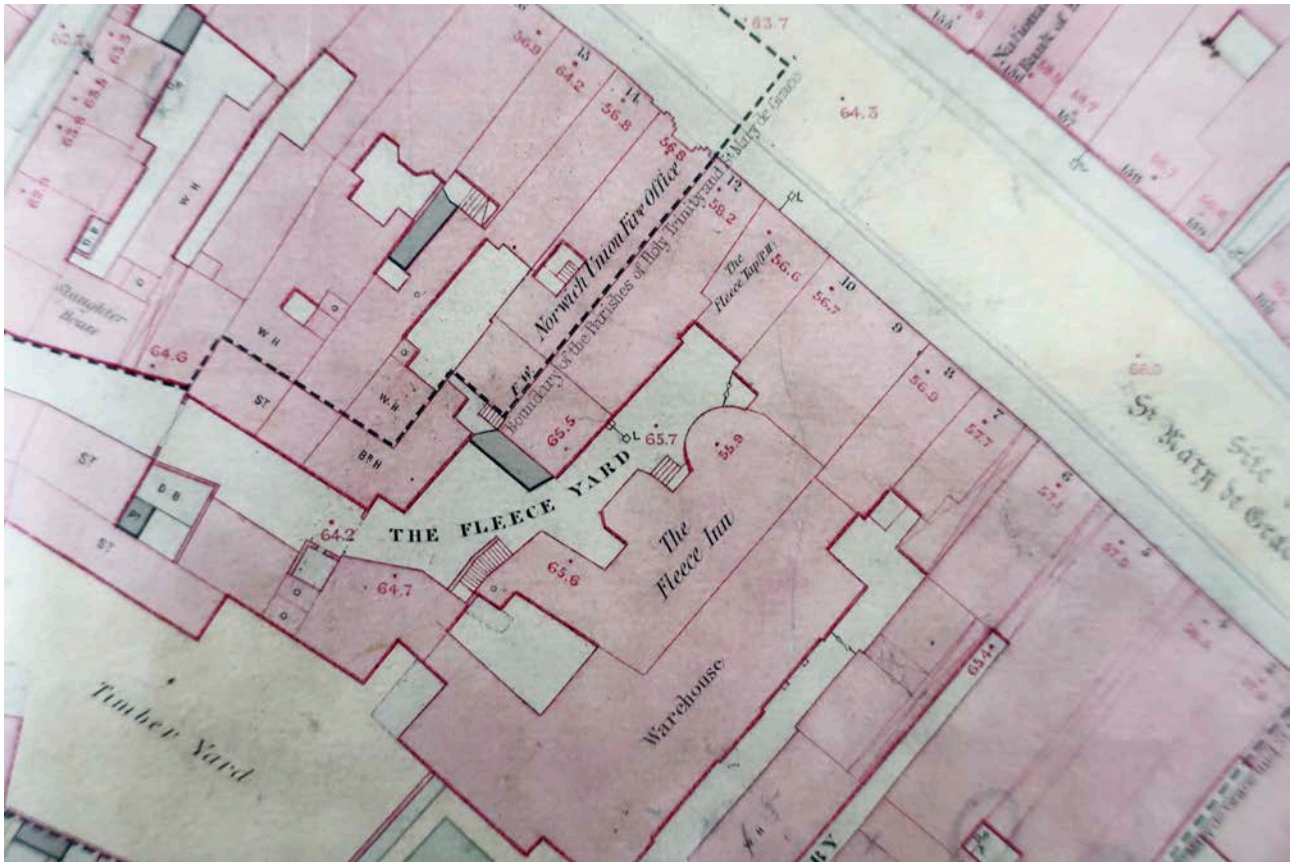


Figure 11: Detail from the 1852 Board of Health map of Gloucester, showing the footprint of the Fleece ranges in detail and the warehouse on the adjacent plot. [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L10/1/2]

suggesting that the rear area of the building was in a distinct use from the front part of the range. No. 19A is labelled as 'The Fleece Tap P.H.' and was presumably in use with the main inn. No. 21 is also shown with no division between it and the west range to the rear – perhaps also suggesting a shared use. Notwithstanding the separate sales of both these units in 1800, it appears that by this date they had become part of the Fleece, at least at ground-floor level, and were used as such. An irregular series of buildings is shown running along the entrance passage from Bull Lane.

On the map of 1852 the building on the rear part of the adjacent plot to the east (No. 15) is labelled as a warehouse, suggesting a change of function since the 1843 map. As already evident on the latter, it appears to have extended around the southern side of the great inn range and interconnected via a narrow corridor range with the range of buildings forming the north side of the yard on the site of the former garden. The yard itself is labelled as a timber-yard, accessed via an archway from Bull Lane. There is an indication that a wall separated the yard from a garden to the south of the warehouse. The range fronting onto Bull Lane within the yard is labelled as a 'Salt Loft'.

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In January 1850 the freehold of the Fleece was again advertised for sale as:

> All that Old-established INN and principal MARKET HOUSE, known as “The FLEECE” situated in Westgate Street near the Cross, in the city of Gloucester. The internal accommodation comprises large Dining Room, Tradesman’s and Market Room, convenient Bar, good Sitting Rooms, 13 excellent Bed Rooms, Billiard Rooms, Store Room, extensive Cellaring &c. The Kitchen and Brewing Departments are very complete and well supplied with water. The stabling is well arranged, consisting of 5 commodious Stables, good Carriage standing, large Yard with back entrance in Bull Lane. Also, adjoining the Front Entrance, a MESSUAGE or SHOP now let to Mr. J. D. Wheeler, Seedsman, but which may be used in connection with the Inn if required.[149]

The sale appears to have been prompted by the death of William Haviland, as the same advertisement contains a notification of his death with any creditors asked to come forward. It is unclear who bought the freehold at this date, but the sale appears to have precipitated a series of short-term occupants for the Fleece, all of whom were presumably tenants.

By the time of the 1851 census an Elizabeth Heyden is listed as resident, with her daughter Ann.[150] A Henry Hayden is listed at the Fleece in 1856, presumably a relation of Elizabeth.[151] By 1859 *Slater’s Directory* lists a John Tandy at the Fleece at 10 Westgate Street.[152] In the 1861 census a Joseph Watts is listed as innkeeper, aged 27 and born in Slimbridge, Gloucestershire.[153] He lived at the site with a housekeeper Mary Vick, a cook Ann Masley (41), and two barmaids and two 15-year-old male servants. A decade later in 1871 Joseph Chilsold is listed as innkeeper.[154] He was 42 and born at Eastington, Gloucestershire. By June 1871, however, the tenancy was again to let ‘as the present occupier was retiring from business’.[155] In 1881 the head of the household appears to have been away from home on the night of the census, as only two barmaids, Louisa Richards (17) and Kate Carter (23), are listed at the site.

One notable event in the late 19th century was a significant fire on the premises in June 1874. The *Gloucester Journal* for Saturday 6 June recorded that:

> Late night about half-past ten o’clock the neighbourhood of Westgate-street was alarmed with loud cries of “Fire!” and volumes of smoke were seen issuing from the premises at the back of the Fleece Hotel. Crowds of people rushed to the spot, and it was found that the stabling, lofts, coach-houses, and skittle-alley belonging to the establishment were on fire. The flames had already made considerable progress; much of the woodwork of the premises and the hay and straw stored in the upper compartments had ignited, and the flames were rapidly spreading. They blazed and crackled in a most alarming manner, sending up columns of dense smoke high above the surrounding houses, and lighting up the sky with a lurid glare.

> Much excitement was caused in the neighbourhood, and Westgate-street was thronged with people, as well as Bull-lane, upon which the stable end of the premises abuts. The horses and carriages on the premises were hastily got out. …. The firemen of the Liverpool and London brigade played on the fire from Westgate-street, and the Norwich and Phoenix bridgades [*sic*] from Bull-lane. Their combined efforts speedily proved successful in getting the fire under [control], and prevented it spreading beyond the buildings in which it had broken out. The billiard-room which adjoins the skittle alley was saved. Short as was the duration of the fire, it created considerable alarm in the neighbourhood, as the burning premises are situated in a most thickly-populated district, and surrounded by buildings on all sides.[156]

A week later, on Saturday 13 June, the *Gloucester Journal* noted, under the title 'The Fire at the Fleece Hotel', that:

> It appears that the damage done by the fire at The Fleece Hotel yesterday se'nnight (reported in last week's *Journal*) amounts to about 220*l*. The buildings, the damage done to which is estimated at 200*l*., were insured in the Royal Exchange office, and Mr. Stone's property in the Norwich Union office. The man supposed to have caused the fire by smoking was taken to the police-station and questioned, but it appeared he was innocent. It is now generally believed that the fire was caused by ashes falling from the pipes of the men in the skittle alley to the floor, or on some straw at one end of the building.[157]

The description of the fire indicates that in 1874 the stables were located along the northern side of the access route into the Fleece from Bull Lane, with a skittle alley to the south adjacent to the billiard room – which is identified on later mapping (*see* below). Following the damage of the fire, it seems that the stable range was reconstructed largely on the same basic footprint as the original, as the Ordnance Survey (OS) town plan of 1884 shows largely the same layout of main blocks as that shown on the 1852 plan. By 1884 there had, however, been an additional range built over the entrance route from Bull Lane. Presumably this range still facilitated access through to the courtyard.

The 1887 Goad Insurance mapping shows the Fleece in some detail, including some of the uses of different parts of the complex (Figure 12). It also makes clear the complexity of the ranges of buildings to the rear of Westgate Street, with many buildings which span the main plot divisions. The great inn range is shown as a single space at ground-floor level, labelled as a bar. The western range is subdivided with the southern end labelled as D (dwelling), perhaps suggesting this was the section occupied by the innkeeper (as was certainly the case in the 20th century). The front two units also appear to be in use in conjunction with the inn at ground-floor level. No. 21 is labelled as a restaurant, with a door connecting to the rear part of the west range. No. 19A is labelled PH for public house. To the south of these main ranges the relationship between the inn and the further ranges is less clear, and some areas of the plot appear to have been owned and/or used

in conjunction with the properties to the east, maintaining the relationship shown on the earlier mapping of 1843 and 1852. To the south the ranges running along the south side of the Fleece's entrance passage off Bull Lane are identified as stables (indicated by diagonal crossed lines) and a cart shed. These must have provided stabling for the inn. A square building housing the billiard room (saved in the fire of 1874) is shown at the eastern end of this range of buildings, in the approximate location of the later garage building, with a narrow corridor connecting it to the building on the rear part of No. 15 to the east.

The Goad map indicates that by this time the adjacent warehouse range on the plot to the east (No. 15) had become part of the Gloucester Club, a gentlemen's club which occupied the range adjoining Mercer's Passage – that is, the rear of No. 13, two plots east of the Fleece. The former brush factory/warehouse appears to have been incorporated as part of the club, with this range now labelled as a kitchen and other service areas. Doorway openings depicted on the map suggest that these two ranges interconnected with the building attached to the south end of the great inn range, which provided a further room and a stair. This in turn connected with the narrow range running north-west and then into the billiard room. The implication of this arrangement is that this billiard room was used by the Gloucester Club, as well as being accessed from the inn at the time.



Figure 12: Detail from the 1887 Goad map of Gloucester showing the basic internal layout of the Fleece Hotel. [© Landmark Information Group Ltd. Licence No. GD0003]

To the south of this the separate yard developed at the start of the 19th century is labelled as ‘H Scrivens livery stables’. This appears to have provided some sort of domestic accommodation in the two-storey block adjacent to Bull Lane (as it is marked D for dwelling on the map), with two long stable ranges marked to the rear and then an attached cart shed. The cart shed had been added some time after the 1884 map, perhaps when the site was converted from a timber yard into a livery stables.

In 1891 the census returns recorded Robert Hickman as hotel proprietor at the Fleece Hotel.[158] By 1898 he had died and his representatives were seeking to sell the lease and the contents of the building. A large poster, which survives in Gloucester Archives, advertised a large sale of the contents of the hotel ‘In consequence of the expiry of the lease, and the refusal of the present Owner to take over the Furniture and Effects by valuation in the usual way’ (Figure 13).[159] The sale was to be over two days on 28 and 29 October; the contents included the furniture from nine bedrooms, a large brewing copper and a billiard table. It seems, however, that this was perhaps a premature advertisement, as an agreement drawn up between Sarah Hickman and James King on 1 November appears to indicate that King, as the new licensee, was to take the contents after all. [160]


FLEECE HOTEL

WESTGATE STREET, GLOUCESTER

In consequence of the expiry of the Lease and the refusal of the present Owner to take over the Furniture and Effects by valuation in the usual way, the Representatives of the late Mr. R. Hickman have instructed

J. & F. BREWER

TO ARRANGE FOR A SALE BY PUBLIC AUCTION, UPON THE PREMISES

ON THURSDAY & FRIDAY

OCTOBER 27th & 28th, 1898

OF THE WHOLE OF THE VALUABLE HOTEL & GENERAL HOUSEHOLD

FURNITURE & EFFECTS

WHICH INCLUDES SOME FINE OLD

MODERN & ANTIQUE FURNITURE IN ROSEWOOD, SPANISH, MAHOGANY, WALNUT AND OTHER WOODS, AND COMPRISES:

Six Mahogany Pembol Rosewood Loo, and several Mahogany Centre, Side and Occasional Tables, Card ditto and several Small Oak and Elm Circular ditto, Handsomely Carved 6 feet and 5 feet Sideboards, fitted with Cellarettes Cupboard and Drawers, 3-Tier Dinner Wagon, Butler's Trays with Stand, 12 Mahogany-framed Dining Room Chairs, Mahogany-framed Spring-seated ditto, 6 Brass Inlaid ditto, Gent's and Ladies' upholstered Easy Chairs, Invalid's movable Lounge, Smoking Chairs, Windsor and Occasional ditto, Mahogany Carved 2-ended Sofa and Squabs, well-made Couches, Antique and other Pier and Chimney Glasses, Spirit Stands, Dinner and Tea Ware, Plate, Cutlery, Fenders and Fire Utensils, Oil Paintings, Sporting and other Prints, and the valuable Collection of some

100 POLITICL CARTOONS, FRAMED & GLAZED (DATING FROM 1886)

Valuable Carpets, Lileum, Floor Cloth, Window Drapery and Fittings. The Billard Room contains

A FULL-SIZED BILLIARD TABLE

Also the Marking Board, doz. Cues, 3 Rests, 2 Sets Ivory Balls, Set Pool do., Cushion Heater, Iron, Brushes, &c. The Loose Effects in the Bar and Vaults consists of a Valuable Inlaid old 8-day Dial Brass Muller, Waiters, Quantity Cups, Jugs and Glass, several Circular Tables, Musical Box, and numerous Trade Appliances.

A MEDIUM-SIZED DEED SAFE WITH CHUBB'S PATENT LOCK

ANTIQUE HALL TABLE WITH MARBLE TOP

Long-cased Clock, Fox's Heads, Antlers, 2 Barometers, Pictures, &c.

THE APPOINTMENTS OF THE 9 BEDROOMS

Comprise Mahogany and Painted Hanging and Linen Wardrobes, several Mahogany and Stained Chests Drawers, Iron French and Half-tester Bedsteads, Mahogany Half-tester ditto and Drapery, Mahogany Marble-top and other Washstands and Dressing Tables (en Suite), Night Commode, Towel Airers, Cane-seated Chairs, Massive Mahogany-framed Dressing Glasses, Quantity Valuable Bedding, Carpeting, Linoleum and Floor Cloth, Window Drapery, Chamber Sets, Glass Ware, &c., &c. The Kitchen and Culinary Utensils and Effects are necessarily large and of varied description.

The Cellar and Out-door Effects include a Quantity of Tramming, Cask, Jars, Bottles, Cellar Tools and Appliances

A 240 GALLON BREWING COPPER

2-Knife Chaff Machine, Wheel Barrow, Horse Rugs and Rollers, Halters, Old Iron, Rope, &c., Fire Wood, Large Settle, 6-Tread Steps, Ladders, etc., etc.

SELLING TO COMMENCE EACH DAY AT 11-30. NO CATALOGUES

Auctioneers' Offices, College Chambers, College Court, Gloucester.

SMART, PRINTER, GLOUCESTER

Figure 13: Unused 1898 poster advertising the sale of the furniture of the Fleece Hotel. [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: D4496/90]

The second edition 25-inch OS map of 1901 shows rather less detail than the earlier maps, being at a larger scale, but confirms that the buildings remained on the same basic footprint as in the 1887 Goad mapping. It is notable that the stair up to the billiard room appears in place, despite not being shown on the Goad map. The 1901 census identifies James King as the licensed victualler at the Fleece Hotel.

The *Gloucestershire Chronicle* of 15 September 1906 records a case of the owner of the Fleece Hotel, noted as a Mrs Sibley, applying the temporary transfer of a licence for a new licensee, Mr William Alexandra, at the premises on the occasion of the bankruptcy of the previous tenant, a Mr J. Eberle.[161] The following year a further newspaper account indicates that Mr Alexandra was suing Mrs Mary Ann Sibley for £25 of expenditure on repairs to the property, which he claimed Mrs Sibley had promised to repay him.[162] It is not clear how long Mrs Sibley had owned the property, but it seems likely that the series of short-lived occupiers listed in the late 19th-century census returns represented tenants of Mrs Sibley or her predecessors.

20th century – ownership by the Rich family

In 1908 the licence on the premises was taken over by Mr Samuel Rich and by 1914 he had acquired ownership of the property, presumably from the Mrs Sibley identified in the newspaper articles of a few years earlier.[163] He and his family were to own the complex for much of the rest of the 20th century. In 1914 he made the first of several applications to extend and update the hotel's accommodation. These generally focused on the rear areas of the property. The first related to the construction of a garage – the extant detached block which sits south of the main hotel ranges.[164] Full plans for the new building were submitted to Gloucester Borough Council in April 1914 (Figure 14). The construction must have necessitated the demolition of the earlier block which sat on the site – labelled as a billiard room on the 1887 Goad map. This is not referred to in the plans, however. The new building was designed by A. W. Probyn, architect, of 9 Berkeley Street, Gloucester. As designed the building provided a small garage at ground-floor level with a stock room at first-floor level and domestic accommodation, in the form of three bedrooms at second-floor level. The upper floors were to be accessed via an external staircase partially built against the south-west wing of the great inn range of the hotel, which appears to have maintained the position of a stair in this location which had provided access to the earlier block in this location. The garage was to include a maintenance pit.

Five years later, in 1919, an application was submitted for alterations to the great inn range, also designed by A. W. Probyn (Figure 15).[165] This appears to have comprised changes in the subdivision of the first-floor area to provide a corridor to link a series of bedrooms. This area seems previously to have had interconnecting rooms. An extension to the rear was intended to provide additional toilets at first-floor level, with some additional windows to light a bathroom immediately over the main entrance. Externally a gallery was to be built sitting over the existing ground-floor bay windows accessed via a doorway in the north elevation of the south-west wing of the great inn range. The gallery does not appear to have provided access to any further rooms, and perhaps was intended largely to elaborate the front of the building and create a more historic inn-like look.

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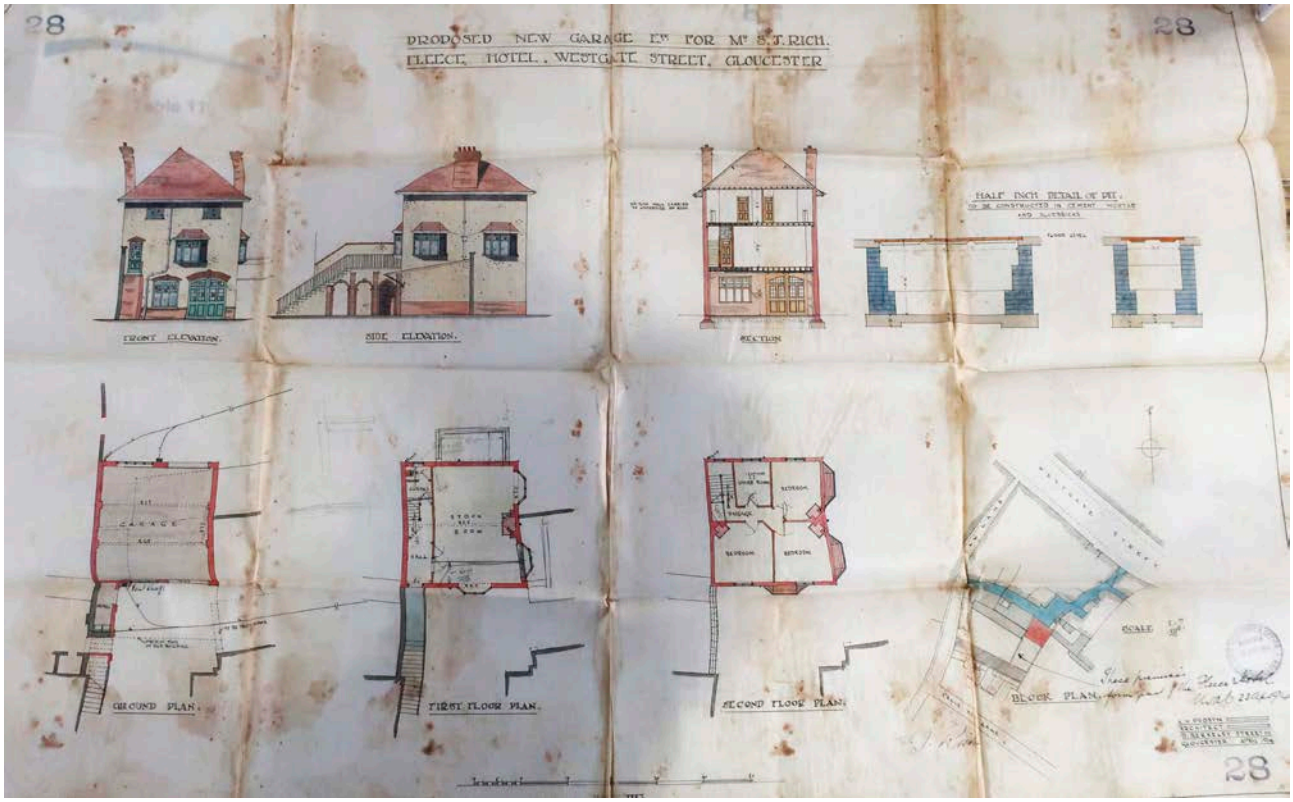


Figure 14: Designs for the garage block by architect A. W. Probyn, 1914. [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L20/2/1914/26]

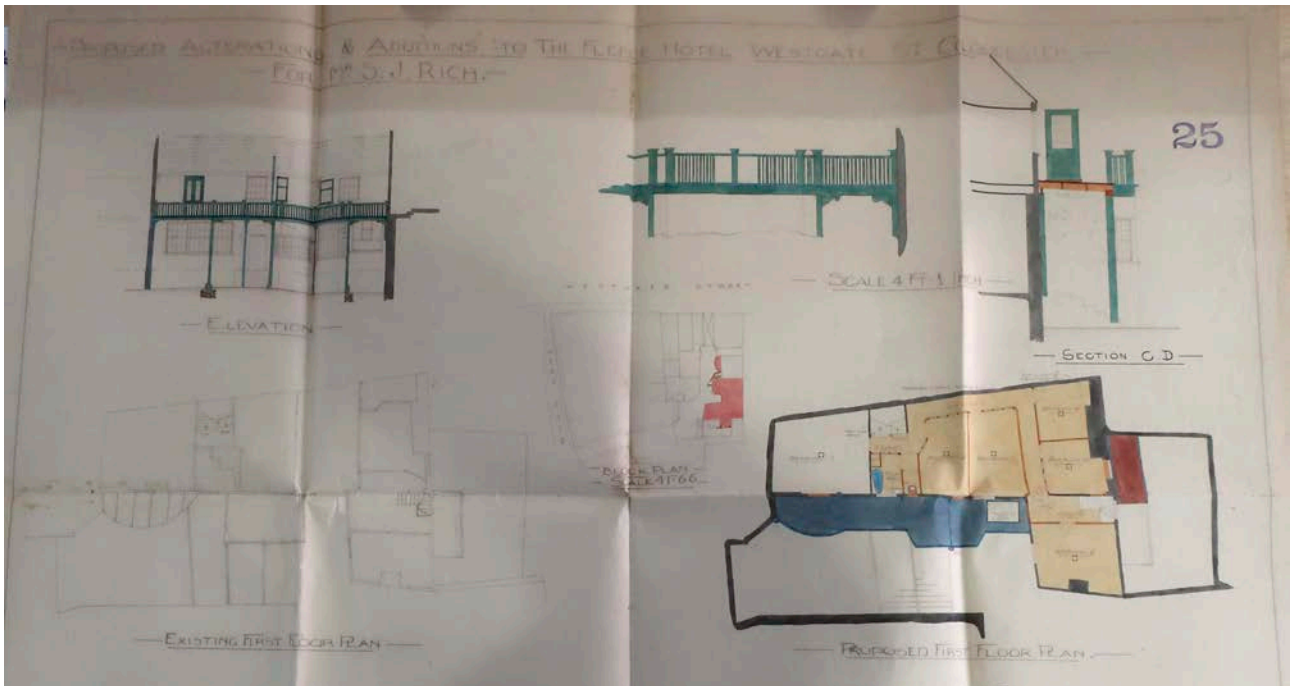


Figure 15: Designs for alterations to the great inn range by architect A. W. Probyn, 1919. [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L20/2/1919/25]

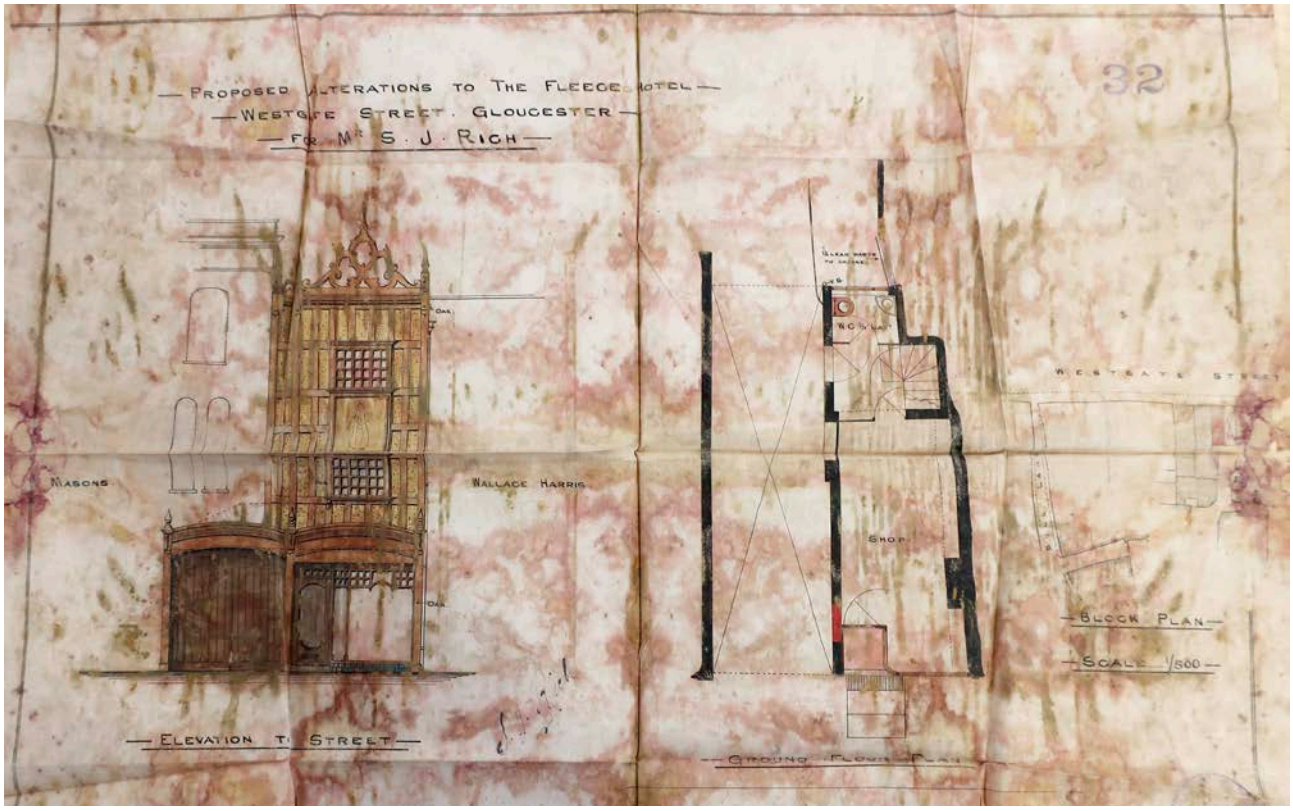


Figure 16: Alterations to the gateway to the Fleece Hotel and the shopfront of 19A Westgate Street by architect A. W. Probyn, 1919. [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L20/2/1919/32]

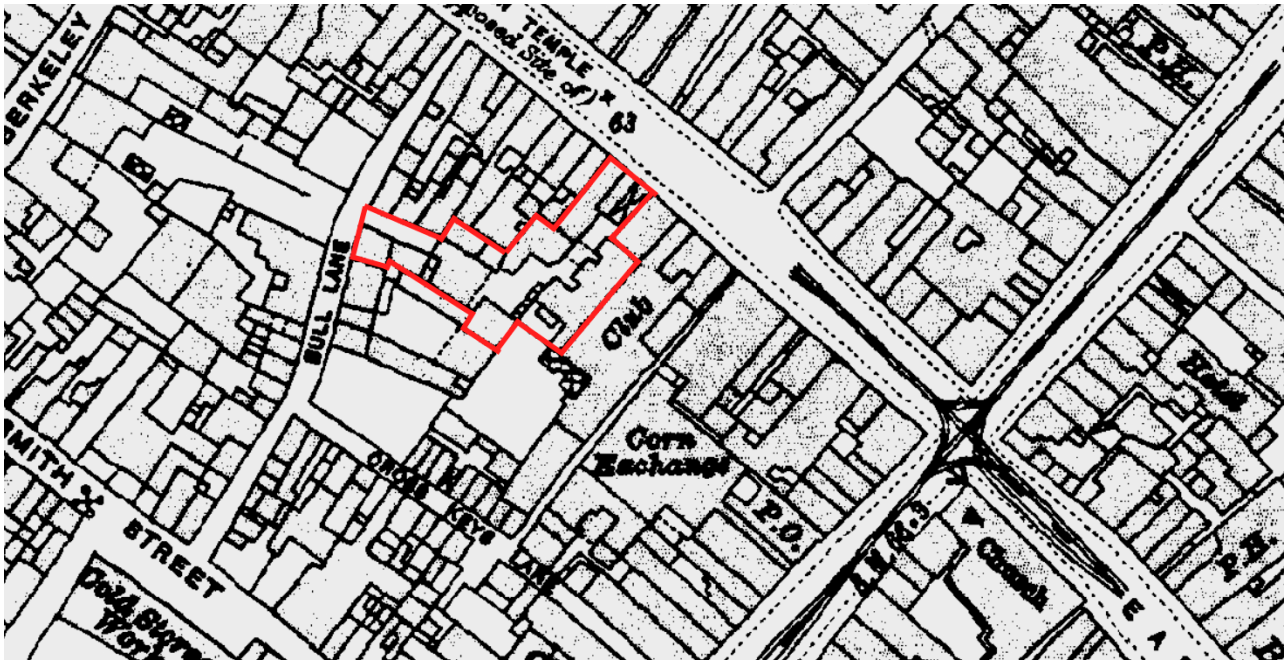


Figure 17: 1:2,500 Ordnance Survey map of 1923 showing the presumed extent of the Fleece Hotel outlined in red. [© and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2023.) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024]

Later in 1919 an application was submitted for alterations to the street-front range of the hotel (Figure 16).[166] This was also designed by A. W. Probyn. It appears to have been intended to provide a new shopfront to No. 19A, in a 17th-century style, with timber-framing on the front, small-pane casement windows to both the first and second floors, a decorative plaster panel spanning the space between the two window levels and, most distinctively, an elaborate timber pediment to the top of the building. The arched head of the shopfront was to be matched with an arched head over the gateway to the hotel. The pattern of the framing, the form of the windows, the shopfront and the arched head over the gateway appear to correspond to what survives on the building today. An undated historic photograph shows that the timber pediment was added (*see* Figure 19), although it has been subsequently removed. It may be that a slightly simplified version of that scheme was undertaken, as there is no photographic evidence for the proposed plaster panel which was to sit between the windows.

The 1923 OS map shows the garage building in place, attached to ranges to the west and south (Figure 17). There is some indication that in fact it linked through to the building to the south, which had previously formed part of the livery stables in separate occupancy. This may suggest that by the time the garage was constructed Rich also had control of the livery yard. The other notable change shown on the 1923 map is the clearance of the houses that formerly fronted onto Cross Keys Lane to the south of the livery stables. This appears to have been an open area at this date. A 1928 aerial photograph shows parts of the wider site at that date, although not much detail can be observed (Figure 18).[167] Most notable is the construction of a large single building on the site fronting onto Cross Keys Lane. Subsequent documentation from the 1960s (*see* below) refers to this as the ‘Chinn’s Garage site’ and it may well have been purpose-built for garage use.

In 1927 a plan for the addition of lavatories was submitted. These were to sit to the south of the great inn range and were approved by the Council.[168] In 1929 plans were submitted for a small extension to the Bull Lane range which had formerly been part of the livery stables. This created a new entrance at ground-floor level, a small outshut for toilets at first-floor level and an additional room to the first floor at the south end of the range. These are stamped as approved. As with the relationship between the garage and the livery stables, this suggests that by this date Rich had taken ownership and direct management of the site.

An undated photograph which appears to date to the 1930s shows the Westgate Street frontage of the Fleece complex at that point (Figure 19). As has already been noted, the frontage to No. 19A had been modified in 1919 and these changes are shown in the photograph, including the timber pediment which has since been removed. The photograph also shows the varied frontages to Nos 21 and 23. No. 21 had a relatively plain brick façade, although with decorative window lintel detailing with projecting voussoirs. The entrance to the archway through to the Fleece itself had a projecting glazed canopy.

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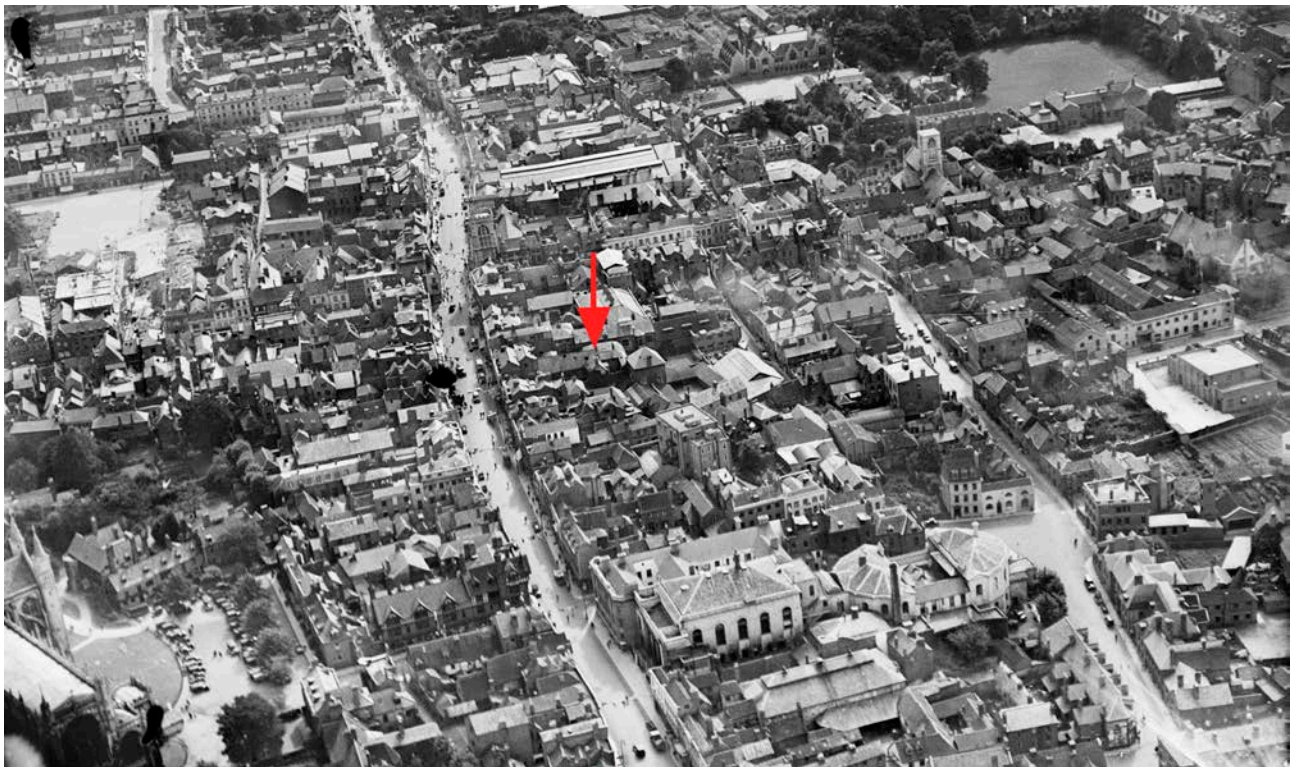


Figure 18: 1928 aerial photograph looking east along Westgate Street, Gloucester. The arrow indicates the Fleece Hotel. Note the large garage building on Cross Keys Lane. [© HEA (Aerofilms Collection) EPW024169]



Figure 19: Undated (1930s?) photograph looking west along Westgate Street, showing the entrance to the Fleece Hotel and Nos 19A and 21, with No. 23 beyond, prior to its reconstruction. [https://www.facebook.com/103431487713746/posts/1126432691290479/?substory_index=1126432691290479&app=fbl. Original image source not identified]

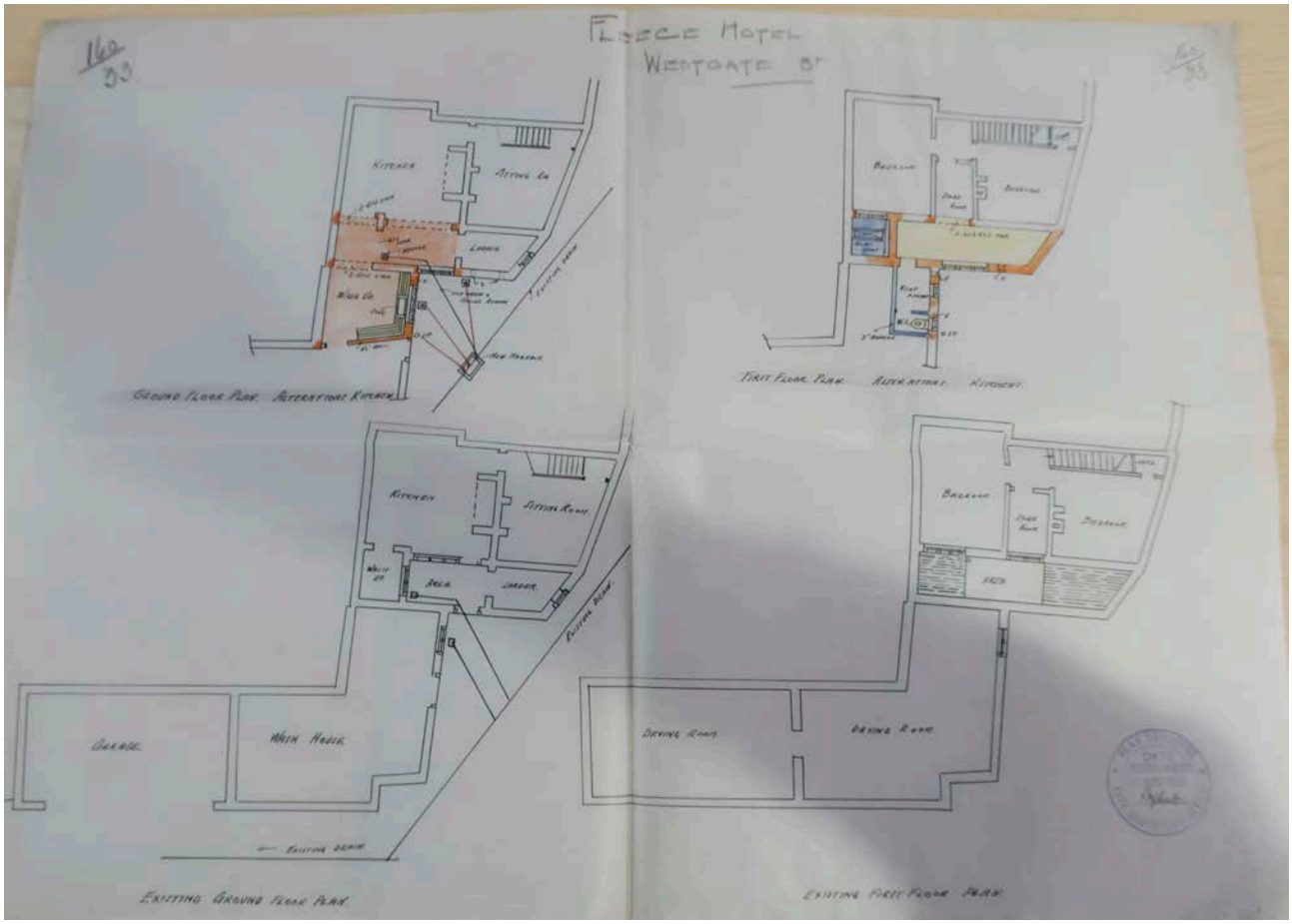


Figure 20: Designs for alterations to the buildings south of the west range, 1933. [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L20/2/1927/129]

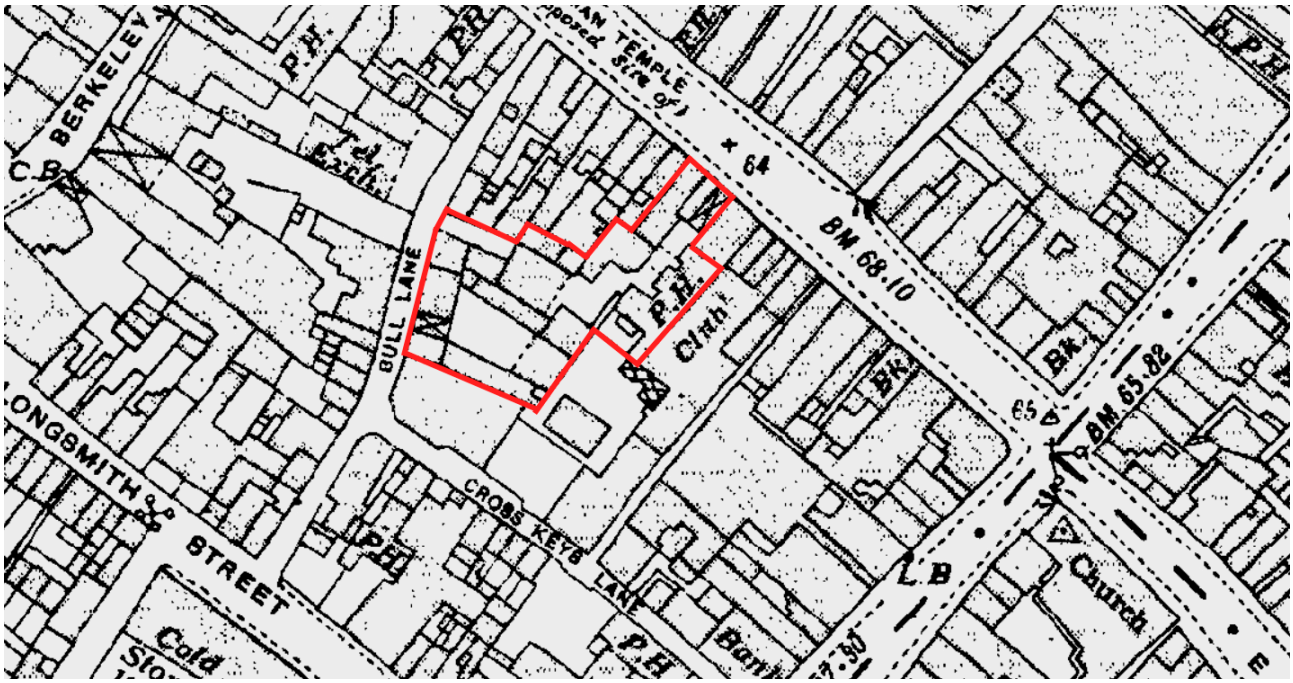


Figure 21: 1:2,500 Ordnance Survey map of 1936 showing the presumed extent of the Fleece Hotel outlined in red. [© and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2023.) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024]

In 1933 alterations to the kitchens were proposed (Figure 20).[169] These appear to have comprised modest changes to the south end of the west range, which seems to have been laid out as private accommodation at that date, with a small kitchen and sitting room at ground-floor level and two bedrooms above. The proposed changes appear to have provided an additional kitchen area at ground-floor level, by extending into the adjacent wash house, and a small bathroom at first-floor level extended into the adjacent drying room. A proposal for a larger building running along the southern side of the entrance passageway from Bull Lane was rejected.[170] The 1936 OS map shows these minor modifications and also confirms that there was a single large building spanning the whole area of the site adjacent to Cross Keys Lane, to the south of the former livery yard, as first seen in the 1928 aerial photograph (Figure 21).

In 1936 a revised application was made for the construction of additional ranges to the rear of the complex, along the boundary between the entrance passage from Bull Lane and the former livery yard to the south.[171] Again this would have required the demolition of the existing ranges on this site. Two different schemes for this alteration appear to have been worked up. The larger one comprised a more substantial double-pile extension with bedrooms at first-floor level fronting onto the entrance passageway and the livery yard and linking through to the 'lounge' over the garage to the east. It was also to be connected to the rear of the west range, which would have been altered to provide a dining room and servery in No. 19A. The second scheme was a more modest range of four bedrooms sitting south of the Bull Lane entrance passageway, although still connected to a lounge in the garage building to the west (Figure 22). Both proposals appear to have been approved in principle on the basis that the owner would indicate which the final preferred scheme was. The building constructed, which survived until a few years ago, appears to have been based on the more modest scheme, providing a smaller number of bedrooms. In 1939 a further scheme for extension was submitted to the Council.[172] This was for conversion and extension of the existing range on the corner of Bull Lane, to provide a bottling room and stock room at ground-floor level, with six small bedrooms above (Figure 23).

In 1941 the ratings and valuation for the site were assessed, and the owner was listed as 'Exors [Executors] of S. J. Rich' and the occupier as C. J. Rich. [173] As part of a dispute over the ratings valuation of the hotel, the accommodation was listed as:

> Hotel Bar & Billiard room combined. Coffee Room. Auxiliary Dining room. Bar known as Monk's Retreat. Manager's Bedroom. 7 Bathrooms including staff bathrooms. 17 Double bedrooms. 17 single Bedrooms. Lounge. 5 staff Bedrooms, 2 of which are attic rooms. Garage accommodation and outbuildings.[174]

This document also discusses the recent construction of 'the annex' (presumably the range to the south on the site of the old livery yard in 1936). The owner estimated that these had cost him 'something over £3,000'.

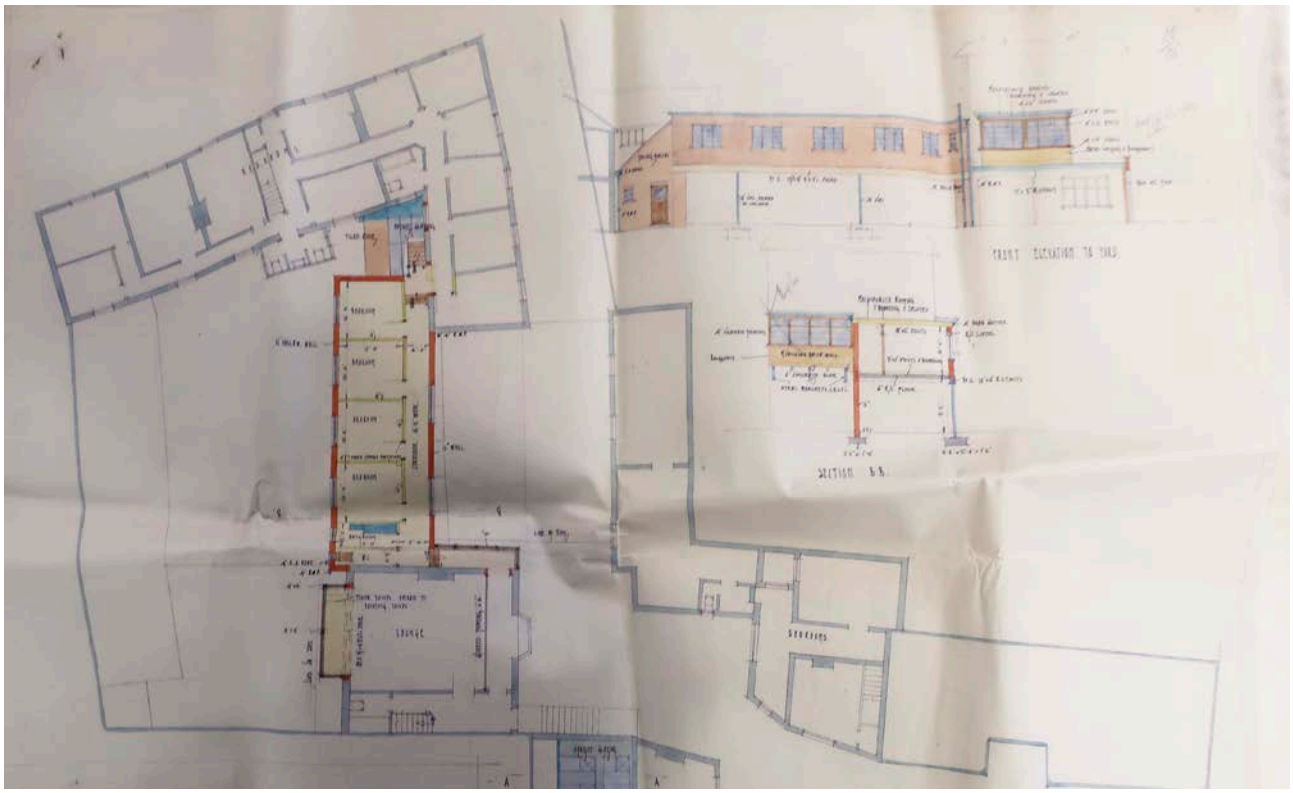


Figure 22: Plans for a new block to the south of the courtyard at the Fleece Hotel, by architect William Leah, 1936. [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L20/2/1936/118]



Figure 23: Plans for alterations to the range adjacent to Bull Lane, 1939. [Reproduced with the permission of Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L20/2/1930/39]

In the block adjoining Bull Lane the accommodation was listed as a double bedroom, a single bedroom, a boiler house and various stores. The outbuildings are listed as 'six lockup garages now used for storage purposes, a bacon store, a covered yard forming a garage, an unenclosed garage situate beneath the lounge and bedrooms adjoining. A concrete yard with a petrol pump'. In the discussion over the rating the owner stated:

> This is purely and simply a Commercial Hotel and does not pretend to rank with the leading hotels in the town. Of course, at the present time the Bell Hotel and the New County Hotel have been requisitioned …. in the A. A. book classification the Hotels I have mentioned are 3-star Hotels, whereas the Fleece is a 2-star Hotel.

The owner goes on to state:

> The property is old and is very inconveniently planned. It is incapable of attempting to compete with the best Hotels in Gloucester for it has only one public sitting room – the Lounge – and this is on the first floor approached by an outside staircase … The kitchens are on the opposite side of the driving way to the Coffee room so that all food has to be carried across the driving way in all weathers, which driving way is uncovered.[175]

These arguments appear to have been successful in reducing the valuation of the property and the rating level for which the owner was liable. They also indicate something of the relative status of the Fleece in Gloucester at the time, compared to other Gloucester hotels.

Following the end of the Second World War, the well-known town planner and architect Sir Geoffrey Jellicoe was appointed to create a plan for the regeneration of the historic city centre, within a planned inner ring road.[176] Although this was not as radical as plans put forward in other historic cities, Jellicoe nonetheless proposed significant clearance of rear plots and buildings that were judged to have lesser historic significance. The plan, put forward in 1961, was partially carried out in the period between 1966 and 1974. As part of this, the southern part of the Fleece Hotel site was identified as the location of a multistorey car park, corresponding to one on the southern side of Cross Keys Lane. This appears to have been envisaged to replace all of the buildings on the southern side of the site, up to and including the ranges south of the entrance passageway from Bull Lane. The original historic ranges appear to have been earmarked for retention, however, presumably due to the known historic significance of the undercroft.

In the early 1960s the owners (the trustees of Mr S. J. Rich) appear to have made a concerted effort to sell the hotel, without placing it on the open market.[177] Local agents Bruton, Knowles and Co. were instructed to approach potential purchasers with a view to assessing interest. They prepared a plan of the site showing its extent and ownership, including the 'Chinns Garage' site adjacent to Cross Keys Lane, which had evidently become part of the hotel property by this date (Figure 24).

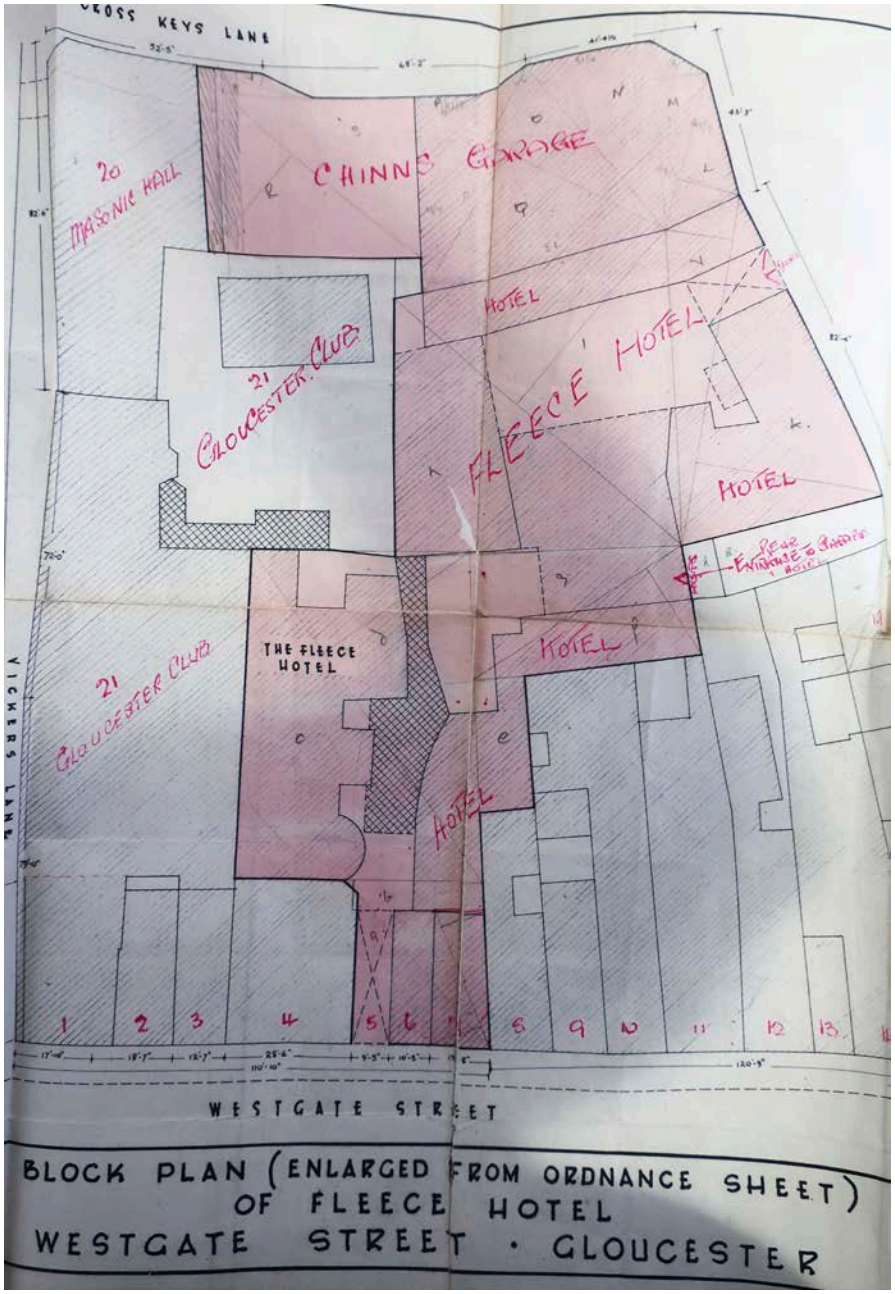


Figure 24: Plans for alterations to the range adjacent to Bull Lane, 1939. [Reproduced with the permission of Bruton Knowles Limited. Gloucestershire Archives: GBR/L20/2/1930/39]

Various options appear to have been considered, including offering the site for redevelopment as a supermarket, although this was considered unviable because of the undercroft being listed as of historic and architectural interest (although it was considered likely that the timber-framed buildings on the plot could be demolished). The ongoing Council-led redevelopment of the city was also considered to be problematic, as uncertainty over the intention to develop a multistorey car park on the southern part of the site, or any revised plans, made it difficult to establish what the Council's view on the redevelopment of the Fleece site would be. Similarly, the continued use of the site as a hotel was considered unviable without significant expenditure to bring it up to an acceptable standard. Notwithstanding these issues negotiations with some interested

parties appear to have taken place over the following decade, but ultimately there seems to have been no purchaser willing to take on the whole or part of the site. Various sections of the buildings in fact continued to be let, including the shops on Westgate Street, the garage to the rear and the Monk's Retreat, which was operated as a bar by a separate licensee.

Despite these attempts at a sale, in 1968 a party to celebrate the 'diamond jubilee' of the Rich family owning the site was held. Mr Cyril Rich, Samuel's son, stated 'when my father took it over in 1908 there were only a few rooms to let, now there are 40'.[178] In 1969, as part of the ongoing work in relation to the attempted sale of the property, the agents were engaged in the negotiation over the reconstruction of 17 Westgate Street by agents acting on behalf of the Leeds Permanent Building Society. As part of this there appears to have been an offer for the Fleece to gain the whole of the area over the archway access from Westgate Street. There was considerable discussion about how this would work in terms of the existing buildings, and plans were worked up by the Society's architect to indicate the use of this additional space in relation to hotel rooms in the street-front range. In the end, however, it is evident that the offer was not taken up. No. 17 still includes the eastern side of the archway, including part of the overhanging section of the archway itself.

Following the failure to sell the site, the owners (still the trustees of Mr S. J. Rich, deceased) in fact purchased the adjacent property, No. 23, in 1972.[179] The site seems to have continued to operate as a hotel until it closed in around 2001.[180] After being empty for around 10 years, it was purchased by the South West Regional Development Agency in 2011, later passing to Gloucester City Council. In 2016 repairs were carried out to make the buildings watertight, with demolition of some of the less significant ranges, including the 1936 accommodation block and much of the former garage to the south.

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Building Description

The following description principally focuses on the three main surviving historic ranges at the Fleece Hotel, referred to as the great inn range, the street-front range and the west range (*see* Figure 2). Plans, elevations and sections of the building have been provided as illustrations where appropriate, and a full set of survey drawings associated with the site is provided as Appendix Three.

It is clear from the early history of Gloucester that the site of the Fleece is likely to have seen phases of development from the Roman period onwards, with extensive archaeological evidence from elsewhere in Westgate Street of Roman and Anglo-Saxon development.[181] By the early 12th century the development along the principal streets in the city had been formalised by the establishment of long narrow burgage plots, running back from the street. While the documentary history of the site makes it clear that individual plots could evolve within and around such boundaries, the establishment of these regular plots had a strong influence on development in the 12th century and over the ensuing centuries.

Phase One - late 12th century

The first extant phase of development on the Fleece site is the large stone undercroft which now sits under the great inn range (Figures 25 and 26). The undercroft can be dated to the late 12th century on the basis of the stylistic evidence of the form of the columns, with the capitals providing a more specific date of after 1170 and probably in the 1180s (*see* description below). There is no documentary evidence surviving for this period, so the analysis of the form and function of the undercroft is entirely based on the architectural evidence. However, there are some indications from the 13th-century documentary sources which are relevant to the consideration of the form of the building, particularly in the indication in the documents that by this date the plot already had commercial premises fronting onto Westgate Street. This strongly suggests that there was a functional separation between the front and rear of the plot, as became enshrined in the later buildings.

The undercroft is orientated on a north-south alignment and sits along the plot boundary between the Fleece and the plot which is now No. 15 immediately to the east. Although the northern end of the original undercroft has been truncated, it is unlikely that it ever ran to the street front. Instead, it seems more likely that it formed part of a substantial tenement on the rear of the plot, allowing for commercial use of the street frontage even at this early date. This would reflect the known commercial pressure in central Gloucester during this period, particularly along Westgate Street.[182]

As constructed it is likely that, as today, the undercroft was only partially subterranean, with the upper part rising above the surrounding ground level. This allowed for relatively easy external access to the undercroft, most likely from the courtyard to the west, as survives today. It also would have allowed for the use of natural light within the undercroft.

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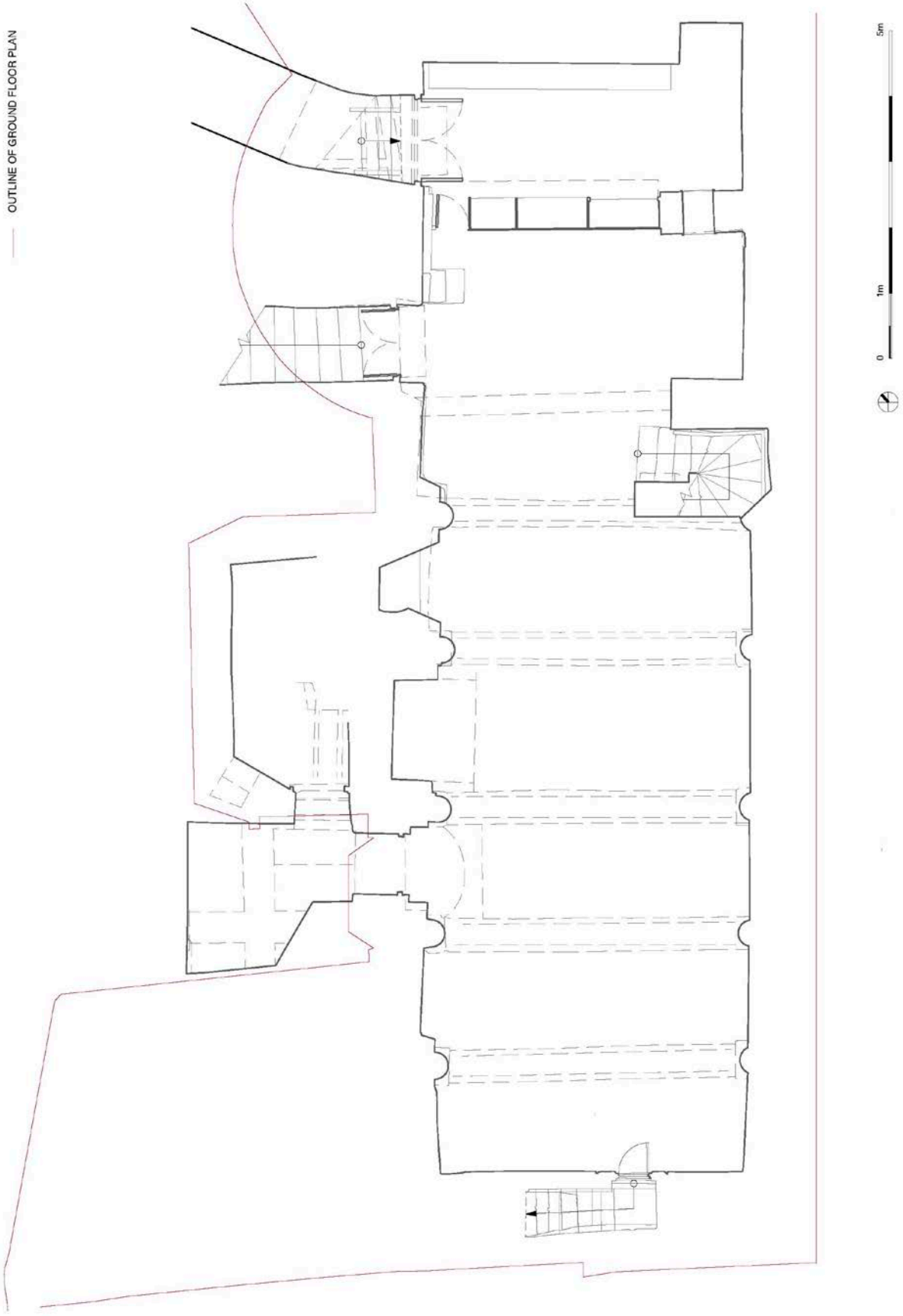


Figure 25: Plan of the undercroft, great inn range. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]

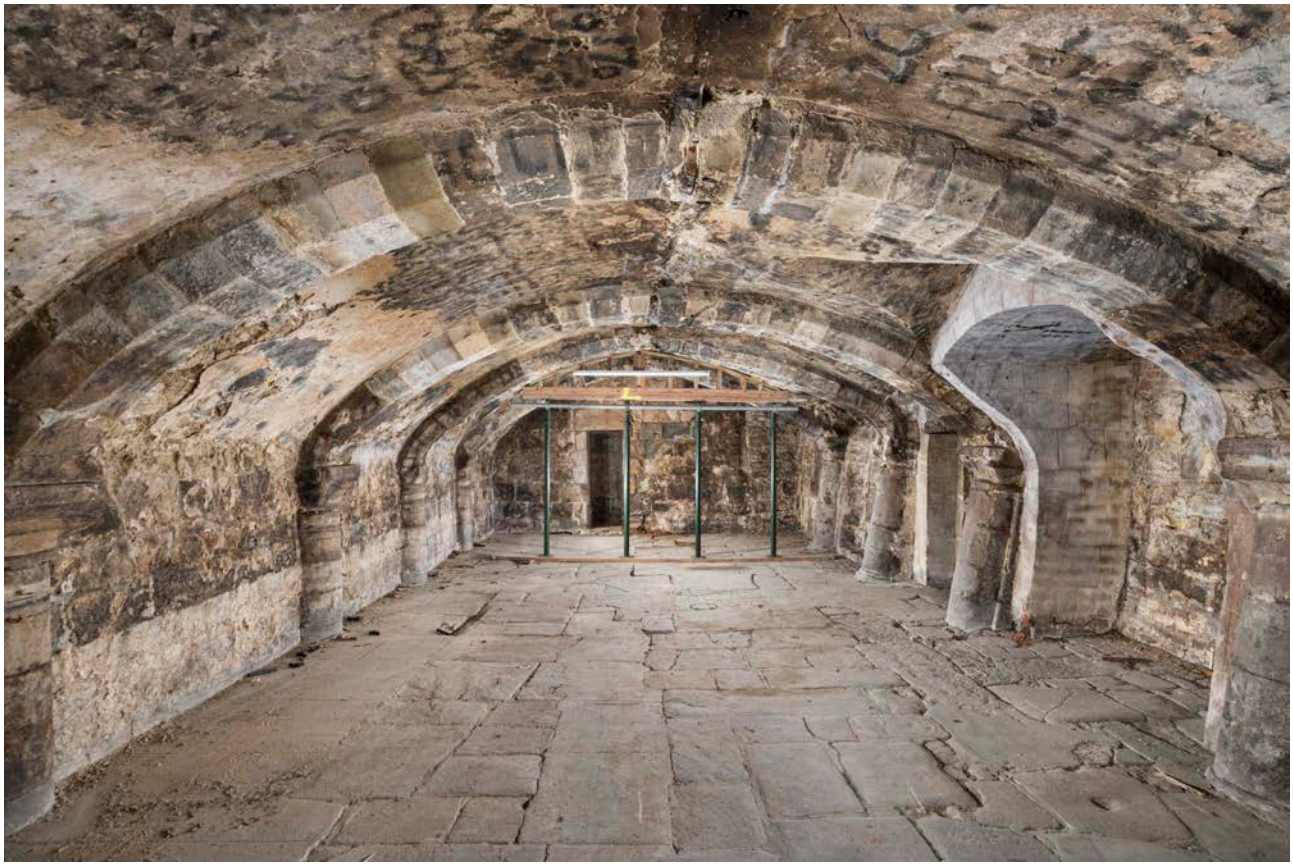


Figure 26: The undercroft under the great inn range, looking south. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325616]

As the upper part of the undercroft structure sits above ground level, the external faces on some sides of the building are exposed. However, to the west the outer face of the structure is obscured by later additions and by render. To the south the external face is currently hidden by a protective membrane which has been attached to the building. A short length of the external face of the undercroft's east wall is visible within the cellar of the adjacent property (sitting to the rear of No. 15). This represents the very southern end of the east elevation and is shown to be of rubble stone of mixed sizes (Figure 27). Stonework of a similar form is also visible projecting eastwards from this southern corner, forming part of a cellar structure within the plot of No. 15. This stonework appears to follow the same alignment as the south wall of the undercroft. It is not clear that the two walls are bonded into each other, however, and as the adjacent cellar is also of stone, it seems more likely that this wall forms part of the later medieval cellar forming the rear part of No. 15.[183]

Internally six bays of the undercroft survive, representing an area around 10m long by 4.8m wide. The two surviving long side walls and the south wall are formed of squared stone blocks laid in courses. The six bays are defined by pairs of engaged columns supporting the ribs for a segmental arched vault. The bays are all of a similar length, at around 2m, except for the fourth bay from the south which is slightly longer at around 2.5m. The columns along the western side are slightly angled with a nine-degree slope



Figure 27: The outer wall of the undercroft on the eastern side, viewed from the adjacent cellar, looking south-west. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

outwards as they rise. It seems most likely that this relates to movement in the west wall, possibly quite soon after the vault was constructed.[184] However, the original west end of each rib is still fully engaged with the heads of the columns, which is difficult to reconcile with this. There has been some suggestion that the vault may have been deliberately built at a sloping angle, although this interpretation is seen as less likely at present.[185]

The columns and associated walling and the ribs of the vault are formed of finely cut stone. The columns have a semicircular profile characteristic of the 12th century. Some columns still have their worked bases, indicating that the original floor level was similar to that which survives today (Figure 28). Others appear to have had theirs removed or cut back, possibly when the later floor was inserted. The column heads are all of the same form, with a roll-moulded neck at the top of the shaft. The capital is of an unusual form; its concave profile is similar to a bell capital but with defined corners rather than a rounded shaft (Figure 29). This may be an attempt to reconcile the rounded form of the columns below with the square form of the ribs. Above the capital is a chamfered impost.



Figure 28: The base of one of the engaged columns in the undercroft, looking west. [James O.Davies © HEA DP435623]



Figure 29: The capital of one of the engaged columns in the undercroft, looking east. [James O.Davies © HEA DP435621]



Figure 30: Rectified photograph of the east elevation of the undercroft. [Geospatial Survey © HEA DP364811]



Figure 31: Rectified photograph of the west elevation of the undercroft. [Geospatial Survey © HEA DP364810]

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The base of the ribs generally sit slightly in from the outer edge of the impost, although their rectangular bases are of the same proportions as the top of the impost. The base stones of the ribs have angled corners forming what are effectively chamfer stops for the chamfered profile of the ribs. The form of the capitals may indicate a specific date of after 1170 and probably in the 1180s.[186]

The east wall is formed of squared blocks of stone, with no indication of any features or openings (Figure 30). The west wall, however, has a recess in each of the surviving bays (Figure 31). These have all been blocked later, to a greater or lesser degree. However, it is clear that in four out of the six bays for which there is surviving evidence the recesses form splayed openings. In the fifth bay from the south, where there has been less in the way of later blocking, it is clear that the splay runs back at least 0.5m to create what must originally have been a small opening in the upper part of the wall. Given the identical proportions of the openings in the three other bays, it is likely that all had the same overall form. The angled corners of the splay are formed of finely cut stonework, with rougher squared stone forming the sides of the splays. Originally these appear to have represented window openings, as they are at a level high enough to have sat above the contemporary ground level.

The wider fourth bay from the south has a different original form to its western side. Although much modified, it appears that the western wall of the bay had a much wider opening, defined by walls at right-angles to the main wall line. Although the rear of this opening is now blocked, it seems likely that this represented the original access point into the undercroft, via a wide doorway. As with the windows this indicates that the area west of the undercroft was open, presumably as part of a courtyard arrangement similar to that which survives today.

It is evident that the undercroft originally continued further to the north and has been truncated at a later date. The northernmost surviving rib has a splayed angle on the western side to its north for a further window opening, indicating there was at least one further bay (*see* Figure 31). Its full extent is unknown, but it seems unlikely that it ever ran to the street – partly as that would have made it 26m long, which would have made it an extraordinarily large structure. Mainly, though, it is likely that, as in later phases, the street-front area of the plot was in use as separate commercial units, behind which the undercroft would have sat. It may originally have been similar in length to the extent of the 15th-century range, running a further 10m north from the northern extent of the surviving structure. That would still have made it a very long structure, however. Perhaps more likely is that it may have had two additional bays, which would have provided a symmetrical layout with the wider entrance bay placed centrally. This is speculation, though, and at present there is no evidence to indicate whether that was the original extent of the undercroft.

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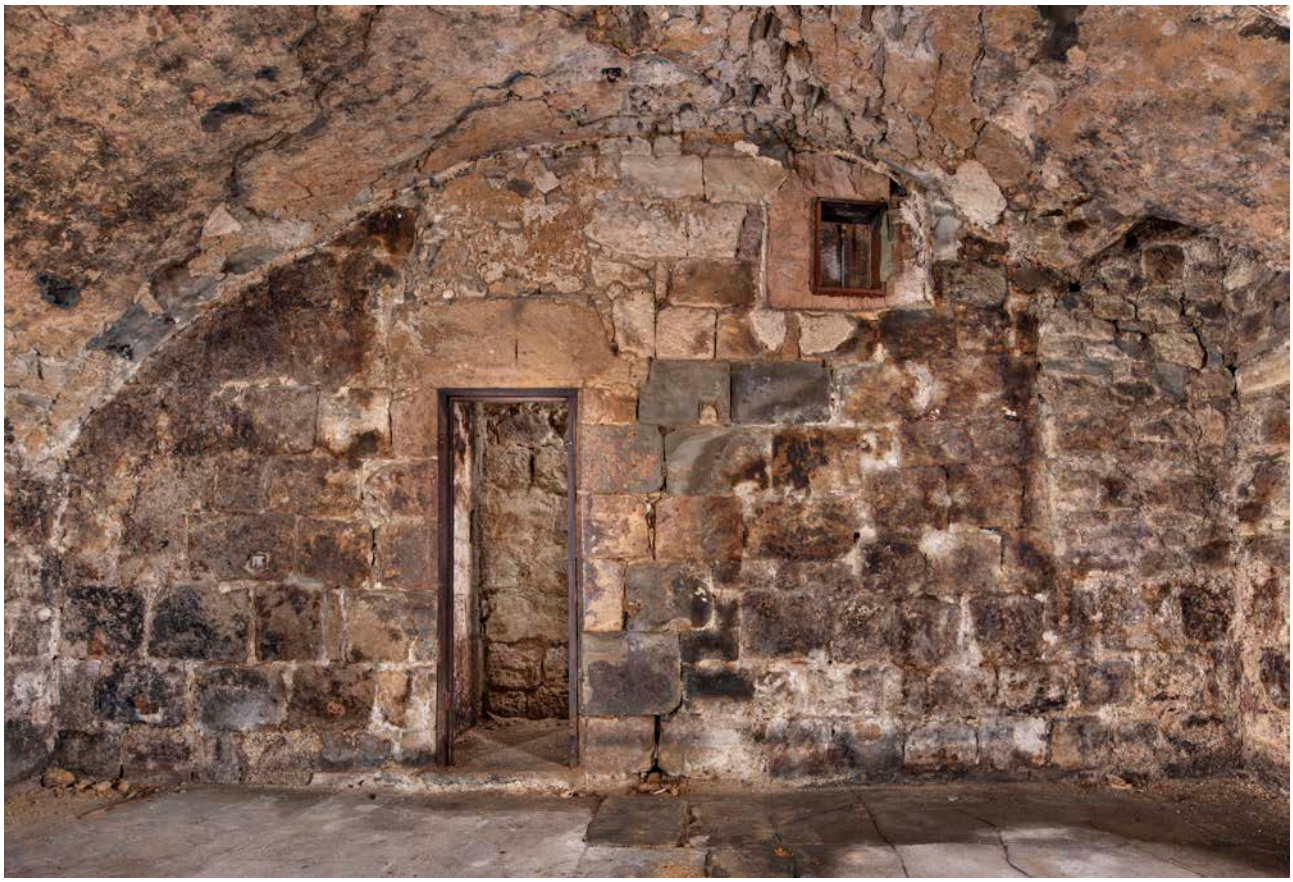


Figure 32: The south elevation of the undercroft, looking south, showing the original doorway to the intra-mural stair. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435614].

To the south, the original end wall survives (Figure 32). This is again of squared stone blocks laid in courses. Just to the east of the centre point is an extant doorway opening which provides access to a narrow intramural stair. This opening is again formed of finely cut stone, with a large stone lintel chamfered on its lower edge. It seems likely therefore that the doorway is an original feature, as the quality of the stonework is comparable to the other original features. Within the narrow stairwell four steps survive, also formed of stone (Figure 33). The south wall of the stairwell is formed of the same type of squared stone seen in the side walls of the undercroft. This all appears to confirm that, although later modified, the stair is an original feature. Given the likely presence of an original wide entranceway on the western side of the undercroft, the cramped nature of the stair makes it unlikely that it formed the principal access route into the cellar. The narrow proportions of the stair and its associated doorway would not have facilitated the movement of goods into and out of the undercroft. Instead it seems likely that this stair communicated with the upper floors of the building.

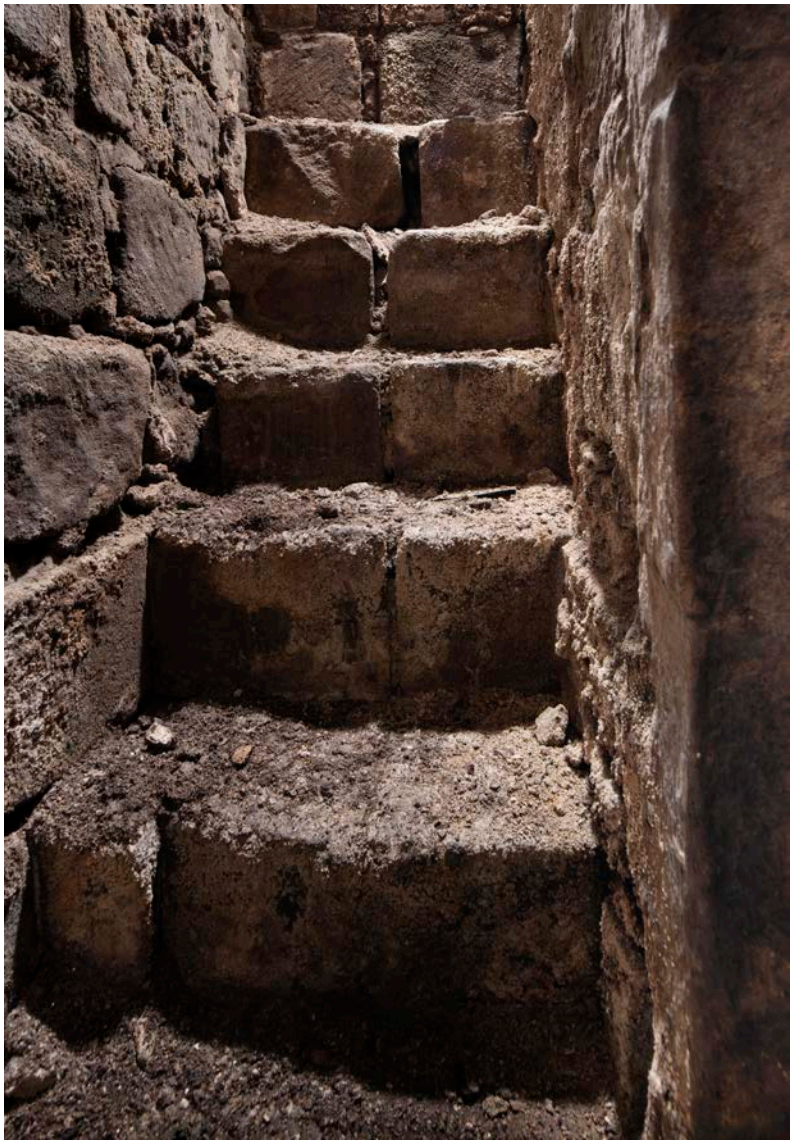


Figure 33: The original intra-mural stair in the south wall of the undercroft, looking west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435615].

As constructed it is axiomatic that the undercroft was part of a larger structure, with an upper floor or floors forming part of the 12th-century arrangement. As well as the structural evidence, this is indicated by the documentary evidence for the early ownership of the tenement – there are, for example, references in the early 14th century to the 'hall' occupied by William de Ruyons sitting immediately behind the shops which now form No. 17, which strongly suggests that the hall sat on top of the stone undercroft.

But was the upper part of the building of stone, like the undercroft itself, or timber-framed? The evidence is ambiguous. There is no evidence for an earlier, 12th-century, timber-framed structure, but it is possible that such a structure could have been entirely replaced, leaving no trace. There is, however, fragmentary evidence for the existence of contemporary stone walling of a superstructure two areas of the building provide evidence for this. First, at the south-west corner of the extant building is a small section of stonework surviving above the undercroft, forming the southern end of the west wall of the structure (Figure 34). This extends from the corner for only 0.6m to the north and upwards to about

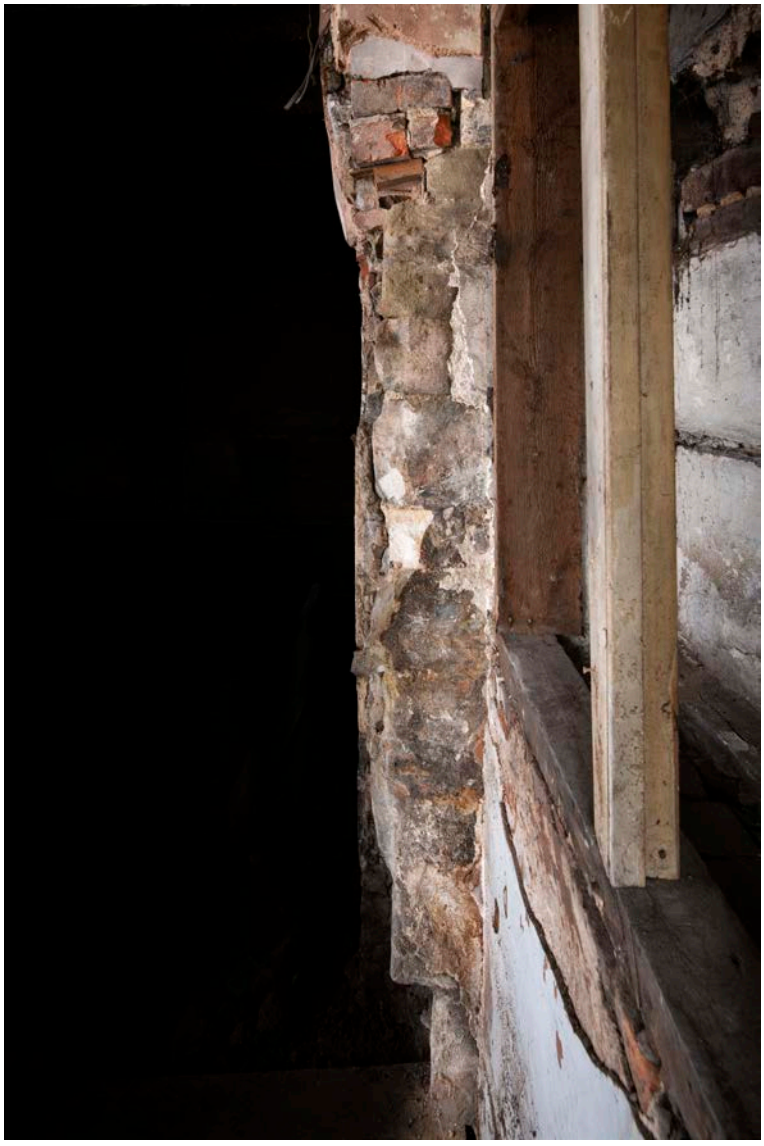


Figure 34: Section of surviving stonework at the south end of the west elevation in the great inn range, looking east. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435634].

2m above the current ground-floor level, effectively forming the return of the south wall – clearly it was originally part of a wall which ran further north, sitting on top of the western side wall of the undercroft. The upper part of the wall is formed of squared stones, similar to those which characterise the main walling of the undercroft, and it appears to have been truncated at its northern end, as the stonework is irregular and has been partly infilled with other materials. While there are other sections of stone walling on the site which may belong to later phases, there is evidence that this section of stone was in place prior to the construction of the timber framework of the 15th-century building, as an adjacent post and the associated girding beam between ground- and first-floor levels appear to have made use of the stonework structurally, with the girding beam resting on the top of the wall, with no indications of any jointing for a corner post. It therefore seems possible that this small section of stonework survives from the 12th-century superstructure which sat on top of the undercroft when it was originally constructed.

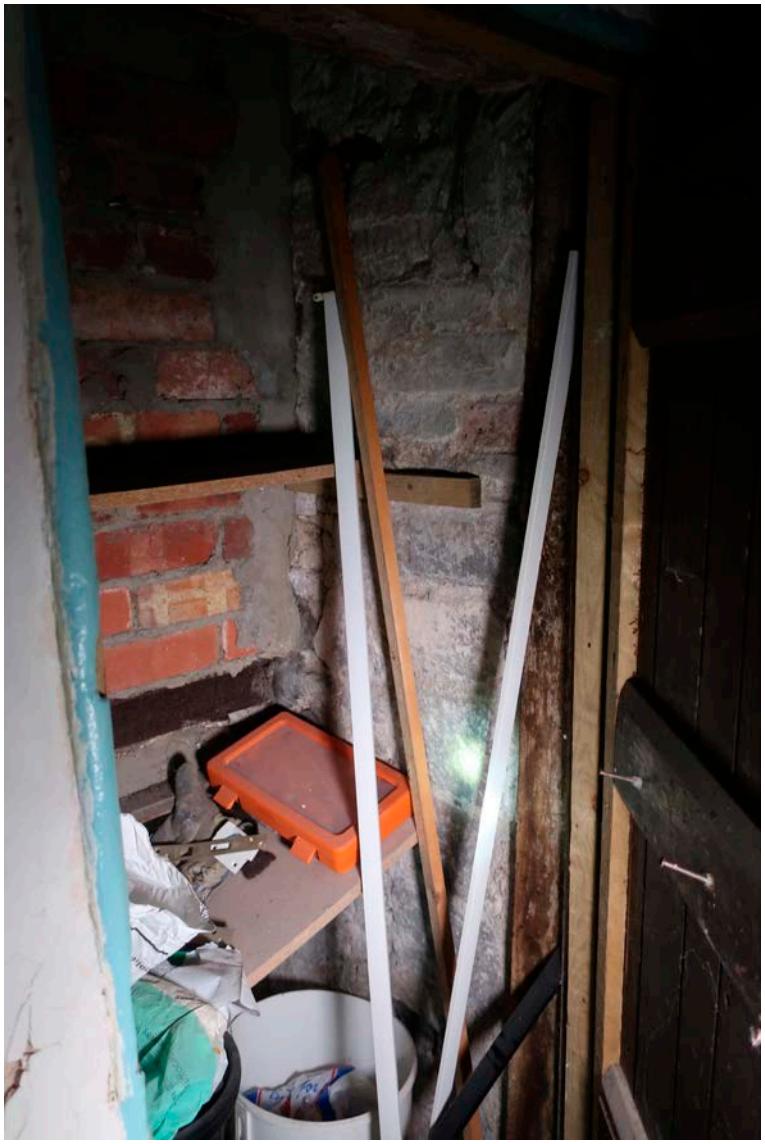


Figure 35: Section of surviving stonework in the east elevation of the great inn range, looking north-west. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Secondly, at the south-east corner of the building there is a stone recess which appears to form part of the east elevation of the great inn range, visible in a cupboard at ground-floor level within the adjacent property (*see* Figure 36). The back wall of the recess is formed of rubble stone in its lower part (Figure 35). This appears to represent walling of the upper part of the undercroft, where it rises above the surrounding ground level, being of similar stonework to that of the lower part of the undercroft walling visible in the cellar below. The two sides of the recess are also formed of stone, which rises to the full height of the cupboard – that is, about 2m above the surrounding ground level and about 1.5m above the level of the top of the undercroft. The sides are carefully formed of rubble stone, with no indication of the stonework having been cut back to create the recess. On top of the stonework in the back of the recess is a horizontal timber. Above this the rear face of the recess is formed of brick, of relatively modern date. This arrangement therefore appears to relate to a cupboard recess formed from a modified original doorway in the stonework at the very southern end of the east elevation. This must have provided access from the 12th-century building to the area to the east. The survival of the stonework around the

doorway also indicates that stonework runs along the eastern side of the principal floor level of the great inn range, for an unknown distance, although it seems likely to be limited in its survival to the southern bay of the building, as there is no evidence visible for it in the walling further north. Although there are no diagnostic features, the survival of other early stonework at the south end suggests this stonework is likely to relate to the 12th-century phase of the building, or at least to a phase prior to the 15th century.

It is possible that further areas of the south wall of the building may also have stonework surviving, but this has not been examined in detail as it is currently covered over internally and externally. It is not clear how far this stonework might have extended in the original phase. The south-west corner would have been where the small mural stair from the undercroft would have emerged at ground-floor level, so the stonework may have been limited to the area around the stair. It seems unlikely that the upper parts of the structure were fully of stone at this date, although it is possible.

The form, function and layout of the 12th-century building – comparison with other examples

Use of the undercroft

Medieval stone undercrofts are a well-recorded phenomenon in English towns and cities, and there are several other examples in Gloucester of surviving stone undercrofts and cellars of the medieval period.[187] In this context the example at the Fleece is notable for its substantial size and its high-quality stonework, indicating that it formed part of a building of considerable status. Stone was an obvious building material as many cellars would have been used to store goods of high value, and the use of the material helped to protect goods from fire and provided an ambient temperature. Studies of undercrofts more generally indicate that spaces such as these were not simply used for storage, but often had a public role. However, this generally corresponded with the idea of them being accessible from the street front and possibly let separately from the building above.[188] At the Fleece, access appears to have been from the courtyard to the west, and a route in directly from Westgate Street is extremely unlikely. This means that there would have been more control over who entered the space but it does not preclude the idea that it was designed to impress visitors. Features such as the stone columns, and the provision of significant amounts of natural light via the windows in the west elevation, would have made the undercroft a relatively salubrious place for customers or others to visit.

The function of such undercrofts is often associated with the wine trade, although surviving examples are too ubiquitous for this to have been the only reason for their construction. However, in the case of the Fleece the early documentary evidence for the ownership of the property by a vintner in the early 13th century may suggest that it did indeed have a role in that trade.[189]

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The form of the upper part of the 12th-century building

Stone undercrofts of this sort invariably formed part of larger buildings, but in many cases, as at the Fleece, the upper parts of such buildings have been subject to later reconstruction. This makes determining the original form of the upper parts of the building challenging. Even the basic construction material can be unclear, as the superstructures could be of stone, timber or a combination of the two. Surviving examples of stone superstructures sitting on top of undercrofts are rare, but examples have been identified in Chester and Cambridge.[190] Antiquarian evidence for another example is known from Southwark, Greater London.[191] In those cases it seems the entire structure was built of stone, but there are other examples where stone was used for the side walls or for side and rear walls, with timber used for other structural elements. Surviving examples include those in New Winchelsea and Southampton.[192] However, surveys of surviving undercrofts in both Norwich and Chester have inferred that they were typically built with timber-framed ranges above.[193]

In the case of the early undercroft at the Fleece, there is some indication that the stone may have extended above the undercroft, forming at least part of the superstructure of the building as well (*see* above). However, it is clear that timber-framing was the dominant building material in Gloucester in the 12th and 13th centuries, as evidenced by the fact that stone buildings where they existed were singled out in the documentary records.[194] This perhaps makes it most likely that the upper parts of the 12th-century structure were not fully of stone. It is possible that it may have taken a mixed form with stone used for the south elevation and parts of the east and west elevations, and perhaps timber used in other elevations. Further investigation of the south elevation would help clarify the extent of stonework surviving.

The function and layout of the upper part of the 12th-century building

Given the small fragments of the superstructure surviving, it is not possible to determine much about the function and layout of the upper part of the 12th-century building. Documentary references to a hall in the 14th century (*see* above), which may well have sat on top of the undercroft, suggest that at that date the upper parts of the structure formed relatively high-status accommodation. However it is possible, and perhaps likely, that the upper parts of the structure had already been modified in the two centuries since original construction.

The large size of the Fleece plot increases this uncertainty, as this was not a typical urban plot in which all domestic and commercial spaces had to be condensed into a narrow burgage plot. From the documentary evidence we know that the northern, street-front area of the plot was in use for commercial purposes, but to the rear there was still a significant amount of space in which to provide for both further commercial use and domestic accommodation. The form of the undercroft indicates that there was an open courtyard to the west of the surviving 12th-century range and other buildings may have been arranged to the south or west of this.

Comparison with other examples of 12th-century urban complexes is difficult given the limited number of survivals. No urban site of this period can be said to have survived substantially intact, and even where there are examples of 12th-century ranges surviving, there is often considerable uncertainty about the nature and extent of the complexes of which they formed part. This is further compounded by the nature of previous studies, with much of the research on 12th-century domestic buildings focused on rural examples, which tend to represent better survivals.[195] Conversely studies of urban areas (for example, Bristol) have looked at plot layout and function of buildings more widely, but not closely examined the specific 12th-century context.[196] There are notable exceptions to this, but two separate strands of existing evidence require examination.

Studies of other surviving 12th-century domestic buildings suggest two general alternative layouts, incorporating undercrofts. One is that the superstructure over the top of the undercroft comprised a ‘hall’ – that is, the principal room of the complex, possibly with some form of separate private chamber at one end.[197] This type of arrangement precluded the need for other high-status spaces elsewhere on a site and in an urban context is analogous with the arrangement which tends to be seen on relatively compact plots, where the use of space had to be maximised by orientating the principal range at right-angles to the street.[198] Whether the principal space in this arrangement could strictly speaking be considered a hall (generally heated by an open hearth at this period) or a chamber (with a fireplace) is perhaps a modern distinction.[199] But whatever the strict definition, it is clear that in many cases such an arrangement provided sufficient domestic accommodation for a merchant or other urban resident.

The alternative, seen on many rural sites and some more spacious urban plots, is that the building above the undercroft provided private chambers and/or commercial space, which may have worked in conjunction with an open hall located elsewhere on the plot. [200] Those 12th-century buildings of this type which have been confidently identified in urban contexts sat on plots so large that they could essentially be considered exceptional in an urban context in being able to follow a rural manor house model.[201] However, in the context of wider urban studies there are plenty of examples of sites which were relatively restricted by their urban position, but nonetheless were able to provide a hall forming part of a courtyard arrangement with other ranges.[202] While extant examples are typically later than the 12th century, there seems no reason to assume that such plan forms were not also seen in earlier arrangements, and archaeological evidence does seem to have identified earlier sites where such arrangements were employed in this period.[203]

Given the larger plot size of the Fleece, and the clear indications from the arrangement of windows in the undercroft that the plot had a courtyard arrangement, then the possibility of a hall or other structures on the plot, which functioned with the undercroft block, cannot be ruled out. Comparison of plot size with some of those identified in other towns indicates that there was space for a ground-floor hall elsewhere on the plot. This could have sat at right-angles to the surviving undercroft block, forming the southern side of a courtyard, or could have sat closer to the street front either to the rear of the commercial properties or on the western side of the plot.[204] Further archaeological work in the area might be able to resolve some of these interpretative questions. However, whether or not there was a

separate hall structure elsewhere on the site in the 12th century, it is likely that given the resources required to build the undercroft, the superstructure was also of relatively high-status, forming accommodation perhaps comprising a principal hall or chamber and other subsidiary chambers suitable for a wealthy urban resident.

Phase Two – redevelopment by the abbey in the 1470s

It is likely that there were ongoing changes to the site between the late 12th century and the late 15th century; however, the subsequent redevelopment of the site appears to have largely removed the above-ground evidence for any such intermediate phases. The next phase that is visible in the surviving fabric is the comprehensive redevelopment of the site in the late 1470s. This saw the construction of the three principal surviving ranges, referred to in this report as the great inn range, the west range and the street-front range (Figure 36 and *see* Figure 2). Only the great inn range retained any earlier fabric, but it is clear from the documentary evidence that the general layout of these buildings reflected the earlier arrangement of the site. This is not just seen in the retention of the stone undercroft on the eastern side of the plot, but also in the continuation of the commercial use of the street-front range. The separate use of this range as shops was indicated in the early documents and was evidently maintained after the reconstruction in the late 15th century. The position of the gateway through from Westgate Street also appears to have remained in broadly the same location, giving access to a courtyard to the west of the great inn range, as appears to have been the case from the 12th century onwards.

The dating of all three ranges to what is effectively a single phase is confirmed by dendrochronological analysis, which has shown that they were all of the late 1470s.[205] The property was purchased by St Peter's Abbey (under the auspices of John Farley) in 1475, and it is all but certain that the abbey was responsible for the redevelopment of the whole site. While the majority of the timber samples gave broad felling ranges in the late 15th century, the dendrochronology did in fact identify two precise but slightly different felling dates. One timber from the west range had a felling date of 1472 and one from the great inn range was identified as having a felling date of 1476.[206] Martin Bridge has speculated that timber may have been stockpiled timber given the large scale of the project, or possibly construction was staggered within the overall redevelopment.[207] Bridge also noted that timbers across all three ranges came from the same woodland source, with a sample from the west range and one from the great inn range having come from potentially a single tree. It seems likely therefore that the redevelopment of the whole site was conceived at the same time, even if construction took place over a number of years.

This phasing of construction is supported by the fabric evidence which shows, for example, that the street-front range and the west range are structurally separate buildings, despite their broadly contemporary dendrochronological date. The evidence in fact indicates that the west range was almost certainly constructed after the street-front range, if only by a few months or perhaps a year or two.

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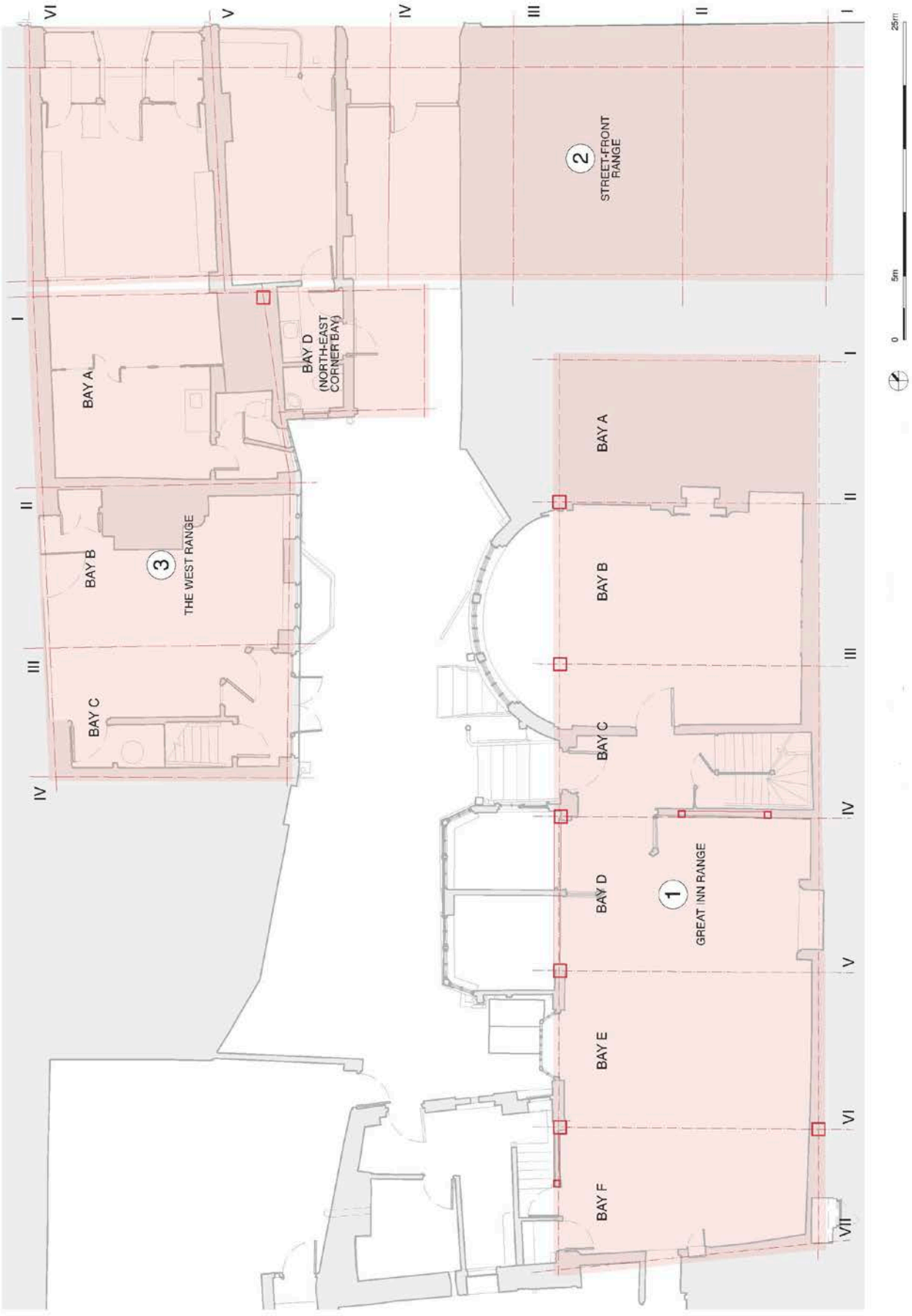


Figure 36: Plan of the three main ranges as they survive today, showing the position of the frames in each range. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]



Figure 37: Plan of the three main ranges, showing the ground-floor plan as reconstructed from surviving evidence. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]

It has long been assumed that this large-scale redevelopment of the site was designed by the abbey to create an inn complex, to the rear of the commercial units along Westgate Street. John Rhodes, however, has recently suggested that the property was not necessarily purpose-built for this use, citing the fact that it was generally referred to as a tenement in documentation of the 16th and 17th centuries.[208] The fabric evidence is somewhat ambiguous in addressing this question. Although the plan of the buildings in the late 15th century cannot be fully reconstructed, it is clear from what does survive that the buildings do not follow a typical urban domestic plan of the period. On the other hand, they do not have definite surviving evidence for some of the features typically associated with urban inns – not least in having no clear evidence for galleries or others means of separate entry into the first-floor accommodation. This will be considered further in the discussion at the end of this section.

The great inn range

As reconstructed in the 15th century, the great inn range formed a substantial two-storey six-bay structure, partially sitting over the truncated 12th-century undercroft (Figure 37). Of this timber-framed structure five bays survive in whole or in part, with the northernmost bay having been demolished at some stage as part of the reconstruction of No. 17. The original extent of the building is indicated by the numbering by the carpenters of the extant timber frames, which run from north to south through the building, with frames III to VII numbered sequentially and their carpenters' marks clearly visible. Part of what must be frame II (although much of the timber is obscured) survives embedded in the dividing wall between the range and the rear of No. 17, and frame I must originally have sat north of this. Assuming that the regular bay length of the extant bays continued through the northernmost bay, this would have placed frame I some 1.5m south of the rear of the street-front range and left a narrow gap between the two ranges (*see* Figure 37).

The retention of the earlier undercroft necessitated a considerable compromise in the design and plan form of the building, since much of the principal floor level sat on top of the undercroft and was therefore raised above the external ground level. This indicates that the undercroft must have been seen to have considerable value and a viable ongoing use within the redeveloped tenement in the late 15th century. It seems likely that direct access from the external courtyard to the west into the undercroft was maintained, probably via the original entrance. The bay pattern of the new building constructed above it however did not follow the bay pattern established in the undercroft, with each bay of the timber-framed building being considerably longer than those of the undercroft.

As discussed above (*see* Phase One), the undercroft as it survives today is truncated from its original extent, with an unknown number of bays missing from its northern end. It seems likely that this partial demolition was undertaken as part of the redevelopment of the site in the 15th century, although it is possible that it happened at some stage prior to this (between the 12th and the 15th centuries). It certainly did not happen any later than the construction of the 15th-century timber frame, as the northern half of the frame was constructed to work with a lower level towards that end of the building.

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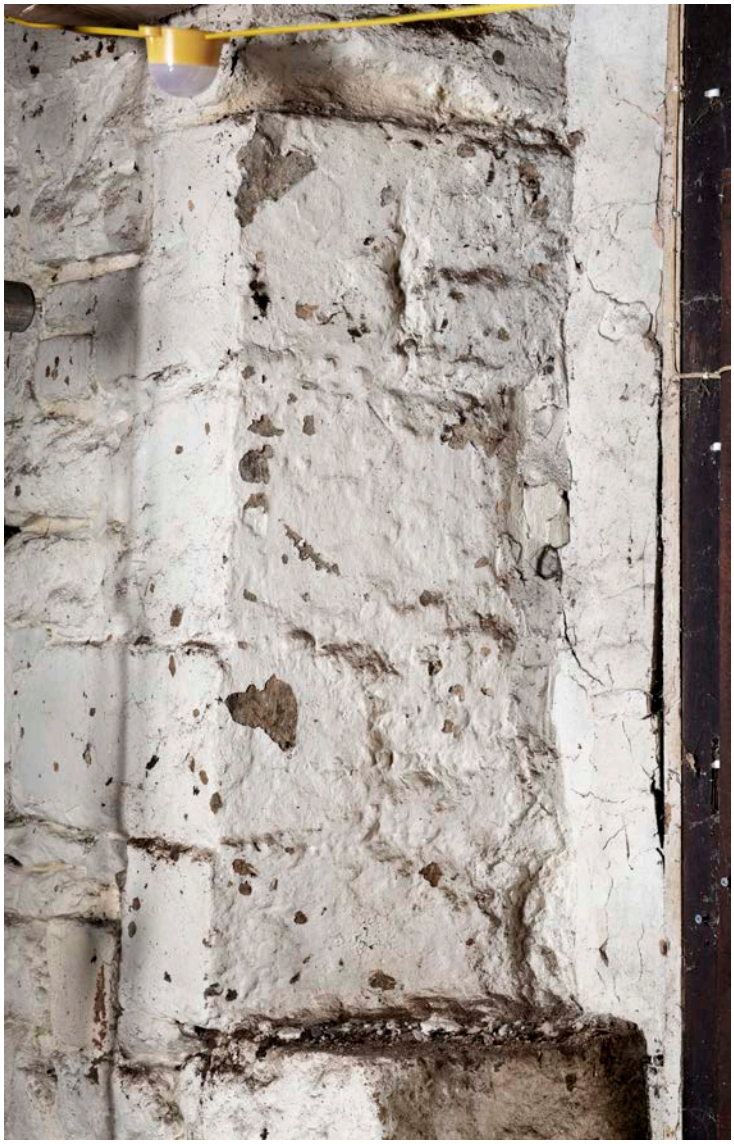


Figure 38: Splayed window opening in the north end of the undercroft, looking south-west, possibly dating from the 15th century. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435624]

Although truncated, the northern part of the undercroft appears to have continued to function as a usable cellar space. Just north of the end of the 12th-century fabric in the west wall, the splayed southern stone jamb of a high-level window is visible within the fabric (Figure 38). This is not of the same form or level as those to the south, so appears to be later than the 12th century. It has been cut through to create a later doorway entry into the undercroft, but originally the top of the window appears to have been some 2.4m above the undercroft floor level. The top of the window sits immediately below the sill-plate level of the 15th-century building, and thus it seems most likely that this window was formed as part of this 15th-century phase. Presumably it was designed to light the northern part of the cellar, which still would have been a usable space, although lacking its original arched vault. Any further such openings north of this have been removed by subsequent alterations.



Figure 39: Girding beam forming part of the west elevation of the great inn range, looking north-east, with empty mortices showing the position of studs and window openings. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

The truncation of the undercroft allowed the provision of a high-status room at the northern end of the range at a floor level that was same as the external courtyard. What might be considered the principal floor therefore was split level, with the northern three bays of the structure sitting at external ground level and the southern three bays sitting slightly higher up, on top of the undercroft. The first floor, however, was of the same level throughout, with the split level below providing a slightly loftier space to the north, although the difference in floor level was only slight, at around 0.5m.

As constructed in the 15th century, the principal floor of the range appears to have included a large three-bay room at its northern end, which formed the main high-status space within the building (*see* Figure 37). South of this was a further large room of two bays, slightly smaller in its overall proportions (as it sat over the undercroft), and with plainer, simpler mouldings indicating that it was not as high status as the room to the north. Finally the southernmost bay appears to have formed some form of service bay, with access to the undercroft via a narrow stair and external access.



Figure 40: The west post of frame II of the great inn range, looking north, showing the moulding on the inner face of the post. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325691]

The northern room

Much of the evidence for the former ground-level northern room has been lost in the raising of the floor level in this area of the building in a later phase (*see* Phase Three below). However, the western post of frame II survives to its full extent (that is, from the original ground level), as does the western girding rail between it and the post to the south, indicating much of the original arrangement of framing on the western side (Figure 39). While the form of the northernmost bay of the room is completely unknown, the west post of frame II is heavily moulded (Figure 40). The form of the moulding indicates that it was part of an open frame suggesting that the northernmost bay was part of the same space as the two bays south of it. The surviving ceiling beam of frame III, although partially cut back, has the same moulding form (Figure 41). These two surviving elements suggest that the northern three bays of the building formed a single room, running as far as the change in floor level at frame IV. The form of the mouldings on the posts and beams in this room, and its greater height (compared with the spaces to the south), suggest that this formed a high-status space, perhaps acting as a hall or other principal room. Much of the arrangement of



Figure 41: The cross beam of frame III, looking north-east, showing the moulding on the underside of the beam. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435628]

this three-bay north room is unclear, as the eastern wall is still largely concealed by later wall coverings and has most likely been later replaced. It is likely that the eastern posts of frames II and III originally had the same form and moulding as that seen on the surviving frame II western post. The form of any other features on the eastern side is not currently known.

On the western side much of the girding beam survives (in bay B and part of Bay C), as well as the west post of frame II (as noted above). The post is moulded with an ogee moulding, possibly originally with a roll on its inner edge although this has been cut back (*see* Figure 40). This contrasts with the plain chamfer mouldings seen in the rest of the rooms in the great inn range. As well as the moulding on the inner face, on the southern side of this post three redundant mortices are visible. Two of these sit towards the top of the post, some 2.4m from ground level (Figure 42). The upper one of these two sits in the centre of the post and is angled to take a timber running horizontally along the elevation at high level. The lower one sits on the western edge of the post and is angled outwards, most likely for a timber which would have formed the lintel of a projecting bay or oriel window. Below this, just 0.7m above the ground level, is a further large mortice orientated along the wall line (Figure 43). The top of this lowest mortice coincides with a deep cut in the side of the post, running its full depth. This appears to form part of the same feature as the adjacent mortice and in fact to indicate the former position of a sill forming the base of

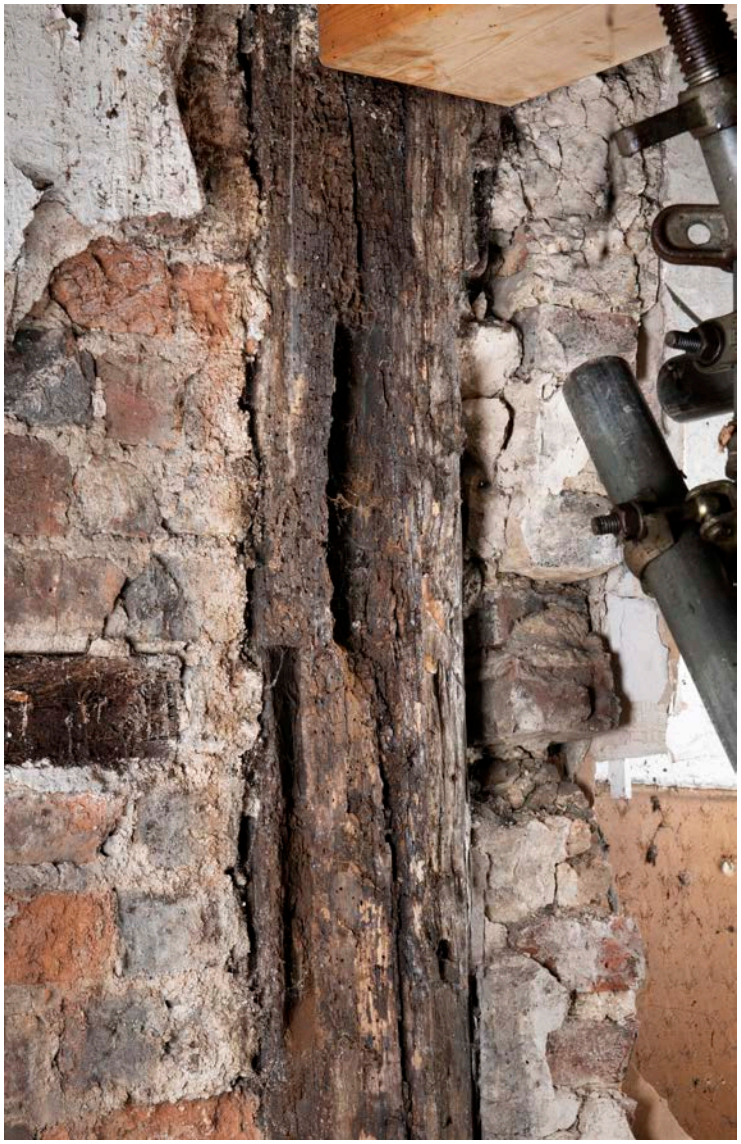


Figure 42: The west post of frame II showing the mortices which indicate the position of an oriel window, looking north-east. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435633]

the bay window. This arrangement would have provided a projecting bay or oriel window, similar to those associated with the high end of many domestic halls of the time.[209] On the inner (east) side of the post, running from the ground level to approximately the same level as the base of the uppermost mortice (the top of the window), there is a narrow rebate. The top of this appears to have been cut back, but otherwise it is well defined. This may have related to some form of provision for shuttering the inside of the window, although how this may have worked is unclear.

To the western side of bays B and C the girding beam between ground- and first-floor level is still extant and much of it has recently been exposed (*see* Figure 36). The original position of the southern side of the bay window is indicated by a large redundant mortice in the girding beam, which must originally have housed a large stud into which the sill and lintel of the bay window would have returned. This gives the window an overall width of approximately 1.4m. Immediately south of this, the pattern of mortices on the underside of the girding beam indicates that there was a further two-light window opening, flush with



Figure 43: Lower part of the west post of frame II showing the mortice and slot which indicate the base of the oriel window, looking north. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

the wall line. This is indicated by a smaller mortice for a central mullion and then a further mortice for a stud forming the southern side of the window (the stave hole cut just to the north of this mortice is a later feature). As this window evidently sat directly underneath the girding beam, it must have sat at a relatively high level within the room. It is possible it was part of a further full-height window opening or that it was a high-level window designed to provide more light. The remainder of the girding beam in this bay has stave holes as far as frame III, suggesting that there were no further windows in the bay. The western post of frame III was cut off below the girding beam in a later phase (*see* Phase Three below), although it is still in situ at higher level, as the joint between the cut off beam and the cross beam of frame III is still extant (Figure 44). It is likely that in its original form it would have had the same moulding pattern as that seen on the posts of frame II, which would have continued around to the corresponding moulding on the cross beam itself. The cross beam, later boxed in, is also cut back at its western end, but towards the east more of the moulding survives (*see* Figure 41). Only the northern part of the west girding beam in bay C is visible, but any features are hidden by a later timber attached to the underside of the

beam. The southern part of this bay forms part of the current entrance passage and any surviving timber in this area is still concealed.

As well as the change in level between the northern and southern parts of the range, there is evidence for a substantial partition at ground-floor level as part of frame IV, the central frame, which must have marked a division between the high-status northern room and the room to the south which sat over the undercroft. The partition is framed towards the north, with its original fair face flush with the northern side of the cross beam – further confirming that the room to the north of this was the higher status room. The eastern part of the partition survives in situ, and to the west of this both the cross beam in the floor and the cross beam in the ceiling survive, indicating the overall pattern of the timber-framing (Figure 45). The partition is formed of regular vertical studs with a mid-rail. There is evidence for three, irregularly spaced doorways in the partition (Figure 46). The eastern end of the partition has been altered later, but there is an original full-height stud still in situ. On the eastern side of this stud there is no pegging for a continuation of the mid-rail, but instead a peg indicates the position of a mortice at a higher level for a door lintel, similar to that in the partially extant doorway further west. The other two doorways appear to have been located immediately adjacent to each other at the western end of the partition. Part of the door head of the eastern of these two doorways survives. This appears to have originally run west as far as a large stud, the position of which is indicated by redundant mortices in the cross beams in the floor and ceiling. The mortice is substantial, wider than those typical for the rest of the studs in the partition, suggesting it formed part of a double-width stud, which presumably allowed it to accommodate the lintels of both adjacent doorways. The third doorway had its western jamb immediately adjacent to the west post, its position demonstrated by a mortice in the cross beam (*see* Figure 46).

With the position of the (later) entrance passage immediately north of this partition, it is tempting to speculate that this partition and the three doorways originally formed part of a cross-passage arrangement. However, there is no evidence currently visible to support the idea that the extant passage is an original feature, and the building was certainly not framed to create a narrow bay in this position which would be typical for a cross passage. The partition to the north of the passageway is a later insertion (*see* Phase Four below). Furthermore, the room to the south of the partition shows no indications of having been originally subdivided to form a service arrangement. Nonetheless the three doorways must somehow have facilitated access between the two rooms and made provision for the change in floor level. Any interpretation of this arrangement is highly speculative based on the evidence currently visible, but it is possible that the westernmost doorway gave access to a corridor arrangement (as it aligns with a doorway in the partition across frame VI, south of the central room), that the adjacent doorway gave access between the rooms and that possibly the eastern doorway gave access to some form of stair arrangement.



Figure 44: The western post of frame III, cut off below the cross beam, looking south-west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435643]



Figure 45: The ground-floor partition forming part of frame IV, looking north. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325620]

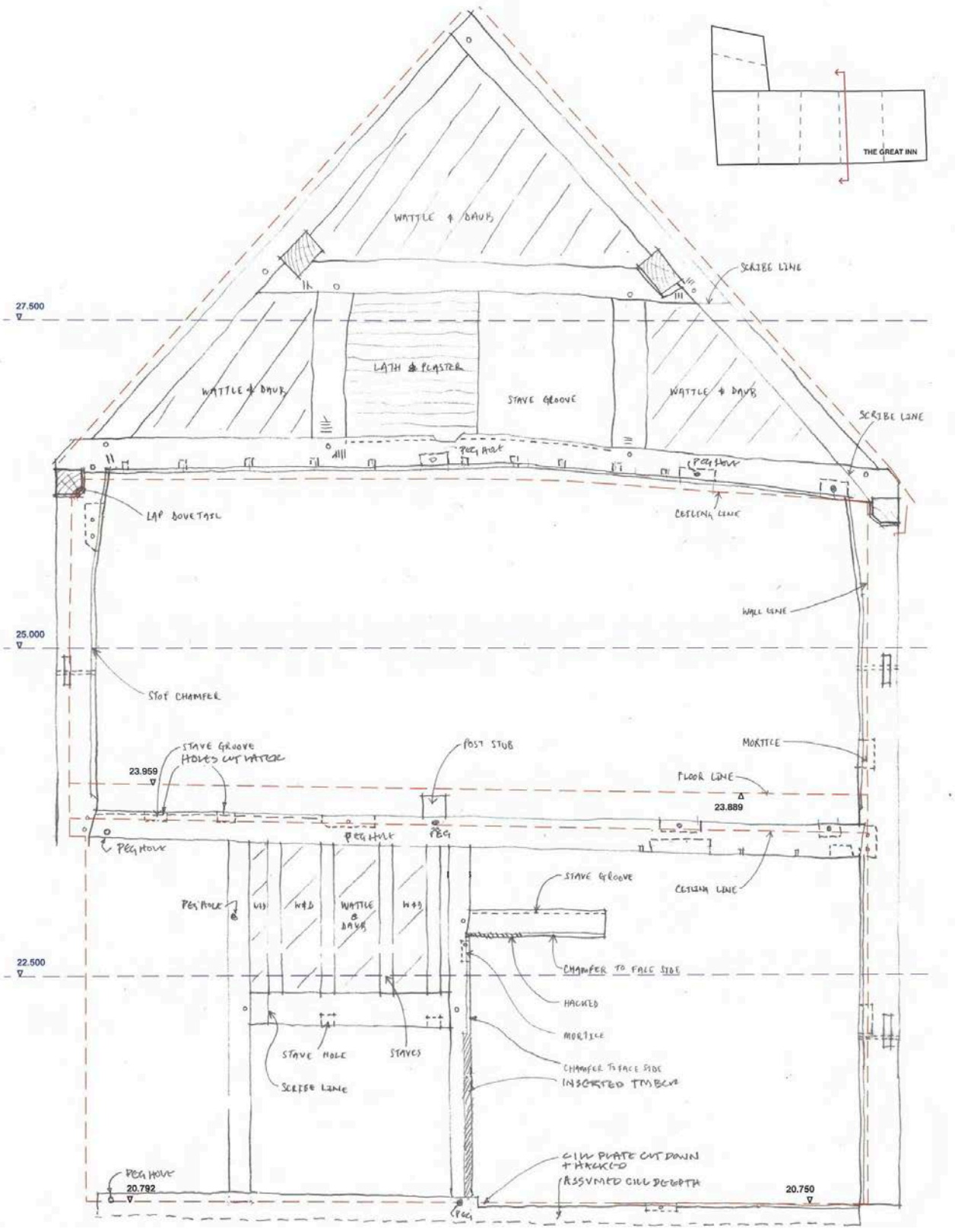


Figure 46: Cross section showing the northern face of frame IV, with surviving features annotated. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]



Figure 47: The southern part of the ground-floor area of the great inn range, looking south-west. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325600]

The central room

Beyond the partition the central part of the range provided a further large space two bays (approximately 7m) long. This was smaller, therefore, than the northern room and less lofty because of the rise in floor level to accommodate the undercroft. Three frames (IV, V, VI) define the space, the central one open, the other two originally closed. The surviving original timbers are simply decorated, with the cross beam in the open frame having a plain chamfer moulding on either side, with run out stops (Figure 47). Again much of the timber-framing of the east and west walls of the room has been lost. The cross beams and joists of the ceiling of the room survive, however. The underside of the cross beam of frame V is chamfered on both sides with no sign of any partition below the beam. The close-set joists running off this are unmoulded and in some places are formed of relatively irregular pieces of timber, with some having surviving sections of bark. This is somewhat at odds with the simple, but properly formed, framing of the rest of the timber of the range. The joists are also sitting on top of, rather than jointed into, the cross beams of each of the frames (*see* Figure 58 below). This makes it possible that the floor is a later insertion, but in fact all three sections of the first floor have the same arrangement of joists overlying the frames, so at present it seems more likely that the floor over this room is an original feature. The presence of the three doorways in truss IV does suggest that there was some form of partitioning within the room, but there is no evidence for any such features on the

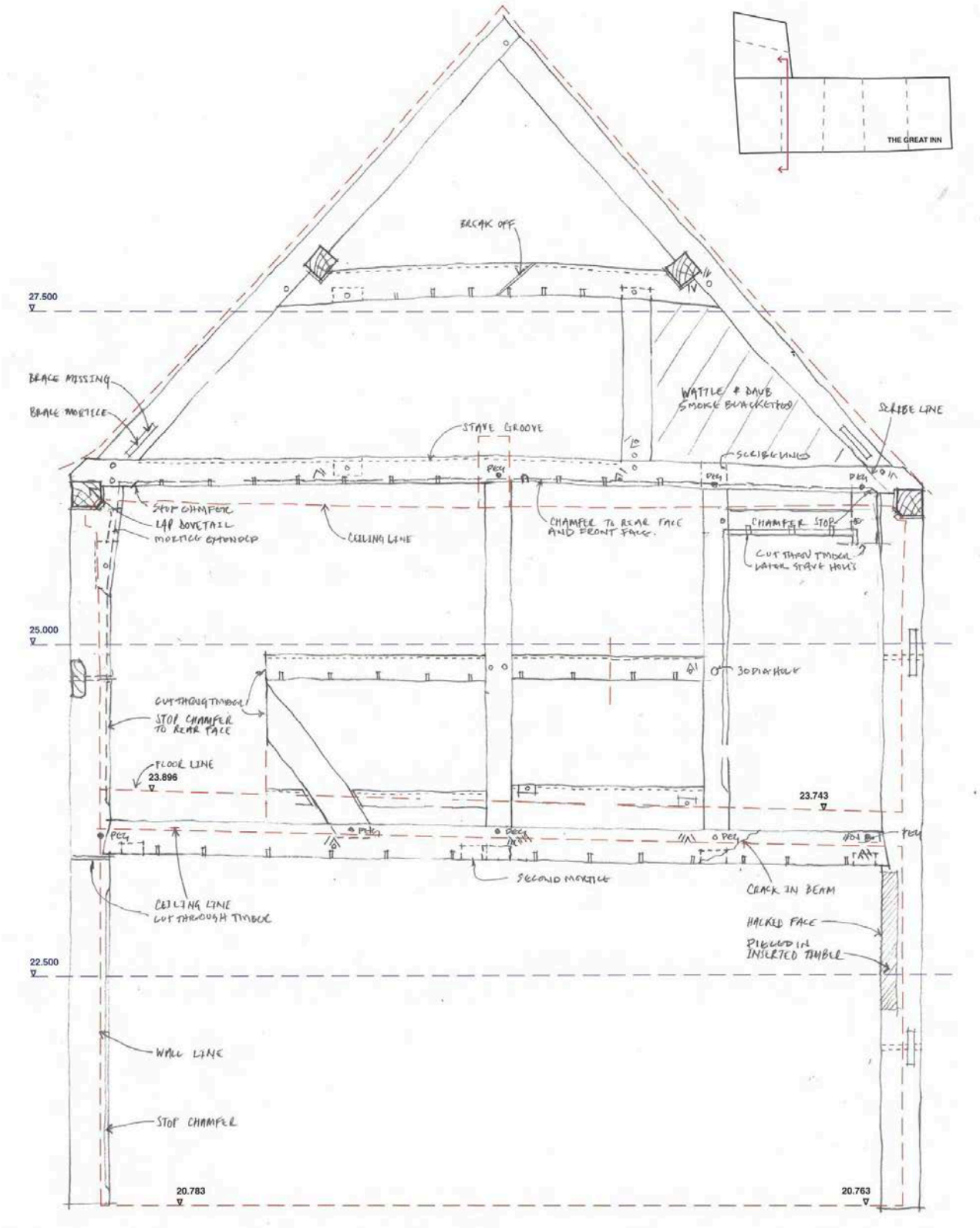


Figure 48: Cross section showing the northern face of frame VI, with surviving features annotated. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]

underside the cross beam of truss V or the joists in this area. Nonetheless it is possible that a corridor arrangement along the western side might have been formed of a timber screen or another feature which left no trace in the remaining framing.

The cross beam of frame VI has been partly cut back at a later date, but it seems that it is squared rather than chamfered, indicating that it originally formed part of a further partition, subdividing the two-bay room to the north from a single bay to the south (Figure 48). Although truncated, a mortice for the position of a central stud is apparent, with stave holes to either side. At the western end of the beam two mortices, one immediately adjacent to the post, indicate the position of a doorway through the partition. This is in the same position as the westernmost door in frame IV to the north and echo a similar arrangement at first-floor level (Figure 49; *see* below).

The southern room

The southernmost bay formed a separate, single-bay room which is mostly likely to have had a service function. Much of the evidence from the eastern wall has again been lost or covered over, although the presence of a doorway at the southern end of this bay at principal floor level was noted in Phase One (*see* above). As this feature is still extant today and has a later blocking, it is possible that this was in use in this phase to provide access from the service bay to the area to the east of the great inn range. The detail of the southern wall is still concealed. As noted in the Phase One description, the steps below originally appear to have formed part of an intra-mural stair which ran up from the undercroft. As with the doorway to the east elevation, it seems likely that the stair continued in use during the 15th century. This would suggest that the undercroft was retained during the 15th-century reconstruction because it still formed a useful space.

As well as the doorway to the undercroft, the surviving timber-framing on the western elevation of this bay indicates that there was a further narrow doorway into this room from the west. The short section of timber-framing in the western side of this bay is in fact the only extant section of external timber-framed wall surviving at ground-floor level within the range (Figure 50). As noted in Phase One, the framing in the west wall of this bay accommodates an earlier section of stone wall at the southern end of the range. Notwithstanding this, the form of the framing overall is consistent with that surviving more widely at first-floor level (*see* below), with the pattern of the framing in large panels formed by two heavy studs and a mid-rail. One original stud survives and the position of the other is identifiable from the mortice on the girding beam. The mid-rail is indicated by a surviving mortice in the southern side of the principal post (the west post of frame VI). Above this mortice there is a further redundant mortice which may be for an up-brace (Figure 51). There do not seem to have been up-braces used at first-floor level, but this may have been a feature of the ground-floor walling.

The position of an original doorway opening is the only feature in this section of walling. This has been later heightened, but a doorway remained in this position throughout the later phases of the building's use. That it is original to the building is clear from the fact that the mid-rail stops to its north, allowing a full-height stud for the northern jamb of the doorway. The position of the original door lintel is shown by redundant peg holes and a mortice in the original stud forming the north jamb of the doorway (Figure 52).

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Figure 49: The cross beam of frame VI, looking north, showing the mortice for the western jamb of the doorway. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 50: The western elevation of the great inn range in bay F, looking west, showing surviving timber framing of the west wall. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 51: The west post of frame VI, looking north-west, showing the empty mortice for an up-brace. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435641]

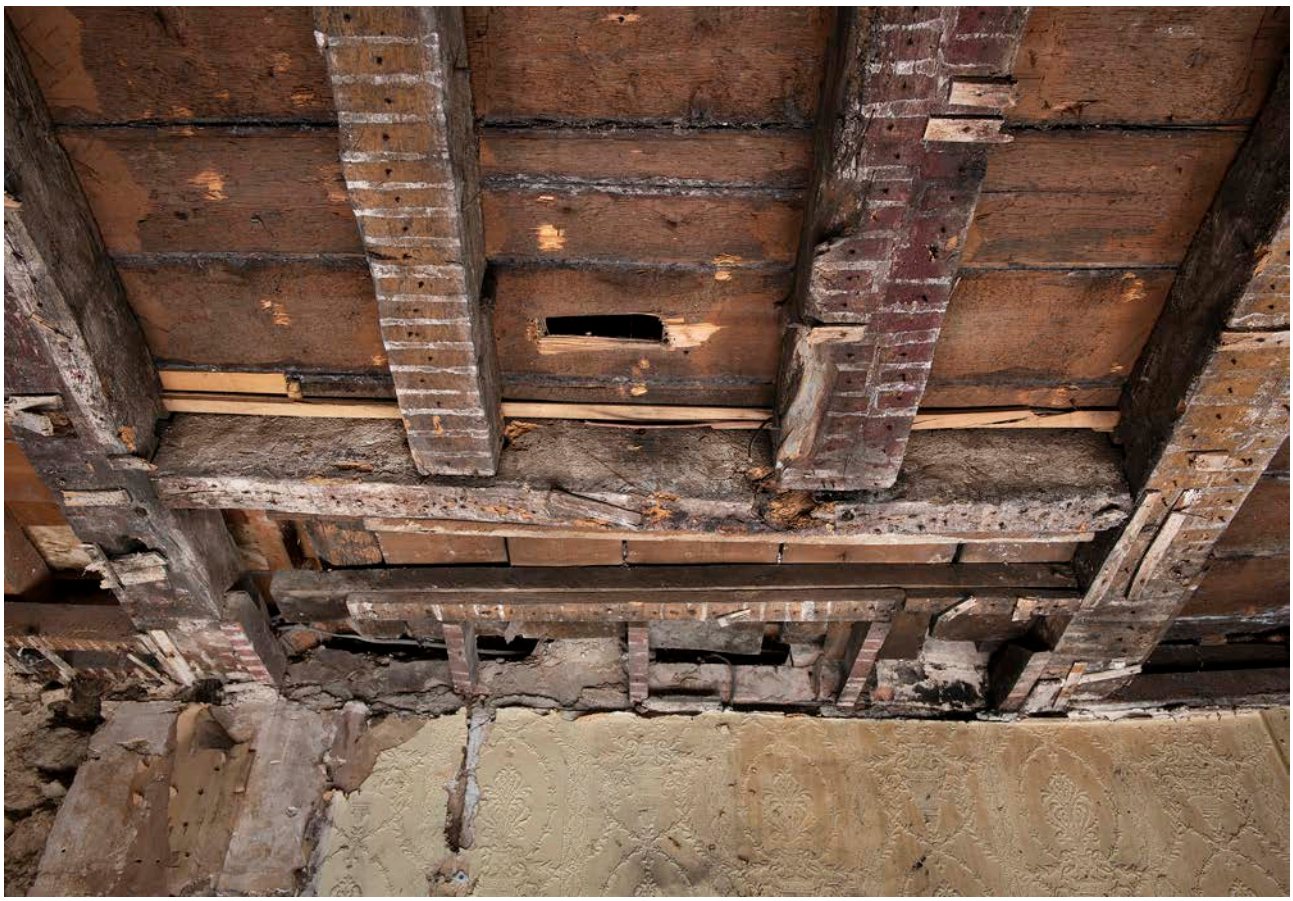
The present south-west wing is a later feature (*see* Phase Four below), and it is unclear if this replaced an earlier structure on the same site. The fact that there appear to have been no windows in the original framing of the southern bay on the western side of the building perhaps suggests that there was some form of structure to the south west as originally constructed. If so its form is unclear, although it cannot have risen to first-floor level as there were originally window openings directly above this. The doorway therefore may either have provided access to the external courtyard or possibly to a further low range which was later replaced.

As with the two-bay room to the north, the ceiling of the southern bay room is formed of squared joists running north to south across the bay, with no mouldings visible. Close to the southern wall, in the centre of the bay, there is an original trimmer beam running at right angles to the main joists (that is, east to west rather than north to south). This is pegged to the joists at either end, although it has later been partly cut back, and the opening itself has later been blocked (Figure 53). Originally this allowed for the position of a narrow stair, sitting directly against the south wall of the building. This must have facilitated access to the upper floor from this bay and was relatively modest (given the size of the opening). Other than the trimmer beam there is no evidence of any further original partitioning within the bay, suggesting it formed a single space. The narrow proportions



Figure 52: Timber stud in the west elevation of the south bay of the range (bay E), showing the mortice for the door lintel. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435640]

Figure 53: Trimmer beam in the ceiling of the south bay of the range (bay E), showing the original position of a narrow stair. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435642]



of the doorway and stair opening strongly suggest that this bay was not a high-status space, and it seems most likely to have had a service function. As there is no evidence of subdivision it does not seem to have formed any sort of traditional buttery and pantry arrangement, but it evidently facilitated circulation between the courtyard to the west, the undercroft, the main ground-floor rooms and the first floor.

The first floor

At first-floor level – although there has been reconstruction of much of the walling to the east and west – much of the original form of the upper part of the range can be reconstructed, thanks to the survival of most of the original posts, some intermediate studs and mid-rails, the whole of the roof structure and associated tie beams and wall plates (Figure 54). The framing of the east and west walls formed a regular pattern, with the main posts rising to jowled tops which supported the tie beams and wall plates. Where these were part of open frames (in the centre of the original rooms), the posts supported up-braces which rose to the tie beams. Where they were closed (in the partitions between the rooms) the posts instead housed larger down-braces which ran through the partitions down to the cross beams below. Between the posts the framing of each bay of the side walls was subdivided by horizontal mid-rails and by two substantial studs in each bay. These studs ran between the wall plate and the mid-rail and the mid-rail and the girding beam and were generally pegged with a single peg into each of the horizontal timbers. This means that although most of them have been truncated or lost, their regular positioning in each bay can still be traced. In contrast to the regularity of the overall framing pattern, the form and position of windows seems to have varied bay to bay. In some cases this is due to later modifications, but it also seems to reflect a hierarchy of spaces throughout the first floor of the building, although the relative status of the different rooms is not as clear as it is at ground-floor level.

The form of the roof structure is also consistent, with each truss comprising a tie beam supporting queen struts which rise to collar level. A single row of purlins runs either side of the roof, clasped between the collars and the principal rafters in each truss. The principal rafters also support a single row of curved windbraces which are jointed into the lower part of the rafters and lapped onto the back of the purlins. Some of the original roof trusses show signs of slight blackening, although none of this is clearly formed by smoke, and indeed this would be unlikely given that the building was probably always of two storeys. Most of the original common rafters also survive; these are pegged at the apex with the pegs projecting to either side of the rafter couples.

At first-floor level the range appears to have originally provided two two-bay rooms and smaller single-bay rooms at the northern and southern ends (*see* Figure 54). The two larger rooms and the smaller southern room all interconnected through doorways in line along the western side of the range. The northern bay was not accessed via a doorway on this alignment but may have had a doorway towards the eastern side of the range or otherwise have been accessed independently. All of these rooms were originally open to the roof structure, which would have formed a decorative feature within them.

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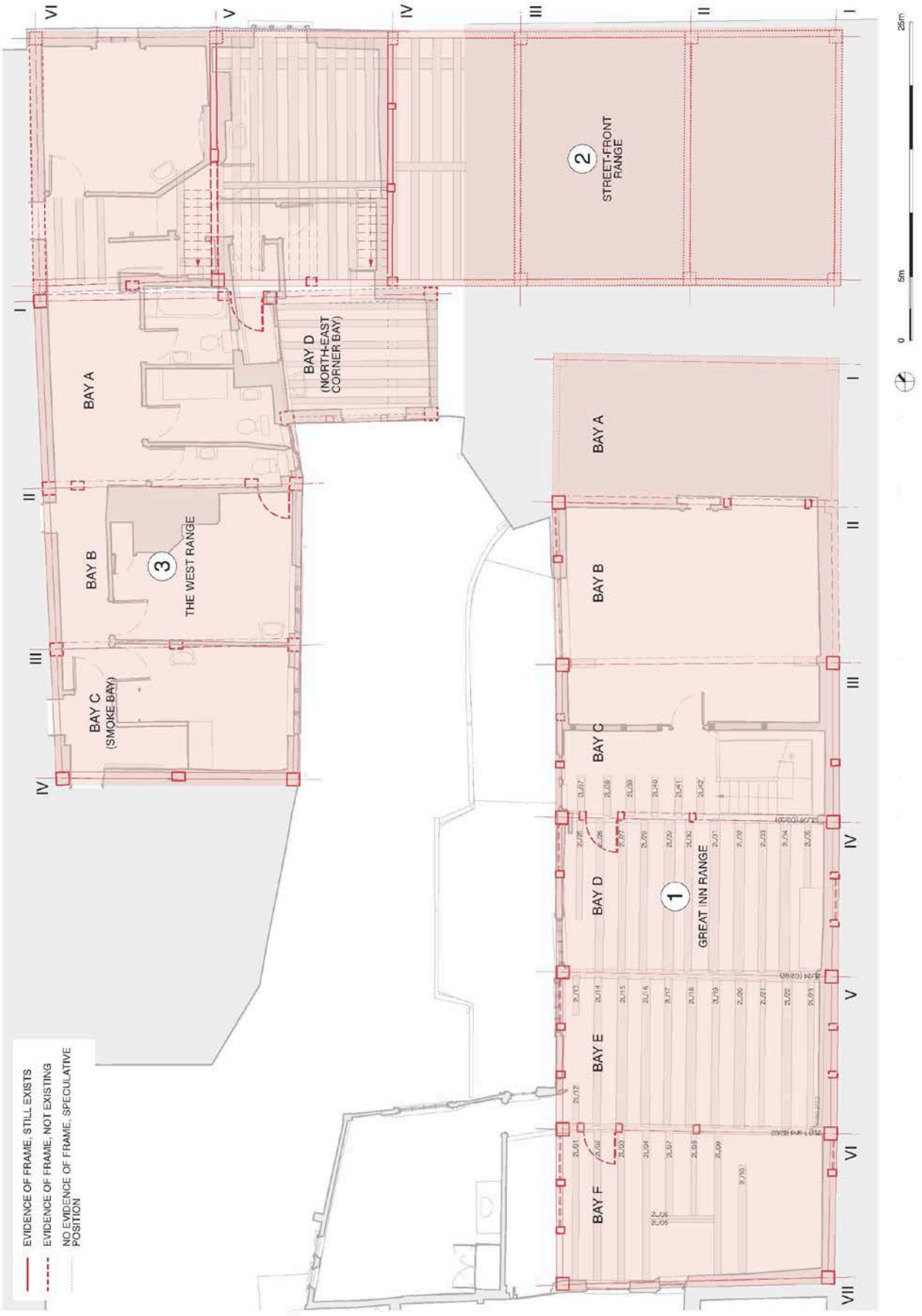


Figure 54: Plan of the three main ranges at first-floor level showing the frames as reconstructed from surviving evidence. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]



Figure 55: The upper part of frame II, looking north, showing the form of the original timber truss with later brick infill. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435635]



Figure 56: The timber framing of the east elevation of bay C, looking east, showing the mid-rail and stud arrangement. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435653]



Figure 57: The up-brace and western post of frame III, looking south, showing surviving fragments of a red paint. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325669]

As at ground-floor level, the northernmost bay of the original building has been completely replaced in the reconstruction of No. 17, but the original western post and tie beam of frame II survives and much of the truss above, although the collar has been cut for the insertion of a later chimney (Figure 55). The western post has the pegging for the original mid-rail running to the south; the northern side cannot be seen. At the top of the post a large section of later infill probably conceals the position of a mortice for a down-brace, suggesting that the frame was closed at first-floor level. The tie beam is chamfered on both sides, but the underside has the stave holes for a partition, further indicating that the northern bay, to the north of frame II, was divided from the bays to the south. The pattern of mortices indicates there was a larger central full-height stud, with a smaller secondary stud towards the west, with intermediate stave holes. There are no mortices for jambs at the western end for a doorway like those in the partition trusses further south. The eastern part of the tie beam is not currently visible. There may have been an interconnecting doorway towards the east of the wall, although this would mean it was out of alignment with the doorways to the south (*see* below). Alternatively it is possible that the northern bay was accessed separately either via an external stair or possibly via the street-front range.

To the south of frame II was a larger two-bay room encompassing what is now the whole of the northern room in the range and the landing area to the south, as far as frame IV

– which, as at ground-floor level, formed a central partition through the range. The east wall of this room has largely been replaced with brick, although the eastern post of frame III and the wall plate in bay C survive, with some associated framing (the mid-rail and the upper part of a southern stud) in the southern part of the bay also surviving, although these are currently covered in heavy black paint and the mid-rail in particular may be a later replacement (Figure 56). The west wall has also been heavily altered although the posts, girding beam and wall plate survive, which indicate the regular arrangement of the vertical studs within the two bays of the room.

Frame III has both east and west posts still extant, chamfered on either side, with up-braces rising from the posts to support the tie beam (visible above the later ceiling in the room). Both posts are chamfered on their inner faces. Although the eastern post of frame III is heavily coated in paint, the pegging for the mid-rails to either side of the post is still faintly visible. Similarly on the western side the double pegging on the post for the mid-rails is extant. On the northern side of the up-brace from the western post, the removal of later infill has exposed more of the original timber (without black paint). Here the scribed mark III is visible running the full width of the brace (Figure 57). A corresponding scribed III is faintly visible on the post at a similar height with two circles visible immediately adjacent. This part of the brace also has extensive signs of an orangey-red paint visible on the northern side. Above the tie beam the queen struts and collar of the original truss are still in situ. Later studding has been inserted, but there is no indication that the truss was originally closed. The timbers are visibly blackened, possibly with later paint. None of the original studs or mid-rails survive in the western side of bay B, nor is it currently possible to examine the underside of the wall plate. In bay C part of the southern stud is still in situ (now the landing area), rising from the girding beam, but cut off at relatively low level. South of this stud there are indications on the wall plate of the position of an original window, running between the stud and the west post of frame IV, in the same position as the extant, much later, window opening. There appears to have been a two-light window, with the position of a central mullion indicated by a rectangular mortice, and a further smaller diamond-shaped hole for an intermediate bar also visible.

Frame IV formed a partition, which ran the full height of the first floor. Although this partition has subsequently been removed, on the upper side of the cross beam and the lower side of the tie beam the pattern of mortices and stave holes indicates that originally the partition was fully closed, apart from a gap in the stave holes at the western end indicating the position of a doorway (*see* Figure 46). A large redundant mortice on the eastern post indicates that there was a curving down-brace at this end running into the cross beam. As with the evidence for the other closed partitions (in frame II and frame VI), there appears to have been a large central stud rising between the cross beam and the tie beam. The position of a further stud towards the west is also clear, with a smaller mortice right at the western end of the cross beam indicating a narrower stud adjacent to the west post, which must have formed the western door jamb (Figure 58). At high level a IIII can be seen scribed on one of the queen struts of the truss. At roof level some surviving original stave holes and one surviving stave are visible between the tie beam and the collar (with later laths adhering to the outside), indicating that the truss was also closed at roof level (Figure 59 and *see* Figure 46).

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Figure 58: The upper edge of the cross beam in frame IV, looking south-west, showing empty mortices for the partition at first-floor level and the floor joists resting on top of the beam. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 59: The central part of the truss of frame IV, looking south, showing the original stave positions on the underside of the collar. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435636]

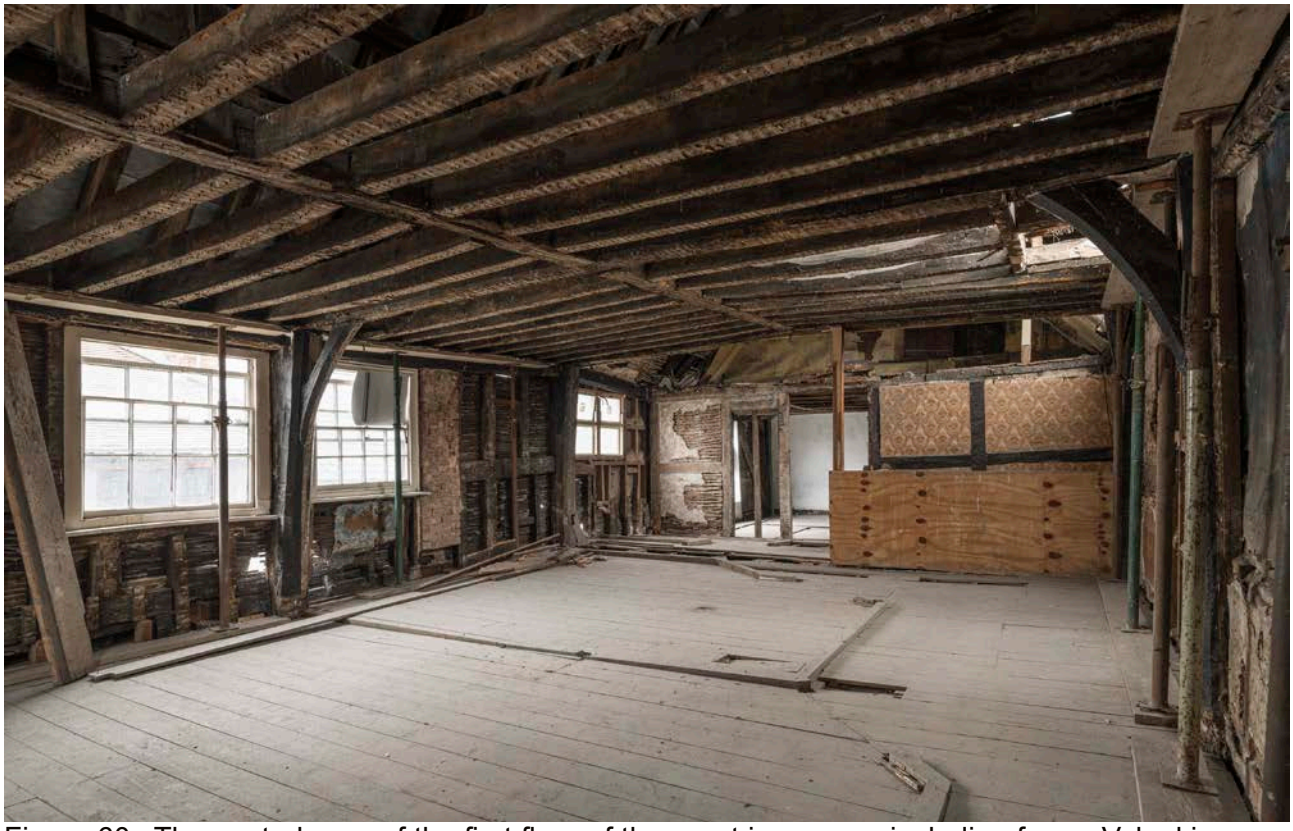


Figure 60: The central area of the first floor of the great inn range, including frame V, looking north-west. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325595]



Figure 61: Surviving framing of the east elevation of bay D, looking east, with surviving wattle and daub infill. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435652]



Figure 62: The west post of frame IV and the framing in bay D, looking north-west, showing the mortice for a window head and the diamond-shaped hole in the wall plate for an iron bar. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435629]

Figure 63: The up-brace of frame V, showing the carpenters' assembly mark on the brace and the adjacent west post, looking south. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435645]



The other notable feature of frame IV is that the joists of the ground-floor ceilings to the north and south of the frame are currently visible where they meet over the cross beam. Both sets of joists are in fact simply resting on the upper side of the cross beam, not jointed into it (*see* Figure 58). The joists of the floor over bay C (to the north of frame IV) only project very slightly over the cross beam, an overlap of about 0.05m. The joists of the southern bay (bay D) are more deeply set on the beam but have been cut around the studs of the partition, including one joist which is cut to form a right-angled corner to accommodate one of the studs. As the studs of the partition were properly jointed into both the cross beam and the tie beam they must be contemporary with the erection of the frame. The joists therefore must either also be contemporary or a later insertion carefully designed to accommodate the partition. The possibility of the floor being a later insertion must be considered, but as both sets of joists have the same structural relationship with the cross beam, it seems likely they are contemporary with each other and with the rest of the frame. There is also other evidence to suggest that the building never had an open hall – including the lack of smoke blackening on the roof and the evidence that the cross beam of truss V at ground-floor level appears to be an original feature.

South of frame IV there was a further two-bay room of similar form and proportions as that immediately north of it (Figure 60 and *see* Figure 54). This ran from frame IV to frame VI and had direct access into the rooms directly north and south of it. The eastern side of bay D has one of the few sections of surviving framing on the eastern side of the range. The southern part has been infilled with a much later partition (which has also seen the removal of the associated wall plate) but to the north the mid-rail and the upper part of one of the studs survive (Figure 61). North of the stud, running up to the eastern post of truss IV, there are some apparently early laths surviving with plaster still adhering to the inner face. South of the surviving stud three small mortices are visible in the underside of the wall plate, indicating a possible window position in the centre of the bay. This has been infilled with later studding. On the western side of bay D further framing survives in the form of the northern half of the mid-rail and the northern stud. The southern part has been altered by the insertion of a later window, but the lower part of the southern stud survives below the window and pegging in the northern side of the post of frame V indicates that the mid-rail originally ran through to the post. In the northern third of the bay, the wall plate and mid-rail both show the redundant mortices of a two-light window. There is a small rectangular mortice for the central mullion, with two smaller diamond-shaped mortices for bars set either side of this. In the southern side of the post of frame IV a redundant mortice immediately below the wall plate appears to indicate the position of a timber which must have provided an arched head to the window. This is matched by a corresponding redundant mortice in the side of the stud forming the south side of the window (Figure 62). No other original window positions have evidence for such an arch-headed feature, which suggests this window may have been more elaborate than other examples. Grooves cut into the mid-rail appear to be later, presumably to block the window in a later phase.

Frame V formed an open truss in the centre of this two-bay room. The tie beam is chamfered on both sides and supported by curved braces rising from the posts which are also chamfered. On the western up-brace a scribed V is visible, with a fainter corresponding mark on the adjacent west post (Figure 63). Above the tie beam the roof



Figure 64: The timber framed partition forming frame VI, looking south-west. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325589]

truss is also open. South of frame V, bay E has its east wall still largely concealed by plaster at the upper level with later brick infill exposed below this. The wall plate and the mid-rail are visible running across the bay. The pegging for the two original studs is visible on the wall plate and there is a scarf joint towards the southern end, just north of frame VI. The west wall of bay E has a large inserted window at its northern end and an inserted doorway (to the later south-west wing) at its southern end. In between these two features is a short section of the original mid-rail. Pegging in the south side of the post of frame V and the north side of the post of frame VI indicate that originally the mid-rail ran across the bay. On the underside of the wall plate the mortices for the two studs are also visible, with an additional smaller mortice, for a two-light window, visible over the later window in the northern part of the bay.

Frame VI forms the partition at the south end of the southern two-bay room (Figure 64 and *see* Figure 48). Much of the original framing of the partition is still in situ (apart from where it has been removed for the insertion of a doorway at the eastern end). Originally there was a down brace running from the eastern post, although this has been truncated by the inserted door. A central stud and the flanking sections of mid-rail survive, with original grooves in the upper side of the mid-rail to take the infill of the panels. To the west the stud forming the eastern jamb of the original west doorway is in situ. A further stud for the western side of the doorway remains extant at high level, although it has been cut off



Figure 65: Detail of doorhead in frame VI, showing the chamfered lintel and the cut off jamb, looking south-west. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435646]

below the door head (Figure 65). The door head itself is also in situ. It has a simple square profile with a chamfer on the underside, visible returning on the surviving section of the western jamb. A VI is visible scribed onto the tie beam, where it meets the western post, and the studs and rails have the same number scribed on them consistently, always close to joint positions, with the addition of a circle sitting within the V (Figure 66). Above the tie beam the truss survives, with clear indications that it originally formed a closed truss. Stave holes are visible on the underside of the collar for example, and some sections of original wattle and daub may still be in situ (*see* Figure 48).

The southernmost bay of the building formed a single-bay room, replicating the arrangement at ground-floor level. The eastern side of the bay has largely been rebuilt in brick, although it has its wall plate in situ, in very poor condition. This shows the position of a window opening at the northern end of the bay (Figure 67). Although there are also some later mortices cut (to allow the insertion of staves to block the window in a later phase), it appears originally to have formed a two-light window, but with no evidence for any diamond-shaped mortices for bars. The mid-rail has been removed from the bay, although its position is clear from the redundant mortice visible in the south side of the post in frame VI (Figure 68).



Figure 66: Detail of carpenters' assembly mark on the partition stud of frame VI, looking south. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435647]



Figure 67: Underside of the wall plate of the eastern elevation in the south bay (bay E), looking north-east showing the mortice for a window position. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

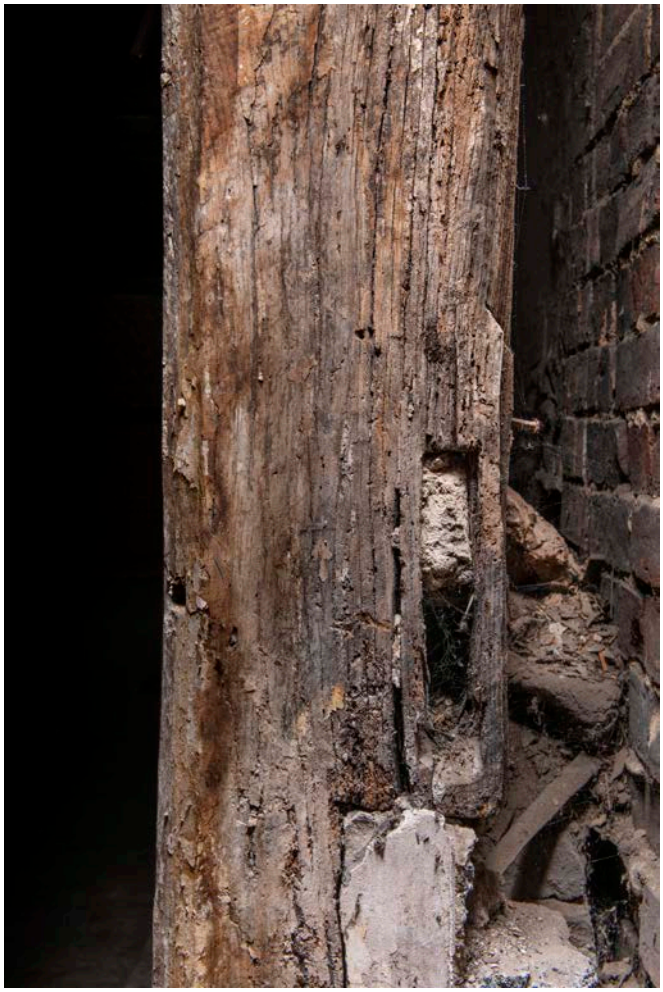


Figure 68: The east post of frame VI, looking north, showing the redundant mortice for the mid-rail on the south side. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435650]

The western side of the southern bay has considerable evidence for its original framing arrangement, although slightly confused by later alterations. It is also currently the only bay where the form of the frame can be observed externally (that is, on the eastern side of the frame), due to access via the adjacent south-west wing (Figure 69). The pattern of the framing is slightly different from the other bays, apparently because it formed the end bay of the building. At the southern end therefore there is a large down-brace curving down from the post of frame VII (the end frame) to the girding beam. Although the brace has been later truncated, and the northern side of the post is still concealed, pegging visible on the outer side of the post shows the position of the original joint with the post, and the lower part of the brace remains in situ. The central part of the mid-rail survives. It is clear that originally the mid-rail ran across the bay, from the northern post (frame VI) until it met the down brace at its southern end, although it has been cut by the insertion of doorways at the north and south ends. The northern stud is in its typical position roughly a third of the way along the bay, but the southern stud sits above the lower part of the down-brace and slightly further south than is typical in the other bays, creating a slightly wider central part to the bay and a narrower panel to the south.



Figure 69: The west elevation of the south bay (bay E) at first-floor level, looking east. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325591]

There is evidence for window openings in both the central and northern part of the bays, both of different forms (*see* Figure 69). It is likely that one of these (probably the central one) is later, although the evidence is slightly contradictory. The central window opening is not chamfered on its lower edge and has a groove which would normally indicate a closed panel on the upper side of the mid-rail, but the wall plate is chamfered on its outer edge and has a central mortice on its underside, suggesting a mullion position. The northern window opening conversely is not chamfered on the lower edge of the wall plate and has stave holes visible on the soffit of the plate. But there are chamfers on the post to the north side and the stud to the south side, and the remains of a chamfer are also clear on the upper edge of the remaining section of the mid-rail. As these two windows are so close together it seems unlikely they are both original window openings, but the evidence as to which might be original is unclear. On balance it seems more likely that the northern window is original, as this is the more typical position of windows in the bays along this elevation, although this is by no means certain. It is possible that the exposure of more of the external framing along this wall line would help with the interpretation of this feature, as it may show the arrangement of chamfering on the external face in relation to some of the other window openings along the wall line. It is notable that the western face of the framing as visible in this bay is weathered, suggesting that if there was an earlier structure in the position of the later south-west wing, it did not extend up to first-floor level. This is also suggested by the existence of an original window opening in either position.

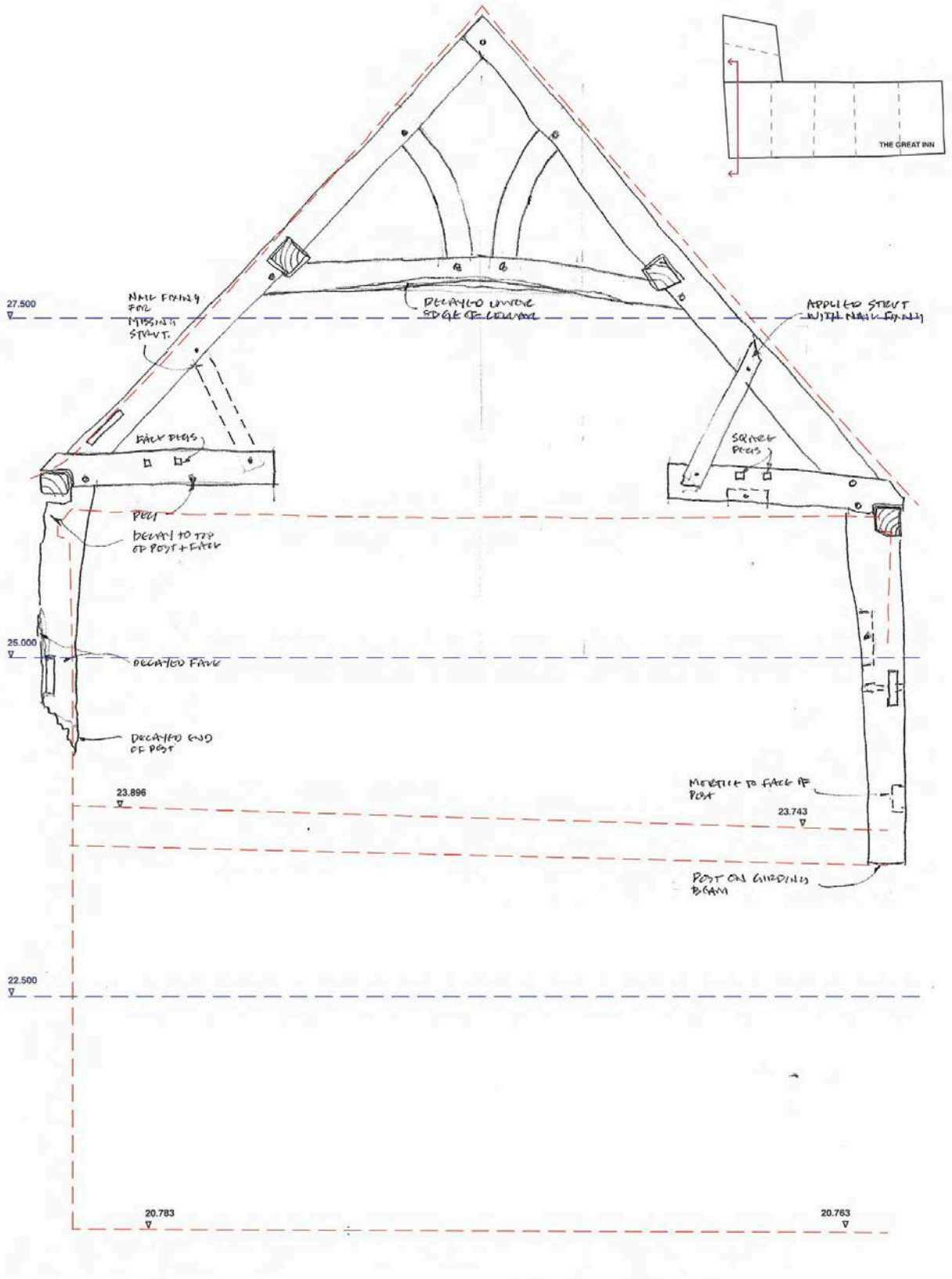


Figure 70: Cross section showing the northern face of frame VII, with surviving features annotated. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]



Figure 71: Upper part of the truss of frame VII, looking south-west, showing curved struts running from the collar to the principal rafters. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Frame VII appears to have formed the end frame of the building. Although the external south elevation cannot currently be examined (as it is concealed behind a temporary membrane cover), its position as the original end of the building is suggested by the different form of the frame as visible internally. Much of the wall has been rebuilt in later brick, but the east and west posts survive (the latter still largely concealed), as do the eastern and western ends of the tie beam, the collar and the principal rafters (Figure 70). The brickwork built around these surviving timbers means that seeing the form of the original closure and framing is not currently possible; however, above the collar two curving struts survive, rising to support the principal rafters (Figure 71). This arrangement is not seen on the internal trusses of this range and is a typical decorative feature seen on external gable ends in Gloucester.

Although the west post of frame VII is largely concealed, its western face is visible, where it now sits within the south-west wing. As noted above, this face appears from the weathering to have been external. However, at a low first-floor level (0.6m above the girding beam) is a single mortice sitting towards the outer (southern) edge of the post (Figure 72). In isolation this feature is difficult to interpret. It may be that if further framing along the west elevation is exposed, it will be possible to establish if it forms part of a pattern of features which may relate to some form of structure in the position of the later south-west wing or running along the southern part of the east elevation more generally.



Figure 72: Detail of the mortice on the outer (western) face of the west post of frame VII, looking east, possibly indicating some form of structure originally attached to western side of the range. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435651]

The street-front range

It is clear from the dendrochronological evidence that the street-front range was largely constructed in its surviving form as part of the 15th-century redevelopment of the site. The constructional detail indicates that it is likely that this range was built before the west range, but that may have been only by a year or two, reflecting the phasing of construction at the site.

The documentary evidence, particularly that from the 18th century, indicates that this range functioned separately from the rear ranges, forming four commercial units which were usually let or sub-let individually. This functional separation is reflected in its original form, as structurally this range was built separately from the west range to its rear, with the south wall of the street-front range and the north wall of the west range built up against each other but not integrated in any way. The relationship between the street-front range and the great inn range is less clear, as the east end of the former has been reconstructed and the relationship lost, but it seems likely from the structural evidence of a likely gap between the street-front range and the great inn range that they too were structurally separate to some degree. The distinction drawn in the 18th-century documentary sources between the commercial units which were on the site of what is now No. 17 seems to confirm this.

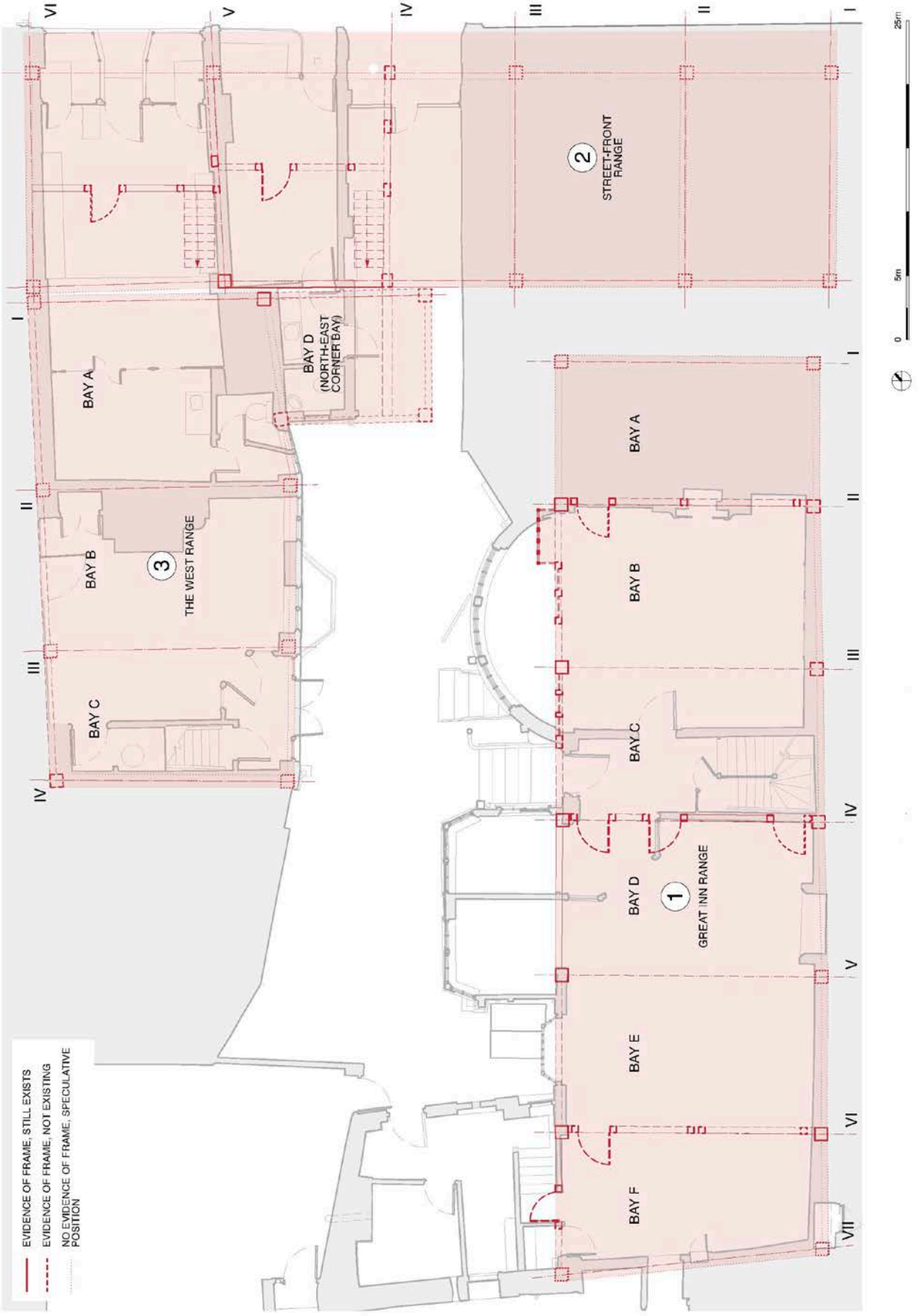


Figure 73: Plan showing the reconstructed form of the ranges, including the street-front range. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]

As constructed the range formed a narrow three-storeyed timber-framed building, five bays long. To the street-front it was double jettied, with the first and second floors projecting out to the north. In the centre at ground-floor level was the passageway through to the great tenement behind and there were two shop units to either side of this, each let separately. The two units to the west of the passageway certainly had associated domestic accommodation above, and it is likely that the units to the east of the passageway took the same form. The range was originally of three storeys above ground – that is, the ground-floor level and two further floors above this, with a cellar below the structure. This meant that despite their limited footprint the units provided a significant amount of floor space spread over four levels.

The building runs east to west, parallel with Westgate Street which sits to its north. Of the original five-bay extent only the western two bays and part of the central bay now survive (Figure 73). The full extent of the original building is indicated by the frame numbering of the surviving trusses (IIII and V, running from east to west), which indicates that there were originally three further frames to the east. From the documentary evidence it appears that the central bay (just east of the surviving cross frame numbered IIII and forming the bay of the passageway) was slightly narrower than the others. The 18th-century leases of the tenement to the east, which included the area over the passageway at first-floor level, indicate a measurement of an additional 9ft 8in (3.0m) to encompass this area.[210] With one narrower central bay, and two eastern bays the same width as the surviving western bays, that would mean the range originally extended as far as the east wall of what is now No. 17 (*see* Figure 73). This indicates that the street-front range originally formed a continuous structure running the full extent of the front of the tenement, pierced by the archway through to the rear courtyard in the central bay (bay C).

As well as the eastern bays having been demolished and replaced, most of the framing of the front (north) wall has been lost. The west wall (which may originally have formed frame VI) also appears to have been totally rebuilt when No. 23 was heavily reconstructed in the 20th century. Within the surviving two bays however, much of cross frames IIII and V survive (Figures 74 and 75), as does the associated first- and second-storey flooring, the roof structure over both bays and the main structural elements of the south wall (the posts and some associated framing). This is sufficient to be able to trace the original form of these two bays and to consider the likely form of the remainder of the range.

The surviving framing indicates that originally the two extant bays formed two separate units, divided with full-height partitions along the line of both frames (*see* Figure 73). Although the eastern unit (No. 19A) is now slightly smaller at ground-floor level than that to the west (No. 21), as it incorporates the western side of the passageway through to the rear courtyard, originally the passageway was slightly further to the east, allowing for the units each occupying a full bay of the original frame at all levels. At ground-floor level in the western bay the lateral beam shows evidence for a partition dividing the space into two rooms, probably representing a shop and a more private room to the rear. At first-floor level the beams do not show signs of partitioning, indicating that they formed single rooms. At second-floor level the rooms were open to the roof, again most likely with no form of partitioning. The original roof structure was similar to that in the other ranges, with tie beams and queen struts rising to support the collar, with clasped purlins.

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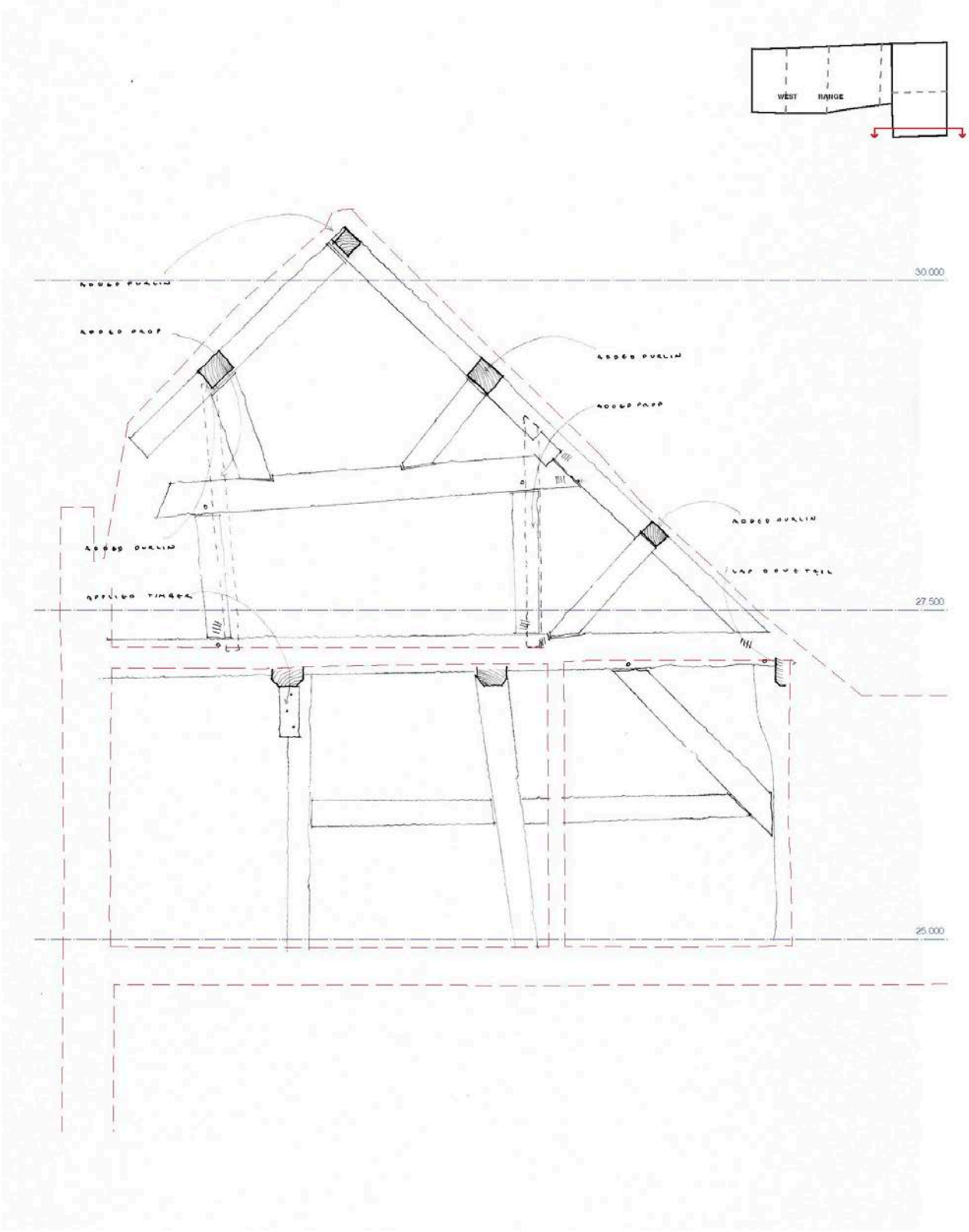


Figure 74: Cross section showing the western face of frame IIII of the street-front range, with surviving features annotated. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]

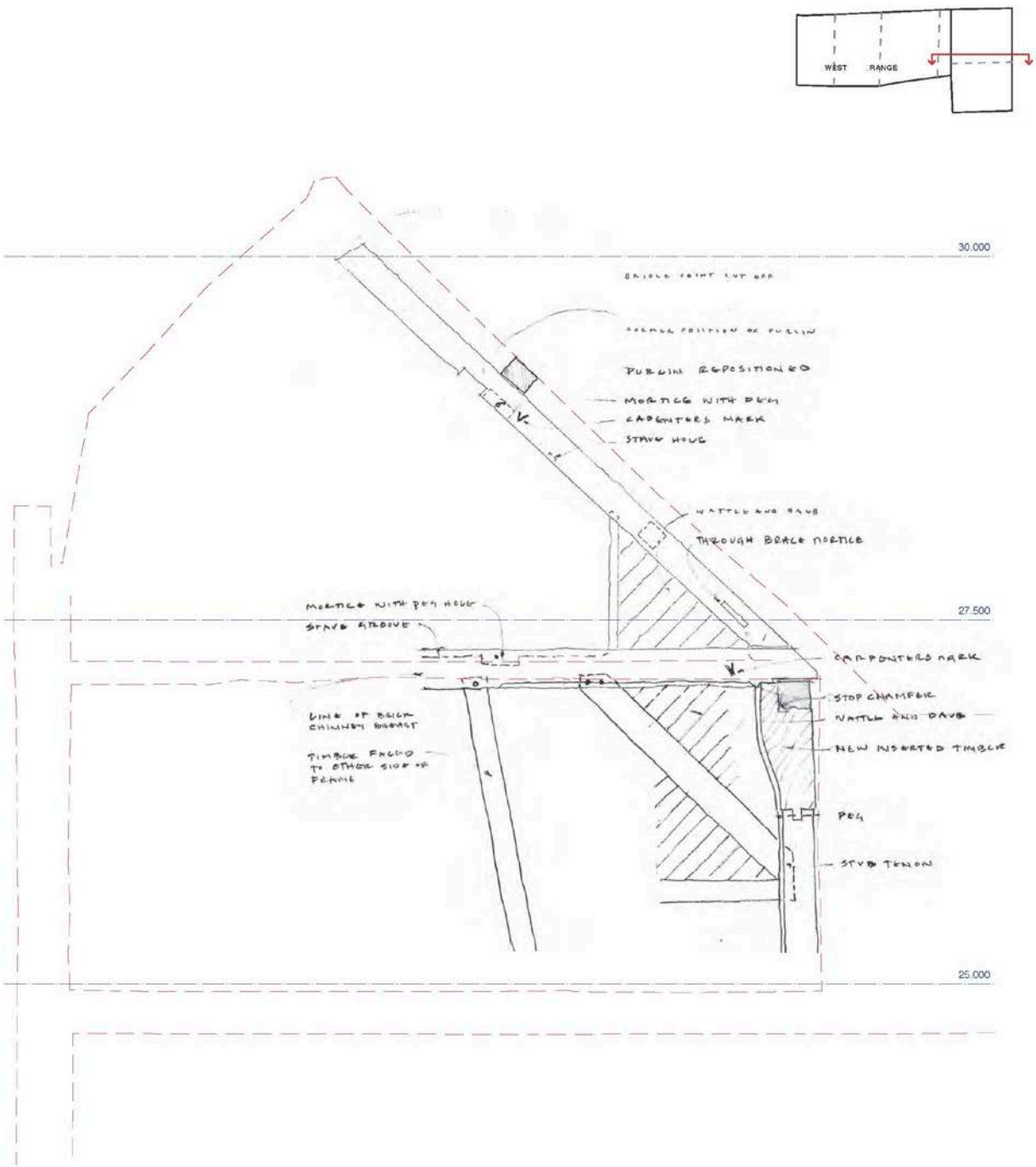


Figure 75: Cross section showing the western face of frame V of the street-front range, with surviving features annotated. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]



Figure 76: The cellar under No. 21 (bay E), looking north-east, showing the rubble stone walling of the north elevation. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 77: The cellar under No. 21 (bay E), showing timber frame in the east wall (the partition wall between Nos 21 and 19A), looking east, with part of the sill beam and a post in situ. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Cellar

The cellar structure under the building is visible underneath both surviving bays of the range. The extent of later alterations means the two bays take very different forms, but both appear to have some surviving elements of their 15th-century structure, with surviving sections of stonework visible likely to date from this phase.

In the eastern surviving bay (bay D; No. 21) rubble stone walling survives on the eastern side. There is further stone in the northern elevation, although the degree of later alteration here means that some of this may be reused. The western wall (the partition wall between bays D and E) has an inserted brick wall to support the later brick vault above. To the rear the cellar does not respect the line of the south elevation of the range above ground, but extends further south, with a narrower section of cellar essentially forming a separate chamber. This also includes some stonework in its eastern and western walls. It seems likely this is original. The reason for this differing form is unclear, but this chamber must sit under the north-east corner bay of the west range (*see* discussion below), so may have provided a base for that structure, although it does not appear to have been used in relation to it.

In the western bay (bay E), the north and south walls of the cellar are formed of rubble stonework which is likely to be original to the range (Figure 76). The west wall has been heavily rebuilt in brick. The east wall of the bay is, somewhat surprisingly, formed of timber-framing and in fact forms an integral part of the framework of frame V. The base is formed of rubble stone, although much of this has been replaced in brick. Much of the frame has also been replaced. All that is currently visible of the original framework is a short section of the sill plate, with a central post rising from it (Figure 77). This post in fact appears to rise through the building as far as first-floor ceiling level, indicating the extent to which the framing of the cellar wall was an integral part of the 15th-century framework. It seems, therefore, that stone was used for the outer perimeter of the cellars of the range, with timber-framing used for the subdivisions within this.

Ground-floor level

At ground-floor level the range has seen the most change, due to the commercial nature of its use from the point of construction up until the present day. The ongoing use of the shop units also means that not all of the surviving framing is currently exposed. At ground-floor level frame IIII has been totally lost due to the later widening of the passageway running from Westgate Street to the rear of the plot. The south post has been cut off below its junction with the first-floor frame. The surviving section of the post has a large mortice in its southern face, apparently to receive the end of the jetty plate for the bay to the rear of this range (*see* description below). The original cross beam of frame IIII survives and has recently been exposed (Figure 78 and *see* Figure 74). This shows that originally the frame was closed at ground-floor level with redundant mortices indicating the position of a central stud and two braces to either side which must have risen from the north and south posts. There are also intermediate stave holes. The western end of the girding beam of the south wall is also exposed. This again shows the stave holes of the south wall of the range.

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Figure 78: The underside of the central part of the cross beam of frame IIII, now visible in the passageway through the street-front range, showing the empty mortices for the original partition. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435637]



Figure 79: South post of frame V, now visible in the shop at ground-floor level in No. 21 (bay E), looking south-east. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 80: East wall of No. 21 (bay E), looking east, showing the cut off jetty plate adjacent to frame V. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Within bay D it is likely that some framing survives at ground-floor level, but it is totally concealed by later plasterwork (although the joists of the floor are visible from above). Some framing is visible from the west in the division between No. 19A and No. 21, which forms the lower part of frame V. The rear (south) post is extant, as is the associated cross beam running north to the front of the building. The south post is quite degraded or cut back on its western face, but a large mortice is just visible on the northern side of the post immediately below the cross beam (Figure 79). The position of the mortice suggests that it is for a large down brace. This is likely to indicate that there was a partition along the frame at this level, although the remainder of the partition has been replaced later. In the centre of the frame a post also survives; this corresponds to that observed at cellar level and which runs up to first-floor level. The original cross beams survive too, although built into the later walling particularly towards the north. At its northern end the front wall has been built out later so that it is in-line with the original first-floor jetty, but the original ground-floor wall line is identifiable from the surviving jetty plate, which has been cut off to the wall line but still survives adjacent to frame V (Figure 80).



Figure 81: Eastern end of the lateral beam running across the ceiling of No. 21 (bay E) showing the line of the former partition. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

To the north of frame V, bay E also has some surviving elements exposed on the ground floor. Running off the cross beam within the frame is a large timber beam running laterally through the bay (Figure 81). This sits to the south of the original central post and runs off the cross beam, an arrangement which appears to allow for a sufficient length in the joists to the north to provide a structurally sound jetty arrangement. This beam was later boxed in, but the underside has recently been revealed and shows the line of a partition with a central stud and flanking stave holes. The stave holes confirm that the beam formed part of a subdivision, most likely between a shop unit to the front and a ground-floor private room to the rear. As well as the stave holes the lateral beam has a series of mortices. One sits towards the eastern end of the beam and may indicate a doorway position. The second sits in the centre position of the beam, with the third just to its west. This may indicate another doorway position sitting towards the centre of the bay. If there were originally two doorways then this may suggest a further subdivision with the front part of the range. The eastern doorway perhaps provided access directly between the exterior of the building and the rear room, although the underside of the ceiling joists is currently plastered, so any signs of a corridor arrangement are concealed. The central doorway, if it existed, would then have provided communication between the rear room and the shop.



Figure 82: Framing of frame IIII of the street-front range at first-floor level, looking east. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325632]

First-floor level

At first-floor level frame IIII survives largely intact (Figure 82 and *see* Figure 74). The south post rises through the floor level, with the two cross beams (at first- and second-floor level) running off it to the north. There is also a mid-rail running half way between the two. The north post has been removed in the reconstruction of the front wall. There are indications of two studs rising but surviving wallpaper makes it difficult to confirm if these are original.

At this level bay D has much of the framing of the south wall missing, as it has been cut back to facilitate access between this bay and the north-east corner bay of the west range to the south. This additional bay is structurally part of the west range and will be described as part of that range (*see* below). The precise relationship between the single-bay structure and the street-front range is unclear, but as with the rest of the west range, there appears to have been no original doorway or link between the street-front range and the bay to the rear.



Figure 83: Bay D (No. 19A) at first-floor level, looking south-west, showing the surviving girding beam of the south wall towards the left-hand side. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325631]



Figure 84: Girding beam in the south elevation of bay D (No. 19A) showing peg holes which may indicate the position of a window opening. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Of the south wall at first-floor level in bay D, therefore, there is only the girding beam between ground- and first-floor level and that between first- and second-floor level surviving (Figure 83). That between ground- and first-floor level has only a residual mortice for the central stud visible, although the eastern part is cut back. The upper girding beam has the corresponding residual mortice for the central stud (the mortice to the east is later). Either side of the original mortice for the stud are regular stave holes indicating that the partition was fully closed. The only exception to this is towards the western end, close to frame V. Here in the girding rail there is a gap in the regular stave-hole arrangement and instead there are two peg holes, on the inner edge of the frame, around 0.5m apart (Figure 84). At present the interpretation of this feature is unclear, but it may represent some form of opening.

Bay D has the original joists between the ground and first floor in situ, although these are largely concealed. Similarly the joists between first- and second-floor level survive. These are currently exposed from above and below. The lateral beam running through the bay at this level has no indication of a full-length partition, indicating the first-floor bay formed a single room. Towards the west of the beam, however, there is evidence of a short length of partition projecting westwards from frame IIII for around 0.7m (Figure 85). This consists of a mortice for a stud and some associated stave holes. It appears to correspond to the position of the stair rising in the southeast corner of the bay and must have formed part of a partition to box in the stair.

A stair trimmer arrangement is extant in the south-east corner (Figure 86). The evidence of this feature is somewhat ambiguous as the trimmer has been tenoned into the eastern joist but lapped onto frame IIII, which might be seen to imply that it is a later insertion. There is also a redundant mortice in the girding beam to the south, as though originally a joist was intended to run through to the beam. However, as all of the original joists survive, and there is no other position for a stair identifiable, it seems likely that this was the original stair position. The reason for the residual mortice feature appears to be that the stair position was chosen after the framework was laid out, with the joist then cut to allow the position of the stair to be created.

At first-floor level frame V is largely intact towards the south, although to the north it has been truncated by the insertion of a later chimney stack. The southern post, which was visible at ground-floor level, rises through this level (Figure 87 and *see* Figure 75). The cross beams between ground- and first-floor level and first- and second-floor level survive as far as the central stud of the frame, but the northern part has been rebuilt. A mortice on the side of the south post and another on the central post indicates that a mid-rail originally ran across the frame, matching that surviving on frame IIII. Although the north part of the partition does not survive it is likely that the partition continued and the two bays formed completely separate units as at ground-floor level. This is further confirmed by the stair evidence (*see* below).

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Figure 85: Ceiling at first-floor level in bay D (No. 19A), looking north-east, showing the position of a partial partition running along the central lateral beam, partly indicated by the paintwork pattern. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325686]

Figure 86: Ceiling at first-floor level in bay D (No. 19A), looking east, showing the stair trimmer indicating the position of the stair in the south-east corner of the bay. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325687]



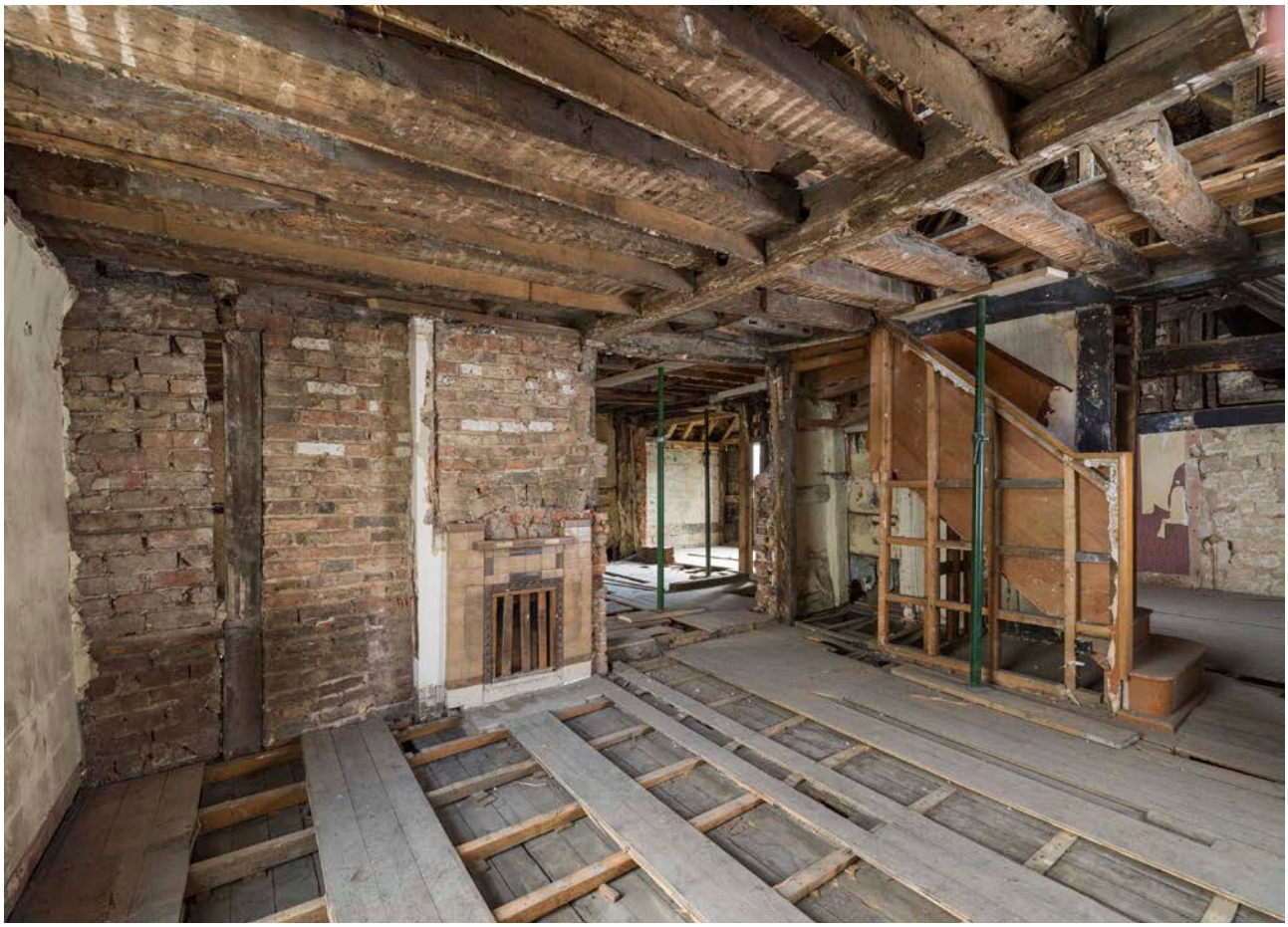


Figure 87: First floor of bay E (No. 21), looking south-east, showing the remaining framing of frame V. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325627]

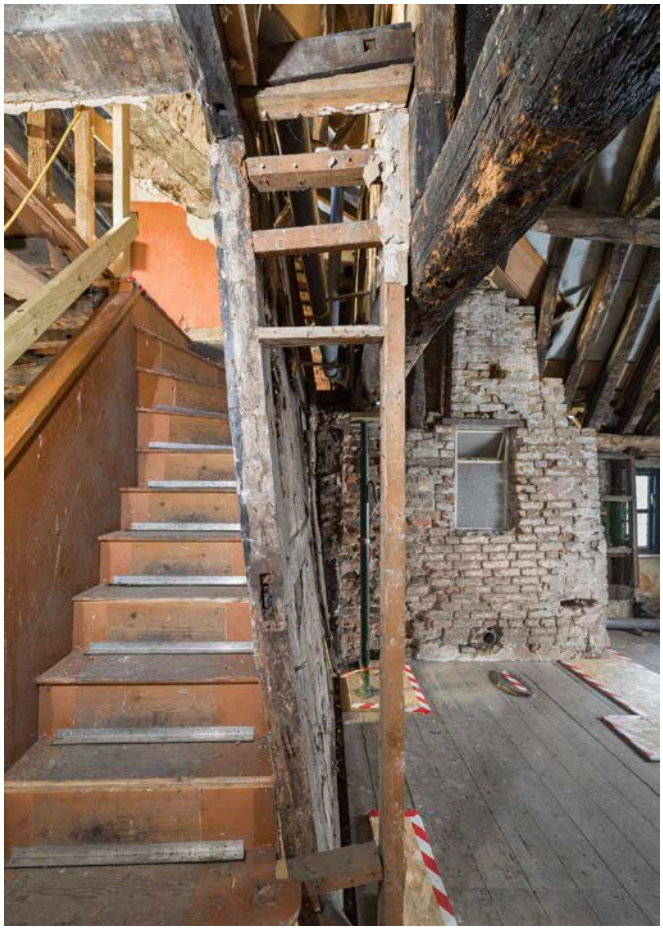


Figure 88: South elevation of the street-front range, and north elevation of the west range, looking east, showing the separate frames of the two ranges. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325661]



Figure 89: South elevation of the street-front range in bay E (No. 21), looking south east, showing the girding beam, stud and infill of the elevation at first-floor level. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435637]

At first-floor level bay E (west of frame V; No. 21) appears originally to have formed a single room. To the south the surviving framing of the south wall makes it clear that there was originally no access between this room and the first floor of the west range, as the framing of the street-front range is separate, with a clear gap between the south wall of the street-front range and the north wall of the west range at this level (Figure 88). Within bay E much of the south wall survives at first-floor level, including a central stud and the remains of a mid-rail forming the main framing elements of the wall (Figure 89 and *see* Figure 83). The stud runs the full height of the floor level between the two girding beams. The timber mid-rail is still partly in situ to the east of the central stud, although truncated at the east end by a later doorway. Originally, however, it appears to have run across the bay as there is a corresponding mortice in the post to the east, with no provision for any doorway between the street-front range and the west range. The north wall does not survive, but the floor joists indicate that its original position was on a similar alignment to the extant brick wall which now forms the front elevation.

As in bay D, the original joisting of the floor in bay E survives between ground- and first-floor level and between first- and second-floor level. The lower floor level is visible from above (although still concealed from below). The joists between ground- and first-floor level project out from the lateral beam (described at ground-floor level where it provided

the top of the lateral partition). To the north these run into the later brick front wall. They originally would have oversailed the jetty plate of the ground floor below, which would have provided structural support, but now they are bonded into the brick wall. To the south they are framed into the girding beam of the south elevation. There is tentative evidence for the position of a stair trimmer in the south-east corner of the bay, although this cannot be fully examined at present (*see* below).

A similar pattern of joists is also extant in the floor between first- and second-floor level, with a single lateral beam running east to west, projecting from frame V at the top of the central post and running into the later brick west wall. This beam is chamfered on both sides, but at this level there is no indication of any stave holes or other residual features which indicate a partition as there was in the corresponding beam at ground-floor level. Nor are there any residual features associated with the type of short partition seen in bay D. The joists project at right angles to this, with the northern set running into the later brick front wall, where they have been cut off from their original full extent by the cutting back of the second-floor jetty. The southern joists were originally jointed into the girding beam in the south wall.

At the western end of the bay some of the joists are still jointed into the lateral beam, but those to the east have been cut back to create a later stair. At the south-eastern corner of the bay a small trimmer can be observed (Figure 90). This is a short beam running at right-angles to the joists and appears to indicate the position of an original ladder stair, which would have run between first- and second-floor levels. The trimmer beam is tenoned into the joist to the west but lapped onto the cross rail in frame V, an arrangement which suggests that it was formed after the main floor was framed (as with the trimmer in bay D to the east). There is a redundant mortice visible in the eastern end of the southern girding beam at this level (with other redundant mortices for further joists also visible to its west, where further joists have been cut for the later stair in this position). As in bay D, it seems likely that this stair position was cut after the main frame had been formed, but that it is an original feature. It is notable that both bays have their original stair sitting in the same position within their respective bays, and the fact that there are two stairs further confirms that the two bays formed separate units.

Second-floor level

At second-floor level frame IIII has the jowled head of the south post surviving intact (Figure 91 and *see* Figure 74). There are two studs rising between the cross beam and the tie beam at this level, reflecting the greater width of the frame due to the jetty arrangement to the north. A straight up-brace rises from the south post to the tie beam. The ceiling above second-floor level is a later insertion, but above this elements of the original truss of frame IV survive intact, including the tie beam, collar and queen struts (Figure 92 and *see* Figure 74). The position of the original clasped purlins is still evident, and redundant mortices indicate the former position of windbraces which would originally have risen to the purlins.



Figure 90: First floor of bay E (No. 21) showing the stair trimmer beam in the ceiling and the possible stair position in the south-east corner, looking north east. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

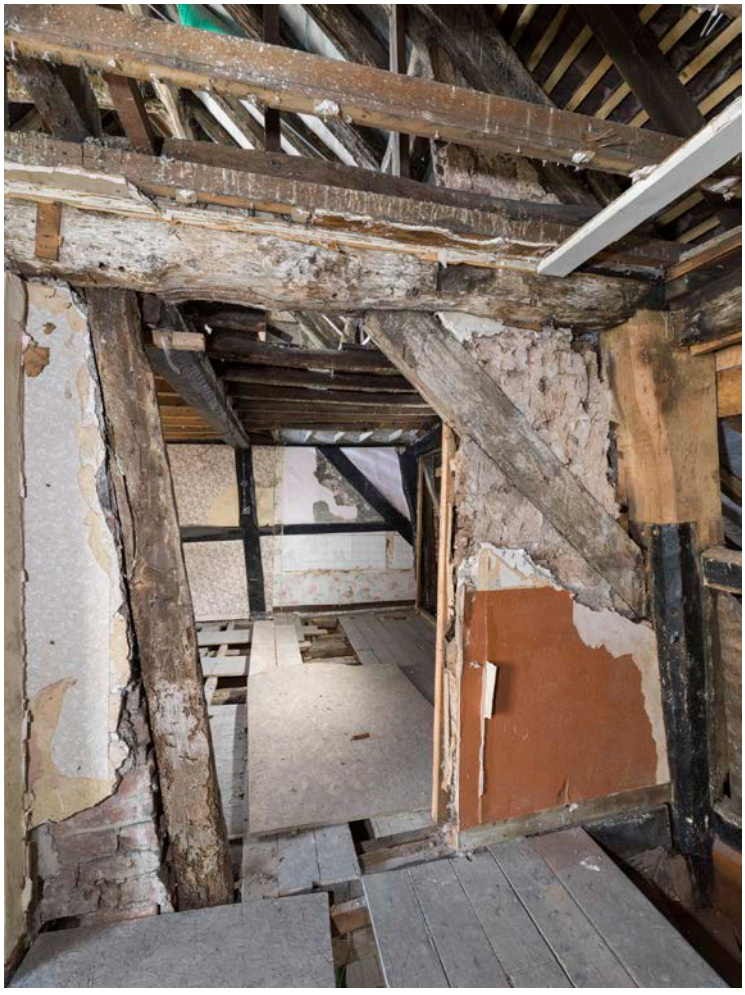


Figure 91: Frames IIII and V at second-floor level, looking east, showing the pattern of framing in the partitions. [Steve Baker © HEA 325636]



Figure 92: Frame IIII at roof level, looking north-east, showing the surviving elements of the roof truss, looking north east. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

In bay D the south elevation takes a different form from that in bay E to the west (Figure 93 and *see* Figure 83). It has the remains of a central stud rising from the girding beam to the wall plate, although this has been truncated for a later window. There are currently two braces, one on either side of the original central stud. However the eastern brace is a later insertion (lapped on to the outer face of the girding beam). Originally therefore the frame must have had an asymmetrical form, with just one curved brace running down to the girding beam, to the west of the central stud. The north elevation has been completely replaced. The bay appears to have formed a large single room open to the roof space above.

At second-floor level frame V survives largely intact (Figure 94 and *see* Figure 75). The head of the south post has been recently replaced but is probably a like-for-like copy, as the replacement matches the original head of the post of frame IIII. From the south post rises a straight up-brace running into the tie beam above. One stud survives further to the north, with the position of a further stud identifiable from the mortice in the tie beam. The northern section has been truncated by the cutting back of the original wall line, which was originally jettied out over the first-floor wall line below. At roof level the tie beam and principal rafters of the truss remain, although the collar has been removed.



Figure 93: South elevation of bay D (No. 19A) at second-floor level showing the original timber framing, looking south, including curved brace to the west (right-hand) side and later inserted straight brace on the east (left-hand) side. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325641]

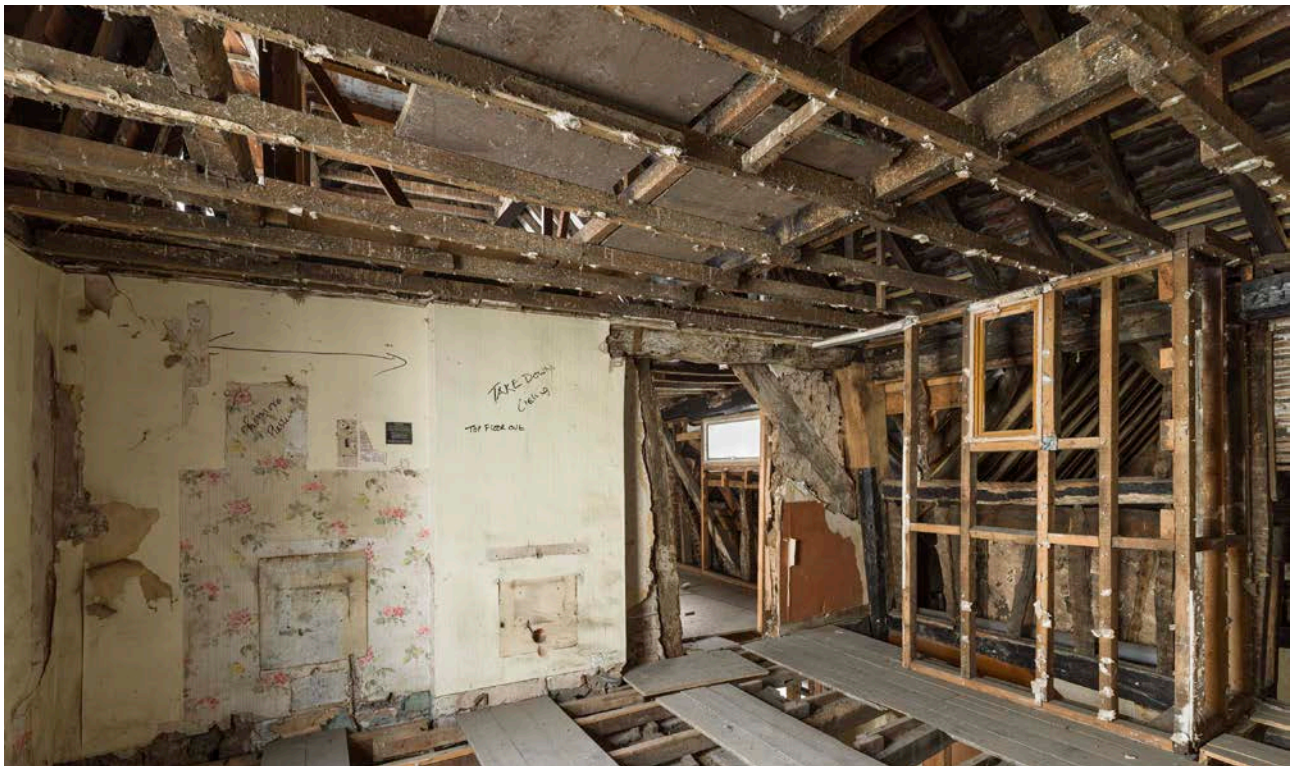


Figure 94: Bay E (No. 21) at secondfloor level, looking south east, showing the surviving framing. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325634]

At second-floor level, as in bay D, bay E appears to have formed a single room, open to the roof. To the south the framing of the south wall is largely extant, with a girding beam projecting from the southern post of frame V and running across at the level between first and second floor with a large groove in its upper face and a further mid-rail above this (*see* Figure 94). Towards the western end, the mid-rail has a redundant mortice on its inner face, probably for a horizontal rail which must have projected out into the room. This corresponds to the position of the stair in the south-east corner of the bay and must have formed part of the framing of a low partition to protect the head of the stair. There are still some studs in situ between these two horizontal timbers.

The west range

As already noted above, the west range is structurally separate from the street-front range, with a fully framed truss (frame I) at its northern end, butting up against the south wall of the other range (*see* Figure 88). As originally constructed the main part of the west range was formed of three bays. Two of these bays are of a similar size (the north and central bays are 4 and 4.5m long respectively), but the southernmost bay is a narrower bay of 3.2m, which appears originally to have formed a smoke bay. Unlike the street-front range, the west range was only of two storeys and both the ground and first floor were lower than the other ranges, providing more modest spaces.

In addition to the three main bays of the west range, the small single-bay structure infilling the angle between the street-front range and the west range (*see* Figure 2) appears to be fully integrated into the west range, with the east post of frame I of this range forming the west post of the northern frame of the north-east corner bay. Similarly the western pitch of its roof structure shares the eastern wall plate of the northern bay of the west range. It therefore seems likely that this north-east corner bay is an original part of the west range.

The evidence indicates that the west range was built after the street-front range. The main indication of this is in the northern frame of the north-east corner bay; this is separately framed from the street-front range. There are original staves for a closed truss surviving at roof level but with no indication of any original render or covering on its northern face, suggesting it was built up against a pre-existing building (Figure 95). There is other evidence in the form of this bay which also suggests this sequence of construction; this is discussed below in the description of this bay.

Most of the visible evidence for the form of the main range is seen at first-floor level. At ground-floor level any surviving framing is currently not accessible or covered with later plaster finishes, and it seems likely that much of it has been replaced by later alterations. At first-floor level the four cross frames are numbered in sequence I to IIII on their northern faces. The northernmost frame (frame I) is adjacent to, but structurally separate from, the street-front range. The narrow void between the two structures is currently visible (*see* Figure 88). Neither the south side of the street-front range nor the northern face of the west range shows much indication of any weathering, which is consistent with the fact that the dendrochronological dating indicates that the two are contemporary, although built in phases.

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Figure 95: The north frame of the north-east corner bay, showing the northern (outer) face with the original staves with no indication of any original plaster on this side of the truss. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Of the main western range, frame I was clearly originally a closed frame (Figure 96). Both its east and west posts have been removed, but the tie beam and the roof structure remain in situ (Figure 97). At first-floor level, below the tie beam, its framing has been removed to facilitate later access between the street-front range and the west range, but the underside of the tie beam shows the stave holes of a partition. At either end are larger mortices for up-braces which would originally have risen from the posts to the tie beam. Above the tie beam the roof structure has the same arrangement as the street-front range (and the great inn range), with two vertical queen struts supporting a collar with the purlins clasped between the collar and the principal rafters. Redundant mortices on the south side of the frame show where windbraces would originally have risen to the purlins. Between the tie beam and the collar an original panel of staves with daub still attached survives (*see* Figure 97). There is no sign of stave holes on the underside of the principal rafters but surviving nail holes may indicate the position of fixings for some form of framework for closing the other sections of the truss.

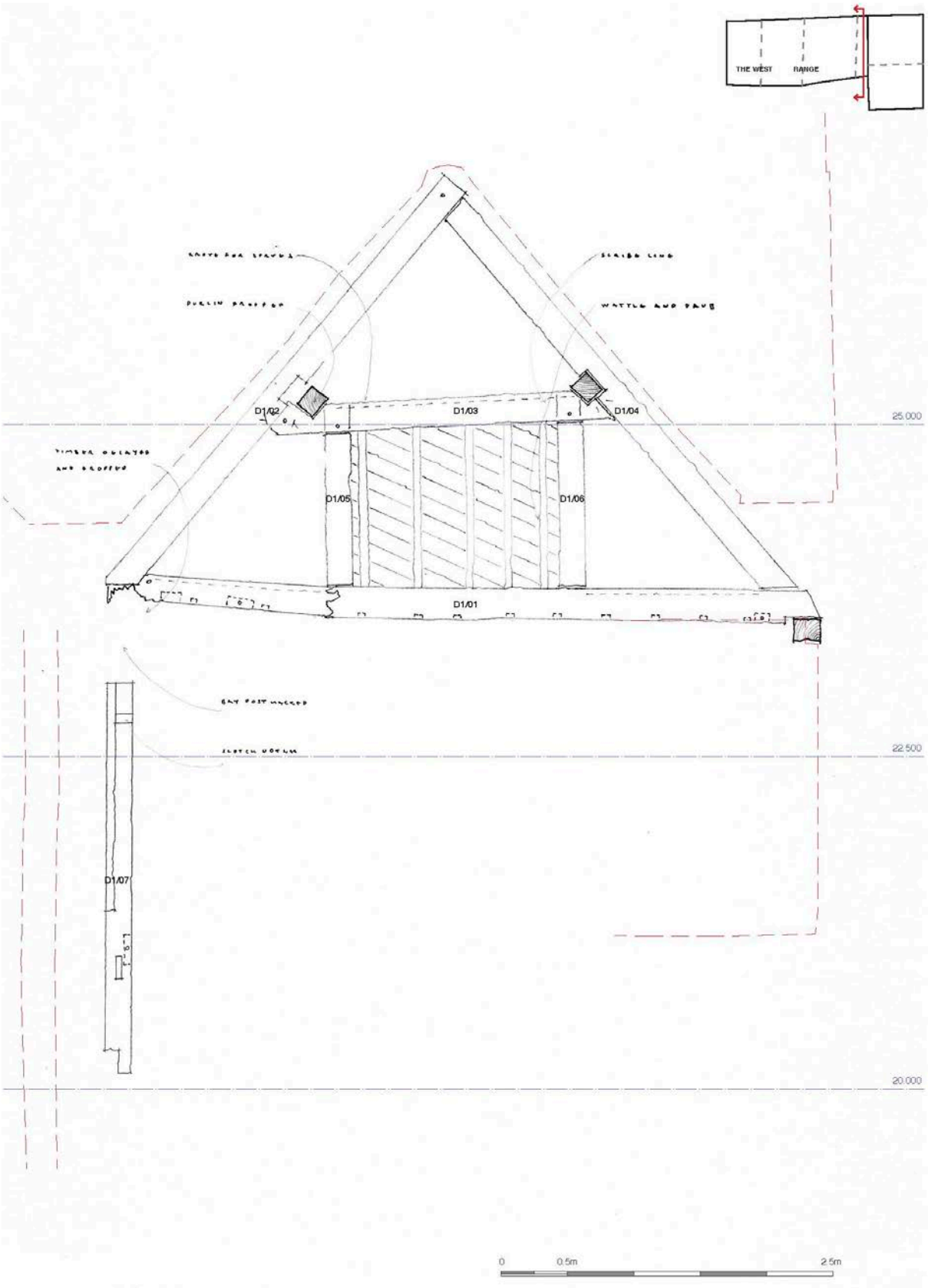


Figure 96: Cross section showing the northern face of frame I of the west range, with surviving features annotated. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]



Figure 97: The southern side of frame I of the west range, looking north-west. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325611]

Frame II also appears to have represented a closed frame, creating a partition within the building (Figure 98). The east post of the frame survives, at least at first-floor level, although it is heavily painted over and little detail could be observed. As with frame I the roof truss survives intact (Figure 99). Below the tie beam the partitioning has again been removed, but the same pattern of stave holes can be observed as that on the underside of the tie beam of frame I, with a mortice towards the eastern end for an up-brace. There is no corresponding mortice on the western side (there is a small mortice but it appears to be secondary), which may indicate that there was originally some form of doorway on this side of the space, providing access between the two bays at first-floor level. Above the tie beam the truss originally had the same arrangement as that to the north, and again there are indications of surviving staves in the central panel between the queen struts, although other areas have been affected by the insertion of a large chimney breast (*see* Phase Three below). Redundant mortices on the northern sides of the principal rafters indicate further wind-bracing which has been removed. Above the collar some apparently original daub still adheres to the staves of the partition, indicating that the truss was closed up to the apex of the roof.

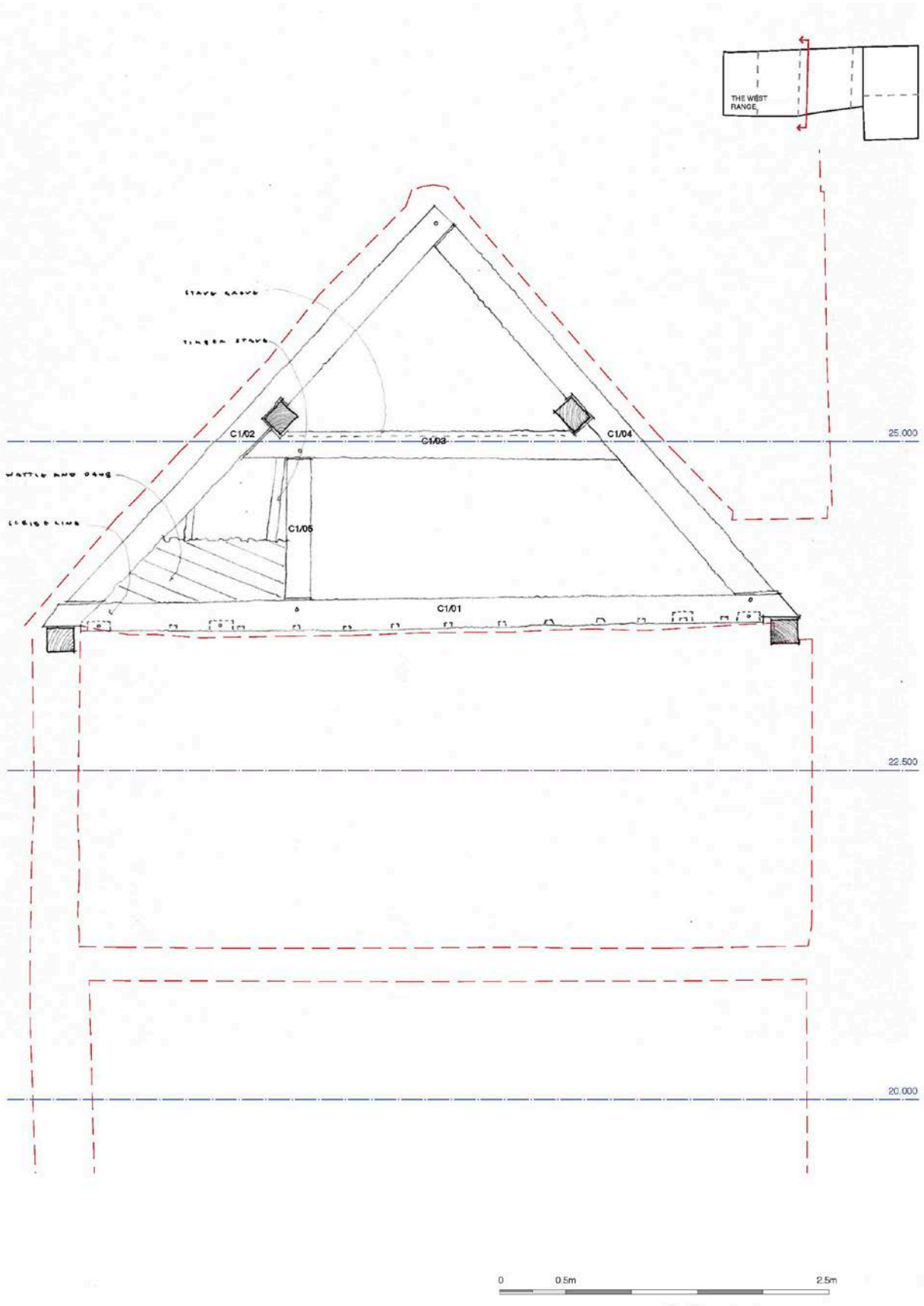


Figure 98: Cross section showing the northern face of frame II of the west range, with surviving features annotated. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]



Figure 99: The northern face of frame II of the west range, looking south-east, with the stonework of the inserted chimney sitting against the southern side. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325613]

Frame III originally formed the northern side of the smoke bay and originally took a slightly different form to those to the north (Figure 100). Again the framing has been removed below the tie beam. There is a large central mortice in the tie beam for a stud with stave holes to either side, but there are no mortices for up-braces or any doorway positions. It is possible that originally the frame had two down braces like that to the south (*see* frame IV below), although there is no evidence visible to confirm this. Above the tie beam the original partitioning of the bay is still in situ, apart from one small section which has been removed to create a later access hatch. The truss is of the same form as those to the north, with the same staves used to infill the various panels, with most of the daub still adhering to them. On the north side, facing into the central bay, the daub is clean, with some sections of limewash still adhering to the surface. On the south side the partition is smoke blackened (Figure 101).

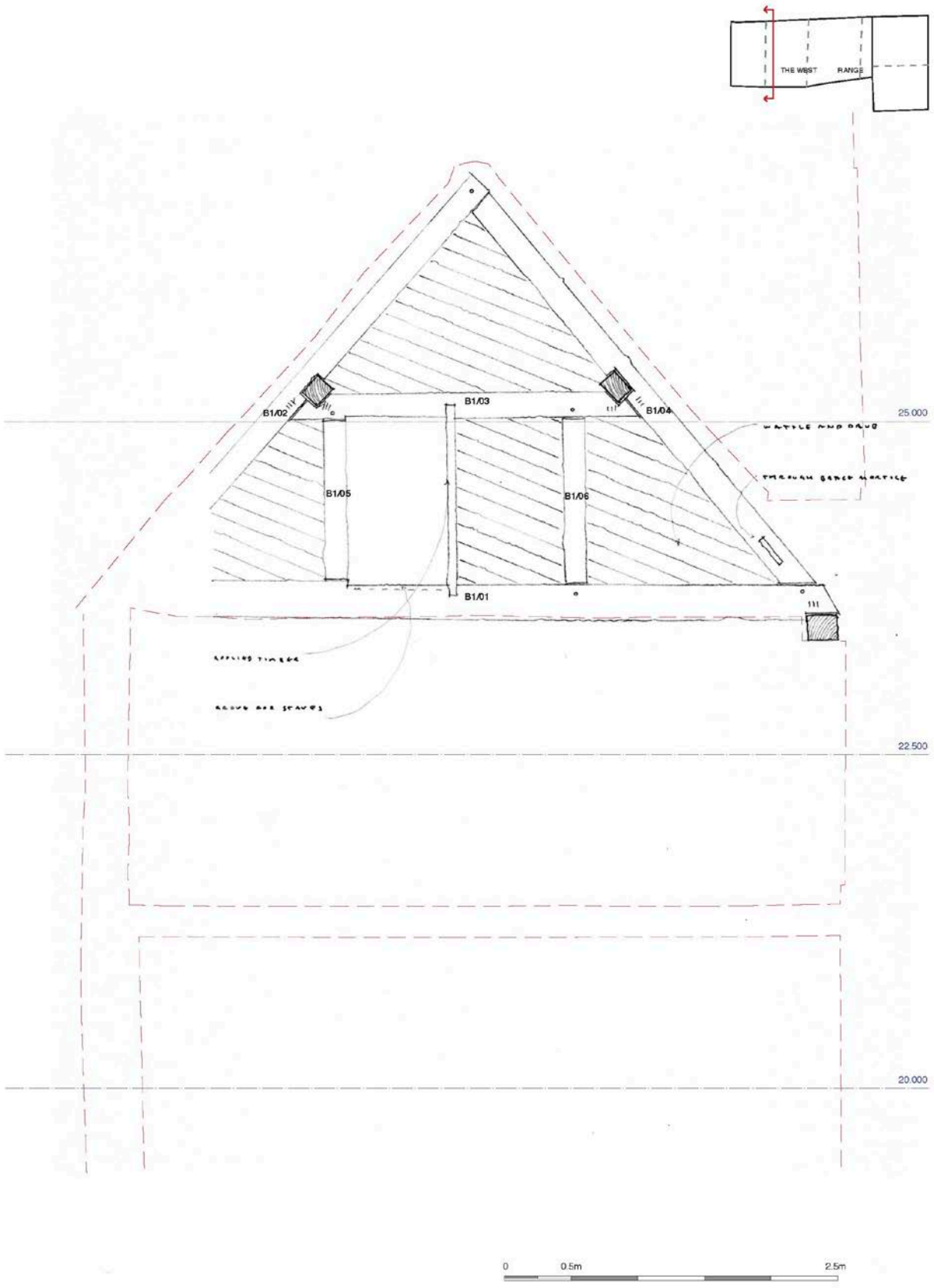


Figure 100: Cross section showing the northern face of frame III of the west range, with surviving features annotated. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]



Figure 101: The southern face of the roof truss of frame III, looking north-west, showing the smoke blackening on the in situ wattle and daub panels and the timber frame. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325677]

The southernmost bay, to the south of frame III, can be interpreted as a smoke bay – that is, a smaller bay which would have been open from ground floor to roof and collected the smoke from the fire at ground-floor level, channelling it out of the building. Evidence for this is the smoke blackening of the closed partition in the roof space. The common rafters over this bay are also heavily smoke blackened. There is a windbrace still in situ on the eastern side, rising from the truss of frame III, but as the bay is narrower than those to the north there is no corresponding brace rising from the truss of frame IV, as there would not have been space to facilitate the regular arrangement of paired windbraces seen in the other bays. There are no indications of any position for the louvre (to vent the smoke) and the common rafter pairs are all complete and smoke-blackened (except where there is much later repair). If there was a louvre originally it may have risen above the common rafters or, perhaps more likely, there may have been a vent arrangement above the collar in truss IV at the end of the building, which has now been removed (*see* below).

Frame IV represents the southern side of the smoke bay and the end of the building (Figure 102). As the end bay the framing is formed to provide a flush face to the south, providing a weatherproof surface. Moreover the south face – although now built up against by a later structure – appears to be weathered, further suggesting this was the original end wall of the building. A later stair runs adjacent to this frame, meaning that the cross beam between ground- and first-floor level is visible. The lower side of the cross beam has no visible signs of any original partitioning, but as this was the end frame of the structure and functioned as a smoke bay it is likely that it was closed but that the signs of that are currently concealed. The alternative would be that the bay was open to a further bay to the south, but there is no evidence for this further bay, so it seems more likely that the smoke bay was accessed from the central bay to the north of it.

Above the cross beam of frame IV the framing is still in situ and comprises a central stud (like that in frame III immediately to the north) and two down braces running from the east and west posts to the cross beam (Figure 103). Above the tie beam the roof truss is again closed, with some original staves and daub left in situ. This is again heavily smoke blackened (Figure 104). Above the collar the truss is now infilled with a later partition; however, the top of the collar has a groove for the base of an original partition. There is no indication of any original fixing on the underside of the principal rafters in this position, although this is also seen on some of the trusses to the north. It is possible that there was a smoke vent arrangement provided in this area, but if so this has later been removed.

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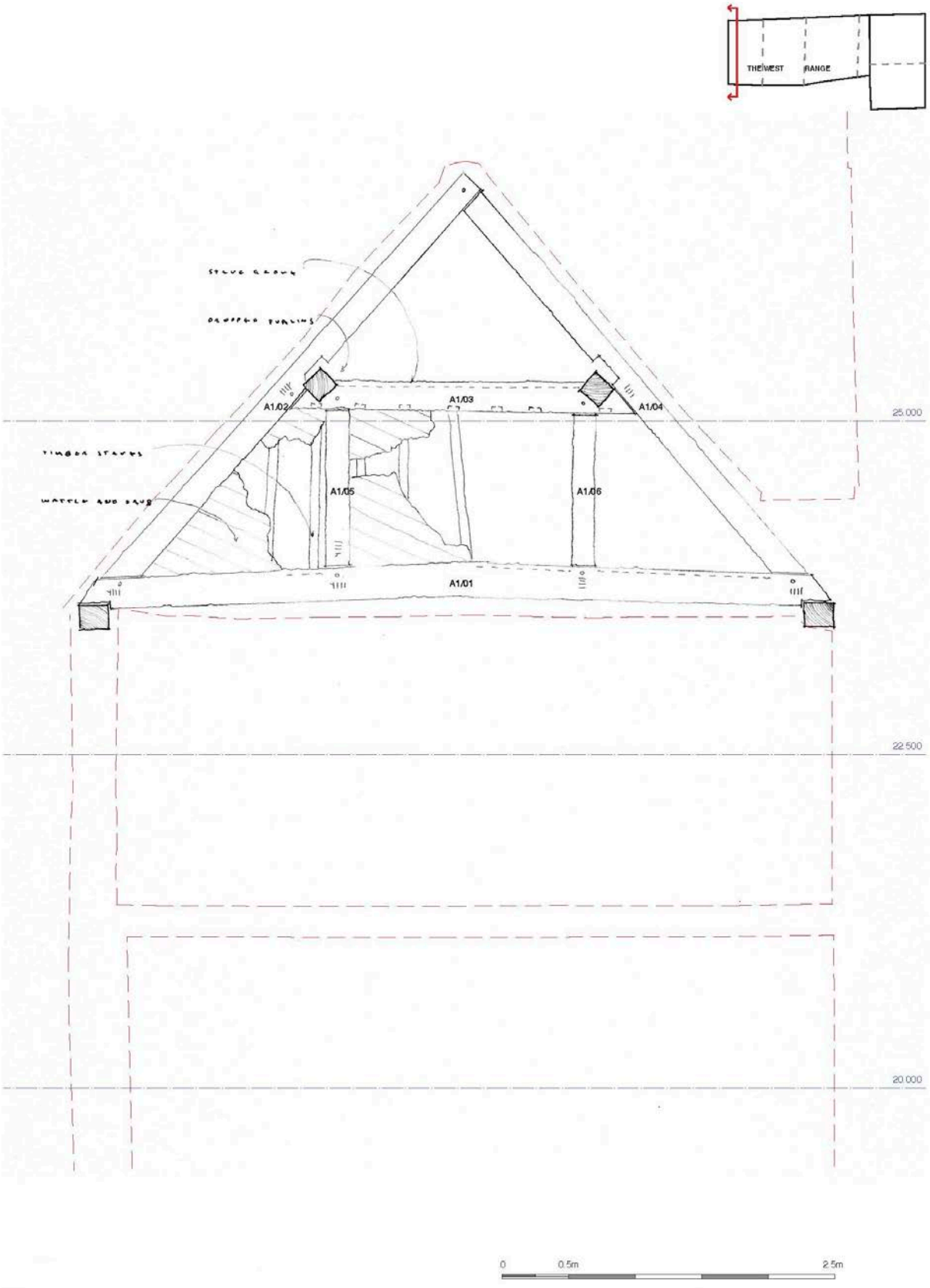


Figure 102: Cross section showing the northern face of frame IIII of the west range, with surviving features annotated. [© Butler Hegarty Architects. Reproduced with permission.]



Figure 103: The northern face of frame IIII, looking south, showing smoke blackening on the frame and infill panels at first-floor level and in the roof. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325606]



Figure 104: The roof truss of frame IIII, showing smoke blackening, and later stud infill above the collar. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 105: The junction between the main west range and the north-east corner bay, showing the rafters of both running down to the shared wall plate. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325643]

As described above, the small two-storey north-east corner bay between the west range and the street-front range is apparently contemporary with the construction of the west range as they share a corner post and a wall plate along the junction between the two (Figure 105). The ground floor of this bay has been completely reconstructed, but its original extent can be deduced from the surviving evidence in the first-floor frame. The bay measures only 3.6m by 2.7m, which means its full depth was not as much as a single bay of the west range, nor was its full width that of a bay of the street-front range, giving it a very limited footprint. At first-floor level it was slightly larger, as the eastern side of the first floor was jettied out over the passageway (Figure 106). The passageway has later been widened to the west, although the original ground-floor west wall line is indicated on the underside of the jetty joists. The northernmost joist has a cut on the underside which must originally have supported a north-eastern ground-floor post, with the shadow of the jetty plate visible on all of the joists to the south of this (*see* Figure 106). All the evidence suggests that this jetty is part of the original frame, with consistent marking for the jetty plate, but one of the joists shows signs of reuse, with a mortice and a groove in its southern face suggesting that it was originally part of a wall frame. However, it is of the same overall width and form as the other jetty joists, including having a rounded end. As it seems likely that the ranges were built over a number of years, it is possible that this represented the reuse of a piece of timber which had not been used for its original framing purpose for some reason.

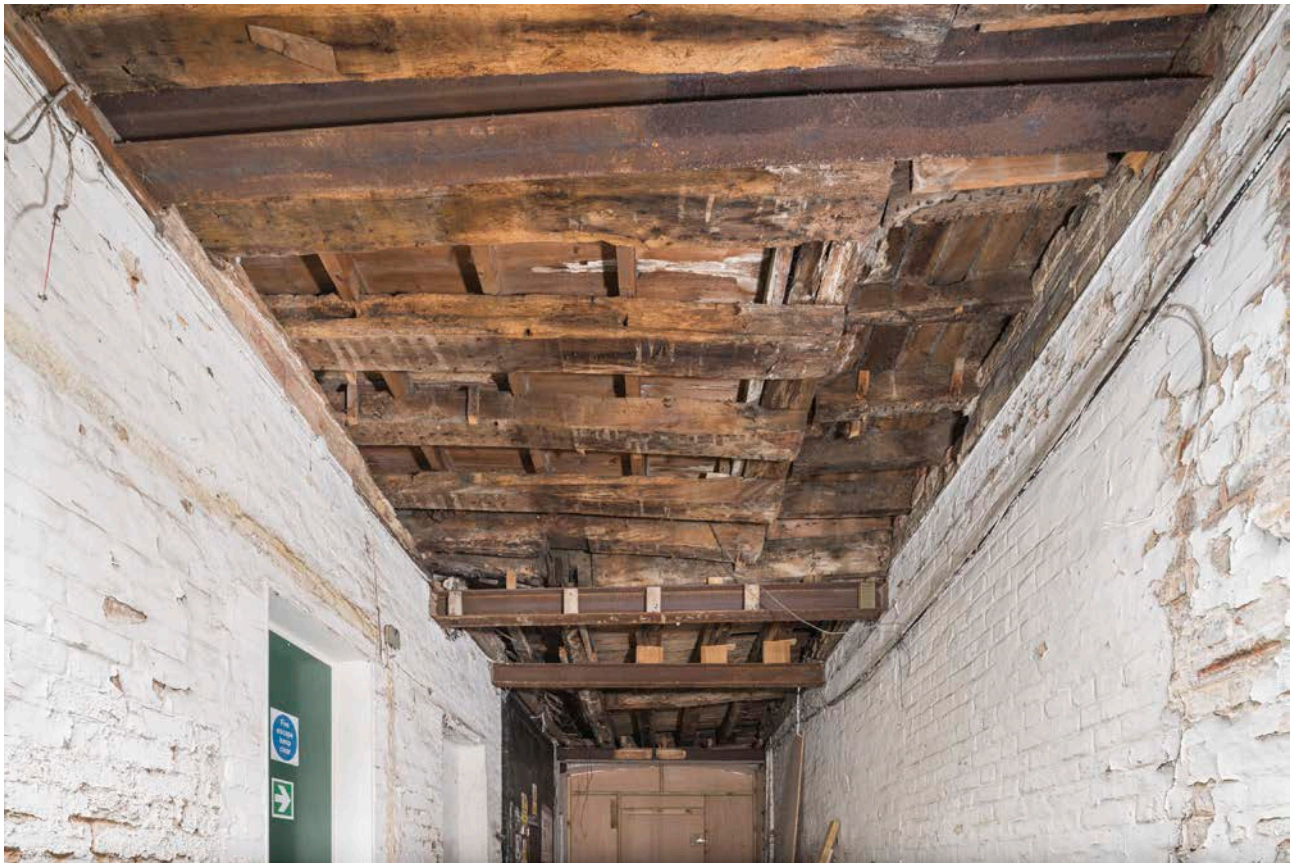


Figure 106: The jetty of the north-east corner bay, as visible from the passageway below, looking north. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325688]

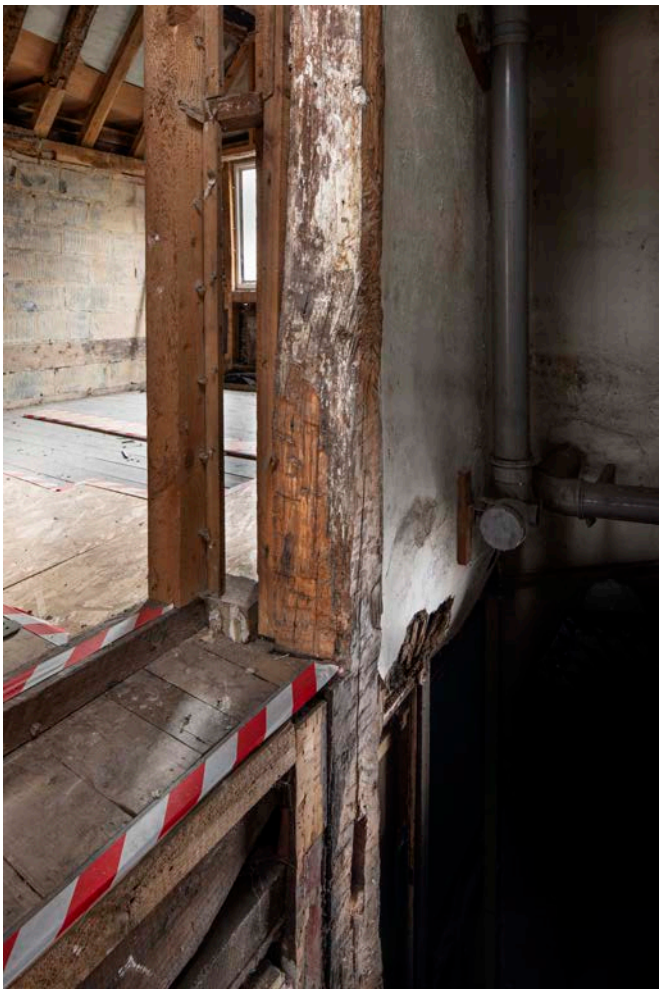


Figure 107: The east post of frame I of the main west range, which also acts as the supporting post for the western side of the north-east corner bay, looking south-east. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435639]

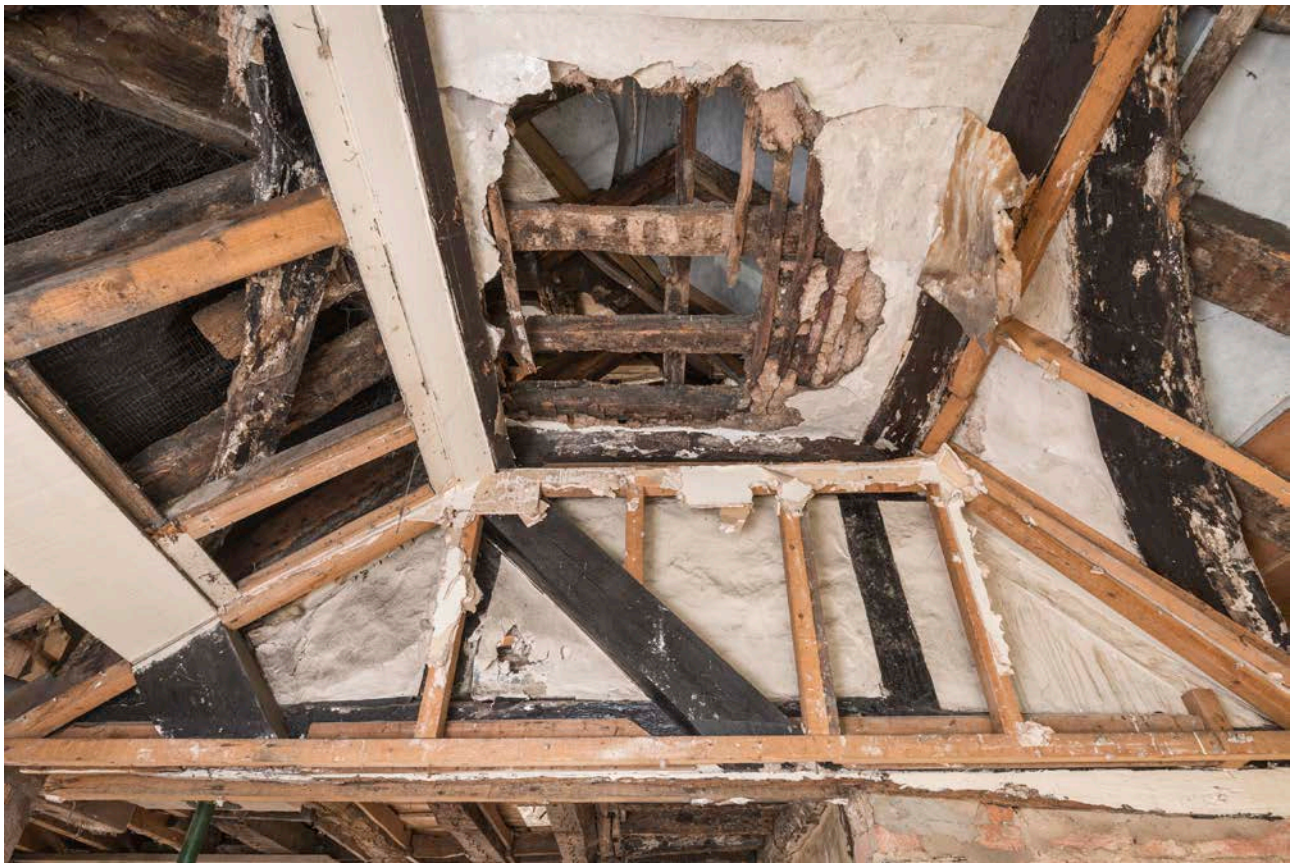


Figure 108: The roof truss arrangement of the northern frame of the north-east corner bay, looking north, with later timber and plaster ceiling inserted. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325683]

At first-floor level the original north-west corner post is visible (also representing the eastern post of frame I of the main west range; Figure 107). This still has the northernmost joist of the jetty jointed into its eastern face. The post's south face has a redundant mortice for the original girding beam running south to form part of the western wall of this bay (also the eastern wall of the main west range). The west face has a further mortice originally for the girding beam of truss I of the main west range. This has been cut by the insertion of a stair in this location.

The form of the northern cross frame indicates that at first-floor level the north-east corner bay functioned separately from the street-front range as there are mortices in the underside of the tie beam indicating the position of studs. The underside of the eastern part of the tie beam is concealed, but the western part has a single original mortice for a stud, with stave holes to the west of this (there are other smaller mortices which appear to be secondary). Above the tie beam the truss is of a form corresponding to those in the rest of the west range (and the other ranges on the site), with two queen struts rising to a collar (Figure 108). Between the tie beam and the collar the truss is closed with what appears to be original staves, although the laths which form the plaster surface on its southern face appear to be later (*see* Figure 95). There is no indication of any original laths, and the original staves appear clean with no residual daub. There is no indication it was ever rendered or plastered on its northern face. It seems likely therefore that when constructed the bay was built up against the street-front range. This may reflect the phased approach to the construction of the different ranges.



Figure 109: The first-floor room of the north-east corner bay, looking south, showing the framing of the south elevation. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325678]

The west wall, which also forms the east wall of the main west range, has been later replaced, but the original wall plate survives. At first-floor level much of the framing has been replaced with later brickwork forming the upper part of the later stair, although to the south there is a short section of surviving timber-framing exposed, including part of the girding beam between the main west range and the north-east corner bay and an associated stud rising which may originally have formed part of the partition wall. Only the lower part of the stud survives but it does appear to be in its original position. The east wall has been replaced with much later breeze block, as it now butts up against the side of No. 17. Originally this must have represented an exterior wall frame, exposed to the east over the passageway through to the courtyard.

Parts of the framing of the south wall of the north-east corner bay of the west range survive, including a section of the original girding beam between ground- and first-floor level (although it has been cut off at its eastern end) and the tie beam above, which indicates the framing pattern at first-floor level (Figure 109). Between the two horizontal timbers the framing has been altered to accommodate a later, larger window, but the lower part of an original in situ stud sits towards the east, with the original mid-rail running from the east post into it. A further full-height stud survives. This may be original but has been moved westwards of its former position to accommodate the later window. The original location of the stud is indicated by an empty mortice in the underside of the tie beam. These two stud positions appear to have flanked an original window opening which sat

slightly to the east of centre. Between the two a smaller mortice with part of a residual peg hole indicate the position of a mullion. Above the tie beam the truss takes the same form as that to the north, with queen strut and collar arrangement. Between the two trusses curved windbraces survive, rising to the purlin (Figure 110). The common rafter pairs also appear original.



Figure 110: The eastern part of the roof structure of the north-east corner bay, looking east, showing the curved wind braces and original rafters. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325684]

Discussion of the original form and arrangement of the Fleece

The extensive building fabric evidence currently visible within the Fleece Hotel provides significant evidence for the form and function of the three main ranges in the late 15th century, although the interpretation of some areas is more difficult, particularly where there has been more wholesale later replacement. The structural evidence indicates that the ranges were constructed as three distinct structures, with no original connection between the street-front range and the west range to its south. While the relationship between the street-front range and the great inn range is less certain, it seems probable that the arrangement was similar.

The structural evidence of the street-front range confirms the documentary material in indicating that there were a series of separately let units, each with a limited footprint

but providing commercial space, domestic accommodation and storage on four levels. Evidence for two of these units survives, and it is likely that the units to the east of the passageway originally took a similar form, although it seems that the western part of what is now No. 17 made use of the space over the passageway at first- and second-floor level, making it a larger unit. There is no evidence of interconnection between the units as originally constructed, confirming they functioned independently from each other. The surviving ground-floor evidence visible in No. 21 means that it can be suggested that the units provided a shop to the front and a private room (perhaps akin to a domestic hall) to the rear, possibly with some form of corridor arrangement allowing separate access from the street to the rear room, as well as via the shop. This would be a relatively standard arrangement – and is seen in surviving shop units elsewhere (*see* for example Abbey Lawn Cottages, Church Street, Tewkesbury).[211] Both of the surviving units on the street-front range has evidence for a stair located in the south-east corner of their respective bays, which clearly provided access to the upper levels within the building. There is no evidence for any original heating arrangement in the street-front range. While it is possible the evidence of the original heating arrangement has been lost, it is perhaps more likely that the units had no heating originally – which was not uncommon in urban buildings. Heating may have been provided by portable braziers.

To the south of the street-front range, the two other ranges appear to have functioned together, as part of a large and important tenement – always referred to in the documentary evidence as a ‘great tenement’. It is clear that the great inn range formed the principal space, with the west range having an ancillary role in relation to it. As originally constructed the great inn range appears to have provided a hierarchy of spaces at ground-floor level, with a large three-bay high-status room to the north, a more modest although still large two-bay room immediately to the south of this and finally a single-bay service room at the far southern end of the building. These rooms appear to have interconnected, perhaps via a corridor arrangement on the western side of the building. Apart from the small doorway in the southern bay, which must have provided service access form the courtyard to the west, no principal entrance has been identified. No evidence survives for the original main access point between the range and the courtyard.

Given the hierarchy of spaces evident, a standard domestic arrangement of parlour, hall and service bay could be suggested. However, the two-bay room in the centre of the range appears not to have many attributes that would make it a ‘hall’ in the medieval sense. There is no evidence for any original heating arrangement, and most of the features that survive are architecturally modest. Furthermore, the position of this room – sitting on top of the undercroft and therefore raised above ground level – seems to make it a less likely point at which to enter the building. There are examples in other cities of unheated halls. In Bristol, for example, the retention of a large principal room was perhaps seen to have a ceremonial function, which did not require heating.[212] However, the smaller size and relative simplicity of the form of the room at the Fleece (compared to that to the north) is perhaps more indicative of it not originally having a role as the principal room in the range, which provides a significant contrast between this space and any ceremonial hall.

The room to the north of this certainly formed a high-status space, being slightly taller than the room to the south and of three bays rather than two. Can this be considered the hall, in that it seems to have formed the principal room in the range? It certainly seems to have been an important space, but it still has no evidence for an original heating arrangement, and its position in the range would make this an unconventional arrangement. Given that this was the only section of the range that sat at external ground level, it seems most likely that the principal access point would have been into this room. This might have been at the 'low' end of this room – in roughly the same position (although at a lower level) as the main entrance door which survives today. The other possibility is that, as the evidence of the arrangement in the northernmost bay does not survive, this provided an access point to the building close to what must have been the main access route into the courtyard via the gateway through to Westgate Street. If the building was accessed via this room, then it cannot be said to have a traditional domestic layout at ground-floor level at least. There are however plenty of examples of large urban building complexes where the building arrangements take a less conventional form in order to allow for the limitations of an urban plot.[213] It may also support the idea that the range was constructed not purely with use by a domestic household in mind, with the provision of flexible spaces at principal floor level perhaps facilitating some more commercial uses, depending on how a tenant wanted to use the space.

The structural evidence of the west range strongly suggests that it originally formed what was essentially a detached kitchen range, functioning in relation to the principal range to its east. While some of the original arrangement is uncertain, it seems most likely that the main kitchen space sat in the central bay, accessing the extant smoke bay immediately to its south. It is possible that the kitchen originally occupied both bays of the ground floor of the building, although it is not possible to confirm this and the alternative is that the northern bay may have provided a separate room. As well as the kitchen the range must have included two or three further chambers. These may have had a variety of functions, possibly providing further service spaces at ground-floor level, with storage and possibly some accommodation at first-floor level, as has been found in other examples of such structures.[214] The attached north-east corner bay (the bay in the angle between the street-front range and the west range) is contemporary with the construction of the rest of the west range. Its function is unclear, but it may have provided additional accommodation or storage, in relation to the functioning of the detached kitchen. As the street-front range was generally let separately, it may also have had a role in controlling or supervising access to the courtyard, as it sat directly over the main access from Westgate Street.

A house or an inn?

As noted in the discussion at the start of the documentary history section of the report, there has recently been debate over the original purpose of the site as reconstructed in the late 15th century. While traditionally believed to have been constructed as an inn, recent accounts – focusing on the documentary evidence – have cast some doubt on this, suggesting instead it should be considered a more conventional domestic tenement.

The examination of the documentary evidence for this report has nonetheless made it clear that the complex certainly functioned continuously as an inn from the mid-17th century onwards. It is also evident that the consistent use of the term 'tenement' to describe the site in earlier documents does not preclude the use of the site as an inn, as is seen in the records of other inns in Gloucester and similar sites elsewhere.[215] Some earlier references, particularly the often cited use of the term '*magnum hospitium*' for the site in 1534 and the occupation of some of its tenants as brewers or vintners, perhaps suggest that it may well have had such a role at an date before the 17th century as well.[216] Set against this is the evidence that at different points the site was held by prominent local citizens, who could arguably have been making use of the site directly to accommodate their own households, or perhaps to transact business associated with the market, although it is always possible that they were subletting all or part of the site.

Structurally it is clear that the tenement, although conforming to medieval inn arrangements in some ways, was lacking some of the most distinctive features which might have confirmed its construction in the late 15th century as an inn. W. A. Pantin, in his seminal article on medieval inns, identified a number of key characteristics that he associated with purpose-built inns. He suggests that the principal spaces – hall, chamber and kitchen – were the same as in domestic contexts, but he also notes that inns were likely to have multiple chambers rather than one principal chamber, and that these would have independent access (either via an external gallery or internal corridor arrangement).[217] One of the key sites that Pantin discusses in his article is the New Inn in Gloucester, also constructed by St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, although earlier in the 15th century, probably some 50 years before the Fleece.[218] At the New Inn the features that Pantin identifies are clear, with galleries giving access to the first-floor chambers. The original arrangement at ground-floor level is less certain, although the position of a hall accessed via a 'screens passage' is tentatively identified.[219] The building also contained a number of other ground-floor rooms which Pantin identified as a series of parlours – presumably intended to provide those staying with private spaces if they wished. The front range (on the street) provided separate shop units at ground-floor level, with chambers for the inn above.

Another relevant example is the Cross Inn, Oxford – which Pantin studied in detail, and published separately.[220] This is thought to be almost contemporary with the Fleece (constructed in the late 15th century). It also had a courtyard arrangement, but is more modest in scale than the New Inn, with two ranges flanking a central yard. The north range has a series of rooms which Pantin and Clive Rouse identified as parlour, hall, buttery and kitchen – running back from the street front with the kitchen to the rear. The parlour was originally slightly larger than the hall (26ft [7.9m] long as opposed to 22ft [6.7m]) and neither room was heated originally (with fireplaces inserted in the 16th century). As at the New Inn, it also had shops on the street front with inn chambers above. At first-floor level it had a series of chambers, some of which appear to have been interconnecting rather than separately accessed – although others did have an internal corridor arrangement, referred to as a 'gallery' in early documents.

While the Fleece clearly has a courtyard arrangement, and other similarities in terms of the provision of shops on the street-front, there are some key differences compared to the New Inn and the Cross Inn. For example, the structural evidence makes it clear that, as constructed, there was no access from the rear tenement to the upper floors of the street-front range to the west of the passageway. The arrangement of the eastern end of the street-front range is less certain – but the documentary evidence for how these spaces were being used in the 18th century suggests that they had a similarly separate arrangement (as the upper floors were included as part of the leases of the shops rather than being used by the inn). In addition, crucially, there is no evidence for a gallery arrangement, either external or internal, nor of separate access points to the first-floor accommodation via other means. Nor is there the proliferation of chambers at ground-floor level which Pantin identified at the New Inn. The arrangement at the Cross Inn, Oxford, has more parallels with the Fleece, particularly in the provision of unheated ground-floor chambers, but given that this also conforms to many standard domestic plans of the period it is not definitive evidence.

So the Fleece does not seem to have been designed as a purpose-built inn of the scale and type as that seen at the New Inn. However, in his original classification of typical inn plan forms, Pantin asserted that it was likely that many inns functioned in buildings indistinguishable from large domestic buildings of the same period, and more recent research has identified a number of examples of such buildings in various towns.[221] Such buildings are perhaps less frequently positively identified as inns – as unless there is definite documentary evidence, the structural ambiguity makes identification difficult. It is perhaps useful to consider the evidence from Winchester, where Derek Keene has noted ‘the similarity between the functions and structural requirements of the occasional lodging for a great and peripatetic household and those of a commercial inn’.[222]

In the case of the Fleece, while it does not have characteristic inn features, it nonetheless does not seem to wholly conform to a standard domestic arrangement either, at least as far as its form can be reconstructed at present. It seems to occupy the middle ground seen in sites such as the Cross Inn (at ground-floor level at least), where arrangements were equally suited to private or public use. It seems most likely that in investing in the site the abbey took a pragmatic view to the construction and rental of the buildings there and provided something which could function either as a public or private house depending on the needs of the tenant. It thus may have functioned intermittently as an inn, until the mid-17th century when its use for the purpose became permanent.

Detached kitchens

The identification of the west range as a detached kitchen also warrants broader consideration. This is another building type which can be difficult to positively identify – as the overall form can be very similar to self-contained houses which included a smoke bay or other large hearth.[223] Nonetheless from documentary evidence it seems they were a common feature in most towns and cities – although surviving examples are rare.[224] Documentary references indicate that detached kitchens were being mentioned in relation to city plots in Gloucester in the 17th century, and it seems likely that this reflected a building type that was not infrequently found in the city.[225]

Detached kitchens are particularly associated with the period 1450-1550, a transitional phase where smoke bays and other arrangements were more common, but before the widespread construction of chimneys – although detached kitchens were apparently still being constructed in the 17th and 18th centuries in Bristol.[226] The risk of fire is the most commonly cited reason for using this arrangement – although the reduction in the cooking smells and the creation of more space within the main building have also been suggested as reasons to use this form.[227]

Such kitchens were typically located at the rear of the plot, although in most cases this was presumably because this was the only option on a narrow urban plot. In this the Fleece is obviously atypical in being on a much larger site. The location of the west range on the western side of the courtyard presumably allowed the least distance between the kitchen and the rooms it was serving in the range to the east. The three-bay two-storey form of the building corresponds broadly to the type as identified in rural contexts in Sussex – although some of these examples have been called into question.[228] Nonetheless urban examples often appear to have incorporated lofts over the kitchen.[229]

At the Fleece the interpretation of the structural evidence is aided by the documentary evidence. From the leases of the 16th century onwards it is clear that the west range and the great inn range were always let together – which suggests that the two ranges were designed to function in relation to each other. And the great inn range has no evidence for original heating or fireplace arrangements – which would mean that any kitchen provision must have been made elsewhere on the site. Architecturally as well the larger and more impressive spaces of the great inn range contrast with the lower proportions and smaller rooms of the west range.

In this context the suggestion that the west range had a service role in relation to the larger, more impressive great inn range is an obvious conclusion to draw. This is seemingly confirmed by some of the more specific documentary references. First of all, the mention of the site incorporating a ‘bakehouse’ in the 1534 lease of the site.[230] This could refer to a stand-alone structure with a kitchen-related function. Second there are the frequent references to ‘the kitchen’ in the 18th century leases – as a point from which measurements of the width and length of the plot could be made, which strongly suggests that this represented a key building on the site, rather than a room within a larger building.

Remarkable also is the legacy of this arrangement. As late as the 1940s the hotel owner was commenting on the fact that food still had to be carried from the kitchen in the west range across the open courtyard to the dining room within the great inn range (albeit he was pretty condemning of the inconvenience of this arrangement).[231] That this echoed the original form and function of these two buildings in relation to each other almost 500 years earlier must be a rarity – particularly in an urban context.

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The shops of the street-front range

It is clear from the wider contextual study of inn structures, and of other large urban complexes, that the use of the ground floor of any street-front range as commercial premises was a common arrangement.[232] This must have provided a useful way to generate an additional income from the site, by exploiting the most valuable commercial space on the premises. The commercial potential of the street-front range at the Fleece was obviously high, as it faced onto the market place and, throughout the medieval period and later, formed part of the main 'butchery' serving the town. Such commercial units built as part of larger complexes could be 'lock ups' where only a single room on the ground floor was rented out and the upper floors reserved for use with a larger property to the rear, or provide domestic accommodation as well with shop and solar.[233] The structural evidence makes it clear that the units in the street-front range at the Fleece fell into the latter category with commercial space and accommodation provided on four levels.

There could be considerable variation in the form of the shop to the front – with some shops accessed directly from the street, and others via a side passage, which could also provide separate access to rear rooms.[234] At the Fleece little evidence of the original ground-floor arrangement survives, except in bay E of the structure (now No. 21). However, the parallel first- and second-floor arrangements of bays D and E (Nos 19A and 21) strongly suggest that originally both surviving units, and probably all four units, were built with the same basic layout. This is likely to have been the case at ground-floor level as above.

The evidence of the ground-floor arrangement from bay E, principally in the surviving lateral beam, means that it can be suggested that the ground-floor was subdivided, with publicly accessible space to the north (on the street front) and a private room to the rear. There is also some tentative evidence that this back room may have had a separate access route via a corridor running along the eastern side of the bay. If this was the case it might echo the ground-floor arrangements surviving (and reconstructed) in the Abbey Lawn Cottages, Tewkesbury, a surviving set of 15th-century shop units with rear halls and solars above. At Abbey Cottages the larger units towards the centre of the row of shops were of three storeys.[235] The ground-floor area, as reconstructed by Stanley Jones, had a shop unit at the front, accessed via a corridor arrangement on one side of the unit.[236]

It is important to emphasise that in the two surviving units at the Fleece there is no evidence that the rear room at ground-floor level formed an open hall, as seen in the smaller Abbey Cottage units and in other surviving urban examples of shop arrangements.[237] The surviving original floor joists at first-floor level indicate that the two surviving units were always fully floored, so there was no provision for an open hearth at ground-floor level. The lack of original heating is not uncommon in such premises – and is consistent with the fact that as originally constructed the great inn range of the rear tenement also appears to have had no primary heating arrangements. This makes interpretation of the rear room at ground-floor level less certain – it may have served as a domestic space, the equivalent of a hall, or it could have had a workshop or storage function.[238] At the Fleece all four units originally forming part of the street-front range

backed onto the larger tenement, rather than their own yards. In the two surviving units west of the passageway, and perhaps also to the east, there could be no provision for a rear window, meaning that the ground-floor rear rooms must have had limited or no natural light. This must have meant that they did not represent particularly desirable domestic or workshop spaces and may only have had a role as storage. However, in practice they probably had a very flexible use depending on the needs of the owner. The cellars underneath the properties must also have provided valuable additional storage space – as there is no evidence that they had separate access from the street, so they probably did not provide further commercial space.

A corridor arrangement along the eastern side of the units would have allowed access to the stair position which (in bays D and E at least) was in the south-east corner of the unit. This would have provided access to first- and second-floor levels where the principal domestic spaces must have been, although of course this accommodation was adaptable and could have been used for storage or other purposes as well. The suggestion that the ground-floor rear room only provided a storage space would mean that the principal domestic chamber for the units would have been at first-floor level, with a further chamber above. Thus, although spread over four floors, the units would have provided a significant amount of domestic space, equivalent to that provided in some buildings on more generous plots.

Phase Three – 16th century

In the 16th century the documentary evidence suggests that the great tenement was sometimes in use as an inn, and at other times may have been used as accommodation for notable local residents such as Richard Pate, who is described as dwelling in the house in the 1540s. The exact nature of his occupation is unclear, and may have had some commercial aspect, in a tenement so close to the market place. The units within the street-front range appear to have been let or sublet as commercial premises and were particularly in use by butchers, as this part of the south side of Westgate Street was the area associated with this trade – known as ‘the butchery’. As well as ‘the bakehouse’ (probably the west range) identified in the lease of 1534, other features mentioned in the leases included stables and a garden. It is likely that these features related to the southern area of the site, beyond the extant buildings, but indicate the extent to which this extensive tenement provided amenities that would have made it suitable for a large private household or as an inn.

Following the main construction phase, it is clear that all three ranges went through a continual process of updating and renewal in subsequent centuries. In many cases later phases have removed the evidence for early adaptation, and some of the changes that can be observed are hard to date at present. Evidence for changes that definitely took place in the 16th century is relatively slight, and it is possible that the alterations described here are in fact all of the 17th century. On balance, however, they have been considered the likely earliest phases of alterations currently visible within the building.

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Figure 111: The first-floor central room of the great inn range, looking south-west, showing the ceiling inserted over the room, possibly in the 16th century. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325588]

It is possible that the ceiling over of some of the upper rooms in the great inn range took place in this period, although the form of these structures is relatively undiagnostic and they may have been left open until the 17th century. The insertion of the ceiling of the central two-bay room at first-floor level may date from the 16th century (Figure 111). It is formed of two lateral beams which span the two bays. Both are tenoned into the central beam (of frame V), and then lapped onto the top of the outer trusses (frames IV and VI). This arrangement suggests that they are not primary to the frame (as they would then be tenoned at both ends). Closely spaced, squared joists run out from the beams and rest on top of the original wall plate to the east and west. Dendrochronology of the two lateral beams has in fact provided a date coterminous with the original construction of the great inn range, with a precise date of 1467/8 provided by one sample.[239] However, close examination of the features proves that it is very unlikely this ceiling was part of the original construction. While the main beams are evidently substantial oak timbers similar in character to the original phase of work, the joists are elm and of a much thinner scantling than the primary joists of the great inn range and other ranges. The survival of laying out marks on the sides of the lateral beams for these joists indicates that they were prepared at the same time, allowing the carpenter to mark the timbers accordingly. It seems instead that these beams were made using older timber. There are no residual marks for any earlier structural use for the lateral beams, however, so how they may have been used or

stored in any intervening period is unclear. It does perhaps support the idea of a relatively early 16th-century date for the insertion of the ceiling, as it seems unlikely such timbers would have been available for such a use in later periods.

An alteration to the west range which might also be tentatively be ascribed to this phase is the insertion of a large stone chimney stack (*see* Figure 99). This now sits against frame II, at the north end of bay B. Frame II has elements of an original partition surviving within the truss, particularly above the tie beam where an early partition survives. The upper part of the chimney stack has been built up against this, suggesting that the stack is not original. The stack originally occupied almost the whole width of the bay, although it has been later truncated at its western end. To the east there is a narrow gap between the stack and the east wall which may have provided a means of access between the two first-floor bays, after the insertion of the chimney. The chimney itself is formed of squared blocks of stone, some of which may be reused. It appears to have provided a fireplace only at ground-floor level, as there is no indication of any first-floor fireplace on either side of the stack. The stack survives at ground-floor level but it is largely plastered over on its northern face. It still provides a (later) fireplace for what was originally the northern bay of the west range (now the rear bay of the shop in No. 21). The south side is currently plastered over, so could not be examined closely. The size of the stack suggests that it may have had a service function. It is possible that it superseded the original smoke bay, one bay further to the south. Although it is not clear when this fell out of use, the level of smoke blackening within the smoke bay is relatively light, perhaps suggesting it was not in use for a long period of time. The most frequent alteration to smoke bays was to insert a chimney within the bay, but there is no evidence that this happened here. It may be that instead the smoke bay was superseded by this later stack, with the former smoke bay used for different purposes from the 16th century onwards. Alternatively, it is possible that the smoke bay and chimney were in use at the same time, providing different functions within the service arrangement for the tenement.

There is no stylistic evidence from the chimney which dates it definitely to the 16th century, but it has tentatively been placed in this phase because of the evidence of only light smoke blackening on the smoke bay. It is possible, however, that the chimney formed part of the larger 17th-century phase of alteration, which also seems to have made extensive use of stone. Further evidence from any opening up work on the ground-floor level of the stack may help to clarify the original form and date of this feature.

A further notable element of likely 16th-century date are some of the surviving paint schemes visible within the building.[240] These extend over much of the great inn range and the street-front range, although there is less evidence from the west range (perhaps indicating its continued use as a service area, and therefore its relatively low status within the complex). Generally these appear to have formed part of ‘plain schemes’, that is where colour is applied to the structural timbers with a contrasting (usually white) paint on the infill panels. Survival of a red coating has been noted in the great inn range on the up-brace of frame III (*see* Figure 57). In the ground-floor service bay a pattern of red and yellow painted onto alternating joists has been tentatively identified (Figure 112).[241] Full investigation of the paint schemes is yet to be undertaken, but it is likely that this will shed further light on the 16th-century phase of use of the buildings.



Figure 112: The ground-floor southern bay (bay F) of the great inn range, showing the possible use of alternating red and yellow paint on the ceiling joists. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325692]

Phase Four – 17th century

There is clearer stylistic and dendrochronological evidence for extensive alterations to the complex in the 17th century. A significant phase of alteration within the great inn range can be dated to the mid-17th century. Dendrochronological dating of one of the beams supporting the floor at the north end of the range produced a felling date of summer 1645, which suggests that this floor was inserted within a couple of years of that date. Other features in the building can be dated on stylistic grounds to the 17th century more broadly, although it is unclear if all of this work was undertaken at the same time or as a series of separate building campaigns, possibly even under different tenants. They have been phased together here as a series of alterations to the building over the course of the century. It should also be noted that the alterations tentatively dated to the 16th century may in fact also form part of this work.

The documentary evidence indicates that from the mid-17th century onwards the tenement functioned continuously as an inn, with the first reference to the site as the Golden Fleece dating to 1664, although it seems likely that the function had changed before this date. It may be that many of the 17th-century changes to the site related to the provision of more accommodation and better facilities to support this use.

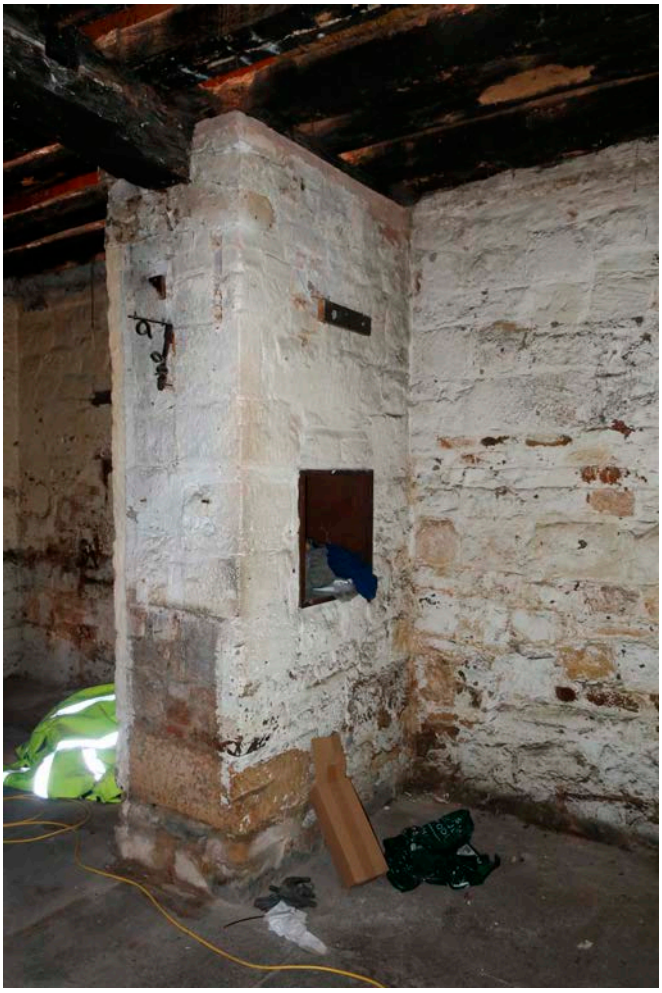


Figure 113: The undercroft in the great inn range, looking north-east, showing the inserted stone piers and timber beams of the raised floor at the northern end of the building. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Raising of the floor at the north end of the great inn range

One phase of alteration which can be precisely dated is the raising of the ground-floor level in the northern half of the great inn range. One of the beams supporting this floor has been dendrochronologically dated to the summer of 1645, suggesting the work was done within a couple of years of that date.[242] As was noted in Phase Two above, the great inn range was constructed with a split-level principal floor with the three northern bays functioning at the external ground level and the three southern bays sitting approximately 0.5m higher over the undercroft. This must have proved somewhat awkward when moving through the building, and the insertion of the floor within the original northern room allowed the whole of the principal floor to function on one level.

The insertion of the floor must have necessitated some alterations to the undercroft, and it is likely that the upper parts of the stone walling underneath this area were built up to support the floor. This appears largely to have used stone of a similar form and quality to the medieval phases, some of which may in fact have been available on site, given the earlier truncation of the undercroft. It is difficult to trace any break in the masonry which would indicate the raising of the walling in this phase, indicating that the stone used was of a very similar form to that of the earlier walling, or perhaps the fact that the alterations

saw the more extensive reconstruction of a greater proportion of the cellar walls in this northern area. The raised floor itself is formed of two squared timber beams which span the undercroft supported on projecting masonry piers (Figure 113). These are chamfered on their undersides with stepped run out stops. It is likely that there was originally a further beam to the north of this, but this has been lost in the later truncation of the range. The cross beams supported joists which ran between them. Originally these were tenoned into the side of the beams, although the 17th-century joists have been removed and replaced by later joists resting on top of the cross beams.



Figure 114: The south-west wing of the great inn range, west elevation, looking east. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325653]



Figure 115: The south-west wing of the great inn range, internal arrangement at first-floor level, looking south-west. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325592]

Construction of the south-west wing of the great inn range

The main element of the complex which can be dated, on stylistic evidence, to the 17th century is the two-bay three-storey range which is attached to the south end of the great inn range on its western side (Figure 114). The wing is formed of a stone plinth rising to approximately 2.2m, slightly higher than the height of the original undercroft above ground level. Above the plinth the range is timber-framed, although some of the extant framing is later replacement. The south wall is currently totally concealed externally by a protective membrane and so cannot fully be investigated at present, although some framing in this wall is visible from within the building.

The range sits at an irregular angle to the great inn range. Its south wall is aligned with the south wall of the great inn range and in fact may incorporate some masonry at plinth level associated with the undercroft. This area cannot currently be accessed to confirm whether this is the case, but on plan the wall is notably thicker than the other walling of the wing, which may suggest an earlier date. The north wall of the wing runs parallel to the south wall but is shorter, meaning that wing's west wall is aligned at an angle and creates an irregular ground plan to the extension (*see* Figure 2). The wing also has an awkward floor-level arrangement with the great inn range, its ground-floor level being about 1m below that of the principal floor of the latter. This off-set is continued at higher levels (Figure 115). Nonetheless it is clear that the range functioned in relation to the main range, with short flights of stairs linking the various levels.



Figure 116: The south-west wing of the great inn range, north elevation, looking south. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325654]

Although the range has seen later alteration and some renewal to its external timber frame, much of its original fabric survives, and further details can be inferred. The plinth of the range is formed of squared stone blocks to the west elevation. To the north the plinth level is rendered and has been extensively modified. Above the plinth the west elevation is formed of timber-framing (*see* Figure 114). This has been modified, but its original form can be reconstructed to a greater degree. Original elements surviving include the main posts, two large curved braces, possibly elements of a third brace, and much of the framing of the roof truss including tie beam collar and raking queen struts.

The posts rise the full height of the elevation above the plinth to support the tie beam and have jowled heads. Of the intermediate framing the most distinctive element is the surviving full-storey curved braces, two of which survive running out from the mid-point of the northern post (*see* Figure 114). The upper one curves upwards to the tie beam, while the lower one curves down to the sill beam, creating a distinctive overall pattern. It would seem likely that originally the elevation had corresponding braces to the south, and indeed a small section of the lower brace appears to survive amidst some of the later framing. The evidence for the upper brace is less certain, although a close examination of the tie beam indicates there are peg holes which may originally have housed its upper end. It is notable that the positioning of the braces does not allow for an original cross beam to run into the posts at either end, with other horizontal and vertical framing running instead off the braces. This is an unusual arrangement, although must have created a visually striking pattern.

Much of the other intermediate framing is later replacement, but it is likely that there has always been a cross beam running across the elevation at roughly the same level as that which survives. Although the current cross beam is later, peg holes are visible in the northern lower brace at this level, suggesting it corresponds to an original feature. Structurally it would also have been necessary to have a beam at this level to support the second floor. A small section of the framing between the upper brace and the north post also appears original with a rail pegged to the north post and running to the brace, with a thinner stud running up to the tie beam approximately halfway between the post and the brace. Closer examination of the surviving original elements of the frame may reveal more detail of the original framing pattern. Elements of the original western roof truss appear to survive. Above the tie beam are raking queen struts which rise to support the purlins, and a central stud rising to the collar. Above collar level there are two curved braces running out to the principal rafters. Close examination of these braces was not possible and it is unclear if they are original or not, although the rest of the truss does appear to be of original timbers.

The north and south elevations appear to have had a more conventional box-frame arrangement, with the original corner posts and intermediate full-height posts surviving, with each bay subdivided with further full-height studs, although there has been some compromise to the pattern to accommodate the different wall lengths (Figures 116 and *see* Figure 115). There is a girding beam marking the second-floor level, and mid-rails to both first- and second-floor levels. On the north elevation there is a single window to each floor, in the western bay. These are later and have cut through the original mid-rail position. It is likely that there were originally smaller windows occupying the same position, sitting above the mid-rail. On the southern elevation, any window positions have been later blocked up, but it is possible there was a window at first- and second-floor level just to the east of the main post (*see* Figure 115).

The interior of the building has been altered but some original features do survive, most notably the ceiling beams. The irregular plan form of the range appears to have necessitated some compromises in the internal structural arrangements to support the different floor levels. The main cross beam at each level runs parallel with the west elevation, but as this is not at right angles to the north and south elevations, the beams have had to be carefully designed to accommodate the angle where they meet the side walls. It is notable that the chamfer detailing is therefore staggered, so that both sides of each timber are stopped against the side walls despite their angled position within the range (Figure 117).

Internally the ground floor of the range has been heavily altered to provide a boiler room and other services. The only original feature currently visible is a pair of chamfered ceiling beams. It is not clear if they are in situ, but the main beam spanning the range is on alignment with those above, so is probably in approximately its original position. It is chamfered but not stopped. A second chamfered beam is located next to this in the south wall, but does not run parallel to the main beam, instead being angled to run to the northern corner of the building (Figure 118). This form of diagonal beam is normally associated with a jettied arrangement, but it never seems to have been part of such an



Figure 117: The cross beam at first-floor level in the south-west wing of the great inn range, looking north-east, showing chamfer stop detail. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 118: The irregular beam arrangement at ground-floor level in the south-west wing of the great inn range, looking south. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

arrangement here and may have been a means of accommodating the unusual angles within the building. Communication with the main range at this level appears to have been via the original doorway in the west elevation of the south bay. This must have necessitated some form of steps, but the current arrangement of stairs is later.

At first-floor level much of the framing in the north and west walls is visible and there is a further chamfered ceiling beam surviving, this time with a stepped and barred chamfer stop (*see* Figure 117). As mentioned above, the chamfer stops on either side of the beam have been off-set from each other, to accommodate the angle where it joins the side walls. The original access arrangement between the main range and wing at this level is unclear. The later arrangement was via a short flight of stairs from the landing adjacent to the ground-floor entrance point, and this may reflect the original design. At this level some of the framing of the south wall is also visible, including a post in the south-east corner and an angled brace (although this may not be original – a closer examination is required to confirm this).

At second-floor level much of the framing of the walls has been fully exposed. The framing of the west elevation is mostly formed of later replacement (as visible externally) but much of the original north and south framing arrangement is original. At this level a cross beam runs on the same alignment as those on the floors below; both ends of the beam run off the wall plate rather than corresponding to the posts presumably because of the angled arrangement. It has the same form of chamfer stop as at first-floor level. At this level, however, the beam appears to have been cut to fit, with the chamfer stop at the south end of the beam truncated. The beam does not look as though it has been moved, so it is unclear why this had happened. It may be that this was a mistake in framing the building – perhaps because of the irregular angles the carpenters were working with. The original joists run to the east and west of the cross beam. These are squared in section, but it is likely that the ceiling was plastered, with only the main cross beams visible within the rooms. The roof structure appears to have been heavily reconstructed, although the central truss may reuse some earlier elements.

As originally constructed it appears the wing therefore provided a single room on each floor level. It is not clear how the ground-floor area functioned but given its relationship with the service bay at the south end of the main range it may have provided further service accommodation – possibly also linking to the kitchen on the other side of the courtyard via an external door. The first- and second-floor rooms must have provided further chambers – which presumably could be used for accommodation in relation to the inn, either as bedchambers or perhaps a parlour and bedchamber.

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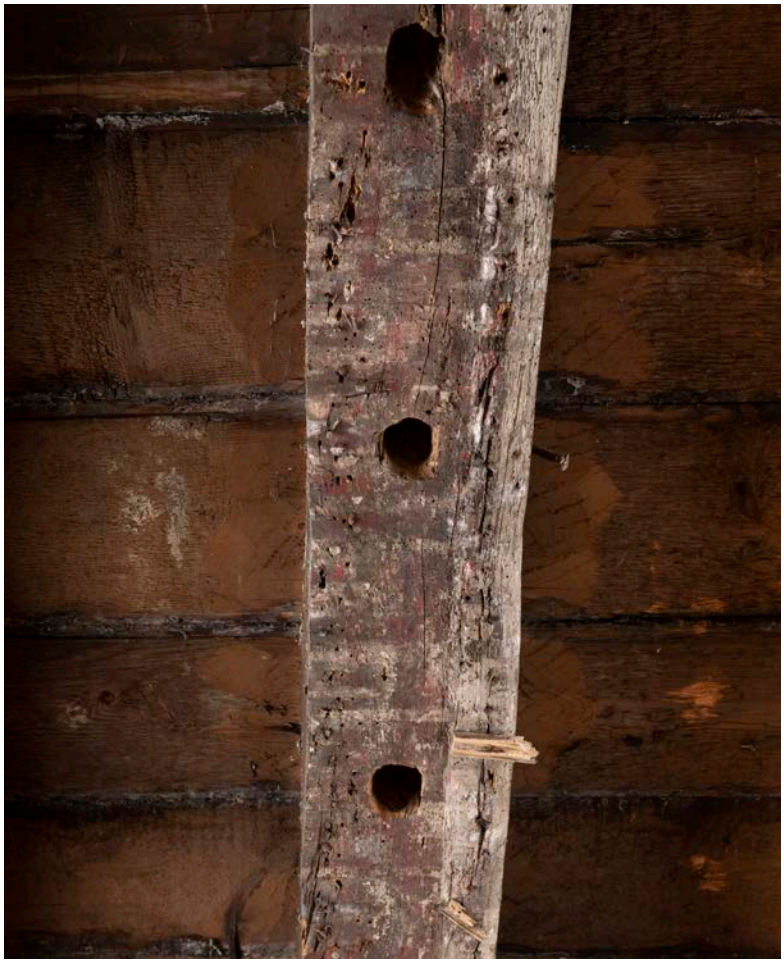


Figure 119: Evidence for an inserted partition in the south bay of the great inn range at ground-floor level, with stave holes inserted into an earlier joist. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435626]

Figure 120: The inserted beam in the south bay of the great inn range at first-floor level, lapped onto the earlier partition to the north (right), looking west. Also showing the positions of the joists for the section of the ceiling which was later removed. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325590]



Alterations to the south bay of the great inn range

There is also evidence for a significant remodelling of the south bay of the great inn range, possibly associated with the construction of the south-west wing. At ground-floor level towards the eastern side of the bay, one of the earlier joists was adapted to form part of a partition with a series of secondary stave holes visible on the underside (Figure 119). To the east of this the original joists appear to have been removed, and it seems likely that this partition and the associated removal of the joists was to allow the provision of a larger stair in the south-east corner of the building, superseding the smaller stair trap originally provided in the southern bay.

The location of the earlier stair, in fact, appears to have been reused for the creation of a chimney, which served a fireplace at ground-floor level in this area, as well as another hearth at first-floor level. This chimney has subsequently been completely removed, but evidence for it can be observed particularly at roof level, where the southernmost pair of original common rafters have been adapted for its insertion. The western common rafter of this pair has been cut back towards its top, but a narrow portion of the upper part of the rafter has been left in situ, in order presumably to allow it to continue to bond with the corresponding rafter on the other side. This cut would have allowed for a chimney running between this pair of rafters and the south elevation, which would have been sufficient space to provide two flues for the hearths below. At first-floor level the position of the hearth can tentatively be traced in the brickwork of the south elevation (*see* description of the south elevation below). At ground-floor level the position is less clear, but it is possible that the sloping off-set towards the upper part of the eastern end of the south elevation is associated with the upper part of the flue (although the later plaster covering makes this uncertain).

At first-floor level the insertion of the larger stair and the hearth appears associated with the insertion of a ceiling over the southern bay. Surviving of this arrangement is an inserted lateral beam, which runs from frame VI to the south wall, west of the centre of the bay (Figure 120). This has chamfered edges and stepped run out chamfer stops (Figure 121). Towards its southern end it has an off-set on its eastern side, where it would have run around the chimney breast (Figure 122). The chamfer stop on this side is correspondingly placed further north, so that it would have finished just north of the chimney. To the west of this inserted beam, the joists of the ceiling survive, but to the east they have been later removed, although the infilled mortices which originally housed them are visible on the eastern side of the beam. The other ends of these joists were most likely supported by a partition (since removed), which must have divided the western part of the space from the inserted stair to the east. The only evidence for this partition is a lap joint on the earlier partition of frame VI (Figure 123). It is likely that the eastern doorway in this partition was inserted at the same time, allowing access directly from the inserted stair into the larger room to the north.

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Figure 121: The northern end of the inserted beam in the south bay, looking north-east, showing the bar chamfer stop. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 122: The southern end of the inserted beam in the south bay, looking south, showing the off set in the beam for the former chimney position. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 123: The south bay of the great inn range at first-floor level, looking north-west, showing the earlier partition with the later lap joint adjacent to the inserted doorway at the east end of the partition (the right-hand side of the photograph). [Steve Baker © HEA DP325594]

At attic level, there is evidence for a plaster ceiling structure, probably inserted as part of this phase. A partially collapsed fragment of this survives on the south side of the western elevation (Figure 124). Elsewhere its position is indicated by the nails which previously supported the laths of the ceiling – these can be seen on both the east and west sides running to a level above the original purlins. There must originally have been inserted timbers at this level, to create a flat ceiling, but these have been completely removed. A plaster ceiling at this level would have allowed the attic in this area to have been used as a room. The means of access is unclear but may have been via the stair to the east, which could have risen through to this further storey, although the headroom would have been restricted by the slope of the roof.

With the construction of the south-west wing, these changes appear to have significantly altered the circulation arrangements within the great inn range and provided a further, heated chamber at first-floor level and another unheated chamber at second-floor level. It is possible that the insertion of the eastern doorway between the south bay and the original larger two-bay room to the north also saw the subdivision of this large room into smaller chambers. If so, this arrangement was later superseded, so it remains a speculative suggestion.



Figure 124: The south elevation of the great inn range at roof level, looking south, showing place bricks inserted around the original timber frame, blackened by soot from the adjacent chimney position. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]



Figure 125: The south elevation of the great inn range at roof level, looking south-west showing the place bricks inserted into the eastern part of the elevation. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Alterations to the south elevation of the great inn range

As well as all of the alterations to the south bay, it is clear that the south elevation was also altered, although this was not necessarily done at the same time. At some point the original panels of the elevation were replaced with brick, which was used to infill around the surviving elements of the earlier main external frame. Although some areas of this brick have later been replaced, it appears to have been used consistently to infill most of the upper panels of the frame, between the surviving elements of the original tie beam, the collar and the associated struts (Figure 125 and *see* Figure 71). The brickwork is characterised by the use of place bricks (that is, poorer quality bricks which show evidence for their original setting out) with a thick mortar used between them which includes a significant amount of ash or charcoal visible as black inclusions. This brickwork extends across the elevation at high level, and down between the two truncated ends of the original tie beam. A high-level window position (infilled with later brick, laid on side) is evident, and presumably was designed to light the newly created attic room. Where the inserted chimney is likely to have run the brickwork appears to have been inserted from the south (i.e. from the exterior of the building) rather than from the interior as seems the case for the other panels. This created an uneven finish to the mortar within the building immediately adjacent to the chimney and suggests that the brickwork was inserted after the chimney – although both may have taken place in the 17th century. At first-floor level the brick has been much modified by later insertions, although the outline of the chimney position can tentatively be identified where there are signs of brickwork having been hacked back to the wall line.

It is notable that prior to the insertion of the brickwork the tie beam of the original south elevation had been truncated, by taking out a long section of its central part (*see* Figure 70). The two stub ends of the beam have been left in situ and were braced to the principal rafters above by means of raking struts lapped onto the inner side of the timbers. The raking strut on the western side remains in situ but that to the east has been later removed, although its channel is still evident in the 17th century brickwork, infilled with a later brick. This truncation of the beam would have caused significant structural weakening, as it has cut the principal tie across the building at this point and the inserted struts would not have prevented outward movement of the separate elements. It is unlikely that this alteration was to do with either the insertion of the chimney or the insertion of the brickwork of the south elevation – neither of which would have required such an intervention. It may be that the cut had something to do with a further structure which was added beyond the original southern end of the building or possibly a large window (although this would be inconsistent with the original function of this area as a service bay). Whatever the justification for this, it seems likely that this was removed prior to the bricking up of this elevation in the 17th century. At present the reason for this alteration remains unresolved, as does the date at which it was undertaken.

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Figure 126: The ceiling inserted at collar level over the northern first-floor room of the great inn range, looking north, with the ceiling and the rafters plastered over. The partition shown below is part of the late 18th-century alterations at the site. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325625]

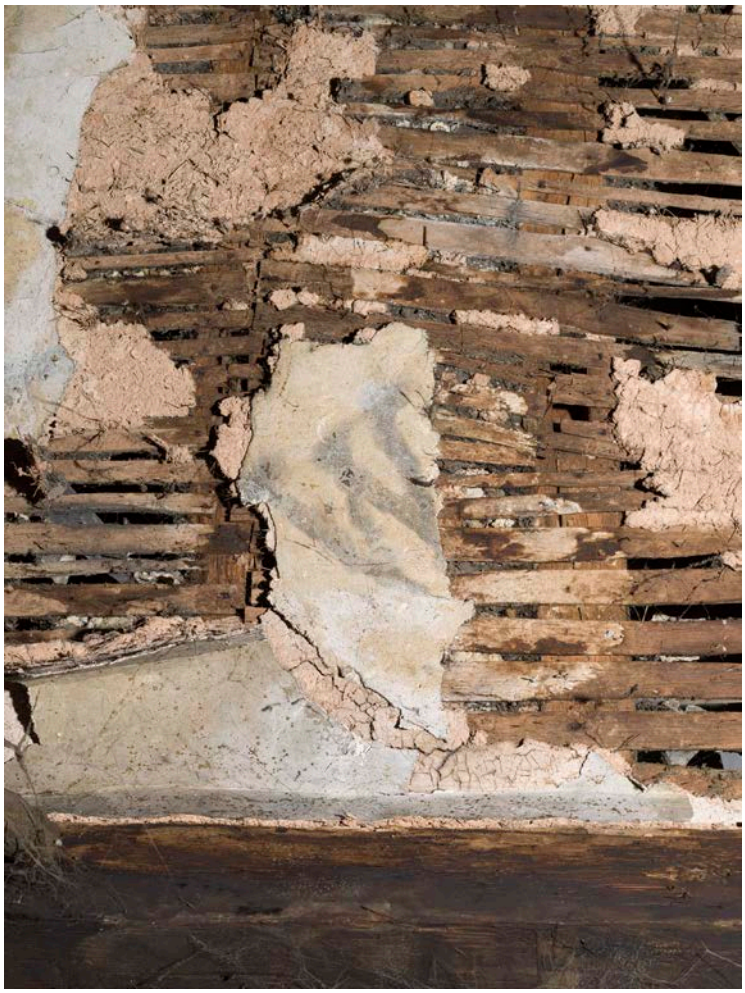


Figure 127: A fragment of the plaster ceiling over the northern first-floor room of the great inn range, showing a possible candle-marked 'W' (or 'M'). [Steve Baker © HEA DP325670]

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Alterations to the northern end of the great inn range

At the northern end of the first floor of the main range, the two-bay room occupying bays B and C appears to have had a different form of ceiling inserted in the 17th century. Instead of a flat ceiling level with the tie beams, as in the central room immediately south of this, a series of timbers were inserted along the purlins at collar level (Figure 126). The sloping pitch of the roof below this, and the inserted ceiling, were lined with laths to support a plaster ceiling. There are faint traces of a decorative effect on the plaster of the ceiling, with a star pattern visible particularly at the southern end. It is not clear if this is contemporary with the insertion of the ceiling, however. Similarly a possible candle mark of an M or W in the western part of bay B is visible, but could date from a later period than the ceiling (Figure 127).

Alterations to the other ranges

There is less surviving evidence for significant changes to the other ranges at this time, although this may partly be to do with the extent of later changes, particularly at ground-floor level, within both the west and the street-front ranges. As noted in Phase Three above, it is possible that the large stone chimney stack in the west range was inserted in the 17th century rather than the 16th century, although on balance has been placed in the previous phase.

Some of the alterations to the north bay of the west range appear to date to the 17th century. There are the remains of a ceiling inserted at collar level, similar to that seen over the northern end of the great inn range, in both of the main bays (*see* Figure 99). There are also traces of the same ceiling arrangement in the small north-east corner bay adjoining to the east (*see* Figure 110). This is still largely in situ, and can be observed from above, where the timber joists supporting the ceiling can be seen to be resting on the original purlins.

It also seems likely that at this date, if not before, a narrow doorway was inserted at first-floor level into the south wall of the westernmost bay (bay E; No. 21) of the street-front range, linking the first-floor room of this range to the northern bay of the west range. This necessitated the cutting of the original mid-rail in the south wall of the bay and the insertion of a stud to form the west jamb of the doorway. The doorway and door survive in situ (Figure 128 and *see* Figure 97). The door is formed of two planks, with strap hinges with a decorative spearhead, which stylistically may date to the 17th century. Presumably there was a corresponding intervention into the northern wall of the west range, but this partition has subsequently been completely removed. Whether this reflected the use of the upper street-front range rooms by the inn or the room in the west range by the shop is unclear. It seems likely that this represents a pragmatic and perhaps flexible arrangement whereby in certain phases the shop units may have used the northern part of the west range, and possibly at other times the great tenement may have used space in the street-front range (as became the permanent arrangement in the 20th century).

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Figure 128: Detail of the inserted door in the south elevation of the street-front range at first-floor level, leading into the first floor of the west range, showing a 17th-century strapwork hinge, looking north-west. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

The inn in the 17th century

The structural evidence indicates a number of significant alterations to the Fleece complex which appear consistent with the documentary evidence that from the mid- to late 17th century the buildings were in permanent use as an inn. Additional accommodation would obviously have been desirable. It is notable, however, that in terms of the surviving evidence for significant extensions, there is only the south-west wing of the great inn range, which represents quite a modest addition. There would presumably have been space, for example, to build a larger range which would have closed the south side of the courtyard – but this smaller option was obviously considered preferable. However, there were clearly also significant changes within the main range, certainly with the creation of two additional rooms within the service bay at the south end of the building – and it is possible that further areas of this range were adapted to create a greater number of smaller rooms at the same time – although the evidence for this has gone. With the changes within the main range, which appear to have provided further accommodation, the smaller south-west wing was perhaps felt to be sufficient. This multiplication of chambers, with independent access where possible is typical of inn arrangements and has been identified by W. A. Pantin as a key characteristic of the building type (*see* Phase Two discussion above).[243]

Another notable feature of the south-west wing is that the rooms appear to have been unheated when first constructed. At this date it seems surprising, and again there would appear to have been plenty of space to accommodate a chimney. In contrast it seems that the rooms created at the south end of the main range were heated, with a stack inserted against the south wall. Perhaps it indicates something of the status of the inn at this date – offering a more modest level of accommodation than might have been available elsewhere, or alternatively a range of options in terms of room facilities.

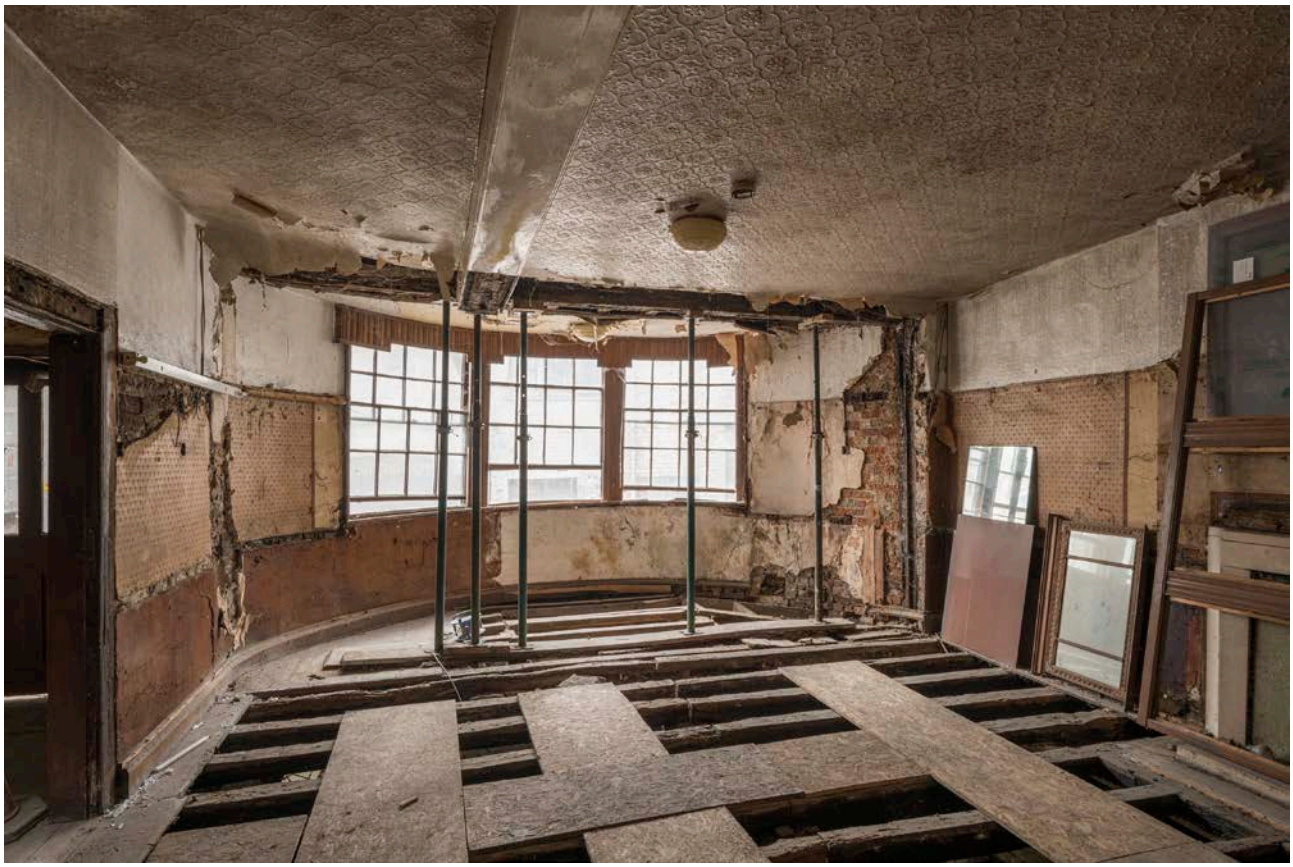
Evidence has also been identified of the upgrading of rooms within the west range – in particular the insertion of ceilings over the first-floor room in the northern bay and the first-floor room of the north-east corner bay. It is not clear if this accommodation might have been considered suitable for housing guests, or reflected accommodation for staff in what was still undoubted predominantly a service range – at least at ground-floor level. The extent to which there may have been investment in other structures on the site is now unknown – from the documentary sources we know that there were stables on the site (as indeed there had been in the 16th century as well). It may have been that further investment was made in other facilities too, the evidence for which does not survive.

The 16th to 18th centuries have been described as the ‘golden age’ of the provincial inn – with historical research indicating the wide range of functions that such complexes could provide beyond simply accommodating travellers; from hosting players, to functioning as meeting and trading spaces.[244] In Gloucester, however, it seems that the more prominent, larger inns provided a focus for such activities – with the Booth Hall, where the inn was adjacent to the city’s civic buildings, acting as the principal meeting space for political and social gatherings and hosting players, as well as being the traditional home of the wool and leather market in the town.[245] The New Inn allegedly also hosted players in the 16th century, although it is not clear what the evidence for this is.[246] There is little evidence therefore that the Fleece had such functions. More plausible, given its location facing into the main market area of the city, is that it may have played a role in relation to the market trade, hosting the factors and merchants who may have carried out business in the market or in the inn itself, as seen in other cities.[247] There is perhaps some tentative evidence for this in later centuries (*see* Phase Seven below) – but there is no direct evidence for this in earlier phases, and it certainly appears to have been subservient in this role to the Booth Hall Inn. This hierarchy of inns is seen in other cities – and the Fleece appears always to have been less prominent in city affairs, a pattern that was perpetuated into later centuries.



Figure 129: Inserted stone and brickwork at the north end of the undercroft of the great inn range, with the position of a doorway visible, with later stone infill, looking north. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435613]

Figure 130: The inserted bay window at the north end of the west elevation of the great inn range, looking north-west. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325605]



Phase Five – late 18th-century alterations

The documentary evidence suggests that extensive repairs to the Fleece were planned by the Dean and Chapter between 1772 and 1775 and possibly executed between 1775 and 1778, although there is nothing which confirms that they were actually carried out or how extensive they were. The Chapter accounts in fact suggest that the work was quite limited in scope, with a small stable being demolished and its materials used to repair the larger stables and the 'dwelling house'. Although there is no reason to suppose that repairs were actually limited to the reuse of this material, it perhaps suggests a rather modest scheme was envisaged.

Traditionally much of the late 18th century work evident in the building has been ascribed to this date, including the large bay windows on the west side of the great inn range, the brick fronting to the street-front range and other features.[248] However, a close examination of the documentary evidence for this project in fact suggests that the sale of the tenement in 1799 is more likely to have precipitated some of the more significant changes made around this date, particularly those to the great inn range. Nonetheless there are a series of alterations to the buildings which might tentatively be suggested to have taken place slightly earlier, perhaps forming a more modest scheme of repair work funded by the Dean and Chapter. These have been placed in this phase, therefore, although further investigation may confirm whether in fact they are also part of the post-sale phase.

This work seems to have been intended as an extensive refurbishment, and again is particularly evident in the great inn range. At ground-floor level it appears that the floor over the north room, inserted in the 17th century, was renewed, with new joists laid over the top of the cross beams inserted in the earlier phase. The replacement of the floor may have been necessitated by the large chimney stack inserted to the north of truss II. This stack is of brick and provided fireplaces at ground- and first-floor level. It is supported at cellar level by an inserted wall, largely of brick. Within this wall, again at cellar level, there is the position of a blocked doorway west of the stack (Figure 129). This has a timber lintel which is still visible within the walling. This must have provided continued access between the main cellar and the bay to the north. It is not clear whether there was similar access at ground- and first-floor levels, or whether the stack divided the northern bay (bay A) completely from the rest of the range. Any removal of the later wall finishes in the ground-floor room may clarify this.

At ground-floor level a partition was also inserted to the north of frame IV, creating the hallway arrangement that survives today. It is likely that as part of this work the main doorway was placed in its current position at the southern end of bay C on the western side, if it was not already in this location. Within the northern room the creation of the large bay window – taking up the full length of the newly created room – appears to be contemporary with the insertion of this new floor and the partition (Figure 130). This necessitated the removal of all of the original timber-framing of bay B and most of bay C, including the original oriel window. The post of frame III was also cut off below the girding beam, seemingly with no additional bracing or support provided (which has led to later structural issues). The bay window itself is formed of a brick plinth resting on a timber framework, with a continuous series of large sash windows following its curve.



Figure 131: The inserted partition at the north end of the first-floor level in the great inn range, showing early wall paper on its northern face, looking south. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325596]



Figure 132: Inserted internal stair from the undercroft to the ground-floor level in the great inn range, looking east. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435619]



Figure 133: Diamond pattern decoration on the ground-floor ceiling of bay E (No. 21), possibly applied in the 18th century. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435655]

At first-floor level a partition was also inserted towards the south of the larger room (within bay C) on the same alignment as that at ground-floor level, creating a similar landing and circulation space which ran the full width of the range (Figure 131 and *see* Figure 126). As well as the partition, a flat ceiling was inserted, with the lateral beam resting on the new partition at its south end. It seems likely that the current stair arrangement was created as part of this, linking the ground- and first-floor corridors to improve circulation through the building, although much of the upper part of the stair has been later replaced. As part of this alteration the brick and stone stair which currently provides access between the cellar and the upper part of the range may also have been inserted (Figure 132).

Other 18th-century alterations

Alterations to other ranges which might have taken place in the 18th century are harder to trace. However, one notable element which has tentatively been ascribed an 18th century date is the decorative scheme visible in the ground- and first-floor levels of the street-front range, in what is now No. 21 (bay E). At ground-floor level there is a geometric pattern surviving on the ceiling of both parts of the bay (north and south of the cross beam which indicated the original partition line). Its presence on both sides of the cross beam probably indicates that by this date the shop and the room to its rear had been opened up to form a single, larger commercial space. The ceiling pattern comprises a series of black and white triangles with no other embellishment (Figure 133). This has been compared to

other examples known to have been painted in the 18th century, although these are of a much higher status, and thus the survival of such a scheme in this type of premises is extremely rare.[249] This may relate to a further geometric scheme visible in the room directly above this, on the western side of frame V at first-floor level (Figure 134). At this level there is a black and white chevron pattern running along the southern part of the cross rail which may continue down the side of the adjacent stud. The scheme overlays the earlier plain red painted onto the timbers, thought to date to the 16th century (*see* Phase Three above).[250]



Figure 134: Black and white chevron pattern faintly visible on the timber beam and post of frame V, in bay E (No. 21), possibly applied at the same time as the pattern at ground-floor level, looking east. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325646]

Phase Six – alterations in the early 1800s

The Dean and Chapter sold much of the great tenement in 1799, with the exception of the eastern part of the street-front range, forming what is now No. 17, which remained in their ownership. The two remaining street-front properties and the Fleece to the rear were privately purchased. There is some uncertainty over who purchased the Fleece at this date. The involvement of Samuel Jones, a brush maker, who appears to have already owned the adjacent tenement to the east (now No. 15), has been suggested (*see* above). Whoever purchased the site it is clear that in the early 19th century extensive redevelopment of No. 15 had a significant impact on the Fleece. The first map drawn after this sale (1805) suggests that at this point the two tenements were still largely separate, although it is possible that this was based on an earlier survey. By the time of the next map in 1843 there had been extensive alterations to No.15 with, at the rear of the site, a brush factory which ran right up to the boundary with the Fleece tenement and must have replaced any earlier buildings on the rear part of the plot. This must have affected the Fleece, as the new building abutted the eastern wall of the great inn range.

Notwithstanding the uncertainty over the purchaser, it is clear that in the early 19th century the inn went through a period of relative stability, under the occupancy (and possibly ownership) of successive generations of the Haviland family. The 1850 sales notice describes the property as including a billiard room, reading room, brewhouse and stabling. It also notes the functioning of the inn as a ‘market house’, by which it may have meant that the premises were used by merchants and factors for transactions in relation to the market on Westgate Street. The reference to a ‘market room’ perhaps indicated that there was a specific allocation of space for market-related activities, although it is unclear where in the complex this might have been.[251] The alterations of around 1805 therefore seem to have allowed the inn to function successfully in relation to its location close to the market in Westgate Street.

Within the great inn range as it survives today, it seems likely that the brickwork that forms much of the east elevation is likely to relate to the significant phase of work of around 1805. At ground-floor level, in fact, the original framing appears to have been completely removed. The brickwork in the northern two bays of the building cannot be closely examined, but further south, the brick in the east wall of bays D, E and F is exposed. Both of the original eastern posts of frames V and VI have been cut off below the girding beam. The cross beams of the frames were left in situ, however. The eastern end of the cross beam of frame V was supported by a reused stone corbel, which projected out from the brick wall behind (Figure 135). This is now partly built into the later stone fireplace, but structurally can be seen to be separate. Although partially cut back, the south side of the corbel has the remains of an elaborate sunk spandrel, suggesting it is reused from another building. At present it is the only piece of stonework of this type identified within the building, so may be an isolated feature. Further south the eastern post of frame VI was also cut off. This is now supported on a later timber post, which has been inserted under the upper section of the original post. Other than these two features, the remainder of the elevation at this level is formed of relatively uniform brickwork.

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Figure 135: Inserted stone corbel with a sunk chamfer decoration on the side, supporting the earlier cross beam of frame V at ground-floor level in the great inn range, looking north-east. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Figure 136: Inserted bay window in the central room at ground-floor level in the great inn range, looking north-west. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325603]



These alterations to the eastern wall of the range must have removed any original windows which might have sat on the eastern side at ground-floor level. It may have been this alteration which prompted the construction of a further bay window on the western side of the range, to try and increase the amount of natural light entering the ground-floor rooms from this side. It is possible that the large curving bay window was inserted in the north room in the 1770s (*see* Phase Five above). The other bay window, lighting the central two-bay room, may have been inserted as part of this 1800s phase. This is a further large, full-height bay, of similar overall scale to the curving bay to the north but built with a rectangular plan (Figure 136).

At first-floor level more of the original framing of the east wall was left in situ, but nonetheless the brickwork of the brush factory sitting to the east of the frame clearly blocked the original windows along this wall. The northernmost surviving bay (bay B) appears to have had its east wall totally rebuilt in brick. The remainder of the bays have some framing surviving. The brickwork is in some places less neatly finished than at ground-floor level, perhaps reflecting the fact that it was built up against the remaining timber framework rather than replacing it. In the west elevation it seems likely that the current sash window arrangement was largely inserted as part of this phase, although some of the windows themselves have been replaced later. The two windows now located in the southern part of bay D and the northern part of bay E probably belong to this phase. The extent of changes to this elevation is indicated by the survival of a fragment of a playbill, which has been pasted to an inserted timber sitting in bay D, just north of the inserted window – perhaps as some sort of partial lining for the lath walling (Figure 137). This is only partially legible but appears to advertise a visiting group of players, with a date of 1802. While it could have been pasted in at any point after 1802, it seems likely that it was used within a few years of this date – further confirming the likely date of work to the building. Alongside this alteration to the window and framing, the external face of the west elevation may have been rendered (although the current render is later). The laths laid on the outer sides of the frame respect the window openings created as part of this phase, and it would be consistent with the general updating of the elevations which appears to have been taking place as part of this work. It is likely that internal alterations to the layout within the range were also made (corresponding to the relocation of the windows), but these have largely been stripped out, making it difficult to confirm the internal arrangement at first-floor level at this date.

Alterations to the street-front range

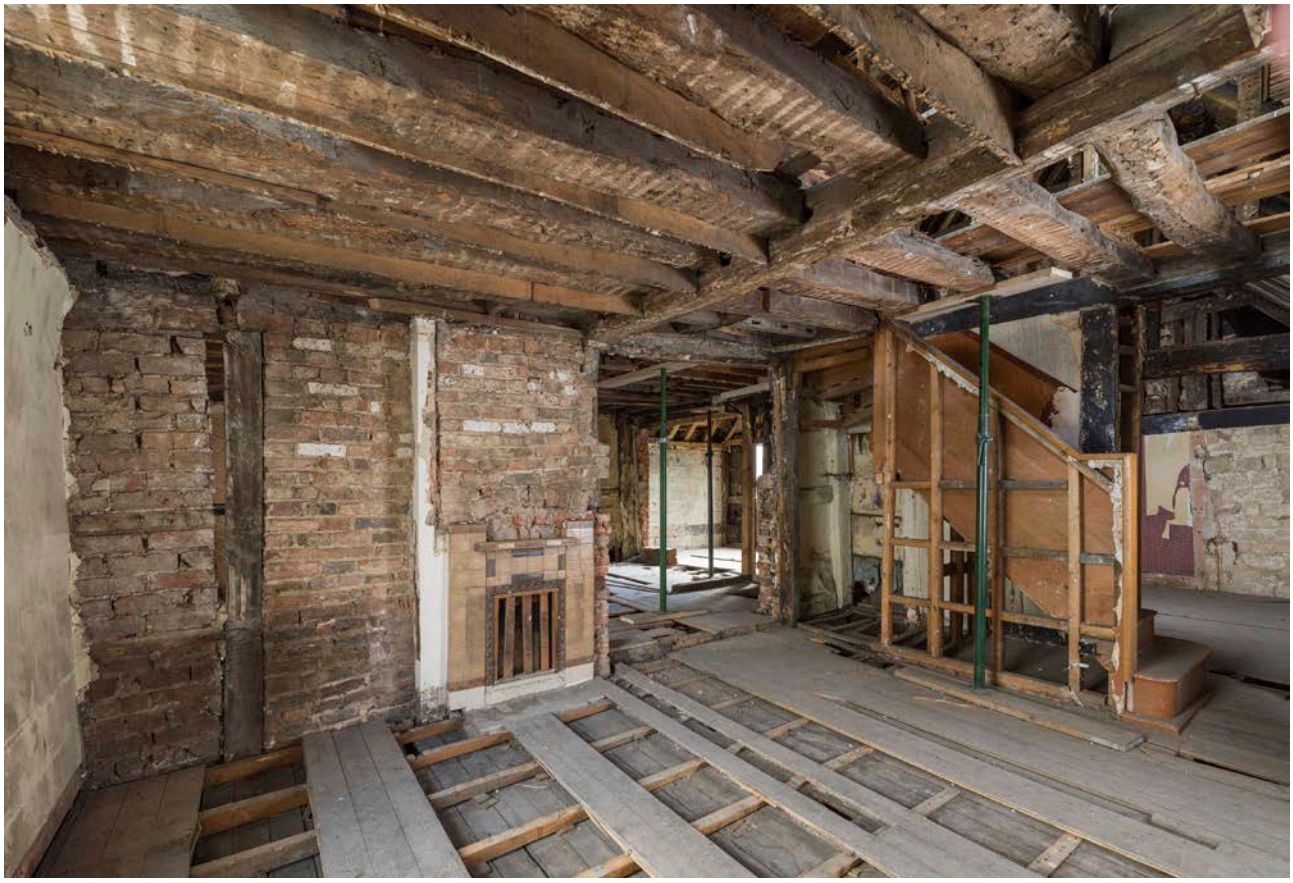
As part of this work, or certainly within the early part of the 19th century, significant work on the street-front range was carried out. A uniform façade with sash windows is shown on the 1841 street elevation (*see* Figure 9), so the work is certainly earlier than that date. It saw the complete replacement of the north wall of the building in brick, removing the double jettied arrangement that had existed previously. This is typical of the type of updating of earlier timber-framed buildings that was going on in Gloucester and elsewhere in this period, where the old fashioned jettied façade was replaced with something more fashionable. It was obviously much cheaper to just replace the façade rather than the whole building.

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Figure 137: Inserted timber stud in the west elevation of the great inn range, with a section of a paper playbill attached to the side showing the date 1802. [James O. Davies © HEA DP435631]

Figure 138: First-floor level in the street-front range showing the inserted brick chimney stack in frame V, looking south-east. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325627]



The brick façade was inserted in line with the earlier first-floor level, so the ground floor area was built out in line with this and the second floor cut back – to create a flat, uniform façade on all three storeys. The new brickwork was tied to the building by metal rods inserted at the floor levels internally. The external pattress plates for the rods are visible on some early photographs (*see* Figure 19). Most likely at the same time as the replacement of the façade, a brick chimney stack was inserted into the range between bays D and E, partially truncating the original frame dividing the two properties. This provided fireplaces at first- and second-floor levels in both bays, so heated the upper rooms of both units (Figure 138). It may also have provided a fireplace at ground-floor level for bay D (19A), as there is a chimney breast expressed on this side of the bay, although it does not seem to have provided one for the ground-floor unit of No. 21, which is of uniform brickwork at ground-floor level with no sign of a blocked opening. Both bays D and E were given large windows fronting the street at first- and second-floor levels as part of this phase. Those in bay E (No. 21) survive. The early photograph of the building suggests that externally these originally had large projecting brick voussoirs above the window openings (*see* Figure 19). Internally the window openings extend from floor to ceiling at each storey. Photographic evidence indicates that originally the façade to bay D (No. 19A) was the same, although it was altered again in the 1920s.

It was possibly also in the early 1800s that a staircase was created rising up from the courtyard to the rear, through the eastern part of the north bay of the west range, and into the first floor of the street-front range. This must have allowed access to the first floor of bay D (No. 19A) without going through the shop below and may indicate that the upper part of this section was in use by the hotel. At first-floor level the western wall of this inserted stair is visible running along the partition between the main west range and the north-east corner bay (*see* Figure 97). The brickwork is consistent with the brick seen in the inserted chimney stacks to the north, so it may have been constructed at around the same time. It is possible that it replaced an earlier stair in this location, although there is no evidence for this surviving.

Phase Seven – mid- to late 19th century

In the second half of the 19th century the inn appears to have been occupied by a series innkeepers taking short-term leases of the site from the owners. It also seems likely that around the middle of the century it was sharing some of its facilities with the Gloucester Club operating on the rear area of Nos 11, 13 and 15 to the east. When this arrangement started and how long it went on for is unclear – but it appears to have been functioning at the time of the Goad map of 1887, when the corridor arrangement between the club and the rear ranges of the Fleece is shown (*see* Figure 12). This appears to have encompassed the rooms providing leisure facilities for the inn – including the billiard room mentioned in the 1841 sales notice. Most of these facilities therefore appear to have been provided to the south of the extant ranges, in the area where the garage now stands. Much of this has subsequently been lost in the 20th-century changes to the site, and alterations to the main ranges in the late 19th century were relatively minor.



Figure 139: First-floor level in the west range, looking north-west, showing the rebuilt western wall of the range, with the earlier wall plate supported on timber brackets. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325610]



Figure 140: One of the stable or service ranges built south of the main Fleece complex, along the route in from Bull Lane, possibly reconstructed around 1874 and subsequently heightened in the 20th century, looking north-east. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Alterations to the west range relating to the reconstruction of No. 23

As part of the 1850 reconstruction of the adjacent property at No. 23 (*see* separate description in Appendix Two), it seems that the party wall between the two properties was completely replaced in brick. This saw the total removal of the original framing along the western side of the west range, although the original timber wall plate was left in situ. This was supported on a series of timber brackets projecting out from the brick wall (Figure 139).

Alterations to the area south of the great inn range, formerly part of the brush factory

Although this report has not looked in detail at the buildings on the adjacent plot (Nos 11A and 15, formerly part of the Gloucester Club), it is important to note that part of this complex appears to have interconnected with the southern end of the great inn range in the late 19th century. The 1852 Board of Health map shows what was the brush factory of Samuel Jones (labelled as a warehouse) wrapping around the south-east corner of the great inn range (*see* Figure 11). By the time of the 1887 Goad map, however, the brush factory had been altered to form the Gloucester Club. As part of the alterations, the building to the south of the great inn range had been reduced in size and appears to have formed a corridor arrangement running from the great inn range to the billiard room – the latter on the site of what is now the garage (*see* Figure 12). At first-floor level within the great inn range there is a large area of brick blocking at the east end of the south elevation, which appears to have been the point of access between the range and the corridor to the south. The precise date of the insertion and removal of this feature is unclear, but it seems that the Gloucester Club had no claim on the site by the early 20th century, as access between the two is not identified in plans of that date.

Phase Eight – alterations to the rear ranges 1874

The fire recorded in the *Gloucester Journal* in 1874 apparently destroyed or damaged much of the rear area of the Fleece complex, south of the main three ranges. This appears to have necessitated the reconstruction of the southern ranges of the Fleece, which documentary evidence indicates were in use as stabling. The newspaper reports suggest that it also provided a skittle alley. It seems likely that the brick block surviving south of the Bull Lane entrance passageway originally dates to this phase, although it has been heavily altered and raised in the 20th century (Figure 140). Originally this appears to have been of one or one-and-a-half storeys and may have formed a stable with a loft over, or possibly some sort of ancillary storage in relation to the rest of the Fleece complex. Any other buildings reconstructed at this point have been removed by subsequent changes.

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Figure 141: The north elevation of the garage building, constructed circa 1914, looking south. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325651]



Figure 142: The entrance in the west elevation of the great inn range, looking south-east, showing elements of applied timberwork which was inserted in around 1919. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325656]

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Phase Nine – 20th century

In the early 1900s ownership of the hotel passed to the Rich family, who were to run the site for the rest of the century. This saw another phase of investment in the site in the early 20th century, including again additional facilities on the southern area of the site, but also various updates to the main, extant ranges. Many of these appear designed to make the most of the appeal of the site as a historic inn – including bringing the undercroft back into public use as a bar. Changes in the latter half of the century were less significant, presumably because for much of this time the family were interested in selling the site. Nonetheless the buildings have all seen significant alteration throughout the later 20th century, making the usual provision for upgraded services and other facilities. It is not intended to outline all such minor alterations here, but more significant structural alterations have been described.

Construction of the garage and alteration to the great inn range, west range and street-front range

The documentary evidence identifies a significant phase of restoration and alteration to the site which began in 1914 with the construction of the detached garage building to the south-west of the great inn range (Figure 141). This three-storey brick building replaced an earlier unit in roughly the same position, which appears to have provided a billiard room and other public spaces. The replacement building seems to have provided a garage bay with inspection pit at ground-floor level, with vehicle access via two large doorways in the north and south elevations. An external stair led to the main entrance to the building at first-floor level. The original plans suggest that the upper floors were intended to provide private accommodation, but by the time of the 1930s changes to the building (*see* below) the first floor was once again being used as a public space. It may be that it had a public use from the time of its reconstruction, reflecting the historic pattern of use rather than what was envisaged in the design drawings.

The documentary evidence indicates that as well as the construction of the garage block there was significant investment in the other buildings on the site – with plans surviving for the replacement of the shopfront at 19A, the recladding of the front of the building in applied timber-framing, and the creation of a timber Jacobean-style pediment (*see* Figures 16 and 19). At around the same time a similar historicisation of the great inn range took place, with a gallery created along the western side of the range, accessed via a doorway inserted into the north wall of the south-west wing at first-floor level (*see* Figure 15). Much of this work appears to have been superficial and has subsequently largely been lost; however, the remaining timbers forming the post at the base of the entrance steps and part of the associated archway over the cellar stairs appear to belong to this phase (Figure 142). To the south, the main structural intervention was the construction of a lean-to block onto the western part of the original southern end of the great inn range to house toilets and other services. Internally the plans indicate that a corridor arrangement was created along the eastern side of the range at first-floor level, and a bathroom inserted within the earlier landing space at the top of the stairs. These subdivisions have recently been stripped out.

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Figure 143: The stone chimney stack and fireplace inserted into the central ground-floor room of the great inn range, possibly also around 1919, looking east. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325623]

Figure 144: The courtyard of the Fleece, showing the brick building added at the southern end of the west range, added in the early 20th century, looking north-east. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325649]



As well as the alterations for which planning records survive, this phase saw other work which appears to be contemporary with it. In the great inn range, it seems likely that the fireplace and chimney now in the central ground-floor room were inserted as part of this phase (Figure 143). This now only survives at ground-floor level although it may originally have had a fully functioning chimney associated with it. It is possible that this superseded an earlier chimney in the same location, although if so there is no evidence for the earlier arrangement. The chimney breast is formed of stone and includes a corbel arrangement at the top of the southern side which runs under the adjacent cross beam of truss V to provide additional support, supplementing the earlier stone corbel inserted when the original post was removed (*see* Phase Six and Figure 135). The relatively late date of the feature is suggested by the relationship of the chimney breast with the stone corbel and brick wall behind, and also by the unusual fireplace arrangement. This has an upper segmental-arch head, formed of two pieces of stone, with a chamfered soffit. Below this is a flat-headed fireplace opening, with a lower edge forming an ogee arch. Strangely there is an open gap between the two features, rather than stone infill. The jambs of the fireplace opening are moulded, with vase stops to the base. The rear of the fireplace is formed of brick, mostly laid in a herringbone pattern. Stylistically the features of the fireplace are a mix of possible dates, and the design of the upper arch above the lintel is unusual. While it might be considered that the upper arch acted as a relieving arch for the flat lintel below, its chamfered lower edge would not be required in this context. This suggests that although designed to look medieval it belongs with the other features of this early 20th-century phase, including the 17th-century style timberwork added to the west front, and was intended to create an historic inn-like impression to customers. It is possible that it was created reusing stone and possibly even fireplace elements discovered on the site, but if so it is unclear where they might have come from. Alterations at the southern end of the range also seem to have taken place at around this time, probably including the removal of the inserted 17th-century chimney which had been built against the south elevation of the range. A window opening was inserted into the position of the hearth – although this may have happened later in the 20th century.

Other features of this phase which do not have surviving planning records included the construction (or probably reconstruction) of a further building at the south end of the original west range. This section of the building appears to have already been in use as accommodation for the innkeeper in the 19th century, as indicated by the Goad mapping, which labelled the southern end of the west range as a dwelling (*see* Figure 12). The surviving bay, however, is formed of brick, with a moulded dentilated frieze between ground- and first-floor levels which matches that on the garage building of 1914 (Figure 144). It seems likely therefore that this bay was reconstructed at around the same time. It is shown with its present form (identifiable from the canted south-east corner) on the OS map of 1923 (*see* Figure 17). A plan for minor modifications to this area survives from the 1930s. This indicates that as constructed the building had provided a small kitchen and living room at ground-floor level with two bedrooms above. This area is currently inaccessible.

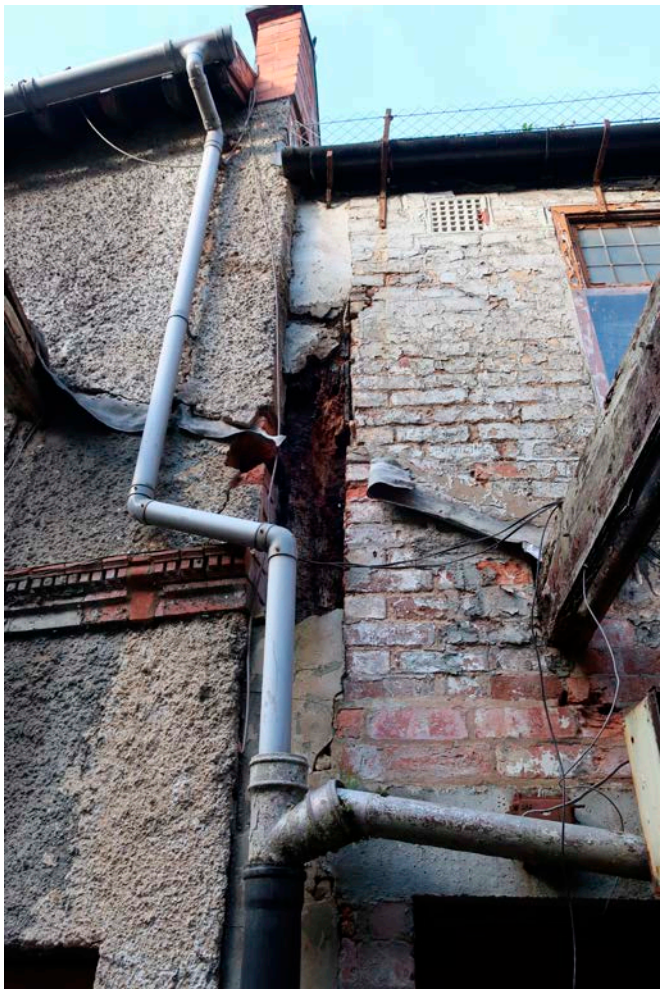


Figure 145: West range, showing surviving eastern post of the south frame (frame IIII) with 20th-century brickwork to either side, looking west. [Rebecca Lane © Historic England]

Figure 146: North elevation of the street-front range, fronting onto Westgate Street, showing the fake timber framing applied to no. 19A in the 1920s, and to Nos 21 and 23 probably in the 1970s, looking south. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325614]



It is likely that the east elevation of the west range was reconstructed in brick at around the same time. The original framing of the wall appears to have been completely removed as part of this, apart from the east post of frame IV which was retained at the southern end of the range, between the main part of the range and the reconstructed domestic building to the south (Figure 145). It is likely that the replacement of some of the internal flooring with steel girders also took place at this time. These appear to have been inserted to support the first floor, although this was done without affecting the roof structure of the range. The south and east elevations of the small north-east corner bay were also largely reconstructed, although the original jetty joists were left in situ underneath the first floor.

Alterations and extensions to the south of the tenement

The documentary evidence indicates the extent of construction and alteration to the rear of the property in the 1930s, up to the outbreak of the Second World War. This included the large block constructed along the south side of the entrance from Bull Lane, for which extensive planning records survive. This was demolished in 2016. Minor alterations and upgrading to the WCs and other service provision within the main ranges are also documented.

Further alterations to the west range and the street-front range - 1970s

Documentary evidence indicates that No. 23 Westgate Street was purchased by the owner of the Fleece Hotel in 1972, and it is likely that the 19th-century building on the site was almost completely reconstructed at this date (*see* Appendix Two). As well as new construction it is likely that this process saw significant alteration to the west range and street-front range. This saw major reconstruction, particularly of the ground-floor area, and reorganisation at first-floor level which appears to have allowed provision for corridor access through the west range and into the street-front range. It is possible that some of this work was undertaken earlier in the century, perhaps contemporary with the reconstruction of the south bay of the west range in the 1910s. However, as the changes have fewer features which directly associate them with this work – and as the site undoubtedly saw several phases of alteration – at present it has been suggested that they belong to a later date.

The most visible alteration as part of this phase may have been the cladding of the whole of the façade of the street-front range with fake timber-framing (Figure 146). This completed the framing initially applied to No. 19A earlier in the 20th century, extending it across Nos 21 and 23.

It seems likely that the present stair in the smoke bay (bay D) was created as part of this phase, providing external access directly up to the first floor of the building, although this may have replaced an earlier stair in the same location. At first-floor level a corridor arrangement was created on the western side which ran the full length of the range and connected through to the street-front range, although again it is possible that this was an adaptation of an earlier arrangement within the west range (*see* Figure 139). In order to

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create this, the stone stack in bay B was partially truncated at its western end.

As part of this work the street-front range was adapted to provide hotel accommodation. At both first- and second-floor level there continued to be one principal room in each bay, lit by the windows fronting onto Westgate Street. To the south, however, there was some subdivision with a lobby arrangement provided at first-floor level accessed from the corridor in the west range. The stair from the courtyard which ran through the north bay of the west range and into the street-front range also led to this same first-floor lobby area.

A stair was constructed between first- and second-floor levels, accessed from this lobby, in the likely position of the original stair in bay E (*see* Figure 138). This ran along the southern wall of the street-front range in bay E, with the joists in the second floor cut back to allow additional space for the stair to rise. The subdivision also made provision for a corridor along the southern side of the range, providing access into the front part of what had been No. 23, which presumably provided further rooms. Access to the attic rooms of the original street-front range was provided via No. 23.

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Conclusion

The buildings of the Fleece Hotel have a long and complex history but it is clear that despite later changes considerable evidence survives to indicate the original form and use of the early structures. Whilst this study has been based on the extensive evidence recently uncovered, the condition of the buildings and some continued limitations to access means that there are further avenues for research – including further fabric investigation and work to further clarify phases of alteration.

Recommendations for further work include:

- Close recording and analysis of areas of the building which are currently inaccessible, including the exterior of the south wall of the great inn range, the exterior of the west wall of the great inn range, the southern bay of the west range (former innkeeper's residence), including the south side of frame IV of the west range, and the central two bays of the west range at ground-floor level.
- Full analysis of surviving paint schemes (as outlined in the scoping report by Andrea Kirkham) and an analysis of their likely dates.
- Further dendrochronological dating, particularly focused on secondary (but relatively early) phases of work, including the south-west wing added to the great inn range and the ceilings at first-floor level in both the great inn range and the west range and the ceiling in the second-floor of the street-front range. Dating also of the small north-east corner bay of the west range, to confirm that it is contemporary with the original phase of the west range.
- Further analysis of existing dendrochronology to establish if the suggested phasing of the construction of the three ranges can be refined in light of the fabric evidence.

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Appendix One: Census information

The following summarises the information provided on the occupants of the Fleece Hotel in each of the census returns. For clarity this has not been provided as a direct transcription, but with abbreviations and repetitions provided in full.

1841 census: Gloucester, St Mary de Grace Parish, Westgate Street, Fleece Inn. [252]

Elizabeth Haviland, 35, innkeeper, born in Gloucestershire

Mary Haviland, 30, innkeeper, born in Gloucestershire

Sarah Carr, 20, female servant, born in Gloucestershire

Hannah Goodfield, 30, female servant, not born in Gloucestershire

Robert Baker, 25, male servant, born in Gloucestershire

1851 census: Gloucester, St Mary de Grace Parish, Westgate Street.[253]

Elizabeth Heyden, Head, married, 36, InnKeeper, born in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire

Ann Heyden, daughter, unmarried, 18, [no occupation listed], born in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire

John Blinkhorn, visitor, unmarried, 38, Railway contractor, born in Liverpool

Thomas Pynattwood, visitor, married, 40, Inspector of police, born in Kendalsham[?], Gloucestershire

Maria Barnett, Widow, 38, Cook, born in Norwich

Martha Daniel, unmarried, 20, House maid, born in Sandhouse[?], Gloucestershire

Harriet Dicken, unmarried, 19, Nurse, born in Birmingham

James Davis, unmarried, 26, Ostler, born in Gloucester

1861 census: Gloucester, St Mary de Grace Parish, Westgate Street, Fleece Inn.[254]

Joseph Watts, Head, unmarried, 27, innkeeper, born in Slimbridge, Gloucestershire

Mary Vick, servant, unmarried, 32, housekeeper, born in Elmore, Gloucestershire

Mary Vick, visitor, widow, 70, visitor, no occupation, born in Quedgley, Gloucester

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Alice Chandler, servant, unmarried, 23, barmaid, born in Brockworth, Gloucestershire

Elizabeth Bradley, servant, unmarried, 22, barmaid, born in Worcester

Ann Massey, widow, 41, cook, born in Framilode[?] Gloucestershire

Charles Mayland, unmarried, 15, servant, born in Hartpury, Gloucestershire

William Daw, unmarried, 15, servant, born in Siddington, Gloucestershire

1871 census: Gloucester, St Mary de Grace Parish, Westgate Street, Fleece Inn.[255]

Joseph Clissold, head, married, 42, innkeeper, born at Eastington, Gloucestershire.

Elizabeth Clissold, wife, married, 39, born in Beverley, Yorkshire

George S. Clissold, son, unmarried, 10, born in Beverley, Yorkshire

Constance E. Clissold, daughter, unmarried, 13, scholar, born Chelsea, London

Laura Clissold, daughter, unmarried 12, scholar, born Pimlico, London

Mary Clissold, daughter, unmarried, 9, scholar, born Chelsea, London

Ellen S. R. Lea, barmaid, unmarried, 22, barmaid, born Cleeve, Gloucestershire

Emma S. Brown, barmaid, unmarried, 26, barmaid, born Gloucester

Adelaide Leas, servant, widow, 32, waitress, born Staunton, Worcestershire

Helen Critchley, servant, unmarried, 18, kitchenmaid, born Gloucester

William Walter, servant, unmarried, 17, ostler, born Gloucester

1881 census: Gloucester, St Mary Grace Parish, Westgate Street, Fleece Hotel.[256]

[the head of the household absent]

Louisa Richards, assistant, unmarried, 17, barmaid at hotel, born in Gloucester

Kate Carter, assistant, unmarried, 23, barmaid at hotel, born in Gloucester

John M. Damer, assistant, married, 38, Hotel Manager, born in Northampton

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1891 census: Gloucester, St Mary de Grace Parish, Westgate Street, Fleece Hotel.[257]

Robert Hickman, Head, married, 49, pub hotel proprietor, born [‘not known’]

Sarah Hickman, wife, married, 31, born [‘not known’].

William R. H. Hickman, son, single, 21, engineer, born in Malvern, Worcestershire

Constance A. Hickman, daughter, single, 18, inn hotel assistant, born in Malvern, Worcestershire

Mabel S. B. Hickman daughter, 14, scholar, born in Malvern, Worcestershire

Sue B. M. Hickman daughter, 9, scholar, born in Malvern, Worcestershire

Christopher R. J. Hickman son, 7, scholar, born in Blakeney, Gloucestershire

Gwendoline M. E. Hickman (daughter), 4, scholar, born in Gloucester

Gladys F. G. Hickman (daughter), 1½, born in Gloucester

Elizabeth Hickman (sister), 60, living on own means, born [‘not known’]

Lizzie Bray, 39, inn barmaid, born in Broadheath, Worcestershire

Mary M. Mansell, 26, cook, born in Frampton, Gloucestershire

Agnes J. Fryer, 23, waitress inn, born in Gloucester

1901 census: Gloucester, St Michael and St Mary de Grace Parish, Westgate Street, Fleece Hotel.[258]

James Samuel King Head, single, 57, Licensed victualler, born in Churchill, Buckinghamshire.

Rose Townsend, manageress, single, 24, manageress, born in Hartpury, Gloucestershire

Minnie Boon, servant, single, 23, assistant in hotel, born in Nottingham

Matilda Elsley, servant, single, 21, waitress in hotel, born in Hereford

Hewett Williams, visitor, single, 45, [no occupation given], born in Cheltenham

1911 census: Gloucester, Westgate Street, Fleece Hotel.[259]

Samuel Rich, Head, 38, Married, Licensed Victualler, Employer, born in Okehampton, Devon

Norah Rich, wife, 40, married (2 years, 1 living child), [no occupation given], born in Armley, Yorkshire

Jack Rich, son, 17, single, Motor (Engineer), worker, born in Okehampton, Devon

Wilfred Rich, son, 14, Office boy, worker, born in Okehampton, Devon

Norah Rich, Daughter, 1, born in Gloucester, Gloucestershire

Charles Gable, servant, 35, single, Ostler, Worker, born in Crokern Mill, Kent

William Freeman, servant, 16, single, Billiard Marker, worker, born in Gloucester, Gloucestershire

Adelaide Biddle, servant, 25, single, Bar Girl, worker, born in Berkley, Gloucestershire

Jillian [sic] Cottrell, servant, 20, single, Bar Girl, worker, born in Gloucester, Gloucestershire

Sarah Beaman, servant, 30, single, Bar Girl, worker, born in Taynton, Gloucestershire

Louisa Haile, servant, 21, single, Bar Girl, Worker, born in Cinderford, Gloucestershire

May Brown, servant, 16, single, Nurse Girl, Worker, born in Whitecroft, Gloucestershire

Ada Dix, servant, 17, single, Housemaid, Waitress, worker, born in Ross, Herefordshire

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Appendix Two: No. 23 Westgate Street

No. 23 Westgate Street is statutorily listed as part of the street-front range of the Fleece Hotel, encompassing 19A, 21 and 23 Westgate Street and the adjoining west range. It is listed at Grade II (NHLE 1245448). Recent research at the Fleece has clarified that No. 23 was in fact a separate property for most of its history, only becoming part of the Fleece in the 20th century. As such its history is considered here separately from the rest of the complex.

No. 23 Westgate Street sits as part of a terrace of buildings on the south side of Westgate Street, flanked by the remainder of the street-front range of the Fleece to its east and by No. 25 to its west (*see* Figure 146). It runs on a narrow plot, orientated north to south, fronting onto Westgate Street to the north. To the south it is bounded by buildings which form part of the rear courtyard of the Fleece. This plot arrangement, including the rear courtyard and its access onto Bull Lane to the west, was established by the late 15th century and very likely reflects an arrangement that had existed from much earlier in the medieval period.

By the late medieval period the centre of Westgate Street was heavily built up – with two churches, Holy Trinity and St Mary de Grace, and other commercial buildings in the centre of the street, creating narrow thoroughfares to either side. The south side of the street was often known as the butchery, with many of the plots occupied by butchers and rear areas used for meat preparation. Immediately north of No. 23 would have been 'le coiffre' – originally the place where people might go to purchase their wigs (or coifs). The building therefore sat in the heart of the commercial area of Gloucester in the medieval period.

Documentary history

Note 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. 23 was originally No. 13. The modern street numbering is used throughout this report, except in reference to evidence provided by documentary sources.

In the medieval period No. 23 was the property of St Oswald's Priory, Gloucester.[260] This was founded as a minster church in the Anglo-Saxon period, but refounded as an Augustinian priory in the 12th century.[261] It held land in Gloucester, as well as some estates in the surrounding area, although its holdings were not as extensive as some of the other monastic foundations in the city. Given the location of the holding on Westgate Street, it is almost certain that the medieval building on the site would have been used for commercial purposes.

In the 1455 rental of Gloucester, the plot is described, sitting in sequence immediately after the description of the large tenement which is now the Fleece Hotel. The area, although evidently part of Westgate Street, is described as the Mercery, Butchery and Coiffery, indicating the range of trades that were focused in the area. The description states:

> The Prior of St Oswald's holds a tenement with appurtenances near [there] newly built: which Willian Gill and the relict [widow] of John, son of Osbert, held in the time of Henry III.; William of Markley in the time of Edward I.; Reginald of Deerhurst in the time of Edward II.; and others afterwards; and now the aforesaid Prior holds it, wherein Kent dwells. And he renders by year for landgavel 6d.[262]

The description indicates that the property was 'newly built' in 1455, although given the list of previous tenants it is clear that this must have represented a reconstruction of an earlier building on the site. It is unclear what happened to the property at the Dissolution, although together with the other holdings of the priory it would have passed into private hands.

The ownership or occupation of the tenement in the 18th century is briefly identified by the descriptions of the westernmost of the commercial units provided in the street-front range of the Fleece Hotel complex (now No. 21). The leases for this tenement mention the name of the person who owns the property immediately to the west (i.e. No. 23) as well as the other tenants holding property within the Fleece complex. Unfortunately this provides little detail other than a name. In 1730 No. 21 was described as having 'the lands of Gregory Paris to the west'.[263] In 1740 No. 23 was described as 'the lands of the late Gregory Parris'.[264] No further detail of the plot or its occupants is provided. It is not certain that Gregory Paris would have been occupying the site at the time, he may have been letting the property.

In the early 19th century Westgate Street is depicted on a street-front plan of Gloucester (*see* Figure 9). Although it is not labelled, No. 23 is identifiable in relation to the archway through to the Fleece Hotel. It is depicted as a low two-storey building, with a large shop window and an entrance on the western side. Given its proportions it seems possible that at this date it still comprised the 15th-century structure suggested by the early documentary sources, although likely extensively altered.

The 1844 Pigot & Co *Directory* lists Thomas Hazeldine as a butcher occupying 13 Westgate Street.[265] The 1841 census notes a Thomas Hazeldine, butcher, occupying premises in Westgate Street, although the street numbering is not identified.[266] He is noted as being 43 years of age, with his wife Mary, 40, living with him along with a 20-year-old William Aptill, also listed as butcher (presumably an apprentice) and a 19-year-old female servant. The 1849 directory has a Thomas Cole listed as 'fishmonger, poulterer and game dealer' at 13 Westgate Street.[267] It is possible that these short-term residents were just tenants, although if so the owner is unclear.

Around 1850 the property was purchased by the Norwich Union Fire Insurance company, who established this as their Gloucester branch, although the precise date is not known. In the 1844 directory their agent was listed as occupying premises on Clarence Street.[268] It seems likely they purchased No. 23 in order to create a home for their new fire engine and its associated brigade. Fire engines were at that time commonly held by insurance companies, although they were typically still deployed in response to any fire within a town. An early 20th-century account of the Norwich Union Fire Brigade records that it was founded in 1849, so at around the same time as the purchase of the building.[269]



Figure 147: The north elevation of 23 Westgate Street, as designed by the Norwich Union Fire Insurance Company circa 1850. [© Aviva Archives NU5178. Reproduced with permission.]

In 1850 the company proposed to reconstruct the building. A drawing of the proposed new north elevation of the office survives (Figure 147).[270] It was probably designed by Howell and Brooks, who had been appointed as the surveyors to the society.[271] The proposed elevation shows a tall front gateway at ground-floor level, designed to allow for the height of the engine. Surrounding the arch was rusticated stonework (or possibly plaster designed to imitate stone) and it was flanked by Doric columns supporting an entablature. At first-floor level it had a tripartite window with a small pediment above. Photographs of the street in the mid-20th century appear to confirm that the building was built to the proposed design (*see* Figure 19), although by that date the ground floor had been modified.

The plan form of the office, with its deeply recessed gateway, is clearly depicted on the 1852 Board of Health map of Gloucester (*see* Figure 11), where the building is labelled as the 'Norwich Union Fire Office'. The rear boundary of the property is indicated by the line of the parish boundary on the map. The line indicating the parish of St Mary de Grace – which the Fleece was an important part of – extended down the eastern side of No. 23 and then ran along its southern limit as it ran west to encompass the whole of the rear courtyard of the Fleece. The plan indicates that, as reconstructed by the insurance company, the building at No. 23 occupied the whole of the available plot, although with a small central courtyard or lightwell.

The brigade continued until 1912 when the insurance brigades were disbanded and a municipal fire service started.[272] It seems that Norwich Union continued to occupy the building, however, as they are listed in the 1914 *Kelly's Directory* as 'Norwich Union Fire, Life, Employer's Liability and Accident Office'.[273] They are listed as being at 12 Westgate Street, but this was presumably a minor error on the part of the directory, as it seems unlikely (although not impossible) they had moved next door. The manager is listed as Charles A. Quilter, who was recorded head of the brigade on its disbandment in 1912, but evidently continued with the company.

It is not clear when Norwich Union sold the building, but an undated early 20th-century photograph (*see* Figure 19), possibly from the 1930s, shows No. 23 adapted, with a shopfront now inserted at ground-floor level. The upper floors appear unchanged from the 1850 design, however, so the building was clearly largely still that of 1850. The 20th-century OS maps show the same plan form for the building up until at least 1970. This documentary evidence will be considered below in relation to the building evidence. The building continued as a commercial premises until it was bought by the trustees of Mr S. J. Rich in 1972 and incorporated into the Fleece Hotel.[274] It is possible that they were already occupying this property prior to the date of purchase, although this is uncertain.

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Building description

Phase One: medieval and around 1455

The documentary evidence suggests that there were at least two phases of medieval building on the site. The reference in 1455 to the building being 'newly built' at that date suggests that it was substantially reconstructed at that time.[275] However, it is likely that this building superseded an earlier building on the same plot, as it is clear that the plot pattern on Westgate Street was well established by the 12th century if not before and the rental identifies several of its previous tenants through the 13th and 14th centuries.

It is possible that the 15th century building on the site survived until the early 19th century, as the front elevation as shown on the early 19th-century street-front survey would not be inconsistent with the proportions of a building of that date. There is no surviving above-ground evidence for the medieval building, however.

Phase Two: 1850 Norwich Union Fire Office

It is clear from the documentary evidence that the building underwent a total reconstruction in 1850, in order to house the Norwich Union Fire Office, including the accommodation of the fire engine at ground-floor level. This necessitated a distinctively tall ground-floor area, which was further enhanced by considerable architectural embellishment externally. The architect's drawing of the front elevation is the only detailed drawing to survive, but the plan form of this new building is clearly depicted on the 1852 Board of Health Map, which shows the heavily recessed front with its columns. The undated early 20th-century photograph of the site shows that this building continued in use until at least the mid-20th century, although the ground floor had been adapted and a shopfront inserted, most likely seeing the complete removal of the earlier archway arrangement (*see* Figure 19). The photo also indicates that the building was predominantly constructed of brick, as the side elevation is shown rising above the attached range of the Fleece Hotel. The decorative treatment of the frontage may have largely been of plaster rather than stone.

Of this building the east and west elevations survive, where they form the party walls with the adjacent properties. To the east it ran along the plot boundary between the No. 23 and the western range of the Fleece Hotel. Here there is a long run of mid-19th-century brickwork, which completely replaced not just any earlier eastern wall of No. 23, but also the western wall of the Fleece. It is possible that the two in fact shared a partition wall for much of the elevation. On the eastern side of this wall, on the first floor, within the west range of the Fleece, the wall plate of the earlier west elevation is supported on a series of timber brackets which project out from the brickwork. This is presumably the reason why the wall was retained in the subsequent reconstruction of No. 23. Further 19th-century brickwork is extant on the western side at first-floor level, indicating that the party wall with No. 25 is still largely of this date, although with some late 20th-century brickwork infilling in areas.

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Figure 148: The first floor of No. 23, looking south-east, with floor levels as reconstructed in the 1970s. [Steve Baker © HEA DP325649]

Phase Three: *c.* 1972 reconstruction

The extant floor levels and roof structure of No. 23 appear largely to relate to an extensive reconstruction at some point in the mid- to late 20th century. The brickwork of the building has been recently exposed, showing it to contain sections of brick of a 20th-century type, although sections of 19th-century brickwork survive in the east and west party walls of the building. It is clear from a comparison with the earlier photographs and drawings, moreover, that the original height and floor levels of the Norwich Union office do not survive, with the overall height of the building, and the three floor levels within it, corresponding to those of the Fleece to its east.

No records of this reconstruction have been identified. However, it seems most likely that it was undertaken when the building became part of the Fleece – as that would have been the point where the discrepancy in floor levels between the two buildings would have been inconvenient. The documentary records from the Fleece indicate that No. 23 was purchased in 1972 (*see* above). It is possible that it was reconstructed prior to this date by another owner, although in that case it is harder to understand the rationale behind reducing the size of the building.

As reconstructed in this phase it was formed of brick outer walls, with timber floors (Figure 148). Although of brick, the front elevation was given a layer of fake timber-framing, which corresponded to that which had previously been given to No. 19A in the 1920s. It seems likely that No. 21 was given its corresponding framing at the same time, as it is clear from the undated 20th-century photograph that it continued to have a brick façade for some time after the framing was applied to No. 19A.

The ground floor comprised a shop unit with rooms on two levels above, interconnecting with the street-front range of the Fleece at both first- and second-floor levels. Recent stripping out has removed the internal partitioning on both floors within No. 23, but there appears to have been a corridor arrangement along the eastern side of the building, giving access to one or two rooms at the front of the building, then running back past a lightwell/ courtyard area to the west to further rooms towards the rear.

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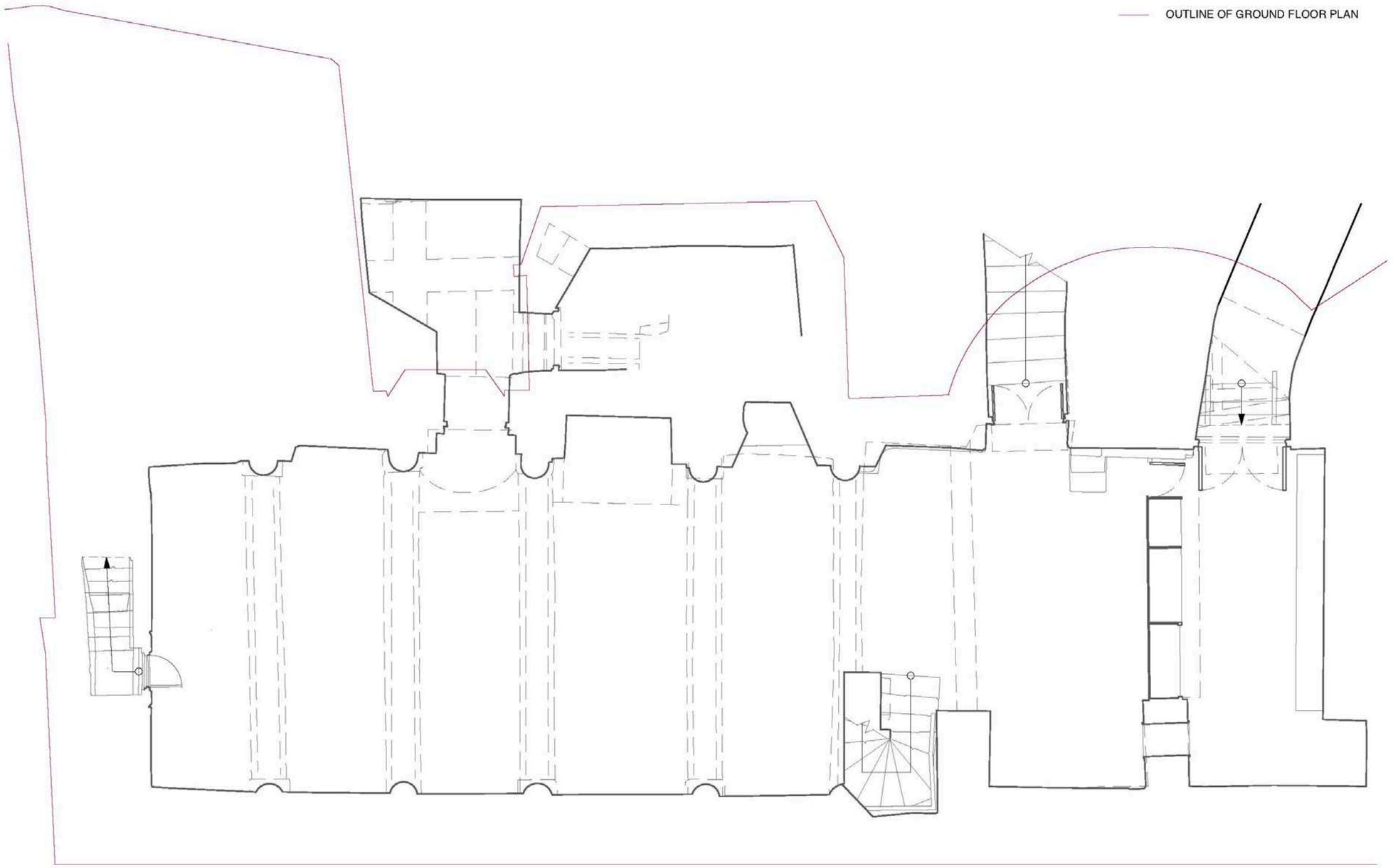
Appendix Three: Survey drawings

These survey drawings are reproduced from a survey initially undertaken by Butler Hegarty Architects in 2017. The drawings of the great inn range were updated with additional detail of the timber frame in 2022.

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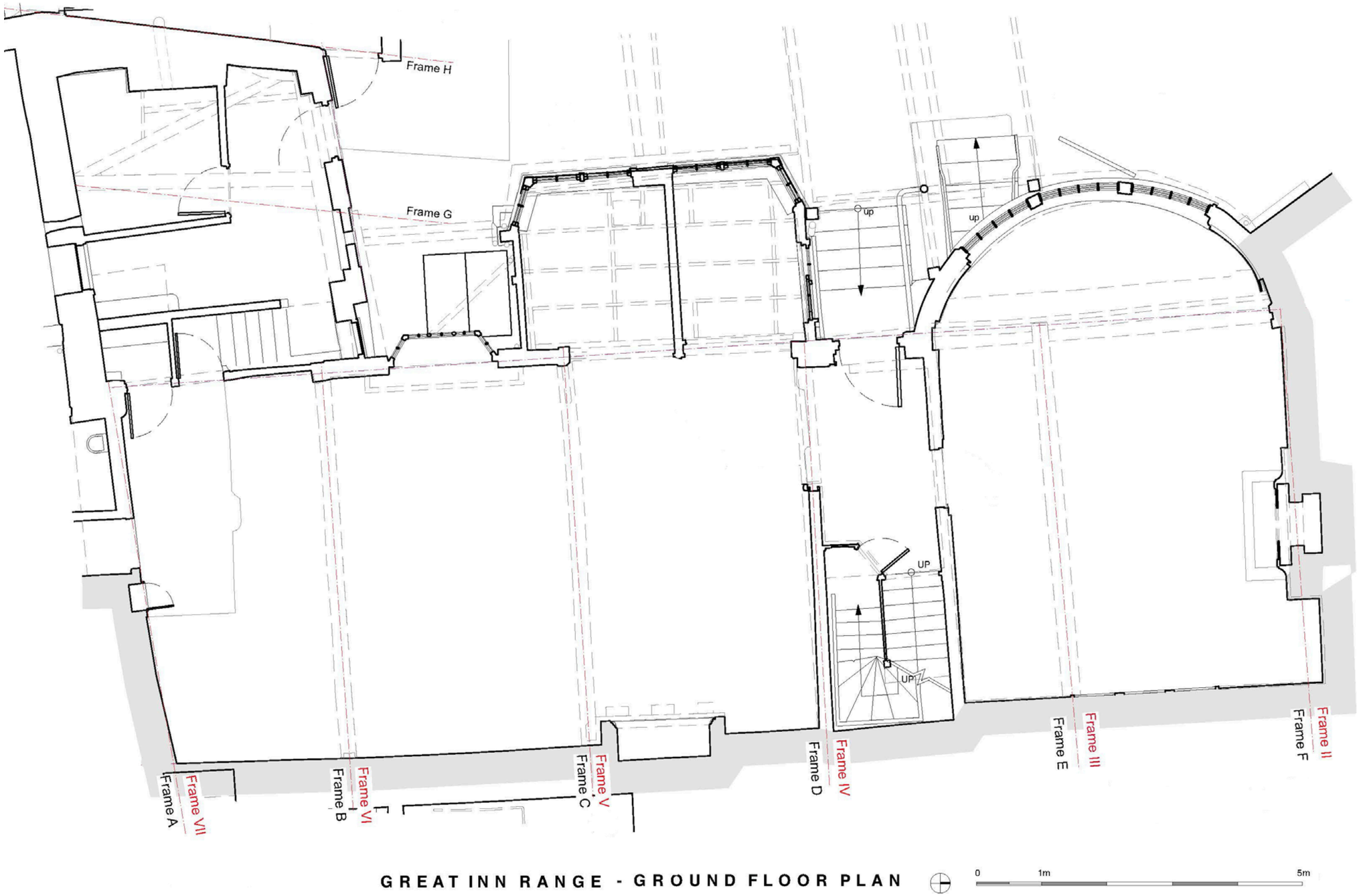
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GREAT INN RANGE - BASEMENT PLAN

0 1m 5m

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GREAT INN RANGE - GROUND FLOOR PLAN

© Historic England



GREAT INN RANGE - FIRST FLOOR PLAN

0 1m 5m



© Historic England



GREAT INN - WEST ELEVATION

© Historic England



0 1m 5m

GREAT INN - NORTH ELEVATION

© Historic England



0 1m 5m

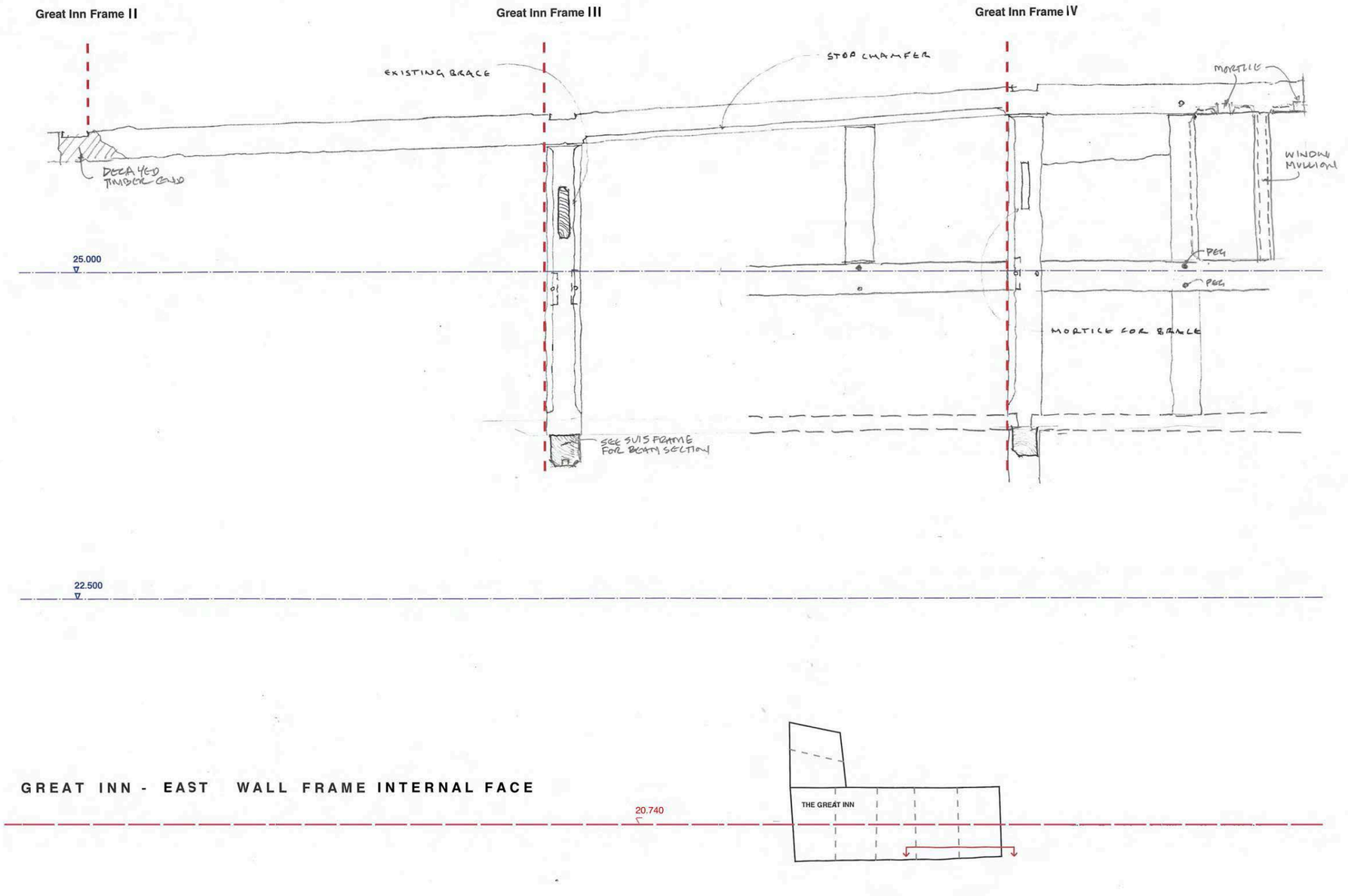
GREAT INN - WEST ELEVATION

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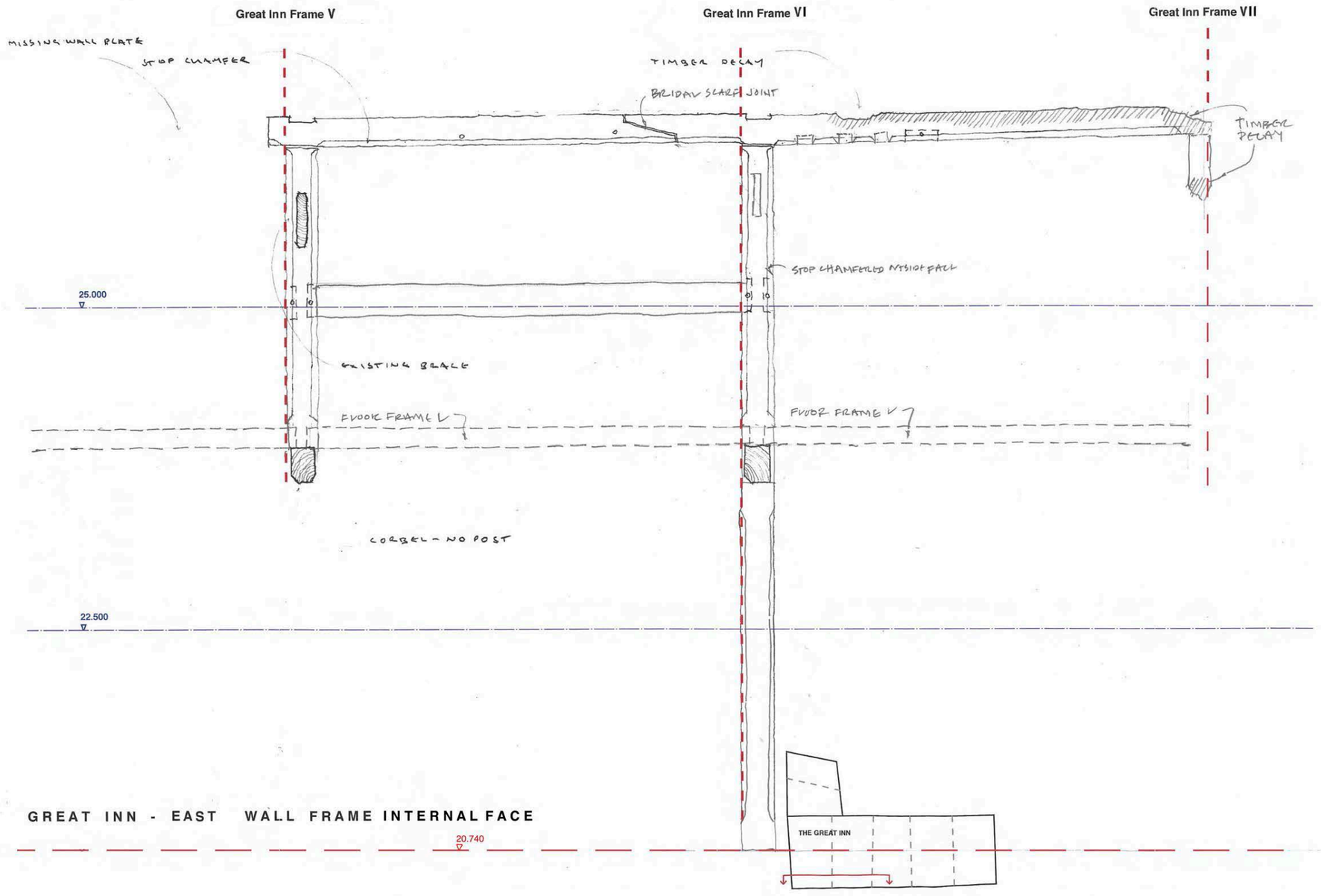


THE GREAT INN - SOUTH ELEVATION

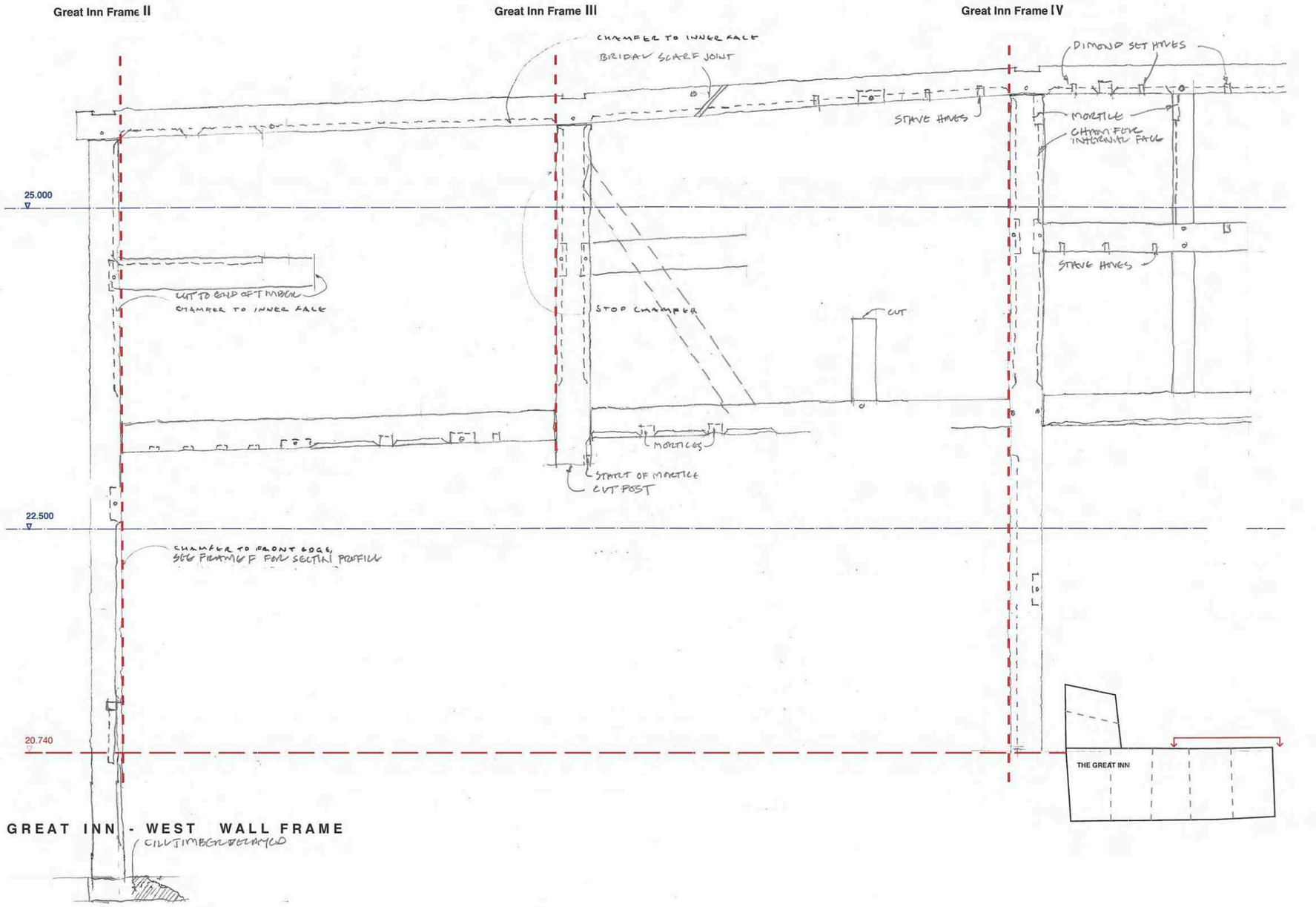
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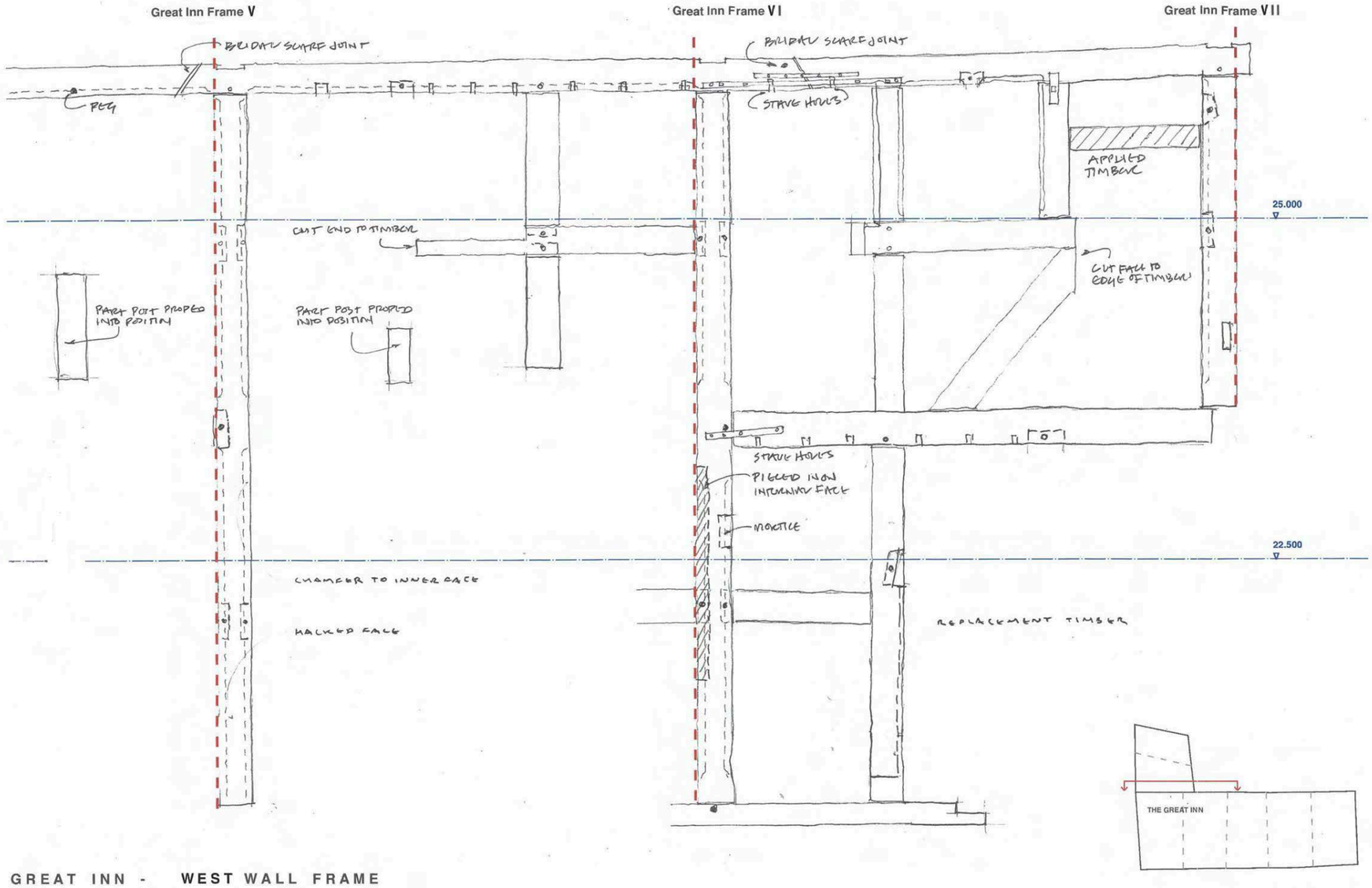
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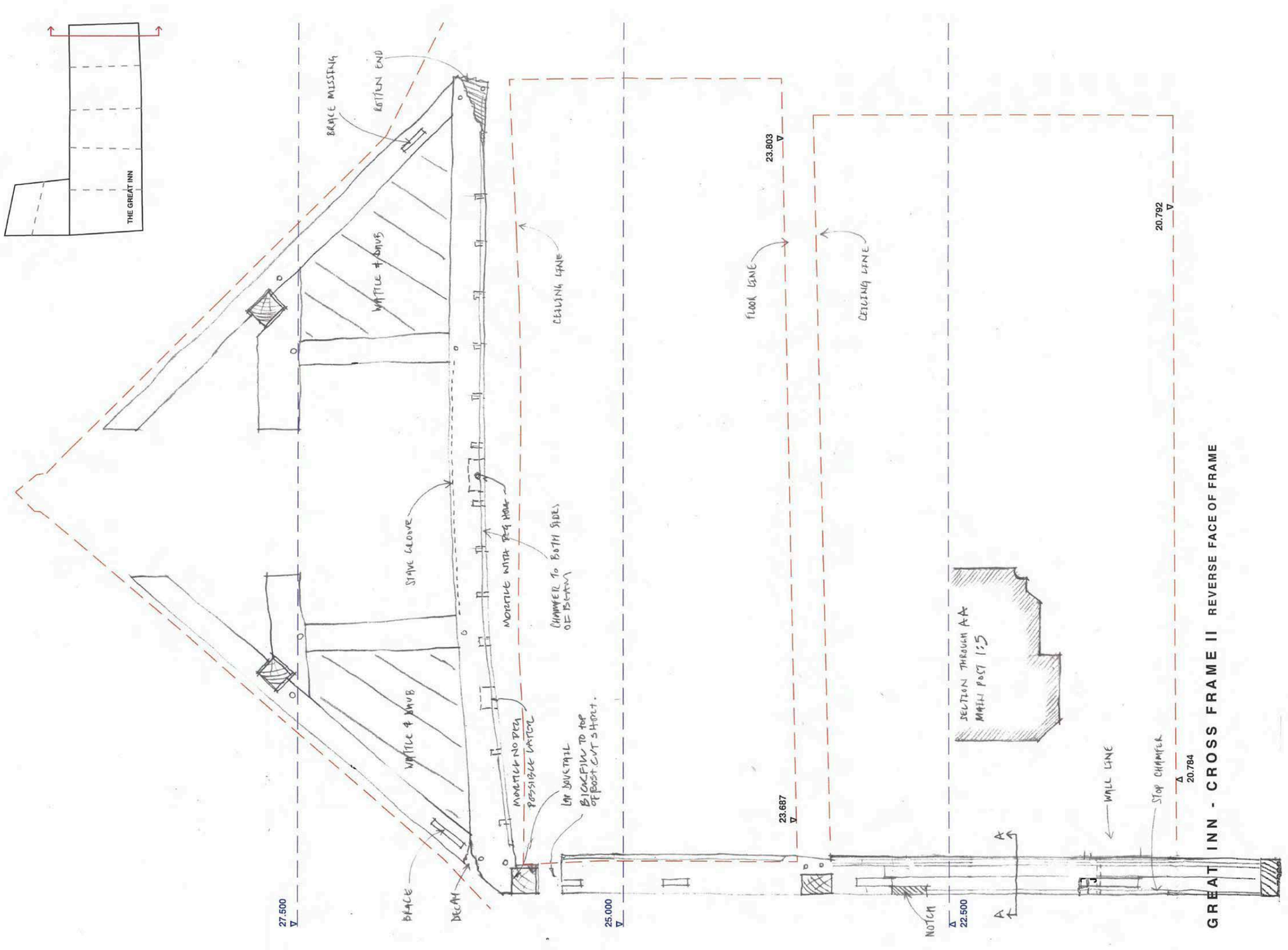


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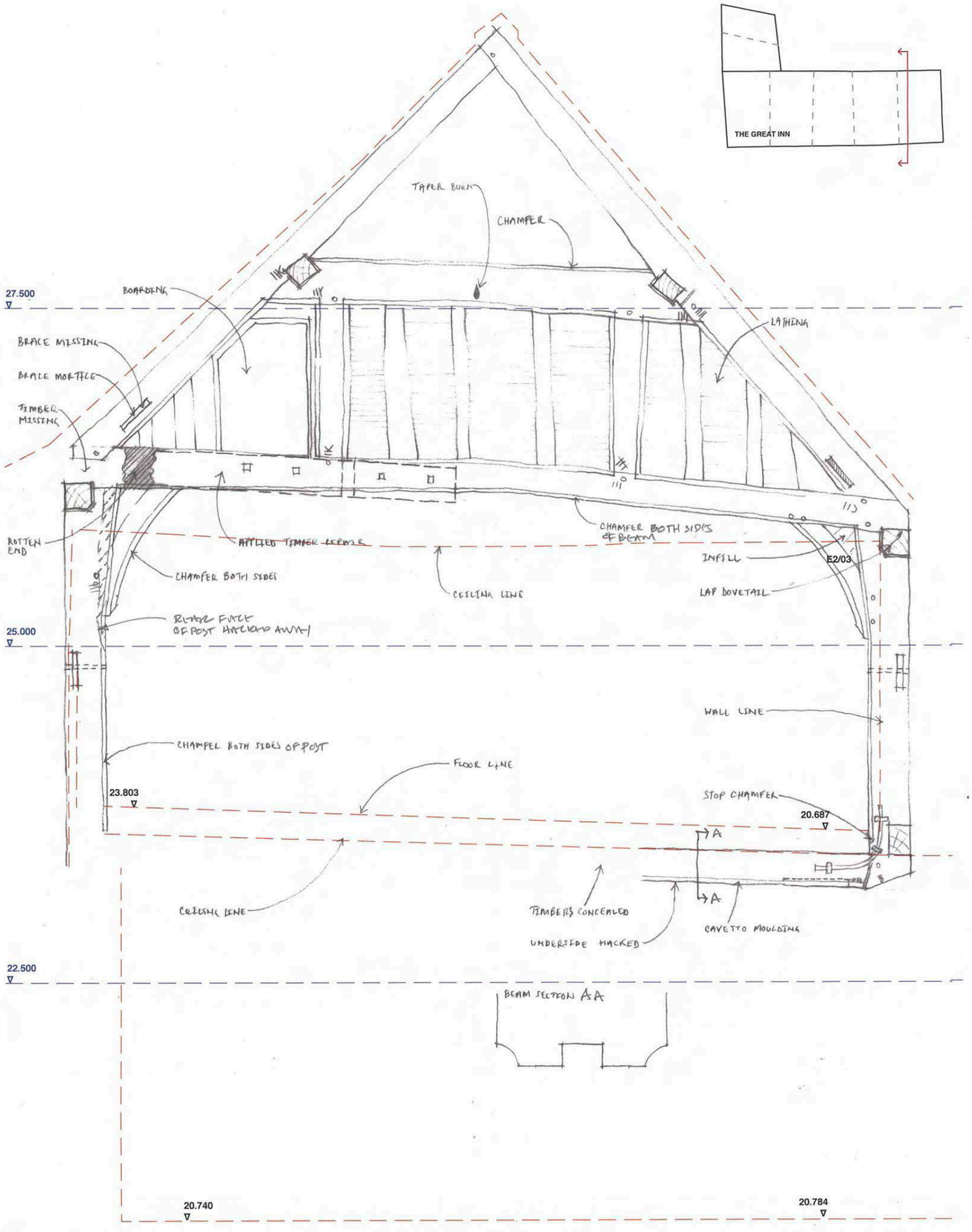
GREAT INN - **WEST WALL FRAME**

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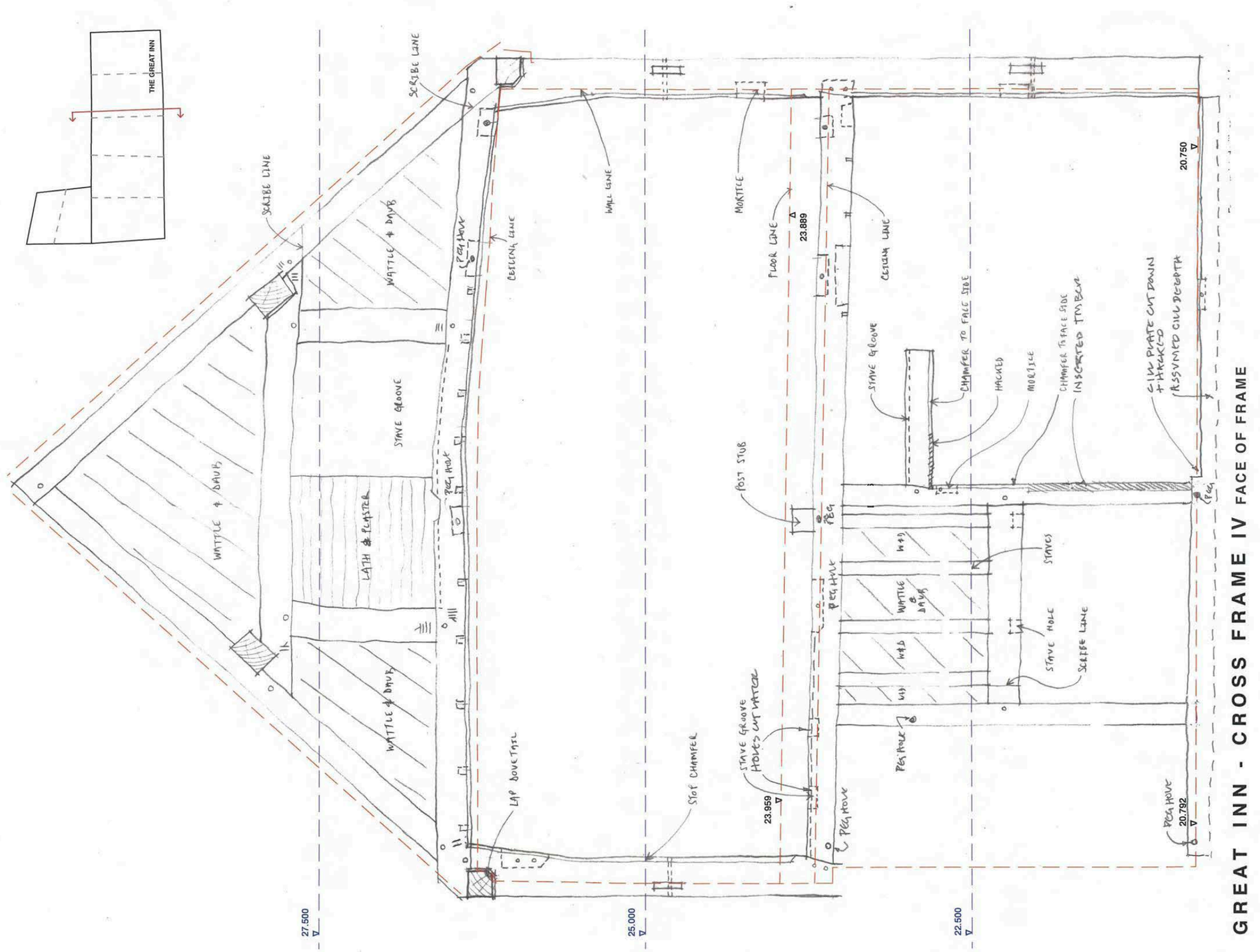


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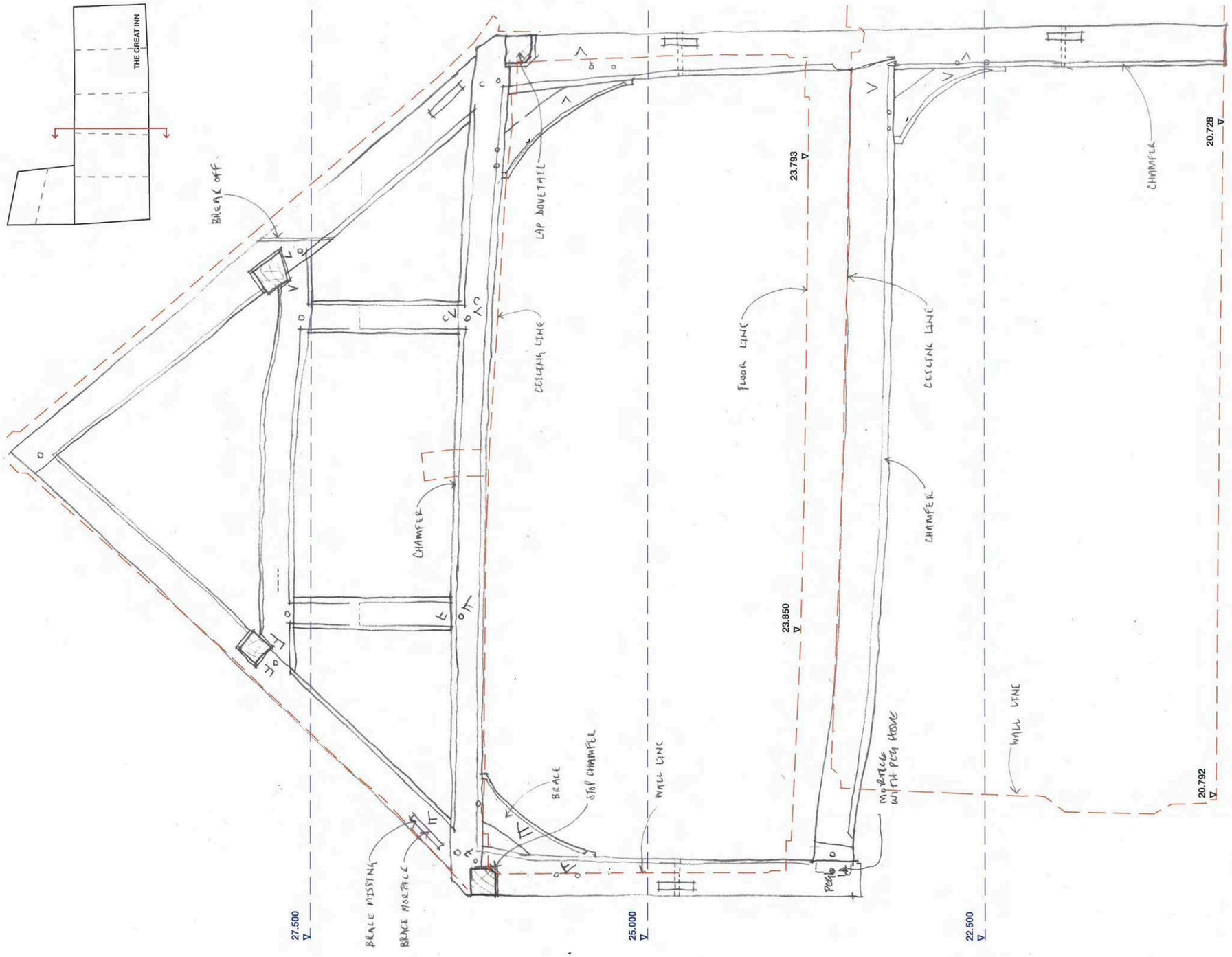


GREAT INN - CROSS FRAME III FACE OF FRAME



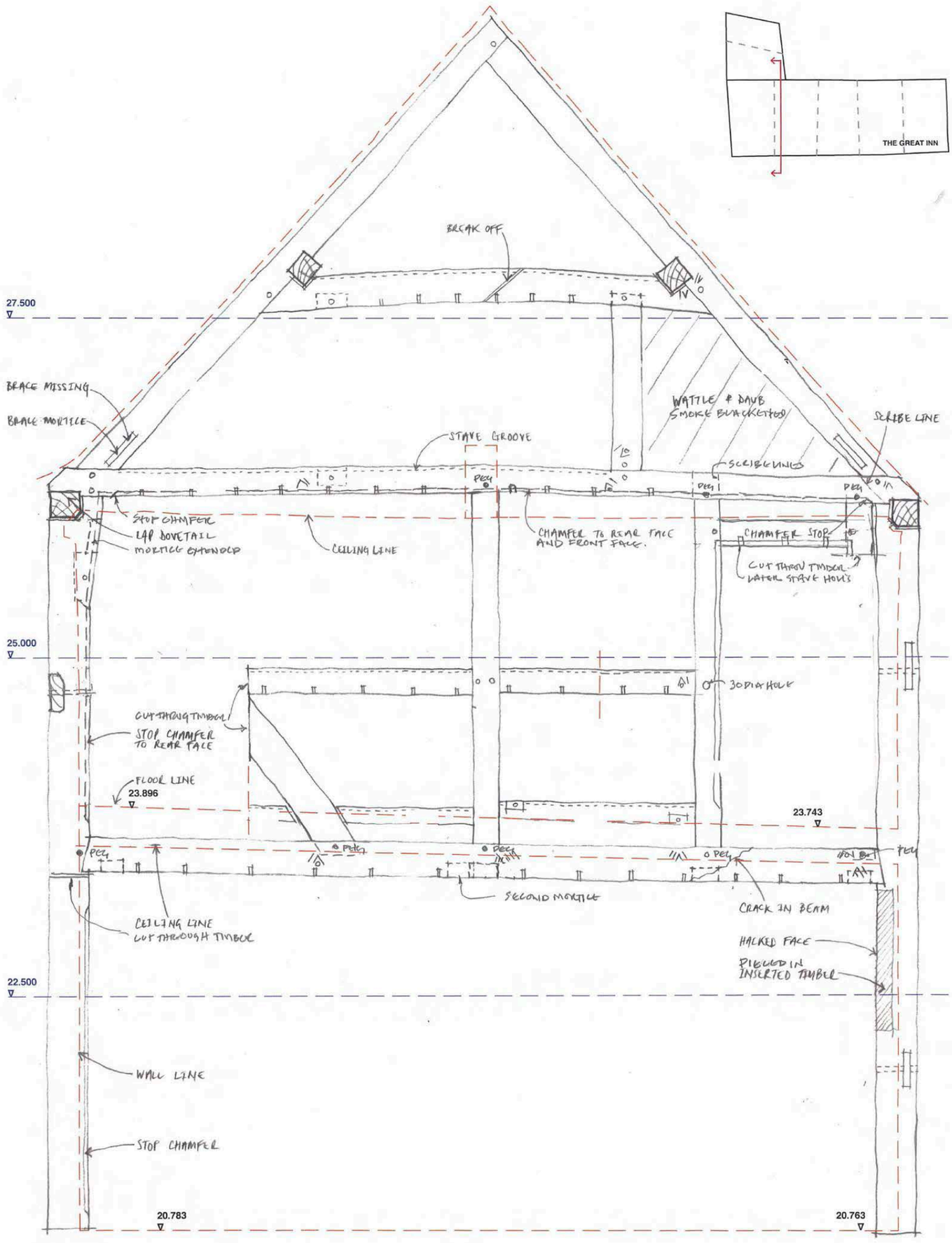
GREAT INN - CROSS FRAME IV FACE OF FRAME

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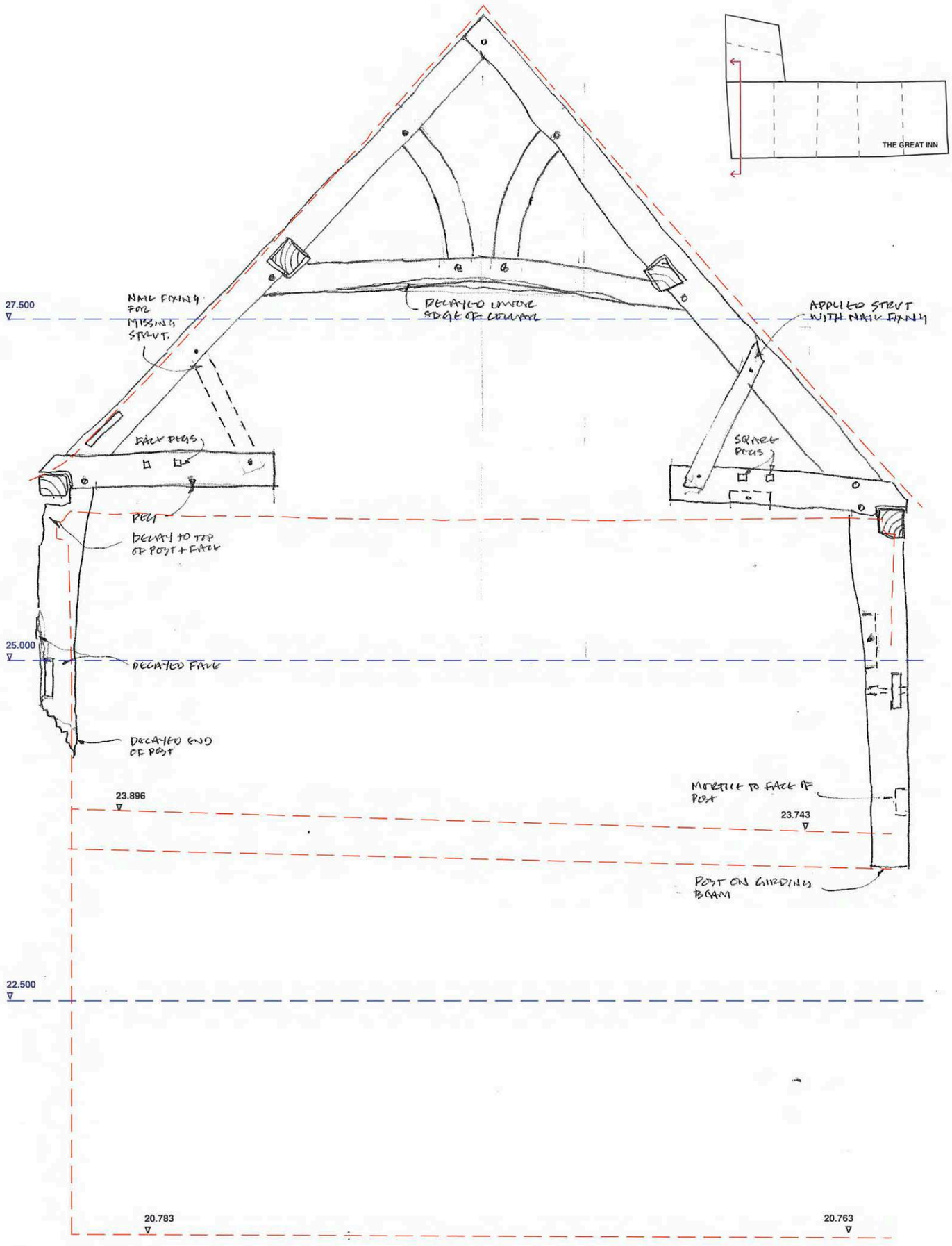
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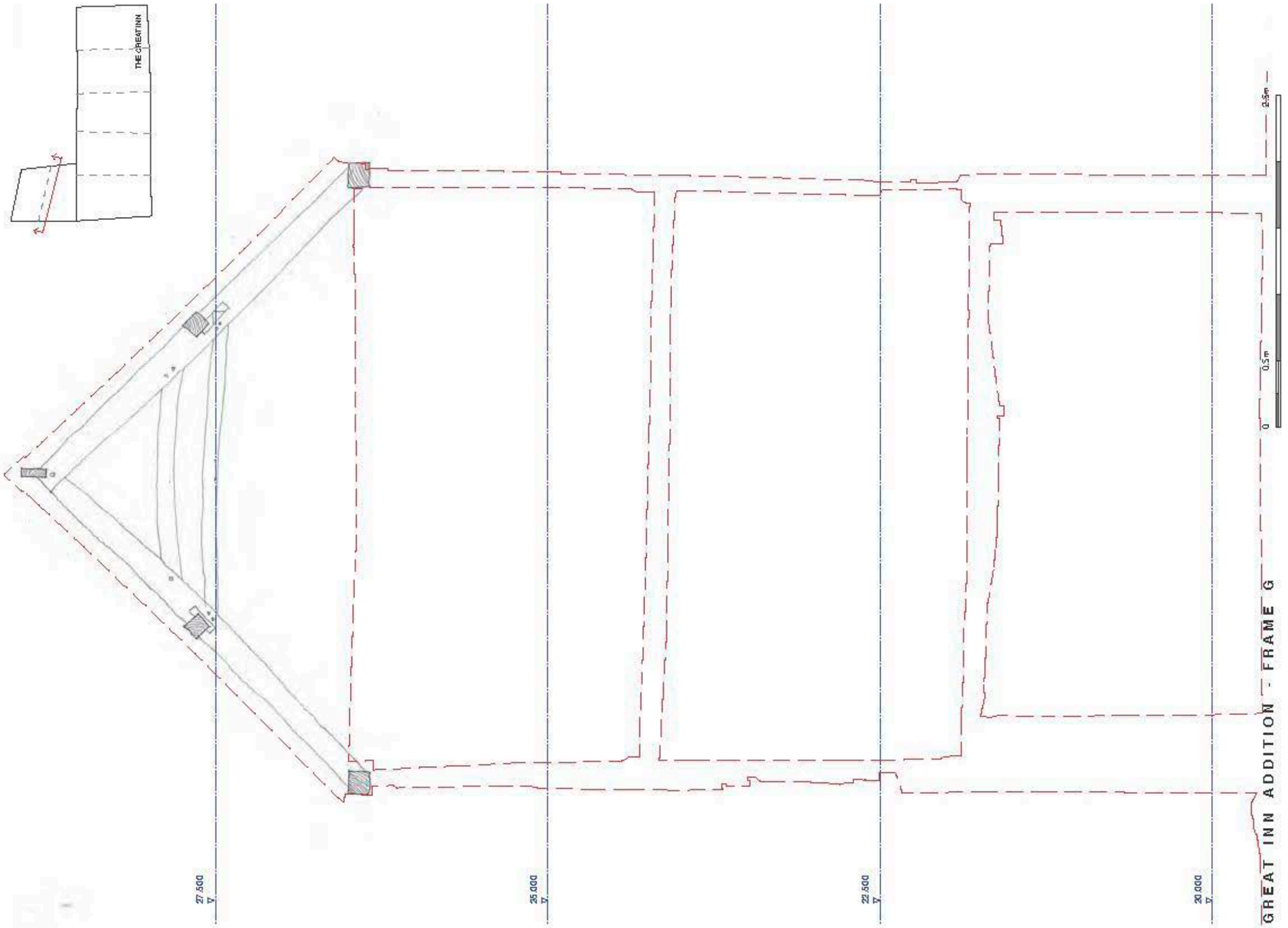


GREAT INN - CROSS FRAME VI FACE OF FRAME

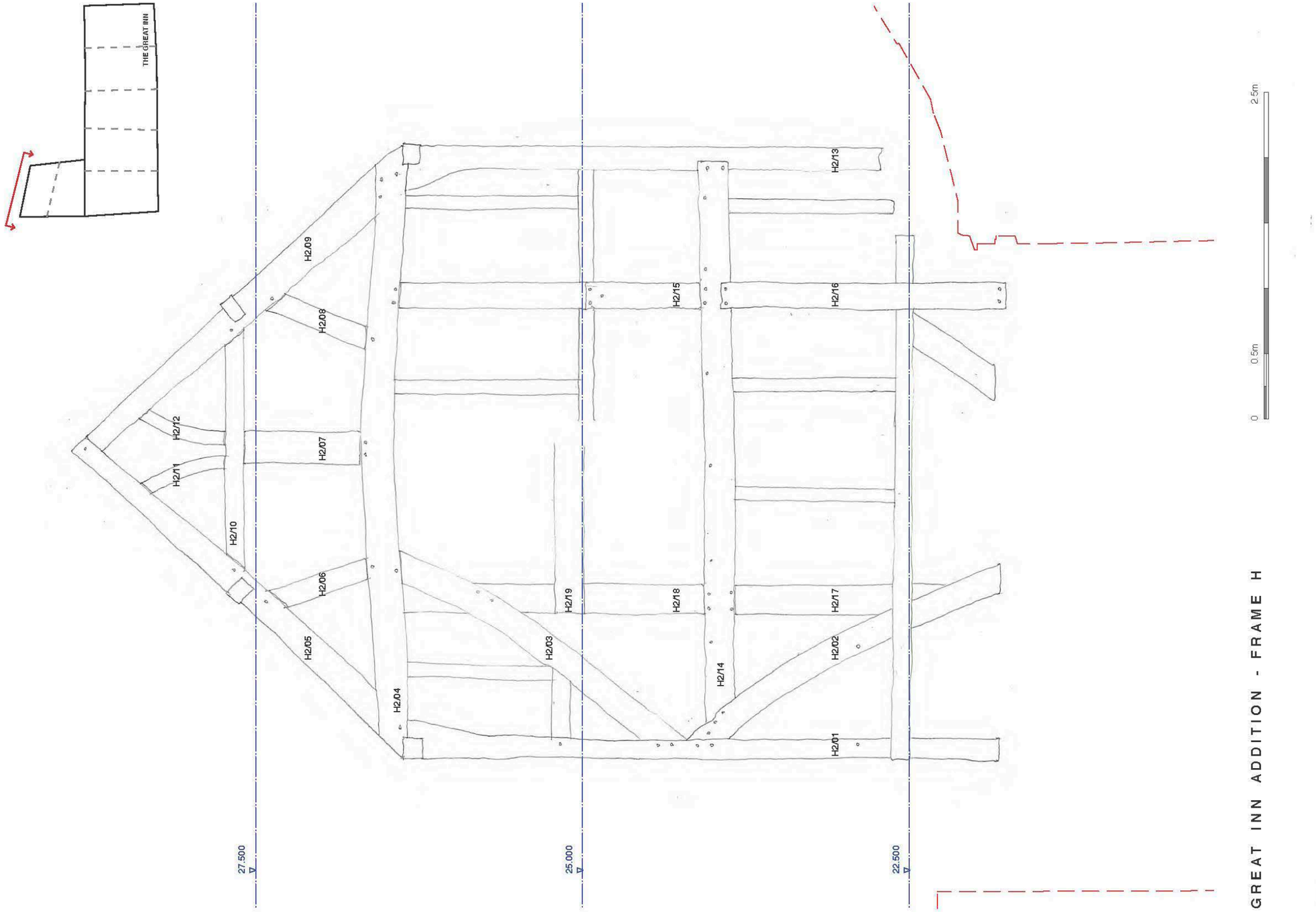
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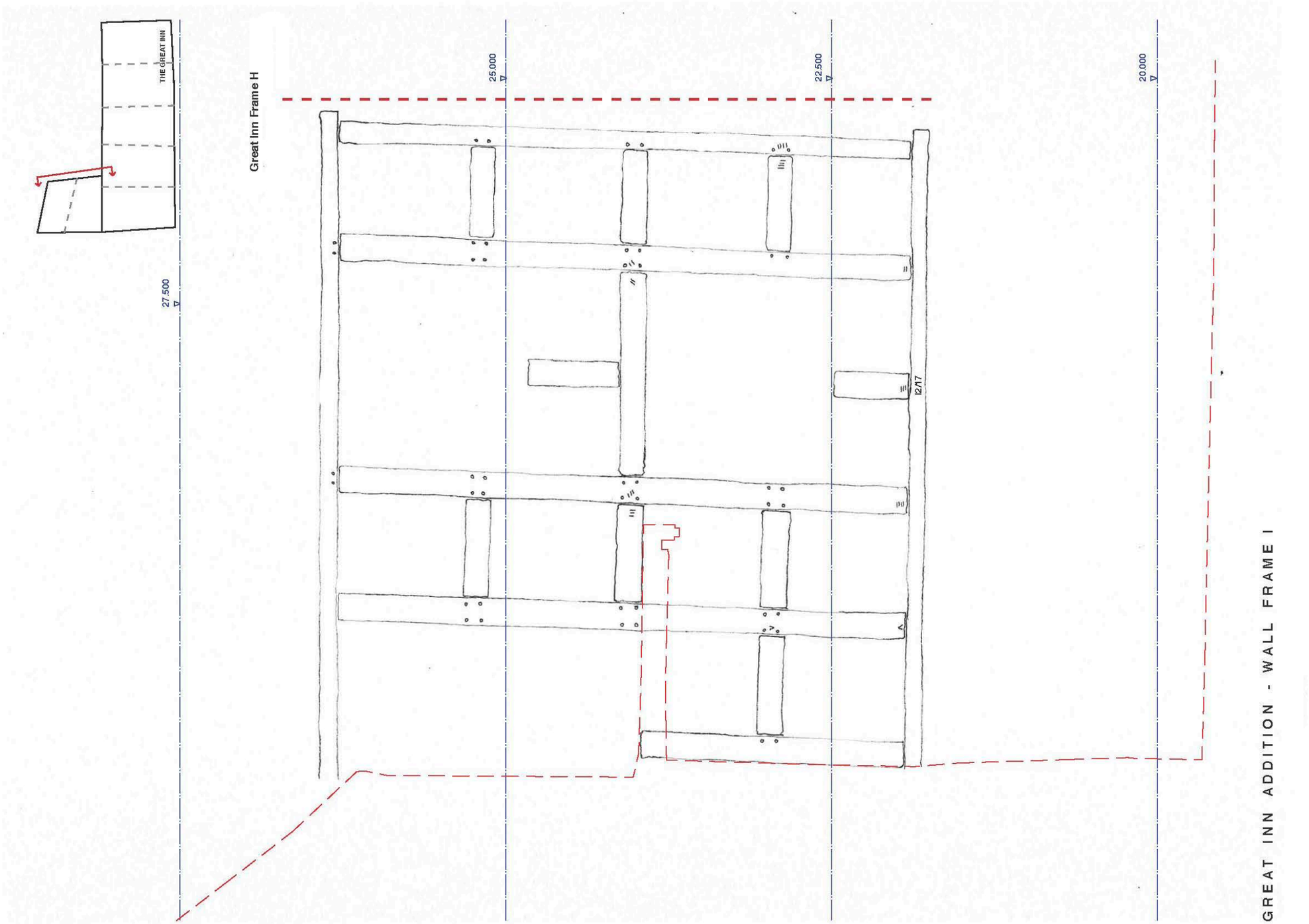
GREAT INN - CROSS FRAME VII FACE OF FRAME



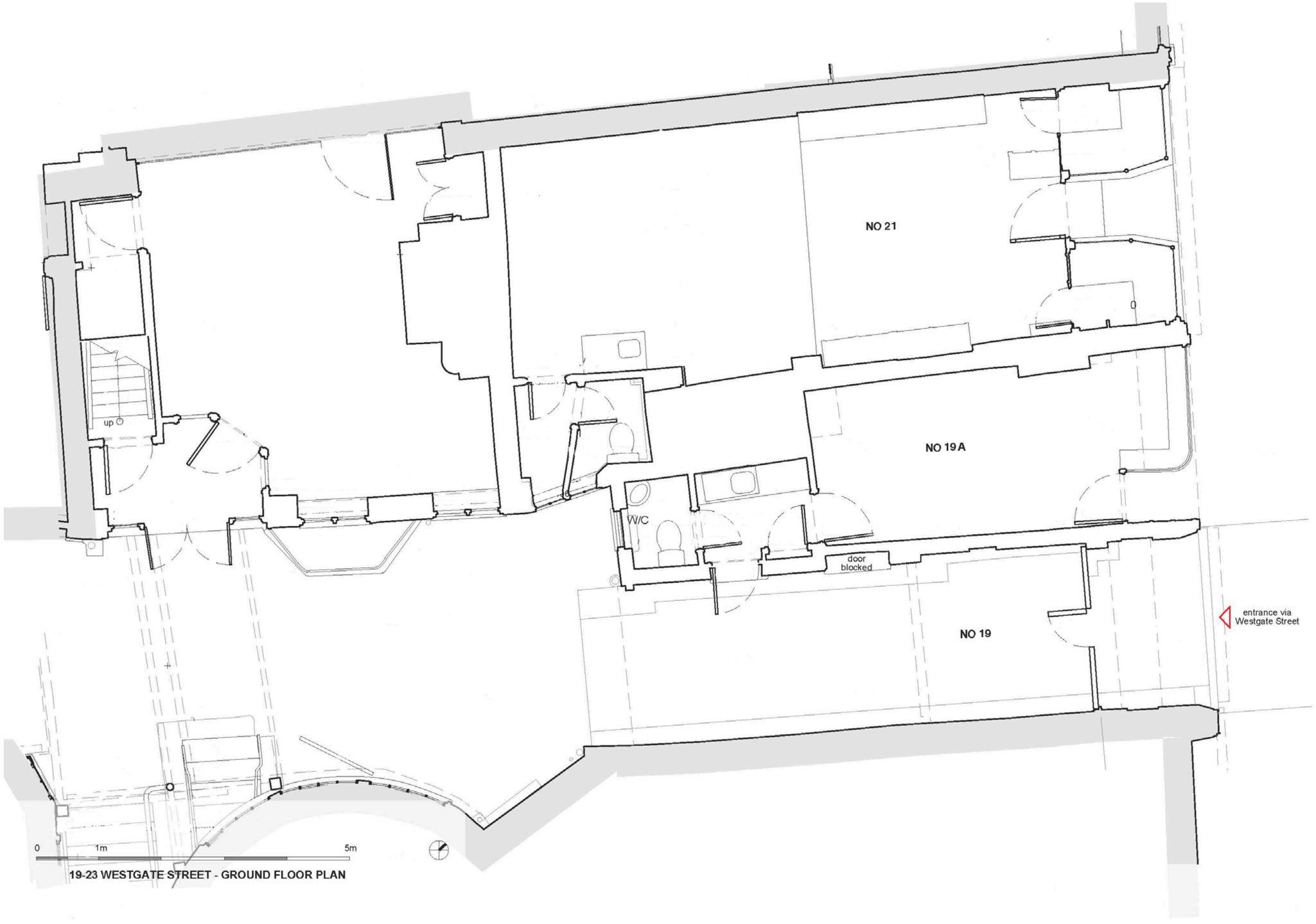
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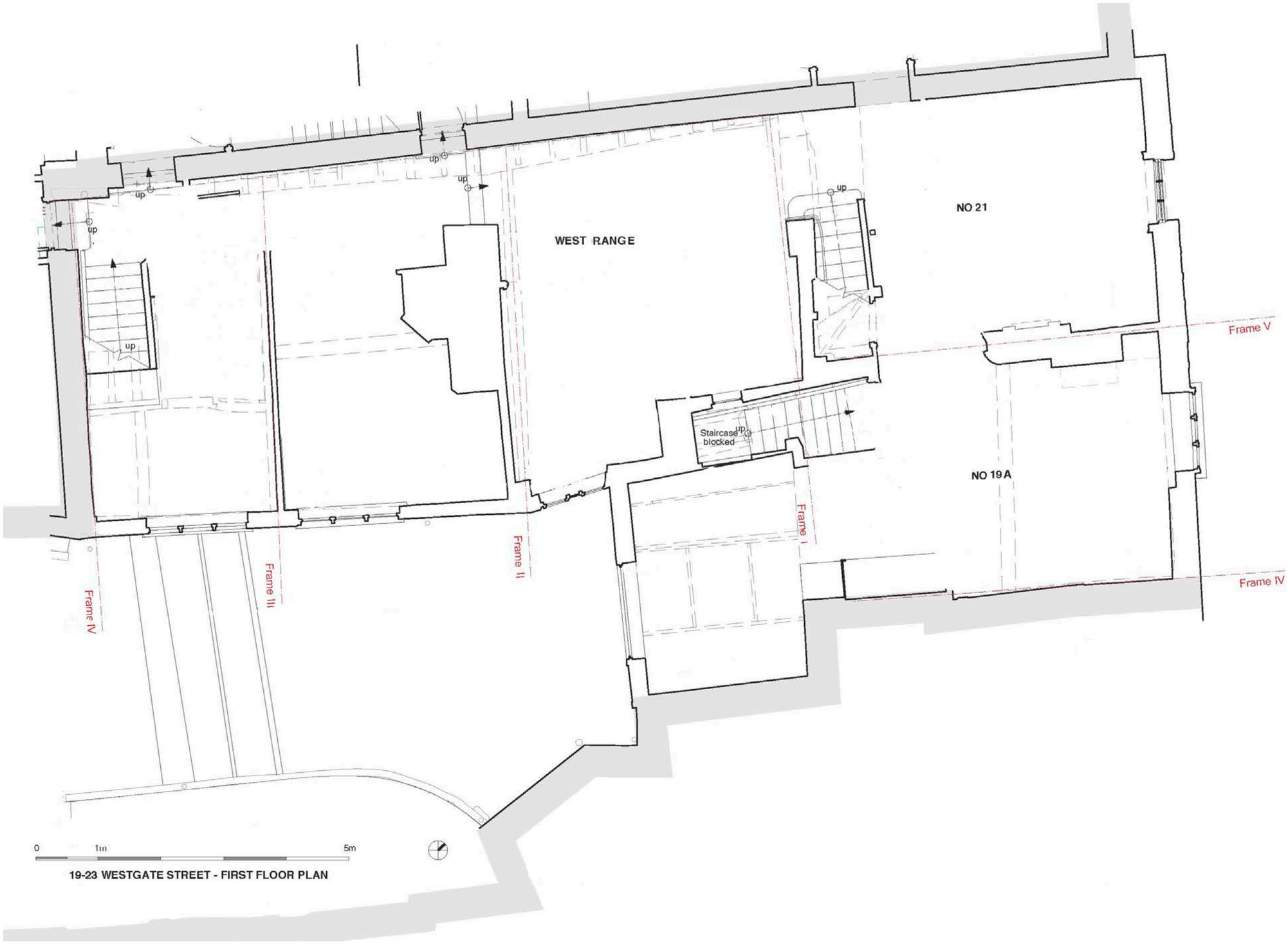


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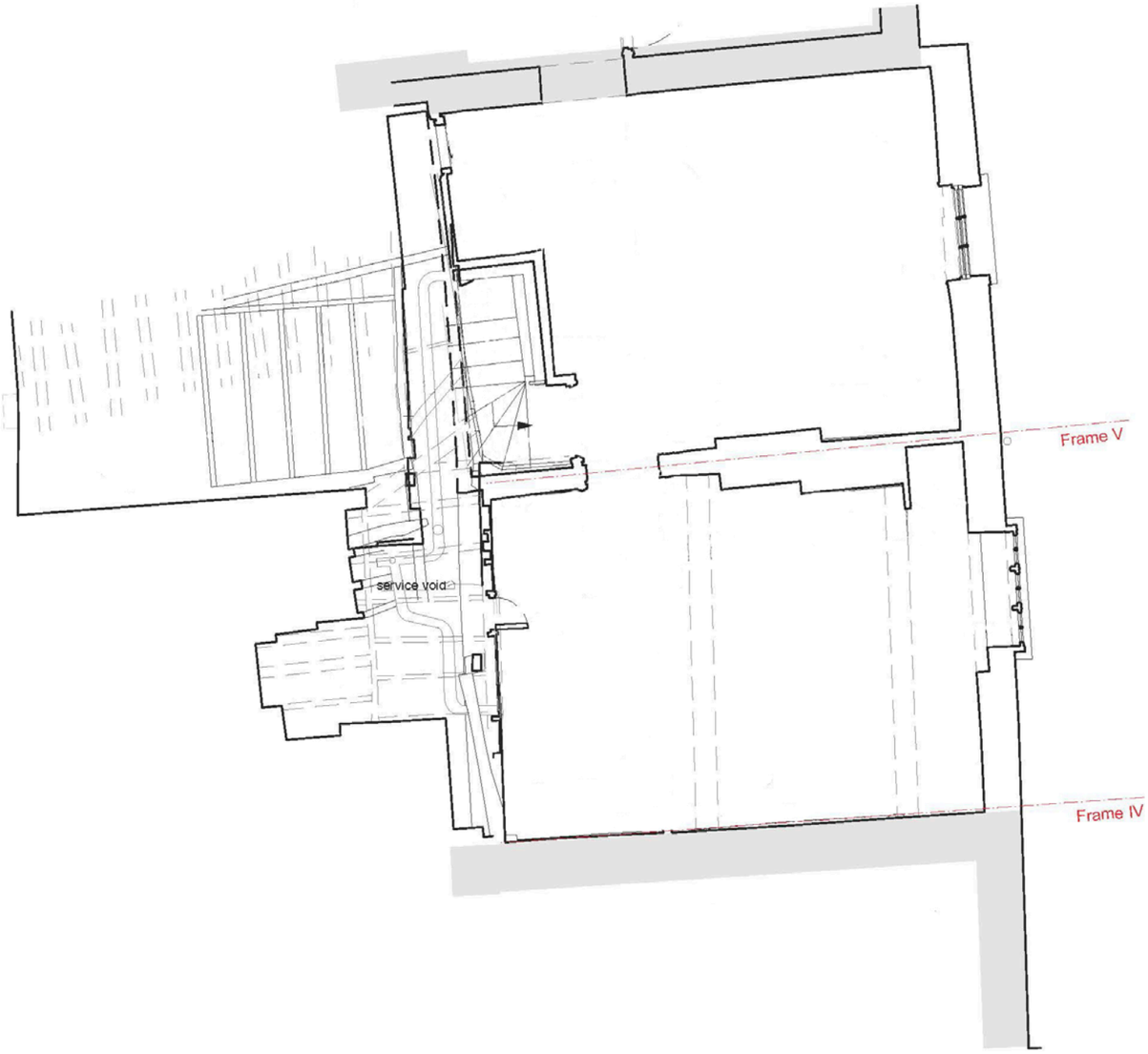


19-23 WESTGATE STREET - GROUND FLOOR PLAN

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0 1m 5m

19-23 WESTGATE STREET - SECOND FLOOR PLAN

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19-23 WESTGATE STREET - NORTH ELEVATION

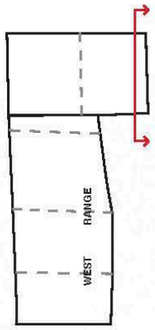
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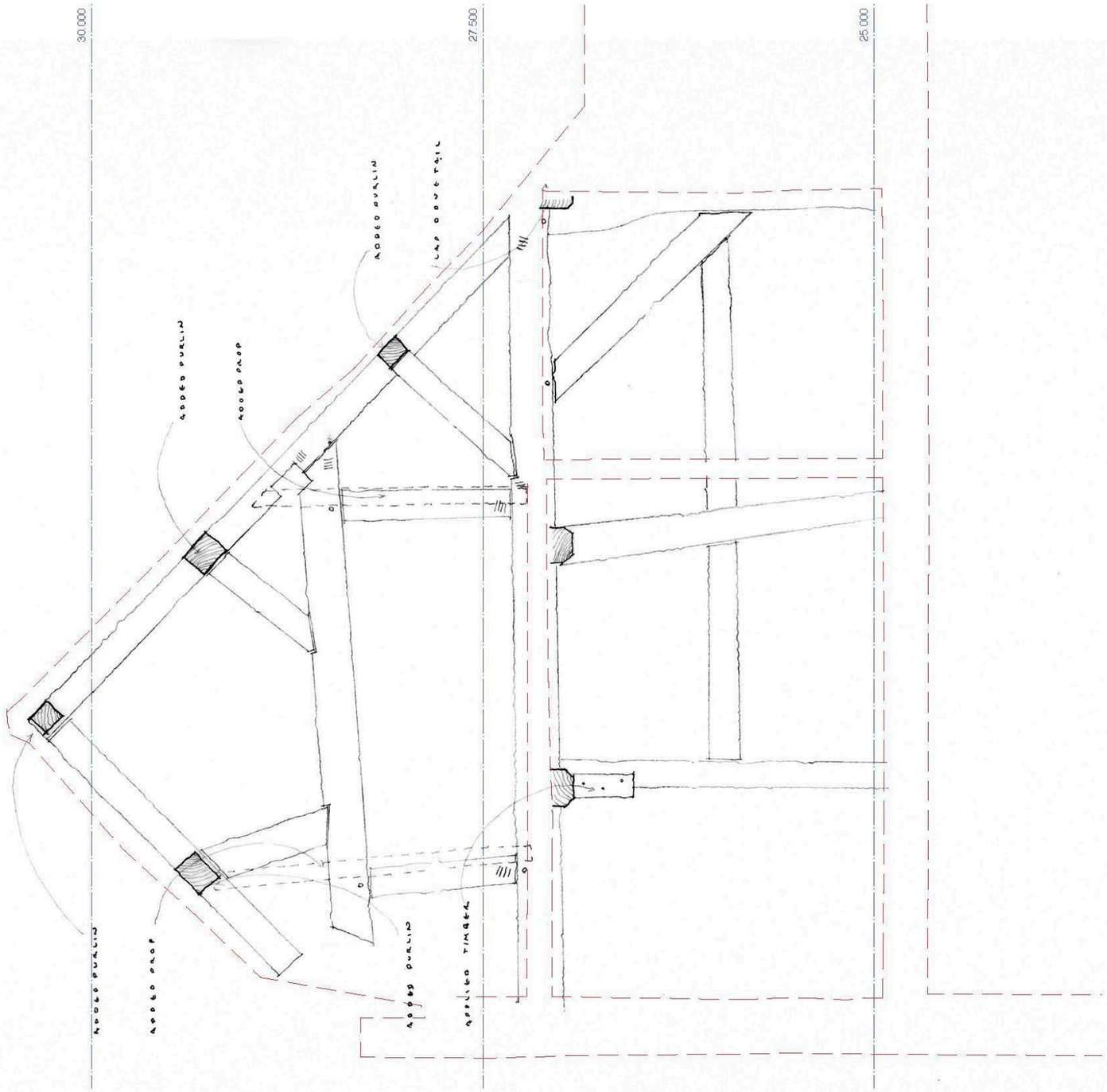


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19-23 WESTGATE STREET - SOUTH ELEVATION

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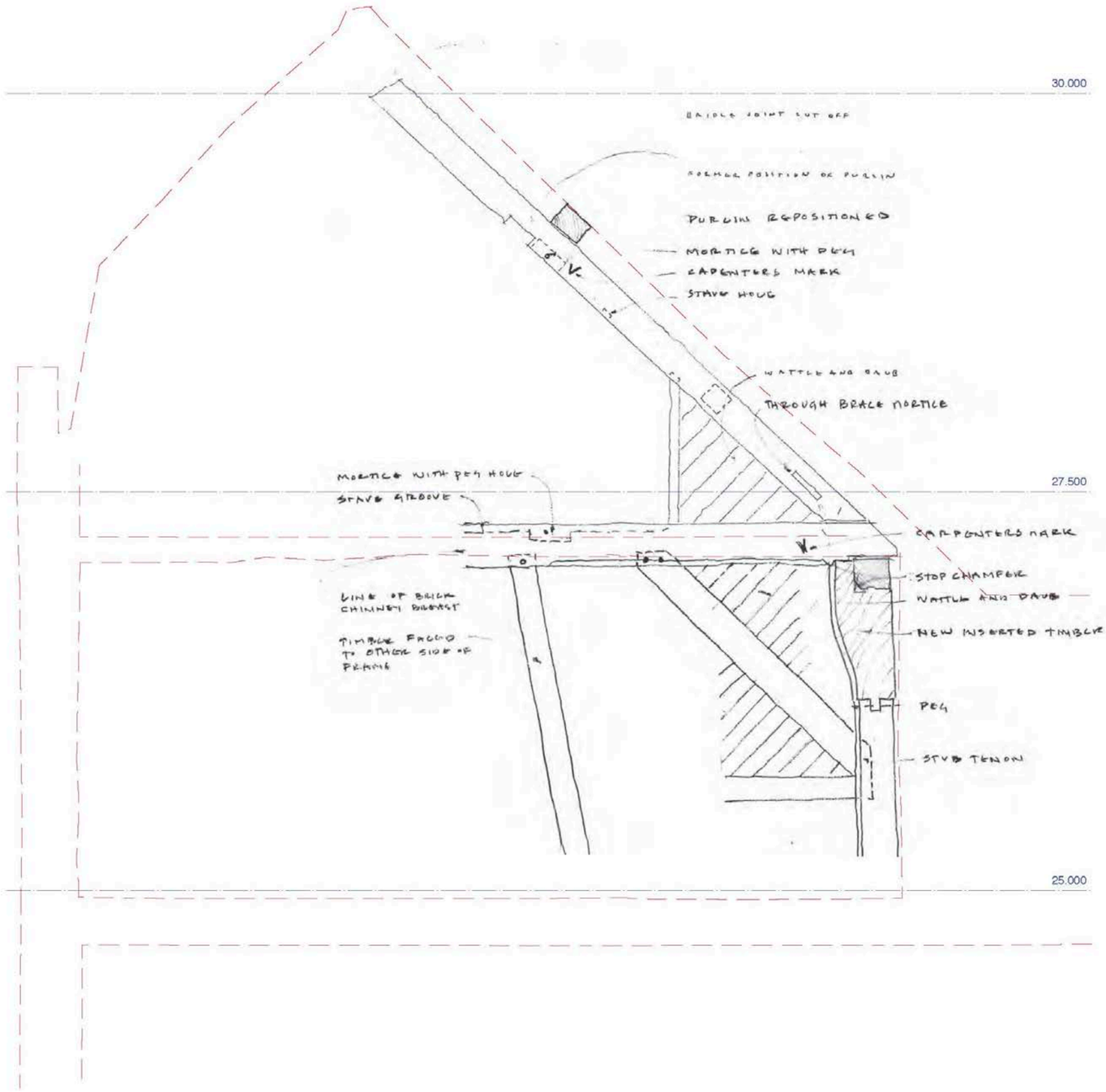


STREETFRONT RANGE - FRAME IV

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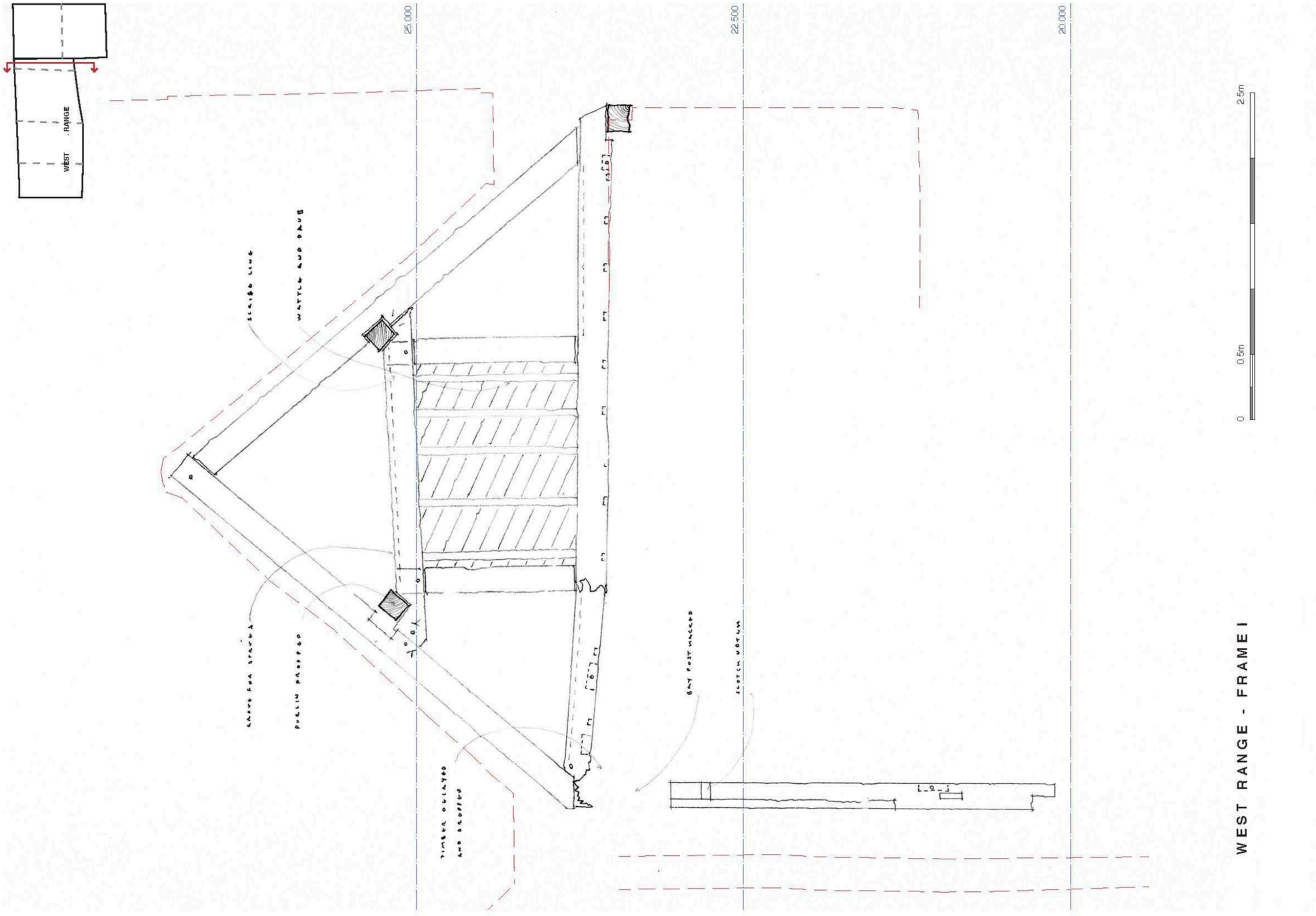
STREETFRONT RANGE - FRAME V

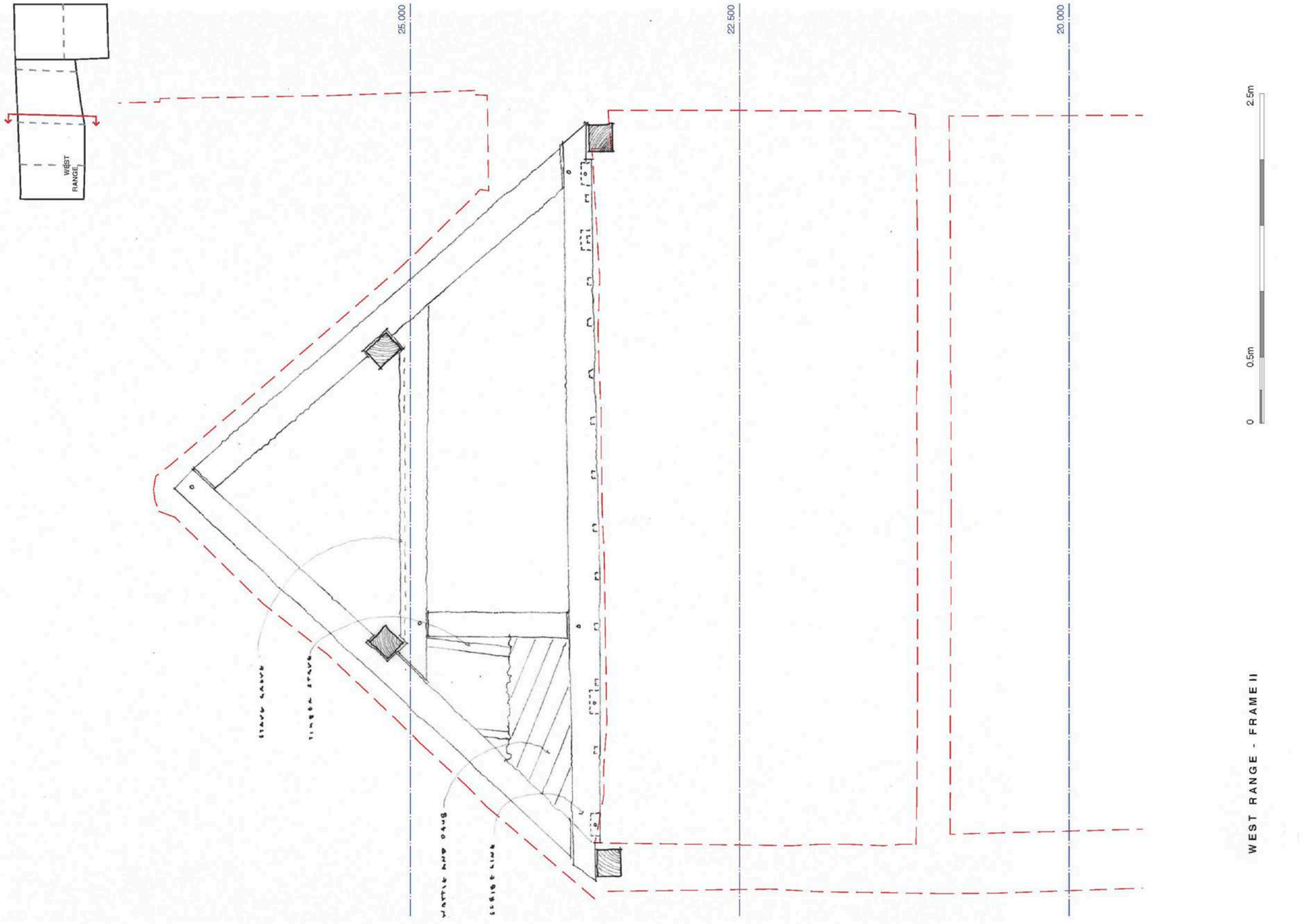
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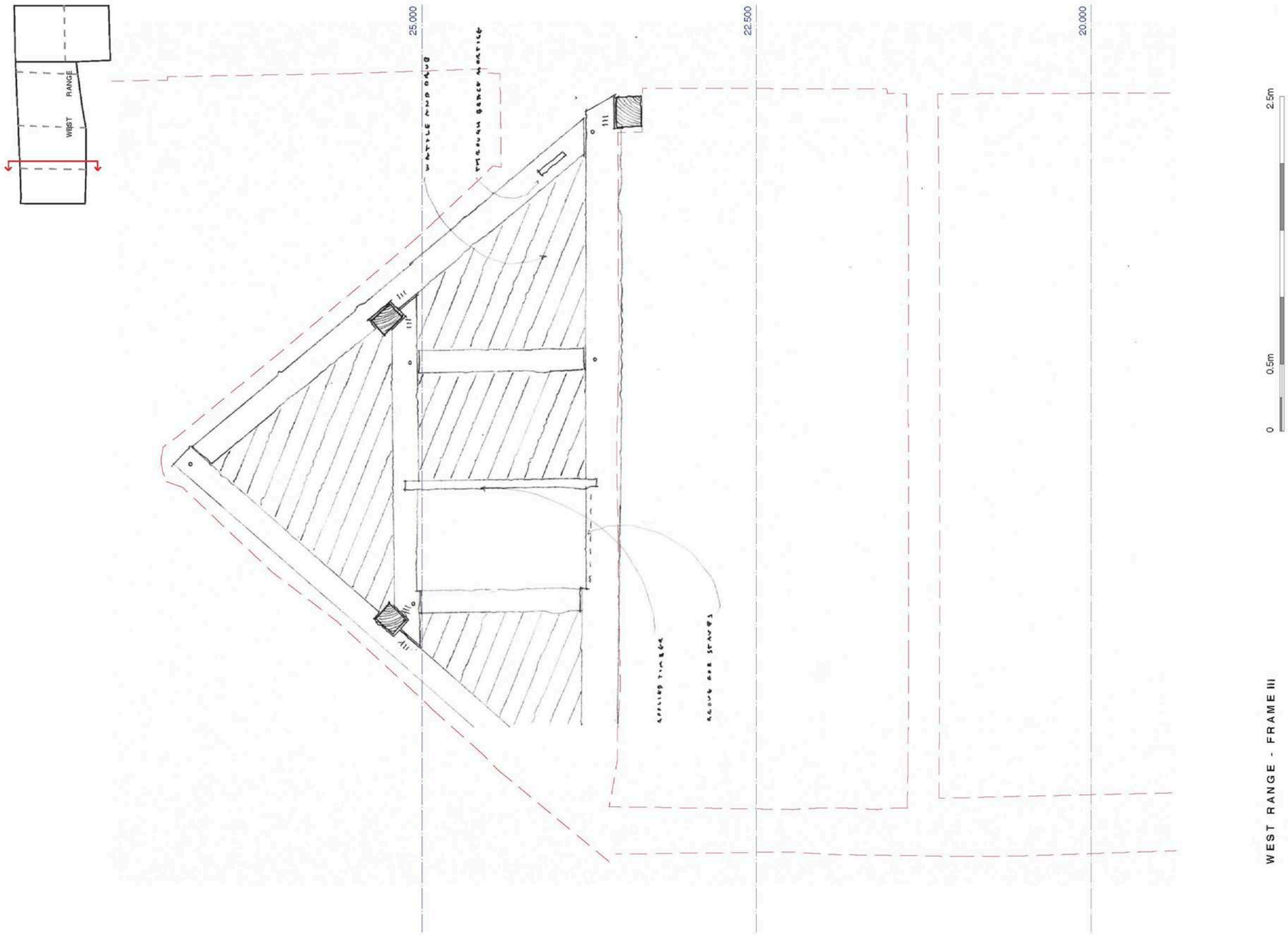
WEST RANGE EAST ELEVATION

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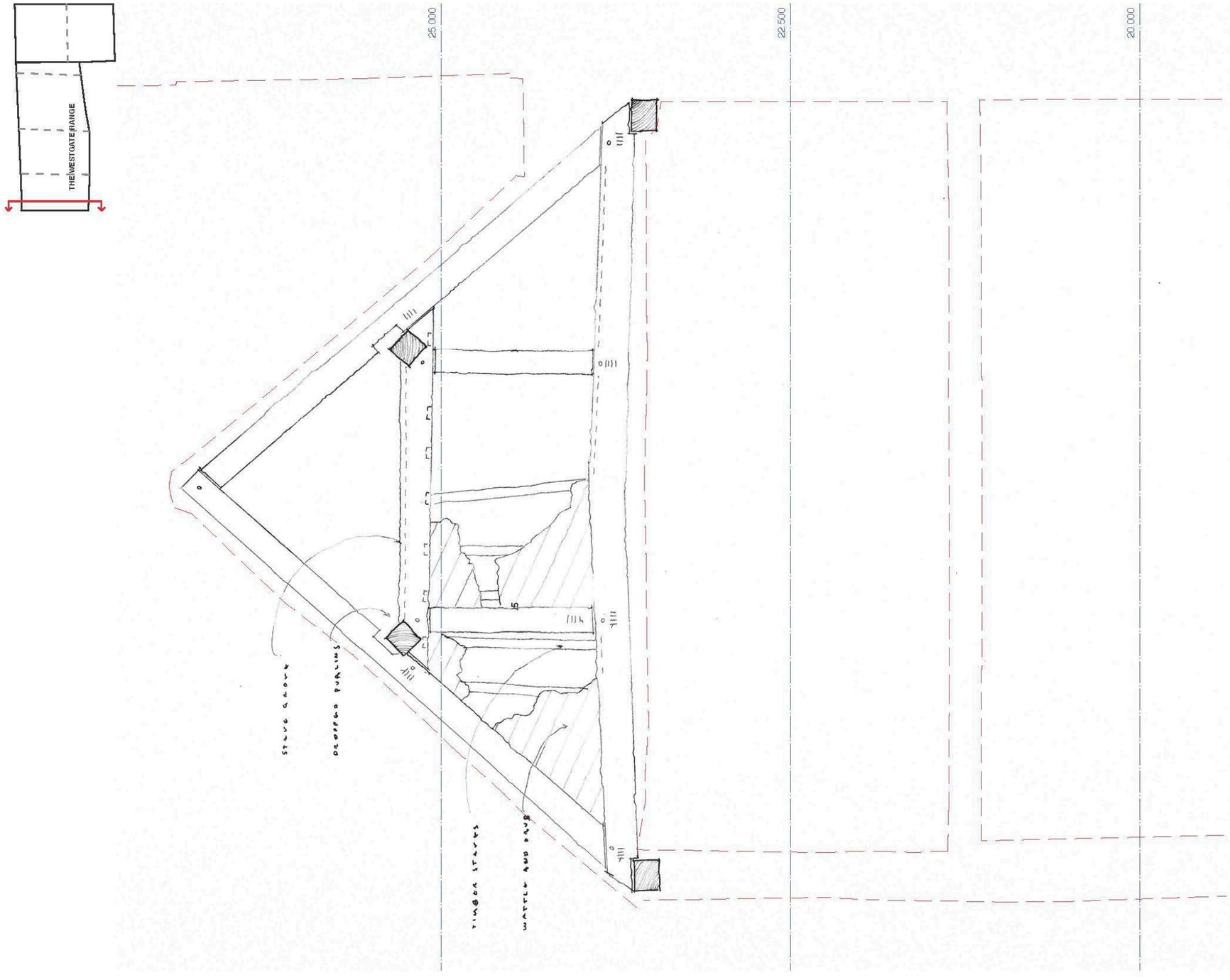

WEST RANGE
25.000
22.500
20.000
2.5m
0.5m
0
WEST RANGE - FRAME I



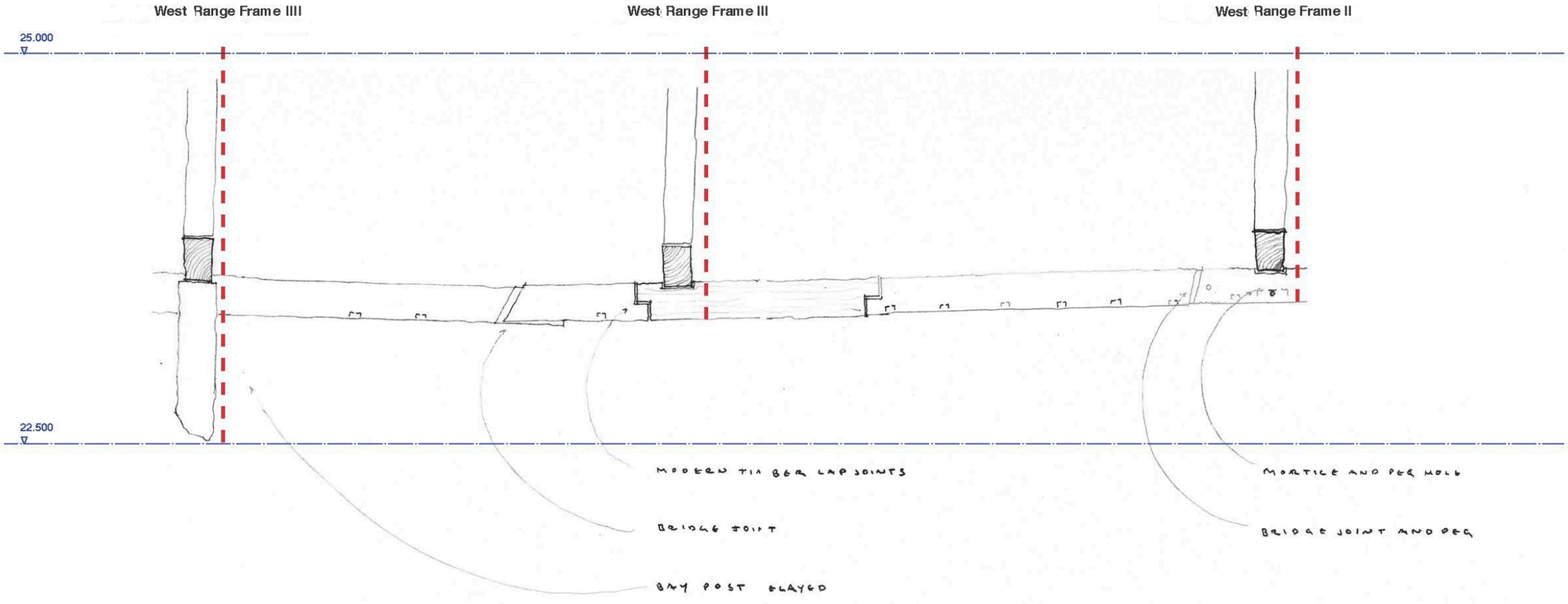
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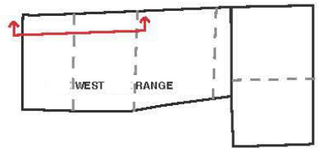
WEST RANGE - FRAME III



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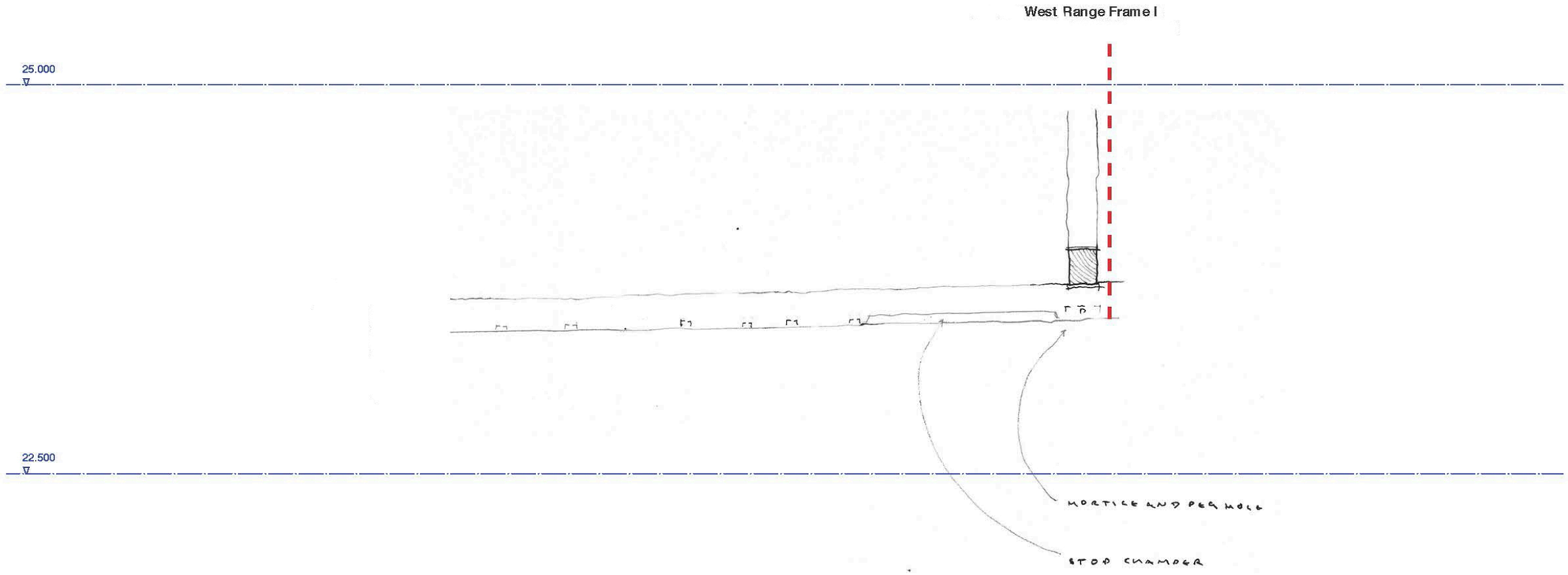


WEST RANGE - FLYING WALL PLATE

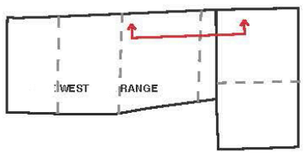


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WEST RANGE - FLYING WALL PLATE



Sheet 2 of 2

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Endnotes

1 Lobel and Tann 1969, 3.

2 Ibid., 2.

3 Ibid., 3; VCH Gloucester, 7-9.

4 Baker and Holt 2004, 37.

5 Hurst 1984.

6 Baker and Holt 2004, 42.

7 Ibid., 261.

8 VCH Gloucester, 14-15.

9 Lobel and Tann 1969, 4.

10 VCH Gloucester, 68-9; Smith 1964, 128.

11 VCH Gloucester, 65.

12 Baker and Holt 2004, 123.

13 Household 1946-8, 38; Baker and Holt 2004, 51.

14 Baker and Holt 2004, 53.

15 Household 1946-8, 38-9.

16 As described in the 1455 rental; Stevenson 1890, 33.

17 Baker and Holt 2004, 54; VCH Gloucester, 294, 303. The Board of Health map 1852 (GA GBR/L10/1/2) continues to mark the parish boundaries and the census records up to at least 1891 use the parishes as administrative areas.

18 Baker and Holt 2004, 57; VCH Gloucester, 68.

19 See the list of the 12 ‘ancient innes of Gloucester’ as enumerated in the late 16th century; Rhodes 2021, 23.

20 http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/vag_dendro/full_record.cfm?id=1410 (Acc. 12 December 2022).

21 Parker 1860, 328.

22 Household 1946-8.

23 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016.

24 Smart’s Gloucester Directory, 1920 and 1927.

25 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016; Stevenson 1890.

26 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016.

27 For the map of the area including the Fleece Hotel, see Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, xxxviii.

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28 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, xxxviii.

29 The outline of the two plots numbered 87 and 87A are shown in Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, xxxviii.

30 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 133.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.; Ross and Devine 1964−77, Vol. 2, 388−389.

33 The exact phrase transcribed in Ross and Devine 1964−1977, Vol. 2, 388, in the charter of Matilda, is *terciam scedarum,* that is 'third charter or deed' It is in the confirmation by Richard Kenewrec, her son, that the words *terciam seldam* 'third shop' occurs.

34 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 133; Ross and Devine 1964−1977, Vol. 2, 396-397.

35 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 133

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid., 134.

38 Ibid., 135-6.

39 Ibid., 132.

40 Ibid., 136.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., 137.

43 1455 Gloucester Rental; Stevenson 1890, 31-33.

44 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

45 Ibid., 137.

46 Ibid., 137-8.

47 Bridge and Tyers 2017.

48 Baker and Holt 2004, 282. The idea of an inn associated with the pilgrim trade has been widely reproduced; see for example https://www.gloucestershirepubs.co.uk/pubs/fleece-hotel-westgate-street-gloucester/ (Acc. 13 November 2022).

49 Stevenson 1890, 85.

50 Rhodes 2021, 24.

51 See for example Keene 1985, 167-8.

52 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138; Stevenson 1893, 418 quoting GA GBR/JI/1189.

53 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid.

56 But note the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines fleccher *(*s.n. fletcher*)* as 'one who makes or deals in bows and arrows'. The *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* agrees with this as does the *Middle English Dictionary*. (There is a Middle English word *flesher* which refers to a butcher, but its usage is chiefly Scottish.) *Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. flesher, online (Acc. 23 April 2023).

57 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

58 VCH Gloucester, 376; 302.

59 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

60 Ibid., 132.

61 Ibid., 139.

62 Ibid.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid., 138-9.

66 http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/pate-richard-1516-88 (Acc. 11 August 2022).

67 GA D936/E12/1-20.

68 GA D936/E2.

69 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

70 Other inns are known to have been owned or leased by vintners; see for example the Golden Cross, Oxford, in Pantin and Clive Rouse 1954-55, 48.

71 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 139.

72 Ibid.

73 GA D936/E12/2, ff. 318-9.

74 Rudge 1803, 163 mentions that George Hurdman formerly had 'a good estate' at Turley.

75 Jurica and Ripley 1991, 6.

76 VCH Gloucester, 94.

77 Ibid., 95.

78 GA D936/E1/1, pp. 191-3.

79 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 133.

80 GA D936/E1/1, pp. 200-2.

81 VCH Gloucester, 100.

82 Baker and Holt 2004, 54.

83 VCH Gloucester, 303.

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84 GA D936/E12/3, f. 93.

85 Rhodes 2021, 24; Jurica and Ripley 1991, 6.

86 See for example Hare 2013, 493.

87 GA D936/E12/3, ff. 93-4.

88 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 139; GA D936/E12/3.

89 GA D936/E12/4, pp. 136-8.

90 GCA TR3.

91 Ibid., pp. 13, 55, 91 119, 149, 177, 205, 231.

92 VCH Gloucester, 106; Rhodes 2021, 24.

93 Rhodes 2021, 24.

94 GA D936/E12/4, pp. 257-9.

95 GA D936/E12/5, pp.360-2 and GA D936/E12/7.

96 GA D3117/3860.

97 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 128.

98 GA D936/E12/9, pp. 174-6.

99 GA D936/E12/9, pp. 176-9.

100 GA D936/E2/1, ff. 124-5.

101 GA D936/E12/9, pp. 174-6.

102 GA D936/E2/1, ff. 201-3.

103 GA D936/E12/10, pp.117-8.

104 Household 1946-8, 51 quoting the *Gloucester Journal*, 1 February 1742/3.

105 GA D936/E2/2, pp. 20-1; 24.

106 GA D936/E2/2, p. 29 and GA D936/E2/2 p. 24.

107 GA D936/E2/2, pp. 20-1.

108 GA D936/E2/2, p. 24; Rhodes 2016, 139.

109 GA D936/E12/11, ff.152-3.

110 Household 1946-8, 51.

111 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 139.

112 Household 1946-8, 52.

113 Ibid.; GCA Chapter Acts 1740-74, Book 3, p. 221.

114 Household 1946-8, 53; GCA Chapter Acts 1740-1774 Book 3 p. 224.

115 GA D926/E12/13, ff.106-108.

116 GA D936/E12/13, ff. 207-209.

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117 Household 1946-8, 54.

118 Ibid., 55.

119 GA GL62.21(3).

120 Household 1946-8, 55.

121 VCH Gloucester, 162.

122 GA D935/E12/15, ff. 211v.-212.

123 GA D936/E12/15, ff.152v.-154.

124 GA D936/E12/15, f.246v.

125 GA D936/E12/16, ff.246v.-247.

126 *Gloucester Journal* 15 January 1798, 1.

127 GCA TR9 Treasurer's Accounts 1786-1810, p.177.

128 Ibid., p.208.

129 Ibid., p.392.

130 Ibid., p.498.

131 GCA Chapter Acts 1775-1807 Book 4.

132 https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C9358 (Acc. 12 November 2022).

133 TNA IR20/15.

134 TNA IR20/1 No. 76. Registered 17 November 1799.

135 TNA IR20/1 No. 68 Registered 17 November 1799.

136 Household 1946-8, 56. It seems that Household was able to consult records then in possession of the owner, which have subsequently been lost.

137 Ibid.

138 Jones's profession as a brush maker is confirmed by various documents including the record of his purchase of the other property (TNA IR20/1 No. 58), a marriage licence of 1790 (GA GDR/Q3/79/(part)) and Pigot & Co *Directory of Gloucestershire* 1822-23, 57 and Pigot & Co *Directory of Gloucestershire* 1830, 373; VCH Gloucester, 140.

139 See for example Pigot & Co *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire etc. Part 1 Berkshire to Gloucestershire* 1844, 110 where they are listed as brush makers at 8 Westgate Street (equivalent to No. 15 today). Although Samuel Jones later appears to have occupied a house elsewhere in the city, his parish is given as St Mary de Grace at the point of his marriage in 1790, suggesting that he did occupy No. 15, or another plot within very close proximity, at this date (GA GDR/Q3/79/(part)).

140 TNA IR20/1 No. 58 Registered 19 November 1799.

141 Household 1946-8, 56, citing a deed in the possession of the site's owner in the late 1940s, C. G. Rich.

142 *Gloucester Journal*, 30 June 1800, 3.

143 GA D3117/3754.

144 GA GBR/G3/Av/5/(part).

145 1841 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 5, piece 379, book 6, f. 3, p. 22.

146 *Gloucester Journal*, 15 May 1841, 1.

147 Pigot & Co. *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire etc. Part 1 Berkshire to Gloucestershire* 1844, 112 and Hunt & Co *Directory & Topography of the Cities of Gloucester Bristol & Welsh Towns* 1849, 34.

148 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.

149 *Gloucester Journal*, 12 January 1800, 2.

150 1851 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 5&1, piece 1962, f. 33, p. 59, household schedule number 7.

151 Post Office *Directory of Gloucestershire with Bath and Bristol* 1856, 297.

152 *Slater's Directory of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, Shropshire & Wiltshire* 1859, 194.

153 1861 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 2, piece 1766, f. 24, p. 6, household schedule number 28.

154 1871 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 2, piece 2615, f. 47, p.45, household schedule number 13.

155 *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard*, 10 June 1871, 8.

156 *Gloucester Journal*, 6 June 1874.

157 *Gloucester Journal*, 13 June 1874.

158 1891 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 2, piece 2014, f. 30, household schedule number 11.

159 GA D4496/90.

160 Ibid.

161 *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, 15 September 1906, 5.

162 *Gloucester Journal*, 27 April 1907, 4.

163 *Gloucester Citizen*, 24 December 1968.

164 GA GBR/L20/2/1914/26.

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165 GA GBR/L20/2/1919/25.

166 GA GBR/L20/2/1919/32.

167 HEA EPW024169.

168 GA GBR/L20/2/1927/129.

169 GA GBR/L20/2/1933/160.

170 GA GBR/L0/2/1933/172.

171 GA GBR/L20/2/1936/118.

172 GA GBR/L20/2/1930/39.

173 GA D2299/7096.

174 Ibid.

175 Ibid.

176 https://www.gloucester500.co.uk/post/what-were-they-thinking-jellicoe (Acc. 21 November 2022).

177 GA D2299/23541.

178 *Gloucester Citizen,* 24 December 1968.

179 Ibid.

180 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-gloucestershire-18442804 (Acc. 21 November 2022).

181 See for example Heighway et al. 1979.

182 VCH Gloucester, 259.

183 See Lloyd and Lane 2023 for more information on this cellar structure.

184 Hockley and Dawson 2016, 6-7.

185 Sally Strachan Historic Conservation 2016, 22.

186 Dr Ron Baxter, Director of the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland, to Abigail Lloyd, pers. comm.

187 See Lloyd and Lane 2023 for more information on these structures.

188 Harris 1994.

189 See Lloyd and Lane 2023, 13-15, for more on the discussion of different uses for undercrofts.

190 Brown 1999, 24-25; Hill 2020.

191 Schofield 1995, 32-33.

192 Martin and Martin 2004, 108, 156 and 58 French Street, Southampton, Faulkner 1975, 104-107.

193 Smith and Carter 1983, 7; Brown ed. 1999, 22.

194 VCH Gloucester, 70.

195 Nick Hill, pers. comm.

196 See for example Leech 2014.

197 Hill 2020, 118; Harris 1994, 31.

198 Pantin 1962-3, 204.

199 Grenville 1999, 88.

200 Harris 1994, 11-26.

201 Blair 1978.

202 Pantin 1962-3, 203-4; Leech 2014, 73-79.

203 Harris 1994, 21-22.

204 Pantin 1962-3, 203-4.

205 Bridge and Tyers 2017.

206 Ibid., 39.

207 Ibid., 4.

208 John Rhodes pers. comm. to Kate Biggs.

209 Barnwell and Adams 1994, 110.

210 GA D936/E12/9, pp. 176-9.

211 Meeson and Alcock 2016, 12.

212 Leech 2014, 98.

213 See for example Sandwich, Kent; Clarke et al. 2010 106-7.

214 Martin and Martin 1997, 89.

215 For example the Fountain Inn (previously Savages Inn), identified as an inn in 1455, but described in later legal documents as a tenement: Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 128. See also examples in Winchester; Keene 1985, 167.

216 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

217 Pantin 1961, 168.

218 Limited dendrochronological analysis suggests a date after 1432: https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/vag_dendro/full_record.cfm?rn=4 (Acc. 9 August 2023).

219 Pantin 1961, 172.

220 Pantin and Clive Rouse 1954-5.

221 Pantin 1961 166-8; examples in Winchester identified in Keene 1985, 167.

222 Keene 1985, 167.

223 Martin and Martin 1997; Smith 2001.

224 Leech (2014, 309) asserts they were common in cities in the South-West of England – with examples known from Exeter, Totnes and Plymouth as well as Bristol. Evidence in London, York and Chester is known, largely from documentary sources: Schofield 1995, 69; Grenville 1999, 186-7.

225 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 159.

226 Martin and Martin 1997, 85; Leech 2014, 309.

227 Leech 2014, 309.

228 Martin and Martin 1997.

229 Schofield 1995, 69-70.

230 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, 138.

231 GA D2299/7096

232 Clark 2000, 68.

233 Clark 2000, 75-78.

234 Ibid.

235 Meeson and Alcock 2016, 11-13

236 VCH Tewkesbury, 129.

237 Grenville 1999, 169.

238 Clark 2000, 78; Schofield 1995, 71-73.

239 Bridge and Tyers forthcoming.

240 Kirkham 2023, 15-16.

241 Ibid., 27.

242 Bridge and Tyers 2017, 5.

243 Pantin 1961, 168.

244 Everitt 1973, 93.

245 VCH Gloucester, 248.

246 https://www.gloucestershirepubs.co.uk/pubs/new-inn-hotel-northgate-street-gloucester/ (Acc. 7 August 2023).

247 Everitt 1973, 105.

248 See for example Feilden Clegg Bradley 2009.

249 Kirkham 2023, 16, 42-43 Figures B58 and B59. The other example identified by Kirkham is from the Cathedral at St David's, Pembrokeshire, known to have been painted in 1743.

250 Ibid., 16, 38 Plates B54-57.

251 *Gloucester Journal* 15 May 1841, 1.

252 1841 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 5, piece 379, book 6, f. 3, p. 22.

253 1851 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 5&1, piece 1962, f. 33, p. 59, household schedule number 7.

254 1861 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 2, piece 1766, f. 24, p. 6, household schedule number 28.

255 1871 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 2, piece 2615, f. 47, p. 45, household schedule number 13.

256 1881 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, enumeration district 2, piece 2533, f. 41, p. 39, household schedule number 6.

257 1891 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 2, piece 2014, f. 30, household schedule number 11.

258 1901 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district St John the Baptist, enumeration district 3, piece 2426, f. 45, p. 2, household schedule number 8.

259 1911 census, Gloucestershire, registration district Gloucester, sub-district Gloucester Northern, enumeration district 9, piece 15289.

260 Steymore, Cole and Rhodes 2016, xxxviii.

261 Heighway 1976, 8.

262 Stevenson 1890, 33.

263 GA D936/E2/1 f. 123.

264 GA D936/E2/1 f. 203.

265 Pigot & Co. *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire etc. Part 1 Berkshire to Gloucestershire* 1844, 110.

266 1841 Census, Parish of St Mary de Grace, Gloucester.

267 Hunt & Co *Directory & Topography of the Cities of Gloucester Bristol & Welsh Towns* 1849, 29.

268 Pigot & Co. *Royal National and Commercial Directory and Topography of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire etc. Part 1 Berkshire to Gloucestershire* 1844, 110.

269 *Gloucester Journal* 25 May 1912, 10.

270 Aviva Archives, NU5178.

271 https://avivaarchive.medium.com/norwich-unions-gloucester-fire-brigade-more-than-sixty-years-of-service-to-the-community-3279a26c25f2 (Acc. 23 September 2022).

272 *Gloucester Journal* 25 May 1912, 10.

273 Kelly & Co *Kelly's Directory of Gloucestershire* 1912, 208.

274 GA D2299/23541.

275 Stevenson 1890, 33.

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