

Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History.

GLASS-PAINTERS IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

*Reprinted from the Journal of the British Society of Master
Glass-Painters.*

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"Before the Reformation," wrote Aubrey, "I believe there was no county or great town in England but had glass-painters,"¹ but there has appeared in print no attempt to set out how much is actually known about the pre-Reformation glass-painters as a whole. Westlake suggested that schools of glass-painting were situated at York, Coventry, one "in the vicinity of Northampton," Bristol, Wells, Winchester and Canterbury or Dover.² Since these suggestions were made, many records have been published, a perusal of which should support or disprove the suggestions. Mr. Herbert Read develops Westlake's statement: "To these we must perhaps add Oxford, Lincoln, Norwich and Westminster. The evidence in favour of the existence of schools at Northampton, Canterbury (or Dover—but why Dover?) seems to rest entirely on local distribution."³ The first step must be to see how far these statements are born out by the records.

Of the York school of glass-painting little need here be said. All that is known of it has been fully set out by Mr. J. A. Knowles in various journals.⁴ Although somewhat isolated and, at certain periods, conservative, the influence of York spread far: and it was, in its turn, influenced by great centres elsewhere. According to Mr. Knowles's chronological lists, the first glass-painter known by name is Walter le Verrou, whose name occurs in 1313. We have 13 other names before 1360, a like number before 1400, 27 before 1450, 27 before 1500, 20 before 1540.⁵

That there was a school at Coventry, and that an important one, is certain. It is proved by the distribution of a particularly fine type of

¹ Quoted in Hutchins' *History of Dorset*, 3rd ed., p. 216.

² *History of Design in Painted Glass*, Vol. II, p. 41.

³ *English Stained Glass*, p. 107.

⁴ See a long series of papers in *Notes and Queries*, beginning 12S.VII, Dec. 18, 1920. In conjunction with these papers should be read those entitled "The York School of Glass-Painting" in the JOURNAL. The whole is admirably summed up in "The York Glass-Painters," *York Minster Historical Tracts*, No. 21.

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, 12S.X, March 11th and 25th, 1922.

fourteenth- and fifteenth-century painting in the neighbourhood.¹ Yet so far only three names can be found. William le Glawrihte (*sic*) is mentioned in the Coventry records of 1301-2.² In 1352, John Coventre was at work on the windows of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The other name is that of the celebrated John Thornton, who painted the east window of York Minster and put thereon his monogram and the date 1408. He may have been the son of John Coventre.

So far there has been shown no documentary evidence of a school at Northampton. And the same must be said of Wells and Bristol, at least so far as painters of the great amount of fourteenth century glass are concerned,³ but the whole question of the west country glass-painting will be considered below.

It has been proved by an overwhelming amount of evidence that the earlier Winchester glass was painted not locally, as was once supposed, but at Oxford. But it is inaccurate to say, as is sometimes said, that Winchester can show no medieval glass-painters. In 1221 John le Verur and Albin le Verur were working in Winchester Castle. In 1288 and 1293 other unnamed glaziers were doing likewise. They may well have been local men. In 1353 two figures were bought in Winchester by order of the Crown, to put into a window in Carisbrook Castle.⁴ In 1455 and the following years Henry Smart, a glass-painter, represented the city in Parliament.⁵

There is evidence for saying that glass-painting was carried on at Canterbury in the Middle Ages, but none, I think, to show that it was practised at Dover, which, no doubt, Westlake suggested because it was a port. The first glass-painter to be found is John le Verrer, who is mentioned as having connection with Canterbury in 1305.⁶ In 1374 three glaziers, William Martyn, Simon Southlond and Peter Pese-merssh, were engaged to repair windows at Queenborough Castle.⁷ They may have been local men. Beginning with Thomas Stokes, glazier, in 1393, we have twenty-three other glaziers named before

¹ Bernard Rackham, *The Glass-Paintings of Coventry and its Neighbourhood*, Walpole Society, Vol. 19, 1930-31, pp. 89 ff. To the remaining examples of the work of this school should certainly be added the magnificent "Jesse Tree" at Lowick, Northants.

² *Ibid.*, p. 90. Is it fanciful to suppose that Mr. Rackham enables us to name another Coventry glass-painter? He records a fourteenth-century inscription remaining at Kinwarton to *Willi atte ye Wode et Leticie uxori sue qui fecerut ista fe[nestram]* (p. 93). One of the glaziers impressed to help with the glazing of the windows of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1351, was John atte Wode.

³ The only exception I know to this statement is that Ricardus de Welles is found in York records in 1359. The York and Wells schools certainly influenced each other at this date (see J. A. Knowles in *JOURNAL*, Vol. III, pp. 195ff). Bristol furnishes but two names, see below.

⁴ L. F. Salzman, "Medieval Glazing Accounts," *JOURNAL*, Vol. II, pp. 116-118, 189.

⁵ J. D. Le Couteur, *English Medieval Painted Glass*, p. 28.

⁶ C. H. Ashdown, *History of the Glaziers' Company*, p. 15.

⁷ Salzman, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

1540.¹ The names are spread fairly evenly over that period. A number, but by no means all of them lived in Burgate. They certainly did not keep so closely to one district or street as did the York glass-painters.

It is not unlikely that Oxford will one day be shown to be, if not the oldest, one of the most important centres of glass-painting in England. The earliest name of a glass-painter is one Thomas in the reign of Richard I. Thomas had a brother named Jordan, who was probably Thomas's partner. He died between 1204 and 1211, his goods being inherited by another Thomas. "There was perhaps another partner, even in Jordan's lifetime, one Walter: and after Jordan's death yet another partner, Geoffrey. There was also a son, Thomas, born I know not when; but in 1258 he was apparently a grown man carrying on his father's business, and he was still living in 1303."² Galfrido le Verrer witnessed a deed by which Thomas Aurifaber granted property to John Burgeys in about 1270.³ There is no space to speak of Thomas of Oxford, a glass-painter as famous as John Thornton of Coventry. His interesting history and the extent of his work and his influence are set down in easily accessible publications.⁴ The later history of the Oxford school has not yet been worked out, but one fifteenth-century name can be given: in 1494 Thomas Glazier possessed a house in Bedford Lane.⁵

Mr. Herbert Read's suggestion that Lincoln was a centre of glass-painting is not, I think, born out by an examination of the records. "The cathedral had, in 1234, a *vitrearius* of the name of Robert Harefoot, but his work was only to look after the windows already placed in position. It is not until the fourteenth century that we find definite evidence of glass-painters living in Lincoln. William le Verrouer was alive in 1327 and Thomas Glasenwright in 1360. John Lincoln was one of the glass-painters who went to help glaze the windows of St.

¹ J. M. Cowper, *A Roll of Freemen of the City of Canterbury, 1392-1800, and Intrantes* (a list of persons admitted to live and trade within the City of Canterbury, 1392-1592). One hesitates to add the name of John Veyerer (1433) to the list, for the surname is to be found all over Kent in various forms. For instance, there is recorded Isabel Veyerar, widow, of Adisham in 1491, William Veyerar of Kingsnorth in 1469, Thomas Vereur, husbandman of Deal, in 1533, and John Verrier of Canterbury, in 1643. See *Index of Wills and Administrations now preserved in the Probate Registry at Canterbury, 1396-1650* (British Record Society, 1920).

² This is a summary of a great deal of interesting information and suggestions about the early Oxford glass-painters in H. W. Garrod's *Ancient Painted Glass in Merton College, Oxford* (London, 1931), pp. 40ff.

³ H. E. Salter, *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's Church, Oxford* (Oxford Archaeol. Soc., No. 78, 1933), p. 268.

⁴ See H. J. Powell's "Picture Windows in the Ante-Chapel of New College, Oxford," *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. VIII (1906), pp. 326ff, and J. A. Knowles's "York School of Glass-Painting," *JOURNAL*, Vol. III, p. 193. These and other accounts are summarised by Garrod, *op. cit.*, pp. 36ff. Garrod is against the generally accepted view that Thomas of Oxford is to be identified with Thomas Daddington.

⁵ *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's Church*, p. 138.

Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1352."¹ In 1437 Agnes Glazier is twice mentioned as a woman of ill-fame.² Beyond that, the records show no later names. They are not to be expected when glass-painters who lived much further off had to be employed to glaze the windows of Tattershall Church. "John Glazier of Stamford was paid £8 13s. 3d. for a 'Credo' window and four clerestory windows in Tattershall Church, Lincs. Perhaps Thomas Wodshawe and Richard Twygge who painted a 'Seven Sacraments window' (part of which still remains) and two windows 'de Ymaginibus' for the same church also came from Stamford. Robert Power of Burton-on-Trent painted windows *de Historia Sancte crucis*, and showing a life of St. James in 1482. John Wymondsdeswalde, of Peterborough, glazed another 'de Ymaginibus'."³ John Glazier mended the windows of St. Mary's, Stamford, in 1427.⁴ Richard Twygge was working at Malvern in 1506-7 and in Westminster Abbey from 1507-10. He must have been a well-known and talented glass-painter to have been engaged at places so far apart.

The history of glass-painting in London in the Middle Ages has yet to be written. C. H. Ashdown, in his *History of the Glaziers' Company*, offers a basis upon which to build. Other authorities have, in various papers, collected further information. There remain a very great number of isolated names, increasing as the Reformation draws nearer. London must always have been a centre of the first importance, and perhaps Southwark was another.⁵ No doubt firms grew up as the demand for glass increased. How much remains to be discovered and analysed is shown by what has been found out about the office of King's Glazier.⁶ The earliest mention of this office that Ashdown could find was when John Prudde succeeded Roger of Gloucester in the office in 1440. The office was then traced back to 1240 in which year, Edward held it under Henry III, and other names were added.⁷

¹ Quoted from the writer's *Guide to the Medieval Glass in Lincoln Cathedral* (S.P.C.K., 1933), p. 45.

² "Visitation of W. Alnewyke, Bishop of Lincoln," *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, Part II, pp. 376, 391.

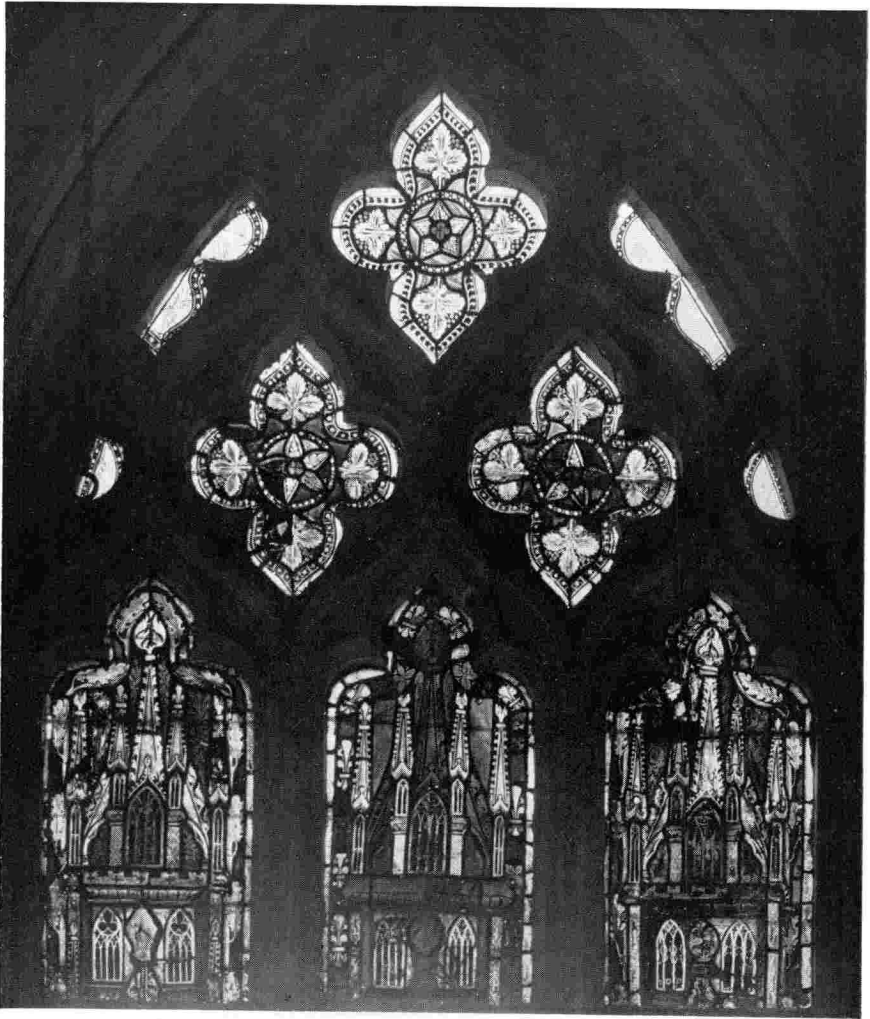
³ Quoted from the writer's "Schools of Glass-Painting in King's Lynn and Norwich in the Middle Ages," *JOURNAL*, Vol. V, p. 18.

⁴ Nichols' *Manners*, p. 130.

⁵ The first Southwark glass-painter so far known is Nicholas de Creping, who was working there in 1292. L. F. Salzman, "Medieval Glazing Accounts," *JOURNAL*, Vol. II, p. 113. In 1319 mention is made of Margery, "widow of Nicholas le Verrer of Suthwark in Suthwark." "Pedes Finium, or Fines Relating to the County of Surrey," *Surrey Archaeol. Collections*, Extra Vol. I (1894), p. 85.

⁶ The primary duties of the King's Glazier, who had, of course, a staff of workmen under his direction, were to undertake the glazing or repairing of windows in the Royal Palaces and other residences, as well as those in any other building founded or erected by Royalty." J. D. Le Couteur, *English Medieval Painted Glass*, p. 30. The King's Glazier was allowed to undertake other work, not being bound to work for the King only. Thus we see John Prudde (appointed King's Glazier in 1440) painting glass for Winchester College in 1443 and for the east window of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, in 1447.

⁷ J. A. Knowles, "Additional Notes on the History of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers," *Antiquaries' Journal*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (July, 1927).



DENNINGTON, SUFFOLK. Tabernacle work.



LONG MELFORD, SUFFOLK.
St. Edmund, St. Peter Martyr and Richard Pygot.

More lately Robert the Glazier and William of Kent have been found to fill up gaps at the end of the thirteenth century.¹

Enough has been said to show that the centres of glass-painting suggested by Westlake and Read are on the whole largely supported by documentary evidence. Can the existence of others be proved and in what number? The area roughly covered by the old kingdom of East Anglia will serve as an excellent example of what one may one day expect to be found in other parts of England, or, at least, the richer parts of England. Norwich has already been mentioned. Over forty names of glass-painters are recorded before the end of the reign of Henry VIII. King's Lynn was a centre almost as important in early times. One of the glass-painters, Simon of Lynn, must have been a man of some importance. He was an alderman; in 1350 he was working on the windows of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster; six years later he was making windows for Ely Cathedral. Suffolk was served largely by Ipswich, where the first mention of a glass-painter by name occurs in 1309. There were glass-painters living all over Essex, and particularly at Colchester in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We have a surprising amount of information about two of the earliest of them. Robert le Verrer and his son Matthew lived in Colchester at the end of the thirteenth century. Matthew was one of the chief citizens of the town, a member of the Council, bailiff five times, a member of parliament in 1334 and 1338. Eleven glass-painters can be found living in Colchester in the fourteenth century. Altogether, the four counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridge, can show just under a hundred glass-painters before the Reformation.² Of this number, Cambridge only contributes two names.³

Chester has not been suggested as a centre of glass-painting, yet its documents and deeds may one day provide as detailed a picture of the development of glass-painting in a particular town as those of London and York. Of pre-Reformation names I have only found four. Simon le Verrer is mentioned several times in the County Court Rolls round about the year 1290.⁴ In 1426 William Thurkell mended a window in Chester Castle. In 1457 William Glasyer glazed a small window in "the Exchequer of Chester."⁵ In 1500 Ralph Norley (Northleigh)

¹ L. F. Salzman, "Medieval Glazing Accounts," *JOURNAL*, Vol. II, No. 3 (April, 1928), p. 118.

² The writer has dealt fully with the glass-painters of Norwich, King's Lynn, Ipswich and Essex in three papers contributed to Vol. V of the *JOURNAL*: "Schools of Glass-Painting at King's Lynn and Norwich," "Further Notes on Ancient Glass in Norfolk and Suffolk," "Glass-Painters in Essex in the Middle Ages."

³ John le Verrur made windows for Cambridge Castle in 1341. Salzman, "Medieval Glazing Accounts," *JOURNAL*, Vol. II, p. 119. In 1334 William the Glasswright was a member of the Corpus Christi Guild, and held land in St. Benet's parish. He died in that year. M. Bateson, *Cambridge Guild Records* (Octavo Pubs. Cambridge Antiquarian Soc., Vol. XXXIX, 1903), pp. 29, 104.

⁴ *Calendar of County Court Rolls of Chester, 1259-1297*. Ed. R. Stewart-Brown, Chetham Soc., 1925, pp. 163-7, 171, 196.

⁵ Salzman, "Medieval Glazing Accounts," *JOURNAL*, Vol. III, pp. 27-29.

was made freeman of the city.¹ To these names may be added that of John of Chester, who was one of the chief of the glass-painters working at St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, in 1351.²

The Chester Plays are well known because the records of them have survived in such quantity. The painters, glaziers, embroiderers and stationers combined to produce the Shepherd's Watch and Angels' Hymn. "It also appereinge to us that they have bin tyme out of minde one brotherhood for the costs and expences of the plae of the Shepperds' Wach with the Angells' Hymme and likeways for other Payings out conserneinge the welfare and prosperetie of the said City."³ There survive several variations of the "Banes," or metrical announcements of what each group of Companies was going to produce. A fifteenth century version runs thus:—

' Paynters, glasiars and broderers in fer (company)
Have taken on theym with full good chere
That the Sheppards play then shall appere
And that with right good wyll.'⁴

The painters, glaziers, embroiderers and stationers, having thus been long joined by custom for the production of this play, on 1st May, 1534, received a charter of incorporation from the City Fathers. The original document is lost or mislaid, but copies of it are in existence. The members of the various trades are not to practice the trades of the others. The note regarding the glaziers may be quoted in full :

Alsoe that noe person as is aforesaid shall use or exercise the trade of a Glassiere ether to cut lead simon or annal⁵ and sort of glasse whatsoever for profitte or gane but such as been of the said brotherhood and societye on forfeiture for every such offence in soe doeing the summe of one pounde to be levied and for the uses as aforesayd. And that likeways the Glassiers shall not intermeddle with or in any of the trades of paintinge, imbranderinge or stacioninge, but follow that to which they served as apprentises upon the forfeiture of the summe of one pounde to be levied and for the uses as aforesaid, and that the Glassiers shall well and sufficiently lead, annall and simon their glasse, of which if it be fonde otherwayes for everye time soe offendinge that shall forfeitte to the use of the Company the summe of ij shillings vj pence.⁶

The later history of this Chester company, with its banners, seals, rules and places of meeting, is full of interest, but falls outside the scope of this paper.

¹ *Rolls of Freemen of City of Chester*, ed. J. H. E. Bennet, Record Soc., 1906, p. 12.

² His work was to design the figures, for which he received 7s. a week. "Master John de Chestre is something of a mystery; I can find no reference to him outside this roll." Salzman, "The Glazing of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1351-2," *JOURNAL*, Vol. I, pp. 15-16.

³ R. Stewart-Brown, "The Stationers, Booksellers and Printers of Chester," *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Cheshire*, Vol. LXXXIII, p. 149.

⁴ J. C. Bridge, "Items of Expenditure from the 16th Century Accounts of the Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers and Stationers' Company, with special reference to the Shepherds' Play," *Journ. Arch. Archaeol. and History Soc., Chester*, Vol. XVIII (N.S. 1911), p. 156.

⁵ i.e., cut, lead, cement or anneal. "Annal" meant to burn in or fire on the vitrifiable enamel in the kiln. Cf. contract with John Prudde of Westminster for the windows of the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, 1447, in which "eneylin" the enamel was insisted upon. Winston, *Hints*, Appen. B., 1867, ed. p. 389.

⁶ The Charter is quoted in full by Stewart-Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 149ff.

It is difficult to say how far the word "school" may accurately be used with regard to the glass-painters in any particular place. At York, for instance, or Norwich the different families of glass-painters clearly influenced one another. If it were not so, the close similarity between a vast amount of glass either in the city itself or in the parish churches of the surrounding parishes could not be accounted for. Moreover, the families seem to have lived on the most friendly terms, with little or no rivalry.¹ An occasional quarrel was to be expected, as when, at Ipswich, William Pakenham, glazier, assaulted Nicholas Glasier, and was fined two shillings in 1420.² It does not follow, however, that this quarrel was over their trade. The gild rules in the various towns must have made for peace. Thus, taking an example from a somewhat later date than our period, at Chester a dispute arose between Edward Dawbie and John Walker over the glazing of a house at Broughton and "yt is ordered and sett downe by the assent of all or most part of the Companie that all the said woorke now to be done for newe worke that it shall be divided into three pts and Edward Dawbie to do twoe pts thereof & John Walker the third pte . . . and to agree & contyne brethren and friendly." This order is dated 8th March, 1595.³ Taking it that the different glass-painters influenced each other and lived on friendly terms, the word "school" can fairly be used, so long as it is not too literally interpreted.

Nothing like the word "school" can be applied to the great number of isolated, or nearly isolated, names that remain at all dates from the twelfth century onwards and form a fair proportion of the total number of names known. A further publication and perusal of records will reveal more names, and enough, probably, to postulate a fairly important centre in some towns where at present only a few names are known. Lack of records will account for others, but the single names remain. A number of early examples might be given. A certain Daniel, who died in 1153, was a glass-painter before he became a religious. He entered St. Benet's Abbey, near Acle, Norfolk, and afterwards occupied high ecclesiastical posts.⁴ With Daniel may be compared "a brother of Pypewell," who made windows for Rockingham Castle in 1278. Of him Salzman says, "This lay-brother of the Cistercian Abbey of Pipewell was probably a skilled glazier who had 'found religion' and retired to the abbey, where his services would be, no doubt, valuable."⁵ Perhaps the same course was taken by John le Verrer, who, being a friar preacher, was given a safe conduct in 1265.⁶ From the records

¹ See J. A. Knowles, "Glass-Painters of York. II, The English Family," *Notes and Queries*, 12S, VIII (April 23, 1921), p. 324.

² From MS. extracts by V. B. Redstone from Ipswich records in Ipswich Public Library.

³ J. C. Bridge, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁴ See "Schools of Glass-painting in King's Lynn," *JOURNAL*, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 14, for further information about this man. He is the earliest English glass-painter that the writer has found.

⁵ *Medieval Glazing Accounts Journal*, Vol. II, p. 117.

⁶ Ashdown, *Hist. Company of Glaziers*, p. 15.

of Lewes we get two late thirteenth-century names, Robert Vitrearius and Johannes Vitrearius.¹ In the fourteenth century the number of isolated, or nearly isolated, names greatly increases. Thus in Wiltshire, John le Glasier of Calne sold 180 feet of glass for the glazing of the chapel at Ludgershall in 1341.² His name also occurs twice, in 1336 and 1346, in the *Wiltshire Inquisitiones*.³

The accounts for the glazing of St. Stephen's chapel, Westminster, and St. George's, Windsor, form one of the chief sources of names of glass-painters for the middle of the fourteenth century. These accounts have now been fully set out.⁴ For our purpose it is worth noting the number of counties from which the glaziers were collected and the names of some of them. In the writ for the collecting of the glass-painters the names of the counties run as follows: *Corn' Surr' Suffex' Kanc' Midd' Effex' Hertford' Oxon' Berk' Norff' Suff' Bed' Buk' Lincoln Warr' Leye' Suht Wiltes' Soms' Dors' Debs Staff' Salop' Hereford' Cantebr' Hunt' Cornub' & Norht*.⁵ Many of the glass-painters have names of towns and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the majority of them practised their art in those towns before they went to Westminster. In the case of Simon of Lynn, who has already been mentioned, we have proof of this. While working at Westminster and Ely, he is called Simon of Lynn; in his native town he is called Simon le Verrer. There is nothing to suggest that any, except perhaps one, of these men were foreigners. The exception is John Attelard, who seems to have been a painter in the wider sense of the word.⁶ It has not, I think, been suggested that he was of foreign origin, but elsewhere in the Windsor Castle accounts is mentioned Attelard of Brabant, pavier.⁷ It seems likely that he was a relation of John's. Of the others, Edward Bury, John Haddiscoe, Richard and Geoffrey Sibton, Robert and Adam Norwich, John Halstead, Thomas Dunmow and John Waltham have East Anglian names. There occur also John Lincoln, William and Hugh Lichfield, John Coventry, William Bromley, John Chester, Nicholas and Thomas Dadyngton (? of Oxford), Robert Tame and William Hereford, and others. Of the last two something more can be said. Robert Tame was probably a son of William de Tame, who glazed some of the windows in Merton College in 1307-10. In 1356 three windows were made for St. Weonard's church at a cost of 13s. 4d.: 4d. was paid for carrying them from Hereford and 2d. to hire a horse to carry William the Glazier there.⁸

¹ W. H. Blaamo, "Subsidy Rolls of the Rape of Lewes in 1296," *Sussex Archaeol. Collections*, Vol. II (1349), p. 304.

² Salzman, *Medieval Glazing Accounts*, p. 119.

³ *Abstracts of Wiltshire Inquisitiones Post Mortem, etc.*, British Record Society, Vol. 48 (1914), pp. 112, 173.

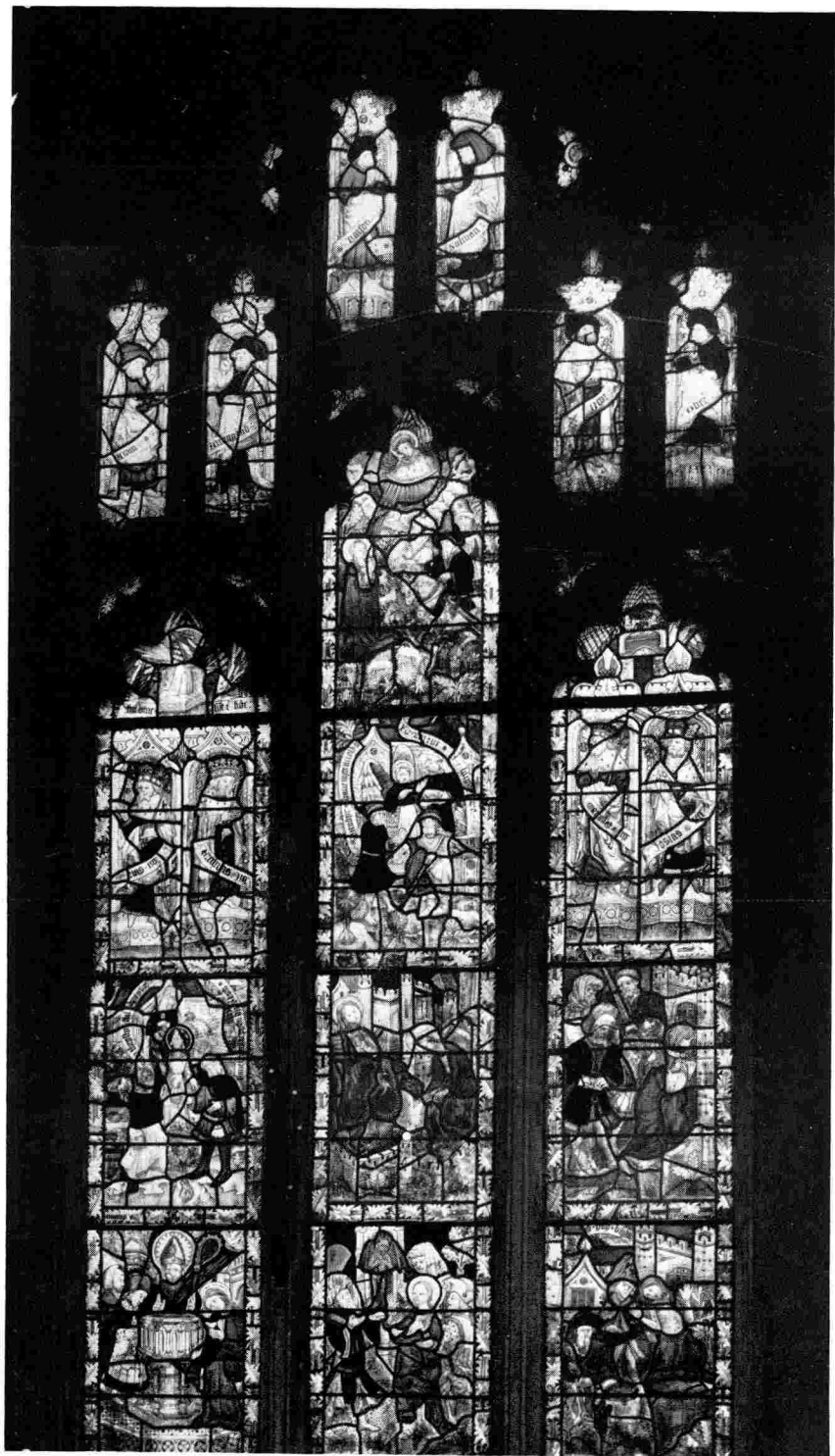
⁴ By L. F. Salzman, "The Glazing of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1351-2," *JOURNAL*, Vol. I, Nos. 4 ff. and by W. H. St. John Hope, *Windsor Castle* (London, 1913).

⁵ Mr. L. V. Tanner very kindly obtained for me a copy of the original writ.

⁶ Salzman, "Glazing of St. Stephen's," *JOURNAL*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 16.

⁷ *Windsor Castle*, Vol. I, pp. 156, 168.

⁸ *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, p. 229.



COMBS, SUFFOLK.

Genealogy of Christ, Life of St. Margaret Corporal Acts of Mercy.



SOUTH ELMHAM AL. SAINTS
St. Ursula.

The fifteenth century produces such a wealth of isolated names in unimportant places that we must abandon any theory that glass-painters kept only to certain centres. Records support Le Couteur's words, "No doubt there were many little 'jobbing' firms up and down the country who could supply figures on simple quarry backgrounds to small parish churches at comparatively low prices, and whose style and technique were very poor."¹ Take, for example, the county of Somerset. As will be seen later, the origin of the fourteenth-century glass in Wells cathedral is unknown. The fifteenth-century glass in the various parish churches bears many signs of a common origin, but no main centre is to be found for the production of that either.² Nevertheless, glass-painters lived in various towns in the county in this and the previous century. At St. Michael's, Bath, glaziers were working—in 1364 John Colynborne, in 1459 Gylbert Staynere, in 1500 Robert Batyn.³ John Glasier was living at Shepton Mallet in the last decade of the fifteenth century. At Yatton the windows were constantly being repaired during the first half of the sixteenth-century,⁴ the glazier being unnamed from 1454 to 1503, John Wakelyn from 1514 to 1528, Averie of Bryston in 1556.⁵

As we have the names of many glass-painters whose place of origin or sphere of activity is not known, so there are counties in which we can place no centre of glass-painting with certainty. There is no school of any great importance to be found in the south-western counties—Wiltshire, Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford. Yet these counties can still show magnificent windows of glass: fourteenth-century glass at Wells, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Bristol, as well as a lesser quantity of but equally beautiful glass at places like Arlingham, Eaton Bishop and Deerhurst: fifteenth-century glass remains in great extent at Malvern and, to a lesser extent, in a great many parish churches in these counties.

It seems probable that Exeter had something like a permanent school of glass-painting. Walter le Verrator was working on the cathedral windows, 1303-11, Michael le Verrer in 1318, William Werdale and Adam in 1320, Austin le Verrer in 1341-2.⁶ Robert Lyen, of Exeter, glazed the great east window of the cathedral after its enlargement in 1389. His name recalls that of John Lyons who was working at Westminster in 1351. Joce the Glasyer was working in St. Petrock's, Exeter, in 1449, John the glasier in 1471, and many other unnamed

¹ *English Medieval Painted Glass*, p. 27.

² See the writer's "Fifteenth Century Glass in Somerset," *JOURNAL*, Vol. IV, pp. 5 ff.

³ "Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael's, Bath," ed. C. B. Pearson, *Somerset Archaeol. & Nat. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII (1878), pp. 4, 54, 96, cf. pp. 9, 13.

⁴ "Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe, Pilton, etc." ed. Bishop Hobhouse, *Somerset Record Soc.*, Vol. IV (1890).

⁵ In 1533, Isabel Horte of Yatton left 6/8 to Alyce, daughter of John Averie. F. W. Weaver, *Somerset Medieval Wills*, *Somerset Record Soc.*, Vol. XXI (1905), p. 17.

⁶ H. E. Bishop and E. K. Prideaux, *The Building of the Cathedral Church of St. Peter in Exeter* (London, 1914).

glaziers from 1431 down to the time of the Reformation.¹ Salisbury may well have been another centre. Pre-Reformation churchwardens' accounts give us some names—John Benet in 1468, Walter Petyte from 1483 until 1517, Philip Joseph in 1499, Harry Perche in 1517 attended to different windows in St. Edmund's church.² Search amongst the records of the cathedral might well result in the finding of earlier names.

For the other counties only odd names have been found. Richard of Wells and William of Hereford have already been mentioned. At Bristol "Johannes le Glasswroughte" and "Radulphus le Glasworth" are mentioned in 1313.³ Perhaps this John was identical with or a relation of John of Bristol, who became King's Glazier in 1290.⁴ In Gloucestershire we have Thomas le Verrur (1330-40), evidently a man of some importance,⁵ Thomas of Gloucester, who painted windows for Westminster Hall in 1398,⁶ Gilbert Glasyer, whose will was proved in 1410,⁷ Roger of Gloucester, who was appointed King's Glazier prior to 1433 by Henry VI.⁸ Those are all, or nearly all, the names so far discovered. Very few of them are of fifteenth-century date, yet at Malvern alone the work of ten distinct firms is said to have been discovered.⁹

There is little to support the theory that the early glass-painters in England were of foreign extraction; indeed, all the evidence points the other way. For instance, all but two of the glass-painters collected, as already said, to work for St. Stephen's, Westminster, and St. George's, Windsor, in the middle of the fourteenth century had obviously English names, and there is no documentary evidence that glass-painters came from outside England for this work. The two exceptions are John Attelard, who may have come from Brabant, and John Ipre. "Bernard Glasehare, Flemyng" repaired the windows of the king's chapels at Gravesend and Eltham in 1365.¹⁰ I know of no other instance of a glass-painter coming from abroad until the end

¹R. Dymond, quoting churchwardens' accounts in "History of the Parish of St. Petrock's, Exeter," *Report and Trans. of Devon Assoc.*, Vol. XIV (1882), pp. 418, 427, etc.

²H. J. F. Swayne, "Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Edmund and St. Thomas, Sarum, 1443-1702," *Wills Record Soc.* (Salisbury, 1896), pp. 11, 36, 49, 51, 54, 59, 80.

³*Trans. Bristol and Glos. Antiq. Soc.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 229, 245.

⁴J. A. Knowles, "Additional Notes on the History of the Worshipful Company of Glaziers," *Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. VII (July, 1927), p. 284.

⁵*Ib.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 97, and Vol. XL, pp. 164-6. Winbolt (*Wealden Glass*, p. 25) follows St. Clair Baddeley in thinking he was a glass-maker.

⁶W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, p. 4.

⁷*Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury*, British Record Society, 1893, Vol. I, p. 227.

⁸Knowles, *Additional Notes on History of Co. Glaziers*, p. 284.

⁹Le Couteur, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁰Salzman, "Medieval Glazing Accounts," *JOURNAL*, Vol. II, p. 190.

of the next century.¹ John de Alemayne made Chiddingfold his centre in 1332 and the family of Schutterre settled there in 1343, but they were glass-makers, not glass-painters.²

At the end of the fifteenth century we get the first signs of the invasion of the foreign glass-painters, who seem to have been almost entirely of Flemish origin. One of the first seems to have been the well-known Barnard Flower.³ The settling of these foreign glass-painters in London caused consternation amongst the English glass-painters already there. Attempts to get rid of them or, failing that, to bring them into line with existing guild regulations, were unavailing, although such attempts were made until after the middle of the sixteenth century.⁴ It was not only London that the Flemings invaded. Their arrival at Ipswich is shown in the town records by such names as Hans Glaswright (first mentioned in the eleventh year of the reign of Edward IV), and Melton, Malthaar and Perott Glasyer (in the reign of Henry VII).⁵ No doubt they were no more popular in Ipswich than were their fellow-countrymen in London. The first Flemish glass-painter to appear in York is John Almayn, who executed work for the Dean and Chapter at Pudsey Burton in 1530.⁶

Something must be said about the names of the glass-painters. Very roughly, it may be said that during the thirteenth century and the first few decades of the fourteenth century they were called "verriers," thereafter "glasswrights" for a while and then simply "glaziers."⁷ No exact dates can be set down; there is infinite variation in various places. Another difference which is to be seen is that in some places, such as York, the glass-painters retained their surnames, while in others it was the almost invariable rule to call them "John le Verrer" or "William Glasenwryght." Even this does not altogether hold good. As we have seen, Simon, the glass-painter of Lynn, was called "Simon le Verrer" when he was in his native town and "Simon de Lenn" when he was working at Westminster. A more important question is to what extent "glazier" may be taken to mean "glass-painter"

¹ According to the Fabric Rolls of Exeter Cathedral some of the glass for the windows of the cathedral came from Rouen, in 1317, for the great east window (glazed about 1320). The glazier (or one of the glaziers) at this date was Walter. F. M. Drake assumed that Walter came from Rouen with the glass, but there is nothing to support this theory, which has been quoted by many later writers.

² S. E. Winbolt, *Wealden Glass* (Hove, 1933), pp. 8-9. Mr. Winbolt suggests that Schutterre is a corruption of Chartres.

³ Perhaps two more pieces of information can be added to what is generally known about Barnard Flower. Thomas Flower, "clerke of the Kinge's wourkes" in 1529, was possibly his brother. ("Price of Lead in Henry VIIIth's Reign," *Archaeol. Journal*, Vol. VII, 1851-2). In 1531, Luke Flower, glazier, is listed as a freeman of Canterbury. It seems likely that he was a relation, if not a son, of Barnard.

⁴ J. A. Knowles, "Disputes between English and Foreign Glass-painters in the Sixteenth Century," *Antiquaries' Journal*, Vol. V (1925).

⁵ See "Further Notes on Ancient Glass in Norfolk and Suffolk," p. 64.

⁶ J. A. Knowles, "Chronological List of York Glass-painters," *Notes and Queries*, 12 S X (Mar. 25th, 1922), p. 223.

⁷ These three words appear, of course, in any number of forms, and the Latin form "vitriarius" should perhaps be added.

rather than a worker in plain glass. Although the information at present available is not enough to admit of definite pronouncement, it seems fairly certain that, to all intents and purposes, in pre-Reformation times the terms "glazier" and "glass-painter" are synonymous. Up to the time of the Tudors, at any rate, there was hardly enough plain glazing to give a man a living. The wilful destruction of ecclesiastical glass immediately after the Reformation, although probably not so extensive as once supposed, would offer a greater field of work for the unskilled workman who could only cut and lead up plain quarries. Even afterwards, for about a century, any glazier except the most local and untrained would probably be expected to be able to glaze a window with heraldry, whether for ecclesiastical or domestic purposes. Another point must be mentioned. "John le Verrer" is known to be the son of "William le Verrer." Does it necessarily follow that the son followed his father's trade? In other words, when does the name become a surname apart from the trade? In this paper it has been assumed that up to the middle of the fifteenth century at least the surname of glazier given to a son or close relation indicates that the descendant carried on the same trade. But it is admitted that the assumption is arbitrary and would probably need modifying if more could be found out about the particular family. After the middle of the fifteenth century no certain rule can be set down. Glass-painters were still given the surname of "Glazier" and no other surname. On the other hand, we get such names as Richard Glaseor, Clerk, of Lanton, Oxon, in 1508, John Glasier, Clerk, of Smarden, Kent, in 1515, and families of Glasiers in such small places as Borden and Doddington before the Reformation.¹ In these cases the surname is almost certainly inherited and no trade of glass-painting practised.

At Chester, as has already been said, the glass-painters were forbidden to practise other trades; this was probably the rule elsewhere. There are, however, a few examples of glass-painters carrying on another trade as well. Peter the painter was, in 1237, paid four shillings and sixpence "for whitewashing and lining out 3 windows and round the window where the wall was broken, and likewise painting roses" and also five shillings and sixpence for making a glass window in Marlborough Castle.² There is a record of a glazier doing whitewashing and other odd jobs at Durham. There are also a number of examples of glass-painters keeping inns. Matthew le Verrer did so at Colchester in 1310,³ Sir John Petty, the famous York glass-painter, had "to leve his kepyng of hostery apon payn of forfettour of ye payn provided" when he became an alderman⁴; in a list of innholders, tipsters and brewers licensed in 1596 (to go outside our period) occurs the name of

¹ See *Index of Wills Proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1383-1558*. British Record Soc. (1893), Vol. I, p. 227, and *Index of Wills and Administrations Now Preserved in the Probate Registry at Canterbury, 1396-1558*. British Record Soc. (1920), p. 203.

² Salzman, "Medieval Glazing Accounts," *JOURNAL*, Vol. II, p. 116.

³ See the writer's "Glass-painters in Essex in the Middle Ages."

⁴ J. A. Knowles, "Glass-Painters of York," *Notes and Queries*, 12 S. IX (July 23, 1921), p. 62.

Robert Thompson, glazier.¹ Hans Glaswright of Ipswich has already been mentioned. He was a "gannocker," or inn-keeper, as well as a glass-painter. Thomas Browne, a Canterbury "glazier" living in 1590 (to go outside our period again) was the son of a vintner.² The two arts of glass-painting and illuminating seem to have been very closely connected in Oxford in early days,³ but so far there is no evidence to show that any one man practised the two. Finally, it is necessary to raise again the question as to whether glass-painters were ever glass-makers, as the two occupations are still confused. Mr. L. F. Salzman once said in a letter to *The Times*: "This was, so far as the evidence goes, never the case in England."

¹ T. P. Cooper, "Some Old York Inn Signs," *Assoc. Architect. Soc.'s Reports*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. II (1929).

² J. M. Cooper, *Roll of Freeman of the City of Canterbury*.

³ H. W. Garrod, *Ancient Painted Glass in Merton College, Oxford*, pp. 39-40.

NOTES ON THE PLATES.

1. Barton Mills. Fourteenth-century glass showing figures of SS. Edmund and John Baptist beneath canopies. In the traceries grotesques and floral decoration. The heads of the figures and grotesques seem to have been purposely destroyed by iconoclasts.

2. Dennington. Tabernacle work and tracery fillings of the fourteenth-century. The glass is of as high quality as the woodwork, for which the church is well known.

3. Long Melford. Three figures now in the east window of the chancel, but moved there from elsewhere. i. St. Edmund, with an abbot of Bury at his feet. ii. St. Peter Martyr, with a female donor at his feet. iii. Judge Richard Pygot. Glass of the second half of the fifteenth century.

4. Combs. Fifteenth-century glass showing figures from a Genealogy of Christ, scenes from the life of St. Margaret and from the Seven Corporal Acts of Mercy.

5. South Elmham All Saints. Late fifteenth-century roundel showing named figure of St. Ursula with ship and arrow. No colour used beyond yellow stain: poor drawing.

"THE STAINED AND PAINTED GLASS IN HENGRAVE HALL, SUFFOLK."

(*Suffolk Institute*, vol. XXII, part I, 1934).

A correction should be made in the account of this glass. On page 14 it is stated that Robert Wright, who painted glass for the windows of Hengrave Hall, painted glass for Little Saxham Hall, Suffolk, and St. John's College, Cambridge. It was Richard Wright who did the work at Little Saxham and St. John's College. Since both glass-painters had the same surname and lived in the same town (Bury St. Edmunds) we may suppose that they were relations.

C.W.