



Gloucestershire  
COUNTY COUNCIL

*Sites & Monuments Record*

# GLOUCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC TOWNS SURVEY

## TEWKESBURY BOROUGH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENTS

### BISHOP'S CLEEVE

ANTONIA DOUTHWAITE AND VINCE DEVINE  
GLOUCESTERSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL ARCHAEOLOGY SERVICE  
ENVIRONMENT DEPARTMENT  
SHIRE HALL  
GLOUCESTER  
GL1 2TH  
1998

TEXT & MAPS UPDATED MATTHEW TILLEY 2007



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

We would like to thank everyone who has helped us to produce the Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey: Jan Wills, the County Archaeologist who initiated and managed the project and edited the reports, for her help and support; Caroline Jamfrey and Jon Hoyle for the production of the covers and other artwork, Howard Brewer of Gloucestershire County Council and Pat Southern of IBM for support with all our IT problems, and the SMR staff of Gloucestershire County Council for access to the SMR database.

We would especially like to thank the Gloucestershire Victoria County History team, Nick Herbert and John Jurica, for allowing us access to unpublished typescripts of Volume V for the Forest of Dean and to their preliminary work on Northleach.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	3
Original description of SMR maps .....	4
THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC TOWNS SURVEY.....	7
1 Introduction.....	7
2 The concept of urbanism.....	8
3 Urbanism in Gloucestershire.....	10
3.1 The Roman period.....	10
3.2 The Early Medieval period.....	11
3.3 The Medieval period .....	11
3.4 The Post-medieval period.....	14
4 Conclusions.....	15
5 Bibliography .....	15
HISTORIC TOWNS IN TEWKESBURY BOROUGH (Map 1).....	16
BISHOP'S CLEEVE .....	18
1 Introduction.....	18
2 The Prehistoric period.....	18
2.1 Neolithic.....	18
2.2 Iron Age .....	18
3 The Roman period.....	18
4 The Early Medieval period .....	19
4.1 Archaeological evidence .....	19
4.2 Charter evidence.....	19
5 The Medieval period .....	19
5.1 Domesday Book .....	19
5.2 The placename .....	19
5.3 The status of the settlement.....	19
5.4 The manor .....	19
5.5 The church.....	20
5.6 Trade and industry.....	20
6 The Post-medieval period .....	20
6.1 The manor .....	20
6.2 Ecclesiastical history.....	20
6.3 Trade and industry.....	21
7 The modern settlement.....	21
8 Population figures .....	21
9 Plan analysis (Maps 7-9).....	22
9.1 Discussion .....	22
9.2 Plan components .....	22
9.2.1 Medieval (Map 7).....	22
9.2.2 Post-medieval (Map 8).....	23
10 Future research.....	23
11 Sources.....	24
11.1 Primary historical sources .....	24
11.2 Secondary sources.....	24
11.3 Archaeological sources .....	24
11.4 Maps.....	24
12 Bibliography .....	24
12.1 Published works .....	24
12.2 Maps.....	25



## FIGURES

Map 1	Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey: Tewkesbury Borough
Map 2	Bishop's Cleeve SMR Information: Prehistoric
Map 3	Bishop's Cleeve SMR Information: Roman
Map 4	Bishop's Cleeve SMR Information: Early Medieval
Map 5	Bishop's Cleeve SMR Information: Medieval
Map 6	Bishop's Cleeve SMR Information: Post-medieval
Map 7	Bishop's Cleeve: Medieval Plan Components
Map 8	Bishop's Cleeve: Post-medieval Plan Components
Map 9	Bishop's Cleeve: Development by Period

## A note about the maps

The SMR maps in the original Historic Towns Survey (i.e Maps 2-6) are now out of date and have not been included within this revision although references to SMR numbers remain in the text. For up to date SMR information readers can contact the SMR on 01452 425705 or via email at [archaeology.smr@gloucestershire.gov.uk](mailto:archaeology.smr@gloucestershire.gov.uk). The other maps have been refreshed using current software and retain their original numbering as referred to in the text.

## Original description of SMR maps

*SMR maps:* these maps show a selection of sites relevant to the discussion of the development of each town. The maps are not intended to provide a comprehensive gazetteer of all recorded archaeological sites in the settlements, and should therefore be only be used in the context for which they were produced. For further information about the archaeology of any area, the Sites and Monument Record should be consulted directly.

*Plan component maps:* these maps are intended to indicate the most likely areas of settlement in each town during the Medieval and Post-medieval periods, on the basis of present archaeological knowledge. They should not, however, be regarded as definitive, and the interpretations made will require revision as new evidence emerges from future work.



## ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS USED IN THE TEXT

Anon	Anonymous
c.	circa
C	Century [e.g. C12]
EH	English Heritage
GSIA	Gloucestershire Society for Industrial Archaeology
km	kilometres
m	metres
n.d.	Undated
O.D.	Ordnance Datum
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
PCNFC	Proceedings of the Cotteswold Naturalists Field Club
RCHME	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England)
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record
<b>SMR 12345</b>	An SMR site which is shown on the accompanying maps
SMR 12345	An SMR site which is not shown on the accompanying maps
TBGAS	Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
TRE	Tempus Rex Edwardus (ie. during the reign of king Edward the Confessor)

## PERIODS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

Palaeolithic	500,000 B.C. – 10,000 B.C.
Mesolithic	10,000 B.C. – 4,000 B.C.
Neolithic	4,000 B.C. – 2,200 B.C.
Bronze Age	2,200 B.C. – 700 B.C.
Iron Age	700 B.C. – A.D. 43
Roman	A.D. 43 – 410
Early Medieval	410-1066
Medieval	1066 – 1540
Post Medieval	1540 – 1901
Modern	1901 – present

## POPULATION FIGURES

The text for each town considered in the GHTS includes a section about the historic population of the parish in which the settlement lies. This information has been drawn from a variety of sources, mainly taxation returns, ecclesiastical returns and what can generally be referred to as censuses. The nature of these sources often makes it unclear what area was included within the survey, and in many cases suburban developments were excluded from the figures. It is also important to note that the accuracy of the information available is variable, and relates to a society which was not accustomed to the same degree of numerical accuracy demanded today. Some enumerations were the result of antiquarian interest in the growth of settlements and were included within descriptions of the nature of the town, as is the case with the figures given by Atkyns (1712) and Rudder (1779). Other population surveys were required by the ecclesiastical authorities, and in the case of Gloucestershire, there were a number of such surveys in 1563, 1603, 1650 and 1676. The 1563, 1603 and 1676 surveys were intended to indicate the number of communicants, papists and nonconformists in the parish. As the surveys were undertaken by the local clergy, there may well have been a temptation to play down levels of nonconformity. The 1650 survey was intended to give an indication of levels of pluralism, as well as to indicate the general size of the communities served.

The figures recorded in these surveys could be for communicants (i.e. anyone over the age of 16), men and women over 16, men, women and children, men over sixteen only, householders, households or families. In the case of Gloucestershire the figures generally relate to households, families and communicants. In order to gain a better indication of the true size of the population of a parish, calculations need to be made to convert communicants and



households into men, women and children of all ages. It has generally been accepted that to convert households into individuals the given figure should be multiplied by 4.25, while to add children under 16 to the number of communicants the figure should be multiplied by 1.5, based on the assumption that children made up approximately 33% of the general population.

It is possible to view the figures arrived at by these means as simplistic but it has been shown that they generally fit quite well with data from other seventeenth century sources (see Whiteman A (ed.) 1986, *The Compton Census of 1676*, for a full discussion of the issues). It is not intended that the figures given in the following text should be seen as correct values, but it is hoped that the information will provide an approximate indication of the order of size of the parish at a time when there were few other sources of information available.



## THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC TOWNS SURVEY

**town** *n.* **1.** a densely populated urban area, typically smaller than a city and larger than a village. **2.** a city, borough or other urban area.

**urban** *adj.* **1.** of, relating to, or constituting a city or town. **2.** living in a city or town. ~ Cf. **rural**.

### 1 Introduction

The Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey was undertaken between 1995 and 1998 by Antonia Douthwaite and Vince Devine of the Gloucestershire County Council Archaeology Service and was funded by English Heritage as part of a national programme of county-based extensive urban surveys of small towns in England. All of the 37 settlements included in the survey once had, or have now, some urban characteristics, and range in date and type from the Roman towns of the Cotswolds through to the Post-medieval industrial settlements of the Forest of Dean and Stroud valleys (Table 1). Not all the settlements are urban at the end of the twentieth century: some are now greenfield sites and others are small villages, although a few have survived as urban foci for modern communities. Both Gloucester and Cirencester were omitted from the project since they were identified by English Heritage as major historic towns, with a considerable history of archaeological investigation meriting individual and detailed study (English Heritage 1992).

The extensive urban surveys were designed as tripartite projects to include: the *enhancement of the county Sites and Monuments Record* (SMR), in order to provide a comprehensive database for each settlement, the preparation of *assessment reports* which would summarise the state of archaeological knowledge for each settlement and the design of a *strategy* for the management of the archaeology of each town to be implemented mainly through the planning system. The database is now held as part of the Gloucestershire SMR, while the assessment and strategy reports each take the form of separate volumes covering the administrative districts of Cheltenham, Cotswold, Forest of Dean, Stroud and Tewkesbury. All three phases of the projects were based on the use of secondary, published sources, involved no fieldwork and were tightly constrained by the available resources.

Previous work on towns highlighting their archaeological potential and their vulnerability to development was undertaken in various parts of England, including Gloucestershire (Leech 1981), in the early 1980s. Changes in approaches to the management of the urban archaeological resource since then, particularly the greatly enhanced opportunities for its protection from the adverse effects of development through the planning system, prompted the new urban surveys of the 1990s.



## 2 The concept of urbanism

*A town is a permanent human settlement with two chief and essential attributes. The first is that a significant proportion (but not necessarily a majority) of its population lives off trade, industry, administration and other non-agricultural occupations. The second...is that it forms a social unit more or less distinct from the surrounding countryside* (Reynolds 1977, ix).

Although most people understand the term “town” in the modern context, the definition of urban areas in the past is far more varied, and modern concepts of urbanism tend to confuse more than they elucidate. For every period contemporary documents reveal a plethora of terms to describe settlements, depending upon their social, economic and legal status. Under the Roman empire there were seven distinct terms which could be used to place a settlement and its inhabitants in its context: *civitas*, *colonia*, *municipium*, *oppidum*, *urbs*, *vicus* and *πολις* (*polis*). Any attempt to equate these words with modern terminology creates considerable confusion as there are just as many English terms to describe the status of any urban settlement: town, city, urban district, municipality, county borough, borough, any or all of which may or may not be a direct equivalent to the Roman terminology. Similarly, there are numerous Early Medieval and Medieval terms relating to settlements, including *vill*, *burghus*, *burh*, *wic* and *urbs*, some of which had very specific meanings while others are more difficult to define with precision.

This varied terminology has led archaeologists and historians to attempt to define urban status in terms of the roles towns played and their physical attributes which have survived in the archaeological record. This approach has been most successful in relation to settlements of the Early Medieval and Medieval periods, based on the work of Beresford (1967) and Biddle (1976), who have defined a town as a settlement possessing a combination of the following:

- 1) defences
- 2) a planned street system
- 3) market(s)
- 4) a mint
- 5) legal autonomy
- 6) a role as a central place
- 7) a relatively large and dense population
- 8) a diverse economic base
- 9) plots and houses of urban type (burgages and burgage tenure)
- 10) social differentiation
- 11) complex religious organisation
- 12) a judicial centre
- 13) the possession of a borough charter
- 14) a reference to the settlement as a *burgus* or representation by its own jury at the *eyre*
- 15) that it was taxed as a borough
- 16) that it sent members to any Medieval parliament

Table 1 below illustrates where there is documentary evidence for some of the main urban characteristics of towns included in the Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey:





Town	Defences	Market	Mint	Borough charter	Burgages/ burgess tenure	Legal autonomy
Berkeley		1086	✓		✓	
Bishop's Cleeve						
Bisley		1687				
Blockley						
Bourton-on-the-Water						
Chalford						
Cheltenham		1226			✓	
Chipping Campden		c1180		1154-89	✓	
Cinderford		1869				
Coleford		eC14				
Dursley		1471/2		C12	✓	
Dymock		1225/6		C13	✓	
Fairford		c.1100-35		1221	✓	✓
Frampton-on-Severn		1245				
King's Stanley		1253		C13/14	✓	
Lechlade		1210		c.1235	✓	
Leonard Stanley		1307-27				
Lydney		1268				
Minchinhampton		1269			✓	
Mitcheldean		1328				
Moreton-in-Marsh		1228		C13/14	✓	
Nailsworth		C18				
Newent	?	1253		C13	✓	
Newnham	?	C12		1187	✓	✓
Northleach		1219/20		c.1227	✓	
Painswick		1253			✓	
Prestbury		1249		C13	✓	
St. Briavels		1208		C14	✓	
Stow-on-the-Wold		1107		C12	✓	✓
Stroud		1570-1607				
Tetbury		1211-1287		c.1211	✓	
Tewkesbury		1086		1086	✓	
Winchcombe	✓	1086	✓	1086	✓	
Wotton-under-Edge		1252		1253	✓	

**Table 1 Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey: indicators of urban status in the Medieval period**



## 3 Urbanism in Gloucestershire

### 3.1 The Roman period

The concept of urbanism is often considered to have been a continental imposition brought to Britain by the invading Roman army during the first century A.D. The geographer Strabo, writing during the late first century B.C. and the early first century A.D. implied that the backwardness of western Europeans outside Italy was due to their hunting and raiding way of life and that once they were converted to a settled agricultural existence, urbanisation would develop of its own accord (Wacher 1995, 33). However, there is evidence that some Iron Age hillforts and enclosures had begun to take on urban functions before the Roman conquest of A.D.43. The Iron Age settlements of Bagendon and Salmonsbury Camp in east Gloucestershire appear to have been densely populated, with streets, arrangements of dwellings and ancillary buildings, along with defences, and to have acted as centres of political, commercial and administrative activity (Friar 1991, 386). Compared with Roman towns they may still have been extremely primitive, and the imperial government would have been keen to establish towns on the Mediterranean scale which were an essential part of the Roman way of life, and also facilitated the tasks of administration, the collection of taxes, education and policing. Towns may also have been seen as a means of furthering the acceptance of the Roman government among the native population.

The earliest Roman towns to develop would have been those on which the administration of the province was based - the *civitates* and the *coloniae* - some of which were based on early forts, while others derived from settlements of veterans who were given land at the end of their period of military service (e.g. Gloucester). Smaller towns developed around the other early forts where merchants and other civilians gathered to service the army, or at other significant locations on the network of Roman roads, such as the Foss Way or Watling Street, to serve the imperial messenger service along with other travellers who would need somewhere to stop overnight, to eat and change horses, and possibly to trade. Unlike the *civitates* and *coloniae*, there is little evidence of planning in many such settlements, which are more likely to have developed organically.

The Roman small towns at Bourton-on-the-Water, Dorn, Dymock, Kingscote and Wycomb (Andoversford) were included in the historic towns survey. At Bourton there are suggestions of continuity of occupation from the Iron Age into the Roman period; the Iron Age enclosure of Salmonsbury Camp lies just over 1km to the east of the Roman small town. The Roman settlement was initially focused around a posting station (*mansio* or *mutatio*) on the Foss Way near its crossing of the River Windrush, but then spread eastwards towards Salmonsbury Camp. Dorn is also thought to have served an administrative function during the later part of the Roman period (the late third to fourth centuries), possibly as a site where the official taxes (the *annona*) were collected; the defences around the eastern part of the site may have been constructed at this time. The Roman settlements at Kingscote and Dymock may also have had military origins – there is a suggestion that there may have been an early fort at Dymock from which a small agricultural and metal-working settlement developed, while considerable material of first century date has been found at Kingscote which then developed into a market centre, covering about 200 hectares by the later fourth century. Unlike the other Roman settlements in Gloucestershire, Wycomb is not associated with any major road and it is thought to have grown up around a site of ritual or religious significance pre-dating the Roman conquest. A settlement would have developed there either to serve the pilgrims and visitors to the site, or as a market centre for surrounding communities which were often associated with ritual sites.

Some Medieval settlements in Gloucestershire may also have developed on sites of Roman activity, including Bisley where there is evidence for Roman ritual activity, possibly associated with the wells; King's Stanley, where there is evidence for a large Roman villa in the area of the later church; and Lydney which lies close to the Roman cult centre at Lydney Park. The nature of the relationship between the Roman and later settlements is not understood, and it is not clear to what extent the existence of Roman activity influenced the siting of later settlements.

The end of the Roman period in Britain is often thought to have been marked by a hiatus in urban life. There is little evidence for continuity of occupation in urban areas into the fifth century in the county, and it appears that the function of the towns died with the culture that they had been founded to sustain (Wacher 1995, 417). The fact that many sites were reoccupied in the later Anglo-Saxon and Medieval periods may be due more to the fact that, by accident of geography, the sites were suitable for the economic and administrative functions of the period, just as they had been during the Roman period.



### **3.2 The Early Medieval period**

The popular perception of the Dark Ages as one of deserted Roman towns, dilapidated villas and a reversion to barbarism still persists to a certain extent, and until 50 years ago academics were still debating the question of whether Anglo-Saxon towns existed at all. Roman towns fell out of use for a time, perhaps because they were too superficial an imposition on a society to which the idea of formal towns was alien. It is likely that the renaissance of internal and external trading networks prompted the increased centralisation of the production and sale of goods. From the eighth century specialist trading centres, such as Southampton and Ipswich, developed. Elsewhere the main impetus for urban development may have been a desire to control and promote economic activity, including the striking of coinage. A second important factor in the development of urban communities were the Scandinavian raids of the eighth and ninth centuries, which prompted Alfred and his successors to create the fortified settlements known as *burhs*. Some were established on the sites of Roman towns, while others were newly founded, but all were provided with defences of earth, timber or stone. The interest of the ruling elite in the promotion of towns gathered force throughout the later part of the Anglo-Saxon period, with increasing controls and prescriptions on the activities permitted within and outside urban areas: legislation of Edward the Elder and Aethelstan attempted to restrict trade to the towns, while the reform of the coinage by Eadgar in A.D.973 meant that the coins could only be struck in a burh.

The early church also played a significant role in the development of towns. From the seventh century onwards minsters were founded to serve as centres for the conversion and administration of large areas of England. A minster usually consisted of a church and outbuildings within an enclosure, served by a priest and a number of monastic or secular assistants. Such concentrations of priests would have required goods and services, which would in turn have attracted secular settlement to the area to serve those needs, and it is possible that these complexes may have provided the closest equivalent to towns in England until the creation of the burhs in the ninth century.

The tenth and eleventh centuries therefore saw the steady establishment of towns as centres of trade, finance, administration and ecclesiastical affairs, functions which continued into the post-Conquest period and have come to be viewed as indicators of urban status.

In Gloucestershire there is evidence that early minsters were founded at Tetbury, Berkeley, Cheltenham, Bishop's Cleeve, Blockley, Bisley, Tewkesbury and Winchcombe and it is possible that their existence played a significant role in the development of urban functions at those sites. Winchcombe is also the only example of a burh in Gloucestershire, founded in the seventh or eighth century at the site of an early minster which developed into a monastic house, with a Mercian royal palace and a mint, surrounded by a defensive enclosure. For a while during the early eleventh century, the settlement was important enough to stand at the centre of its own shire - *Winchcombeshire* - until it was incorporated into Gloucestershire c.A.D.1017.

### **3.3 The Medieval period**

From the tenth to fourteenth centuries the process of urbanisation acquired momentum as first royal and then secular and ecclesiastical landlords began to promote existing villages to urban status, or to found completely new towns on virgin sites. Towns were important as a source of income from markets, taxes and tolls. Existing settlements had the added advantage of containing the remains of the Anglo-Saxon administrative structure, with military and fiscal obligations, and many were also episcopal sees. They housed large clusters of the population and many stood at important road junctions or river crossings. Artisans and merchants also found that the towns presented opportunities for the creation of wealth and the advancement of social status.

Medieval landowners were quick to promote the development of urban communities on their land, obtaining income from property rents and tolls levied on trade and commerce. This revenue could be controlled through the establishment of a market in a specific area within the settlement and in the period 1199-1350 around 2500 market grants were issued.

In addition to the foundation of a market, many landlords attempted to promote existing villages to borough status. The grant of a borough charter conferred a number of privileges of administrative, teneurial and legal character, the most important of which was the right to burgage or freehold tenure, for a rent and without labour services. In the period from 1199-1350 c.370 new boroughs were created by the king, lords and bishops. One of the most characteristic features of towns of this period is the burgage plot - long, thin strips of land extending back from the main street which allowed as many burgesses as possible access to the street frontage and the trade



which it afforded. In Gloucestershire at least 22 small towns acquired borough status during the Medieval period, with most charters being granted during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see Table 2).

	TOWN	DATE
1	Tewkesbury	by 1086
	Winchcombe	by 1086
2	Chipping Campden	1154-1189
3	Newnham	1187
4	Berkeley	1190
5	Dursley	C12
	Stow-on-the-Wold	C12
6	Tetbury	c.1211
7	Fairford	c.1221
8	Northleach	c.1227
9	Lechlade	c.1235
10	Wotton-under-Edge	1253
11	Dymock	C13
	Newent	C13
	Prestbury	C13
12	King's Stanley	C13/14
	Moreton-in-Marsh	C13/14
13	Minchinhampton	1300
14	Cheltenham	1313
15	Painswick	1324
16	St. Briavels	C14

**Table 2 Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey: earliest documentary references to borough status.**

The units of settlement described as towns during this period were plentiful but remained very small, about 95% of the population of England was still rural, and the main difference between the new towns and the rural villages was that the former contained *a substantial proportion of traders and craftsmen whose services would be drawn on by the villagers of the surrounding area* (Palliser 1987, 55). This pattern of new foundations and promotions continued until the outbreak of the Black Death (1348-1369) which effectively curtailed the creation of new towns. Up to this time, town growth had been achieved mainly through the attraction of immigrants from surrounding rural populations, who were accommodated through the infilling of open areas and the sub-division of existing burgage or tenement plots.

The Norman and later Medieval town was thus an important instrument of political, administrative and economic control, flexible enough both to exert control over an area and to allow it to be exploited commercially. Through this process English towns were adapted to become a major economic force.

The Medieval small towns of Gloucestershire fit into this general pattern. A number of settlements in the central and eastern part of the county, such as Berkeley, Cheltenham, Tetbury, Tewkesbury and Winchcombe had begun to develop during the Early Medieval period, but the vast majority of the towns in the county owe their existence to the Medieval fashion for founding new markets and boroughs during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Table 3 shows the market towns in the county and the dates at which they received their market charters: 15% of all Medieval market grants were made during the twelfth century, and 55% during the thirteenth century.



	TOWN	DATE
1	Tewkesbury	by 1086
	Winchcombe	by 1086
	Berkeley	by 1086
2	Fairford	c1100-1135
3	Stow-on-the-Wold	1107
4	Chipping Campden	c1180
5	Newnham	C12
6	St. Briavels	1208
7	Lechlade	1210
8	Tetbury	1211-1287
9	Northleach	1219/20
10	Dymock	1225/6
11	Cheltenham	1226
12	Moreton-in-Marsh	1228
13	Frampton-on-Severn	1245
14	Prestbury	1249
15	Wotton-under-Edge	1252
16	Painswick	1253
	Newent	1253
	King's Stanley	1253
17	Lydney	1268
18	Minchinhampton	1269
19	Leonard Stanley	1307-27
20	Mitcheldean	1328
21	Coleford	C14
22	Dursley	1471/2
23	Stroud	1570-1607
24	Bisley	1687
25	Nailsworth	C18
26	Cinderford	1869

**Table 3 Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey: market charters by date**

Amongst the boroughs founded after 1086, some appear to have been added on to existing non-urban settlements, while others could have been new creations. Towns in the first category include Stow-on-the-Wold, Northleach, Moreton-in-Marsh, Chipping Campden, Wotton-under-Edge and possibly Dursley. Such settlements generally comprise a large market area which is sometimes triangular or square, and sometimes formed by widening the main street to allow stalls to be set up along its length, with burgage plots fronting onto all available sides. The earlier settlement, to which the borough was attached, can often be seen in a less regular pattern of property boundaries, usually clustered around the church. Towns of the second category include Fairford, Lechlade and Painswick. These settlements also have a well defined market area, but a more complex street pattern, incorporating more than one main street, with burgages also laid out along the subsidiary streets.

The history of the development of towns in the Forest of Dean, is rather more diverse. Some followed a pattern similar to those outlined above, of foundation and development around a market during the Medieval period and thus have a similar layout, such as Newent and Newnham; St. Briavels was connected closely with the development and administration of the Royal Forest of Dean. Other settlements – Coleford, Lydney and Mitcheldean - were the product of the industrial development of the Forest, based on the exploitation of its natural resources, particularly iron and coal.

The Stroud valleys, which would become such an important area of settlement during the Post-medieval period, show little evidence for urban development during the Medieval period, apart from areas at the edge of the Cotswold Scarp such as Dursley, Bisley and Painswick, where the settlement pattern is similar to that found elsewhere on the Cotswolds. The main reason for this is likely to have been the nature of the terrain, which was



mostly unsuitable for Medieval industries and agricultural exploitation, but which was ideally suited to Post-medieval advances in manufacturing techniques.

### **3.4 The Post-medieval period**

The mid-sixteenth century marked a further important phase in the development of English towns. The dissolution of the Monasteries and the suppression of religious houses, especially friaries, chantries and pilgrimages had an enormous impact on urban life. Large areas of land and buildings were put up for sale, and were converted into houses or redeveloped by their new, secular owners. The economic impact on towns dependent upon church landlords or pilgrimage cults was therefore severe. Other factors also affected the success of the small towns founded during the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. Some failed because they had been poorly located, others because of direct competition from near neighbours, and yet others due to the economic changes of the period. Many of the towns which continued to flourish did so by specialising in a certain product at market, such as cheese, wool, grain or leather goods, while others specialised in a particular industry or manufacturing process.

During the later Medieval period changes to the industrial and commercial geography of England also had a significant effect upon the development of towns in the country. One of the main English exports up to the fourteenth century had been raw wool, which was shipped to the continent where it was made into finished cloth to be sold back to England. The wars with France in the early fourteenth century forced an end to this trade, providing the opportunity for the production of cloth to spread rapidly through the rural areas of England. Within a few years finished cloth had replaced raw wool as one of the country's main exports. Numerous small settlements began to develop in rural areas to service this trade, away from the constraints of the town guilds, which enabled cloth to be produced more cheaply, thereby competing with the Flemish weavers who had dominated the trade up to this time. These settlements were strikingly different from those of earlier towns; they were not confined within town walls and were often not connected to earlier settlements, but took the form of straggling developments along the sides of valleys. The new cloth industry thus allowed small rural settlements in favourable locations to develop into prosperous towns.

The effect of these economic changes was felt very strongly in Gloucestershire where the towns of the Cotswolds had specialised in the marketing of locally produced wool. Many of these towns, such as Northleach and Winchcombe, fell into decline during this time as they were not located in areas suitable for the manufacturing of woollen cloth. Prosperity spread instead to the valleys around Stroud where easy access to high quality Cotswold wool, to abundant supplies of fuller's earth, to water of a quantity sufficient to drive a number of mills and to Bristol as an outlet for the finished product allowed numerous small valley hamlets to develop into towns serving the cloth industry. Three kinds of English cloth were produced, the finest of which was broadcloth; kerseys were a lighter, cheaper and often coarser cloth and worsteds were the cheapest and did not require fulling. Gloucestershire held foremost place in the production of broadcloth, mainly due to the steep-sided valleys in the Stroud area which were well suited to the creation of reservoirs for the large fulling mills, and later for the dyehouses for the coloured cloth which supplanted the finished broadcloth. This is how settlements such as Chalford, Nailsworth and Stroud developed from the later fourteenth century, spread out along the sides of the river valleys and clustered around the mills. Within these towns evidence for the cloth trade is well preserved, not only in the form of large mill buildings, but in the architecture of the houses of the weavers, who produced the cloth, and the large, commodious dwellings of the clothiers who owned the mills, and distributed the wool to be woven.

In the Forest of Dean the settlements which developed during the Medieval period - Lydney, Newnham, Newent, Coleford and Mitcheldean - did not expand or develop greatly between the later Medieval period and the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, when new industrial techniques were developed and large scale mining operations began as the free miners were persuaded to sell their rights to speculators and entrepreneurs. This industrial activity was so concentrated in the area of Cinderford Bridge that a new town developed purely to service the requirements of the mine owners and their workers.

From the mid-seventeenth century the conglomeration of buildings and social classes which had characterised so many Medieval towns was superseded by the introduction of new urban styles from the continent, which reflected the growing prosperity of the period. The concept of large open circuses, squares and terraces of elegant town houses dominated the urban scene for the next two centuries, exemplified in the Gloucestershire context by the development of Regency Cheltenham, with its pump rooms, promenades, elegant terraces and town houses. Elsewhere the picture was not quite so pleasant, the industrial towns also had terraces, but these





were usually 'blind-backed' or 'tunnel-backed' with inadequate sanitation for the large families who occupied them. This form of dwelling can still be seen at Lydney and in the Oldbury development at Tewkesbury (although the houses have been modernised for modern use). Innovations in methods of transport also played an important role in the development of settlements, encouraging the separation of commercial, residential and industrial areas, as people no longer had to live in the same area that they worked. Most of the Gloucestershire small towns show some evidence of nineteenth century redevelopment, and most also have examples of Victorian civic pride in the form of public buildings such as libraries (Stroud) and town halls (Bisley, Stow-on-the-Wold, Nailsworth and Painswick).

## 4 Conclusions

Perhaps the most striking conclusion of this survey of the historic small towns of Gloucestershire is its demonstration that, despite documentary evidence of the Medieval or earlier origins of the majority of settlements, there is as yet very little archaeological evidence for most of them.

The town centre redevelopments of the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s were not generally preceded by archaeological investigation and during this period many sites of high potential in the historic cores of small towns were destroyed without record. It was not until the later 1980s, and the advent of Planning Policy Guidance 16 (DoE 1990), that a more systematic approach to the archaeological evaluation and recording of sites in small towns became possible. Most recent large scale development has, however, tended to be away from the street frontages in the historic cores of towns, and the archaeological investigation in the latter areas has therefore been on a very small scale.

The summary of archaeological evidence provided by the Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey assessment reports and the policies contained in the strategies will, however, provide a good basis for ensuring that, in the future, sites of archaeological potential in small towns are managed appropriately and not developed without an assessment of the archaeological implications and implementation of suitable mitigation strategies.

## 5 Bibliography

- Aston M and Bond J 1976, *The Landscape of Towns*.  
Beresford MW 1967, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*.  
Biddle M 1976, *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*.  
Blair J and Ramsay N (eds.) 1991, *English Medieval Industries*.  
Burnham B and Wachter J 1990, *The Small Towns of Roman Britain*.  
Darby HC 1954, *The Domesday Geography of Medieval England*.  
DoE 1990, *Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning*.  
English Heritage 1992, *Managing the Urban Archaeological Resource*.  
Finberg HPR 1955, *The Making of the English Landscape: Gloucestershire*.  
Friar S 1991, *The Batsford Companion to Local History*.  
Heighway C 1987, *Anglo-Saxon Gloucestershire*.  
Laing L and Laing J 1983, *Anglo-Saxon England*.  
Leech R 1981, *The Historic Towns of Gloucestershire*.  
Lloyd D 1992, *The Making of English Towns*.  
McWhirr A 1981, *Roman Gloucestershire*.  
Ottaway P 1996, *Archaeology in British Towns*.  
Palliser D 1987, "The Medieval Period" in *Urban Archaeology in Britain* ed. Schofield J, and Leech R.  
Platt C 1979, *The English Medieval Town*.  
Reynolds S 1977, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns*.  
Russo DG 1998, *Town origins and development in early England c.400-950 A.D.*  
Schofield J and Vince A 1994, *Medieval Towns*.  
Snyder CA 1997, *A Gazetteer of Sub-Roman Sites in Britain*.  
Timby JR 1998, *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire*.  
Wachter J 1995, *The Towns of Roman Britain*.



## HISTORIC TOWNS IN TEWKESBURY BOROUGH (Map 1)

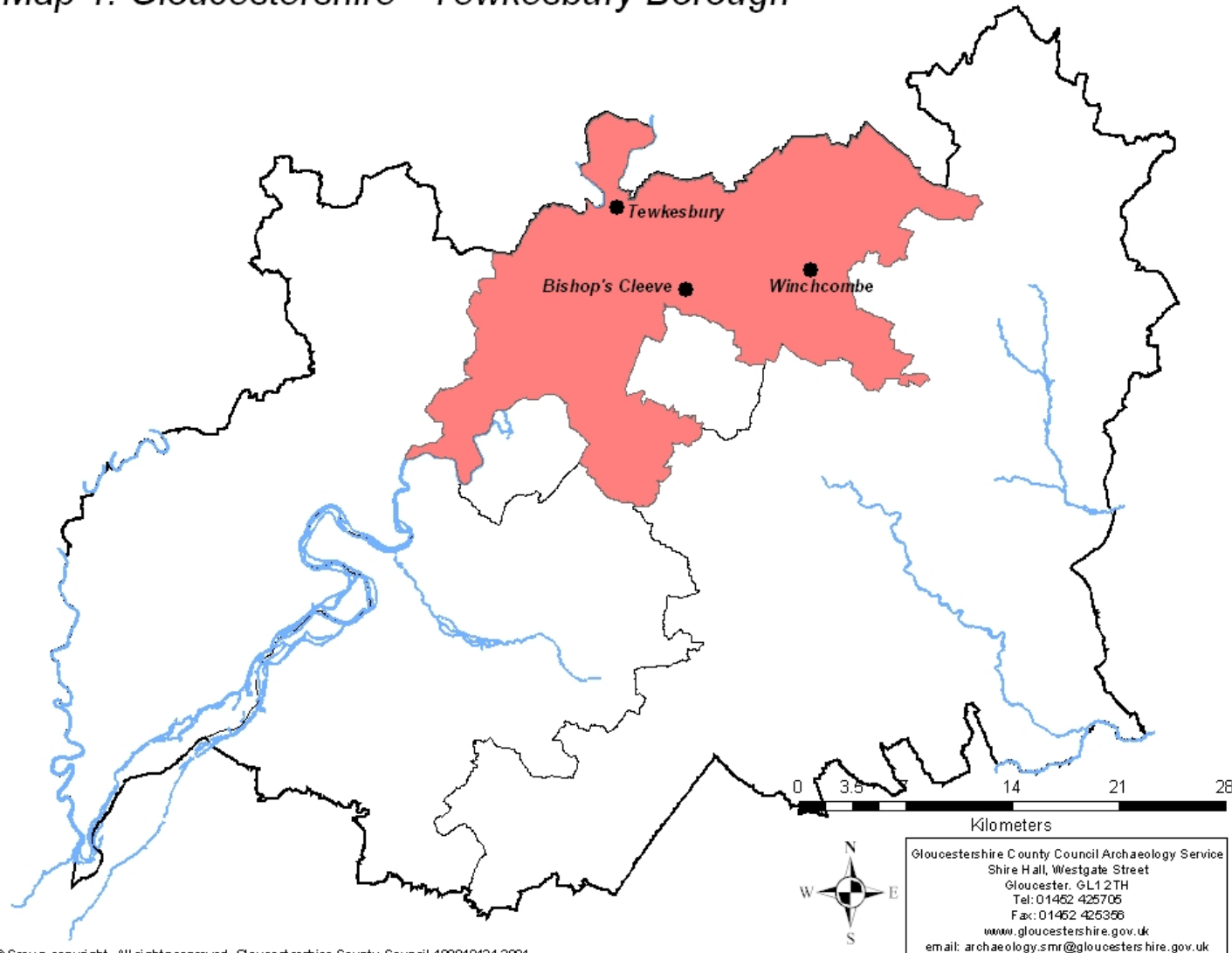
	Definition	Market	Borough charter	Burgages/ burgess tenure	Legal autonomy
Bishop's Cleeve	Ecclesiastical centre				
Tewkesbury	Medium-sized market town	By 1086	1086	✓	
Winchcombe	Fortified/Royal centre; Small market town	By 1086	1086	✓	

The administrative district of Tewkesbury lies in the northern central part of the county of Gloucestershire, extending from the Severn valley on the west on to the Cotswold escarpment on the east. It includes two significant Medieval urban centres – Tewkesbury and Winchcombe – and the rural settlement of Bishop's Cleeve, all of which probably had earlier origins.





Map 1: Gloucestershire - Tewkesbury Borough





## BISHOP'S CLEEVE

### 1 Introduction

Bishop's Cleeve (SO 962275) lies approximately 4km to the north of Cheltenham, in the Severn Vale at the foot of the Cotswold escarpment. The area in which the village stands is relatively flat, lying between about 55m and 65m O.D., with the earliest areas of settlement (prehistoric, Roman and Medieval) standing on outcrops of river gravel, surrounded by bands of lower lias clays.

Evidence for extensive Iron Age and Roman activity has been found in the area of the modern settlement, indicating that the area has been almost continuously occupied for a considerable period. The manor belonged to the bishops of Worcester from the later ninth century A.D. The settlement never acquired the status of a borough during the Medieval period and its economy remained based in agriculture through to the later part of the nineteenth century.

### 2 The Prehistoric period

#### 2.1 Neolithic

The earliest material from the settlement comprises three polished stone axe heads which were found at SO 96322761 in 1989 (**SMR 11392**).

#### 2.2 Iron Age

In 1928 sherds of Iron Age pottery were found close to the parish church during sand quarrying. More recently, excavations at Gilder's Paddock (SO95872775; **SMR 9886**) and Oldacres Mill (SO 95852760; **SMR 14959**) have produced evidence for Iron Age settlement in the form of ditched boundaries, food storage pits and pottery of Middle Iron Age date. This activity has been interpreted as evidence for extensive rural settlement (Parry 1993, 15-16).

Although there has been significant archaeological investigation of the areas further to the west of these two sites, no further evidence for Iron Age activity has been found. It would therefore appear that Gilder's Paddock marked the westernmost extent of Iron Age occupation at Bishop's Cleeve, and that while the agricultural lands of this period may have overlapped with those farmed during the Roman period (see below), the foci of domestic occupation during the two periods were separate and distinct (Parry 1993, 17).

### 3 The Roman period

There is evidence for considerable Roman activity and occupation in the area of the modern settlement at Bishop's Cleeve, most of which has been identified in advance of redevelopment in the centre of the village, or expansion of the settlement to the west, including the construction of a bypass. Evaluations on a number of sites have revealed evidence for Romano-British agricultural activity in the form of ditches and ditched boundaries, pits, post-holes and occupation debris (**SMR 9882, 9886, 9912, 14959, 15166, 5390, 13060, 13232, and 11122**). Several scatters of Roman pottery have also been found along the western edge of the modern settlement (**SMR 6421 and 11123**), and during the early nineteenth century a hoard of gold and silver Roman coins of Valerian to Theodosius is said to have been found *in Cleeve*, although the exact location is unknown (**SMR 7615**).

The focus of all this activity is unknown, although excavations at Home Farm (**SMR 15166**) revealed two areas in which building material of fourth century date had been dumped. This material included masonry, hypocaust tile fragments, opus signinum and quantities of fine pottery, indicating that there was a large, possibly villa-type, residence in the vicinity. The location of the villa or estate centre is unknown, although it has been suggested that it may have been in the area of Home Farm itself, or to the south-west in the area of Cleeve Hall (**SMR 5390**), where a wall, possibly of Roman date was revealed during excavations (Ings and Enwright 1996, 165).

A small inhumation cemetery was discovered at Gilder's Paddock (**SMR 9886**) in 1993, which included the remains of seven individuals, and which is also thought to relate to the proposed villa at Home Farm or Cleeve Hall (Parry 1993, 1).

The main period of Roman activity at Bishop's Cleeve appears to have been between the second and fourth centuries, although a small amount of evidence has recently been found indicating that occupation may have begun during the later



first century. At present the relationships between the various sites is not properly understood, although they appear to represent a large agricultural estate centred on one relatively large residence. Whether this estate developed out of the earlier, Iron Age agricultural settlement is not clear, as the focus of activity shifted westwards between the two periods.

## 4 The Early Medieval period

### 4.1 Archaeological evidence

During sand quarrying in 1969, to the south-west of the settlement, a late sixth century cemetery was discovered at SO 94852708 (**SMR 5376**). The twenty-six burials were orientated north-south, and some were accompanied by grave goods including amber beads, saucer brooches and spearheads. A few sherds of pottery were found nearby, but there was no definite evidence for occupation.

### 4.2 Charter evidence

Two Anglo-Saxon charters are believed to refer to Bishop's Cleeve. The first has been dated A.D.768-779, and records a grant of fifteen hides of land by Offa, king of Mercia, and Aldred, sub-king of the Hwicce, to the church of St. Michael at *Clif* (Grundy 1935, 71). This church appears to have been associated with a settlement called *Timbington*. This reference to a pre-Conquest church is supported by a second, undated, survey of the monastic estate (Grundy 1935, 72). By c.A.D.888, however, the church and lands of St. Michael, referred to in these documents, had been incorporated into the properties of the bishops of Worcester (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 467), and Elrington, Morgan and Herbert (1968, 2) have suggested that the monastic house at Cleeve would not have survived long after this date.

The location of the Early Medieval minster or monastery (**SMR 5401**) is not known, although it has been suggested that it may have stood in the area of the present church (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 3). However, it is equally likely that the minster stood in the area of the later manor house (**SMR 5390**), which came to form the centre of the Cleeve estate, and where significant evidence for Iron Age and Roman activity has been found

## 5 The Medieval period

### 5.1 Domesday Book

The Domesday survey of 1086 recorded that Bishop's Cleeve was held by the bishops of Worcester. 30 hides of land, 16 villagers, 19 smallholders and 8 slaves are recorded along with a priest, a riding man and a draught animal (Moore 1982).

### 5.2 The placename

Bishop's Cleeve is first mentioned in a charter of 768-779 (see section 4.2 above), as *Clif*, meaning "cliff" or "bank"; this eighth century grant of land included Cleeve Hill, from which the area is believed to have derived its name. The prefix of *Bishops*, a reference to the same land which was granted to the bishop of Worcester in the later ninth century, does not appear to have come into common usage before the thirteenth century, as the manor is still referred to as *Clive* in the Domesday Book entry of 1086 (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 8).

### 5.3 The status of the settlement

Bishop's Cleeve has always been the principal settlement within the parish, with smaller settlements at Stoke Orchard (8km to the west), Gotherington (3km to the north), Woodmancote (3km to the east), and Southam (5km to the south-east). There is, however, no evidence that the settlement at Cleeve ever achieved borough status, or that a market or fair were granted to the inhabitants who had to rely instead on those held at the nearby towns of Prestbury, Cheltenham or Winchcombe.

### 5.4 The manor

The bishops of Worcester held the manor of Bishop's Cleeve throughout the Medieval period, although it was usually held in demesne until the fifteenth century when it was let at farm (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 9). The bishops also maintained a residence in the village, which lay to the south-west of the centre of the modern settlement (**SMR 5390**), and which has been described as *probably the oldest and most splendid parsonage in the county* (Verrey 1980, 108). The exterior of the building is seventeenth century, following alterations made in 1667, but within this features of the thirteenth century H-plan house have survived, including the solar and buttery wings, and part of the original solar roof. The fourteenth century chapel which was attached to the house has also survived (Verrey 1980, 108). The fifteenth century tithe barn (**SMR 5391**), also survives and stands facing the house on the other side of the street. It is timber-framed, 23m long, although it would originally have been about 41m long, and



in the earlier part of the century, it was converted for use as a village hall. The timber for construction of the barn is believed to have been brought from Hartlebury in Worcestershire, approximately 45km to the north-west.

### 5.5 The church

A priest is recorded in the Domesday Book entry for Bishop's Cleeve, which suggests that there may have been a pre-Conquest church in the settlement, possibly indicating some form of continuity from the eighth century minster. The present structure (**SMR 5403**) is dedicated to St. Michael and All Angels, and was built or rebuilt in the twelfth century; no earlier fabric has survived. It is transitional style and incorporates an aisled nave, north and south transepts, a central tower and a two storied porch (Verey 1980, 105). The aisles were widened during the fourteenth century and the chancel was rebuilt at the same date (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 21).

Before 1279 the bishop of Worcester made the church at Bishop's Cleeve prebendal in his college of Westbury-on-Trym, and the church maintained chapels of ease at Gotherington, Southam and Stoke Orchard. St. Michael's church was one of the wealthiest rectories in England, valued in the *Taxatio* of 1291 at £40, and in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* in 1535 at £84 6s 8d (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 20).

### 5.6 Trade and industry

The agricultural economy of the manor at Cleeve is illustrated by various documentary references throughout the Medieval period. Wheat, pulses and oats are recorded as being grown in 1372 (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 8). The production of wool was an important aspect and the bishop's flock numbered over 1000 animals by the end of the thirteenth century (Finberg 1975, 84). The tithe accounts of the manor from the fourteenth century onwards indicate that the most valuable crops grown were flax and hemp, although it is not known whether they were grown for cloth or rope making, or for domestic uses (Dyer 1989, 115).

A mill is recorded in the Domesday survey of the manor, although its location is unknown. By 1299 the manor contained both a watermill and a windmill, held at farm from the bishop (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 17). A house in the village is known as 'The Old Mill', but it cannot be linked with any of the medieval mill sites.

## 6 The Post-medieval period

### 6.1 The manor

In 1561 the Crown granted the bishops of Worcester a number of impropriated benefices in exchange for the manor of Bishop's Cleeve. In 1604 the manor was granted to secular landowners with whom it remained until the later nineteenth century, when the manorial rights lapsed. At this time the manor included a second house, with a dovecot and an adjacent close, called the court house which became the residence of the lessees through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 9). The site of this later house has not been identified.

By 1612 the rectory which went with the living of Cleeve *had fallen into disrepair* and the incumbent, the son of the lessee of the manor, moved to the bishops' manor house, which thereafter became the parsonage (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 20).

### 6.2 Ecclesiastical history

#### 6.2.1 The church of St. Michael and All Angels

The parish church remained in use throughout the Post-medieval period. The central tower collapsed in 1696 and was rebuilt in the Gothic style in 1700 by James Hill of Cheltenham. Further alterations to the interior of the building were made through the eighteenth century, but much of the twelfth century work has survived (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 21).

In c.1549 the advowson of the church passed to the crown, and was soon after granted into secular hands. The living still continued to be relatively wealthy, with the rectory valued at £500 in 1650; £600 during the mid-eighteenth century and c.£1600 in the mid-nineteenth century (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 19-20).

#### 6.2.2 Nonconformity

The earliest reference to nonconformist meetings in Bishop's Cleeve dates to 1672 when Congregationalists were meeting in a private house which had been licensed for teaching. In the Compton Census of 1676 thirty-seven nonconformists were recorded in the settlement, the majority of whom are thought to have been Congregationalists, although by 1689 another house was being used by a separate nonconformist group. In 1854 a chapel for the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion was built in the centre of the village, which remained in



use by the group until 1964. Another nonconformist meeting in the village was recorded in 1841, and in 1844 a chapel (**SMR 20388**) was built which had about 60 members in 1851, but which had closed by 1911 (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 24).

Roman Catholic services are recorded as being held in the village hall of Bishop's Cleeve in 1964 (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 24).

### 6.3 Trade and industry

Agriculture continued to play an important role in the economy of the settlement throughout the Post-medieval period. Smith's *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire* written in 1608 records that there were 7 yeomen and 23 husbandmen in the village at that time. By 1901 the majority of the parish was under meadowland and pasture, and in 1935 permanent grassland was still the main landuse (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 17).

Smith's survey also lists a number of non-agricultural traders including tanners, joiners, labourers, tailors, servants, smiths and shoemakers. Two glovers were recorded in 1729 (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 18).

A steam mill (**SMR 14959**) was built in Bishop's Cleeve in 1885, but was destroyed by fire in 1931. By 1964 the building had been rebuilt and was operating as an agricultural feed mill, employing 40 people (Elrington, Morgan and Herbert 1968, 17).

## 7 The modern settlement

During the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries the main areas of expansion were to the east and south of the Medieval settlement, along Station Road and between Station Road and Gotherington. The Cleeve estate was built to the south of the village during the post-war period, and by 1964 there were around 500 houses on the site. During the 1950s a separate estate of about 100 houses was constructed to the north of Station Road, and throughout the 1960s and 1970s other private houses and bungalows were built. During the 1980s and 1990s, considerable expansion, including the construction of a bypass, has taken place to the west so that the Medieval core of the settlement is now surrounded on all sides by large housing estates.

Apart from the church of St. Michael and All Angels, several early buildings have survived within the village. These include parts of the manor house of the bishops of Worcester, now known as The Old Rectory, a sixteenth century dovecote in the garden of the house, and on the opposite side of the road, the tithe barn, which is thought to date from the early fifteenth century. A number of other buildings of fifteenth to nineteenth century date survive within the village and along the approach roads.

## 8 Population figures

Date	Communicants	Households	Families	Nonconformists	Inhabitants	Source
1551	580				c.870	Percival
1563		98			c.417	Percival
1603	520				c.780	Percival
1650			200		c.850	Survey of Church Livings
1676	749			37	c.1161	Compton Census
1712		175			875	Atkyns
1779		295			1252	Rudder
1801					431	
1851					745	
1901					686	
1997					8989	

For a full explanation of this table, please see page 5 above.



## 9 Plan analysis (Maps 7-9)

### 9.1 Discussion

There is considerable evidence for Iron Age and Roman occupation at Bishop's Cleeve, most of which has been identified as a result of the archaeological evaluation of sites to be developed for housing (on the western side of the settlement) and supermarkets (in the centre of the village) in the 1980s and 1990s. The known extent of this activity is therefore strongly influenced by the location of modern development. The focus of the Roman activity is unknown but the settlement may have been centred upon a villa, lying in the same area as the centre of the medieval manorial estate.

There is no direct evidence for continuity of occupation from the Roman to Early Medieval periods, despite the coincidental focus of the two periods in the same area, around the site of the bishops' manor house. Eighth century charters refer to a minster church or monastic foundation in Bishop's Cleeve, which may have stood in the area now occupied by the church and churchyard of St Michael and All Angels. The charters also imply the existence of a settlement associated with the early church, which is likely to have developed in the area immediately around the foundation to provide the priests with goods and services. If the minster did stand in this area it is likely to have controlled all the land between Station Road on the north and Church Road on the south, and from Cheltenham Road on the west to School Road on the east (**Area 1**). It is possible that these roads have fossilised the shape of the precinct within the plan of the modern village. The unusual dog-leg in the line of the main road through the settlement, which runs from Gotherington on the north to Prestbury and Cheltenham on the south may have been influenced by this enclosure (which lies at the focus of all the main routes), rather than running straight north-south to the west of the historic core.

It appears that the Medieval church continued to control this area of land until the time of the Reformation (c.1540), after which land parcels appear to have become available for the construction of houses, and the area of the original precinct was gradually encroached upon.

The residence of the bishops of Worcester (**Area 2**) stood immediately to the south and west of the enclosure, on the line of the main road through the settlement. The full extent of the land associated with the manor house is not recorded, but it is likely to have controlled much of the area immediately to the north and south of Stoke Road (**Area 3**), along with some land to the south-west of the church where the tithe barn stands (**Area 4**).

Medieval settlement would have been confined to those areas not controlled by the church and manor, mainly to the north and east of the church precinct (**Areas 5-11**). The enclosure map of 1837 also indicates an area of village green lying between Station Road and Priory Lane, which was not built up until the later nineteenth or early twentieth century (**Area 12**). As Bishop's Cleeve was never granted borough status, burgage plots would not have been laid out, and settlement around the church and manor house is likely to have taken the form of piecemeal development.

There appears to have been some Post-medieval building within the settlement, especially during the seventeenth century. The area controlled by the church was considerably reduced through encroachments and infilling, but before the nineteenth century there was very little expansion beyond the bounds of the Medieval settlement based around the church, as illustrated by both the tithe and Ordnance Survey maps of 1841 and 1884. In 1801 the recorded number of houses in the village was 102, but this number had increased by half during the course of the century. Linear developments sprang up along the main routes into the village, while within the centre Station Street began to be built up, as did the road leading to Gotherington. During the twentieth century the village has been zoned for housing development and has therefore expanded considerably (see section 7, above).

### 9.2 Plan components

#### 9.2.1 Medieval (Map 7)

1. The church of St. Michael and All Angels, including the area of the putative minster precinct enclosure
2. The house of the bishops of Worcester and accompanying landholding to the north of Stoke Road
3. Probable part of the manorial estate, to the south of Stoke Road
4. Part of the manorial estate, including the tithe barn





5. Possible area of Medieval settlement fronting on to the north side of Station Road
6. Possible area of Medieval settlement fronting on to the north side of Station Road
7. Possible area of Medieval settlement fronting on to the south side of Station Road
8. Possible area of Medieval settlement between School Road and Fieldgate Road
9. Possible area of Medieval settlement to the south of Priory Lane
10. Possible area of Medieval settlement to the south of Church Road
11. Possible area of Medieval settlement to the east of Evesham Road
12. Area of green shown on the 1837 tithe map

#### **9.2.2 Post-medieval (Map 8)**

13. The church of St. Michael and surrounding churchyard
14. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the east of Evesham Road
15. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the north of Station Road
16. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the north of Station Road
17. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south of Priory Road
18. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south of Priory Road
19. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south of Church Road
20. Area of infilling of church land
21. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Church Road
22. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Stoke Road
23. Area of infilling of the green, post-1837
24. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Priory Road
25. Area of Post-medieval development to the north of Pecked Lane
26. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Pecked Lane
27. Area of Post-medieval development along Cheltenham Road
28. Area of Post-medieval development to the north of Stoke Road
29. Area of Post-medieval development to the west of Evesham Road

## **10 Future research**

Archaeological evidence indicates that the area of modern settlement at Bishop's Cleeve has been occupied, possibly continuously, from the Iron Age. The main priorities for archaeological research are:



1. Iron Age activity: the full extent of the Iron Age settlement at Bishop's Cleeve is not understood. Archaeological evidence indicates occupation from the Middle Iron Age onwards, but further research may produce evidence for the date at which the site was first occupied.
2. The Iron Age/Roman period transition: there is at present no evidence for continuity of occupation between the Iron Age and Roman periods, nor for the continuity of focus of settlement between the two periods.
3. The Roman period: extensive evidence for field systems has been identified at Bishop's Cleeve, but the focus of this activity is unknown. Various suggestions have been made regarding the location of this focus, based on the presence of possible structures, but to date no firm evidence has been found. The period of Roman occupation at Bishop's Cleeve is also unknown. There is considerable evidence for activity during the second and third centuries A.D., but few finds of the first century. Evidence for first century activity has, however, been recovered from a site 0.7km to the north-west of Home Farm, indicating that evidence for early occupation may survive within the area of the modern village.
4. The Roman/Early Medieval period transition: there is little evidence for continuity of occupation between the Roman and Early Medieval periods, apart from a few sherds of grass-tempered pottery. The reuse of the projected site of the Roman "villa" for the residence of the bishops of Worcester may be due more to the geographical advantages of the location rather than to continuity of occupation.
5. Early Medieval occupation: eighth century charter evidence indicates the presence of an early minster or monastic site at Bishop's Cleeve. The location of this foundation is unknown, although it is likely that it stood in the area of the present church and churchyard. The charters also imply the presence of an early secular settlement associated with the minster, although there is no existing evidence for such occupation.
6. The Medieval manor: the extent of the estate of the bishops of Worcester at Bishop's Cleeve is not known, but it may have occupied much of the land to the south-west of the church, around Stoke Road and the line of the road to Prestbury and Cheltenham.

## 11 Sources

### 11.1 Primary historical sources

A number of charters and other documents survive which refer to Early Medieval and Medieval settlement at Bishop's Cleeve. These have not been consulted directly, and where they are referred to in the text, the information has been drawn from existing published sources.

### 11.2 Secondary sources

There are few published histories of Bishop's Cleeve, although the settlement is fully covered in the Victoria County History for Gloucestershire, and has drawn the attention of a number of the eighteenth century antiquaries including Rudder and Atkyns.

### 11.3 Archaeological sources

Very little archaeological work took place in Bishop's Cleeve during the expansion of the settlement to the east and south-east of the church during the early and middle years of the twentieth century. Extensive outline planning permissions were given in the mid-1980s for the expansion of the settlement to the west in association with the construction of the bypass. Some of these areas were subsequently evaluated during the late 1980s and 1990s, producing extensive evidence for prehistoric and Roman settlement.

### 11.4 Maps

The earliest map available for Bishop's Cleeve is the enclosure map of 1837. The information provided by this map can be supplemented by the tithe map of 1841 and the Ordnance Survey first edition 25":1 mile map (published in 1884).

## 12 Bibliography

### 12.1 Published works

Anon 1924, "Proceedings at the Annual Summer Meeting at Cheltenham" in *TBGAS XLVI*, 18-70.  
Atkyns R 1712, *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*.





- Barber A and Walker G 1998, "Home Farm, Bishop's Cleeve, 1993-94: Excavation of a Roman occupation site" in *TBGAS CXVI*, 117-140.
- Beresford M and Finberg HPR 1973, *English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist*.
- Bigland R 1971, *Historical Manuscripts and Genealogical Collections relating to the County of Gloucestershire*.
- Dyer C 1989, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c.1200-1520*.
- Finberg HPR 1961, *Early Charters of the West Midlands*.
- Finberg HPR 1975, *The Making of the English Landscape: Gloucestershire*.
- Elrington CR, Morgan KM and Herbert NM 1968, "The Hundred of Bishop's Cleeve" in *The Victoria History of Gloucestershire VIII*, 2-25.
- Grundy GB 1935, *Saxon Charters and Field Names of Gloucestershire*.
- Ings M and Enwright D 1996, "Cleeve Hall" in *TBGAS CXIV*, 165.
- King R 1993, *Proposed development at Home Farm, Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire: Report on the results of an archaeological evaluation*.
- Moore JS (ed) 1982, *Domesday Book: Gloucestershire*.
- Morgan KM 1966, *The Tithe Barn: Bishop's Cleeve*.
- Parry C 1993, "Archaeological review" in *TBGAS CVIII*, 193-199.
- Parry C 1993, *Archaeological Evaluation at Bishop's Cleeve Mill, Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire*. (Unpublished typescript held by Gloucestershire SMR).
- Parry C n.d., *Iron Age, Romano-British and Medieval occupation at Bishop's Cleeve, Gloucestershire: excavations at Gilder's Paddock 1989 and 1990-91* (Unpublished typescript held by the Gloucestershire SMR).
- Percival AC n.d., *Gloucestershire Village Populations*.
- Rudder S 1779, *A History of Gloucestershire*.
- Smith AH 1964, *The Place Names of Gloucestershire*.
- Smith J 1608, *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608*. Reprinted 1980.
- Verey D 1980, *Buildings of England - Gloucestershire: The Vale and the Forest of Dean*.

## 12.2 Maps

- Enclosure map of Bishop's Cleeve, 1837
- Tithe map and apportionment, 1841
- Ordnance Survey First Edition 25": 1 mile, 1884

