



Gloucestershire

COUNTY COUNCIL

Sites & Monuments Record

GLOUCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC TOWNS SURVEY

COTSWOLD DISTRICT ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENTS

TETBURY

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FIGURES

Volume 1

Map 1 Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey: Cotswold District

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A note about the maps

The SMR maps in the original Historic Towns Survey (i.e Maps 61-63) are now out of date and have not been included within this revision although references to SMR numbers remain in the text.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. 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
SMR 12345	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 (i.e. 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 *colonia* (or *colonia* _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 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.

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HISTORIC TOWNS IN COTSWOLD DISTRICT (Map 1)

	Definition	Market	Borough charter	Burgages/ burgess tenure	Legal autonomy
Blockley	Small market town				
Bourton-on-the-Water	Roman small town				
Chipping Campden	Small market town	c1180	1154-89	✓	
Dorn	Roman small town				
Fairford	Small market town	c.1100-35	1221	✓	✓
Kingscote	Roman small town				
Lechlade	Small market town	1210	C1235	✓	
Moreton-in-Marsh	Small market town	1228	C13/14	✓	
Northleach	Small market town	1219/20	c1227	✓	
Stow-on-the-Wold	Small market town	1107	C12	✓	✓
Tetbury	Medium-sized market town	1211-1287	c1211	✓	
Wycomb	Roman small town				

1 Introduction

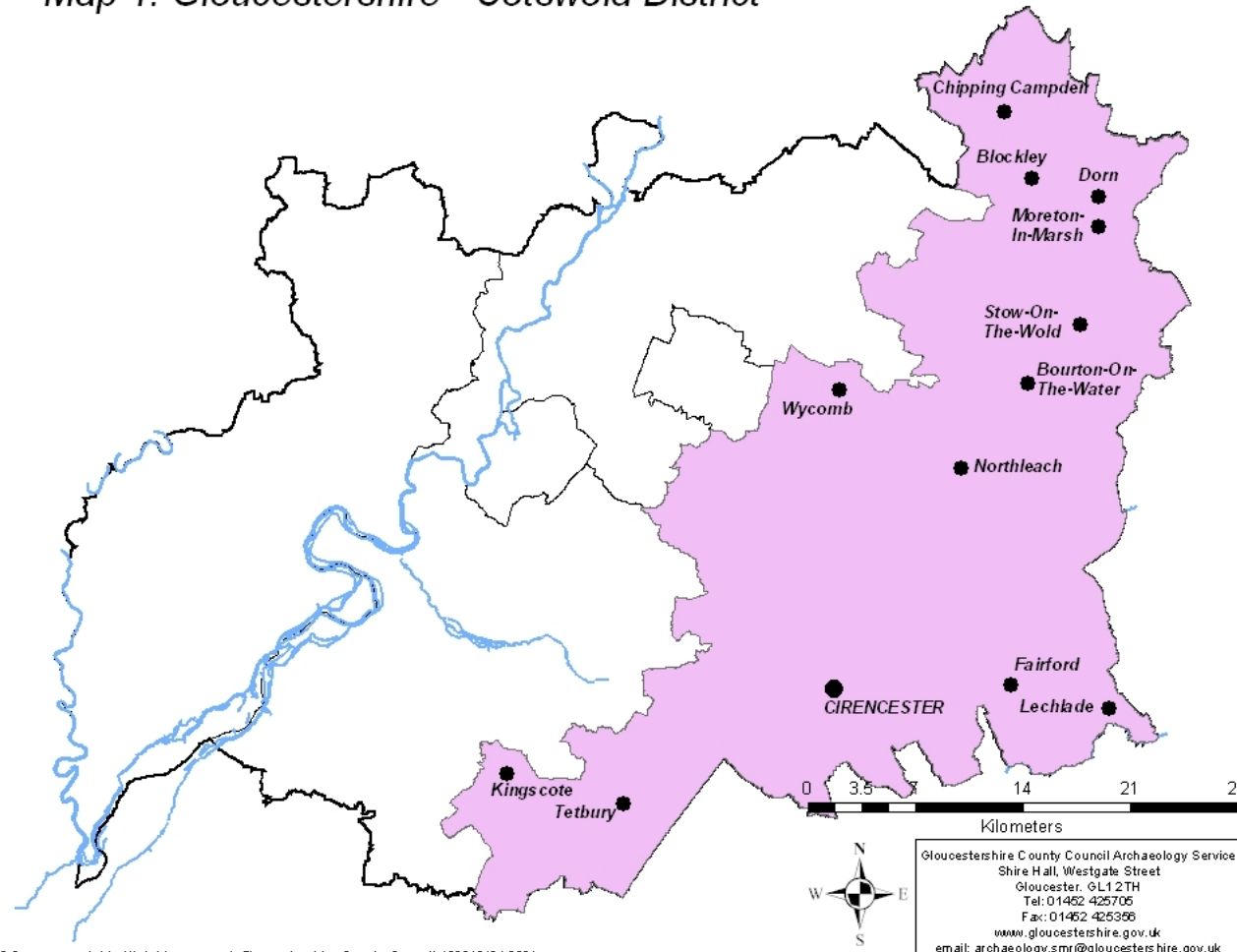
Cotswold is the largest of the six administrative districts in Gloucestershire covering the area east of Gloucester and Cheltenham and extending to the boundary with the adjoining counties of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire. Most of the district covers the limestone escarpment of the Cotswold Hills, drained by numerous small rivers, such as the Evenlode, the Windrush, the Dikler, Leach, Coln and Churn, flowing south-eastwards into the upper Thames Valley. The south-eastern part of the district consists of the flat gravel terraces and broad valley of the Upper Thames.

Of the twelve towns studied in the area, three were Roman settlements which failed to survive into later periods, while others, such as Bourton-on-the-Water, Stow-on-the-Wold and Tetbury, appear to have had their origins in the Prehistoric and Roman periods and continued as significant settlements through the Medieval and later periods. However, the majority of towns, such as Chipping Campden, Moreton-in-Marsh, Northleach, Fairford and Lechlade developed during the Medieval period as market centres, all of which achieved borough status during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The economy of the area was dominated by the production and sale of wool from the twelfth century until the collapse of the English woollen cloth trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the later eighteenth century Cotswold wool began to lose its quality, becoming increasingly coarse due to the crossing of the breed with sheep from Leicestershire in an attempt to increase the length of the fibres, and soon local wool was only used in the production of worsteds and coarse cloths.

The wealth derived from the production of wool in the area is reflected in the architecture of the Cotswolds, where many of the churches were rebuilt by wealthy wool-merchants during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The other reminder of the trade is visible in the scattered market and wool halls, like those at Tetbury, Northleach and Chipping Campden, which were built between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, and which provided space for the fleeces to be stored and sold at auction. There is less direct evidence for the production of woollen cloth in the Cotswolds, although it would have taken place on a domestic scale. Outcrops of Fuller's Earth, which is vital for finishing the cloth, are found near the spring line throughout much of the region, was of some value for the local finishing of cloth, but the surface water supply was never great enough to allow any form of large-scale production, unlike the Stroud valleys where the plentiful supply of fast-flowing water was ideal for powering mills and for use in the dyeing process.



Map 1: Gloucestershire - Cotswold District





TETBURY

1 Introduction

Tetbury is located close to the southern boundary of Gloucestershire, approximately 18km south-west of Cirencester. The town lies on a low but clearly defined hill which rises to a height of 115m O.D., standing on a bed of Forest Marble Limestone between the River Avon to the east and a tributary stream to the south.

Tetbury developed as an important Medieval market centre, concerned mainly with the sale of raw wool. This trade flourished into the eighteenth century, and was matched by markets for cheese and corn which were also held in the town on a weekly basis. All the markets lapsed during the later part of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, leaving the town to act as a centre for the sale of livestock and the exchange of local produce.

2 The Prehistoric period (Map 61)

At the south-eastern edge of the settlement is a set of earthworks (**SMR 109**) which have been identified by the Ordnance Survey as an Iron Age hillfort overlain by a Norman castle. The earthworks take the form of a ring ditch laid against the scarp slope, enclosing an area about 40m in diameter. The ditch is up to 10m wide and 0.4m deep, although it appears to have been levelled in the past. To the east is a possible annexe enclosed by a ditch of similar proportions. The Royal Commission (1976) did not accept the remains as prehistoric during their inventory of such sites, and the nature of the earthworks is therefore unclear. No other archaeological evidence exists to indicate that there was prehistoric activity within the area of the modern town.

3 The Roman period (Map 61)

A reference of 1915 suggests that there may have been a Roman military station located at Tetbury, the remains of which were destroyed during the mid-eighteenth century (Anon 1915, 6), and Rudder noted that Roman coins had been found in and near the town (Rudder 1779, 728; SMR 2958). It is likely that the 'station' was in fact the earthwork (**SMR 109**) discussed above.

4 The Early Medieval period (Map 61)

Tetbury appears to have been settled during the Early Medieval period, as it lay in an important strategic position on the boundary between the lands of the *Hwicce* and those of the West Saxons (Herbert 1976, 257).

4.1 Anglo-Saxon charters

Two charters, the first dated A.D.681 and the second A.D.775-777, both refer to grants of land near Tetbury. Unfortunately, both are also believed to be spurious and therefore do not provide much information about the early history of the settlement (Sawyer 1968, 89-90; 108).

The first reliable reference to Tetbury is a charter of Offa, dated A.D.903, which mentions *the Bishop of Tettanbyrig* (Finberg 1961, 31).

4.2 The Anglo-Saxon burh

Although there are no contemporary references to a burh at Tetbury, it has been suggested that one may have existed in association with the early minster, based on the existence of the undated earthworks (**SMR 109**) discussed in section 2 above.

4.3 The Anglo-Saxon minster

It has been proposed that there was an Early Medieval minster at Tetbury on the basis of the charter of A.D.903 which mentions the bishop of *Tettanbyrig* (Finberg 1961, 31).

There is no evidence to suggest where such a foundation may have stood, but it is quite likely to have been in the area of the present parish church, to the north of the earthworks.



5 The Medieval period

5.1 Domesday Book

Tetbury is listed amongst the lands of Roger of Ivry, although it is recorded as being held by Siward in 1066. 23 villagers, 2 smallholders, 2 riding men and a priest are recorded, along with 19 slaves, a mill valued at 15d, pasture land valued at 10s and 10 acres of meadow. The value of the estate was £33 in 1066 which had increased to £50 in 1086 (Moore 1982).

5.2 The placename

The earliest confirmed reference to Tetbury appears in a charter of A.D.903 (see 4.1 above), which mentions *Tettanbyrig*. The estate is listed as *Teteberie* in Domesday Book, which developed into *Tetteberia* (1170), *Tuttesbire* (1212), *Tetbery* (1288) and *Tetbury* in 1348 (Smith 1964, 109).

The name is thought to have been derived from *Tetta's burh* (fortified place). Smith has suggested that *Tetta* may have been the sister of king Ine of Wessex, who was the founder of Wimbourne Abbey and played an active role in organising the church in Wessex (Smith 1964, 110).

5.3 The status of the settlement

A borough charter was granted to William de Braose in the early thirteenth century, after he acquired the manor in 1197 (Leech 1981, 86), which was confirmed during a *Placita Quo Warranto* in 1287 (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 116). The thirteenth century foundation charter also gave the burgesses of Tetbury all the liberties and free customs of the law of Breteuil (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 116). Tetbury appears to have thrived throughout the Medieval period, with over 100 burgages established in the town by 1296 (Herbert 1976, 261), and information relating to the size of the burgages has survived in the borough charter of Wotton-under-Edge which states that the burgage plots were to be laid out *each on a third of an acre according to the custom and usage of Tetbury* (Finberg 1975, 76).

5.4 The manor

King Offa of Mercia is believed to have granted lands at Tetbury to Worcester cathedral during the eighth century, although, by the time of the Norman conquest the estate was held by a secular landlord named Siward. By the time of the Domesday Survey in 1086, the manor had passed to Roger of Ivry, whose lands were forfeited to the Crown before c.1100. During the early twelfth century the estate was acquired by the St. Valery family, but they had lost the estate before 1197, when the lands were granted to William de Braose, with whose family it remained until the later fifteenth century. When Thomas Braose died without heirs c.1502 the estate passed to Maurice Berkeley, who claimed to be a descendant of William (Herbert 1976, 264-265).

There is a suggestion, based on building foundations discovered when the inner rampart was cleared in the eighteenth century (**SMR 109**), that the early manor house may have stood to the south of the church. Documentary evidence indicates that from the sixteenth century, if not before, the manor house of Tetbury stood to the north of the town, next to the Chipping (**SMR 20603**; Herbert 1976, 265).

5.5 The church

A priest is recorded in the Domesday Survey for Tetbury, indicating that there may have been a pre-Conquest church in the town. The present church is dedicated to St. Mary (**SMR 8261**) and although it was almost completely rebuilt during the later eighteenth century, archaeological work undertaken during refurbishments in 1992 revealed evidence for the Medieval nave. The Medieval church nave had a tower with a tall spire at the western end and had two aisles in the north side and one to the south. The southern aisle housed the chantry chapel of St. Mary which was founded in 1363. The parishioners built a new aisle c.1467, which was described as having St. Mary's chantry on the south and the 'old chancel' on the north, which appears to have later been used as a vestry (Herbert 1976, 279).

Reynold de St. Valery granted the church at Tetbury to Eynsham abbey c.1160, and by 1273 the living was a rectory in the patronage of the abbey. The benefice was appropriated in 1332 at which time a vicarage was created. Eynsham abbey continued to hold the rectory and advowson until the Dissolution in 1536 when they came into the hands of the Crown (Herbert 1976, 278). In the *Taxatio* of 1291 the rectory of Tetbury was valued at £24, and in 1374 a generous portion was confirmed to the vicar, who was to have the small tithes, hay tithes, 12 quarters of corn as church-scot, rents from houses in the town, 90 acres of arable land, 4 acres of meadow and pasture for 6 bulls (Herbert 1976, 278).



5.6 Markets and fairs

It has been suggested (Herbert 1976, 272) that Tetbury acquired a market and fair at the same time that the borough charter was granted in the early thirteenth century, although there is no specific record of either event until 1287. In 1350 Thomas de Braose was granted the right to extend a fair held over the feast of St. Mary Magdalene to seven days, and by the mid-sixteenth century the market was held on Wednesday and the fairs on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene and on Ash Wednesday (Herbert 1976, 272).

Income from the market and fairs stood at £11 10s in 1296, by which time Tetbury had become established as a centre for the sale of wool from the surrounding area (Herbert 1976, 271). It is thought that the market place was originally in the open area between Gumstool Street and the manor house grounds, known today as the Chipping, or Chipping Croft, as there is a reference in a document of 1459 to a house in Cirencester Street backing on to the *croft called the market-place*. In 1549 the Old Tolsey (SMR 20620) stood in the Chipping at the entrance to Chipping Lane (Herbert 1976, 261).

5.7 The monastery

During the war between Stephen and Matilda (1139-53) the monks of Kingswood Abbey moved to a safer site at Hazleton, on land which they had purchased from the Crown after it had been confiscated from a supporter of Matilda. When the original owner, Reginald de St. Waleric, recovered his lands he drove the monks back to Kingswood, but later he repented and invited them to return to Hazleton. Unfortunately, the water supply was found to be inadequate, and de St. Waleric moved the monks to Tetbury, where they founded an abbey c.1150-1154 (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 121).

The tradition that the monks built a house in the Chipping appears to have derived from the 'monastic' architecture recorded in the Post-medieval manor house, which was consequently named The Priory (SMR 2961). In 1857 Lee described an archway in the building which showed a monk praying, along with the inscription *Conventus de Kingwod*. Lee also reported that extensive remains survived on the site: *There remains, however, a considerable portion in good repair, consisting of refectory, dormitories, arches and cellars. It evidently bears internal proofs of having been erected for monastic purposes* (Lee 1857, 38). A watching brief undertaken on the site prior to construction work in 1995 recorded part of an apparently extensive system of cellars, although nothing to date the structure was recovered.

It is possible that the 'monastic' features recorded by Lee may have been part of a Medieval building, possibly an earlier manor house, or they may simply have been pieces of re-used masonry. Kingswood abbey was dissolved in 1164-70, shortly after the move is thought to have been made, hardly enough time for the construction of large monastic buildings. It has been suggested that a more likely site for the abbey is a property known as 'The Grange', now called Estcourt Grange (SMR 2954), located away from the centre of Tetbury (Lindley, 1915, 146; Hodgson 1976, 20).

5.8 Trade and industry

5.8.1 Agriculture

By the time of the Domesday Survey in 1086 Tetbury was part of a large agricultural estate owned by Roger d'Ivry. Sheep farming and wool production were extremely important, especially to the bigger landowners of the manor, such as Walter Herne, a prominent burgess, who died in 1485 and who is known to have employed a shepherd, whilst 130 sheep were left in legacies by another inhabitant in 1526 (Herbert 1976, 270).

5.8.2 Mills

A mill was recorded in the Domesday Survey, which may have been the same as that recorded as belonging to the Braose estate in 1296 (Herbert 1976, 269). In 1312 the manor mill was returned at half its previous value because it was dry in the summer, and it is thought that lack of water led to the early abandonment of the mills. After this date there are no references to any mills in Tetbury, although William the Millard and John atte Mill are mentioned among the inhabitants of Tetbury in 1327. (Herbert 1976, 269).



5.8.3 The wool and cloth trade

Local wool production appears to have stimulated the development of a cloth industry at Tetbury. In 1327 inhabitants of the town included two weavers, and a dyer was recorded in 1376. Weavers, tailors, drapers and mercers were recorded in 1381 and clothiers appear in documents from 1541 (Herbert 1976, 270).

5.8.4 Other trades

Documentary sources indicate some of the other traders who worked in Tetbury, including a skinner, a cordwainer and a fisherman in 1327 and shoemakers, tanners, smiths, butchers, bakers, brewers, skinnners and spicers in 1381 (Herbert 1976, 270).

5.9 Tetbury 'castle'

The earthworks (**SMR 109**) mentioned in sections 2, 3, and 4.2 above, are believed to include the site of a Norman castle, probably a ring and bailey construction. The castle is thought to have been built by Robert of Gloucester and to have been sacked by Stephen in 1144. In 1779 when the area was partially levelled to make way for a pleasure ground, hewn stones, arrow and javelin heads, horseshoes, Norman spurs and English coins (including issues of Edward the Confessor, Stephen and Henry III) were found. Since then the site has been referred to as that of a castle, despite the absence of conclusive evidence (Leech 1981, 87; Herbert 1976, 260), and it is thought that references to a castle may have resulted from a misunderstanding of surviving Medieval documents.

5.10 Communications

Tetbury stood on the main road from Oxford to Cirencester and Bristol which, during the Medieval period, began to usurp the importance of the Foss Way which ran further to the east of the town. Until the later sixteenth century the road ran into the town from the south-west along what is today called the Bath Road following a steep comb, and left via Gumstool Hill on the north-east, also a steep hill (Herbert 1976, 258). After the sixteenth century, the difficulties of negotiating these hills led to the use of an alternative route following New Church Street and Comber's Mead and then rejoining the original course of the route to the north-east of the town (now the line of the A433). In 1594 Comber's Mead was known as *the lane to Cirencester* while the New Church Street stretch was recorded as *the highway on the backside of Tetbury leading between Cirencester and Bristol* in 1681 (Herbert 1976, 258).

Within the town the Oxford-Bristol road was crossed by the road between Malmesbury and Minchinhampton and Stroud (the modern B4014), which became increasingly important through the Post-medieval period (Herbert 1976, 259).

6 The Post-medieval period

...not large, but well frequented, and deservedly claims third place in the precedence among the towns of Gloucestershire...The town is about one and a half miles in circumference, with four streets crossing in the centre of it, consisting of about four hundred houses, chiefly built of stone, and which make a handsome appearance (Rudder 1779, 727)

6.1 The status of the settlement

In 1594 the Lord of the Manor commissioned a survey of his manor and borough of Tetbury which recorded the streets of the town and the burgages on them. The streets recorded at this time were West Street, Gumstool Street (also known as Cirencester Street), Silver Street, Church Street, Chipping Crofte Lane, Malmesbury Street and Hatters Street (The History of Tetbury Society n.d.).

In 1611 the lord of the manor, Sir William Romney, died holding the lease to the profits and tolls of the market and fairs. In his will he left this lease, which had eight years left to run, to the citizens of Tetbury. The markets and fairs were to be managed by the king's bailiff and twenty other townfolk, with the provision that some of the profits were used for charitable purposes. When the lease expired, a new one was acquired by John Smith, the steward, who sold it to the townspeople, the continuing profitability of which allowed them to buy the manor and borough, the advowson of the church and the commons for £804 in 1633. Seven years later they also acquired the market and fairs, the Chipping Croft, the old market house in Chipping Street and other property valued at £1400 (Hodgson 1976, 42-53; Herbert 1976, 273).



6.2 The manor

The Berkeley family held Tetbury from 1506 until 1633, when they sold the manorial rights to the inhabitants of the town to be administered by a group of feoffees (see section 6.1 above; Herbert 1976, 265).

The manor house at The Chipping (**SMR 20603**) was leased to John Savage in the late sixteenth century, when it was known as Hacket or Hicket Court. A new house was built on the site by Matthew Sloper in 1766-7 which became known as The Priory (**SMR 2961**), after the erroneous tradition that it is the location of the monastic site discussed above in section 5.7. The site was offered for sale following the death of Henry Hall Sloper, and afterwards it became the home of the John Frampton the vicar of Tetbury. In 1949 the building was purchased by the County Council, and converted into an residential centre for the elderly (Herbert 1976, 265). The outbuildings of the manor house contain reused Medieval masonry, including a wall and garderobe turret, as well as a large (undated) barn known as Hicket Court Barn.

6.3 Ecclesiastical history

6.3.1 The church of St. Mary (**SMR 8261**)

St. Mary's church was severely damaged by a storm in 1662 and although a grant was obtained from the feoffees for its repair, it was again recorded as being in a decayed condition in 1729 (Herbert 1976, 280). Funds for renovation work were slowly accumulated through private and public subscription, and the church was rebuilt between 1777 and 1781. The Medieval tower and spire were retained but the rest of the structure was rebuilt in Gothic style to the designs of Frances Hiorn of Warwick (Herbert 1976, 280). The seven bay nave and side aisles are of equal height, while outside the aisles are low side passages which give access to the proprietary pews. Many of the contemporary interior fittings were retained, including the galleries and box pews, and a chancel screen was inserted in 1916. The Medieval tower and spire were rebuilt between 1890 and 1893 (Herbert 1976, 280).

The vicarage was valued at £60 in 1650, £200 in 1750 and £903 in 1856. The vicarage house (**SMR 18383**), which stands to the north of the church, incorporates what is thought to be part of a sixteenth century house into its service range. The house was remodelled in 1771 and again in 1839, and by the mid-nineteenth century it had become the home of one of the curates while the vicar lived at The Priory (Herbert 1976, 278).

6.3.2 The church of St. Saviour (**SMR 8262**)

The church of St. Saviour was built in 1848 on the western side of the town to designs by S.W. Daukes and Hamilton and contains an elaborate gothic reredos by Pugin. St. Saviour's was intended by its curate Charles Lowder to be a small church for the poor of the town, but it had become redundant by the 1970s and has been taken over by the Redundant Churches Fund (Verey 1979, 450).

6.3.3 Nonconformity

A group of Quakers was established in Tetbury during the 1650s. Despite persecution and imprisonment over the next twenty years, meetings were still held throughout the 1670s. A burial ground was established on a plot of land at the southern end of the town, along the Bristol road and in 1691 a meeting house was built at the site (**SMR 20598**). In 1735 the Tetbury meeting had 22 members, but later this number declined and was discontinued c.1780, with the meeting house being sold in 1811 (Herbert 1976, 280).

In 1672 Jonathan Smith licensed his house in Tetbury for Congregational meetings, while Presbyterians built a chapel south of the Chipping in 1705 (**SMR 20615**). Other houses were licensed for worship in 1710 and 1724 and there were 235 Presbyterians resident in Tetbury in 1735 (Herbert 1976, 281). Houses were registered in the names of Congregationalists in 1758 and Independents from 1765, but little is known about their chapel until 1851 when, styled Independent, it had a congregation of 130. A new Congregational chapel was built near the south-western corner of the Chipping in 1862 and had a congregation of over 200 in 1866 (**SMR 8264**; Herbert 1976, 280-281).

Baptists, who are known to have been meeting at Tetbury by 1725, numbered 38 in 1735 and had their own minister in 1751. In 1779 they built a chapel in Church Street which had a congregation of over 200 in 1851 (**SMR 8263**). A group of strict Baptists or Calvinists were established in the town by the 1860s and had built their own chapel on the Green by 1872 (**SMR 20617**; Herbert 1976, 281).



A group of Wesleyan Methodists built a chapel on the east side of Gumstool Hill in 1827, but by 1897 they had moved to a building at the southern end of Bath Bridge, which was used until a new hall was built on Long Street in 1909 (**SMR 20616**; Herbert 1976, 281). A group of the church of the Latter Day Saints, numbering about 43, met in Harper Street during the 1850s, and there was also a group calling themselves *Catholic but not Roman* meeting in Tetbury in rooms on the Bath Road. The Plymouth Brethren were established in the town by 1856 and built their own meeting room in Chipping Street in 1860 (Herbert 1976, 281).

6.3.4 Roman Catholicism

In 1935 a group of Roman Catholic Salesians opened a branch house, with a chapel, in Silver Street. The following year a separate parish for Tetbury was established, and in 1942 the former Baptist chapel at the Green was opened as St. Michael's Catholic Church (**SMR 20617**; Herbert 1976, 281).

6.4 Markets and fairs

The commercial success of the markets and fairs continued during the Post-medieval period and Lee, writing in the mid-nineteenth century, recorded that in 1714 as much as *£1000 exchanged hands in Tetbury every market day* (Lee 1857, 34). In 1617 the feoffees petitioned for the town to become a wool-staple, which would allow foreign merchants to trade at the markets (Hodgson 1976, 76). The Post-medieval market dealt mainly with wool and yarn, which became the basis of the town's economy and industries. In 1545 Tetbury was described as having one of the best wool- and yarn-markets in the county, and in 1622 it was said to be inferior to none in England (Herbert 1976, 271). The markets continued to flourish into the early eighteenth century, and during the 1730s the quantities of wool brought for sale strained the accommodations of the market house, but declined during the later part of the century, probably due to the growing practice of buying commodities direct from the producer. Cheese and bacon were also sold at the market in large quantities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and there were also lesser trades in leather, butter and livestock (Herbert 1976, 271-272). In 1656 the cheese market may have been separated from the general market, when produce was sold in a penthouse adjoining the Talbot Inn. By 1667 the Little Market House (**SMR 20618**) had been erected on Cirencester Street (Gumstool Hill), specifically for the sale of cheese and by the mid-eighteenth century the volume of trade in cheese (and bacon) was rivalling that of the wool market (Herbert 1976, 271). Shortly afterwards, however, the revenues from the cheese and bacon market began to decline, falling from a high of £54 in 1741 to £10 in 1801 (Herbert 1976, 271). During the eighteenth century the Little Market House fell in to disrepair, and was apparently demolished in 1816 (Herbert 1976, 271).

In 1810 a toll-free great market for cattle was established on the second Wednesday of every month, while the fairs dealt with horses, cattle and sheep throughout the eighteenth century. By 1775 an annual hiring fair, or mop, was also taking place in Tetbury, but by c.1904 it had become a pleasure fair. All the markets and fairs had lapsed by the mid-twentieth century, with only a small cattle market still being held in the 1970s (Herbert 1976, 273).

In 1640 the administration of the markets and fairs passed from the manor to the town's feoffees (see 6.1 above), who were active in encouraging traders to their markets, with their expenditures including *providing wine, beer and cheese to all yearne [yarn] makers and dairymen and others so that they should constantly attend our market* (Hodgson 1976, 76).

By the late sixteenth century the market had been moved to its present location at the junction of Union Street, Church Street and Long Street, although the fairs continued to be held in The Chipping. A reference of 1623 mentions a building named 'The Tolsey' which may have been the site of the new market house (**SMR 114**) which later served as the Town Hall. In 1656 the court ordered that all sales of wool were to be conducted in the market house, which was extended to provide additional storage space and to house the court. Further alterations were made to the building in 1817 (Herbert 1976, 273).

6.5 Trade and industry

6.5.1 Wool and cloth

The primary trades in Tetbury during the Post-medieval period were associated with the woollen industry. Smith's *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608* indicates that 44% of the male population was employed directly or indirectly in the industry, including 34 weavers, 13 tailors, 9 clothiers, 6 glovers, 5 mercers, a tucker, a hatter and a draper.



The success of the wool trade continued into the eighteenth century, but soon afterwards began to decline, with the manufacturing of finished cloth being hampered by an insufficient water supply (Rudder 1779, 729), leaving Tetbury to concentrate on the preparation and marketing of raw wool (Herbert 1976, 271). In 1779 there were 150 people employed in wool combing and stapling (Rudder 1779, 729), but by the early nineteenth century both the wool and cloth trade had completely disappeared (Herbert 1976, 272). Wool combing was mainly undertaken on the western side of the town, on London Road (formerly Combers Mead) and New Church Street (formerly Cockholds Knappside) (Hodgson 1976, 76-77). The last cloth producer in the town was the silk factory in Charlton Road, which was producing silk from 1875 until 1887 (**SMR 20619**; Herbert 1976, 272).

6.5.2 Brewing

During the later nineteenth century the only industry established in Tetbury on any scale was brewing. It developed from the malting industry which had been introduced to the town during the eighteenth century and which employed 4 malsters in 1792. The first brewery was established in the former wool warehouses at the entrance to Hampton Street (**SMR 18501**), and two malt-houses later extended their operations to brewing. Two of these breweries continued into the 1930s, while the third was incorporated into the Stroud Brewery Company in 1913 (Herbert 1976, 272).

Ale consumption was well established in Tetbury before the breweries opened, with 13 taverns recorded in 1594, and 6 innkeepers, a hosteler and a victualer fourteen years later (Smith 1608, 283). By 1755 there were 42 licensed victualers, with 22 public houses recorded in 1891 (Herbert 1976, 272). The locations of seven of the town's inns are known, and include the Three Cups (**SMR 18346**), the Coach and Horses (**SMR 18358**), the Royal Oak (**SMR 18372**) which was first recorded as an inn in 1781, the Crown (**SMR 18391**) which dates from 1693, the Ormond Head (**SMR 18512**), now known as the Gentle Gardener, and a house, once an inn on Church Street (**SMR 18361**).

6.5.3 Other trades

From 1608 there are numerous references to an extensive array of trades undertaken by the residents of the town. Most of the trades are similar to those found other small towns of this period, such as butchers, bakers, shoemakers, smiths and general retailers (Herbert 1976, 257-283; Smith 1608). More unusual occupations recorded among the citizens of Tetbury include barbers (seventeenth century), attorneys, surgeons and auctioneers (eighteenth century) and an umbrella maker, gunsmith and a piano tuner (nineteenth century) (Herbert 1976, 272).

6.6 Communications

Water's Bridge (**SMR 18322**) carried the road from Bristol and Bath into the southern part of the town until 1622 when it was superseded by Bath Bridge (**SMR 18323**), which now carries the A433 into Tetbury (Herbert 1976, 259).

The Great Western Swindon to Gloucester railway line was constructed in 1840s, and passed approximately 7 miles to the north east of Tetbury. The town was served from a station on the Cirencester Road (**SMR 18583**) until 1889 when a branch line from Kemble was opened, and a station built to the east of the town (**SMR 3935**). This line was closed in 1964 (Herbert 1976, 259).

Although Tetbury lay on two important routeways and contained a number of inns, no coach service was established in the town, and the inhabitants had to rely on the service between Bristol and Oxford which connected with a London coach route at Cirencester (Herbert 1976, 259).

7 The modern settlement

There has been little obtrusive twentieth century development within the historic core of Tetbury, apart from a few modern structures in the former grounds of the Close and the Ferns, behind the houses in Long Street. The town itself was not considerably enlarged until the mid-twentieth century when council estates were built to the north on the Minchinhampton Road and Lowfield Road during the 1940s. Private development continued in this area and new houses were also constructed on the grounds of the old manor house, along the old Cirencester Road, and to the south of the town across the Bath Bridge.

The majority of buildings in Tetbury date from the eighteenth century, although there are also a number of seventeenth century houses with many of the most impressive residences of the clothiers and principal inhabitants of the town standing



on Long Street. Architectural fragments of twelfth to sixteenth century date have been incorporated into Nos. 5, 13 and 15 The Chipping (SMR 18327), and include later fifteenth or sixteenth century moulded and stopped arches one of which is butted onto a twelfth or thirteenth century pointed arch. Houses with sixteenth century cores and attributes include No. 1 The Green (SMR 18500), No.8 Long Street (SMR 18526), The Porch House (SMR 18538) and The Old House (No.44 Long Street; SMR 18539).

8 Population

Date	Communicants	Households	Families	Nonconformists	Inhabitants	Source
1551	600				<i>c.900</i>	Percival
1563		176			<i>c.748</i>	Percival
1603	600				<i>c.900</i>	Percival
1650			500		<i>c.2125</i>	Survey of Church Livings
1676	191			9	<i>c.296</i>	Compton Census
1712		300			1200	Atkyns
1779					3500	Rudder
1801					2500	
1851					3325	
1901					1989	
1997					5213	

For a full explanation of this table, please see page 6 above.

9 Plan analysis (Maps 64-66)

9.1 Discussion

The Medieval settlement at Tetbury developed on a low hill bounded to the east by the River Avon, and to the south by one of its tributaries, and at the junction of the main Cirencester to Bristol road, with that between Malmesbury and Minchinhampton. The Cirencester-Bristol road was the most important route through the town during the Medieval period, running from north-east to south-west along Gumstool Hill, Church Street and Bath Road. The Minchinhampton-Malmesbury road ran west to east along Silver Street and Long Street.

It is possible that the curving course of Church Street and the market place may mark the line of a northwards extension of the enclosure which survives as earthworks to the south of the church. The existence of such an enclosure may explain the location of the Medieval market and manor house (**Areas 2 and 3**) at the northern end of the settlement. However, the presence of two wells on the northern edge of the town, along with the more gentle gradient of the hill in that area may have also played a significant role in the development of the settlement.

The Medieval church (**Area 1**) lies to the south of the junction of the two main roads, but the main focus of the Medieval settlement was the market (**Area 2**), which occupied the area known as the Chipping or Chipping Croft, to the north-west of which lay the manor house and grounds (**Area 3**). The borough, founded c.1200, was built up in the area between the church and the manor house, along the main roads through the settlement. The first burgage plots are believed to have been laid out along Cirencester Road – now known as Gumstool Hill (**Areas 4 and 5**) – although documents of the late thirteenth century suggest that there were at least 100 burgages in the town, and thus the settlement must have expanded along Long Street, Church Street and Silver Street (**Areas 6-9**) shortly after the borough was founded. Medieval settlement is also likely to have taken place in the area around the church, although it is unclear whether these properties formed part of the borough or whether they were peripheral to it (**Areas 11, 12 and 13**).

During the sixteenth century the focus of the town changed. The Oxford to Bristol road was diverted to follow the line of Combers Mead and New Church Street, to the west of the town, which would have eased congestion within the town centre and obviated the need to pass along the steep slopes of Gumstool Hill and Church Street. At the same time, the Malmesbury to Minchinhampton road was becoming increasingly important as the Stroud valleys began to specialise in the manufacture of woollen cloth. The relocation of the market to the open area at the junction of Long Street, Union Street/Gumstool Hill and Church Street (**Area 16**) is also likely to be connected



with the changing emphasis of the wool trade, as Tetbury was in an ideal location to provide raw wool directly to the manufacturing centres of the Stroud valleys. The block of land immediately to the south of the market place (**Areas 25 and 37**) may thus also be the result of market infill, illustrating the success of the venture once the venue was relocated. During the seventeenth century a livestock market was also held in the streets around the new market place. Sheep are recorded to have been penned in Church Street, while The Green (**Area 29**) – a triangular area at the junction of Silver Street and Church Lane – acted as an auxiliary market area where a pig and sheep sales were held during the nineteenth century.

Tetbury is thought to have achieved its present plan by the later sixteenth century, by which time Cirencester Street/Gumstool Hill had been built up from the centre of the town as far as the bottom of the hill; Long Street was built up as far west as its junction with Comber's Mead; Church Street had been built up over most of its length, and the houses on Silver Street extended as far as the Long Bridge.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries new building was constructed in the back plots of the properties along Gumstool Hill, and by the later seventeenth century cottages had been built fronting on to the Chipping (**Area 28**). Open areas within the town centre continued to be infilled, especially along Silver Street (**Area 20**). During the eighteenth century a pleasure garden was created within the area of the earthwork to the south of the church as part of a scheme to improve the town which also included the removal of street front encroachments, the rebuilding of St. Mary's church (**Area 15**) and the construction of a new vicarage and Bath Bridge. The later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the construction of workmen's cottages along Harper Street (**Areas 34, 35 and 36**), Hampton Street (**Areas 40 and 41**) and Comber's Mead (**Areas 43 and 44**) which was where many of the towns woolcombers worked. In 1781 Chipping Lane was widened to improve access to what was becoming a fashionable part of the town following the construction of The Priory on the manor house site.

Very little expansion of the town occurred during the nineteenth century other than the construction of St. Saviour's church (**Area 42**), and the town was not significantly changed until the twentieth century, which has been described in section 7, above.

9.2 Plan components

9.2.1 Medieval (Map 64)

1. The church of St. Mary and the surrounding churchyard
2. The Medieval market place
3. The site of the Medieval manor house and grounds
4. Probable group of burgage plots fronting on to the north-west side of Cirencester Street/Gumstool Hill
5. Probable group of burgage plots fronting on to the south-east side of Cirencester Street/Gumstool Hill
6. Probable group of burgage plots fronting on to the north side of Long Street
7. Probable group of burgage plots fronting on to the south side of Long Street
8. Possible group of burgage plots fronting on to the west side of Church Street
9. Probable group of burgage plots fronting on to the east side of Silver Street
10. Possible later Medieval infilling of an open area at the junction of the two main roads through the town
11. Houses at the entrance to Harper Street/West Street
12. Houses at the entrance to Harper Street/West Street
13. Possible group of tenements fronting on to the south side of The Green
14. Probable group of burgages fronting on to the west side of The Chipping



9.2.2 Post-medieval (Map 65)

15. The church of St. Mary and surrounding churchyard
16. The Post-medieval market place
17. Site of the manor house
18. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the north-west of Gumstool Hill
19. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south-east of Gumstool Hill
20. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the east of Silver Street
21. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south of The Green
22. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south of West Street
23. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the north of West Street
24. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the west of Church Street
25. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south of the Market Place and east of Church Street
26. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south-west of Long Street
27. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the north-east of Long Street
28. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the west of The Chipping
29. Area known as The Green
30. Area of Post-medieval development to the east of Gumstool Hill
31. Area of Post-medieval development to the north of Fox Hill
32. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Fox Hill
33. Area of Post-medieval development to the east of Bath Road
34. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Cotton's Lane
35. Area of Post-medieval development between Cotton's Lane and West Street
36. Area of Post-medieval development to the north of West Street
37. Area of Post-medieval development to the north of The Green
38. Area of infilling in The Chipping
39. Area of Post-medieval development to the north-east of The Chipping
40. Area of Post-medieval development at the junction of Hampton Street and London Road
41. Area of Post-medieval development at the junction of Hampton Street and New Church Street
42. The church of St. Saviour and surrounding churchyard



43. Area of Post-medieval development to the north of Charlton Road

44. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Charlton Road

10 Future research

Priorities for future work include:

1. The earthworks to the south of the church: their date, function and extent.
2. The early minster: its existence, date of foundation and location.
3. The Anglo-Saxon burh and associated settlement: its existence and location.
4. The church of St. Mary: the date of its foundation and its relationship to any earlier foundation on the site.
5. The Medieval borough: the date of its foundation, its extent and character.
6. The Medieval manor house: its location and the extent of its lands.
7. The Medieval and Post-medieval woollen industry: its effects on the architecture of the town.

11 Sources

11.1 Primary historical sources

Several Early Medieval charters relating to Tetbury have survived, although some are considered unreliable, as have a number of Medieval and Post-medieval documents including a survey of the borough undertaken in 1594. Despite the unreliability of the charter evidence the other documents have proved useful in the survey of the town, especially the 1594 survey which provides a description of the settlement in the very early Post-medieval period. It should be noted that these sources have not been consulted directly, and where they appear in the text they have been drawn from secondary, published, sources.

11.2 Secondary historical sources

A number of specific histories of Tetbury exist, the most useful of which are Lee (1857) and Hodgson (1976), and it has also been covered by the Victoria County History for Gloucestershire which provides a useful description of the history and development of the town. Various articles concerning the history and archaeology of the settlement which appear in journals such as TBGAS have also been consulted.

11.3 Archaeological sources

Very little archaeological research has been undertaken within the historic core of Tetbury. A watching brief in St. Mary's church provided evidence for the wall of the Medieval nave along with a number of tombs of a similar period, while work at Gumstool Hill has revealed evidence for the rear wall of a Medieval tenement. Other archaeological information referred to in sections 2-4 above has been mainly the result of chance finds.

11.4 Maps

The earliest historical map available for Tetbury is the Tithe Map of 1838, which provides a good representation of the town plan, with the street names and other features recorded. The first edition Ordnance Survey 25":1 mile map of 1880 shows essentially the same plan as the earlier map, with a small amount of development outside the historic core.



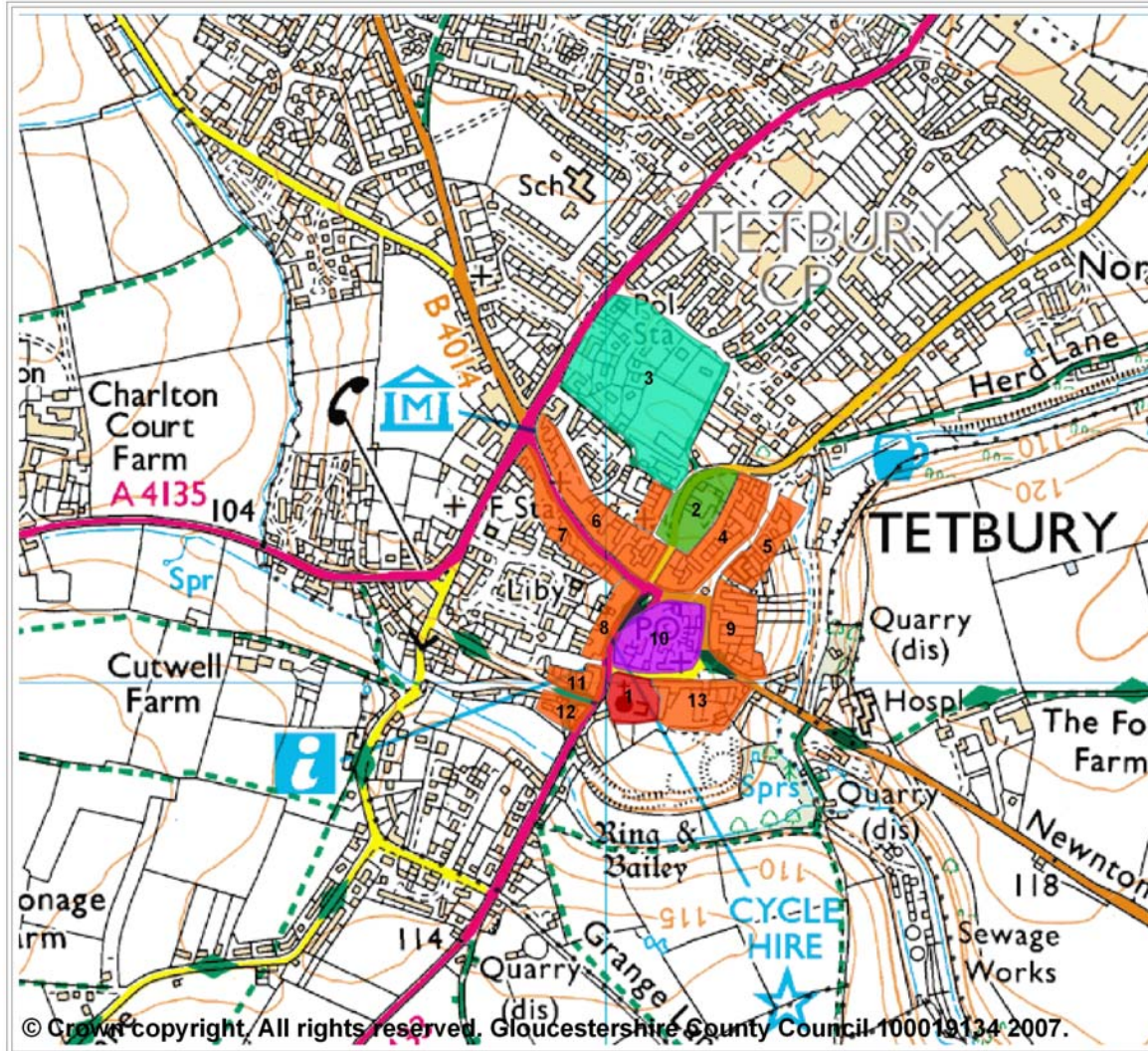
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12.2 Maps

- Tithe Map of Tetbury, 1838
- Ordnance Survey first edition 25":1 mile map, 1880



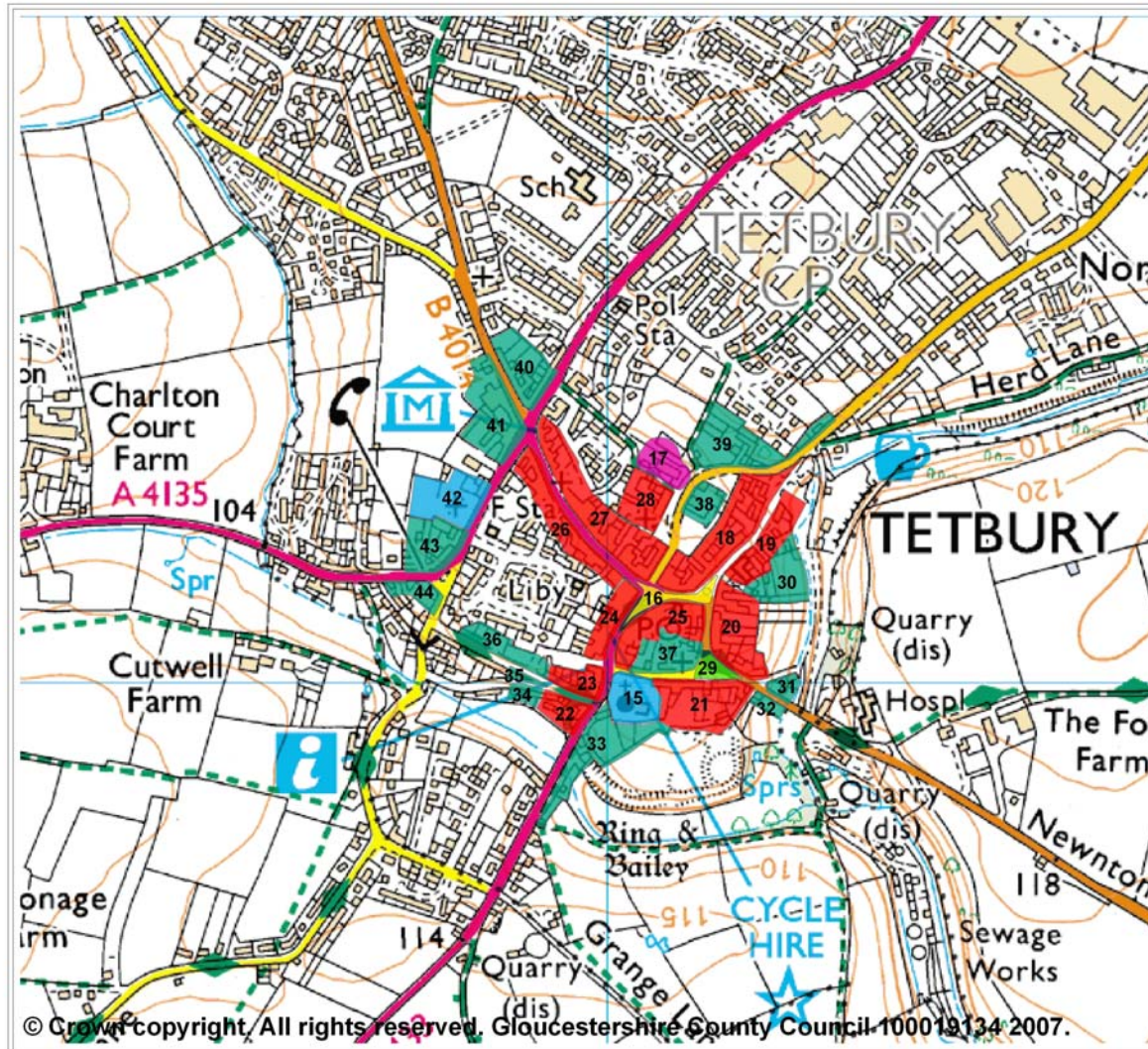
MAP 64
Tetbury
Medieval Plan Components

Legend

- Areas of settlement
- Church & churchyard
- Infill of cross roads
- Manor house & grounds
- Market place

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 SCALE: 1:8,052
 DATE: 11 October 2007
 DRAWING NO: MAP 64



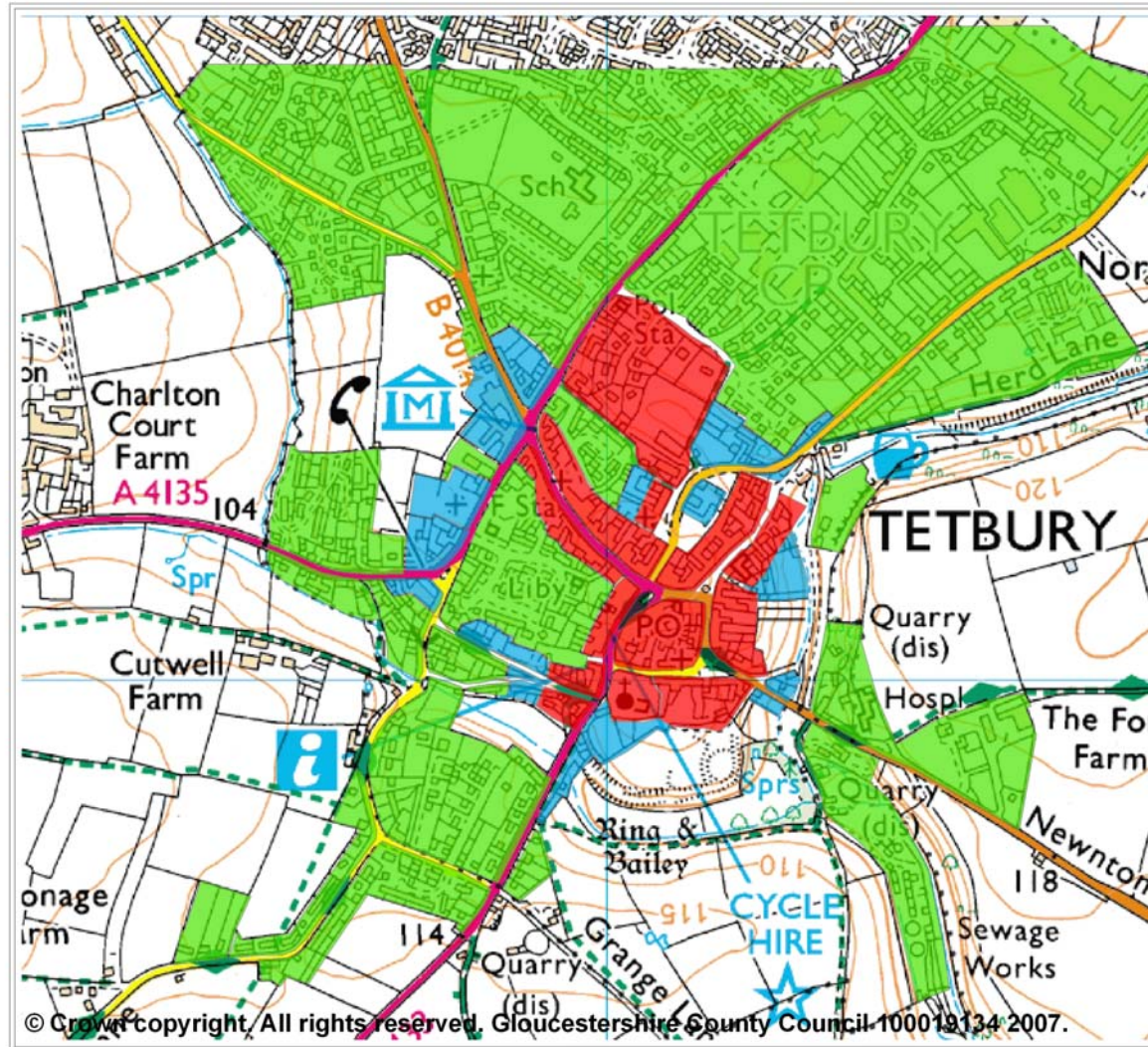
MAP 65
Tetbury
Post-Medieval
Plan Components

Legend

- Churches & churchyards
- Manor house
- Market place
- Areas of development
- Areas of settlement
- The Green

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MAP 66
Tetbury
Development By Period

Legend

- Medieval
- Modern
- Post Medieval

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