



Gloucestershire

COUNTY COUNCIL

Sites & Monuments Record

GLOUCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC TOWNS SURVEY

TEWKESBURY BOROUGH ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENTS

TEWKESBURY

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A note about the maps

The SMR maps in the original Historic Towns Survey (i.e Maps 10-14) are now out of date and have not been included within this revision although references to SMR numbers remain in the text.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 (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.

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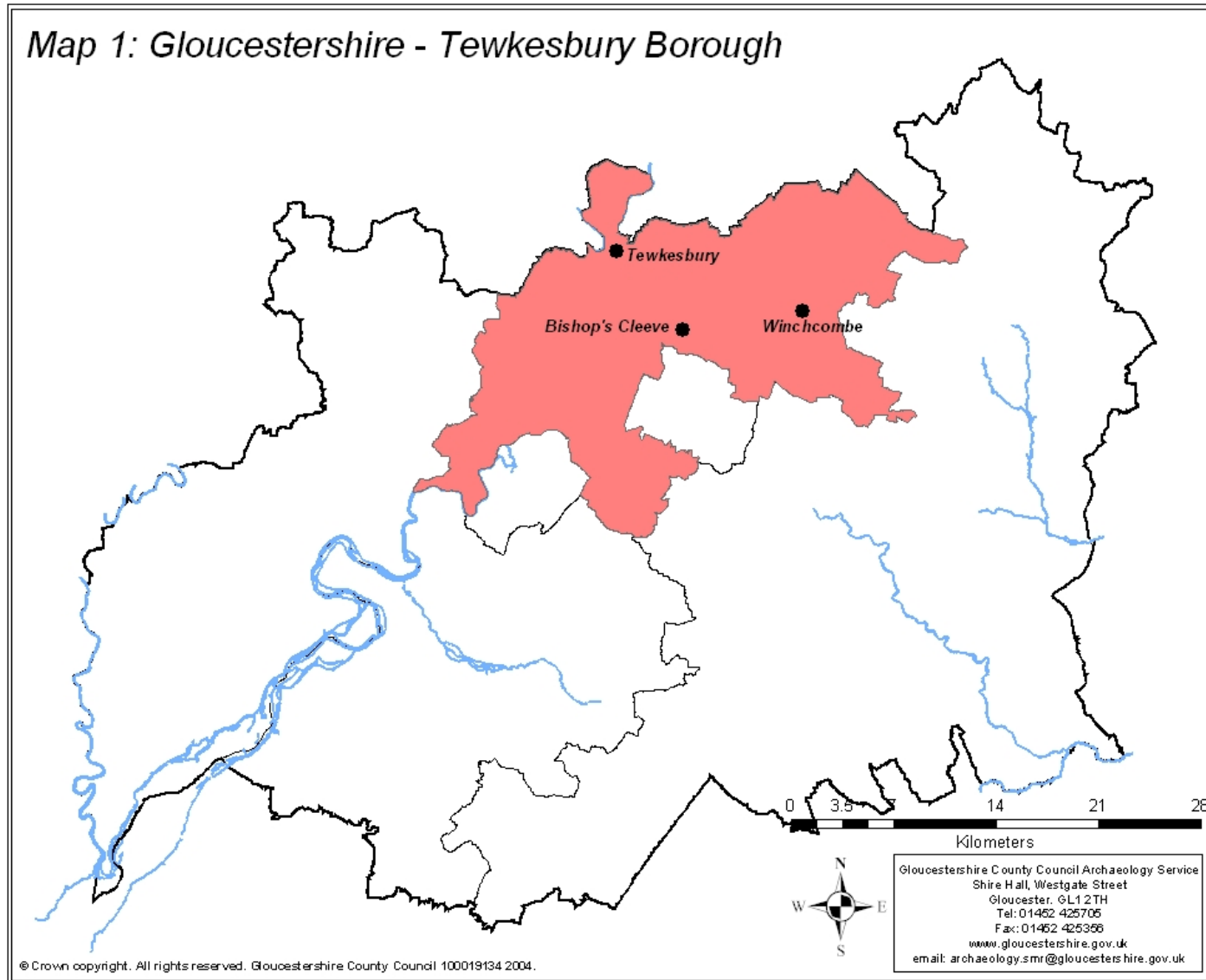
HISTORIC TOWNS IN TEWKESBURY BOROUGH (Map 1)

	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





TEWKESBURY

1 Introduction

Tewkesbury (SO 895335) lies in the north of the county of Gloucestershire, close to the confluence of the rivers Severn and Avon. The historic core of the town is situated on a long, narrow terrace of river gravels between the Mill Avon to the west and the River Swilgate to the east. To the north and south other gravel islands and outcrops of lias rise above the broad flood plain of the Avon and its tributaries. All early settlement was confined to these areas of gravel and lias and it is only recently that areas of the flood plain have been extensively developed. Severe flooding of the alluvial meadows around the town has been recorded from the fifteenth century; at such times the importance of the islands of higher ground as favoured locations of early settlement out of reach of flooding is emphasised. The highest part of the settlement is the area known as Oldbury, to the north-east of the present town centre, which rises to over 50m O.D., and which is thought likely to have been the centre of the earliest occupation of the area.

Tewkesbury developed on a north-south route along the east bank of the River Severn, at its junction with east-west routes converging on the important river crossing. There is widespread evidence for prehistoric activity in this area, and a Roman settlement of some size (but uncertain status) also developed close to the river crossing. The Medieval settlement focused on a Benedictine abbey and had acquired borough status by 1086; it developed as an important market and manufacturing centre throughout the Medieval and Post-medieval periods.

2 The Prehistoric period (Map 10)

2.1 Early prehistoric

Early prehistoric material has been found over much of the area of the modern town of Tewkesbury, indicating that there was significant human activity on the terrace of river gravels from the Mesolithic period onwards. Finds include Mesolithic and Neolithic flint and stone tools, and Neolithic pottery (see section 2.4 below).

2.2 Bronze Age

Finds of this period continue to suggest significant activity, possibly settlement, in the area of Oldbury and the later town. Finds include a Bronze palstave found near the Abbey church (SMR 7431), a bronze spearhead (SMR 7434) and the crouched burial of a young female dug into the Neolithic pits on the Sabrina Cinema site (SMR 7724; Hannan 1993, 31).

More recent excavations to the south of the town in connection with the construction of the eastern relief road and housing development have identified widespread evidence of Bronze Age activity. A Bronze Age boundary ditch and evidence for bronze casting has been found at SO 90333234 (SMR 14817) to the south of the modern town, while at The Gastons adjacent to the A38 at SO 89163162 (SMR 17229) evaluation has provided further evidence of boundaries and possible structures (Thomas 1997, 14; Thomas and Walker 1998, 6).

2.3 Iron Age

One silver coin of the Dobunni, the Iron Age tribe which inhabited the Gloucestershire area, has been found within the area of the modern town (SMR 5516; Miles and Fowler 1973, 9). Hannan's excavations at the Sabrina Cinema site in the early 1970s also revealed evidence for Iron Age activity in the Oldbury area (SMR 7724; Hannan 1993, 33) and some Iron Age pottery has been found in Red Lane (SMR 9361). Possible evidence for iron Age activity was also found during Hannan's excavations at Holm Hill in 1974-5, which took the form of several ditched features, all of which had V-shaped profiles, along with pottery of early Iron Age type (SMR 4235; Hannan 1997, 113). There is as yet no evidence of Iron Age settlement similar to that which is found extensively along the gravel terraces of the River Avon and its tributaries a short distance to the north.



2.4 Gazetteer of sites

SMR No.	Description	NGR
4235	Holm Hill excavation: evidence for possible Iron Age activity	SO 88753205
5511	A Mesolithic stone tool, found in Chance Street	SO 896328
5512	Prehistoric stone axe find	SO 890320
5513	Tewkesbury Docks – Iron Age pottery	SO 892331
5514	Iron Age bronze jug found in <i>Tewkesbury</i>	SO 890330
5515	Urn of very early date found in 1873	SO 89123254
5516	Iron Age silver coin, possibly Dobunnic, found 1858	SO 890320
7431	Bronze palstave found near the abbey church	SO 890320
7434	Bronze socketed spearhead, found 1938	SO 980320
7724	Sabrina cinema site: Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age finds	SO 89463307
8858	Lex supermarket site – Neolithic finds	SO 89403302
9361	Early Iron Age pottery found in Red Lane	SO 89323305
9367	Mesolithic stone tool, found 1987	SO 89523290
9634	Prehistoric bronze spearhead, found in Margaret Road in 1938	SO 895321
11316	Group of arrowheads and other material found on the playing fields	SO 88903215
14817	Evidence for bronze casting	SO 90333234
17229	Possible boundary features and structures	SO 89163162

3 The Roman period

3.1 Discussion

Tewkesbury lies on, or close to, a Roman route along the east bank of the River Severn, between the Roman settlements of Worcester to the north and Gloucester (*Glevum*) to the south. Archaeological evidence suggests that a settlement was located at this important route centre and river crossing during the Roman period and an attempt has been made to link this settlement at Tewkesbury with the *Argistillum* of the Ravenna Cosmography, although any such connection is purely speculative (Rawes 1972, 9).

Nineteenth century investigations in the Oldbury area produced evidence of stone foundations, a corn-drying oven, many coins, much pottery and a possible “ritual shaft” of the late first/early second century (Miles and Fowler 1973, 9). More recent work in the town has also revealed much evidence of Roman activity throughout the area of the modern settlement, with a concentration of finds to the north of Barton Street, in the Oldbury area, and around the Abbey church - i.e. on areas of gravel less liable to flooding. Finds mainly take the form of pottery and coins (dating from the first to fourth centuries A.D.) with occasional pieces of glassware (SMR 8099) and decorative metalwork (SMR 8105). The position of the cemetery at SO 891321 (SMR 5518), which included six burials, at least three of which were in limestone coffins and one in a wooden coffin, may also indicate the line of the approach road into the settlement.

Evidence for structures of the Roman period was discovered during Hannan’s excavations on the Sabrina Cinema site in the early 1970s (SMR 7724). These included the remains of a timber building of first to mid-second century A.D. date; finds of *opus signinum* and painted wall plaster suggest that there were more significant structures in the immediate area during the later second century and it is possible that there may have been a stone structure in the area during the later third century (Hannan 1993, 33-36).

Evidence for Roman activity has also been found to the south-east of the modern town (SMR 14814 and 14818) during excavations in advance of the eastern relief road. The features discovered are thought to have been associated with stock rearing, and the sites were occupied during the second and third centuries, although a small amount of first and fourth century material was also recovered (Thomas and Walker 1998, 36).

The full extent of Roman occupation in the Tewkesbury area is uncertain. The northernmost evidence for Roman activity available to date comes from the north end of Oldbury Road, while the southernmost is the cemetery to the north-east of Holm Hill, although it is unlikely that these sites represent the extremities of a continuous settlement. Excavations and



casual finds point to the main area of settlement lying between the Cross and the north end of Oldbury Road along a roughly linear zone. To the west, the inhabited area may have extended to the edge of the flood plain, marked by the backs of the properties fronting on to the west side of the High Street, and to the east, perhaps as far as Chance Street, making a total area of 10-12 hectares. In addition the evidence from excavations to the south-east of the town, in advance of the eastern relief road and housing developments, indicates extensive field systems on the low-lying land in the vicinity. It is, however, unlikely that the settlement achieved urban status during the Roman period, but rather that it was a large rural settlement with several major buildings for the administration of the area (Hannan 1997, 84).



3.2 Gazetteer of sites

SMR No.	Description	NGR
5518	Holm Hill Roman cemetery	SO 891321
5521	Romano-British iron spearhead	SO 887330
7428	Roman coins	SO 890320
7724	Sabrina cinema site: Roman pottery and coins	SO 89463307
7732	Tewkesbury Docks: Roman pottery and coins, found C19	SO 892331
7733	Coins of Vespasian and Magnentius, <i>from Tewkesbury</i>	SO 890320
7734	Roman coin from Oldbury Field	SO 894328
8042	Roman finds from Tewkesbury Church of England school	SO 896328
8043	Roman pottery from the High Street	SO 89303273
8044	Roman pottery from electricity trench	SO 89263271
8057	Roman pottery from 27-29 High Street	SO 89313289
8058	Roman urn, found at the gasworks in 1832	SO 89603322
8060	Roman vase found in Tolsey Lane before 1902	SO 89243274
8061	Roman coin from Cotswold Gardens	SO 89723303
8092	Roman pottery and coins from Holy Trinity church	SO 89453288
8093	Two Roman burial urns and associated coins from Railway Station House	SO 89373299
8094	C2-C4 pottery from the site of the swimming pool	SO 89523290
8095	Roman coins from Abbey House	SO 889323
8099	Roman glass vessel from Gloucester Road, found before 1902	SO 888322
8103	Roman coins of C1 and C3-C4 date	SO 890320
8104	Roman pottery and brooch	SO 890320
8105	Roman coins found <i>in the Oldbury area</i>	SO 890320
8111	Roman pottery from Severn Ham	SO 880320
8112	Roman pottery	SO 890320
8853	Roman pottery	SO 892327
8859	Roman pottery from the Lex supermarket site	SO 89403302
8865	Roman pottery from Back of Avon	SO 892329
9362	Roman ditches	SO 89553320
9363	Roman pottery from Eagle's Alley	SO 89413293
9365	Roman coins reported 1987	SO 89493276
9366	Roman pottery	SO 89253286
9632	Two sherds of Severn Valley ware from the Bowling Green site	SO 88923246
9635	Roman coin from the Police Station garden, 1905	SO 89523324
9636	Roman vase from Trinity Walk, c.1905	SO 89513284
9638	Roman coin from Mythe Road, 1953	SO 890330
9881	Gasworks site: Roman settlement evidence	SO 896332
11022	Roman brooch from Bredon Road garden	SO 895333
11023	Roman coin from Barton Street	SO 894327
12602	Romano-British pottery from Holm Hospital	SO 88893209
12618	Evidence for Roman occupation from Oldbury Road	SO 89513300
13959	Roman pottery found during the excavations in Tewkesbury Abbey meadows	SO 88883228
14814	Roman settlement evidence of C2-C3 date	SO 90002165
14818	Roman settlement evidence of C2-C3 date	SO 901316
15457	Roman ditches and pottery from Tewkesbury Church of England school	SO 896328
17424	Roman "ritual shaft", Oldbury Street	SO 8957133222
19888	Romano-British features, storage jar and animal bone from Oldbury Road	SO 89553320



4 The Early Medieval period

4.1 Charter evidence

Jones and Grenville (1987, 11-12) have proposed that four Saxon charters which relate to a place called *Tweoneaum* refer to the site of Tewkesbury and a possible early minster there. The first is dated A.D. 740 and is a grant of thirteen hides of land at *Tweoneaum* by Aefrid to his daughter Aethelburg, together with the minster there. The second dates to 774 and is a reminder to Aethelburg that *Tweoneaum* minster would, on her death, pass to the bishop of Worcester. It appears that Aethelburg died between 781 and 796, as there is a third charter referring to *Tweoneaum* which shows that it had come into the bishop's hands. Finally, in 814 Deneberht, bishop of Worcester, exchanged *Tweoneaum* and its thirteen hides of land with king Coenwulf of Mercia thereby making the land part of a secular estate. Grundy (1935, 253), however, considers that the charter of 814, and probably the other three, relate to land at Twyning, further to the north, rather than to Tewkesbury.

4.2 Tewkesbury abbey (SMR 567, 5500)

According to the Chronicle of Tewkesbury, written by a monk at the abbey in the late fifteenth century, the first monastery at Tewkesbury was founded by Oddo and Dodo, two Saxon lords under the rule of the Mercian kings in A.D.715. Although modern research has shown that Oddo lived at least 300 years after Dodo and therefore that the details of this document cannot be accurate, it is probable that a church was built in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Tewkesbury in the Early Medieval period, which was endowed with property in Stanway and other lands (Graham 1972, 61). The monastery is likely to have been inhabited by only four or five monks at first, and over the next 200 or so years it is believed to have suffered during the civil and Danish wars (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 11). It is recorded that in c.800, Brictric, king of Wessex was buried in the church, and that in 812 an otherwise unknown Mercian lord named High was also interred there. In 980, Aylward Meaw founded and endowed a strict Benedictine monastery at Cranbourne in Dorset of which he made the priory of Tewkesbury a cell (Graham 1972, 61).

4.3 Archaeological evidence

Excavations by Hannan in 1974-1975 on Holm Hill to the south-west of the town (SO 88753205) revealed evidence for what he believed to be an Early Medieval hall, possibly the *aula* recorded in the Domesday Book entry for Tewkesbury (SMR 4236). Evidence for this hall was in the form of post-pits, although no dating material was found associated with them (Hannan 1976, 10-11).

Other archaeological evidence for the Anglo-Saxon period includes a possible Dark Age burial from Holm Hill (SO 891321; SMR 9360), and several Saxon ditches reported in the area of SO 89393297 (SMR 9364, 9368 and 9369).

4.4 Discussion

Comparatively little is known of Tewkesbury between c.A.D. 400-1000, although it is likely settlement would have continued at the crossing point over the Avon, in a central part of the territory of the Hwicce. Documentary and archaeological evidence suggest two foci of activity: a monastery or minster, possibly on the site of the post-Conquest abbey, and a timber hall at Holm Hill. Further settlement may have developed around the monastic house, on the site of the Medieval town.

The name Oldbury, which is attached to the north-eastern area of the town, first appears in a document of 1291 as *Aldebur* meaning "the old fort" or "old manor house". It has been suggested that the name is derived from an Anglo-Saxon reference to a settlement (or the site of a settlement) already seen as old or abandoned by that date in the Oldbury area. Whether earthworks or other remains were visible in the Oldbury area when the name was coined, or whether it was merely due to tradition or superstition is uncertain. The Oldbury area does, however, at present broadly define the concentration of Roman finds from Tewkesbury town centre.



4.5 Gazetteer of sites

SMR No.	Description	NGR
567	Site of St. Mary's Abbey	SO 891324
4236	Holm Hill, site of possible Saxon hall	SO 88753205
5500	St. Mary's Abbey church	SO 89103242
7724	Sabrina cinema site: Early Medieval finds	SO 89463307
9360	Possible Dark Age burial found at Holm Hill cemetery, 1987	SO 891321
9364	Anglo-Saxon ditch	SO 89463305
9368	Anglo-Saxon ditch	SO 89393297
9369	Anglo-Saxon ditch	SO 89383303

5 The Medieval period

About the beginning of the fifteenth century, Tewkesbury is supposed to have made considerable progress in population and importance, but the records of those times afford us little information respecting the conditions of people, in places of this description, either as to their numbers, the state of their trade, or their advancement in civilisation (James Bennett, quoted in Miles and Fowler 1973, 5).

5.1 Domesday Book

Domesday Book describes a flourishing settlement at Tewkesbury with a wealthy monastic foundation, a market, a fishery, two mills and a salt-house in Droitwich. By 1086 it already had the status of a borough as 13 burgesses are also recorded. The manor was valued at £100 TRE, at £12 immediately after the Conquest because it was destroyed and dismembered, and at £40 in 1086. The lord of the manor was, however, paying £50.

5.2 The placename

The first documentary reference to the name Tewkesbury is in the Domesday Book of 1086 where it is written as *Teodekesbrie*, which has been translated as "Teodec's fortified place" (i.e. burh) by Smith (1964, 61) and more dubiously as a reference to the apocryphal hermit Theocus by Camden and Leland. According to Smith, the modern pronunciation of Tewkesbury is abnormal, the Old English *Theoks-* should have become *Tekes-* in modern English, whereas it has become *Tewkes-*. This development appears to have been based on *Teuks-* which Smith suggests may have arisen from *Teoduces-*, with the loss of the medial -d (Smith 1964, 61-62).

Jones and Grenville (1987, 14-15) consider that the name may have been derived from *Tweoneaum*, meaning "between the rivers" - a reference to the town's geographical location - which developed into "twixt-church-bury" or "tween-church-bury", based on a mid-twelfth century spelling of Tewkesbury as *Teechesbiria*.

5.3 The status of the settlement

Tewkesbury appears to have achieved borough status before 1086, as thirteen burgesses are recorded in the Domesday Book entry, and by 1327 the thirteen had increased to 114. The customs of the borough were derived from the privileges granted to the burgesses of Tewkesbury in the twelfth century by Earls William and Robert. These privileges were further confirmed by Gilbert de Clare's charter of 1314, which was itself confirmed by a royal charter of 1337. The Customs dealt with tenure, trading and the courts, and established burgages as heritable and alienable freeholds, quit of relief and heriot; they gave freedom from tolls and the right to exclude outsiders from the burgess community, as well as making burgesses subject to their own borough court instead of to that of the hundred (Herbert 1969, 147).

The relatively frequent visits of royalty to the town in the thirteenth century are thought to have helped to boost the importance and prosperity of the settlement. In 1204 King John spent Christmas at Tewkesbury; in 1236 Henry III and Llewelyn ap Iorweth made a truce at the town; and in 1278 Alexander III of Scotland offered homage to Edward I while he was at Tewkesbury (Herbert 1969, 110). Later, in 1378, parliament was held at Gloucester, and Richard II is recorded as spending some time at Tewkesbury (Herbert 1969, 117).

5.4 Holm Castle (SMR 386, 8089)

Ther was at the south west ende of the Abbay a Castel caullid Holme. The tyme of the Building of it is oncerteyne. It is certeyne that the Clares Erles of Gloucester, and especially the redde Erle, lay much at Holme. Ther has beene



yn tyme of mynd sum Partes of the Castel standing. Now sum Ruines of the Botoms of Waulles appere. Now it is caullid Holme Hylle (Leland 1546).

There is some confusion and controversy over the site of the castle referred to by Leland. Bennett and North, two nineteenth century local historians, place it in the Vineyards (SO 9343217) to the south of the town, while Leland in 1546 describes its location thus: *A little above the bridge the Avon brekith into two armes.....the other [i.e. left] arme cummithe down by the side of the towne and abbaye, leaving it to the este, and so passing ther harde by Holme Castelle goeth into Severne....*, thereby placing the castle on Holm Hill. A stone erected in the second half of this century at SO 89163208, to the east of the A38 (**SMR 386**) is also said to mark the site of Holm Castle, and bears an inscription stating that the castle was burnt down in 1140, afterwards rebuilt, and finally destroyed in the early fourteenth century. Excavations by Hannan on Holm Hill (described below) in the 1970s have produced evidence of stone structures on the site, which may indicate the site of the medieval manor house of the Earls of Gloucester, and which could be the 'castle' referred to be Leland.

Excavations on Holm Hill (SO 88753205; **SMR 8089**) in 1974-1975 revealed evidence of a medieval structures which appear to have been occupied from the later twelfth century until the fifteenth century. Two phases of building were revealed, the first being a stone-built aisled hall which was replaced by a large stone building, with foundations of proportions which suggest that it had an upper floor (Hannan 1997, 212-213). Hannan has also suggested that the first floor hall may have been built when Tewkesbury became the *caput* (or administrative centre) of the estate of the earls of Gloucester. Foundations of a group of structures, which may have been associated with the halls, have also been found. These may include the remains of a dovecote, gatehouse and guest apartments which are referred to in documents of the period (Hannan 1997, 216). No evidence of significant defensive outworks to the buildings was recovered (Hannan 1997, 216).

Documentary evidence relating to the manor house, wherever it stood, is also available from the Pipe Rolls and Inquisitions Post Mortem of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1201 chimneys and windows were installed and the park was enclosed; c.1211 major rebuilding work was undertaken on the instructions of king John which included a new kitchen, dovecote and a general re-roofing. In 1241 repairs were undertaken to the greater and lesser chapels (Aldred 1975, 10).

Miles and Fowler (1973, 3) have suggested that the twelfth century manor house, destroyed by Waleran of Worcester in 1140, may have stood in the angle of Chance Street and Barton Street (**SMR 20483**), after which the earls removed their residence to the Holm Hill site. Little evidence is available at present to support this theory, although this may have been the site of the barton (barn) of the earls of Gloucester which is also thought to have stood on the eastern side of the settlement.

5.5 The abbey of Tewkesbury (SMR 567, 5500)

At the Norman Conquest, the patronage of the foundations at Cranbourne and Tewkesbury passed to the king, who granted them, along with the manor of Tewkesbury, to Robert FitzHamon c.1087. In 1102 FitzHamon refounded the abbey as a Benedictine monastery, leaving only a prior and two monks at Cranbourne, which he made a dependent cell of his new foundation. In 1105, 57 monks were installed at Tewkesbury under Abbot Gerald, who divided the possessions of the house and endowed the offices of cellarer, chamberlaine, sacrist, precentor and almoner (Graham 1972, 62). FitzHamon did not live to see his foundation finished or consecrated, in 1121.

The number of the monks serving at the abbey remained relatively constant throughout the Medieval period. In 1347 there were 37, in 1494 33 and in 1534, just before the dissolution, there were 58. The presence of the abbey was a stimulus to the development of the town as it brought a great demand for goods and services. Records dated *anno 9 Richard II* (1385/86) show the demand for provisions made by the abbey. In one year the monks consumed 73 bullocks, 3 cows, 18 calves, 216 sheep, 135 hogs, 29 porkers and 60 suckling pigs, plus 96 geese, 24 ducks, 61 capons, 225 fowls, 1,675 pigeons, 2.5 tons of cheese, 210 gallons of milk and 70,180 eggs, plus an immense quantity of fish (Jones 1987, 23).

Pilgrimages would have provided substantial income to both the abbey and the town, even though Tewkesbury abbey church was not associated with a particular saint. The abbey held a number of religious relics and the annual 'Feast of the Holy Relics' was held on 2 July for much of the Medieval period. A number of miracles connected with these relics are said to have occurred at the church in 1232 and 1250 (Graham 1972, 62); these may simply have been an attempt to encourage visitors to the abbey church.



Tewkesbury was among the wealthiest monasteries in England, recorded in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1537 as having an annual income of £1595 15s 6d, and the cure of 48 parish churches, some of which were as far distant as Devon and Cornwall (Jones 1987, 55-56). It should be noted at this point that only twenty-four of the 553 monasteries listed in the *Valor* had an annual income of over £1000.

Tewkesbury abbey was one of the last monastic houses to be surrendered to the king at the Dissolution, on 9 January 1539 (Dowdeswell 1902, 92), following which a particular of which houses and buildings should be preserved and which should be demolished was drawn up by the commissioners. Those to be preserved included: *The lodging called Newark, leading from the gate to the late abbot's lodging, with the buttery, pantry, cellar, kitchen, larder, and pastry thereto adjoining; the late abbot's lodging; the hostery; the great gate entering the court, with the lodging over the same; the abbot's stable, bake-house, brew-house and slaughter-house; the almonry, barn, dairy house; the great barn next Avon; the malt-house with the garners in the same; the ox-house in the barton gate, and the lodging over the same.* The buildings deemed superfluous and fit to be destroyed were *The church with the chapels, cloister, chapter house, the two dormitories; the infirmary, with chapels and lodgings within the same; the convent kitchen; the library; the misericord; the old hostery; the chambers, lodgings; the new hall; the old parlour adjoining the abbot's lodging; the cellarer's or butler's lodging; the poultry house; the garner; the almonry, and all other houses and lodgings not before reserved* (Dyde 1790, 60-61). However, at the time of the reformation there was no clearly defined parochial church and a memorandum was written to the chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, saying that the body of the church *heretofore was the only parish church to the parishioners of the town of Tewkesbury....that both manifestly appear to us, as well by the examination of the last abbot there, as by the oaths of divers substantial and honest persons.* The town was therefore allowed to purchase the abbey church including the steeple, bells, clock, chimes and the churchyard from the crown for their own use for the sum of £483 (Dyde 1790, 63; Jones and Grenville 1987, 15).

The only modern archaeological excavation of the abbey site in Abbey Meadow in 1992 (**SMR 13959**) produced evidence of at least four phases of stone buildings dating from the twelfth century through to the dissolution. To the south-west of the abbey church were a series of insubstantial wall footings built on an artificially raised area about 1.5m above ground level, possibly an attempt to raise the buildings above the flood level. They are thought to be the remains of a group of out-buildings, associated with a stone-lined tank, a ditch and thick residues of burnt material indicating that some industrial activity was being carried out in the area. Immediately to the south of the abbey church were a series of more substantial wall footings, associated with beaten earth floors and hearths, possibly the kitchen area. Other features included part of a wall which may have defined the eastern extent of the abbey precinct and a roadway leading towards the River Swilgate. Much medieval pottery and animal bone was found along with metalwork and decorated floor tiles (Hoyle 1992, 30-31).

5.6 Tewkesbury minster

It has been suggested that the inhabitants of Tewkesbury originally had their own parish church, distinct from the abbey church, which was abandoned during the fifteenth century in favour of the convenience offered by the proximity of the abbey to the town centre. Documentary sources appear to support the suggestion, as in 1367 a disagreement arose between the abbot and the townspeople concerning a payment required by the abbot for the reconciliation of their church *lately defiled by shedding of blood*. It is also recorded that the townsfolk physically threatened the abbot and his monks *so that they dare not to go outside the abbey gates to serve the said church*. From the early fifteenth century, the wills of the inhabitants of Tewkesbury also begin to specify wishes to be buried in the churchyard of the monastery or in the cemetery of the Blessed Mary of Tewkesbury, whereas previously they had referred only to the churchyard of the parish church (Jones and Grenville 1987, 15).

The nineteenth century historian, James Bennett, suggested that the people of Tewkesbury started using the abbey nave for parochial services when their original parish church became so ruinous as no longer to be suitable for public worship. Jones and Grenville (1987, 16), however, have proposed that the townspeople ceased to use their own church in favour of the convenience of the abbey church.

No physical evidence has yet been discovered to support the suggestion that there were two churches serving the town, or that one of them was abandoned during the Medieval period. According to Heighway (1987, 167), any evidence for a minster at Tewkesbury is wholly unreliable as the theory is based on the evidence of a sixteenth century manuscript which mentions a seventh century foundation at Tewkesbury. The account is garbled and places known eleventh century figures into an eighth century context, which indicates that it cannot be taken as a reliable source.



5.7 Markets and fairs

The earliest reference to a market in Tewkesbury is in Domesday Book, indicating that it must have been granted before 1086 and may well have been in existence before the Norman Conquest, Queen Matilda's grant serving only to formalise its existence. Domesday Book also records 16 *bordars*, and modern research now suggests that they may have been partly involved in crafts and services, fulfilling tasks which would have stimulated trade and industry. The *bordars* of Tewkesbury may have been involved in manufacturing and trade, thereby stimulating the development of the market in the town (Hannan 1997, 223).

The manor of Tewkesbury had a fair in 1199, and in 1324 High le Despenser, lord of the manor, was granted an annual ten-day fair to be held in the town and commencing on the 19 June. This was, in turn, replaced by two eight-day fairs in 1441, the first held over the feast of St. Matthias (February 24), the second held on the feast of St. Bartholomew (August 24). Charters of the early twelfth century provide specific information about the goods traded, with agricultural produce such as grain, pigs and sheep, along with iron and linen being given specific mention. The market played an important role on the local economy, and Tewkesbury's trade was so extensive by 1337 that the inhabitants were exempted from paying tolls for the carriage of goods anywhere in the kingdom (Jones 1987, 21).

The centre of the market appears to have been at the southern end of the High Street at the meeting point of the three main roads (Church Street, Barton Street and High Street) at The Cross. Over time, as the market became increasingly successful, it spread out along the High Street, towards the river crossing, and along the western part of Barton Street. Gradually, more permanent structures began to be erected in the area and encroachments took place, reducing the original area of the market place. In 1540 the survey taken after the dissolution of the monastery describes a tenement as lying *within the market place* (Jones 1987, 22).

5.8 Trade and industry

5.8.1 Mills

Domesday Book records two mills belonging to the manor of Tewkesbury, which are thought to be the same as the two town mills recorded in a thirteenth century document. It is thought that a further two mills were granted to Tewkesbury abbey at its refoundation, which are thought to correspond with the two mills owned by the abbot in 1291. In 1535 the profits from these same two water-driven corn mills *near the end of the town* were given to the cellarer of the abbey (Herbert 1969, 139). It is thought that Abel Fletcher's mill (SO 88913254) stands on the site of two of the monastic mills, although no archaeological investigation has yet been undertaken to confirm this theory (SMR 4478; Herbert 1969, 139). The location of the two Medieval town mills is not known.

In the *Taxatio Ecclesiasticus* of 1291, the abbot of Tewkesbury is recorded as receiving rent from a windmill in the town, which is thought to be a precursor of the windmill held with the abbey's watermills in the sixteenth century and later (Herbert 1969, 139). In 1433 the field name of Windmill Hill was recorded to the south of the town, on Holm Hill, and this may mark its site (Aldred 1975, 10).

5.8.2 Fisheries

A fishery is recorded amongst the abbey's possessions listed in Domesday Book, and their records show that it was still being farmed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1205 it produced salmon and lampreys for the Crown, and at the same period, large numbers of bream were being kept in fishponds in Tewkesbury town itself. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a number of fishermen are recorded in the subsidy rolls for the town and in 1292 a stone weir in the Severn belonging to the abbot had to be destroyed because it was obstructing shipping (Herbert 1969, 112).

The abbey fishponds which lay to the south of the town (SO 89353215; SMR 7426) were fed from the Swilgate by a leat, little evidence for which now survives. To ensure a constant supply of water the Swilgate was held up by a weir about 150 yards above the bridge. A kitchener's account of the fourteenth century lists items under *costs of the wear*, which consist of iron work, carpenters work, labour in mending the walls, wages and gratuities to the servants of the weir and costs for the purchase of fish for stocking (Blythe 1961, 106-108).



5.8.3 Other trades

The Subsidy Roll of 1327 provides information on the occupations of many of the inhabitants of Tewkesbury. Trade names include those of tanner, dyer, tailor, barber, lorimer, goldsmith, butler, cook, farmer, spicer and glasswright (Bigland 1791, 1293). The sheer number of dyers and tailors indicates that the cloth trade was flourishing in the town at this time. Sailors or mariners are also likely to have been living in the town, as the navigable stretches of the Severn would have provided occupations for numerous people. There are references to cargoes of timber being brought down the Severn through Tewkesbury in the thirteenth century, and in 1407 Thomas Bridges of Tewkesbury is said to have had seven trees lying at the quay there. From the thirteenth century onwards, however, the most important cargo along the Severn was grain, and in 1398 Tewkesbury was one of the main suppliers of corn to Bristol. The importance of the grain from the town is illustrated in a charter of Bordesly abbey, dated 1180, which refers to a standard measure of grain as a *bishop's quarter at Tewkesbury* (Hannan 1997, 85). More peculiarly, in 1579, some inhabitants of Tewkesbury were accused of piracy against a Spanish ship (Herbert 1969, 140).

There are very few references to merchants in Tewkesbury, but many butchers, bakers, brewers and several innkeepers are mentioned, with vintners starting to appear from the thirteenth century. As well as lorimers and goldsmiths, other metalworkers are recorded, including smiths, cutlers, ironmongers and braziers (who are thought to have given their name to Brazier's or Braison's Lane, in or before the fifteenth century).

Incidental references to the occupations of the townspeople in the sixteenth century indicate the predominance of the cloth and leather trades, with numerous references to dyers, cappers, tailors, drapers, shearmen, carders, cardmakers and a woolwinder. References to the leather trade include tanners, skinners, glovers and saddlers, but predominantly shoemakers (Herbert 1969, 142).

Another indicator of the importance of the clothing trade to Tewkesbury is in the architecture of the surviving fifteenth and sixteenth century houses, many of which have very large windows which stretching across the whole frontage and which were designed to provide lighting for workrooms where looms were placed (Jones 1987, 46).

5.9 The battle of Tewkesbury (SMR 5529)

On 4 May 1471, 6000 Lancastrians under the leadership of the Duke of Somerset, met 4000 Yorkists commanded by Edward IV at Tewkesbury and fought one of the most important battles of the Wars of the Roses. The battle of Tewkesbury marked the end of the resistance of Henry VI and ended all hopes of a Lancastrian succession. The battle took place in an area immediately to the south of the town, bounded to the west by the Rivers Severn and Avon, and to the east by the River Swilgate. The *Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV in England and the Final Recovery of His Kingdomes from Henry VI A.D. MCCCCLXXI* - written about five years after the battle - shows that the Lancastrians stationed themselves to the south of the abbey, close to the edge of the town and drew strength from the natural ground features, rather than from any defensive works, as has sometimes been suggested. Somerset's men began an offensive manoeuvre against the Yorkists, but his vanguard disintegrated and his men *...were gretly dismaied and abashed, and toke them to flyght into the parke, and into the meadowe that was here, and into lanes and dykes, where they best hoped to escape the dangar* (from the *Arrivall*). In the centre also, the Lancastrians quickly broke under Edward's attack, and about 2000 Lancastrians were killed during the battle and pursuit, including Edward, Prince of Wales, the Earl of Devon, Lord Wenlock, Lord Beaufort and Sir William Rous. Somerset and many other supporters of Henry VI sought refuge in the Abbey and other nearby churches, but they were captured, tried and executed at Tewkesbury in the days following the battle (English Heritage n.d.).

5.10 The leper hospital (SMR 5526)

A house of lepers in Tewkesbury is recorded *anno I John* (1199/1200) by Tanner (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 397). However, according to Herbert (1969, 167) the leper hospital commonly said to be at Tewkesbury in 1200 was actually located at Touques (Calvados) in Normandy.

5.11 River crossings

5.11.1 Crossings over the Severn

There was no bridge over the Severn at Tewkesbury until the nineteenth century, instead crossings were made using two ferries which were owned by Tewkesbury abbey (Herbert 1969, 115).



5.11.2 King John's Bridge

King John beyng Erle of Gloucester by his wife caussid the Bridge of Twekesbyri to be made of stone. King John gave to the Mayntenaunce of this Bridge the hole Tolle of the Wensday and Saturday markets in the Towne, the which they yet possesse, turnyng it rather holey to their owne Profite then reparation of the Bridge Leland, 1546. This account has led to the general acceptance of the tradition that King John (1199-1216) was responsible for the construction of the Long Bridge (SMR 451; SO 89323333), and in support of this it is recorded that in 1205 the bailiff of Tewkesbury was to have two oaks for the making of a bridge (Herbert 1969, 114).

5.11.3 Bridges over the Swilgate

Holm Bridge (SMR 20391), at the southern end of the town, is first recorded by this name in 1540, although it is possible that Welaker Bridge, named in 1482, may have been the same structure. Holm Bridge is known to have been repaired in 1588, and is said to have been a drawbridge until 1635 when it was rebuilt in stone (Herbert 1969, 115).

Gander Lane Bridge (SMR 20392) is recorded in 1540 as Priests Bridge, and is thought to have been a footbridge until the seventeenth century when it was replaced in stone.

A third bridge over the Swilgate, the location of which is unknown, is recorded in a document of 1575.

5.11.4 Carrant Bridge

Carrant Bridge, a crossing over the Carrant Brook, a tributary of the River Avon at the northern end of town, is recorded in a document of 1592 (Herbert 1969, 115).

5.11.5 Salandine's Bridge

Salandine's Bridge, over a small tributary of the Carrant Brook, existed in 1519 and is recorded as being repaired by the town in 1543 (Herbert 1969, 115).

5.12 Prisons

In 1540, the abbot's barton included a prison for transgressors within the abbey's fee. A separate prison in Tewkesbury is mentioned in 1287, and is thought to have been the town gaol. In 1547 the prison for the whole hundred was in the building called the earl's barton, lying to the east of the town, which is thought to have given its name to Barton Street (Herbert 1969, 146). Whether the location proposed by Miles and Fowler (1973) for the early manor house on Barton and Chance Street is actually the site of the Earls' Barton is unclear, but may be a possibility.

5.13 Water and sanitation

Tewkesbury's chief water supply and main sewer, right through to the nineteenth century was the River Avon, and in 1557 there is a reference to a stone-walled part of the river's bank as the *waterdrawyng* (Herbert 1969, 151). Later records also appear to show that water was often drawn from below the point where the sewage drained into the watercourse. In the early sixteenth century an epidemic or *great death then reigning in the town* made it necessary for the amount of money spent on a charitable endowment to be doubled to find a priest, presumably to bury the dead. Once again in 1591/2, 560 inhabitants of the town died during an outbreak of cholera (Herbert 1969, 151). Problems of sanitation were not improved by the regular division of burgage plots to provide space for housing and the creation of numerous small alleys leading to cramped cottages ranged behind the street frontages.

5.14 Street names

By the end of the medieval period documentary evidence indicates that the majority of the main streets of the town were in existence. Barton Street, High Street (*Oldbury Street*) and Walker's Lane (now lost) were first recorded in 1257; The Quay (*le Key*) appears in 1487, while most of the modern roads first appear in 1508 and 1540 and include Church Street, the Cross, Gander Lane, Mill Street, Quay Lane and St. Mary's Lane (Smith 1964, 63). All may, however, have had an earlier origin. Lost street names include Brasiers Lane (1540), le Bullerynge (1540), Crispin Lane (1508), Longe ally (1540), Salterz lane (1508), Tad or Frog Lane (1545) and Wayt(e)lane (1540) (Smith 1964, 63).



5.15 Gazetteer of sites

SMR No.	Description	NGR
386	Possible site of Holm castle	SO 89163208
451	King John's bridge, also known as the Long Bridge	SO 89323333
567	Site of St. Mary's Abbey	SO 891324
4478	Abbey Mill, also known as Abel Fletcher's Mill	SO 88913254
5500	St. Mary's abbey church	SO 89103242
5529	Tewkesbury battlefield (1471)	SO 892316
5613	Severn Ham Mills, also known as Borough Flour Mills	SO 892330
7426	Abbey fishponds	SO 89353215
7427	The Vineyards, possibly also abbey fishponds	SO 89353215
7724	Sabrina cinema site: Medieval occupation evidence	SO 89463307
7921	Remains of Medieval wall and Medieval pottery on west side of High Street	SO 89313304
7993	Abbey barn and abbey wall	SO 88933251
8055	Coin of Edward IV from abbey churchyard	SO 890324
8089	Holm Hill, probable site of Medieval manor house	SO 88753205
8097	Medieval pottery from Tolsey Lane	SO 89223275
9300	Medieval tile from 16-17 High Street, reported 1987	SO 89303283
9302	Medieval pottery from 85a High Street, reported 1987	SO 89493306
9371	Medieval pits at Lilley's Alley, containing C13-C15 pottery	SO 89283258
9372	Late Medieval pottery from Eagle's Alley	SO 89413295
9373	Medieval tiles from 3-4 High Street, reported 1981	SO 89263273
9374	C13-C15 jug from Tolsey Lane, found 1894	SO 89233273
9857	Eagle's Alley	SO 89143293
11137	Medieval features at Holm Hospital	SO 88913210
11315	Burial pit found at sewage works, though to be connected with the Battle of Tewkesbury	SO 88763219
13959	Medieval structures and finds from excavations in Tewkesbury Abbey Meadows	SO 88883228
15128	The Mill Avon	SO 89253299
20391	Holm Bridge	SO 88853222
20392	Gander Lane Bridge	SO 89213248
20483	Possible site of the earls' barton	SO 89573275

6 The Post-Medieval period

A large and very populous town situate upon the River Avon...famous for a great manufacture of stockings... Defoe, 1724.

6.1 The status of the settlement

Tewkesbury was incorporated by a charter of Elizabeth I in 1575 which was confirmed *anno 3 James I* (1605/6). The charter was granted mainly on the grounds that the existing borough officers could not execute their duties within the abbey fee in the town. The borough was to have a gaol, in the keeping of the bailiffs, a free school, and the power to press, to train and to muster within the borough (Herbert 1969, 148). Following this, in 1596, the town was divided into five wards for police purposes, each ward with its own bailiffs. They were Bridge Ward, Church Ward, Barton Ward, St. Mary's Ward and the Middle Ward.

6.2 Ecclesiastical history

6.2.1 The abbey church of St. Mary

Tewkesbury abbey church has continued to be used for religious services through to the present. In 1875-9 Sir Gilbert Scott and his sons were responsible for its restoration, prompting William Morris to found the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877 as a protest against the *threatened scraping and scouring of Tewkesbury Abbey* (Verey 1980, 360).



6.2.2 Protestant nonconformity

Tewkesbury has a long history of nonconformity and religious dissent. In 1620 it was recorded that some burgesses were in trouble over the observance of Sunday, and by 1676 three-quarters of the population of the town were returned as Protestant nonconformists, although it is thought likely that a number of these were occasional conformists (Herbert 1969, 163). By 1735 that proportion had dropped to just 7% due to Acts of Parliament restricting nonconformist worship - the Test Act of 1681 and the Occasional Conformity Act of 1711 (Ross 1986, 81).

The Particular Baptists trace their existence in Tewkesbury from c.1655, in which year the chapel was represented at the first meetings of an association of Midland Baptist Churches. The Old Baptist chapel in Church Street (**SMR 5534**) is one of the oldest nonconformist chapels in the county, but although the first deed of the property in Old Chapel Court is dated 1620, there are no specific references to the meeting house until 1711. No licences for Baptist meetings in Tewkesbury were issued under the 1672 Indulgence, and the earliest monuments in the burial ground date from c.1680. Various alterations were made to the building throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but the need for a more convenient place of worship was eventually felt and the church books record that *Our meeting house being very old and much out of repair and not sufficient to accommodate the congregation a purchase of ground was made in Barton Street and a new meeting house commenced September 1804 and opened 21 June 1805* (**SMR 7796**; HMSO 1986, 98).

Three licences for Congregational preachers were issued in 1672, but by the early eighteenth century the society which appears to have developed from this origin was Presbyterian and continued to be described as such until the late eighteenth century. Their chapel stands in Barton Street (**SMR 7773**) and has been much enlarged and repaired since the independent church was established (HMSO 1986, 100). In 1750 there were said to be 100 Presbyterians living in the town - more than any other nonconformist denomination (Herbert 1969, 164).

John Wesley preached in the town in 1744 and almost every year from 1770 until 1790. The Wesleyan meeting house stood in Tolsey Lane (**SMR 9629**) until 1878 when a new house was built facing the cross on the site of the old market hall (**SMR 8429**; Herbert 1969, 164-165).

The Friends' Burial Ground is reputed to have been in use from 1660, and a conveyance of 1670 refers to *three messuages in St. Mary Street Tewkesbury, with a parcel of ground where a barn formerly stood, now made use of by Quakers for a burial ground....* In 1677 a second deed describes the three messuages as being used as a Quaker meeting place. In 1804 a site in Barton Street was acquired and a new meeting house was built (**SMR 9628**). This proved to be too big and was let out, with meetings being held in private rooms (HMSO 1986, 100).

According to Bennett (1830, 241), *the Jews have now no place of worship here, though it appears that there was formerly a synagogue in St. Mary's Lane*. There has been no modern confirmation of this statement.

In 1837 a new Anglican church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was built and consecrated in Oldbury Road (**SMR 8007**). In 1849 the Town Council opposed the creation of a new ecclesiastical parish, and it was not until 1893 the Holy Trinity parish became a separate unit (Herbert 1969, 157).

6.2.3 Roman Catholicism

Only one Papist was recorded in Tewkesbury in 1676, two in 1715 and only one took the Oath of Supremacy in 1723. In 1870 the chapel of St. Joseph at the Mythe (**SMR 8004**) was built at the expense of the Marquis de Lys, being partly a conversion of a coach house which had previously stood on the site (Herbert 1969, 163).

6.3 Markets and fairs

Rudder (1779, 738) recorded that there were five yearly fairs on 3 May, 11 June, 24 August, 29 September and St. Matthew's Day, along with two weekly markets, held on Wednesday and Saturday which *are plentifully supply'd from the rich country round about*. The fairs held 11 June and 29 September were granted to the town in 1610, and all five fairs continued to be held well into the nineteenth century (Herbert 1969, 141). A second weekly market, to be held on Wednesday, was granted after the borough corporation asked to be allowed a second market for cattle, wool and yarn in the late sixteenth century (Herbert 1969, 141). The original market was held on Saturdays.

On market days the streets of the town were filled with animals and traders and in 1575, the town bailiffs reorganised the structure of the weekly markets, regulating where the different traders could operate. Cattle and



oxen were to be placed between the Black Bear Inn and Quay Lane, and sheep were to be sold from Church Street. The corn market was in the lower part of the High Street between Quay Lane and the Cross and traders' horses were banned from this area. Hatters and cappers were situated at the end of Barton Street with the coopers and Welsh traders next to them. Tanners, iron men and ropers were allocated more space and were allowed to trade from Barton Street through to Church Street. The butter market was held at the north end of the town and the Cross at Bootham in the centre accommodated traders with smaller and perishable goods (Jones 1987, 88)

On St. Bartholomew's Day the horse market was held in Hillycroft, an area between King John's Bridge and the Stanchard Pit (Jones 1987, 88).

6.4 Trade and industry

In 1740 there were 40 frames for knitting stockings in the town, which had increased to c.800 by 1810 (Ross 1986, 43). Bennett (1830, 202) adds that in 1819, during a depression in the trade, only 509 frames were being operated, while *at this time* [1830] *700-800 frames are at work*. After stocking knitting, Tewkesbury's chief trade in the early eighteenth century was malting, and by 1781 there were 45 malthouses in the town. By 1842 only 26 remained and in 1919 there was only one left, in Station Street (Ross 1986, 43).

In 1636 tobacco *in great store* was being grown in Tewkesbury, but in 1627 and 1644 the crop was destroyed as the government was already committed to the revenues they received from a tax on it (Ross 1986, 46) and the attraction of growing the crop for profit dissipated.

During the post-medieval period a trade developed in mustard which was ground up and made into balls which were described as *hot, biting and poignant*. Tewkesbury developed a very particular reputation for the production of mustard which continued through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By 1830 no trace of this manufacture survived in the town (Jones 1987, 48-9).

By the early seventeenth century the various occupations were becoming concentrated in particular streets. Smith's *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire*, published in 1608, shows that the tailors were grouped in Church Street, with maltsters in the High Street where the pewterers, a stationer, the cutlers and the only fishmonger were also based.

In the late sixteenth century Gloucester and Tewkesbury successfully asserted their independence of Bristol, which until that time had monopolised water-borne trade along the Severn. Tewkesbury was given a grant of free-port status in 1580, which brought income to the crown, and gave the port the right to collect custom dues. Tewkesbury was always subordinate to Gloucester and the two towns were expected to provide a ship for the British navy at the time of the Spanish Armada (which they failed to do in time!). In 1596 it is recorded that Tewkesbury contributed £40 towards the £200 ship money tax imposed on Gloucester (Jones 1987, 63-65).

6.5 Prisons

In 1582 the abbey bell tower was converted into a prison (**SMR 9631**) and remained the town gaol until the national school was built on the site in 1817. A new facility was constructed in Bredon Road shortly afterwards, to which a treadmill was introduced in 1828 (Ross 1986, 85). This prison was closed in 1854 and all the prisoners were moved to the county gaol at Gloucester (Herbert 1969, 148). The use of the gaol in the abbey bell tower may not have been continuous for in 1674 the gaoler of the county gaol at Gloucester was ordered to receive no more prisoners from Tewkesbury because the town had refused to contribute towards the maintenance of prisoners in the county gaol and Crown prisons (Herbert 1969, 148).

6.6 Water supply and sanitation

In the nineteenth century the living conditions of the town deteriorated as the population increased from c.4000 to c.6000 in 40 years. Housing and sanitation were both too primitive to sustain such a concentration of people so that the poorer inhabitants of the town were left almost completely without sanitation such that *the streets and alleys are much loaded with offensive filth* (Jones 1987, 156). Water was still being taken from the River Avon for domestic consumption in 1850 by those who had no well, were too far from the public pumps or who could not beg from their neighbours. The first drainage system in the town was built between 1825 and 1831, but the sewage was still allowed to run untreated into the Swilgate and Avon and much of the town remained undrained. In 1832 a Board of Health was formed to counter a threatened attack of cholera, although 76 still people died. Again in 1849 a second cholera epidemic claimed 54 lives (Herbert 1969, 151) and work on Holm Hill has revealed what is believed to be a cholera pit (**SMR 4881**) associated with the site of the workhouse (**SMR 8494**). A hospital was built in the Oldbury area of the town in the early 1870s (**SMR 17432**).



6.7 Tewkesbury and the Civil War

In the early years of the Civil War, Tewkesbury saw much action and changed hands frequently, although the town was predominantly Parliamentary. Between February and April 1643 Tewkesbury changed hands four times, until it was taken and held by a Parliamentary garrison of 1000 horse and foot. These men left for Gloucester in June of that year, having made the defensive works (SMR 8861) *unuseful though not fully slighted*; the nature and location of these defensive works is unknown.

In September 1643 the town was garrisoned by 400 Welshmen, but later that winter fresh Royalist forces arrived and held the town until 1644 when the Parliamentarians regained the settlement and 300 men are recorded to have held it against the King's forces.

In 1646, at the end of the fighting the House of Commons ordered that the garrison at Tewkesbury should be slighted, and the officers and men disbanded or reduced in number (Herbert 1969, 117).

6.8 The railway

When the Midland Railway line between Gloucester and Birmingham (**SMR 11268**) was constructed during the mid-nineteenth century, no provision was made to take anything more than a branch line to Tewkesbury, leaving the town isolated from the new and important communication routes which were developing. The development of the railways shattered the horse-drawn coaching network upon which the town's inns and stables were heavily dependent and within a year no more stagecoaches passed through Tewkesbury on the way to Worcester, when there had once been as many as 26 a day. Also affected by the recession the main hosiery business, upon which much of the town's prosperity had been based, moved to Nottingham (Jones 1987, 149).

6.9 Gazetteer of sites

SMR No.	Description	NGR
451	King John's Bridge, also known as Long Bridge	SO 89323333
4881	Probable Post-medieval cholera pit	SO 8893204
5500	St. Mary's Abbey church	SO 89103242
5534	Old Baptist chapel, Church Street	SO 88993260
5613	Severn Ham Mills, also known as Borough Flour Mills	SO 892330
7425	Site of brick windmill, built c.1724	SO 888321
7724	Sabrina cinema site: Post-medieval material	SO 89463307
7773	Barton Street Congregational church	SO 89953270
7796	Barton Street Baptist chapel	SO 89353262
8004	St. Joseph's Roman Catholic church, Mythe Road	SO 88983385
8007	Holy Trinity church, Oldbury Road	SO 89453289
8098	Post-medieval pottery found in Tolsey Lane	SO 89223275
8115	Site of watermill	SO 892324
8429	Methodist meeting house	SO 89293263
8494	Tewkesbury workhouse, now Holm Hospital	SO 88913210
8861	Civil War defences	SO 850830
9628	C18 Quaker meeting house	SO 89063260
9629	C18 Methodist meeting house	SO 89233271
9630	C18 market house in Church Street	SO 89293265
9631	C18 gaol in Church Street	SO 89063252
9644	Post-medieval brick and limestone boundary wall at Back of Avon	SO 89173277
11083	Salvage finds from Back of Avon	SO 89203275
11268	Birmingham and Gloucester railway	SO 926351
11350	Avon Lock	SO 89283312
11388	Engine shed off Oldbury Road	SO 897331
17432	Oldbury hospital	



7 The modern settlement

The constraints upon development in and around Tewkesbury resulting from the extensive low-lying and floodable land, have remained the same from the Medieval period onwards, and it has only been in recent years that the area of the flood plain around the town has been developed for housing. The High Street had been built up along its length by the later fourteenth century, as was Church Street. Barton Street was considered less suitable for building as it was on slightly lower ground, and therefore under greater risk of flooding. The Oldbury area became available for development after the enclosure act of 1811, and new streets were laid out over the former open field during the first half of the nineteenth century. Between the 1850s and 1930s there was very little expansion, but before the Second World War a few houses were built at the northern end of Oldbury and the first buildings of the Prior's Park estate were developed in the area between the Swilgate and the main road out of the town to the south (the A38). The main development of the Prior's Park estate came after the war and houses were still being built there in the mid-1960s. Other housing estates have also developed at Oldfield between the River Swilgate and Barton Road. The plan of the Medieval core of the settlement has remained almost unchanged, with only a few modern developments disrupting the line of the original plot boundaries, except at the north-eastern end of the High Street, which was redeveloped in the early 1970s. The other major redevelopment outside the centre of the town during the 1970s and 1980s was the construction of the Tewkesbury Borough Council offices on Holm Hill, which prompted Hannan's investigations of the area. More recent development work has been the construction of the eastern relief road and associated housing to the south and east of the settlement, and to the north in the areas of Mitton, Newtown and Northway.

A large proportion of houses in the town have origins in the Medieval period, and a number of fifteenth and sixteenth century date have survived with only minor alterations. This survival may be due in part to the nineteenth century economic decline, accelerated by the town being by-passed by the Gloucester to Birmingham railway. The most significant of these survivals are Nos. 34-50 Church Street (SMRs 5532, 7821, 7822, 7823), collectively known as Abbey Cottages, originally a row of at least 23 timber-framed dwellings which may represent the earliest surviving examples in the country of a uniform Medieval town development built by the abbey and let to tenants. The main structure remains almost intact, and most of the buildings share a continuous roof which runs parallel with the street. The earliest survival of a Medieval domestic building, however, appears to be a stone vaulted cellar under Nos.89-90 Church Street (SMR 7861). Built in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, the cellar once comprised two quadripartite bays with narrow chamfered ribs and side corbels. The house above is no earlier than sixteenth century in date. Other buildings of late Medieval date include the Royal Old Hop Pole (SMR 7863) of fifteenth century date, the Old Fleece Inn (SMR 7896) dated 1519, and the Ancient Grudge Cafe built c.1471. Some of the houses in Church Street and the High Street also retain partial evidence of their fifteenth or sixteenth century fenestration, despite the refronting of most existing buildings between 1570 and 1670. The end of the use of timber-framing in the town was marked by the use of brick to refront the Tudor House Hotel in 1701, although plaster pargetting had begun to be used to conceal unfashionable timber-framed frontages from the later seventeenth century. New houses built entirely in brick appeared during the eighteenth century and include No.77 Church Street, and a large number of the houses built in the town during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

8 Population (After Percival n.d.)

Date	Communicants	Households	Families	Nonconformists	Inhabitants	Source
1551	2600				<i>c.3000</i>	Percival
1563		396			<i>c.1683</i>	Percival
1603	1600				<i>c.2400</i>	Percival
1650			1000		<i>c.4250</i>	Survey of Church Livings
1676	500				<i>c.750</i>	Compton Census
1712		470			2500	Atkyns
1779					3000	Rudder
1801					4199	
1901					5419	
1997					9717	

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



9 Plan analysis (Maps 15-17)

9.1 Discussion

Tewkesbury developed at a crossing point over the River Avon, close to its confluence with the River Severn. Settlement of all periods grew up on a ridge of gravel to the east of the river Avon, and was constrained by the risk of flooding of the alluvial meadows surrounding it until very recently. Evidence for prehistoric occupation has been found within the area of the modern town, in the centre of the gravel outcrop, while settlement of the Roman period appears to have been focused close to the crossing point over the Avon, with some extension southwards along the ridge towards Holm Hill.

The main stimuli to the development of Early Medieval settlement at Tewkesbury would have been the river crossing and the early monastic house. The location of the eighth century monastery is unknown, although it is likely to have stood in the same area as the later abbey church, and the course of St. Mary's Lane, which forms a small crescent on the northern side of Church Street, may preserve the line of the precinct boundary, as has been suggested for other Midlands towns (Barker 1980, 229-231; Bond 1990, 96). Alternatively, it is equally possible that the early monastic house stood at the northern end of the High Street, close to the river crossing, to take advantage of traders and travellers making use of it. The site of the pre-thirteenth century manorial residence is also unknown, although various suggestions have been made, which are referred to in sections 4 and 5 above, but which cannot yet be confirmed with any certainty.

The name *Oldbury* is believed to have originated during the Early Medieval period to describe this area at the northern end of the settlement close to the river crossing. It is generally accepted that the term derived either from direct evidence for human settlement in that area, or from a folk memory that such a settlement had existed. It is thus quite possible that some evidence for, or memory of, earlier (possibly Roman) occupation in Tewkesbury had survived to that time.

The main focus of the post-Conquest, Medieval settlement was the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary (**Area 1**), which occupied much of the southern area of the gravel ridge. The full extent of the abbey precinct is not known, as it is not recorded in any of the surviving documents. It is possible that the precinct may have stretched from the Mill Avon on the west to the Swilgate on the east, and from the junction of Gander Lane with Church Street on the north to the point where Church Street crosses the Swilgate on the south. Within this area would have stood the abbey church and conventual buildings, the tithe barn and mills along with houses owned by the abbey which were rented out to the inhabitants of the town. The first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1880 indicates that part of the precinct wall was still standing along the south-west side of Gander Lane, with another stretch to the north-west of Church Street. The wall along Gander Lane is known to have been demolished during construction of a car park which now occupies the northern edge of the precinct. The first edition map also shows the site of the Abbey bell tower, later the town prison, standing to the north of the main body of the church. The location of the abbey, controlling most of the land at the southern end of the town would have constrained the expansion of the secular settlement to the three main streets.

It has been suggested that the main north-south route through the town may not have originally followed the line of Church Street and that it instead skirted the abbey precinct close to the eastern bank of the river, crossing into the town along St. Mary's Lane or Mill Street. Although it seems unlikely that the main road would have passed through the abbey precinct, there is at present no evidence to support this alternative theory, and documents of the mid-sixteenth century indicate that Church Street followed its present course by the 1540s.

The abbey is believed to have caused alterations to other aspects of the Medieval landscape, most notably by the creation of the Mill Avon. It appears that the Avon originally turned westwards to the north of the town and flowed into the Severn at Upper Lode, but during the Middle Ages an artificial watercourse was cut along the north-west side of the town, which connected the Avon with the Swilgate. This stretch of water became known as the Mill Avon and it is thought that its main purpose was to drive the abbey's water mills, believed to have stood on this stretch from the twelfth century, although there is no evidence for their presence there until 1291. The scale of such an operation would have been immense, given the technology of the period, and there is no direct evidence available at present to date the creation of the water course.

The Medieval manor house (**Area 3**) is thought to have stood on Holm Hill, to the south of the town, commanding the main route into the town from Gloucester, until it was abandoned during the fifteenth century. It has been



suggested that before c.1140, the manor house stood at the eastern end of Barton Street (**Area 2**), until it was destroyed by Waleran of Worcester. However, it is more likely that this area was the site of the barton, or barn, of the earls of Gloucester, which gave its name to the street on which it stood.

The development of the secular settlement at Tewkesbury was constrained by the presence of the abbey and the floodplain and was forced to develop on the northern part of the gravel ridge. The principal focus of the settlement would have been along the course of the main approach to the river crossing, High Street and Church Street. Barton Street appears to have been built up at a slightly later date, probably because it is lower lying and therefore more liable to the floods which have been recorded as affecting the town from at least the early fifteenth century. The High Street was originally known as Oldbury Street, indicating that it led to the area of earliest settlement in the town, and it appears to have been almost completely built up by the fourteenth century (**Areas 5-9**). Church Street also contains a high proportion of structures of Medieval date (**Areas 12-15**). Sixteenth century accounts of Barton Street, however, indicate that it contained fewer and smaller houses than the other two streets (**Areas 11 and 12**). There are good examples of surviving burgage tenements fronting on to the High Street, Barton Street and Church Street. Their preservation is due mainly to the constraints on development within the town, which led to the subdivision of burgage plots and the construction of properties in the back plots of houses fronting onto the three main streets. This generally involved making rows of cottages approached by narrow alleys behind the houses fronting on to these streets, in the areas which had originally been used as gardens, workshops and storage. This led to the creation of numerous small alleys and lanes (e.g. Smith's Lane, Trinity Street, Red Lane, Wilke's Alley and Tolsey Lane) where the density of houses is remarkable. Collins (1966, 9) has suggested that the urban form of Tewkesbury is *probably much the same as it was in the fifteenth century, and certainly as it was in the eighteenth century*.

The medieval market would have been held in the triangular area formed by the junction of the three streets (High Street, Church Street and Barton Street) (**Area 16**), and at the northern end of the High Street (**Area 4**), which was developed to be wide enough to accommodate numerous stalls. Such a location would have allowed traders to exploit the ready market of travellers passing through the town to use the river crossing. A market cross is recorded as standing at the junction of the three main streets in 1650, when it was removed by the town bailiffs and the stone used to make repairs to the Long Bridge. The early market house is also likely to have stood in the area close to the Cross, but it was demolished in the eighteenth century as it was obstructing access through the town. In 1540 a survey taken after the dissolution of the abbey described a tenement lying *within the market place* (Jones 1987, 22), indicating that some encroachment had already begun to take place with tradesmen attempting to set up more permanent stalls within the market area. By the later sixteenth century the market had become so large and important that the bailiffs felt it necessary to reorganise its layout and regulate which traders operated in which area (**Areas 19-25**) (see 6.3 above). There is little evidence for this organisation visible in the town plan, or in the surviving names of the streets, but the various areas in which the traders could operate can be defined from the surviving written sources.

Tewkesbury continued to prosper economically through the Post-medieval period, which had significant implications for the provision of housing. The factors which had constrained settlement to the gravel ridge throughout the preceding periods still constrained new development around the town, and so any increase in the number of houses was achieved by again raising the density of the buildings lining the High Street and Church Street.

The open area in the middle of Church Street (**Area 26**) was, according to Bennett (1830, 197), called the Bullring which *is supposed to have been the spot anciently appropriated to the barbarous and almost obsolete diversion of bull-baiting*. It appears that the crescent was a deliberate Post-medieval creation to widen the street and improve the aspect of that area of the town, rather than the preservation of an existing aspect of the street plan.

The enclosure of the open field known as Oldbury Field, which lay to the east of the High Street and to the north of Barton Street, in 1811 made a new area available for the expansion of the settlement. During the early nineteenth century Oldbury Road and Chance Street were laid out parallel to the High Street, with two shorter connecting streets - East Street and Station Street - laid out parallel to Barton Street. New Street was added between 1828 and 1842, and Nelson Street was constructed after 1942. By 1830 almost 200 houses had been built in the Oldbury area and a further 100 had been constructed by 1850 (**Areas 27-29**).

Since the 1880s, the town has expanded very considerably beyond the historic core set on the gravel ridge. This expansion has been discussed in section 7, above.



9.2 Plan components

9.2.1 Medieval (Map 15)

1. The precinct of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Tewkesbury.
2. Possible site of the early Medieval manor house. More likely to be the site of the barton of the Earls of Gloucester from which Barton Street derived its name.
3. Site of excavated Medieval halls on Holm Hill.
4. Market area at the northern end of the High Street, close to the river crossing.
5. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the west side of the High Street.
6. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the west side of the High Street.
7. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the east side of the High Street.
8. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the east side of the High Street.
9. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the east side of the High Street.
10. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the north side of Barton Street.
11. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the north side of Barton Street.
12. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the south sides of Barton Street and Church Street.
13. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the west side of the High Street and the north side of Church Street.
14. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the north side of Church Street.
15. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the north side of Church Street.
16. Site of the Market Cross until 1650 and centre of the early medieval/pre-1575 market. Also the site of the buttermarket house and stocks demolished 1752.
17. Area known as the Oldbury Field, including the site of the late sixteenth century Shambles (or slaughterhouse).

9.2.2 Post-medieval (Map 16)

18. The precinct of the abbey of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
19. Site of the cattle market following the 1575 reorganisation of Tewkesbury market. The cattle market filled the area between the Black Bear Inn on the north and Quay Lane to the south.
20. Site of the post-1575 corn market.
21. Area in which the coopers and Welsh traders were allowed to operate after 1575.
22. Area from which tanners, ropers and iron men were allowed to trade following the 1575 reorganisation.
23. Area in which the hatters and cappers traded after 1575.
24. Site of the sheep market from 1575 onwards.
25. Market for perishable goods around the Cross.



26. Area known as the Bullring, where bull-baiting is thought to have taken place.
27. Post-medieval development in the Oldbury area.
28. Post-medieval development in the Oldbury area.
29. Post-medieval development in the Oldbury area.
30. Post-medieval development along Back of Avon.
31. Post-medieval development on the Abbey's land.
32. Infilling of the Abbey precinct.
33. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the west of the High Street.
34. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the west of the High Street.
35. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the north-west of Church Street.
36. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the north of Church Street.
37. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the west of Church Street.
38. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the west of Church Street.
39. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the east of the High Street.
40. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the east of the High Street.
41. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the east of the High Street and north of Barton Street.
42. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the north of Barton Street.
43. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south of Barton Street and east of Church Street.

10 Future research

The complexity of the archaeology and history of settlement in the Tewkesbury area raises a number of questions for future archaeological research:

1. The early Prehistoric period: excavated evidence indicates Mesolithic/Neolithic activity on the well drained gravel deposits on which the later settlement developed, and extensive Bronze Age activity on the lower lying land to the south and south-east of the town. The nature and extent of the latter – which seems to have been associated with metal working – is of particular interest.
2. The later Prehistoric period: there is no significant evidence for Iron Age occupation in Tewkesbury, although there is extensive evidence for settlement of that period along the course of the River Avon and its tributaries a short distance to the north. Further investigation in the area of the modern settlement may improve understanding of this period in the Tewkesbury area.
3. The Roman period: evidence for structures and other domestic features have been found in the Oldbury area and on the Sabrina Cinema site. Together with the presence of a Roman cemetery at the southern end of the modern town, they indicate that some form of settlement existed in the area. Present evidence suggests that the occupied area stretched from Oldbury Road on the north to Holm Hill on the south, but the western and eastern extents are not known.



4. The course of the Roman road through the town: the precise location of this route along the higher ground on the east bank of the Severn is unknown.
5. The settlement and development of the area known as Oldbury: the name appears to have been derived from an Anglo-Saxon term meaning 'the old fort', which may relate to remains of Romano-British date which were visible when the name was coined. This might indicate that levels of activity in the area were greater than archaeological investigation has revealed to date.
6. The site of the earliest monastic foundation: a monastic house is believed to have been founded at Tewkesbury in the eighth or ninth century A.D. The location of the buildings is unknown, but it has been assumed that they lay in the area occupied by the later abbey. Alternatively, it is possible that the foundation stood to the north of the town, close to the river crossing. No archaeological evidence is yet available to confirm either theory, although further investigations in these areas may provide information about the earliest foundation on the site.
7. The plan and extent of the Medieval abbey precinct: the extent of the Medieval foundation has not been recorded in any documentary sources of the period, and the destruction of many structures relating to the foundation in the post-Reformation period means that the original plan of the abbey is unknown. Excavations in Abbey Meadow have indicated the survival of structures associated with the foundation, although their exact nature has not been ascertained. Further work around the abbey church is likely to provide further information about the layout and extent of the precinct.
8. The location of the Medieval manor house(s): Hannan's excavations on Holm Hill have revealed good evidence for a sequence of medieval structures which may have been the manor house of the de Clare family between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. Very little evidence for earlier structures was recovered, and it is therefore unclear whether the manor house originated in this location, or whether there was an earlier house somewhere else within the town.
9. The site of Holm Castle: to the south of the town is a stone obelisk which is said to mark the site of Holm Castle. Cropmarks and topographical analysis indicate a buried feature in the area of the monument, although its nature is unclear. Historically the feature was thought to have been the site of Holm Castle and the manor house of the de Clare family. However, following Hannan's excavation on Holm Hill, the function of the site is unclear.
10. The origin and date of the artificial watercourse known as the Mill Avon: it is thought to have been dug either for the abbey during the twelfth century or for the Duke of Clarence in the later fifteenth century. The course of the cut has also been changed over the last 100 years, adding to the confusion. Further investigations into documentary, cartographic and archaeological sources will be required if the origin of the watercourse is to be understood.
11. Archaeological evidence for the Medieval settlement: although the Medieval plan of the town, and a number of buildings, are well preserved there is to date little archaeological evidence for the development, character or economy of the Medieval town.

11 Sources

11.1 Primary historical sources

There are numerous sources for the history of Tewkesbury, which vary in the information provided, although most are concerned either with the abbey, the manor, or less frequently, the town. The earliest source is Domesday Book, with the annals of the abbey compiled during the thirteenth century also covering the period from 1066 until 1264. From the later twelfth century, there are references to the town and especially the manor house in the Pipe Rolls and records of the Exchequer and Chancery.

11.2 Secondary historical sources

Tewkesbury has been covered in the Victoria County History for Gloucestershire and the history of the town has provoked a number of local studies from Dyde in 1790, to Bennett in 1830, with considerable interest in the last twenty years as the pressures of modern development have increased. Tewkesbury also appears in many of the Post-medieval antiquarian accounts, such as Leland, Dugdale, Atkyns and Rudder, all of which provide valuable insight into the pre-modern settlement.



11.3 Archaeological sources

Since the 1950s there have been a number of archaeological investigations within the area of the modern town, often in advance of development. During the 1970s Hannan and the Tewkesbury Archaeology Unit carried out work in advance of development throughout the area of the town, including the Sabrina cinema site, where a sequence of activity and occupation from the Prehistoric period onwards was revealed; and at Holm Hill where evidence for a wealthy Medieval residence was recovered. During the late 1980s and 1990s, following the advent of PPG16, redevelopment in the Oldbury area prompted a number of evaluations and excavations, all of which provided evidence for prehistoric and Roman activity. More recently major programmes of work have been undertaken in connection with the northern and eastern relief roads and the housing estates being developed in association with them.

11.4 Maps

The map coverage for Tewkesbury is relatively poor, as only a map published by Dyde in the late eighteenth century, the tithing map and the Ordnance Survey first edition map at 25": 1 mile of 1880 are available.

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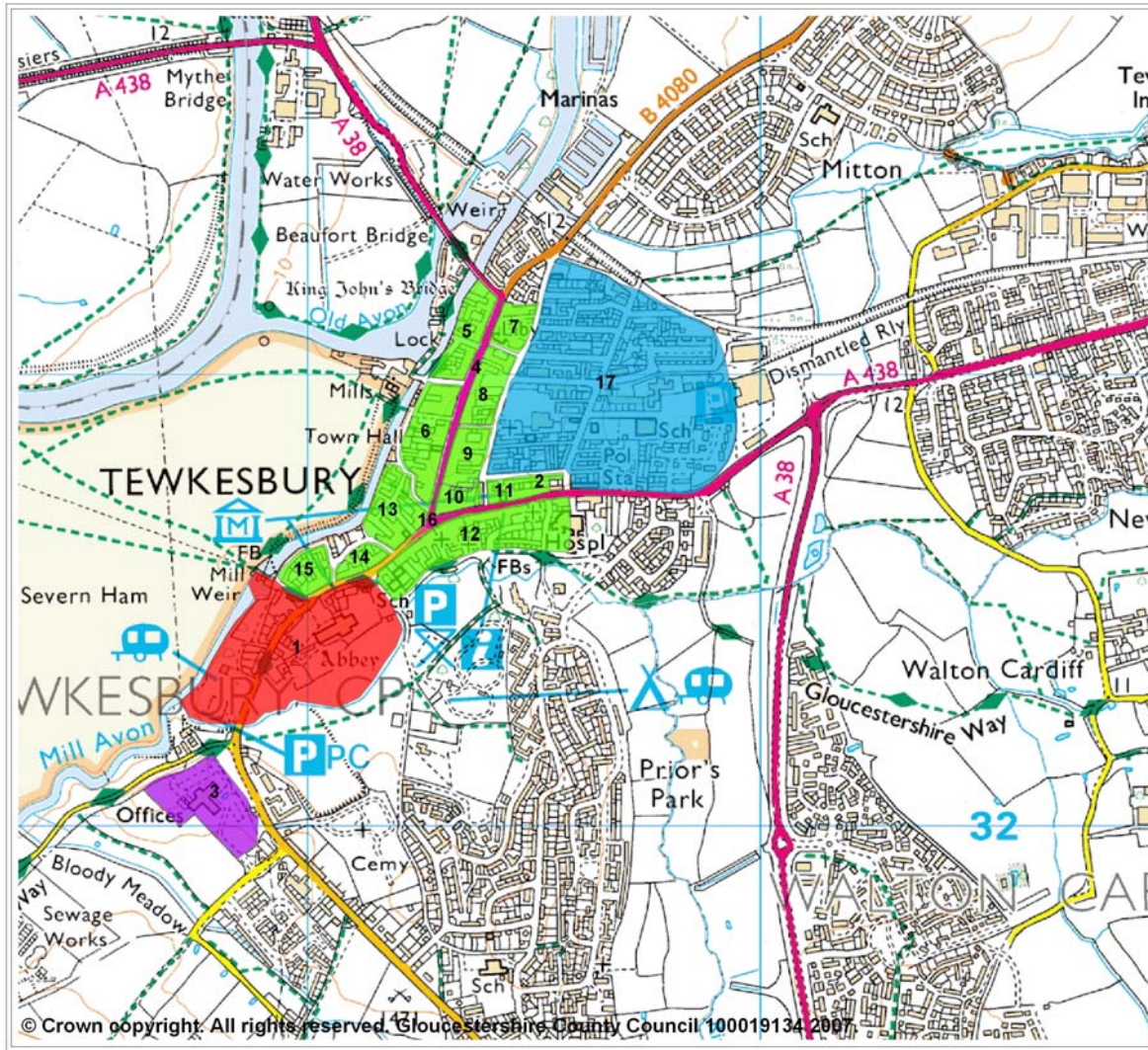
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12.2 Maps

1798 map published by Dyde

Tithe map and apportionment, 1835

Ordnance Survey first edition 25": 1 mile, 1880



MAP 15:
Tewkesbury:
Medieval Plan Components

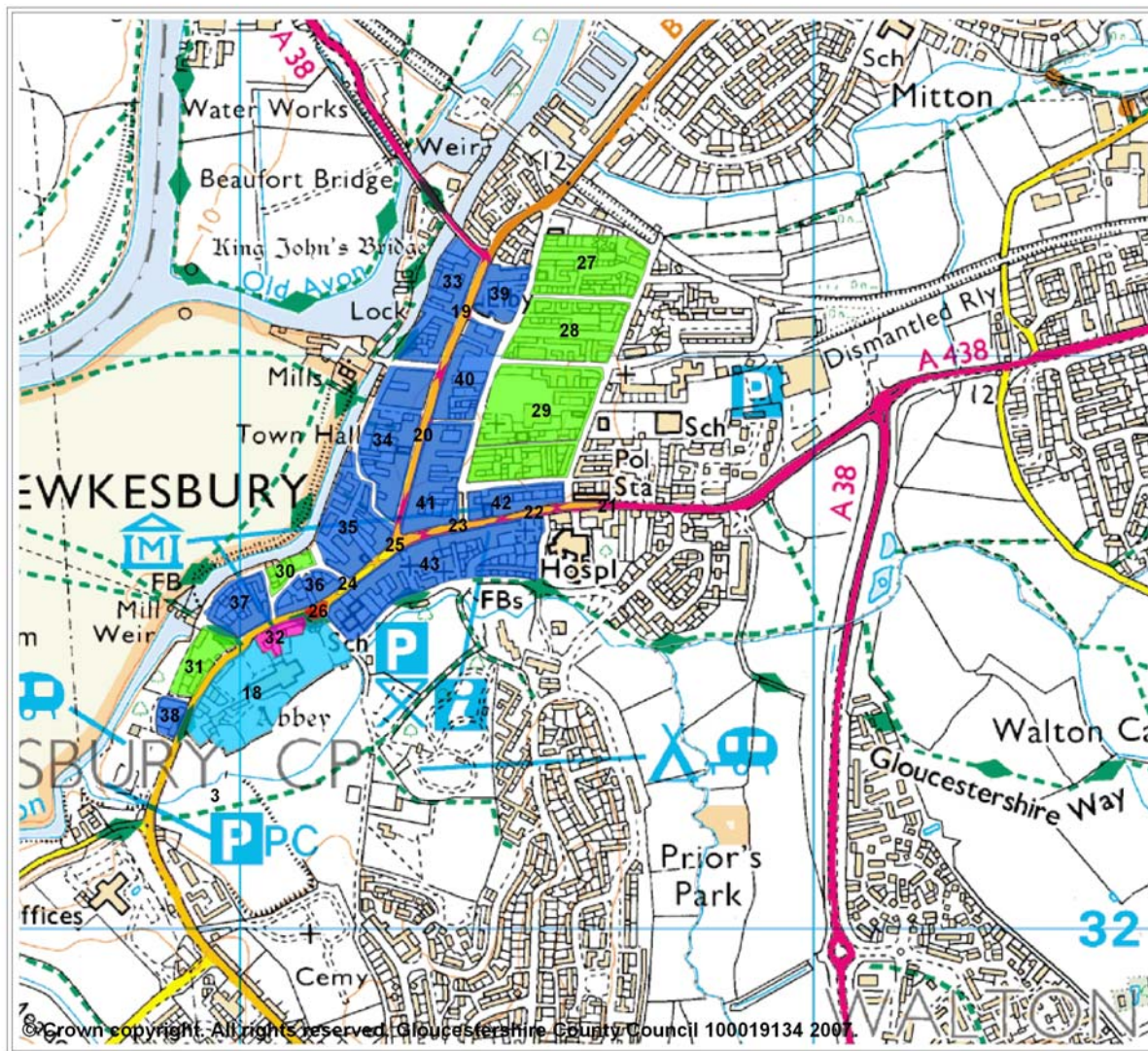
Legend

- Areas of Medieval burghage plots
- Market place
- Oldbury open field
- Possible site of manor house
- Tewkesbury Abbey & precinct

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MAP 16:
Tewkesbury:
Post-Medieval Plan Components

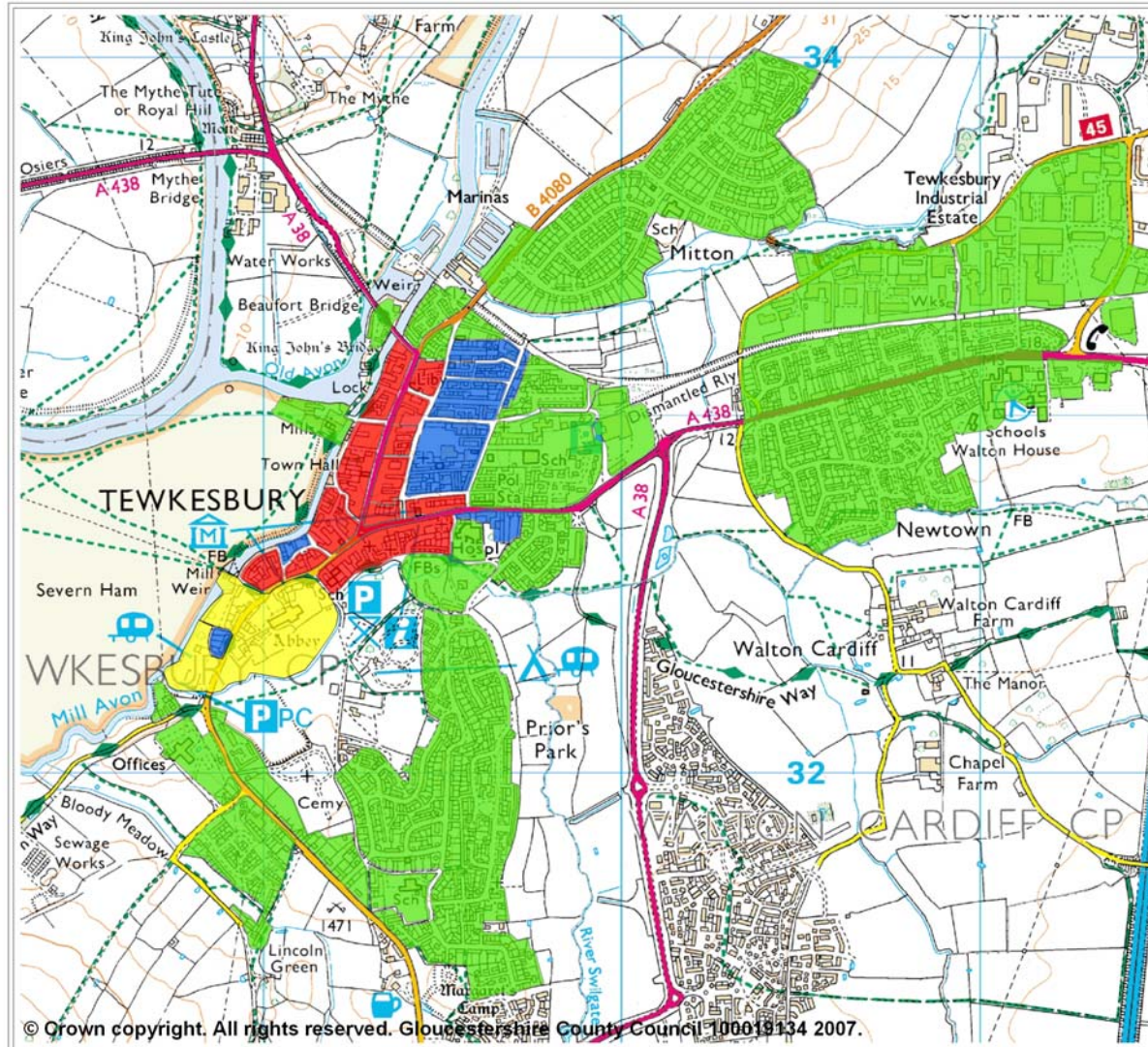
Legend

- Church and churchyard
- Market place
- Post-medieval development
- Post-medieval settlement
- Settlement within former abbey precinct
- The Bullring

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MAP 17:
Tewkesbury:
Development By Period

Legend

- Tewkesbury Abbey and Precinct
- Medieval
- Modern
- Post Medieval

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