



Gloucestershire

COUNTY COUNCIL

Sites & Monuments Record

GLOUCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC TOWNS SURVEY

STROUD DISTRICT ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSESSMENTS

PAINSWICK

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A note about the maps

The SMR maps in the original Historic Towns Survey (i.e Maps 63-64) are now out of date and have not been included within this revision although references to SMR numbers remain in the text. For up to date SMR information readers can contact the SMR on 01452 425705 or via email at archaeology.smr@gloucestershire.gov.uk. The other maps have been refreshed using current software and retain their original numbering as referred to in the text.

Original description of SMR maps

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

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



ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS USED IN THE TEXT

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

PERIODS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT

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

POPULATION FIGURES

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

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



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

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



THE GLOUCESTERSHIRE HISTORIC TOWNS SURVEY

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

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

1 Introduction

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

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

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



2 The concept of urbanism

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



3 Urbanism in Gloucestershire

3.1 The Roman period

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

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

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

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

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



3.2 The Early Medieval period

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

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

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

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

3.3 The Medieval period

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

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

In addition to the foundation of a market, many landlords attempted to promote existing villages to borough status. The grant of a borough charter conferred a number of privileges of administrative, teneurial and legal character, the most important of which was the right to burgage or freehold tenure, for a rent and without labour services. In the period from 1199-1350 c.370 new boroughs were created by the king, lords and bishops. One of the most



characteristic features of towns of this period is the burgage plot - long, thin strips of land extending back from the main street which allowed as many burgesses as possible access to the street frontage and the trade which it afforded. In Gloucestershire at least 22 small towns acquired borough status during the Medieval period, with most charters being granted during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see Table 2).

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

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

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

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

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



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

Table 3 Gloucestershire Historic Towns Survey: market charters by date

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

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

The Stroud valleys, which would become such an important area of settlement during the Post-medieval period, show little evidence for urban development during the Medieval period, apart from areas at the edge of the Cotswold Scarp such as Dursley, Bisley and Painswick, where the settlement pattern is similar to that found



elsewhere on the Cotswolds. The main reason for this is likely to have been the nature of the terrain, which was mostly unsuitable for Medieval industries and agricultural exploitation, but which was ideally suited to Post-medieval advances in manufacturing techniques.

3.4 The Post-medieval period

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

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

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

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

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



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

4 Conclusions

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

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

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

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HISTORIC TOWNS IN THE STROUD DISTRICT (Map 1)

	Definition	Market	Borough charter	Burgages/ burgage tenure	Legal autonomy
Berkeley	Medium-sized market town	1086		✓	
Bisley	Small market town	1687			
Chalford	Industrial town				
Dursley	Small market town	1471/2	C12	✓	
Frampton-on-Severn	Small market town	1245			
Kings Stanley	Small market town	1253	C13/14	✓	
Leonard Stanley	Small market town	1307-1327			
Minchinhampton	Small market town	1269		✓	
Nailsworth	Small market town; Industrial town	C18			
Painswick	Small market town	1253		✓	
Stroud	Small market town; Industrial town	1570-1607			
Wotton-under-Edge	Small market town	1252	1253	✓	

The area defined as Stroud District today was created by local government reorganisation during the 1970s. Most of the District is within the geographical area of the Cotswolds. It includes the steep western scarp slope, dissected by streams flowing west into the Severn estuary through steep sided valleys, as well as the high, flat land of the top of the escarpment. Between the Cotswold hills and the Severn estuary is the low-lying Severn Vale.

Of the twelve towns studied in this area a number – such as Bisley and King’s Stanley – may have developed from Roman settlements. However, the majority of settlements on the Cotswold plateau and Severn Vale, such as Berkeley, Frampton-on-Severn and Leonard Stanley, developed as small market centres during the period after the Norman Conquest, and some of them acquired urban status during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. During the Medieval and Post-medieval periods the economy of the area came to be dominated by the woollen industry, first the production and sale of raw wool, and later, from the sixteenth century onwards, the production of woollen cloth. The steep escarpment in the Stroud area had many natural resources which supported the development of this industry – the fast flowing streams of the Frome and its tributary valleys, deposits of fuller’s earth for fulling the woven cloth, woad for dyeing and teasels for raising the nap on the finished cloth. The area had a further advantage in its proximity to Bristol, developed as one of the main ports in the wool trade during the later Middle Ages.

Stroud, originally a small hamlet and chapelry dependent upon Bisley, gradually developed to become the most important town in the whole district – to which it gave its name. As well as Stroud itself, other settlements in the valleys, such as Chalford and Nailsworth, developed as centres of this industry during the Post-medieval period. The importance of the area originated during the reign of Henry VI (1422-1462), when cloth manufacturers, realising the advantages of the valleys, began to take leases of the millstreams for three or four lifetimes. In 1577 an act of parliament was passed which attempted to confine the manufacture of woollen cloth to towns, although a few districts were specified as exceptions, including *any towns and villages near the river Stroud in Gloucestershire where cloths have been made for twenty years past*. In a second act, issued 1585/6 this grace was again extended to the *parts of Gloucestershire about Frome water, Kingswood water and Stroud water*. Further government assistance was given to the area in 1585 when acts were passed regulating the production of Gloucestershire ‘whites and reds’, and protecting the local industries of woollen-card making and card-wire drawing. By the early eighteenth century, the manufacture of woollen cloth was *so eminent in this county that no other manufacture deserves a mention* (Atkyns 1712).

Despite a slump in the industry during the early part of the seventeenth century, the period between 1690 and 1760 saw the greatest prosperity of the business, illustrated by the large numbers of mills, houses and cottages which were constructed at this time, many of which still line the valley sides. Mechanisation was gradually introduced to Gloucestershire, during this period (c.1830-1860) the number of people employed in all branches of the woollen industry gradually increased from about 4000 to 7050. However, during the next twenty years, the numbers fell, and in 1881, only 4958 were still employed in the manufacture of cloth. At this time the main products of the area were smooth, highly finished cloths including hunting and military scarlets, white buckskins, doeskins, liveries, riding cords, beavers, meltons, vicuñas, llamas and chevots, along with cloths for pianos, carriages and billiard tables. As the market for even these goods decreased, many



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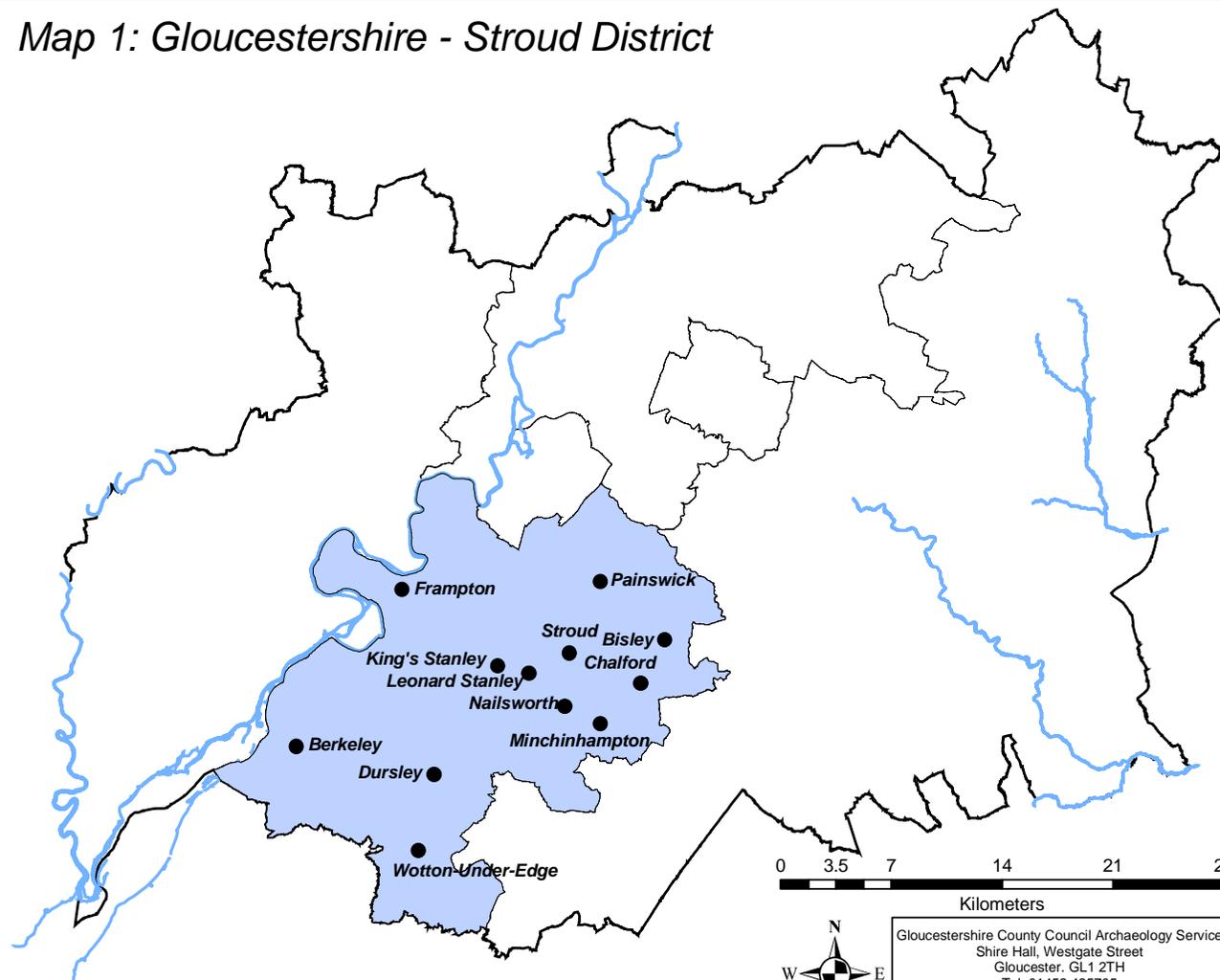
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mill owners were forced to sell their factories or to adapt them to the production of other goods, such as walking sticks, paper or industrial components.

Atkyns R 1712, *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*.



Map 1: Gloucestershire - Stroud District



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PAINSWICK

1 Introduction

Painswick is located approximately 7 km north of Stroud, and 12 km south-east of Gloucester, within a large parish that also contains a number of other settlements. The town lies on the north-western slopes of the Painswick Valley, on a south facing spur between the valleys of the Painswick Stream to the east and the Washbrook Stream to the west, on land which rises from 80 metres O.D. in the valley bottom to 160 metres O.D. at the northern end of the town. The land on which the town stands is composed of Midford Sand, while the surrounding hills are formed of Inferior Oolite which has been subject to landslip.

Painswick acted as a market centre for the surrounding communities throughout the Medieval and Post-medieval periods. It had become a borough by the fourteenth century and rose to importance as a centre for the production of woollen cloth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the trade declined during the nineteenth century, other cottage industries were introduced, although few of these have survived to the modern period.

2 The Prehistoric and Roman periods

There is no archaeological evidence for prehistoric activity within the area of settlement at Painswick.

3 The Early Medieval period

There is, at present, no information relating to any Early Medieval activity in or around Painswick. However, the reference to a priest in the Domesday Book entry for the manor suggests that there may have been a pre-Conquest church in the area of the later town.

4 The Medieval period

4.1 Domesday Book

Painswick is listed among the lands of William Leofric in Bisley Hundred, although before the Norman conquest the estate was held by Ernesi. 35 villagers, 16 smallholders, a priest and three riding men are recorded, along with 11 slaves, 4 mills valued at 24s and woodland covering an area of 5 leagues by 2 leagues. The value of the estate before the conquest is given as £20, which had risen to £24 by the time of the survey. It is also noted that one villager and part of the woodland on the estate, valued at 10s, had been granted to St. Mary's of Cirencester by King William (Moore 1982).

4.2 The placename

The settlement was recorded as *Wiche* in Domesday Book, which had become *Wyche* in 1220. In 1237 the full name of *Painswike* or *-wyke* had come into use, and was being written as *Peyneswick* in 1302, *Penswyke* by 1527 and *Painsik* in 1708 (Smith 1964, 132). The name *Wic* generally means 'settlement', while the prefix *Pain* is believed to have been derived from the name of the lord of the manor in the twelfth century, Pain FitzJohn.

4.3 The status of the settlement

The first reference to Painswick occurs in Domesday Book, and suggests that there was some form of settlement by 1066. Although there is no surviving borough charter, seven burgesses were recorded in 1324 and a rental of 1496 refers to thirty burgages which implies that an urban settlement of some standing had developed by that time (Beresford and Finberg 1973, 115). Painswick stood on the Medieval route between Gloucester and Cirencester via Bisley, and trade passing along this road is likely to have stimulated the economic development of the town.

4.4 The manor

In 1066 the estate, later called the 'Manor of Painswick', was held by Ernesi, but before 1085 it had passed to Walter de Lacy. It was de Lacy's son, Roger, who held the estate at Domesday (Sheils 1976, 65). The estate remained in the hands of the de Lacy family passing through the male and female line, until 1126 when it came under the control of the Crown. In 1130 it was returned to Pain FitzJohn, husband of Sibyl de Lacy after whom the town was named (Sheils 1976, 65). The manor of Painswick remained in secular hands throughout the Medieval period, and is notable for being the largest in the county, with its customs sanctioned by Parliament (Hyett 1957, 1).



The manor house is thought to have stood to the south of the church, in the area of the castle (**SMR 3613**; see section 5.5 below), and was in use as a residence until the fifteenth century. The fourteenth century lodge in the park to the north-east of the settlement (**SMR 3834**) was enlarged during the sixteenth century, possibly to receive Henry VIII in 1535, and it appears that it became the manor house from that date (Sheils 1976, 67).

4.5 The castle (SMR 3613)

A small castle is believed to have been built at Painswick during the twelfth century, possibly during the period when Pain FitzJohn held the manor. The structure is thought to have stood to the south of the church, in the area now occupied by Castle Hale (**SMR 19520**; a house of seventeenth century and later date), but was demolished towards the end of the sixteenth century when the Court House (**SMR 3606**) was built. Documentary sources record a 'Robert Atte Castle' in Painswick during the fourteenth century, but there are now no visible remains of the castle nor any indication of the nature of its fortifications. Archaeological investigations undertaken at SO 86690949 (**SMR 3613**), within the area in which the castle is thought to have stood, did not produce any evidence for Medieval activity.

4.6 The church (SMR 5769)

A priest was recorded during the Domesday survey, indicating that there may have been a pre-Conquest church at Painswick, although the earliest documentary references to the foundation date to the eleventh century. The present church, which is dedicated to St. Mary, dates from the fourteenth century, although ecclesiastical architectural fragments of Norman date, which may have been derived from an earlier structure were on display in the church in 1928 (Anon 1928, 25). The building comprises a sanctuary, a chancel with north and south chapels, a south vestry, an aisled nave and west tower with stone spire (Sheils 1976, 82). The oldest surviving parts of the fabric are thought to date from the rebuilding of the church c.1378, and lie within the north chapel. The sanctuary was added during the earlier fifteenth century, while the five-bay nave, the north aisle and the tower were built later that century (Sheils 1976, 82). The easternmost corbels in the aisle are said to represent king Richard II and his queen (Verey 1980, 357).

Hugh de Lacy granted the church of Painswick to Llanthony Priory before 1096, and it remained in their hands until the Dissolution (Sheils 1976, 80-81). A vicarage had been ordained by 1237, when the advowson was confirmed to the Priory. The vicarage was valued at £7 in the *Taxatio* of 1291, and £14 15s 1½d in 1535 (Sheils 1976, 81).

4.7 Markets and fairs

In 1253 the lord of the manor obtained a grant for a weekly market to be held on Thursday, and an annual three day fair to be held between the 14th and 16th of August. A second charter granted in 1321 transferred the market to Tuesdays, and the fair to 7th and 8th of September (Sheils 1976, 79). The market was held in the triangular area now formed by the junction of Bisley Street, Vicarage Road and St. Mary's Street (Sheils 1976, 79), and probably originally extended over the adjacent land to the west towards the church (see section 9.1, below).

4.8 Trade and industry

4.8.1 Mills

Four mills are recorded in Domesday Book. In 1346 a mill was granted to Flanesford Priory by the lord of the manor and by 1496 seven mills were held from the manor (Sheils 1976, 71). Only two of the surviving mill buildings in the area of the modern settlement appear to have had their origins in the Medieval period: Brookhouse Mill (**SMR 3601**) stands off Greenhouse Lane, and is thought to have been the Phippes Mill which was recorded in a deed of 1413 (Sheils 1976, 73); Skinner's Mill (**SMR 3598**), is also Medieval in origin as the existing building incorporates part of a fourteenth or early fifteenth century open hall at the southern end of its long range (Sheils 1976, 74).

4.8.2 The cloth industry

The cloth industry appears to have been established in Painswick by 1440, when a list of purchases made by the steward of the manor included *Wyke Yeyrne* and quantities of red cloth, green cloth and black fustian. In 1455 John Morely of Painswick is recorded as acting as the *mainpernor* for the farmer of the Shropshire cloth *alnage*, but the earliest record of a clothmaker in the town is Henry Loveday in 1512 (Sheils 1976, 72).



4.8.3 Quarrying

The stone quarries of the parish would also have contributed to the economic success of the town, and there is a tradition that the stone for Llanthony Priory came from a quarry at Painswick. The priory is known to have been leasing quarries from the manor during the later fifteenth century when the church at Painswick was being rebuilt (Sheils 1976, 78).

5 The Post-medieval period

5.1 The status of the settlement

The extent of rebuilding and new construction which took place between c.1600 and 1800 implies a period of significant commercial prosperity in Painswick, based almost entirely upon the cloth industry (Sheils 1976, 59). In 1836 Painswick became part of the Stroud poor law union, but did not achieve urban district status (Sheils 1976, 80).

5.2 The manor

In 1539 the manor was conveyed to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, who in the following year sold it to Sir William Knighton and his wife (Sheils 1976, 66). It was passed from William's son to Sir Henry Jerningham in 1569, and remained in the hands of the Jerningham family until 1803, when part of the estate was sold to Joseph Pitt (famous for his development of the Pittville suburb of Cheltenham). The estate was held by a number of landowners during the nineteenth century, but during the 1920s it was purchased by the Murray family who were still resident in the 1970s (Sheils 1976, 66).

The manor house in the park to the north-east of the town (SMR 3834) was used only occasionally by the Jerninghams, who were chiefly resident at Costessey in Norfolk, and during the 1570s it was leased to the Bishop of Gloucester (Sheils 1976, 67). The Medieval west wing of the house and the sixteenth century hall (with seventeenth century additions) all survived into the 1970s, but the east wing and south hall were demolished during the nineteenth century (Sheils 1976, 67).

5.3 Ecclesiastical history

5.3.1 The church of St. Mary (SMR 5769)

St. Mary's church is said to have been damaged during a skirmish between Parliamentary and Royalist forces in 1644, during the course of which two *culverins* were brought up against the building, setting fire to the north chapel and aisle. Shot marks are said to still be visible on the north face of the tower and on the east end of the church (Anon 1928, 25). The top of the tower was struck by lightning in 1763 following which rebuilding was undertaken by John Bryan. It was again struck by lightning in 1883 when considerable damage was said to have been done, necessitating the rebuilding of the entire tower (Verey 1980, 357). In 1741 a classical south aisle with an arcade of doric columns was added to house proprietary seats, and the church was restored between 1879 and 1880 when the south chapel and aisle had arcades inserted to match those on the north, the galleries were removed and the sanctuary, chancel and nave were reroofed. Further restoration work was undertaken in 1890 when the south chapel was extended eastwards (Sheils 1976, 82).

At the Dissolution the advowson and rectory passed to the Crown until 1579 when it was granted to Sir Christopher Hatton (Sheils 1976, 81). Before 1642 a Puritan element within the town promoted the purchase of the advowson by the parishioners, who presented through a board of trustees. Unfortunately, the terms of the presentation were vague, leading to a number of disputes, resolved only by the sale of the advowson in 1838. In 1899 the advowson was exchanged with the Lord Chancellor, who was still patron in the 1970s (Sheils 1976, 81).

In 1612 the vicarage estate included a house and 45 acres of land, valued at £80 in 1650, and £550 in 1817. A new vicarage house was built to the north of Sheepscombe Street in 1704, and restored in 1806, but was superseded by a new vicarage at the east end of Vicarage Street in 1872 (Sheils 1976, 81).

Painswick churchyard is renowned for the 99 yew trees which were planted there during the later eighteenth century.



5.3.2 Nonconformity

A tradition of nonconformity in Painswick can be recognised from the later sixteenth century when unlicensed readers were allowed in the church, and the purchase of the advowson and subsequent appointment of a Puritan vicar before 1642 (see 6.3.1 above) may have helped to contain the early Puritan tradition within the established church (Sheils 1976, 83).

The Quakers

The earliest recorded nonconformist group in Painswick is the Quakers, which developed following a visit by Humphrey Smith in 1655. By 1658 the meeting had its own burial ground to the east of the town, and in 1690 a meeting-house was licensed. In 1706 a new meeting house with a burial ground was built in Vicarage Street (**SMR 8229**) and in 1750 four families of Quakers were recorded in the town. The meetings were never well attended and in 1851 the congregation numbered three (Sheils 1976, 83).

The Congregationalists

A house for Congregational worship was licensed in 1672, presumably by the same group who licensed the town hall for worship in 1689. A settled minister was appointed in 1690 and a chapel built in 1705 (**SMR 8230**), when the group was described as Presbyterian. The congregation numbered 150 in 1735, when it was called Independent. The chapel was rebuilt in 1803 and in 1851 there was a congregation of around 300, with a manse being acquired in Gloucester Street c.1868 (Sheils 1976, 84).

The Baptists

A house was registered for worship by Anabaptists in 1705, while a house for Baptist worship was registered in 1726. In 1735, 20 Anabaptists were recorded in the town, which had fallen to 15 in 1750. The congregation was placed on a more secure basis in 1831 when the Baptists took over the chapel in New Street (**SMR 8231**), previously used by Wesleyan Methodists, and the congregation numbered 29 in 1846. The chapel was restored in 1870 and in 1972 the average congregation was 50 (Sheils 1976, 84).

The Methodists

John Wesley preached to large congregations at Painswick on a number of occasions, and the group of nine men who registered a house for worship in 1809 are thought to have represented the Wesleyan Methodists who were recorded in 1825, but who handed their chapel (**SMR 8231**) over to the Baptists in 1831 (Sheils 1976, 84). Primitive Methodists were said to be established in Painswick in 1829, meeting in a room in Vicarage Street until 1849 when their chapel was built (**SMR 16911**). In 1851 the congregation numbered around 40, but had fallen to c.25 in 1894 (Sheils 1976, 84).

Roman Catholics

Recusants are recorded in Painswick from the sixteenth century and a church was built at Beeches Green in the parish in 1856. Mass was occasionally said in a cottage in Hale Lane during the 1930s, served by priests from Stroud, until 1935 when a building in Friday Street was converted for services (**SMR 8228**), allowing mass to be said on a regular basis. The chapel is dedicated to St. Theresa of Lisieux and sustained bomb damage during World War II, but was re-built in 1956 (Sheils 1976, 83).

Other groups

A meeting of the Plymouth Brethren was recorded at Painswick from 1894 in a room in Vicarage Street, later moving to the Quaker meeting house, and in 1928 the congregation numbered around 50 (Sheils 1976, 84). The Painswick Spiritualist Church was founded in 1968 with services being held in the former Methodist chapel. In 1972 the average attendance was around 60 (Sheils 1976, 84).

5.4 Markets and fairs

The Painswick market fell into decline during the seventeenth century due to an outbreak of plague in the town which forced its removal to Wick Street, almost 2km to the south, as a result of which much trade was lost to the expanding market at Stroud. Even though this relocation can only have been a temporary measure, the market does not appear to have recovered, and in 1737 the lord's right in the event was worth only £7 a year, which had declined further to £2 by 1758 (Sheils 1976, 79). The market was recorded by Rudder to be poorly attended in the later eighteenth century, but still managed to survive until the 1870s (Sheils 1976, 79).



The Old Market Hall (**SMR 16717**) at the southern end of Friday Street may have been built in the early part of the seventeenth century, and was still in use in 1739 when it was repaired by the churchwardens (Sheils 1976, 7). It was demolished during the early twentieth century.

By the early eighteenth century two fairs were being held, one in September and the second on Whit Tuesday, both of which catered for the sale of sheep and cattle. The flourishing state of the cloth industry may have encouraged a *great market* for sheep to be held on the Tuesday before All Saints day c.1775 onwards, and a second special sheep market held at the beginning of April was recorded in 1794. The fairs and sheep markets continued to be held until the later nineteenth century, being abandoned c.1879 (Sheils 1976, 79).

5.5 Trade and industry

5.5.1 The cloth industry

During the Post-medieval period the cloth industry flourished at Painswick, due to the town's location in an area of fast flowing streams within a large and traditional cloth producing region. Lipson described the woollen industries of Gloucestershire in 1681, and noted that *At Painswick, on the way towards Stroud you begin to enter the land of clothiers, who in these towns, building fair houses because of the conveniency of water, so useful to their trade, do extend their country for some miles* (Hyett 1957, 69).

Smith's *Men and Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608*, which lists the occupations of the able-bodied men of the manor, records that at least one third of the male population of the town was employed in the production of textiles, including 33 weavers, 10 tuckers and 5 clothiers. Of the 25 mills recorded in the parish in 1820, 18 were employed in the cloth industry. Near the town two of the buildings in Edge Lane were also used in the production of cloth, as were houses in New Street and Vicarage Street where there was a horse-driven cloth mill during the earlier nineteenth century (Sheils 1976, 72). Outdoor weaving was generally the practice, although some mills did contain looms by the early nineteenth century. Within the town most of the weavers lived in the lanes on the eastern side on Vicarage Street, Tibbiwell Street and Tibbiwell Lane (Sheils 1976, 72). The importance of the trade to the town was described by Rudder (1779, 592): *The clothing manufacture has long been established in these parts, by which many have acquired large fortunes. It is still considered as a lucrative and genteel employment capable of any extension, and it certainly deserves the greatest encouragement, because it furnishes labour for the poor of both sexes, and all ages, who derive from it the necessaries and comforts of life.*

Recession in the cloth industry, poor communication routes and competition from Stroud and Nailsworth all contributed to the decline of the cloth industry in Painswick after c.1840. By the early 1860s the smallest mills had been forced to close and many of the others had been converted to other uses (see 6.5.2 below) (Sheils 1976, 72).

5.5.2 Mills

There were over 24 mills in the parish, most of which lay along the Painswick and Washwell streams. However, only six of these lie within the study area defined for this assessment report: Powell's Mill, Loveday's Mill, Brookhouse Mill, Cap Mill, Painswick Mill and Skinner's Mill.

Powell's Mill (**SMR 3603**; SO 874099) which stands on the Washwell stream, was first recorded in 1820 when it was being worked as a cloth mill by Zachariah Powell, who gave up business in 1837. The mill was later bought by John Loveday, who demolished it c.1860 (Sheils 1976, 73).

Loveday's Mill (**SMR 3602**; SO 87310971) lies on the Painswick stream and was recorded in 1777 as belonging to a Mr. Loveday. The mill comprised a fulling mill, gig mill and grist mill in 1792, but had become a corn mill by 1853. The mill ceased to be worked c.1914 and was allowed to become derelict. The remaining buildings were remodelled and converted for residential use in 1939 (Sheils 1976, 73).

Brookhouse Mill (**SMR 3601**; SO 87030947) stands close to Greenhouse Lane, and was being worked as a cloth mill with a dye house attached in 1820. Steam power had been introduced by 1822, and the mill continued to be worked until c.1839 when it was converted to the production of umbrella sticks. By 1853 it was being worked as a corn mill, but had been converted for use as a hair-pin factory by 1879. The building continued as a pin mill into the twentieth century, and in 1904 it employed c.300 people. The existing mill buildings date from the seventeenth century, but were rebuilt and enlarged during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.



The millowner's house stands on the opposite side of the road, and contains an eighteenth century wing to which a three-storied block was added in the early nineteenth century (Sheils 1976, 73). Hair pins were produced at the mill using unique hand made nineteenth century machinery during the 1970s.

Cap Mill (**SMR 3600**; SO 86930934) which was first recorded in 1688 lies about 200m downstream from Brookhouse Mill. In 1772 it comprised a fulling mill with two stocks, a gig and a dyehouse, and it continued to be worked as a cloth mill until 1853 when it was converted to a pin mill. By 1867 it had become a saw mill, and continued to be used as such into the twentieth century. The mill house which was built during the seventeenth century has since been converted for residential use (Sheils 1976, 74).

Painswick Mill (**SMR 3599**; SO 86790922) was working as a cloth mill by the 1630s. By 1863 it had become a silk mill, but had been converted for the manufacture of pins by 1870. In 1904 the firm employed over 80 people and steam power had been introduced. The mill buildings had been demolished by 1972, but the mill-owner's house, a three-storied gabled building of 1634, survived near the site (Sheils 1976, 74). The mill pond, sluice mechanism and two leats from the pond to the mill running under Tibbiwell Lane have also survived.

Skinner's Mill (**SMR 3598**; SO 86510904) lies just above Stepping Stone Lane, and may be that held from the manor by the Taylor family during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In 1698 it comprised two water-driven corn mills, and no evidence of its use as a cloth mill throughout the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries has been found. Steam power had been introduced by 1885, and the mill continued to produce cattle feed until the 1920s. The house and mill date mainly from the seventeenth century with later additions, and incorporate a fourteenth century open hall, as described in section 5.8.1 above (Sheils 1976, 74).

5.5.3 Quarrying

Quarrying continued to play an important role in the economy of the town, and stone from Catsbrain quarry on Painswick Hill was used in the construction of buildings in London and elsewhere in the country (Sheils 1976, 78). Smith's *Men and Armour* of 1608 recorded 5 masons and a tiler in the town.

5.5.4 Other occupations

The brewing and selling of beers and ales has long been established in Painswick, with some inns having their own malthouses. In 1601 eight victualling houses were recorded in the parish, with the earliest, the George Inn, recorded in 1682 (Sheils 1976, 61-62). In 1838 the parish contained eight public houses and 26 beer shops, and by 1891 it had 16 alehouses and 6 beer shops (Sheils 1976, 61-62).

Documentary sources, such as Smith (1608) record other traders working in the town, including butchers, carpenters, joiners and saddlers.

6 The modern settlement

Painswick is now a popular tourist destination with a number of general and speciality shops, hotels, restaurants and public houses. Modern development has taken place to the north and west of the Medieval settlement, along the high ground, and to the south along the lower slopes of the spur. The historic core of the settlement has, however, remained almost unchanged from the seventeenth century. During the earlier part of the twentieth century the Gyde almshouses and orphanage were built to the north of the town, in an area which has since been surrounded by modern housing. Later development has been mainly in the form of housing estates to accommodate the numbers of people who work in Gloucester, Stroud or Cirencester, but have chosen to live in Painswick.

The majority of buildings in the town date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the success of the cloth industry prompted considerable expansion and rebuilding, and the town contains numerous fine examples of Cotswold houses of this period. A few Medieval structures have survived, mainly along Bisley Street and Friday Street which formed the early focus of the settlement. Most of the surviving structures date from the sixteenth century, such as Cardyham at the Cross (SMR 19424), the Post Office and the Beehive on New Street (SMR 19483) which have retained a sixteenth century plan and a heavily timbered gable, and The Gables in Friday Street (SMR 19434) which incorporates part of a Medieval hall house and has retained some Medieval timbers. Earlier buildings include The Chur on Bisley Street (SMR 19395) which has a fourteenth century doorway and New Hall (SMR 19399), which was first mentioned as a cloth hall in 1429. Many structures connected with the cloth industry have survived within the modern settlement. Apart from the existing mill buildings (mentioned in 6.5.2 above) several wool barns exist within the town centre which would



originally have been attached to the homes of weavers and clothiers, but have since been converted into houses in their own right.

7 Population figures

Date	Communicants	Households	Families	Nonconformists	Inhabitants	Source
1551	360				<i>c.540</i>	Percival
1563		142			<i>c.604</i>	Percival
1603	609			10	<i>c.924</i>	Percival
1650			200		<i>c.850</i>	Survey of Church Livings
1676	1055			32	<i>c.1615</i>	Compton Census
1712		750			3000	Atkyns
1779					3300	Rudder
1801					3150	
1851					3464	
1901					4067	
1997					3127	

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

8 Plan analysis (Maps 65-67)

8.1 Discussion

The Medieval settlement at Painswick developed along the course of the main route which linked Gloucester with Bisley and Cirencester, and which would have entered the town along the modern line of Gloucester Street, followed Bisley Street and left Painswick to Bisley via Tibbiwell Street, or Vicarage Street.

The church (**Area 1**) was built to the south-west of the main through route during the eleventh century, or possibly earlier, as a priest is recorded in the Domesday Book entry for Painswick. By the time of the Domesday Survey in the later eleventh century, a small nucleated settlement is likely to have developed along the course of Bisley Street and Gloucester Street (which was later known as the High Street). The castle and later the manor house (**Area 2**) stood further to the south, commanding the southern approach into the town, which would have followed Knapp Lane and Hale Lane.

The Medieval market (**Area 3**) was held in the area which now lies in the junction of Bisley Street and St. Mary's Street. It is possible that the market may originally have extended as far south-west as the churchyard, forming a roughly rectangular area through which all traffic between Gloucester and Cirencester would have been forced to pass. The area has since been built up by infilling which is likely to have begun during the peak of the market's prosperity.

The pre-fifteenth century town would therefore have developed focused on the market place (**Areas 4-9**), and the seven burgage plots recorded in 1324 are believed to have stood along the north-east side of Bisley Street (**Area 4**), the form of which has been preserved within the modern town plan. Vicarage Street is also thought to have been built up during the earlier Medieval period, as it was one of the ways travellers could pass through the town (**Areas 10 and 11**).

In 1429 New Street was laid out to the north-west of the churchyard, providing a more direct route between Gloucester and Stroud, which left Painswick by Stamage's Lane and Stepping Stone Lane to Wick Street and then following Painswick Old Road to enter Stroud from the north. The new road was created in response to the increasing importance of Stroud in the cloth industry, but it also served to alter the focus of the settlement at Painswick westwards, away from the market place towards the north-western corner of the churchyard. The importance of New Street is also reflected in the burgages which were laid out along its north-western frontage during the fifteenth century (**Areas 12 and 13**), the pattern of which have also been preserved in the modern town plan.

During the early seventeenth century a building called the Town Hall or stock house, was built at the north-west corner of the churchyard, along with a row of cottages, which have since been demolished (**Area 15**), and this area became increasingly important for the local government of the town, with a workhouse being built behind the hall



later that century, although both structures were later demolished and the area reused as a public garden. A new town hall was built in the same area, although on the opposite side of Victoria Street, in 1840.

It was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that Painswick prospered through the cloth trade, and this is reflected in the nature of the buildings constructed and the general expansion of the settlement at this time. Most of the cloth mills lay along the course of the Painswick brook to the east of the town, and their success, combined with the crossing point over the Painswick stream at the eastern end of Tibbiwell Lane, played an important role in encouraging the development of the eastern side of the town. Tibbiwell Lane and Vicarage Street thus began to be developed, mainly by the weaving community who found it convenient to be close to the mills (**Areas 31-34**).

Seventeenth century development within the area of the town was mainly in the form of infilling of the market place (**Areas 16-18**), and the rebuilding of properties fronting on to Bisley Street, which involved an encroachment of five feet on to the street at the southern end of its east side, presumably to add depth to the front rooms of the houses. By the eighteenth century there was no more space available within the town centre and areas such as Ham Butts and Gloucester Street came to be built up at this time (**Areas 27-29, 38 and 39**). In 1820 the main route between Cheltenham and Stroud was diverted to run through Painswick, following the line of the modern A46 into the north of the town, which was built up at this time (**Area 30**). Later nineteenth and twentieth century development to the north, south and west of the town has been described in section 7, above.

8.2 Plan Components

8.2.1 Medieval (Map 65)

1. The church of St. Mary and surrounding churchyard
2. Possible site of the Medieval manor house and castle
3. The market place
4. Group of burgages fronting on to the north-east side of Bisley Street
5. Group of burgages fronting on to the east side of Gloucester Street
6. Group of probable burgages fronting on to the west side of Gloucester Street
7. Group of probable burgages fronting on to the north-west side of the market place
8. Group of probable burgages fronting on to the south side of Tibbiwell Lane
9. Medieval settlement along the north side of Tibbiwell Lane
10. Medieval settlement along the south side of Vicarage Street
11. Medieval settlement along the north side of Vicarage Street
12. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the west side of New Street
13. Group of burgage plots fronting on to the west side of New Street

8.2.2 Post-medieval (Map 66)

14. The church of St. Mary and surrounding churchyard
15. Site of the town hall and group of cottages built next to the north-western corner of the churchyard
16. Infill of the Medieval market place
17. Infill of the Medieval market place
18. Infill of the Medieval market place



19. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the east of Gloucester Street
20. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the west of Gloucester Street
21. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the north-west of New Street
22. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the west of New Street
23. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south-west of Tibbiwell Lane
24. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south of Vicarage Street
25. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the east of Bisley Street
26. Area of Post-medieval settlement to the south-east of New Street
27. Area of Post-medieval development to the west of Gloucester Street
28. Area of Post-medieval development to the east of Gloucester Street
29. Area of Post-medieval development to the east of Gloucester Street
30. Area of Post-medieval development to the east of Cheltenham Road
31. Area of Post-medieval development to the north of Vicarage Street
32. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Vicarage Street
33. Area of Post-medieval development to the north of Tibbiwell Lane
34. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Tibbiwell Lane
35. Area of Post-medieval development between Knap Lane and Tibbiwell Lane
36. Area of Post-medieval development between Stammages Lane and King's Mill Lane
37. Area of Post-medieval development to the west of Stammages Lane
38. Area of Post-medieval development to the south of Edge Road
39. Area of Post-medieval development to the north of Edge Road
40. Post-medieval development to the east of New Street
41. Castle Hale

9 Future research

Priorities for future work include:

1. The date and location of the earliest church at Painswick, and any associated settlement. It is uncertain whether there was a pre-Conquest or early eleventh century church at Painswick, as a priest is recorded in the Domesday Book entry for the town, although the first documentary reference to the foundation dates from the eleventh century.



2. The castle, believed to have been built at Painswick during the twelfth century in the area to the south of the church later occupied by the house known as Castle Hale, but for which there is as yet no archaeological evidence.
3. The Medieval manor house, thought to have stood in the area to the south of the church, and its relationship to the castle.
4. Archaeological evidence for the Medieval and later borough, its extent, character and economy.
5. Evidence for the cloth industry, on which the economy of Painswick was based. Archaeological evidence within the area of the town along with the surviving structures of mills and other buildings associated with the production of cloth will have survived in Painswick. No survey of the settlement's industrial buildings has yet been undertaken, but such a study would provide important information about the nature of the cloth trade in the town.

10 Sources

10.1 Primary historical sources

There are a small number of original documents and Medieval references relating to Painswick. These have not been consulted directly, but where they appear in the text, have been drawn from secondary, published sources.

10.2 Secondary historical sources

Painswick has been covered by the Victoria County History for Gloucestershire, which provides an excellent historical account of the development of the town, while individual general histories have been written by St. Clair Baddeley (1929) and Hylett (1955), both of which were invaluable to the production of this report. The settlement is also discussed in studies of the cloth industry in Gloucestershire, and was recorded by the eighteenth century antiquaries.

10.3 Archaeological sources

Most archaeological interest in the Painswick area has been focused on the hillfort known as Painswick Beacon, rather than on the town itself. Three archaeological investigations have been undertaken within the town to date, all of which have failed to provide significant evidence for settlement or activity. Other finds recorded in sections 2-4, above, have been made by chance.

10.4 Maps

The earliest map consulted for Painswick was the Charles Baker map of 1820. The tithe map of 1840 and the Ordnance Survey First Edition map of 1885, both show the Post-medieval town plan before any twentieth century development took place.

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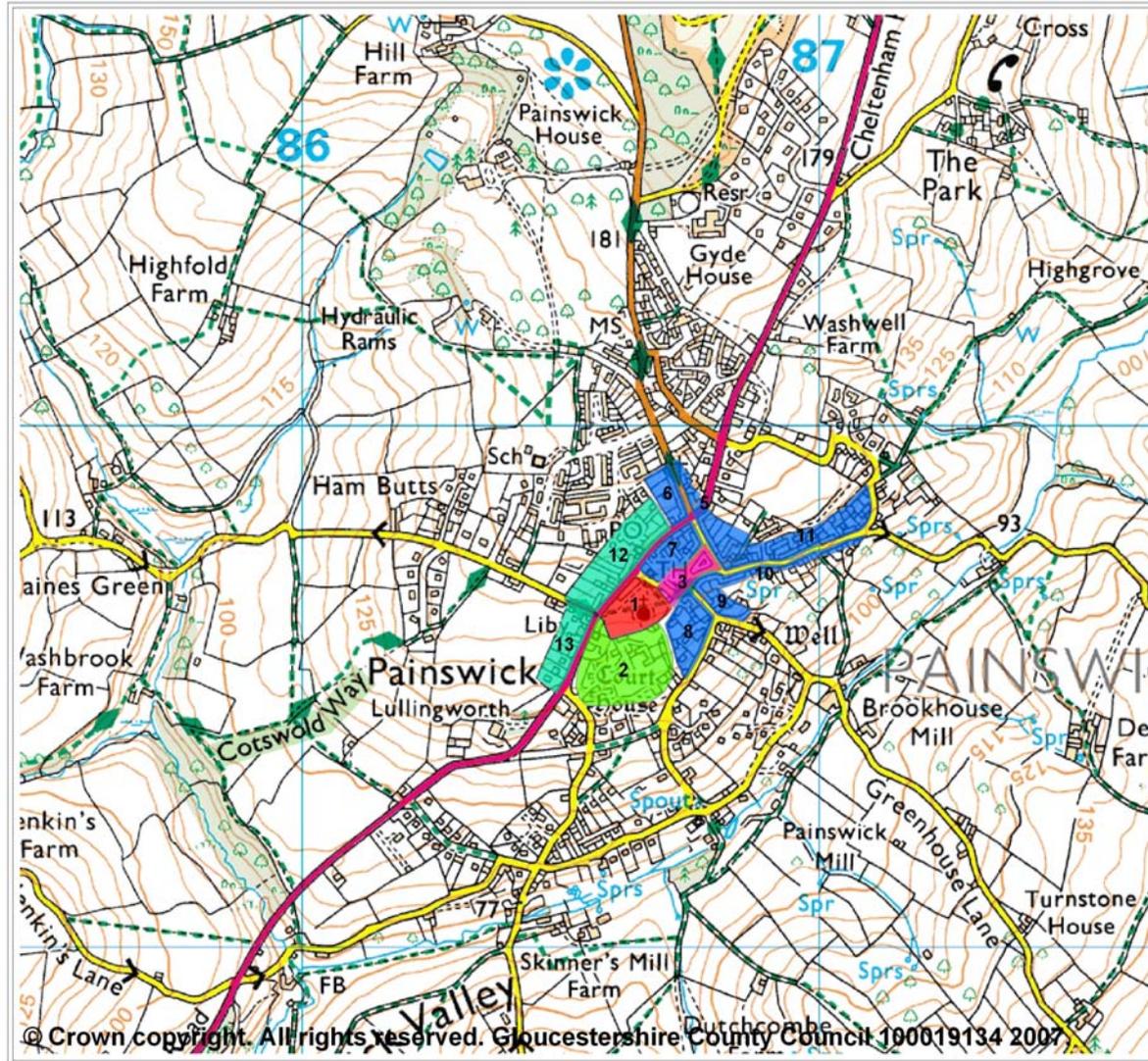
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11.2 Maps

Map of Painswick by Charles Baker, 1820

Enclosure Map of Painswick, 1838

Ordnance Survey First Edition 25":1 mile map, 1885



MAP 65
Painswick
Medieval Plan Components

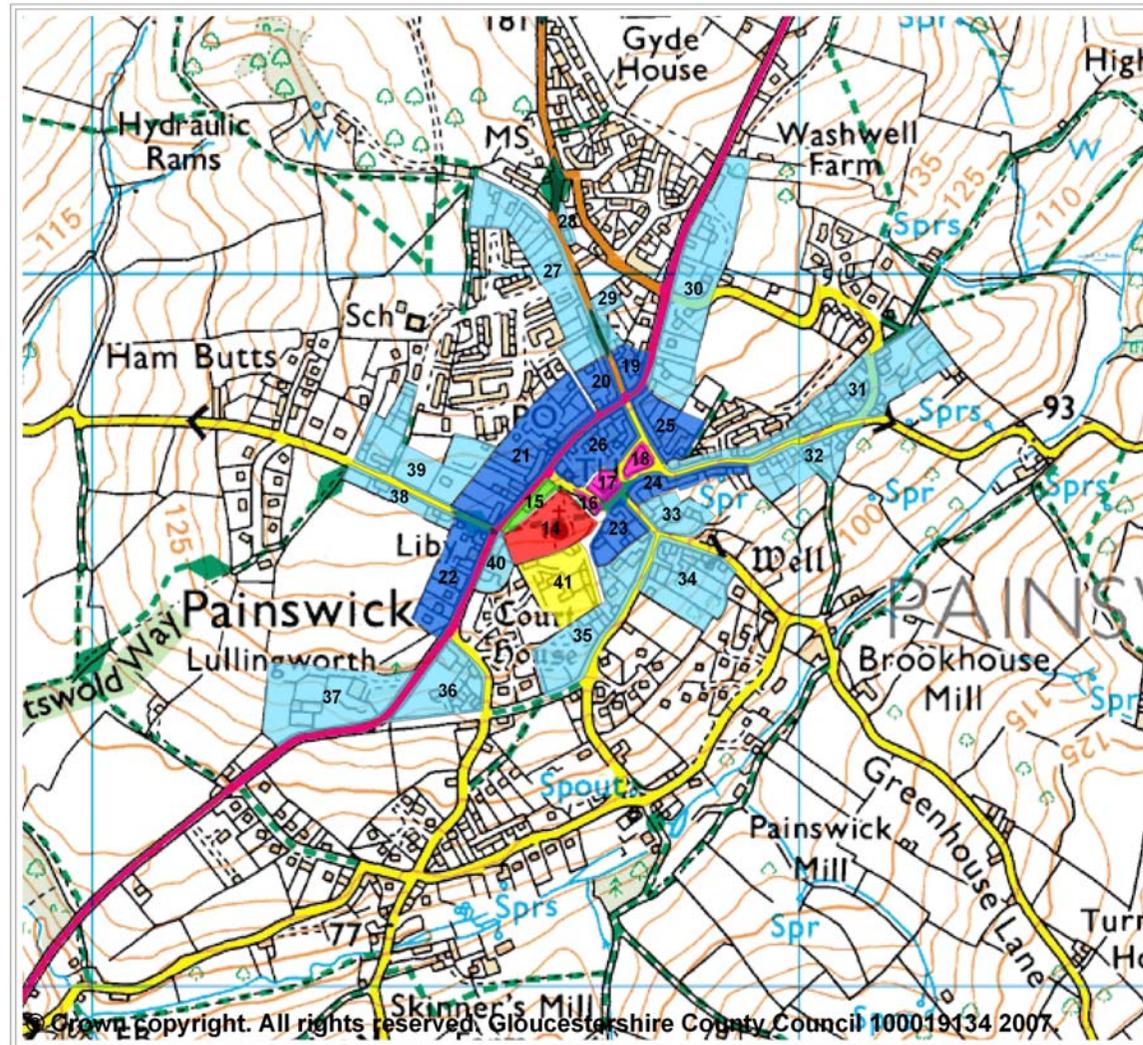
Legend

- Castle and manor house
- Church & churchyard
- Market place
- Post-1429 burgage plots
- Pre-1429 settlement

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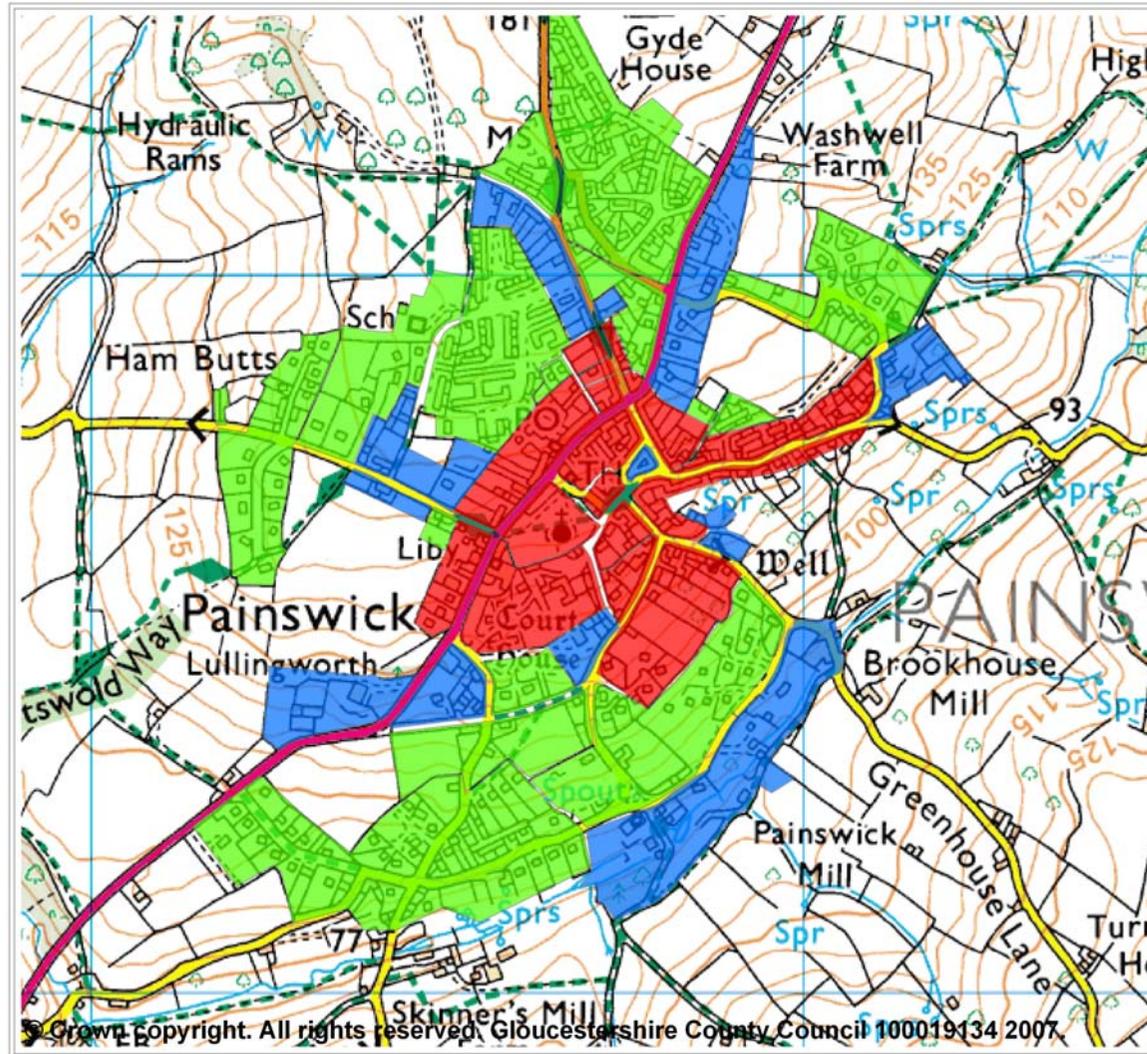
MAP 66
Painswick
Post-Medieval
Plan Components

- Legend**
- Castle Hale
 - Church & churchyard
 - Market infill
 - Post-medieval cottages
 - Areas of development
 - Areas of settlement

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MAP 67
Painswick
Development By Period

Legend

- Medieval
- Post Medieval
- Modern

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