LAYING THE FOUNDATION
STROUD IN THE 16th CENTURY

by IAN MACKINTOSH

By the early 1600s there is plentiful evidence for a prosperous cloth industry emerging in Stroudwater. The voice of Gloucestershire clothiers was being heard in London. References though to Stroudwater in national archives are less frequent. In 1538 an Oxfordshire clothier, Berar, reported that "weekly need constrained him to send to Abingdon his cart laden with wool to be carded and spun or else ... he send it to Stroudwater". (1) This suggests a rather inferior dependant position for Stroudwater. By contrast a claim by Walter Butt, a clothier of Stroud, in 1617, suggests that the Stroudwater cloth industry had achieved a more prosperous condition. In making a complaint against the 'agent or factor' Benjamin Decrow, citizen of London and member of the Company of Muscovy Merchants, Walter claimed that he had for 12-14 years been supplying the company with "stammells and redd woollen cloth" worth £1,000 a year. (2)

Walter's evidence, it will later emerge, was not altogether trustworthy. However, another contrast can be drawn from the national archives to show that the area was developing in prosperity. In 1551 Walter Compston of Avening, gent., was granted licence to alienate the "mannour place" of Througham (part of the royal manor of Bisley) to William Stumpe, Esq., of Malmesbury Wilts. Almost immediately the Stumpe family passed Througham on to a Malmesbury clothier, a Nathaniel Kynge. (3) By contrast a local clothier in 1575 benefitted by further sales of the royal manor. William Hopton of "Chawford", Bisley, bought various woods including "Catteswood". (4) In 1573 another clothier, this time from Stroud, was able to benefit by the royal need to sell property. William Sewell of Strode was granted licence to alienate half of Nether Lypiatt manor, "late of the preceptory of Quenington". (5)

Hopton and Sewell were members of families that continued to prosper. The foundations of the fortunes of the Sewell family had already been laid by William's father. In his will in 1540 Thomas Sewell, of the Limitation of Stroud, left lands in Nether Lypiatt and Minchinhampton, and held part of Bisley parsonage from the College of Stoke Claire. On his "Burne" lands he also had fulling mills and a dyeing house. So, besides leaving the property of a prosperous farmer - sheep, grain, money and plate - he also left vats, furnaces, shears and other shop stuff. (6) Clearly he exploited the good position of his estate and felt no need to accept the demarcation between industry and agriculture that government was at that time trying to impose.

Another family emerging in the sixteenth century as wealthy landowners and clothiers had a more direct interest in the town of Stroud. The Arundells were widespread in the middle sixteenth century. Apart from the Cornwall line based at Trerice and the Earldom of Arundell, the manor of Frampton-on-Severn had been held from John Arundell in 1501. (7) I do not know why from all these ramifications a Richard Arundell suddenly emerged as free tenant of Chapman's Mill and another house and small estate. However, they were soon clearly influential. In 1580 Thomas Wye, lord of the Manor of Over Lypiatt, and his brother owed Richard £20 and £30 respectively. Prosperity is reflected in the acquisition of property. In 1581 he leased Orpin's fulling mill as a customary tenant. In 1584 Richard joined with the Clutterbucks to take on further property which in 1609 another Richard bought more securely from the manor. Effectively besides the two mills the family had
gained possession of almost all the south slopes of the valley from about opposite the market to Bowbridge. Part of the extensive estate comprised the much older one of the Huckvale family from an earlier cloth-working generation. This has been identified as being centred on The Field, which became the chief house of the Arundells. (8)

The importance of this family is not reflected in Men and Armour 1608. There are only three recorded in the Stroud tythings: Richard Arundell yeoman, another Richard a tucker, and Edmund also a tucker. In fact, the will in 1601 of Richard Arundell of Stroudwater, parish of Bisley, yeoman, shows the multifarious interests of the family and throws light on the character of the east end of Stroud itself. His eldest son Richard inherited all the lands and Chapman's Mill. The two other sons only had a life interest in their inheritance. The second son, John, received the lower mill (Orpins), its grounds, and Mansell's Mead, which ran down from the mill nearly to Wallbridge. (9) Apparently John did not exercise his right for long. In 1607 the mill was leased to a member of another extensive local family, the Vyners. Later in the century it was sold entirely. (10)

The youngest son, William, was to enjoy the inn at Stroud occupied by Thomas Close with all its grounds, and a meadow called Shermore. This is the earliest mention of an inn. It is probably identifiable with The George which grew into the major coaching inn of the town in the eighteenth century. (11) It was well placed across the road from the market on the 'king's highway' from Stroud to Bisley. It is now part of a large re-development plan, so its future must be ensured.

The meadow named Shermore also has a long history. The Huckvales had been free tenants of land in Shermore and in 1581 Richard was tenant of an acre in Shermore. Later deeds show the extent of this field. In 1641 meadow-ground called Great Shearmoore bordered on the north of a property in Wallbridge. In 1654 occupiers of the meadow had rights of way to the street through The George and Swan Inn. It was only in 1826 that parts of Great Shearmore were being built on, after the Chalford turnpike road had split the meadow or orchard in two. The description of this field in 1654 is interesting: it was a 10-acre close lying on the south-west side of the town of Stroud. (12)

The history of another significant building in Stroud is tied up with the Arundells. According to Fisher, The Castle was built in 1610 by Simon and Jane Chadwell. The earliest date I can find is 1618, when Richard Arundle, yeoman, leased to Jane Shadwell of Stroud, late wife of Simon, for £3 per annum a cottage and garden adjoining and one plot of arable land lately enclosed out of Hemlock Well field. It lay between the field and an adjoining meadow and contained 1 acre. Such was the humble beginnings of The Castle. Much later it became a major Stroud property, but for around 200 years it was simply an Arundell property which they leased to clothiers like the Chadwells or the Ridlers or which was occupied by one of the Arundells themselves. (13)

No. 33 High Street is also connected with a successful Stroud family. Originally a 4-bay, part-timbered building, it was built gable-end on to the street - it had at least one floor with a heavy stone fireplace in the north-west wall. The second floor, if it was not original, was added soon after. Tremendous changes have been caused by continuous occupation but it is clear that the building was substantial but plain in character. The earliest mention of the so-called 'Medieval Hall' is in 1557 when Hugh Davys was customary tenant of a messuage and adjoining apple orchard at the end of the town of Stroud, and of eight acres of arable in "Strodefyld'. Nothing is known of Hugh or the previous occupant Walter Sewell except that both of them came from well-established families from higher up the valley. Also both families were showing interest in Stroud at this time. (14)
Rather more comes to light under the new tenant, Richard Poole. From 1581 varying entries in the Manor Book record that the rent was 16s., an 'entry fine' of 26s. 8d. was charged to new tenants and by 1612 the value was £10, but the rent was now only 8s. The estate, known as Poole's, was therefore quite valuable compared to its size. Yet the arable was probably a long distance away in the area of the Horns; indeed it was so far away that by 1697 (and probably long before) the arable was merged with another property called Combe House. No. 33 had become an entirely urban property. (15)

The Poole family provided, perhaps, the clue to the value of the property. Richard was a mercer. His origins are unclear, though Richard Poole's are to be found in Painswick and Wotton-under-Edge. (16) The earliest reference in Stroud is in 1568 when Richard Poole of Stroud was accused of borrowing money on the security of William Clutterbuck. (17) However he made his way, he was able to provide comfortably for his children. One of his daughters married into the rising Estcourt family. William, his heir according to an entail of 1591, held not only Poole's Tenement but "lands purchased from the Lord of Huntingdon in Newton" (near Tetbury in Wiltshire). This was the basis of an estate which lasted until 1792 and later included land, and buildings in Stroud, Tetbury, Cirencester, Cam and Frampton-on-Severn. (18) Clearly the family had outgrown Stroud, and William and his heirs leased Poole's Tenement, and built on the orchard.

The younger son's fortunes seem less certain but he also must have been left the means to prosper. In 1593 he purchased from Lord Stafford the manors of Rendcomb, North Cerney and Woodmancote, and had 307 sheep at pasture in 1604. In 1598 he rented a property beside "Pea Lane ende" in Stroud. Richard did not retain this lease and he nearly lost his other properties. He claimed he had been cheated of them while he was in London. Richard had followed his father as a mercer and described himself as "late of Stroud". (19) However, he had not entirely cut his ties with the town. His son Abel was in 1623 rewarded by the parish for killing otters and in 1634 described himself "of Stroud, gent". (20)

The Davis family also reflected interests in both cloth and property in Stroud. In 1557 Giles Davies was tenant of Sudwelles in Nether Lyplatt, adjoining the property of the Bigg family in Brimscombe. Alice Davis, widow, was tenant of another property around there. (21) Although the family prospered at The Bourne in the seventeenth century, their interest in Stroud was evident early in the sixteenth century. Giles Davis was tenant at Pridihay and the family retained it throughout the century. (22) It is only around 1600 that it emerges that Pridihay is a parcel of meadow, one acre in extent. We also learn that the Davises had already started to develop the site. William Cook of Strode leased for 61 years a messuage newly built at William's cost. Walter Goslinge had the adjoining piece. The rent was 10s. per annum. In 1606 there is mention of messuages in Stroud "lately built" occupied by five tenants. (23) This enterprise did not prosper, as the Manor Book later records that there were three cottages there and seven other little cottages which were "now ruinate". However the family prospered. In 1618/19 Gyles Davis was of Nether Lyplatt, gent. (24) By the 1630s they had extensive property in the town, so clearly Pridihay was not the foundation of their fortune. (25)

It is more difficult to locate Pridihay. The deed of sale in 1658 is quite specific about the dimensions. It lay between the highway and a pasture of Richard Burrowes, from which it was separated by a ditch. It was at the lower end of the town between a house of Thomas Bubb and Badbrook. (26) For reasons which will emerge later, the speculation
and even map of P H Fisher can be discounted. He envisaged that Pri-
dihay was interchangeable with Pridie's Acre. (27) However, by about
1600 Pridie's Acre was a long-established market with the Church to the
north and a way past it on the east. The north side of the highway is
unlikely as this was called Church Close. It was owned by the Warner
family. (28) At this time along the south side of the High Street was
no property identifiable below the Arundells' inn. So, theoretically
any 37½ yards of High Street frontage might be possible. My preferred
site is in the region of where Foster's gable floats uneasily above the
plastic and plate glass. Support for this speculation comes from a ser-
ies of complicated deeds in the 1820s which mention Burrough's Leaze
as adjoining Shermore and being in the area where Kendrick Street was
later developed. (29) Certainly it speaks well of the memory of Stroud
if a property owner was remembered so much later. It is though by no
means an unique situation, as Shermore and Gittoes prove. (30)

So far we have followed the fortunes of three families which made sig-
nificant contributions to the development of Stroud. In fact a report
in 1615 "supposed that more than half of the cloths that are made in
Wilts., Gloucester and Somersetshire is made by ... yarmakers and poor
clothiers that depend weekly upon the wool chapman, which serves them
weekly with wool either for money or credit" (31) In Stroud there are
a number of men describing themselves as "tuckers" who have apparently
much less to leave than the Davises, Pooles and Arundells. In 1573,
Richard Banknett of Stroud, tucker, had leases on his house and a close
of pasture and left his working tools. Edmund Clissold of the parish
of Stroude was able to leave his three daughters £40 each, no mean sum
of course. In 1597 Ansell Gittoes, tucker, died. He did leave his
mark on Stroud as he leased the close Strangis which Sir John Hampton
had held a hundred years before. From his lifetime the Manor Book re-
fers to the close as Gittoes, a name it bore until its final disappear-
ance in the nineteenth century. (32)

Wills provide plentiful evidence of the employment created by cloth-
making. In 1589 Elizabeth Clifford left her five sons 10 sheep each.
Her two eldest received an "irebound wayne" each, the next inherited
the broadloom ready to work. In 1607 John Readler's two sons inher-
ited a broadloom and a narrowloom respectively, and half the best pig.
His daughter was left £20, all the wool and yarn in the house to make
her apparel, and lease of a close to maintain her two lambs. In 1612,
amongst the silver (rare amongst tradespeople) Margaret Cooke left her
nephew her loom. Yet she was the widow of a vintner. Finally, there
is a note of severity in Richard Gittoes' will of 1572. He was a weaver
of Stroud. Clearly a weaver could prosper. Besides a lease-hold house
and "ground" he left money to "my man". One son was left "the other
broadloom" but the eldest received the best loom, apparently a great
responsibility for a young man. (33)

Amidst all the prosperity evidence emerges of the insecurity of those
dependant on a growing industry for their livelihoods. Wheeler, in his
Defence of the Merchant Adventurers (1601) claimed that a slump around
1588 had made many of the poor of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire "living
wholly upon clothmaking" ready to mutiny. (34)

The poor did not leave wills or buy houses, but evidence of uncertainty
at more prosperous levels emerges. Since early in the sixteenth cen-
tury the Orpins had held the mill that bore their name. However, the
messuage, fulling mill and two closes passed down through the family
from 1489. The rent was 17s. 9d. In 1548 John Orpin was the millwright.
Then in 1581 Richard Arundell was the tenant and when Richard died we
find that he had a servant called Henry Orpin. It is not impossible
that Richard, having many other concerns, had retained the family to
run the mill. (35)
The will of Richard Watts of the New Mills in the parish of Stroud, clothier, in 1590 reflected this theme that many people depended upon his skills. He starts by claiming a disinterested attitude to trading "whereas by my dealing in the trade of cloth making to keep the people in work" ... Now he was bankrupt and insisting that first of all his creditors should be satisfied. In fact the family managed to survive. There was a Richard Watts still at New Mills in 1666. The lands which he had accumulated had been sufficient to tide them over, or perhaps it was his family connections with the Trottmans. Certainly he was able to appoint, in 1590, influential names as trustees of his entail - Richard Stephens and Edward Trotman, gentlemen, and James Stephens and John Trotman clothiers. (36)

Land was important to successful clothiers. Besides food, it provided room for racks - Watts' rack-close in 1590 is about the earliest I have seen specifically mentioned. Timber seems quite important from its fairly frequent mention in wills. Investment in land was a way of putting profits to work as well as providing for the family and perhaps cutting a dash locally. The unfortunate case of Walter Butt provides another reason for property investments. Clothiers needed credit to allow for the quite slow return on the heavy investments they made when making the cloth. Butt bought some lands from Richard Arundell and some from the lord of the manor, John Throckmorton. Then he proceeded to borrow upwards of £1,000 from Benjamin Decrow. He also borrowed from a clothier from Abingdon and a yeoman farmer from Bisley. No wonder it took from 1617 to 1632 to sort out the entanglement of claims when Butt was called first to Ludlow castle, and then later died a bankrupt in Gloucester prison. (37)

Despite the hazards of the woollen industry, the township had developed a definite nucleus by 1600. The "Chapelry of Strowde" was now regularly referred to in wills as the Church. The last reference I have found to a chapel is Sir Thomas Wye's request to be buried with his ancestors "at the chapell in Stroud". That was in 1581 and might rather be a reference to a family chapel. Even in 1549 the description of John Mery as a "parishioner unto the Chaple of Strowde" is quite unusual. (38)

It is though the increasing evidence of a market which is best proof of the growth of population. The present Shambles is generally accepted as the historic market place, developed on part of the original Pridie's Acre. As early as 1493 church land yielded a rent of 15s. to maintain the minister. The earliest direct reference to the market is in 1567 when a self-confessed adulteress was directed by the Gloucester Consistory Court to admit her sins at the Friday market in Stroud. She then had to repeat the confession in Bisley church on the Sunday. (39)

A more lasting monument to prosperity was the building of the Market House by the Lord of the Manor. This is traced to a 31-year lease by the feoffees to Sir John Throckmorton and Thomas Clissold "of a messuage and parcell of ground ... for allowances towards the ministry within the limits of the parsonage". The building has undergone many changes in use and has been considerably adapted. However, it is just possible to envisage a typical market house with the usual open area for trade below. As late as the mid nineteenth century it still had a butter market beneath. Perhaps Thomas Stephens; Throckmorton's successor, had a vision of this impressive career when he left the Market House to "Mr. Thomas Freeme, Mr. Giles Fields and other men of sort and abilities and of religious disposition". He expected the lease to yield £10 a year to maintain a "godly learned preacher". However, he was much too optimistic. Within the year the tenant was £11 10s. in arrears and the feoffees bought a farm to supplement the income. The minister had to accept £2 a year instead of £10. (40)

However, Thomas Stephens' confidence was not entirely without foundation. Other shops were being established. In 1601 John Harris, cordan-winder, took a lease on part of the Church House. This stood "at the
entry of the way that leadeth to the house of Richard Warner with one shop faced out into the street and ground wherein the kitchen did stand". The tenant of the other part of Church House was Harry Bromston, or Broughton, perhaps the son of Henry Broughton who had leased the royal farm Higons Court in Bisley in 1568. The division of this house and the reference to "the ground wherein the kitchen did stand" suggest that this was already quite an old building. The name and its position on the edge of the Church property suggests it may originally have been the priest's house. It is a very slim possibility but at Elks- stone, for example, there is an ancient Church House in a similar position. (41)

Other tradesmen were establishing themselves. The cordiner Edward Pritchard took a lease on a new dwelling newly built by the king's highway from Stroud to Bisley. He had staked out a piece of ground extending 10 yards from north to south and nine yards from east to west. There is no detail of where the property was, but later leases suggest that it was near the Cross on property left by Robert Bigg to the feoffees in the 1520s. Another tenant of the feoffees was Richard Dobbs. Described in Men and Armour (1608) as a smith, he had a house and garden probably near the market or else near the Cross. (42)

Richard Warner, the owner of Rodney House, (43) was also in a position to benefit by the expansion of the town. He owned two fields on either side of the Church land - Church Close and Rye Leaze respectively. The history of ribbon development in these fields seems to belong more properly to the seventeenth century, but I have just come across a deed which records that in 1599 Richard Warner yeoman sold a piece of land to Margery Rice, widow of Richard Rice of Stroud. The property in 1664 was on the north side of the street and is of local importance as the watchmaker William Holloway bought it in 1670. So by the time the next instalment is due, I hope to have identified the land! (44)

There is little evidence in 1600 of other trades. Rather surprisingly William Cooke living on Pridihay Acre was a vyntner who prospered sufficiently to buy silver and to send his son to be a shoemaker in Lon- don. Perhaps he actually was an inn-keeper, as in the seventeenth cen- tury the King's Head was on the edge of the Acre. It is less surprising to find two men involved in transport making their wills. John Edmund Clissold was a chapman, and John Dymock called himself a horse carrier. Given the geographical spread of the community and the links with Lon- don, it is not remarkable that Dymock left £90 to his sons. (45)

The picture of industry that emerges is vibrant with life. Far from being at an isolated confluence of valleys Stroud already was establish- ing itself well beyond the locality. Outsiders saw the area as worth investing in. I assume that the unfortunate Walter Butt represented only one of many clothiers benefitting by the credit facilities of the City of London. Clearly the road to London had been trodden by many since Dick Whittington. Geographically, Stroud faces firmly west with its marvellous views across the Severn, but economically, Stroud's rising fortunes beckoned from the east.

The cloth industry influenced the way of life and the fortunes of most levels of society. At first it seemed to me that it had simply empha- sised the Dante-esque circles of feudal society. A man like Gittoes typically called on other weavers and tuckers to witness his will. In fact, the divisions in society have been blurred. Richard Watts has gentleman partners. Yeoman Shewell and vintner Cooke each in their own way benefit by the industry. Influential landed families like the Pow- lers of Stonehouse and the Stephens have investments in the industry. Throckmortons at Lyplatt benefit by the demand for land and the avail- ability of money to borrow.
Clearly it is dangerous though to consider Stroud too much in isolation. Profits made in the district still did not match those of other areas. Certainly books on the Woollen Industry allot little space to Stroud. Although the town had emerged as a definable unit in the manorial court book, it seems still little more than a loose agglomeration of houses gathered round the market and church, but straggling irregularly up the hill beside the highway to Bisley. Tradesmen were settling here in ones and twos. Farmers no doubt brought their produce to sell to the valley dwellers working the mills and the busy broadavers. Sufficient demand had been created for the lord of the manor to invest in the market house. Clothiers also were investing in property the profits they had made. The story of Frithay though shows that history was not a simple story of ebullient expansion. Buildings, like businesses, could collapse. Like businesses, though, they were also rebuilt. The next century saw the establishment of clothiers' estates.

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**Poole's Tenements - 33 High Street, Stroud.**

In the early 1970s, Gloucestershire County Council acquired a row of shops in the High Street as part of a new road building scheme. Stroud Preservation Trust saved three of these shops (which were listed), which it identified as mainly medieval origin. The accompanying photographs and plan are by courtesy of Stroud Preservation Trust, and show No. 33 High Street "before & after".

![Before & After](image)

![Plan](image)

![Rear View](image)
REFERENCES & NOTES.

2. PRO C2 B32/60.
3. PRO Cal Pat Rolls.
4. GRO D 547a/T4/1.
5. PRO Cal Pat Rolls.
6. PRO Wills. 'Burne' presumably became in part 'The Bourne' higher up the Frome valley.
7. BGAS lxvi provides a cheerful account of these ramifications. Naturally PRO Cal Pat R. and Chancery Proc. contain extensive references. GRO D 67Z provides a local attempt to wrestle with the family tree.
8. GRO D 745 M1 contains innumerable brief references in what is effectively a notebook of past decisions, deeds etc., compiled in the early 18th century. See also Fisher, Notes & Recollections of Stroud pp 202-3.
9. PRO Wills.
10. GRO D 745 M1.
11. PRO Wills; D 745 M1; Fisher pp 33-36. The "low arch" Fisher refers to is still visible in Union Street. An old mullion or two is visible in the cul-de-sac behind - "delightfully dilapidated"!
12. GRO D 745 M1; D 2594/6; D 149/124/824.
14. Personal observation, and experts' conclusions. See also, D 745 M1.
15. GRO D 745 M1.
16. GCL SR 17.8, 19652 (38); GRO D 326 L12; D 2957. These Pooles are not obviously part of the Sapperton family. Their repeated use of the same Christian names would make them painful to trace.
17. GRO GDR 24 p 906.
18. GRO Ph 375/17,21; D 149 T1077.
19. VCH xi p 220; GRO D 293/4; D 149/878.
21. PRO Cal Pat R. I cannot say where this was. There are several deeds relating to this area which suggest this was a valley property. I was never privileged to see Bigg's Place before it was demolished. My guess is that Sidwell's was downstream from where Bigg's Place was.
22. GRO D 745 M1.
23. GRO D 149 T829-836.
24. GRO D 745 M1; D 149 T10-11.
25. GRO Ing P.M. 1625-40 pp 41-2.
27. Fisher p 268; and GRO D 1842 T2 which has a nice map to check the theory.
28. The earliest mention is 1615 in GRO D 149 T879. In 1639 we learn that it adjoined the cemetery. Ing P.M. 42-3.
29. GRO D 914/3.
30. In the previous article (Journal for 1984) I identified Gittoes close to the top of Nelson Street. See accompanying map.
32. PRO Wills, and GRO D 745 M1.
33. PRO Wills, and GRO Wills.
34. Tawney & Power III p 280.
35. PRO Wills, and GRO D 745 M1.
36. PRO Wills, and GRO Wills.
37. PRO Wills, and GRO D 547a/T4/6.
38. PRO & GRO Wills.
39. GRO D 914/5; GCL Hockaday 124 - Bisley. This case is an interesting example of the advantage of being a man, and also involved the unfortunate woman in excommunication.
STROUD about 1600 - buildings identified.

Key

1 Church Close
2 Pridihay
3 Market & Market House (Pridie's Acre)
4 Rye Close
5 Shermore
6 Gittoes (Strangis)
7 The Field
8 Arundell's Mill (Chapmen's)
9 Orpin's Mill (Capel's)
10 Hemlock Well Leaze
11 Wallbridge
12 Rodney House
13 Church House
14 The George
15 Poole's Tenements (33 High St)
16 48 High Street
17 The Castle
18 Badbrooke Mill ("newly erected" 1651 (VCH xi, p 128).

(The area and extent of Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5 are not definitely known.)

The "underlay" is from the map of 1825 accompanying the Stroud Improvement Act. The area above The Cross, and along the road towards Wallbridge and Rodborough, was not developed till well after 1600.

Indices of Growth and Prosperity?

Dr. Whittet, in his article on Gloucestershire Apothecaries' trade tokens (this issue) makes reference to one William Hopton of Stroud, who may possibly have been an apothecary, though perhaps instead a grocer, though this trade in those days may well have brought him to the fringes of pharmacy?

At all events, whether apothecary or grocer, the issue of a token is surely an indication of the growing importance in the seventeenth century of Stroud as a centre for the valleys.