

THE CLOTH TRADE ALONG THE PAINSWICK STREAM

THE CLOTH MILLS (part 1.)

by Colleen Haine

Along the Painswick Stream (formerly Wycke Stream) and its tributaries, the Sheepscombe Brook, the Washwell Brook, the Washbrook and the Pitchcombe Brook, documentary evidence has been found for 31 water mills, but not all of these are recorded as being involved in the cloth trade.

The lowest mill recorded on the Painswick Stream before it joins the River Frome near the Stroud-Cainscross Road (A419) is:-

STRATFORD MILL

Edward Stratford who died in 1607 had an estate which included "1 water-mill and 1 fulling-mill and 2 acres of meadow in the tenancy of Thomas Merryatt for 30 years, all in Paganhill". A deed mentions a fulling-mill there in 1597 (1). In 1627 John Stratford leased a "tucke-mill and a grist-mill" to Gyles Davies together with other land; "4 racks for broad woollen cloth" are mentioned (2). (A tuck-mill is another name for a fulling-mill).

In 1636 when a final concord was made between Giles Davis and Henry Mayo and the Stratford family 3 mills were mentioned (3) but not described. In 1688 Giles Gardner, clothier, was owner of the Stratford Estate which included 2 fulling mills and a gig-mill (4). This is interesting, because gig-mills were banned in the reign of Queen Mary in 1555 (5) so whether our local clothiers defied the law, or were using some different type of gig-mills is not clear. In 1689-90 Giles Gardner de Stratford was recorded as a ratepayer in Painswick (6). No mill was mentioned but this is not surprising as most of his property, as recorded earlier, was in Paganhill, so these rates were probably just for land on the Painswick side of the stream. In 1692-3 a James Stratford was paying poor rates but again no mill was recorded (7).

In 1735 the mill was held by William Little, a baker, from the Gardner widow (8) so this seems to imply that it had left the cloth trade. It is one of the earliest mills where documentary evidence has proved the existence of a fulling-mill and it seems to be one of the earliest to leave the cloth trade, as after 1735 no further evidence of its involvement in the cloth trade has been found. A Nathaniel Jones of Stratford, Stroud, who died in 1786 was recorded as a clothier, but no evidence has been found to connect him with Stratford Mill (9).

In 1801 the Stratford Estate was advertised for sale by auction, and Lot 2 offered Stratford Mill with 2 dwelling-houses "eligible either for a miller or clothier." It was described as a grist mill with an "Ample Supply of Water," and it was also stated that "at an easy expense it could be converted to a Cloth Mill" (10). No evidence has been found that it ever was converted to a cloth mill. During most of the 19th century it was recorded in the corn trade. In 1839 and 1844 Biddle and Bishop, millers and mealmen, were there (11). William Lane, miller, and Reynolds and Allen, corn merchants were recorded at Stratford Mill in 1856, 1858-9 and 1860-65 (12) William Lane was recorded as manager 1865-7 (13). In 1870 it was described as "Flour Mills" (14). In 1879 Butt and Skurray, millers, were there (15) and were still there in 1885 and 1889 when "Steam and Water Mills" were recorded (16). In 1894 and 1897 Kemble and Dash used Stratford Mills (17)

but by 1902 Townsend and Co. had the mills (18). In 1962 Townsends were absorbed into the firm of Rank, Hovis, McDougall Ltd. (19). In 1967 the mill was mainly used for dressing wheat, barley and grass seeds, and also "corn-feed", and was producing c. 30,000 tons. About 38 workers were employed on the production side. In 1976 a fire destroyed the feed mill, but a new one was built on the site and opened by H.R.H. Princess Ann in 1978.

In 1981 animal feed is the main production and about 60,000 tons are being produced annually. The firm employs c. 150 people and of these c. 30 are employed in actual production work on animal feed and seed corn (20).

## References

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3. Gos. R.O. D149 T574
4. Gos. R.O. D149 F72
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6. Gos. R.O. P244 CW 2/1
7. Ibid
8. Gos. R.O. D149 T863
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13. Morris & Co. Directory 1865-6 & 1867
14. Kelly's Directory 1870
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16. Ibid 1885 & 1889
17. Ibid 1894 & 1897
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19. Victoria County History of Gloucestershire, XI, p. 127.
20. Information from Mr. Polhill, Stratford Mill

## SALMON'S MILL (Salmon's Spring)

The next mill up the Painswick Stream is Salmon's Mill, also called Salmon's Spring and Blisses' Mill.

It was held in the earliest recorded days by the Blisse family (also spelt Bliss and Blysse). In 1327 a John Blisse is recorded, but no mill (1). In 1439 William Bliss held the mill from the Manor (2) and in 1486 Thomas Blysse owned the mill, and William Bliss had it in 1487 and 1496 (3).

In 1525 William Bliss transferred the copyhold to his son Thomas and later it was occupied by a John Gardner and then by George Fletcher in 1574 (4). Thomas Fletcher was seized of one messuage and one fulling mill on his marriage to Rachel Archard in 1602 (5). He died in 1621.

The date 1607 and the initials E.F. and a cloth-mark are on the wall over the entrance to the old mill-house (6) and in 1608 Edmund Fletcher and Thomas Fletcher were recorded as clothiers (7). A William Blisse and a Thomas Blisse are on the same list as clothiers, but no evidence has been found to connect them with the mill at that date. In 1624 Thomas Fletcher and his brother Henry inherited their father's estate (8). In 1641 Henry Fletcher and George Fletcher were named on a subsidy roll, but no mill is mentioned (9) but this was possibly the George Fletcher whose initials G.F. and a clothier's mark are over the entrance to "Wick Street House" (10). Two Blisses were also named on the same subsidy roll at "The Well" and "Brownsgreen" (now Brownhill). In 1664 Henry and Edmund Fletcher were recorded in Stroud Tithing (11) and in the same year 1664 Thomas Bliss "de Mill" was paying rates in Stroud Tithing (12) so whether the Fletchers at this time were owners and Bliss a tenant is not clear. Thomas Bliss "de Mill" was again recorded in 1674 when he was churchwarden. From 1690 to 1699 Edward Gardner de Salmons was included in the rates lists (13).

Samuel Cole and his heirs were ratepayers for Salmons from 1704 to 1733 (14) but John Ellis "de Salmons" was Overseer of the Poor in 1714 and a John Pinfold "de Salmons" was in the Reeve's book of 1717 (15) and again in 1740. In 1749 he was named a clothier of Salmon's Mill (16) in a deed about the sale of land to him on Spring's Borough Estate, which was later called Skinner's Mill.

From 1754 to 1760 Mr. Pinfold was the ratepayer for Salmon's Mill and Springs Borough (17) and he was also mentioned as "of Salmon's Mill" in 1764 (18). Samuel Webb de Hill was paying rates for Salmon's Mill from 1776 to 1781 (19) but from 1781-5 Mr. Berwick was quoted for the mill, possibly as tenant (20). In 1786 it was advertised for sale and included a dwelling house and garden and "an excellent mill containing three stocks, one gagg mill and a very good grist mill, good cloth racks in a meadow near the mill, a very good store rack, lately built with burling shops, wool lofts, sheer-shops, press house, dye-house, stables." Meadow land and orchard were also included. It was also described as a "most desirable situation for a Clothier or Miller" and claimed that a large trade had been carried on for many years past to the present time (21). In the same year, 1786, Mr. Edward Cutts appears as owner on the land tax assessments (22) and for 1786-9 as a rate payer (23). Samuel Webb was still a rate payer for "part of Salmon's" well into the next century, but this probably means that he still owned some of the land, but not the mill. It is quite likely that the sale mentioned above was the end of the cloth trade, for by the year 1799-1800 William Drew had Salmon's Mill (24). He had married Mary Cutts of Salmen's Mill in 1789 (25). He was still referred to as owner to 1839 (26). In 1820 it was described as a corn mill (27) and in 1822 was valued at £105 and the malt-house at £10 (28). Biddle and Bishop were recorded as tenants from 1832

to 1844 (29) and in the 1838 valuation, the house not included, its annual value was £140, so unlike most cloth mills its value had increased (30). In 1839 Nathaniel Marling was owner (31). In 1844-7 Luker and Son were tenants, (32), from 1848-50 William Hale was tenant, (33), and in the 1851 census it is called "Biddle's Mill" (34). By 1853 Thomas Godsell was tenant (35) but Marling still the owner.

Godsell's continued at Salmon's Springs Brewery until 1928 (36), when Stroud Brewery took over (37). In 1938 the mill was replaced by a bottling factory (38). In 1969 it was used as a storage depot by Whitbreads (39), who ceased to use it in the late autumn of 1980. In January 1981 it was advertised "To Let" as factories and warehouses (40). The old mill-house is still there.

### References

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20. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/3
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23. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/3
24. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/3
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26. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4, 2/6
27. Glos. R.O. P244 MI 1/3-5
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29. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/4, 2/6
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31. Glos. R.O. GDR TI /159
32. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/8 & P244a OV 1/7
33. Glos. R.O. P244 CW 2/8
34. Glos. R.O. MF 315-316
35. Glos. R.O. D445/E8
36. Glos. R.O. D445/E8 & P244a OV 1/14, 1/16 & Kelly's Directories
37. G.S.I.A. Journal Number 7
38. V.C.H. Glos. XI p.76
39. Ibid
40. Personal knowledge

## GROVE MILL

The next mill recorded upstream was Grove Mill, so called after the Grove estate which was owned by the Capel Family through most of the eighteenth century and part of the nineteenth (1). The Grove was on the eastern side of Wick Street on Wickridge Hill and is now Hawkwood College (2).

Only a slight connection with the cloth trade has been found. In 1763 a lease was granted by Elizabeth Capel and Daniel Capel to Robert Ellis of a cloth or fulling mill on or by the site of the oil mill (3). From 1815-20 it was William Capel who was paying rates for the oil mill (4). In 1820 it was referred to as the paper mill and John Ward was tenant (5). In 1822 it was still a paper mill valued at £47 (6). It was still called a paper mill in 1824 (7). In 1827 it was recorded as a grist mill, late paper mill, and T. Creed was tenant (8). He was still tenant in 1835 for mill and malthouse (9). In 1836 William Capel was still owner and Richard Capel was tenant of the mill and malthouse (10). This same year 1836, William Capel made an agreement with Watts and Marling to exchange the Grove Mill and some land on the Stroud parish side of the Brook for 4 pieces of land at Salmons (11). This piece of land on the Stroud side of the Painswick Brook is interesting because it became the site of a malt-house used later by Godsells Brewery, but the malt-house already recorded in 1835 was in Painswick parish. In 1838 the value of the mill, not including the dwelling-house was quoted as £90 so it had increased in annual value which was very different from the cloth mills (12). Several tenants were listed in the next few years: 1839, William Bick; 1841, Thomas Vick; 1842, W.B. Price, miller and mealman and again in 1844, when another tenant, John Biddle, was also recorded (13). From 1845 Luker and Son were tenants (14) and Samuel Luker was still there in 1858 when it was offered for sale described as a corn mill with "a water-wheel on a never failing stream", a 12 h.p. steam engine and 3 pairs of millstones. Various other buildings are mentioned and a dwelling-house in occupation of Mr. Samuel Luker. The property is described as "in the Parish of Painswick about 1 mile from the Great Western Railway in Stroud" (15). It is interesting to note that this sale offer did not include the land on the Stroud side of the Painswick Stream by the A.46 road. In 1860 Joseph Washbarn was tenant and J.W. Hallowell owner (16) but in 1863 William Lane had it along with Stratford, Wallbridge and Ebley Mills (17).

In 1865-7 Stratford Flour Mill Co. was recorded at Grove Mill and for the same years Godsell's Brewery was recorded at Grove Mill, as well as at Salmon's Springs Brewery (18). This has led to some confusion in the past, but although the whole area there is called Grove Mill, the malthouse used by Godsell's was not on the site of the old mill owned by the Capel family, but was on the Stroud side of the Painswick Stream. In 1870 and 1876 millwrights and engineers were recorded at Grove Mill (19). In the present century Alfred Silk, miller, was there until after the first World War (20), and the malt-house which Godsell's used was still in use until the 1930's (21). A few years ago it was converted into a private dwelling-house. Of the old Grove Mill, nothing remains except the dwelling-house nearby.

## References

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8. Gos. R.O. P244 CW 1/1
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11. Sanders, G., The Capel Family of the Grove, (1969)
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14. Gos. R.O. P244a OV 1/7, CW 2/8
15. Glos. Journal 24 April 1858
16. Gos. R.O. P244a OV 1/14
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18. Morris & Co. Directory 1865-6 & 1867
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20. Kelly's Directory 1906-1919
21. Personal knowledge

## ROCK MILL

Rock Mill, next upstream, was possibly the Hammonds Mill recorded in 1486 (1), as it is the only mill site recorded in that area. Hammonds Farm is still today just a short way up the hill, and there is a public footpath which goes from the mill site to Hammonds Farm and across the Wick Street, over Wickridge Hill and down to the Slad Valley, where the ancient route can be joined via Catswood to Bisley and Cirencester (2). No further evidence has been found until 1679 when Edward Gardner "de Mill" was Overseer of the Poor (3) and the initials E.G. and date 1681 can be seen above a door at the millhouse (4) with a clothier's mark, so it seems that the mill was by then in the cloth trade. Gardners were recorded "de mill" as ratepayers until 1696 (5) and in 1699, the Painswick register recording the baptism of Sarah, daughter of Daniel Gardner, refers to him as a clothier (6). Although Gardners were recorded on rates assessments through much of the next century they were not paying rates for the mill.

In 1738 Rock Mill was advertised, "To be Lett" and was described as a fulling-mill with dwelling-house, outhouses, orchard and pasture land, "now in possession of Mr. William Packer" (7). This William Packer was the father of Mary Packer who married her cousin Daniel who wrote the letters about his cloth trade (8). In 1743 Rock Mill was again advertised, "To be Lett" and the description was much the same but it was said to be in the tenure of Mr. Anthony Bidmead, clothier, and "N.B. The mill is in good repair" (9). In 1744 the mill was again advertised for letting, still in the tenure of Anthony Bidmead, so it seems that it had not been taken by another tenant (10). In 1752 there was a notice in the newspaper that someone had broken into the Bee-House in the garden of Mr. Richard Ellis of Rock Mill and a reward of two guineas was offered for information (11). By 1754 it seems that Zachariah Horlick had bought Rock Mill for he was referred to in rates assessments until 1785 as owner (12).

In 1766 Edward Gardner, senior, of the Rock Mill died aged 79, according to Bigland (13) but in his will he left a dwelling-house at Rock Mill to his son Edward and a dwelling-house "where I now live" to his son Job. No mill was mentioned, so this confirms that he must have sold the mill at an earlier time (14). Job Gardner of Rock Mill, clothier, died in 1768 (15) intestate and his widow agreed that "all goods, chatels, credits, be granted to Will. White the principal creditor of the deceased" (16). In 1769 Edward Gardner was offering for sale a house with 3 acres of meadow by Rock Mill but not the mill (17). Monumental inscriptions recorded by Bigland can cause confusion because although these Gardners are described as "of Rock Mill" it is obvious that they had not owned the mill for quite a number of years before they died.

In 1776, in less than a fortnight, the Horlicks suffered from two thefts from the tenter-hooks at Rock Mill. The first is described as "seven or eight Ells of scoured Say-Cloth, Eight and a Half-Quarter wide, the property of Zacharias Horlick, senior." The second theft was "fourteen yards of blue and white feathered strip list Worcester Cloth, the property of John Horlick". A reward of ten guineas was offered for information leading to a conviction (18)

In 1785 James Stanley was the ratepayer for Rock Mill (19). He had married Hannah, the daughter of Zachariah Horlick (20), and continued to be included in the rates assessments until he died in 1810 when he was described as "late of Rock Mills, Clothier" (21). In 1791 and 1797 in the Painswick register of baptisms, John Adey was described "of Rock Mill, Clothier". Whether he was in partnership with James Stanley, or tenant for all or part of the mill is not clear.

In 1798 Zachariah Horlick who lived at Hambutts House in Painswick died and in his will he left only one quarter of his household goods to his

daughter Hannah Stanley, as she had "already had her portion given to her". He left a great many houses in Friday Street, Vicarage Lane, near the Churchyard, Longridge etc. but he valued each of his children's portions at £550 (22)!

In 1811 Rock Mill was for sale (23) and again in 1812. Various buildings were described, also a dwelling-house and 5 cottages. The waterfall was 12 feet; the mill contained 3 stocks and a gig-mill and was capable of rowing 1500 cloths per annum. Particulars could be obtained from Mr. Jeremiah Stanley at Pitchcombe or Mr. John Adey at Rock Mills (24). This advertisement shows that John Adey was still there.

In 1815 Rock Mills were offered for sale by auction and included a capital store for drying wool, shear shops, wool-lofts and other outbuildings, a dwelling-house, 5 cottages, orcharding and pasture land, with newly erected tenter-racks. The waterfall was described as nearly 12 feet with abundant supply of water and the mill had 2 stocks and a gig-mill and was described as lately occupied by Mr. James Stanley deceased. Particulars could be obtained from Mr. John Adey or Mr. Thomas Holder at Rock Mills (25). In 1820 Mr. Hicks owned the mill and other property (26) and in 1822 in the valuation of mills in Painswick parish, Rock Mill was valued at £250, which is the highest annual value quoted (27); Mrs. Miles was shown as tenant. In 1826 when Mrs. Hester Miles and Son were bankrupt, their stock for sale included 5 scribbling and carding machines, 10 shearing frames, wool-willies, tuckers, moosing, washing and brushing machines, 3 fifty and seventy spindle-billies, several seventy and eighty spindle jennies, reels, spooling tommies, press with iron screw, press papers, blocks and fences and Gallipoli oil. There was also a horse and cart, cow, hay, household furniture etc. (28).

Mr. Henry Hicks was referred to as owner up to 1837 (29) and Joseph Wathen as tenant from 1833-7 (30), then as owner up to 1841 (31). In 1839 he was on the list of Principal Manufacturers of Woollen Cloths in Gloucestershire (32). In 1841-3 Mr. Price was ratepayer for Rock Mill (33) and in 1842 "The Whole of the Valuable Clothing Machinery" at Rock Mill was "To Be Sold Peremptorily by Auction" (34). From 1843-4, Rock Mill was vacant (35). In 1844-5 two other tenants were listed, but no trade was mentioned (36). In 1847 it was offered to be let by the Stroudwater Pin Company "free of taxes and poor rates". Stock and gig water power was quoted, "capable of milling and rowing 6 pieces of cloth per week." A 12 horse-power steam engine was also listed (37). It is probable that this period marks the end of the real cloth industry, because although Tabram and Co., flock and shoddy manufacturers, are recorded at Rock Mills in 1889, this was very different from the broadcloth manufacturing (38).

In 1850 the rates were reduced on Rock Mill because the steam engine had been removed (39), and in 1851 it was recorded as a pin factory (40). By 1869 tyewood manufacturers were there (41) and were still there in 1885. A sports company had the mill in 1894 and a chess company in 1897 (42). Soon after this it was demolished. In 1981, the 5 mill cottages can still be seen, but are no longer occupied as 5 but 3, and the Mill House, which according to the date over a doorway, is 300 years old, is being thoroughly renovated; some enormous ingle-nook fireplaces have been uncovered and restored there (43).



## References

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22. Calendar of Glos. wills Glos. R.O. 1798/103
23. Glos. Journal 29 July 1811
24. Ibid 16 Mar. 1812 & 23 Nov. 1812
25. Glos. Journal 6 Mar. 1815
26. Glos. R.O. P244a MI 1/3-5
27. Glos. R.O. P244 MI 9 (valuation of mills)
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39. Glos. R.O. P244a VE 2/1
40. Glos. R.O. MF 315-316
41. Glos. R.O. P244a OV 1/13; Kelly's Directory 1885
42. Kelly's Directory 1894, 1897
43. Personal information

## PITCHCOMBE MILL

The next mill up the Painswick Stream from Rock Mill was Pitchcombe Mill, also called Jenner's Mill and Wade's Mill. It was on the western side of the Painswick Stream and was in the parish of Standish, which was in Oxlinch Tithing of Whitstone Hundred until 1884 when it became part of the parish of Pitchcombe (1). Little's Mill on the Pitchcombe Brook is sometimes named Pitchcombe Mill, which can cause confusion.

In 1771 Pitchcombe Grist Mills were to be let and were said to be "on a large stream of water, consisting of 3 pairs of stones, 2 of them French, a Boulting-Mill and 2 large rooms for granaries." The premises also included a dwelling house, garden, stable and 4 orchards, and were "Situated near the Turnpike Road between Painswick and Stroud." Enquiries were to be made to Mr. Nathaniel Jenner at the Mill (2). The Turnpike Road at that time was the Wick Street, which is entered from the mill by Wade's Lane, so this proves that it was Pitchcombe Mill on the Painswick Stream. Mr. Nathaniel Jenner owned and worked the mill himself still in 1776/7, and Mrs. Mary Jenner, from 1778 to 1780. From 1783 to 1794 Mr. Thomas Huntley was owner (3). In 1786 it was advertised to be let and was described in almost the same terms as in 1771, but a large pond was mentioned with a constant supply of water; it was again described as near to the Turnpike Road between Painswick and Stroud and was said to have been in the possession of Mr. Edward Cutts who had "carried on large and extensive trade for about 15 years." Applications were to be made to Mr. Thomas Huntley (4). The mill was again advertised to be let in 1790 by Mr. Thomas Huntley, and the advertisement contained a similar reference to the Turnpike Road (5). In 1791 there was a notice in the Gloucester Journal stating that sundry articles of furniture, the property of Mr. James Cook, had been left at Pitchcombe Mill and if they were not taken away before 8th December they would be sold (6). In 1795/6 Mrs. Huntley owned the mill and William Cook was listed as tenant (7); in 1797 the tenant was John Cook.

A partnership between John Cook and James Wood of Pitchcombe, cloth manufacturers, was dissolved in 1795. No mill is mentioned but as John Cook was a tenant of Pitchcombe Mill it is possible that by this time it had entered the cloth trade (8). From 1800 to 1803 Mrs. Huntley still owned the mill but Jeremiah Cother occupied it. In 1804 "William Carpenter for Jeremiah Cother" is referred to in the Land Tax assessments, and in 1805 "Jeremh. Cother for William Carpenter's " (9). In 1806 there was advertised for sale the clothier's estate and stock-in-trade of Jeremiah Cother, bankrupt. It was offered in 2 lots. Lot 1 contained a large dwelling-house, a large mill, garden, orchard etc. and Lot 2 was a "Capital Clothing Mill near Pitchcombe called Jenner's Mill" with 2 cottages, buildings, 10 acres etc. (leasehold) (10). Another sale advertisement a few weeks later gave more details of Lot 2 (the clothing mill). It referred to 2 stocks and a gig-mill and a rack hill with new racks situated at Pitchcombe near to Lot 1. The stock advertised included a 28" double scribbling engine, one 30" single ditto, new carders, 3 billies, 7 spindle jennies, six 60, one 70 ditto, four long reels, brushing machine, press and oven complete, 10 pair fences, 36 dozen new press papers, 23 old ditto, 25 iron plates, large and small, willow or wool-mixer, 3 shearing frames, pair of shear boards, 43 pairs of shears drilled for frames etc (11). This is absolute proof that Pitchcombe Mill was a cloth mill used by Jeremiah Cother who had been tenant there from 1800.

It seems that the mill itself was not sold, as William Carpenter was still listed as owner to 1824, and as occupant with Charles Davis and others from 1810 to 1814; Messrs. Davis, Beard and Co. were tenants to 1823 (12). In 1823 "Jenner's Mill, commonly called Pitchcombe Mill" was advertised to

be sold or let, described as a clothing mill with 3 stocks and 2 gig-mills etc. (13). In 1824 William Carpenter still had it (14) and on Bryant's map it was named as "Lower Pitchcombe Mill". By 1825, Carpenter had managed to sell it, as from that year to 1832 "Hawkins esq." was listed as owner. Benjamin Wood was recorded as tenant 1825-6 and William Fluck from 1828 (15).

On the 14th May 1833 William Fluck answered a number of questions for the Factory Commissioners about Pitchcombe Mill. He described it as a "Woollen-cloth manufactory," with sixteen horse water power in winter, varying to eight horse power during four months in the summer, when it was irregular. Sometimes they commenced work at seven o'clock in the morning, but at other times they could not start until nine or twelve o'clock and then the water continued to flow to midnight. He also said the milling process had occasionally been carried on for 24 hours, but a prohibition of night work would cause considerable loss to manufacturers who depended on water power. He also said it was indispensably necessary to drive the stocks the entire 24 hours for milling cloth.

William Fluck stated that dangerous parts of his machinery were fenced off and that all workpeople had access to water to wash themselves, or change their clothing. He had occasionally employed children as low as seven years of age and said that children of seven to twelve were as capable of "piecing and feeding the machines also quilling to weavers as those above twelve years." No children had been employed for night work. He believed that those brought up from infancy to work, made decidedly the best workmen. He had "no objection to a limitation of hours from nine to fourteen years of age provided the legislature will adopt means for the maintenance and education of such children" (16). In 1839 it was reported that William Fluck had 38 looms at Pitchcombe Mill, 3 of these were steam and water power looms, 2 were unemployed and 33 were handlooms. The weavers employed on the 3 power looms were 1 man, 4 women and 9 children, and on the handlooms there were 30 men and 8 women, which made a total of 52 persons employed just on the weaving. William Fluck himself was recorded on the "List of Principal Manufacturers of Woollen Cloth in Gloucestershire" (17).

In 1841 when Pitchcombe Mill was advertised to be let, the occupant was still William Fluck (18) and he was included in the tithe apportionment, 1842, for house, cloth mill, buildings etc. (19), but this year was the last recorded in the cloth trade; in this same year Pitchcombe Mill was used by Ebenezer Durdin, "Umbrella Sticks and Manufacturing Chemist" (20). Frederick Barron was also recorded with Durden and later a Charles Barron of London until 1849 (21); the property was leasehold. In 1851 John Randall was recorded at Pitchcombe Mill as a "Naptha Manufacturer". He had been born in Somerset but his wife Mary was from Painswick (22). Charles Barron was leaseholder to 1854 (23), but that same year Peter Mathews was recorded for "leasehold mill and land, Pitchcombe Mill" and with his son Augustus, the Mathews family remained there to 1885 (24). In 1863 the Mathews family were described as "Agricultural Chemists and Manufacturers of Oil of Vitriol, Superphosphate, Lime, Bone Dust and Artificial Manures" (25).

In 1884 "Steam Manure Mills, Pitchcombe" were for sale by auction, on instructions from A. Mathews (26) and that was the year when the mill and land formerly in Standish parish was transferred to Pitchcombe parish (27). In 1885 Pitchcombe Mills were shown on the ordnance survey 25 inch scale map on both sides of Wade's Lane and the buildings are referred to as "Chemical and Manure Works - Disused".

In 1889 Charles Willoughby Ladd, miller (water), Pitchcombe Mill was listed, (28) and in 1894 John Broughton, miller, was there (29). By 1902

James Gibson Wade had Pitchcombe Mill as a corn mill (30) and from that time it was known as "Wade's Mill". About 1930 local farmers were still driving their horses with loaded carts of corn to Wade's Mill (31) but soon after that it was disused and the actual mill buildings have been completely demolished. The mill house may be seen there now (1981) and some cottages on the other side of Wade's Lane which were shown on the 1885 ordnance survey map.

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## SMALL'S MILL

Small's Mill, the next mill recorded upstream, has also been named Ayers' Mill and Seagrim's Mill. In 1327 Alice Segrym and John Segrym were recorded in a lay subsidy roll (1).

In 1348 land in Painswick was granted to Flanesford Priory, later identified as land above Seagrimsbridge (2) and there are still cottages today called Seagrims and fields near the site of Small's Mill (3). Why the mill was called Small's is not clear. Smalls were recorded as ratepayers from 1681 (4) but no mill was mentioned, and the Pallings who owned the mill for so long were in the parish in 1642 at Greenhouse (5). An Edward Palling was a clothier selling cloth to a factor in London in 1673, 1678 and 1681 (6). The first evidence to connect the Pallings with the mill was in 1717 when Thomas Palling "for the mill" was referred to in the Reeve's book (7).

From 1718-22 William Palling of Painswick was sending to London about 230 cloths a year of the type exported to India and the Levant (8) and in 1720 he was being supplied with yarn from Devizes and Cirencester (9). From 1730-46 "William Palling for his mill" was recorded in the rates (10). Since the mill was known as Small's it is possible that they were working the mill for the Pallings, but no proof of this has been found. In 1735 Sarah Palling, widow, made a surrender of copyhold property to her son Thomas. It included 1 messuage, 2 fulling mills, 1 gig-mill, the rack-leaze and all houses thereon, 2 orchards, 1 shear-shop lately built, 1 dyehouse, and a lot more land. This property was transferred the same year by Thomas to his brother William Palling (11). A William Palling, senior, was churchwarden in 1735 so he must have died that year (12). Thomas Palling, however, was a ratepayer "for his mill" from 1740-77 (13).

In 1769 William Palling of Brownhill, clothier, left his estate to his brother Edward Palling (14) but details are not given. In 1771 on January 26th, there was a theft from Small's Mill of one piece of "shurn Spanish Stripe List Cloth, very thin, about 36 yards six quarters and a half, marked, Edward Palling best Superfine." A reward of 10 guineas was offered for information by Edward Palling (15). In the same year, 1771, Edward Palling made a settlement of his estate on the marriage of his daughter to William Carruthers, to Mrs. Carruthers for life after her father's death, or to her children (16). In 1777 Small's Mill was so named on Taylor's map (17). From 1777-81 Thomas Palling was paying the rates for the mill (18) and from 1781-90 Edward Palling was recorded as ratepayer for the mill (19).

In 1784 the William Carruthers who had married a Palling was recorded as a clothier (20). Another theft from Small's Mill took place in 1787, of scarlet cloth worth about 9 shillings a yard from the tenters and also the drying house was opened by someone picking the lock, and about 29 yards of a stout seven quarter white cloth in full wool worth about 8s. 6d. per yard were cut off and stolen. The weaver's mark in the forrel was N.K. and close within the forrel in blue yarn No. 7260. Again a 10 guineas reward was offered by William Carruthers of Brownhill (21). William Carruthers died in 1790 (22) and Small's Mill was "To be Let"; there were also several tenements, four stacks, a gig-mill, dyehouse, press-house, workshops, wool-lofts, a dwelling-house and land (23). The same year all the stock of the late William Carruthers was offered for sale at Small's Mill. It included super scarlet cloth, Spanish green cloth, long liveries, Spanish wool, yarn, teazles, 100 gallons of Gallipoli oil, and 2 spinning machines (24).

From 1790 Mrs. Carruthers was owner of Small's Mill; James Stanley, who also had Rock Mill, was tenant until 1805 (25) and Clutterbuck was tenant until 1810. In 1810 Small's Mill was for sale, described as a Clothing Mill and Factory with 2 stocks, one  $\frac{1}{2}$  stock, gig-mill, dyehouse, press-house,

drying-house, stable, 2 cottages and other buildings, rack ground with 7 racks and 13 acres of land (26). In 1811 Small's Mill was conveyed to the Rev. Joseph Jones by Mrs. Grace Carruthers (the widow of Edward Palling Carruthers of Brownhill) (27). From 1814-20 John Palling, who lived at Sheepphouse was tenant of the mill and for many years he also had King's Mill (28). He was described as a clothier in 1820 (29) so although the Palling family who owned Small's Mill had left it to their relatives the Carruthers in the late 18th century, there was still a Palling in the cloth trade. In 1820 Mr. Nathaniel Jones was recorded as owner and Mr. Mills as tenant (30). In 1822 the mill was valued at £180 and Mr. Mills still occupied it (31). In 1824 the mill was named Small's on Bryant's map (32) and in a baptism of 1825, the parent Thomas Gillman was recorded as a "Slaymaker, Small's Mill," which shows it was still in the cloth trade (33). From 1827 a Rice was paying rates (34) and Mathew Rice of Small's Mill was recorded as a clothier in 1832 (35). In 1833 John Papps of Small's Mill was referred to as a clothier (36), although the Rice family were still ratepayers to 1837 (37).

In 1837 at Small's Mill, "Clothing Machinery and Household Furniture" was for sale. It included 6 scribbling and carding machines, 9 broadlooms and tools, 120 sets of gig-mill work, 12 packs of prime teasels, a 210 spindle-mule, 60 spindle-billies and much more. The sale was "by order of Mr. Mathew Rice who is returning to London" (38). In 1837-8 Samuel Williams, Small's Mill, vacant, was recorded in the ratebook (39) and in 1838 the valuation was £115, so like other cloth mills, owing no doubt to the depression in the cloth trade, it had decreased in value since 1822 (40). In Robson's Directory of 1839, Thomas Rice and Sons, Broadcloth and Cassimere Manufacturers, were listed at Small's Mill, but this does not seem to be correct as in 1839 Ann James was owner and Philip Foxwell was occupying the mill (41). Philip Foxwell also used Lovedays Mill from 1829 (42) and in 1839 was listed as one of the "Principal Woollen Manufacturers of Gloucestershire" (43). In 1839 Small's Mill was for sale by auction at the Falcon Hotel, Painswick, described as a "Valuable Clothing Mill" with a dwelling-house, cottage, other buildings, a rack-hill and drying ground. The premises are described as "in excellent condition" and it is stated that "a large sum of money has been spent in the last 3 years enlarging the mill." The advertisement also says that it could easily be converted to a grist mill and refers to Philip Foxwell as a yearly tenant (44). Philip Foxwell was bankrupt by November 1840 (45) and all his clothing property was for sale in 1841 (46). In 1840-41 Philip Foxwell was paying rates for a "Wool-Drying Stove" in Pitchcombe parish which is interesting because it shows that the stove must have been on the west side of the Painswick Stream which was, and still is the parish boundary in this area (47).

The mill was recorded as vacant until 1844 (48). In 1845 Jenkins and Shipton had Small's Mill (49); in 1848-50 Biddle and Buck were recorded there (50), but for what purpose these firms were using the mill is not shown. In 1851 William Clark, Timber Merchant, had Small's Mill and was employing 3 men and 5 boys and girls (51). In 1852 Clarke and Son were described as "Umbrella Stick Manufacturers" (52) and in 1855 Mrs. James was recorded as owner (53). In 1856 William Clark and Son were still tenants and had "Steam Sawing Mills" (54).

In 1858 William Ridler, another umbrella stick manufacturer, used the mill (55) which was called Lenall's Mill, as it also was in the 1852 Directory, but why this name was used is a mystery, as it was never used in church or parish records. William Ridler remained at Small's Mill for many years (56) and was still there in 1876 (57). Thomas Hooper, another umbrella stick manufacturer was there in 1879 (58). By 1885 John Ayers, Timber Merchants, had Small's Mill and were still recorded there in 1910 (59); there are still some people in Painswick who can remember this "Ayer's Mill" as they called it still working (60). The Ayers family lived at Prospect House by Bull's Cross for many years (61). The mill buildings soon after

this time became derelict, but a few years ago the water-wheel was fully restored and a dwelling built on the mill site. The overshot water-wheel may be seen working now (1981). Some old mill cottages have also been renovated and extended and are used as dwelling-houses, but no other mill buildings remain (62).

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